THE CHRONICLER'S USE HIS SOURCE TEXT IN 2CHR 21-25 – EMPIRICAL EVIDENCE FOR EDITORIAL TECHNIQUES

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Introduction

In this chapter I will investigate how the author of 2Chr 21-25 used 2Kgs 8-14. Particular emphasis will be on the nature of changes made in relation to the source text. The relationship between 1-2Chr and 1-2Kings has been extensively discussed in scholarly literature,[1] but my approach is to take these two texts as empirical evidence for the scribal changes and transformation processes taking place in a Biblical tradition. Considering the recent interest in the Qumran scholarship on rewritten texts and radical editorial processes,[2] it is apparent that the Chronicles should become part of this discussion. Many of the rewritten texts of Qumran (for example, the Temple Scroll, 4QRP/rewritten Pentateuch, Genesis Apocryphon, Jubilees) show similarities in their relationship to their sources as the Chronicles. Consequently, I will primarily look at the Chronicler as a redactor editing an older text. Although one might argue that the Chronicles is not a further edited version of 1-2Kings as a whole, but an entirely new work, there are many passages which warrant such an approach, and as pointed out by Eugene Ulrich, the Qumranic evidence has shown that composition, redaction, textual transmission and reception often overlap.[3] Composition of a work and rewriting may have been much more part of the transmission process and redaction of the Hebrew Scriptures than traditionally assumed. In fact, when the Chronicles, despite being a rewritten text, is understood as a redaction of an earlier

[1] For example, Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, FRLANT 106, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1972; Steven McKenzie, *The chronicler's use of the Deuteronomistic history*, HSM 33, Scholars Press: Atlanta, 1985; Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, Westminster John Knox Press, Louisville, 1993; Isaac Kalimi, *Zur Geschichtsschreibung des Chronisten: literarisch-historiographische Abweichungen der Chronik von ihren Paralleltexten in den Samuel- und Könisgbüchern*, BZAW 226, Walter de Gruyter: Berlin – New York; Isaac Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, Royal Van Gorcum: Assen, 2005;

[2] For example, George Brooke, "The Rewritten Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible." in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries*, ed. E.D. Herbert, E. Tov, 31-40.Oak Knoll Press, The Scriptorium Center for Christian Antiquities, 2002. Sidnie White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, Eerdmans: Grand Rapids, 2008; Daniel Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, T & T Clark: London, 2007; Eugene Ulrich, "The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books," forthcoming;

[3] Ulrich, "The Evolutionary Production and Transmission of the Scriptural Books," 209-210.

text, we may gain new insights about the nature of the transmission processes in the Hebrew Bible.

At the core of the problem is the question, what is the difference between a new compositions, rewritten texts and redactions? For example, the early transmission of 1-2Kings contains series of redactions, such as the nomistic redactions, where the text was comprehensively edited to the extent that it is justified to refer to the new editions as entirely new compositions or even rewritten texts. Moreover, already the history writer edited a book of the royal annals, omitting, rewriting and reorganizing much of the older text. It is probable that the annals were originally written as an independent work, but this applies to the earliest version of 1-2Kings by the history writer as well and to the nomistic editions. The redactions of the nomists were similarly new works, where the older text was completely reworked. The nomists corrected the history to be in harmony with their own theological conceptions. The difference between these redactions and the work of the Chronicler may not be fundamental, except that the Chronicler's sources were preserved, whereas the pre-nomistic 1-2Kings or the royal annals were not.

If the Chronicles is understood as a redaction, the preservation of both Chronicles and 1-2Kings would provide an excellent opportunity to understand the poorly known redactional processes taking place in the Second Temple Period. These processes could then be compared with Qumranic rewritten texts and used as empirical evidence for approaching other books of the Hebrew Bible that were edited. Although the nature of the editorial processes should be discussed in each composition separately, 1-2Chr provides comprehensive evidence about the different editorial processes that were made to an older source or a literary stage.

Much of the traditional discussion concerning Chronicles has approached the composition by assuming that it was meant to be read with its sources, but this is not self evident. It would imply that the Chronicler was writing a Midrash or interpretation (*Auslegung*) of 1-2Kings (and its other sources).[4] There are many reasons that speak against the *Ergänzungstheorie*, as this theory is traditionally called, which assumes that the Chronicles was mainly meant to supplement its sources. In the course of the present analysis it should become clear that this theory is unlikely. The changes with the source are too extensive that it would be reasonable to define 1-2Chr

[4] Most prominently by Thomas Willi, *Die Chronik als Auslegung*, FRLANT 106, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht: Göttingen, 1972, but many other scholars have represented this theory as well.

as an interpretation or Midrash. For example, there are several examples where the Chronicler contradicts his source or omits an event if it was theologically problematical. It is more probable that 1-2Chr was written as an improved version of Israel's past (*Verdrängungstheorie*).[5] 1-2Kings was used as the basis of the work, but the result was a heavily edited version.

I will approach the issue by analysing and discussing some key passages, which illustrate how the stories were edited, and what kind of changes were made. On the basis of these passages, I will then divide the changes into different categories. Although categories are only abstractions of reality and may not represent the thinking of the ancient authors, in this case they will help us understand the changes taking place between 1-2Kings and 1-2Chr, and thus the editorial processes of Second Temple Judaism. One particular question will be, how much was the Chronicler bound by the source text and how much liberty did he have in shaping the older text. What were the limits of his editing?

It should be added that I will compare the texts as literary products. Many scholars have tried to discuss the relationship between these texts in relation to actual events. Many arguments have been made by appealing to what was historically possible in the 'original' context and what was not and thereby trying to understand the relationship between the passages in 1-2Kings and 1-2Chr. But this kind of approach is very problematic, since we know very little about the monarchic times that the authors describe. Most of the texts were written centuries after the events that are described, and in any case it is not the focus of this paper to discuss what really happened. I believe more reliable results can be gained by looking at the technical and theological/ideological differences between parallel texts. Attempts to reflect both texts to 'actual' events may only disturb the discussion about the relationship between the 1-2Kings and 1-2Chr.

King Jehoram

Jehoram's reign is described in 1Kgs 22:51 and 2Kgs 8:16-24. It is evident that the Chronicler used 1-2Kings for his own account of Jehoram's reign in 2Chr 21, but the

[5] The *Verdrängungstheorie* is represented by many scholars, most recently by Isaac Kalimi, *An Ancient Israelite Historian*, Royal Van Gorcum: Assen, 2005.

passage was extensively expanded. In his account the death of Jehoshaphat and the ascent to power of Jehoram as described in 1Kgs 22:51 was placed with the rest of material dealing with Jehoram. With some exceptions, the main story of the reign in 2Kgs 8:17-22 was preserved unchanged, but there are two large expansions (2Chr 21:2-4 and 10aβ*-19), as well as several smaller changes.

After the initial reference to Jehoram's rise to power, which was adopted from the source word-for-word, the Chronicler added new information about Jehoram's brothers. 2Chr 21:2 contains a list of the brothers, followed in v. 3 by a reference to the gifts given to them by their father. After his power was consolidated, Jehoram is said to have murdered his brothers (v. 4). With some exceptions, the story in 2Kgs 8:17-22 was also taken word-for-word. The Chronicler apparently did not regard it necessary to make any larger changes to the basic account concerning Jehoram's reign. All the events were adopted as they were described in the source. After the main descriptions of Jehoram's reign, however, there is a major expansion in 2Chr 21:10aβ*-19, without any parallel in 1-2Kings. The description of Jehoram's death and burial was changed considerably (2Kgs 8:23-24 vs. 2Chr 21:20).

There are no major differences between the MT and LXX versions in these chapters, but in some cases the LXX of 2Chr shares a reading with MT/LXX of 2Kgs against MT of 2Chr (e.g., 2Chr 21:8, 9[6]). Most of the differences between the Hebrew and Greek version are minor additions or omissions. There is also no evidence that the Chronicler used a significantly different version of the passage than the MT.[7] This is suggested by the fact that the main text in 2Kgs 8:17-22 was adopted word-for-word, with only some exceptions. Moreover, the Chronicler evidently used a late version of 2Kgs 8, which already contained all its main later additions. Only one sentence, missing in the MT of 2Chr 21:9 but preserved in its LXX version and in the MT of 2Kgs 8:21 (וַיִּנָּס הָעָם לְאׇהָלָיו / *καὶ ἔφυγεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτῶν*), leaves some space for the assumption that here 2Kgs 8:21 was expanded later and that the Chronicler used an earlier version of the verse. The LXX would then have been later influenced by

[6] The LXX of 2Chr 21:9 adds *καὶ ἔφυγεν ὁ λαὸς εἰς τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτῶν* over against MT, but the sentence is found in the MT of 2Kgs 8:20 (וַיִּנָּס הָעָם לְאׇהָלָיו).

[7] One cannot exclude the possibility that the LXX was later harmonized towards the Masoretic text, but this possibility lies beyond this paper.

2Kgs.[8]

2Chr 21:1-20	2Kgs 8:16-24
[1] וַיִּשְׁכַּב יְהוֹשָׁפָט עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֵר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִיד וַיִּמְלֹךְ יְהוֹרָם בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו	[22.51] וַיִּשְׁכַּב יְהוֹשָׁפָט עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֵר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד אָבִיו וַיִּמְלֹךְ יְהוֹרָם בְּנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו
	[8.16] ~~וּבִשְׁנַת חֲמֵשׁ לְיוֹרָם בֶּן־אַחְאָב מֶלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וִיהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה~~
	~~מָלַךְ יְהוֹרָם בֶּן־יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה~~
[2] וְלוֹ־אַחִים בְּנֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט עֲזַרְיָה וְיִחִיאֵל וּזְכַרְיָהוּ וַעֲזַרְיָהוּ וּמִיכָאֵל וּשְׁפַטְיָהוּ כָּל־אֵלֶּה בְּנֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל	
[3] וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם אֲבִיהֶם מַתָּנוֹת רַבּוֹת לְכֶסֶף וּלְזָהָב וּלְמִגְדָּנוֹת עִם־עָרֵי מְצֻרוֹת בִּיהוּדָה וְאֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה נָתַן לִיהוֹרָם כִּי־הוּא הַבְּכוֹר	
[4] וַיָּקָם יְהוֹרָם עַל־מַמְלֶכֶת אָבִיו וַיִּתְחַזַּק וַיַּהֲרֹג אֶת־כָּל־אֶחָיו בֶּחָרֶב וְגַם מִשָּׂרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל	
[5] בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה יְהוֹרָם בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁמוֹנֶה שָׁנִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם	[17] בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה ~~הָיָה~~ בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁמֹנֶה שָׁנָה שָׁנִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם
[6] וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ בֵּית אַחְאָב כִּי בַּת־אַחְאָב הָיְתָה לוֹ אִשָּׁה וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה	[18] וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל כַּאֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ בֵּית אַחְאָב כִּי בַּת־אַחְאָב הָיְתָה־לּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה
[7] וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחִית אֶת־בֵּית דָּוִיד לְמַעַן הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת לְדָוִיד וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָמַר לָתֵת לוֹ נִיר וּלְבָנָיו כָּל־הַיָּמִים	[19] וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחִית אֶת־יְהוּדָה לְמַעַן דָּוִד עַבְדּוֹ כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר־לוֹ לָתֵת לוֹ נִיר לְבָנָיו כָּל־הַיָּמִים
[8] בְּיָמָיו פָּשַׁע אֱדוֹם מִתַּחַת יַד־יְהוּדָה וַיַּמְלִיכוּ עֲלֵיהֶם מֶלֶךְ	[20] בְּיָמָיו פָּשַׁע אֱדוֹם מִתַּחַת יַד־יְהוּדָה וַיַּמְלִכוּ עֲלֵיהֶם מֶלֶךְ
[9] וַיַּעֲבֹר יְהוֹרָם עִם־שָׂרָיו וְכָל־הָרֶכֶב עִמּוֹ וַיְהִי קָם לַיְלָה וַיַּךְ אֶת־אֱדוֹם הַסּוֹבֵב אֵלָיו וְאֵת שָׂרֵי הָרָכֶב	[21] וַיַּעֲבֹר יוֹרָם צָעִירָה וְכָל־הָרֶכֶב עִמּוֹ וַיְהִי־~~הוּא~~ קָם לַיְלָה וַיַּכֶּה אֶת־אֱדוֹם הַסֹּבֵיב אֵלָיו וְאֵת שָׂרֵי הָרָכֶב ~~וַיָּנָס הָעָם לְאָהֳלָיו~~
[10] וַיִּפְשַׁע אֱדוֹם מִתַּחַת יַד־יְהוּדָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אָז תִּפְשַׁע לִבְנָה בָּעֵת הַהִיא מִתַּחַת יָדוֹ כִּי עָזַב אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבֹתָיו	[22] וַיִּפְשַׁע אֱדוֹם מִתַּחַת יַד־יְהוּדָה עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אָז תִּפְשַׁע לִבְנָה בָּעֵת הַהִיא
[11] גַּם־הוּא עָשָׂה־בָמוֹת בְּהָרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיַּזֶן אֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם וַיַּדַּח אֶת־יְהוּדָה	
[12] וַיָּבֹא אֵלָיו מִכְתָּב מֵאֵלִיָּהוּ הַנָּבִיא לֵאמֹר כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי דָּוִיד אָבִיךָ תַּחַת אֲשֶׁר לֹא־הָלַכְתָּ בְּדַרְכֵי יְהוֹשָׁפָט אָבִיךָ וּבְדַרְכֵי אָסָא מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה	
[13] וַתֵּלֶךְ בְּדֶרֶךְ מַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַתַּזְנֶה אֶת־יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־יֹשְׁבֵי יְרוּשָׁלִַם כְּהַזְנוֹת בֵּית אַחְאָב וְגַם אֶת־אַחֶיךָ בֵּית־אָבִיךָ הַטּוֹבִים מִמְּךָ הָרָגְתָּ	
[14] הִנֵּה יְהוָה נֹגֵף מַגֵּפָה גְּדוֹלָה בְּעַמֶּךָ וּבְבָנֶיךָ וּבְנָשֶׁיךָ וּבְכָל־רְכוּשֶׁךָ	
[15] וְאַתָּה בַּחֳלָיִם רַבִּים בְּמַחֲלַת מֵעֶיךָ עַד־יֵצְאוּ מֵעֶיךָ מִן־הַחֹלִי יָמִים עַל־יָמִים	
[16] וַיָּעַר יְהוָה עַל־יְהוֹרָם אֵת רוּחַ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים וְהָעַרָבִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־יַד כּוּשִׁים	
[17] וַיַּעֲלוּ בִיהוּדָה וַיִּבְקָעוּהָ וַיִּשְׁבּוּ אֵת כָּל־הָרְכוּשׁ הַנִּמְצָא לְבֵית־הַמֶּלֶךְ וְגַם־בָּנָיו וְנָשָׁיו וְלֹא נִשְׁאַר־לוֹ בֵּן כִּי אִם־יְהוֹאָחָז קְטֹן בָּנָיו	
[18] וְאַחֲרֵי כָּל־זֹאת נְגָפוֹ יְהוָה בְּמֵעָיו לְחֳלִי לְאֵין מַרְפֵּא	

[8] ~~Strikethrough~~ = missing in Chr; Gray = minor variant; Outline = plus in Chr.

19 וַיְהִי לְיָמִים מִיָּמִים וּכְעֵת צֵאת הַקֵּץ לְיָמִים שְׁנַיִם יָצְאוּ
מַעָיו עִם־חָלְיוֹ וַיָּמָת בְּתַחֲלָאִים רָעִים וְלֹא־עָשׂוּ לוֹ עַמּוֹ
שְׂרֵפָה כִּשְׂרֵפַת אֲבֹתָיו
20 בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם הָיָה בְמָלְכוֹ
וּשְׁמוֹנֶה שָׁנִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם
וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה

וַיִּקְבְּרֻהוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִיד וְלֹא בְּקִבְרוֹת הַמְּלָכִים

[8.17 בֶּן־שְׁלֹשִׁים וּשְׁתַּיִם שָׁנָה הָיָה בְמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁמוֹנֶה שָׁנָה
שָׁנִים מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם]

~~23 וְיֶתֶר דִּבְרֵי יוֹרָם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲלוֹא־הֵם כְּתוּבִים
עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה~~
~~24 וַיִּשְׁכַּב יוֹרָם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו~~
וַיִּקָּבֵר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד

Observations

One single detail in the source text may have caused most of the larger changes the Chronicler made to the story. The leading difference is that in the Chronicler's account Jehoram is systematically a more evil and unfortunate king than in 2Kgs. The reason for the changes is probably Jehoram's connection with the house of Omri. According to 2Kgs 8:18, Jehoram was married to Ahab's daughter and therefore followed Ahab's sins. Since Ahab was regarded as one of the most sinful kings of the generally sinful Northern Kingdom, such a connection would, in the Chronicler's view, have necessarily meant that Jehoram was also a very evil king. Although already the source text regards Jehoram as a sinner (ויעש הרע בעיני יהוה), his actions are not described as particularly grave and there is no evident punishment. This was against the convictions and theology of the Chronicler and the text was changed accordingly. Jehoram was made one of the most evil kings and because Yahweh should have punished all evils kings, Judah faced many misfortunes during his reign and his fate is described as particularly unfortunate.

To make Jehoram's deeds and fate look as negative as possible, the Chronicler made several different changes. Jehoram was made a murdered of his own family (2Chr 21:4) as well as inciter of whole Judah to the sins of Israel and of Ahab (21:11). As a punishment, Jehoram and his family were hit with a terrible and incurable disease (21:14), which caused his bowels to fall out (21:15, 18-19). Judah was attacked by other nations, which robbed everything in the king's palace, including his wives and sons (21:17). As a final punishment, the king died of the disease, without being buried in the royal tombs (21:19-20). The Chronicler also claims to have known that nobody loved Jehoram when he died.

The descriptions in 2Chr 21 are partly unrealistic and contradict the account in 2Kgs 8 which also suggests that we are dealing with the Chronicler's theological views rising out of his anger against Ahab rather than with texts taken from another source. The changes are most likely the result of Chronicler's own reasoning, because most of the expansions do not contain information that one would not be able to deduce from 2Kgs 8 or that would not be a logical consequence of how the Chronicler viewed the past. Most of the additional material consists of rather stereotypical references to common sins and some of the most terrible punishments that can be imagined.

If one were to assume that the Chronicler used an external source, as suggested by some scholars (for example, Sara Japhet),[9] one would have to assume that already this unknown source described Jehoram's reign in a very negative light. The resulting text accords very well with the Chronicler's view of the past, also acknowledged by Japhet, who notes that the chapter "reflects the almost iron-bound theological system of the Chronicler's most basic convictions".[10] Rather than assuming an unknown source that viewed the past in a very similar way than the Chronicler, it is more probable that the Chronicler is behind the changes and additions that made the text to be closer to his own theology.[11] It should further be pointed out that the Chronicler's expansions are in many ways dependent on 1-2Kings (for example, the sins and the activity of Elijah). They are comprehensible as a reaction to 2Kgs 8 and especially to the connection with Ahab. That also the aggression of the other nations is directed, rather unrealistically, against Jehoram, not Judah, it is evident that the Chronicler attempted to focus the blame on Jehoram. Since more or less direct lines can be drawn from different parts and themes of the expansions to Jehoram's connection with Ahab, it is probable that the Chronicler did not use other sources than 1-2Kings, except possibly in 2Chr 21:2-3, which refers to Jehoram's brothers and their gifts, but even in these verses one should be cautious.[12]

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[9] For example, according to Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 806, assuming an external source "provides a better starting point for understanding the passages".

[10] Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 806.

[11] *Entia non sunt multiplicanda praeter necessitatem* – Occam's razor

[12] Most scholars assume that these verses contain information that was taken from another source. According to Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 807, "virtually all scholars" concede "the authenticity of these actions", but one should not underestimate the creative mind of the Chronicler especially when the whole passage was strongly shaped towards his own theology. In the present form, the main focus of v. 2-4 is the murder of Jehoram's brothers, which was against the Kingdom of his father (וַיָּקָם יְהוֹרָם

Besides the two large expansions, the Chronicler omitted and rewrote parts of the account in 2Kgs. One of the most interesting changes deals with Jehoram's burial. Although some words were adopted from 2Kgs 8:24 the text was effectively rewritten in 2Chr. According to 2Kgs 8:24, the king was buried with his fathers in the City of David, implying that he was buried in the royal cemetery, but the Chronicler was not satisfied with such an honorable end to the evil king. He added a sentence specifying that the king was *not* buried in the tombs of the kings. To be consistent, the expansion also necessitated the omission of עם־אבתיו.

2Kgs 8:24	2Chr 21:20
~~וַיִּשְׁכַּב יוֹרָם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו~~	וַיֵּלֶךְ בְּלֹא חֶמְדָּה
וַיִּקָּבֵר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד	וַיִּקְבְּרֵהוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִיד וְלֹא בְּקִבְרוֹת הַמְּלָכִים

It is evident that 2Chr 21:20 contradicts 2Kgs 8:24, and it seems that the Chronicler consciously altered the fate of Jehoram. This may seem to be a small change, and similar changes can be found throughout Chronicles, but the implications and consequences of changes where part of the source text was rewritten, omitted and contradicted are considerable.[13] They suggest that scribes using on a source text could change it much more radically than usually assumed.

Some of the changes are not connected to Ahab. For example in 2Chr 21:7 the Chronicler wanted to avoid the impression that Judah was spared because of David, and the resulting text refers to the covenant Yahweh made with David. The emphasis is changed from David's deeds to Yahweh's deeds.[14] Similar rather small theological changes can be found throughout Chronicles.

7 וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחִית אֶת־בֵּית דָּוִיד	19 וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחִית אֶת־יְהוּדָה
לְמַעַן הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת לְדָוִיד	לְמַעַן דָּוִד ~~עַבְדּוֹ~~
וְכַאֲשֶׁר אָמַר לָתֵת לוֹ נִיר וּלְבָנָיו כָּל־הַיָּמִים	כַּאֲשֶׁר אָמַר־~~לוֹ~~ לָתֵת לוֹ נִיר לְבָנָיו כָּל־הַיָּמִים

עַל־מַמְלֶכֶת אָבִיו), and therefore it serves the main Chronicler's main idea in the passage, which was to show how evil Jehoram was.

[13] In the light of such passages, it would be difficult to define the Chronicles as Midrash or interpretation of 1-2Kings, but the extent to which the text is changed is a very radical also when we regard the Chronicler as an editor of an older text. One rarely assumes that older texts were so extensively rewritten and partly omitted.

[14] Some scholars, for example Japhet, I & II Chronicles, XXX, assume that the Chronicles may preserve a more original reading. The problem is the peculiar reference to the Judah and not to the house of David. Her argument is based on the assumption that the Chronicler's view is historically and linguistically more probable. Here we are walking on this ice, however, since it would be very difficult to determine what is historically more probable (note the discussion in the introduction on arguing on the basis of historical probabilities).

The reference to the book of the kings of Judah in 2Kgs 8:23 was omitted. The reference to the sources, usually the books of the kings, seems to have been omitted in two other passages as well. These passages similarly deal with the reigns of two particularly evil kings, Amaziah, and Amon. That these three kings were among the most evil ones may have been the reason for the omission of a reference to the source. The Chronicler perhaps wanted to avoid a reference to a source which described the kings in more positive terms. In Jehoram's case the radical expansions as well as the partial contradiction could be seen as a further reason for not referring to the sources.

As in other parts of Chronicles, a reference to the relative chronology of the Northern Kingdom in 2Kgs 8:16 was omitted, but this is a systematic omission in Chronicles. Moreover, in the Chronicler's account, a parallel to 2Kgs 8:17 is found twice so that the reference to Jehoram's age and length of reign is met in 2Chr 21:5 and 20. The repetition may have been necessary in order to return to the original text after the large expansion in v. 10-19. Most of the other differences are minor orthographical (יוֹרָם > יְהוֹרָם) and grammatical changes (omission of הָיָה in 8:17) as well as misunderstandings of names (עִם־שָׂרָיו > צָעִירָה).

King Joash

Joash's reign is described in 2Kgs 12:1-22. The Chronicler's account is radically different from that of 2Kgs 12 to the extent that it is reasonable to ask, whether 2Kgs 12 was the basis for the Chronicler's account. Different solutions have been offered for the relationship of these passages. Some scholars assume that all the additional material in the chapter is the result of the Chronicler's own reasoning[15], whereas others assume that he may also have used other sources.[16] Because of the differences, one could suggest that the source was an entirely different version of the story. That the Chronicler untypically referred to a Midrash of the book of the kings (מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים) in 24:27 could be used as an indication that the source was indeed completely different.[17] This possibility should not be excluded, but when one considers that the resulting text is one of the best and purest examples of the Chronist's theology, one

[15] Torrey, Ezra Studies, 1910, XXX; Rudoph, Chronikbücher, XXX
[16] McKenzie, The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History, 110.
[17] For example, McKenzie, 110.

would have to assume a source which was ideologically very close to the Chronist. Moreover, the beginning of the story is taken word-for-word from 2Kgs 12, and it is therefore reasonable to assume that the Chronicler knew at least the beginning of this chapter. Although similar parallels are missing in the rest of the passage, shared vocabulary is found in *the same order* in both texts. When one looks at the themes of both passages, the similarities are even more apparent. In fact, all themes of 2Kgs 12 find a parallel in 2Chr 24, although in a radically altered form. Because of the correspondence of the themes, 2Chr 24 can in many ways be seen as a reaction to 2Kgs 12. Taken all these considerations together, it is probable that 2Chr 24 was composed in view of 2Kgs 12.

Assuming an unknown and lost source would not provide any heuristic key to understand the text, because then one would still have to assume that the Chronist is behind most of the differences and changes are well in line with the Chronicler's own ideology. There is no indication of external influence or unfamiliar motifs in the Chronist's version of the events. If other sources had been used, one would expect at least some new themes and excursions that digress from the themes of 2Kgs 12 and of the Chronicler's ideology. Consequently, since the changes in 2Chr 24 develop the text strongly towards the theology of the Chronicler, it is unnecessary to assume another source than 2Kgs 12 (Occam's razor).[18]

2Chr 24	2Kgs 12
[1] בֶּן־שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים יֹאשׁ בְּמָלְכוֹ	[1] בֶּן־שֶׁבַע שָׁנִים יְהוֹאָשׁ בְּמָלְכוֹ
	[2] ~~בַּשְּׁנַת־שֶׁבַע לְיֵהוּא מָלַךְ יְהוֹאָשׁ~~
וְאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ צִבְיָה מִבְּאֵר	וְאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה מָלַךְ בִּירוּשָׁלִָם וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ צִבְיָה מִבְּאֵר
שָׁבַע [2] וַיַּעַשׂ יוֹאָשׁ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה	שָׁבַע [3] וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוֹאָשׁ הַיָּשָׁר בְּעֵינֵי יְהוָה
כָּל־יְמֵי יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן	כָּל־יָמָיו אֲשֶׁר הוֹרָהוּ יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן
[3] וַיִּשָּׂא־לוֹ יְהוֹיָדָע נָשִׁים שְׁתַּיִם וַיּוֹלֶד בָּנִים וּבָנוֹת	[4] ~~רַק הַבָּמוֹת לֹא־סָרוּ עוֹד הָעָם מְזַבְּחִים וּמְקַטְּרִים~~
	~~בַּבָּמוֹת~~ [5] ~~וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹאָשׁ אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים כֹּל כֶּסֶף~~
	~~הַקֳּדָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־יוּבָא בֵּית־יְהוָה כֶּסֶף עוֹבֵר אִישׁ כֶּסֶף~~
	~~נַפְשׁוֹת עֶרְכּוֹ כָּל־כֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה עַל לֵב־אִישׁ לְהָבִיא~~
	~~בֵּית יְהוָה~~ [6] ~~יִקְחוּ לָהֶם הַכֹּהֲנִים אִישׁ מֵאֵת מַכָּרוֹ וְהֵם~~
	~~יְחַזְּקוּ אֶת־בְּדֶק הַבַּיִת לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יִמָּצֵא שָׁם בְּדֶק~~ [7] ~~וַיְהִי~~
	~~בִּשְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנָה לַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹאָשׁ לֹא־חִזְּקוּ~~
[4] וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן הָיָה עִם־לֵב יוֹאָשׁ לְחַדֵּשׁ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה	
[5] וַיְקַבֵּץ אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם צְאוּ לְעָרֵי	
יְהוּדָה וְקַבְּצוּ מִכָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כֶּסֶף לְחַזֵּק אֶת־בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיכֶם	
מִדֵּי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה וְאַתֶּם תְּמַהֲרוּ לַדָּבָר וְלֹא מִהֲרוּ הַלְוִיִּם	

[18] If one would assume a different source, the close parallels and connections throughout the passage imply that there is a literary dependency between the passages. Implying a middle stage in the process of the text's transmission would only mean that the omissions took place in a different stage. Because of the evident contradictions combined with the evident literary connection, it would be difficult to explain the connection between the texts without assuming omissions at some stage in the textual transmission. In other words, even if the Chronicler had used an unknown source one would have to assume that the changes took place in the transmission of the passage.

6 וַיִּקְרָא הַמֶּלֶךְ לִיהוֹיָדָע הָרֹאשׁ
וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַדּוּעַ
לֹא־דָרַשְׁתָּ עַל־הַלְוִיִּם לְהָבִיא מִיהוּדָה וּמִירוּשָׁלַם
אֶת־מַשְׂאַת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד־יְהוָה וְהַקָּהָל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְאֹהֶל
הָעֵדוּת 7 כִּי עֲתַלְיָהוּ הַמְרַשַּׁעַת בָּנֶיהָ פָּרְצוּ אֶת־בֵּית
הָאֱלֹהִים וְגַם כָּל־קָדְשֵׁי בֵית־יְהוָה עָשׂוּ לַבְּעָלִים
8 וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיַּעֲשׂוּ אֲרוֹן אֶחָד וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ
בְּשַׁעַר בֵּית־יְהוָה חוּצָה 9 וַיִּתְּנוּ־קוֹל בִּיהוּדָה וּבִירוּשָׁלַם
לְהָבִיא לַיהוָה מַשְׂאַת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד־הָאֱלֹהִים עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל
בַּמִּדְבָּר וַיִּשְׂמְחוּ כָּל־הַשָּׂרִים וְכָל־הָעָם
10 וַיָּבִיאוּ וַיַּשְׁלִיכוּ לָאָרוֹן עַד־לְכַלֵּה
11 וַיְהִי בְּעֵת יָבִיא אֶת־הָאָרוֹן אֶל־פְּקֻדַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּיַד
הַלְוִיִּם וְכִרְאוֹתָם כִּי־רַב הַכֶּסֶף
וּבָא סוֹפֵר הַמֶּלֶךְ וּפְקִיד כֹּהֵן הָרֹאשׁ וְיָעֲרוּ אֶת־הָאָרוֹן
וְיִשָּׂאֻהוּ וְישִׁיבֻהוּ אֶל־מְקוֹמוֹ כֹּה עָשׂוּ לְיוֹם בְּיוֹם
וַיַּאַסְפוּ־כֶסֶף לָרֹב
12 וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְיהוֹיָדָע אֶל־עוֹשֵׂה מְלֶאכֶת עֲבוֹדַת
בֵּית־יְהוָה וַיִּהְיוּ שֹׂכְרִים חֹצְבִים וְחָרָשִׁים
לְחַדֵּשׁ בֵּית יְהוָה וְגַם לְחָרָשֵׁי בַרְזֶל וּנְחֹשֶׁת
לְחַזֵּק אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה 13 וַיַּעֲשׂוּ עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה וַתַּעַל
אֲרוּכָה לַמְּלָאכָה בְּיָדָם וַיַּעֲמִידוּ אֶת־בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים
עַל־מַתְכֻּנְתּוֹ וַיְאַמְּצֻהוּ 14 וּכְכַלּוֹתָם הֵבִיאוּ לִפְנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ
וְיהוֹיָדָע אֶת־שְׁאָר הַכֶּסֶף וַיֵּעָשֵׂהוּ כֵלִים לְבֵית־יְהוָה כְּלֵי
שָׁרֵת וְהָעֹלוֹת וְכַפּוֹת וּכְלֵי זָהָב וְכֶסֶף וַיִּהְיוּ מַעֲלִים עֹלוֹת
בְּבֵית־יְהוָה תָּמִיד כֹּל יְמֵי יְהוֹיָדָע
15 וַיִּזְקַן יְהוֹיָדָע וַיִּשְׂבַּע יָמִים וַיָּמָת בֶּן־מֵאָה וּשְׁלֹשִׁים שָׁנָה
בְּמֹתוֹ 16 וַיְקַבְּרֻהוּ בָּעִיר־דָּוִיד עִם־הַמְּלָכִים
כִּי־עָשָׂה טוֹבָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל וְעִם הָאֱלֹהִים וּבֵיתוֹ
17 וְאַחֲרֵי מוֹת יְהוֹיָדָע בָּאוּ שָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲווּ לַמֶּלֶךְ
אָז שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲלֵיהֶם 18 וַיַּעַזְבוּ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה
אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם וַיַּעַבְדוּ אֶת־הָאֲשֵׁרִים וְאֶת־הָעֲצַבִּים
וַיְהִי־קֶצֶף עַל־יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם בְּאַשְׁמָתָם זֹאת
19 וַיִּשְׁלַח בָּהֶם נְבִאִים לַהֲשִׁיבָם אֶל־יְהוָה וַיָּעִידוּ בָם וְלֹא
הָאֱזִינוּ 20 וְרוּחַ אֱלֹהִים לָבְשָׁה
אֶת־זְכַרְיָה בֶּן־יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן וַיַּעֲמֹד מֵעַל לָעָם וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם
כֹּה אָמַר הָאֱלֹהִים לָמָּה אַתֶּם עֹבְרִים אֶת־מִצְוֹת יְהוָה
וְלֹא תַצְלִיחוּ כִּי־עֲזַבְתֶּם אֶת־יְהוָה וַיַּעֲזֹב אֶתְכֶם 21 וַיִּקְשְׁרוּ
עָלָיו וַיִּרְגְּמֻהוּ אֶבֶן בְּמִצְוַת
הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּחֲצַר בֵּית יְהוָה
22 וְלֹא־זָכַר יוֹאָשׁ הַמֶּלֶךְ הַחֶסֶד אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה יְהוֹיָדָע אָבִיו
עִמּוֹ וַיַּהַרֹג אֶת־בְּנוֹ וּכְמוֹתוֹ אָמַר יַרְא יְהוָה וְיִדְרֹשׁ 23 וַיְהִי
לִתְקוּפַת הַשָּׁנָה עָלָה עָלָיו
חֵיל אֲרָם וַיָּבֹאוּ אֶל־יְהוּדָה וִירוּשָׁלַם וַיַּשְׁחִיתוּ
אֶת־כָּל־שָׂרֵי הָעָם מֵעָם וְכָל־שְׁלָלָם שִׁלְּחוּ לְמֶלֶךְ דַּרְמֶשֶׂק
24 כִּי בְמִצְעַר אַנְשֵׁים בָּאוּ חֵיל אֲרָם
וַיהוָה נָתַן בְּיָדָם חַיִל לָרֹב מְאֹד כִּי עָזְבוּ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי
אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם וְאֶת־יוֹאָשׁ עָשׂוּ שְׁפָטִים
25 וּבְלֶכְתָּם מֵאֶצְלוֹ כִּי־עָזְבוּ אֹתוֹ בְּמַחֲלֻיִם רַבִּים הִתְקַשְׁרוּ

~~הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבָּיִת~~
8 וַיִּקְרָא הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹיָדָע וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַדּוּעַ
~~אֵינְכֶם מְחַזְּקִים אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבַּיִת וְעַתָּה אַל־תִּקְחוּ־כֶסֶף~~
~~מֵאֵת מַכְּרֵיכֶם כִּי־לְבֶדֶק הַבַּיִת תִּתְּנֻהוּ~~ 9 וַיֹּאתוּ הַכֹּהֲנִים
~~לְבִלְתִּי קַחַת־כֶּסֶף מֵאֵת הָעָם וּלְבִלְתִּי חַזֵּק אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבָּיִת~~

10 וַיִּקַּח יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן אֲרוֹן אֶחָד וַיִּקֹּב חֹר בְּדַלְתּוֹ וַיִּתֵּן
אֹתוֹ אֵצֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בַּיָּמִין בְּבוֹא־אִישׁ בֵּית יְהוָה וְנָתְנוּ־שָׁמָּה
הַכֹּהֲנִים שֹׁמְרֵי הַסַּף אֶת־כָּל־הַכֶּסֶף הַמּוּבָא בֵּית־יְהוָה

11 וַיְהִי כִּרְאוֹתָם כִּי־רַב הַכֶּסֶף בָּאָרוֹן
וַיַּעַל סֹפֵר הַמֶּלֶךְ וְהַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל
~~וַיָּצֹרוּ וַיִּמְנוּ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּמְצָא בֵּית־יְהוָה~~
12 וְנָתְנוּ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף הַמְּתֻכָּן
~~עַל־יַד[י] עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה הַ[מ]פְקִדִים~~ בֵּית יְהוָה
~~וַיּוֹצִיאֻהוּ לְחָרָשֵׁי הָעֵין וְלַבֹּנִים הָעֹשִׂים~~ בֵּית יְהוָה
13 ~~וְלַגֹּדְרִים וּלְחֹצְבֵי הָאֶבֶן וְלִקְנוֹת עֵצִים וְאַבְנֵי מַחְצֵב~~
~~לְחַזֵּק אֶת־בֶּדֶק־בֵּית יְהוָה וּלְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יֵצֵא עַל־הַבַּיִת~~
~~לְחַזְּקָה~~

14 ~~אַךְ לֹא יֵעָשֶׂה בֵּית יְהוָה סִפּוֹת כֶּסֶף מְזַמְּרוֹת מִזְרָקוֹת~~
~~חֲצֹצְרוֹת כָּל־כְּלִי זָהָב וּכְלִי־כֶסֶף מִן־הַכֶּסֶף הַמּוּבָא~~
~~בֵּית־יְהוָה~~
15 ~~כִּי־לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה יִתְּנֻהוּ וְחִזְּקוּ־בוֹ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה~~
16 ~~וְלֹא יְחַשְּׁבוּ אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר יִתְּנוּ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף עַל־יָדָם~~
~~לָתֵת לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה כִּי בֶאֱמֻנָה הֵם עֹשִׂים~~ 17 ~~כֶּסֶף אָשָׁם~~
~~וְכֶסֶף חַטָּאוֹת לֹא יוּבָא בֵּית יְהוָה לַכֹּהֲנִים יִהְיוּ~~ 18 ~~אָז~~
~~יַעֲלֶה חֲזָאֵל מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם~~
~~וַיִּלָּחֶם עַל־גַּת וַיִּלְכְּדָהּ וַיָּשֶׂם חֲזָאֵל פָּנָיו לַעֲלוֹת~~
~~עַל־יְרוּשָׁלִָם~~
19 ~~וַיִּקַּח יְהוֹאָשׁ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה~~
~~אֵת כָּל־הַקָּדָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־הִקְדִּישׁוּ יְהוֹשָׁפָט וִיהוֹרָם וַאֲחַזְיָהוּ~~
~~אֲבֹתָיו מַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה וְאֶת קָדָשָׁיו וְאֵת כָּל־הַזָּהָב הַנִּמְצָא~~
~~בְּאֹצְרוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה וּבֵית הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיִּשְׁלַח לַחֲזָאֵל מֶלֶךְ אֲרָם~~
~~וַיַּעַל מֵעַל יְרוּשָׁלִָם~~ 20 ~~וַיְהִי דִּבְרֵי יוֹאָשׁ וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה~~
~~הֲלוֹא־הֵם~~
כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דִּבְרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה

עָלָיו עֲבָדָיו בִּדְמֵי בְּנֵי יְהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן וַיַּהַרְגֻהוּ עַל־מִטָּתוֹ וַיָּמֹת	[21] ~~וַיָּקֻמוּ~~ עֲבָדָיו וַיִּקְשְׁרוּ־קֶשֶׁר וַיַּכּוּ אֶת־יוֹאָשׁ בֵּית מִלֹּא ~~הִירֵד סִלָּא~~
וַיִּקְבְּרֻהוּ בְּעִיר דָּוִיד	[22] וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ ~~עִם־אֲבֹתָיו~~ בְּעִיר דָּוִד]
וְלֹא קְבָרֻהוּ בְּקִבְרוֹת הַמְּלָכִים	
[26] וְאֵלֶּה הַמִּתְקַשְּׁרִים עָלָיו	
זָבָד בֶּן־שִׁמְעָת הָעַמּוֹנִית וִיהוֹזָבָד בֶּן־שִׁמְרִית הַמּוֹאֲבִית	[22] ~~וַיִּזְבָּד~~ בֶּן־שִׁמְעָת וִיהוֹזָבָד בֶּן־שֹׁמֵר ~~עֲבָדָיו הִכֻּהוּ וַיָּמָת~~
[27] וּבָנָיו וְ/יִרְב הַמַּשָּׂא עָלָיו וְיִסּוֹד בֵּית הָאֱלֹהִים הִנָּם	וַיִּקְבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ ~~עִם־אֲבֹתָיו~~ בְּעִיר דָּוִד
כְּתוּבִים עַל־מִדְרַשׁ סֵפֶר הַמְּלָכִים	[20] כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר]
וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֲמַצְיָהוּ בְנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו	וַיִּמְלֹךְ אֲמַצְיָה בְנוֹ תַּחְתָּיו

Many details in the source text were against the Chronicler's theological and other conceptions, but especially the basic development of the events as described in 2Kgs 12 would have been impossible for him. According to 2Kgs 12, king Joash was a good king, because Jehoiada, the priest, had taught him, and consequently Joash took interest in the temple and restored it. Except for the high places, which are a recurrent sin of all good and evil kings of Judah till King Hezekiah, king Joash is not told to have done anything wrong. At the end of the reign, however, he had to give all the holy things from the temple as well as the gold of the temple and of the palace to Hazael the Aramean king. This was done in order to save Jerusalem from an imminent attack by the Arameans. The author of 2Kgs 12 does not appear to put the blame on the king, for the event is described rather neutrally as a necessary action to save Jerusalem from a possible destruction.

For the Chronicler the temple was the center of theology and giving its holy items and treasures to the Arameans would have been a total catastrophe and sign of Yahweh's anger and punishment.[19] In view of the Chronicler's concepts of divine justice and just retribution, there was an evident contradiction between the goodness of Joash and the robbing of the temple. The course and development of events as described in 2Kgs 12 would hardly have been possible, and this is probably the main reason why the entire passage had to be effectively rewritten. Because the contradiction was too severe, small changes, like in many other passages, would not have solved the problem that a good king caused a total catastrophe to the temple.

The differences between the passages are so extensive that it is possible to draw attention only to the most illustrative cases. In most of the changes in 2Chr 24, the influence of the theology of the Chronicler is evident. The beginning of Joash's reign as described in 2Kgs 12 is followed rather closely in 2Chr 24, but the reference

[19] The centrality of the temple in the Chronicler's theology is evident. Cf. most commentaries.

to the relative chronology with Israel (2Kgs 12:2aα) is typically omitted. A more interesting and, for the rest of the passage, crucial change deals with the role of Jehoiada. According to 2Kgs 12:3, Joash was a good king all the days his life (כל־ימיו), because Jehoiada had taught him. The Chronicler omitted a small section of this sentence that changed the whole idea. According to the Chronicler, Joash was a good king all the days *of king Jehoiada* (כל־ימי יהוידע).

When Jehoiada's goodness was restricted to the time that Jehoiada lived, the Chronicler could make other changes that explained the contradiction between the king's goodness and the restoration of the temple on the one hand and the catastrophe on the other. In his account, Joash's reign is divided between two different periods, divided by Jehoiada's death. The temple is restored during the time that Jehoiada lived, whereas the time after his death is characterized by sin and punishment. The idea of Jehoiada's death is added into the Chronicler's account (v. 15-16), followed by several other insertions: Immediately after Jehoiada died, Joash listens to the leaders of Judah (v. 17), which then leads to the abandonment of the temple and the worship of the Asherim and idols (v. 18). The prophets sent by Yahweh (v. 19-20) are ignored and finally Joash orders Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, to be stoned to death (v. 21-22). The words of the dying Zechariah function as the bridge from the sins to the ensuing catastrophe: "May Yahweh see and avenge" (v. 22). The attack of the Arameans is described in the following verse. The additional material in verses 15-22 serves the Chronicler's broader conception that a catastrophe is always a punishment for sins. These verses explain how the goodness was turned into evilness, and they are imperative in the Chronicler's attempt to transform the story to correspond with his theological conceptions.

Although it is probable that most or all of the insertion in verses 17-22 are more or less inventions of the Chronicler, he was not entirely free to create the whole story. 2Kgs 12 is the starting point, which, although rejected, is the basis to which the Chronicler had to react and on which he also built his own story. He kept the order of the events and was to some extent bound by the general events described in the source. At the same time he was free to rewrite practically all the details and thoroughly change the course of events.

The Chronist's position is an interesting mix of constraints set by the source text and freedom to create new material based on his own conceptions of what must

have happened, but it is not easy to fully comprehend the core of his position. He evidently could not deny many of the events described in 2Kgs 12 and he was also convinced that the general development of events as described in 2Kgs 12 is reliable. Perhaps we are dealing with 'facts' generally acknowledged by the Chronicler's community that could not be changed without endangering the credibility of the new text.[20] But the Chronicler was not bound by the source text only because of external or societal pressure. In many other passages the Chronicler regarded 1-2Kings as an authoritative and reliable text, which he would follow word-for-word as long as there were no theological or ideological problems. In Chr 24 this was not the case of Joash and the reasons for omitting, adding, inventing and rewriting are ideological/theological, as we have seen.

A closer looks at one part of the passage demonstrates how the Chronicler preserved the general idea, but omitted and rewrote the entire passage. A central theme in both versions is the restoration of the temple. The king decided to restore the temple, but a financial contribution of the people was needed as well. The priests or Levites were responsible for collecting the money, but there was a problem with this. The priests or Levites were accused of neglecting their task, so that the king had to place a chest where the people who visited the temple should put money in. In both versions the temple is finally restored.

According to 2Kgs 12:5-6, the money should be collected from the people in order to repair the breaches of the temple. One receives the impression that it is a one time event. The Chronicler's version, however, implies that there should have been an annual payment or even a tax for the repairs (מִדֵּי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה) and that Moses had ordered such a payment (מַשְׂאַת מֹשֶׁה).[21] Also the restoration is assumed to have been a much bigger issue in the Chronicler's version. In 2Kgs 12 only the breaches had to be repaired (וְהֵם יְחַזְּקוּ אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבַּיִת), but by omitting the reference to the breaches the Chronicler implied that the whole temple had to be repaired (לְחַזֵּק אֶת־בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיכֶם, v. 5, 12) or even renewed (לְחַדֵּשׁ בֵּית יְהוָה, v. 12). The Chronicler had changed a

[20] See Ehud Ben Zvi, Shifting the Gaze: Historiographic Constraints in Chronicles and their Implications, 2006, 82-85.

[21] It is not clear which passage in the Pentateuch is meant, if any. Ex 32:5-29 refers to the gifts that the Israelites gave for the construction of the tabernacle, but they are clearly voluntary gifts and it is a one time event.

description of reparation of breaches during Joash's reign into an implicit message that the temple should be renewed every year and that Moses in fact had ordered the Israelites to pay.

2Chr 24	2Kgs 12
[4] וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי־כֵן הָיָה עִם־לֵב יוֹאָשׁ לְחַדֵּשׁ אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה	[5] ~~וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוֹאָשׁ אֶל־הַכֹּהֲנִים כֹּל כֶּסֶף~~ ~~הַקֳּדָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־יוּבָא בֵּית־יְהוָה כֶּסֶף עוֹבֵר אִישׁ כֶּסֶף~~ ~~נַפְשׁוֹת עֶרְכּוֹ כָּל־כֶּסֶף אֲשֶׁר יַעֲלֶה עַל לֵב־אִישׁ לְהָבִיא~~ ~~בֵּית יְהוָה [6] יִקְחוּ לָהֶם הַכֹּהֲנִים אִישׁ מֵאֵת מַכָּרוֹ וְהֵם~~
[5] וַיְקַבֵּץ אֶת־הַכֹּהֲנִים וְהַלְוִיִּם וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם צְאוּ לְעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וְקַבְּצוּ מִכָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כֶּסֶף לְחַזֵּק אֶת־בֵּית אֱלֹהֵיכֶם מִדֵּי שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה וְאַתֶּם תְּמַהֲרוּ לַדָּבָר וְלֹא מִהֲרוּ הַלְוִיִּם	~~יְחַזְּקוּ אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבַּיִת לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־יִמָּצֵא שָׁם בֶּדֶק~~ [7] ~~וַיְהִי~~ ~~בִּשְׁנַת עֶשְׂרִים וְשָׁלֹשׁ שָׁנָה לַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹאָשׁ לֹא־חִזְּקוּ~~ ~~הַכֹּהֲנִים אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבָּיִת~~
[6] וַיִּקְרָא הַמֶּלֶךְ לִיהוֹיָדָע הָרֹאשׁ וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ מַדּוּעַ לֹא־דָרַשְׁתָּ עַל־הַלְוִיִּם לְהָבִיא מִיהוּדָה וּמִירוּשָׁלַם אֶת־מַשְׂאַת מֹשֶׁה עֶבֶד־יְהוָה וְהַקָּהָל לְיִשְׂרָאֵל לְאֹהֶל הָעֵדוּת	[8] וַיִּקְרָא הַמֶּלֶךְ יְהוֹאָשׁ לִיהוֹיָדָע הַכֹּהֵן וְלַכֹּהֲנִים וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מְדוּעַ ~~אֵינְכֶם מְחַזְּקִים אֶת־בֶּדֶק הַבַּיִת וְעַתָּה אַל־תִּקְחוּ־כֶסֶף~~ ~~מֵאֵת מַכְּרֵיכֶם כִּי־לְבֶדֶק הַבַּיִת תִּתְּנֵהוּ~~

The Aramean intrusion is changed in a similar way. The general idea that the Arameans threatened Judah and eventually received a substantial booty is preserved, but practically all the details were rewritten. In 2Kgs 12:18-19, king Joash pays a tribute to the Arameans in order to save Jerusalem. The king is portrayed as a prisoner of the events, who was forced to empty the entire treasury and the temple, but Jerusalem was saved and the Arameans did not attack Jerusalem. In the Chronicler's version of the intrusion, the Arameans attack Joash, Jerusalem is conquered, all the leaders are killed and the booty is taken to Damascus (24:23). The Chronicler wanted to stress that even thought the Aramean army consisted of only couple of men (בִּמְצָעַר אֲנָשִׁים) it prevailed over the huge Judean army (חַיִל לָרֹב מְאֹד), because Yahweh wanted to punish the Judeans. According to the Chronicler, Joash was also wounded in the attack. After the Arameans had left, Joash's servants conspired and killed him (24:25). The idea of conspiracy was again taken from 2Kgs 12, but in a rewritten form. Whereas 2Kgs 12:21 gives no reason for the conspiracy, in the Chronicler' account it is the murder of Jehoiada's son.[22] As the final punishment, the king was not buried in the tombs of the kings (ולא קברהו בקברות המלכים). Here the Chronicler again contradicted his source, according to which he was buried with his fathers

[22] Speculating about the historical context in the 9th century BCE, one could easily see that a king who is forced to empty the entire state and temple treasury and give it to a foreign king would put himself into a very difficult position and cause substantial economical difficulties and eventually unrest.

(עִם־אֲבֹתָיו). Note that the Chronicler omitted all references to the robbing of the temple and the palace as well. He just refers to the booty in general (**וכל־שללם**). Especially the idea that the Arameans took the temple treasury may have been difficult if not impossible for the Chronicler to adopt, because it was Yahweh's punishment for Joash. Most of the catastrophes described in the Chronicler's account befell on Joash.

Because of the preservation of most of the themes and general events of 2Kgs 12, the Chronicler was in some way convinced that they really took place. At the same time he was convinced that practically everything occurred in another way. He did not invent the past freely, but the result is practically a free invention of many events and most of the details in the events that he found in the source. The Chronicler was very probably convinced that his own view of the events was correct.

Word-for-Word Rendering of the Source Text

In many parts of Chronicles, the author followed his source text in 1-2Kings word-for-word. There are several sections where the source text is replicated without any major changes. An example from 2Kgs 14/2Chr 25 is rather typical of many passages. Most of the text was taken from 1-2Kings but there are occasional expansions, omissions and slight changes.

2Chr 25	2Kgs 14
[20] וְלֹא־שָׁמַע אֲמַצְיָהוּ	[11] וְלֹא־שָׁמַע אֲמַצְיָהוּ
כִּי מֵהָאֱלֹהִים הִיא לְמַעַן תִּתָּם בְּיָד	
כִּי דָרְשׁוּ אֶת אֱלֹהֵי אֱדוֹם	
[21] וַיַּעַל יוֹאָשׁ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְרָאוּ פָנִים הוּא וַאֲמַצְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה בְּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה [22] וַיִּנָּגֶף יְהוּדָה לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּנֻסוּ אִישׁ לְאָהָלָיו	וַיַּעַל יְהוֹאָשׁ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיִּתְרָאוּ פָנִים הוּא וַאֲמַצְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה בְּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה [12] וַיִּנָּגֶף יְהוּדָה לִפְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיָּנֻסוּ אִישׁ לְאָהֳל[י]ו
[23] וְאֶת אֲמַצְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה בֶּן־יוֹאָשׁ בֶּן־יְהוֹאָחָז תָּפַשׂ יוֹאָשׁ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבֵית שָׁמֶשׁ וַיְבִיאֵהוּ יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וַיִּפְרֹץ בְּחוֹמַת יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם מִשַּׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם עַד־שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת אַמָּה [24] וְכָל־הַזָּהָב וְהַכֶּסֶף	וְאֶת אֲמַצְיָהוּ מֶלֶךְ־יְהוּדָה בֶּן־יוֹאָשׁ בֶּן־אֲחַזְיָהוּ תָּפְשׂוּ יְהוֹאָשׁ מֶלֶךְ־יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבֵית שֶׁמֶשׁ וַיָּבֹאוּ [וַיָּבֹא] יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם וַיִּפְרֹץ בְּחוֹמַת יְרוּשָׁלַ͏ִם בְּשַׁעַר אֶפְרַיִם עַד־שַׁעַר הַפִּנָּה אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת אַמָּה [14] וְלָקַח ~~אֶת~~־כָּל־הַזָּהָב וְהַכֶּסֶף
וְאֶת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הַנִּמְצְאִים בְּבֵית־הָאֱלֹהִים עִם־עֹבֵד אֱדוֹם וְאֶת־אֹצְרוֹת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת בְּנֵי הַתַּעֲרֻבוֹת וַיָּשָׁב שֹׁמְרוֹנָה	וְאֶת כָּל־הַכֵּלִים הַנִּמְצְאִים בֵּית־יְהוָה וּבְאֹצְרוֹת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת בְּנֵי הַתַּעֲרֻבוֹת וַיָּשָׁב שֹׁמְרוֹנָה

The faithful rendering of the text in many passages implies that the Chronicler's attitude towards his source text was careful and that he did not deviate from the source text easily. The author of Chronicles took the story of 1-2Kings as the starting point, and in most cases there is an evident theological or ideological reason for not following the source text. Many of the deviations can be traced to a small number of commonly acknowledged theological themes important for the Chronicler.[23] When the Chronicler deviated from 1-2Kings by expansions, he nearly always followed the order of events in 1-2Kings and after the larger expansions returned to the text of 1-2Kings. Even in many expansions, radical changes and digressions, 1-2Kings was the basis to which the Chronicler reacted (for example 2Kgs 12/2Chr 24), and the resulting text was an amalgamation of themes from 1-2Kings and his own theological ideas.

The rigorous use of 1-2Kings implies that this text was influential and even authoritative for the Chronicler. Although we are far from unchangeable divine authority, the Chronicler regarded 1-2Kings as a generally reliable document for Israel's past. For the Chronicler 1-2Kings was the authoritative text for Israel's past and history. One could characterize 1-2Kings as being historically authoritative for the Chronicler, but, because of the radical changes in theologically problematical issues, not theologically authoritative or having divine authority.[24]

It is also significant that the Chronicler rarely provided a free rendering of the source text. He either followed it rigorously or provided a very different version of the events. Apart from minor changes or clarifications, there are only a very few changes which do not have an ideological or theological background. For example, the Chronicler rarely expressed the same idea by using other synonymous words or sentences. Since several changes had taken place in Hebrew between the time of writing of 1-2Kings and 1-2Chr, it is evident that it was not the Chronicler's aim to update the language. There is no evidence that the Chronicler wanted to paraphrase the older text. Unless there was a theological reason, the starting point seems to have been to preserve the older text. The careful rendering of the source text indicates that the Chronicler regarded it to possess considerable authority, but, what is more

[23] Such as the Temple, priestly interests, divine retribution, evilness of the Northern Kingdom, a connection of a Judean king with Israel's dynasty.

[24] This distinction is necessary because of the word authoritative is often used without specifying what exactly was meant. It is probable that there were different levels and spheres of authority that the ancient readers regarded the texts to possess.

important, this kind of methodology is very reminiscent of what is usually assumed of redactors or editors of the Hebrew Bible, who adopted the older text very carefully and took it as the basis of the new redaction, unless there was a theological or ideological reason to update it.

Expansions

Although the source text was followed in many parts, there are constant expansions. The expansions are of different size, ranging from minor clarifications (for example of names 2Chr 21:5) to major expansions of entire passages (e.g., 2Chr 21:10b-19). Some of the expansions may be based on other sources (e.g., 2Chr 21:2-3), but in most cases they were evidently caused by something in 1-2Kings which required an improvement, comment or clarification. In some cases, a single detail in the source text may have caused several and large expansions. For example, Jehoram's connection with Ahab sparked several additions, which are probably Chronicler's own inventions without any basis in any source (2Chr 21:10aβ*-19).[25] There are also some issues and themes that were recurrently added to the text. For example the involvement of the priests and Levites was added into many passages.[26] In some cases they are just added as additional actors because the Chronicler (or a later editor of the Chronicles) generally assumed them to have a larger role in society. In some cases, they replaced the original actors of the older text. At the background is the Chronicler's notion that the priests had a more central role than what the source text told. For example, the foreign mercenaries of 2Kgs 11:4 (כרי ורצים) were replaced by priests and Levites as the main participants and supporters of Jehoiada's rebellion:

2Chr 23:1	2Kgs 11:4
וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִעִית הִתְחַזֵּק יְהוֹיָדָע	[4] וּבַשָּׁנָה הַשְּׁבִיעִית שָׁלַח יְהוֹיָדָע
וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שָׂרֵי הַמֵּאוֹת	וַיִּקַּח אֶת־שָׂרֵי הַמֵּא[י]ות
לְעֲזַרְיָהוּ בֶן־יְרֹחָם וְלִישְׁמָעֵאל בֶּן־יְהוֹחָנָן וְלַעֲזַרְיָהוּ	~~לַכְּרִי וְלָרָצִים~~

[25] Here again it should be stressed that the Chronicler was probably convinced of the actuality of the events he invented. They are an amalgamation and consequence of the source text that was interpreted through his own ideological and theological conceptions.

[26] Many of these plusses may be further additions to the Chronicler's text. Thus for example, Georg Steins, *Die Chronik als kanonisches Abschlussphänomen : Studien zur Entstehung und Theologie von 1/2 Chronik*, Beltz: Weinheim, 1995, 415-439. For example, in Ezra-Nehemiah most, perhaps all, references to the Levites are later additions to the composition. Levitical editors added the involvement of the priests and Levites in the events.

בֶּן־עֹבֵד וְאֶת־מַעֲשֵׂיָהוּ בֶּן־עֲדָיָהוּ וְאֶת־אֱלִישָׁפָט
בֶּן־זִכְרִי עָמְוֹ בַּבְּרִית [2] וַיֶּסְבּוּ בִּיהוּדָה וַיְקַבְּצוּ
אֶת־הַלְוִיִּם מִכָּל־עָרֵי יְהוּדָה וְרָאשֵׁי הָאָבוֹת לְיִשְׂרָאֵל

Theological problems regularly caused the Chronist to expand the text, but the methods of expanding the text differ significantly. In many cases the source text did not contain any parallel for the expansion. The expansion may be an event that the Chronicler believed must have occurred. This is the reason for many of the expansions in the passages describing the reigns of Jehoram's and Joash. For example, Jehoram was made a more evil king by expansions which contain stereotypical sins found in other parts of 1-2Kings, whereas his punishment is described in the most terrible terms that can be imagined. Since Jehoram was married to the daughter of Ahab, he must have committed the same sins as Ahab and must have been punished severely by Yahweh.

On the other hand, there are expansions where the source text had only a slight theological problem and a couple of words were added to improve the text. Such expansions are often found in texts which are otherwise followed rather closely, for example 2Kgs 8:19. The idea that Judah was saved because of David was changed so that the reason for saving Judah was ultimately the covenant that Yahweh had made with David. David's righteousness as the reason was changed to that of Yahweh, who kept his covenant. The idea in 2Kgs 8:19 that David's righteousness saved Judah seemed to have been problematic in the Chronicler's theology.

2Kgs 8:19	2Chr 21:7
וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחִית אֶת־יְהוּדָה לְמַעַן דָּוִד ~~עַבְדּוֹ~~	וְלֹא־אָבָה יְהוָה לְהַשְׁחִית אֶת־בֵּית דָּוִיד לְמַעַן הַבְּרִית אֲשֶׁר כָּרַת לְדָוִיד

Rewriting

There are many examples where the Chronicler rewrote the source text. In some cases he rewrote individual words only (e.g., 2Chr 23:8), whereas in others entire passages were rewritten to the extent that only some words of the source text were preserved (2Chr 24). When entire passages were rewritten, it is only the general theme, order of events and the occasional use of parallel words which reveal that 2Kgs was used as the starting point. This is the case for example in 2Chr 23:1-10 and 2Chr 24:1-27. In the latter passage, rewriting is much more extensive than in 23:1-10, where more of the older text was preserved.

The method and rules of rewriting are difficult to identify very exactly, but it seems probable that a major theological problem in the source text and especially in its general development of events seems to have been a reason for rewriting. Regarding the conservative attitude of the Chronicler in many passages to preserve the source text very carefully, it seems fair to assume that he would resort to rewriting only if the source contained too many theological problems that expansions only would not have solved the theological problems.

In view of what is usually assumed of the redactor's methods towards the source text, rewriting is clearly more common and extensive in Chronicles. If Chronicles is a witness to the editorial processes of Second Temple Judaism, much more radical reshaping of older traditions has to be assumed.

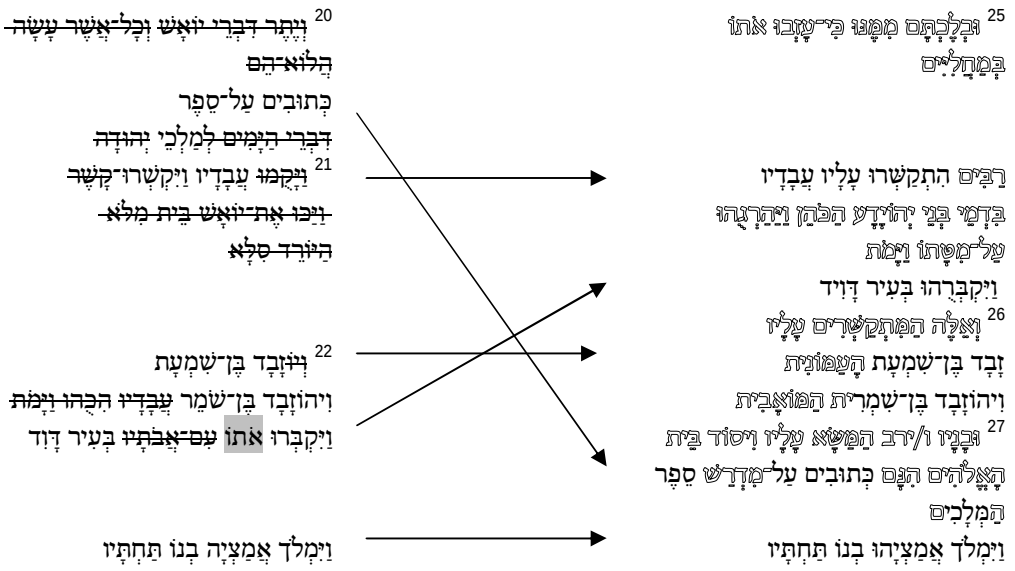
Omissions

The most radical changes to the source text were the omissions. Omissions are often connected to rewritings, but in a pure omission the text was completely left out without any parallel in the new composition. There are many possibilities look at the omissions. They range from the omissions of individual words (2Kgs 11:4 – 2Chr 23:1; 2Kgs 8:24 – 2Chr 21:20) to large omissions of entire passages. The clearest of large omissions is that of almost all stories concerning the Northern Kingdom. The history of what the Chronicler regarded as the apostate Israel was completely left out. One could characterize such omissions as intentional systemic omissions. On the other hand, there are omissions where the Chronicler did not agree with some detail, theme or course of events in the source text, and omitted it. For example, the robbing of the temple treasury was omitted as theologically problematical. The leading idea behind a text being omitted seems to be a theological difficulty. Most omissions can be connected to a contradiction with what is generally known about the Chronicler's theology.

Reorganization

The Chronicler also reorganized parts of the source text so that in his account the order of events may differ. However, in 2Chr 21-25//2Kgs 8-14 only a limited number of texts were relocated. 1Kgs 22:51 was located in a very different context than in 2Chr, but most of the material between 1Kgs 22:51 and 2Kgs 8:16 was omitted in the Chronicler's account in any case. In some cases, the relocation of texts is connected to a duplication of a text. 2Kgs 8:17 was duplicated so that it is found in 2Chr 21:5 and 21:20.

An illustrative example of a text where sentences were relocated is 2Kgs 12:20-22 vs. 2Chr 24:25-27. The example is partly disturbed by rewritings and omissions, but shows that the Chronicler did not shun from reorganizing the older text very freely if he deemed it theologically necessary.



Discussion

Although much of the text was radically changed, in most passages the Chronicler followed his source very closely. He could adopt the older text verse after verse without making any significant changes (2Chr 21:5-10a; 23:7-18). He is effectively copying much of the older text word-for-word. In these sections his method of using 1-2Kings does not differ from a copyist-editor, who made an occasional change, but who took almost every word from the source text. If one would only compare 2Kgs 8:17-22 and 2Chr 21:5-10, for example, one could easily be lead to assume that we are dealing with two only slightly deviating versions of the same composition.

In view of the passages where the source is followed very closely, the sudden change to radical rewritings and omissions may first seem surprising. It is as if a different mode was taken from one passage to another. One could even be led to assume that a different author took over. However, when the changes are seen in the light of the Chronicler's theology, it becomes clear that the changes were caused by theological or ideological problems in the source text. Theological interests and motives overran the Chronicler's otherwise conservative stand towards the source text. That the technique of using the source text could be changed by the same author because of theological reasons is significant. If one assumes that the Chronicler's position is representative of the ancient editors', redactors' or scribes' technique of

using the older text, one would have to take into consideration that scribes who used older sources may have been simultaneously conservative and free depending on the passage and themes that were being used.

One usually assumes that the redactors used the older text very carefully, but resorted to additions when it was theologically necessary. The Chronicler's position towards his source in 1-2Kings would be well in line with such an assumption (for example, 2Kgs 8:16-24 and 2Chr 21:1-20). In such passages, the Chronicler's ise of the source is very similar to what the view one has of the redactor's techniques. However, Chronicles shows that in some passages the text was changed more radically. The question is whether the Chronicler's occasionally radical use of the source is typical of redactions in the early Second Temple Period or whether the more traditional position where the source text was not changed is more probable. The problem with the latter position is that, to my knowledge, it has never been proven in scientific discussion or analysis, and it is not attested in texts where an author is using a source. The Chronicles therefore provides evidence to assume that radical changes have to be considered as a real and potential possibility when we consider the techniques of scribes who older sources to form a new composition and edition.

If the Chronicler is understood as a typical redactor, the implications of the empirical evidence for understanding the work of redactors in the Second Temple Judaism are significant. One usually assumes that the redactions did not rewrite and omit older texts and that they primarily edited it by expansions.[27] In view of the Chronicles, this position would be untenable and the pressure has recently increased from the observations made in many Qumranic texts. It is highly problematic that one has assumed *a priori* that expansions are the only method of reshaping older texts. It is not possible to discuss the reasons for this *a priori* assumption here, but if this position can be shown to be incorrect, the implications for understanding the birth of many texts in the Hebrew Bible are considerable. Especially problematical this is for traditional exegesis (Literary and redaction criticism), which is methodologically based on the assumption that the texts were only expanded.

[27] For example, Christoph Levin, *Das Alte Testament*, C. H. Beck: München, 2001, 25: "Es wurde in der Tat nichts davongetan: Der gegebene Text blieb in aller Regel unverändert und wurde jedenfalls nicht gekürzt; doch hinzugetan wurde laufend und in groβem Umfang." See also Christoph Levin, *The Old Testament*, Princeton University Press: Princeton & Oxford, 2005, 27: "until about the end of the Persian era … nothing was taken away. The given text remained unchanged; at least it was not abridged. Nevertheless it was continually added to, and extensively so." Levin's position is very typical although it is very difficult to find any references to this issue in traditional exegesis.