

Essays on
Ancient Israel
in Its
Near Eastern
Context

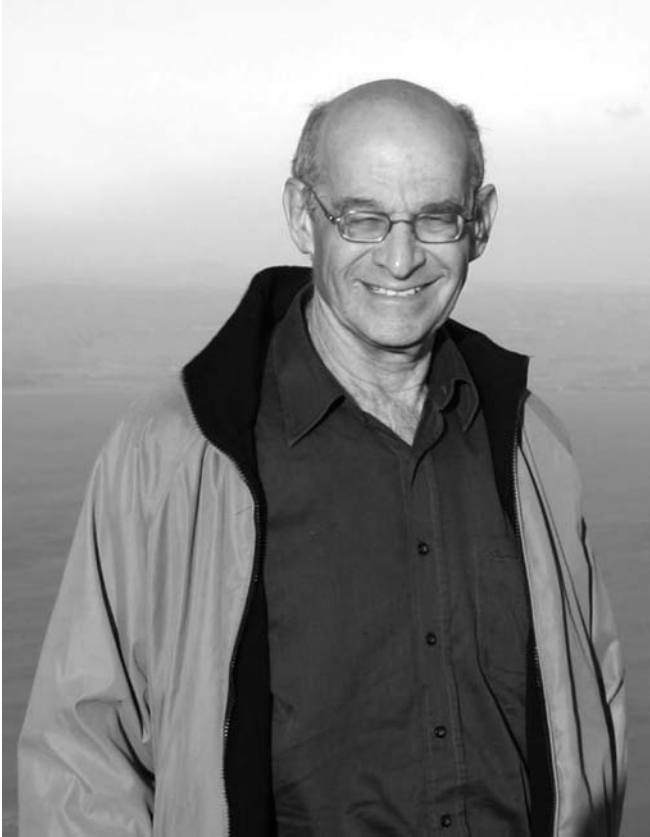
A Tribute to Nadav Na'aman



Edited by
Yairah Amit
Ehud Ben Zvi
Israel Finkelstein
Oded Lipschits



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Nadav Na'aman

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YAIRAH AMIT, EHUD BEN ZVI,
ISRAEL FINKELSTEIN, and ODED LIPSCHITS

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Preface

This book is dedicated to Nadav Na'aman, a man who is both generous (גִּדְיָהוּ) and steadfast (נֶאֱמָן). Thus, by happy coincidence, Nadav's own character embodies the very qualities implied by his name.

Nadav Na'aman was born in Jerusalem in 1939 and grew up at Kibbutz Kinneret in the Jordan Valley. The environment in which he was raised combined a broad intellectual vista along with the self-discipline of labor, a pioneer spirit as well as a love for the land of Israel that was directed toward establishing a just and egalitarian society. The values imbued by his parents, who chose kibbutz life as a means to realize the ideals of Socialist Zionism, shaped his character in both his personal life and his scholarly endeavors. Modest and unassuming, he is known to colleagues, students, and administrative staff alike as "Nadav"; just "Nadav."

After he completed his military service in the Golani Brigade (1957–60), Nadav returned to the kibbutz. There he worked in the dairy, and in his typically thorough fashion, knew each cow by name. Regardless of fatigue, he devoted his evenings to study for the matriculation certificate necessary for university admittance (1960–64). When the kibbutz general assembly refused his request for a study leave, he left the kibbutz in order to study at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem. Without support from the kibbutz, he divided his time between work and study and completed his bachelor's degree, with honors, in Archaeology and Jewish History (1964–67). He continued his studies with scholars such as Profs. Benjamin Mazar, Abraham Malamat, Yigael Yadin, and Yohanan Aharoni, and was awarded a master's degree, *summa cum laude*, in the History of the Jewish People in the Biblical Period in 1971. As a doctoral candidate, he began to specialize in Assyriology with Prof. Hayim Tadmor and served as an assistant in the Department for the History of the Jewish People, also at Hebrew University (1971–73). Nadav's pioneering spirit guided him to join the new Department of Archaeology and Ancient Near Eastern Studies at Tel Aviv University, and there he was awarded a Ph.D. in 1975 for his dissertation, *The Political Disposition and Historical Development of Eretz-Israel according to the Amarna Letters*, written under the guidance of Y. Aharoni and A. F. Rainey.

Nadav has spent his academic life at Tel Aviv University, where he serves to this day as Professor of Jewish History in the Biblical Period. The 30 years of his career have been dedicated to groundbreaking research, teaching, and

administrative duties. Since 2005, he has held the Kaplan Chair for the History of Egypt and Israel in Ancient Times.

Due to his unique proficiency in a broad spectrum of disciplines (history, archaeology, Assyriology, and biblical studies), along with his analytical skills and innovative thought, Nadav has been able to draw upon a wealth of sources and comparative data in order to pioneer new approaches to the discussion of history and historiography, justly earning him the position of one of the great historians of our time in the study of the biblical period. Nadav has penned hundreds of memorable articles and monographs—as can be seen from his list of publications—and presented the fruits of his scholarship at countless meetings and conferences. His work is characterized by a rare intellectual integrity, as demonstrated by his self-criticism, which he does not shirk from sharing with other readers. Always innovative but never trendy, Nadav shines out in the thorough research and carefully constructed arguments of his collected works. All his endeavors in all areas reflect his diligence, steadfast devotion, integrity, faithfulness, and modesty, as attested by his students and colleagues, who wrote and edited this volume in his honor.

This volume directly relates to some of Nadav's main research areas. It contains contributions on archaeology, ancient Near East (other than ancient Israel), Israel's ancient history and historiography, and biblical studies. Nadav's own writing has moved continuously from "area" to "area" (see his list of publications). It is characteristic of him to seek and recognize interconnections and implications for research. For him, these research topics were not hermetically sealed, totally compartmentalized areas. We, as editors, tried to reflect Nadav's attitude and resisted the common tendency to structure a book such as this one into disjointed, separate sections (for example, archaeology, biblical studies, and so on). Instead, without obliterating obvious differences—something that Nadav would never do—we wanted to keep an element of flow back and forth, of ripples in the never-calm ocean of research; consequently, we decided to present the essays in alphabetic order by contributors' names. We hope that the present structure conveys at least thematically some of the flavor of his scholarship.

On Cash-Boxes and Finding or Not Finding Books: Jehoash's and Josiah's Decisions to Repair the Temple

ODED LIPSCHITS
Tel Aviv University

Josiah's Commands about the Temple Renovation and the Finding of the Book of the Law

One of the main events in the history of the religion and cult of Judah, hence also in the shaping of the national consciousness and historical memory, took place in the 18th year of Josiah's reign. The Book of the Law was discovered in the course of renovations in the temple of Jerusalem (2 Kgs 22:8–10).¹ According to 2 Kings 22, which describes the main events that led to the discovery, Josiah initiated the process when he sent Shaphan the scribe to the temple with three simple instructions:

1. go to the temple to “count the silver that has been brought into the house of YHWH, which the keepers of the threshold have collected from the people” (v. 4);²
2. give the silver to the overseers who are responsible for the maintenance of the temple (“and let them deliver it into the hand of the workmen in charge of the house of the YHWH,” v. 5a; see Gray 1964: 587; Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 277, 282);

Author's note: I had the good fortune to be a student of Prof. Nadav Na'aman during the long years in which he became established not only as one of the leading Assyriologists and historians of the biblical period but also as a prominent scholar in biblical historiography. It is with great pleasure that I dedicate to my teacher, colleague, and friend this essay, which proceeds from one of his ideas, with a slightly different conclusion. Knowing Prof. Na'aman as I do, I have no doubt that he will like its slightly controversial nature.

1. This book was also called The Book of the Covenant (2 Kgs 23:2), This Book of the Covenant (23:21), and simply The Book (22:8, 16; 23:24) or This Book (22:13; 23:3). See pp. 241–243 below.

2. On the verb **סָפַר**, see the conclusion of Gray 1964: 657; and see the summary in Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 281, with bibliography.

3. deliver the silver to the skilled craftsmen who will carry out the repairs in the temple and buy the timber and hewn stone needed for the work (“and let them give it to the workmen of the house of YHWH, who are to repair the breaches of the house; to the carpenters, builders, and masons to buy timber and hewn stone to repair the house,” vv. 5b–6).

The king added one final command: “Note that the silver delivered to them is not to be accounted for, because they deal honestly” (v. 7).

The readers of the story do not know which if any of the king’s instructions were carried out, because immediately after these instructions the story moves on to what Hilkiyah said to Shaphan the scribe: “I have found The Book of the Law in the house of YHWH” (v. 8a). Then “Hilkiyah gave the book to Shaphan, and he read it” (v. 8b), after which Shaphan left to report to the king. According to his report, the king’s first two instructions were followed just as he had ordered: “Your servants have melted down the silver that was found in the house, and they have delivered it into the hands of the workmen in charge of the house of YHWH” (v. 9). Shaphan does not mention the implementation of the king’s third command, and from the literary point of view the author/editor of the book of Kings (Dtr¹)³ uses this literary device of command and implementation to emphasize the fact that The Book of the Law was found before any work in the temple actually began. The officials responsible for the work already had the silver, but they had not yet delivered it to the craftsmen, and they had not yet bought the timber and hewn stone.

The report of Shaphan to the King according to 2 Kgs 22:9	The instructions of the King according to 2 Kgs 22:4–6
<p style="text-align: center;">הַתִּיכּוֹ עֲבָדֶיךָ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּמְצָא בְּבַיִת</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">וַיִּתֶּם אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף הַמּוּבָא בֵּית־יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אָסְפוּ שְׂמֵרֵי הַסֵּף מֵאֵת הָעָם.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ עַל־יַד עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה הַמְּפַקְדִים בֵּית־יְהוָה.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ עַל־יַד עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה הַמְּפַקְדִים בֵּית־יְהוָה.</p>
	<p style="text-align: center;">וַיִּתְּנוּ אֹתוֹ לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה אֲשֶׁר בְּבַיִת יְהוָה לְחֹזֵק בְּדָק הַבַּיִת: לְחַרְשִׁים, וְלַבְּנִים וְלַגְּדָרִים וְלַקְּנוֹת עֲצִים וְאֲבָנֵי מַחְצָב לְחֹזֵק אֶת־הַבַּיִת.</p>

3. The term Dtr¹ is not wholly satisfactory, but I will use it here to refer to the author/editor of the Josianic version of the Deuteronomistic History (Cross’s Dtr¹).

Thus, The Book of the Law was not found during the repairs to the temple but during the preparations for the repairs, which the king had ordered. We know nothing about the actual renovation of the temple (Dietrich 1977: 22; Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 293), because the story moves on to describe the king's reaction to the contents of the book that was found in the temple: "When the king heard the words of The Book of the Law, he tore his clothes" (v. 11). At this point, the narrative proceeds very quickly to the cultic reform that was conducted in Judah and makes no further reference to the temple repairs. We assume that they were carried out as the king had ordered, but from the literary standpoint they were a device used by the Dtr as the starting point of this story (O'Brien 1989: 240–41; Brueggemann 2000: 544), which depicts the king as the person whose orders set off the process of renovation, the discovery of the book, and the cultic reform (Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 293; Nelson 1991: 145; O'Brien 1989: 238–39; Knoppers 1994: 132–33).

The Book That Was Found during the Temple Repairs

The book that was found in the temple is mentioned 11 times in 2 Kings 22–23. Its name in chap. 22 is The Book of the Law,⁴ and the emphasis is on its discovery in the temple. In chap. 23 the same book is called The Book of the Covenant,⁵ although the emphasis is likewise on its discovery in the temple, and it is clearly the same book. The unequivocal connection between the two different names can be found in 2 Kgs 23:24, which states that the purpose of Josiah's reform was "to fulfill the words of the law that were written in the book that Hilkiah the priest had found in the house of YHWH."

			2 Kgs
בְּבַיִת יְהוָה	מִצָּאתַי	סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה	22:8
		הַסֵּפֶר	
		סֵפֶר	22:10
		סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה	22:11
הַזֶּה	הַנִּמְצָא	הַסֵּפֶר	22:13
הַזֶּה		הַסֵּפֶר	
		הַסֵּפֶר	22:16
בְּבַיִת יְהוָה	הַנִּמְצָא	סֵפֶר הַבְּרִית	23:2
הַזֶּה		סֵפֶר הַזֶּה	23:3
הַזֶּה		וְסֵפֶר הַבְּרִית	23:21
בֵּית יְהוָה	חִלְקִיָּהוּ הַכֹּהֵן	הַסֵּפֶר אֲשֶׁר מָצָא	23:24
		הַכְּתוּבִים עַל-הַסֵּפֶר	
		דְּבַר יְהוָה הַבְּרִית הַזֹּאת	
		הַכְּתוּבִים עַל-הַסֵּפֶר	
		דְּבַר יְהוָה הַתּוֹרָה	

4. See O'Brien 1989: 204 for discussion of this title as coined by Dtr¹.

5. I accept Knoppers's suggestion that the term הַבְּרִית "reflects Dtr¹'s attempt to link Josiah's covenant and Passover with Sinaitic covenant" (Knoppers 1994: 131 n. 20).

This book as an actual סֵפֶר התּוֹרָה is mentioned in the Deuteronomistic literature only 15 other times (in one form with a few variations), and these 15 appearances are only in the books of Deuteronomy and Joshua (not including the late addition in 2 Kgs 14:6; compare 1 Kgs 2:3).⁶

עַל-סֵפֶר	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	וְכָתַב לּוֹ אֶת מִשְׁנֵה	Deut 17:18
	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	אֶת כָּל דְּבָרֵי	Deut 17:19
	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	כָּל דְּבָרֵי	Deut 28:58
	הַזֶּה	הַכְּתוּבִים בְּסֵפֶר	
	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	בְּסֵפֶר	Deut 28:61
	הַזֶּה	הַכְּתוּבָה בְּסֵפֶר	Deut 29:19
	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	הַכְּתוּבָה בְּסֵפֶר	Deut 29:20
	הַזֶּה	הַכְּתוּבָה בְּסֵפֶר	Deut 29:26
	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	הַכְּתוּבָה בְּסֵפֶר	Deut 30:10
עַל-סֵפֶר עַד הַתָּמָס	הַתּוֹרָה הַזֹּאת	אֶת דְּבָרֵי	Deut 31:24
	הַזֶּה	סֵפֶר	Deut 31:26
	מִלְשָׁה	כְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר	Josh 8:31
		הַכְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר	Josh 8:34
	מִלְשָׁה	הַכְּתוּב בְּסֵפֶר	Josh 23:6
	אֱלֹהִים	בְּסֵפֶר	Josh 24:26

The connection between the time of Josiah and the time of Moses and Joshua is stressed in 2 Kgs 23:22: “No such passover had been kept since the days of the judges who judged Israel, even during all the days of the kings of Israel and of the kings of Judah.” I will not discuss in this essay the view held by scholars since de Wette’s *Dissertatio Critica* (Jena, 1805), that the book found in the temple during Josiah’s reign was the book of Deuteronomy or an early form of it.⁷ It is clear, however, that from Dtr¹’s point of view this book had been hidden since the time of Moses and Joshua and was discovered in the temple

6. On the late addition of 2 Kgs 14:6 and its function in the Dtr History, see Noth 1943: 92. On 1 Kgs 2:3, see von Rad 1966: 268. See also the late insertions in: 1 Kgs 8:9; cf. 8:56; 2 Kgs 10:31; 17:34, 37; 21:8.

7. This assumption was so pervasive among scholars that Noth (1943: 92 n. 1) accepted it and decided not to deal with it again. Rowley (1963: 161) wrote: “That Josiah’s Law Book was Deuteronomy in some form, though not wholly identified with the present book of Deuteronomy, seems to be one of the most firmly established results of Old Testament scholarship.” For a summary of the various opinions before the 1960s, see Nicholson 1967: 1–7; see also Preuss 1982: 4–5; Würthwein 1984: 447; Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 294; Naʿaman 2002: 59–60. See also the recent volume on Josiah’s (and Manasseh’s) reigns: Grabbe 2005.

after a very long time (Lohfink 1987; Römer 1990: 319; 1997: 6–7). This was an ancient book that laid down the precepts that the people should obey. Its discovery frightened Josiah and prompted his decision to reform the cult. This passage led scholars to ask many questions, especially regarding the authenticity of “the book that was found,” its early form, its later additions, and the stages of its editing; the social classes, priests, scribes, and prophets who were behind the new reforms; and the ideological, social, political, and economic aims of the people and the connection between them and the king. But the focus of this essay is different; it deals with a very specific historiographical question: why, according to Dtr¹, was The Book of the Law not discovered during the temple repairs that were undertaken in the time of Jehoash?

There is no doubt that the author of the book of Kings was well aware of the great gap between the time when The Book of the Law was written and well known (that is, the days of Moses and Joshua, in his own story) and the time of its finding (the reign of Josiah), yet he simply avoided any reference to it during the intervening centuries. The discovery of ancient scrolls and documents in the course of temple renovations was a well-known phenomenon in the ancient Near East (Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 294; Römer 1997: 7–9, with bibliography), and it was also a common literary motif (Speyer 1970). But one problem troubled Dtr¹ from the historiographical point of view. Two hundred years before Josiah, Jehoash had ordered repairs to the temple. The author of the Josianic Deuteronomistic History (Dtr¹) was well aware of the connection between the two renovations. In fact, he created, used, and emphasized it for his purposes. Because of this, he could not avoid the question how it was possible that The Book of the Law was not discovered during similar repairs in Jehoash’s days. To address this question, we first must deal with a few aspects of Jehoash’s repairs and the sorts of data that Dtr¹ used as the basis of his report about them in the Josianic DH.

The Temple Repairs during the Reigns of Jehoash and Josiah

The preparations for the temple repairs under Jehoash, the method of collecting the silver, counting it, and distributing it to the officials and the craftsmen (according to 2 Kgs 12:10–17[9–16]), are identical to the orders given by Josiah to Shaphan the scribe (according to 22:3–7). The book of Kings, as it stands, leads us to believe that during the reign of Jehoash the old system of maintenance in the temple no longer worked (Montgomery 1951: 427–28; Wright 1989: 442–43); consequently, the king had to order a new system, which was still in effect during the reign of Josiah. In the 23rd year of his

reign,⁸ Jehoash saw that the orders were not being carried out and that the priests had failed to “repair the breaches of the house, wherever a breach [was] found” (2 Kgs 12:6[5]).⁹ The king’s solution was to devise a new system for collecting silver to repair the temple that would not be dependent on the priests from the fiscal and administrative standpoint but would be overseen by other officials. “The priests agreed not to take silver from the people or to make repairs to the house” (12:9[8]).

The new system, developed by Jehoiada the priest, following Jehoash’s orders, comprised four stages:

1. collecting the silver in a chest that was set beside the altar (12:10[9]);¹⁰
2. the counting (and probably also smelting) of the silver by the king’s scribe and the high priest (12:11[10]);¹¹
3. giving the silver to temple functionaries who were responsible for the maintenance of the temple (12:12a[11a]);¹²
4. delivering the silver to the skilled craftsmen who would actually carry out the renovation (12:12b–13aα[11b–12aα]) and pay for the timber and hewn stone needed for the work (12:13aβ–b[12aβ–b]).

To these instructions, the king attached only one condition: that none of the silver should be spent on ritual vessels (12:14[13]), “for that was given to the workmen who were repairing the house of YHWH with it” (12:15[14]).

8. I believe that this date was used by Dtr for historiographical reasons because of the need to link the temple repair with the military campaign of Hazael, king of Aram. See more on this below.

9. On the structure of the story (with bibliography), see the discussion in Dutcher-Walls 1996: 52–54; and compare with Raviv 1983: 321; Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 140; Brueggemann 2000: 420–21.

10. On the function of this chest for collecting contributions from the general population, see Torrey 1936: 247–60; 1943: 295–301; Eissfeldt 1937: 163–64; Oppenheim 1947: 116–18; Hurowitz 1986: 289. On alternative solutions for the place of the chest, based on the LXX versions, see Burney 1903: 314–15; Montgomery 1951: 429, 432; Gray 1964: 528 note e; see also the solution suggested by Cogan and Tadmor (1988: 138), who note that the MT is attested by all versions; they reconstruct a system in which the worshipers gave donations to the doorkeepers, who placed it in the chest, near the altar. See also Dutcher-Walls 1996: 55–56. In Babylonian temples, the collection box was placed near the gate (Oppenheim 1947: 117–18).

11. On the possibility of the existence of a smelter in the temple, see Oppenheim 1947: 117 (with regard to temples in the Neo-Babylonian period); see Eissfeldt (1937: 163–64) and Delcor (1962: 372–77) on the possibility of the same practice in the temple of Jerusalem. See also Joachin Schaper 1995.

12. Compare with Gray 1964: 587; Dutcher-Walls 1996: 57.

This was the system still in use during the days of Josiah, as we see in the table below, which reveals the literary similarities between 2 Kings 12 and 2 Kings 22:

The System during the Time of Jehoash (2 Kings 12:10–16[9–15])	The System during the Time of Josiah (2 Kings 22:3–8)
<p>וַיִּקַּח יְהוֹאָחַז הַכֹּהֵן אֶרְוֹן אֶחָד וַיִּקַּב חֹר בְּדָלְתוֹ וַיִּתֵּן אֹתוֹ אֶצֶל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בַּיָּמִין בְּבוֹא־אִישׁ בֵּית יְהוָה וַנִּתְנוּ שְׁמֵהּ הַכֹּהֲנִים שֹׁמְרֵי הַסֵּף אֵת כָּל הַכֶּסֶף הַמּוּבָא בֵּית יְהוָה. וַיְהִי כִּרְאוֹתָם כִּי־רַב הַכֶּסֶף בְּאֶרְוֹן וַיַּעַל סֹפֵר הַמֶּלֶךְ וַהֲכִיחַ הַגָּדוֹל וַיִּצְרוּ וַיִּמְנוּ אֵת־הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּמְצָא בֵּית יְהוָה. וַנִּתְנוּ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף הַמֵּתָכֵן עַל־יְדֵי עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה הַמְּפָקְדִים בֵּית יְהוָה וַיִּוְצִיאוּהוּ לְתַרְשִׁים הַעֵץ וְלַבָּנִים הַעֹשִׂים בֵּית יְהוָה. וְלַגָּדְרִים וְלַחֲצֵבֵי הָאֶבֶן וְלַקְּנוֹת עֲצִים וְאֲבָנֵי מַחְצָב לְחֻזַּק אֶת־בֵּדֶק בֵּית יְהוָה וְלִכְלֹל אֲשֶׁר־יֵצֵא עַל־הַבַּיִת לְחֻזְקָה. אֲדָּךְ לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה בֵּית יְהוָה סְפוֹת כֶּסֶף מְזֻמְרוֹת מִזְרְקוֹת חֲצֻצְרוֹת כָּל־כְּלֵי זָהָב וְכָל־כֶּסֶף מִן־הַכֶּסֶף הַמּוּבָא בֵּית יְהוָה. כִּי־לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה יִתְּנוּהוּ וְחֻזְקוֹ כֹּו אֶת־בֵּית יְהוָה. וְלֹא יִחְשְׁבוּ אֶת־הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר יִתְּנוּ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף עַל־יָדָם לְתֵת לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה כִּי בְּאִמּוֹנָה הֵם עֹשִׂים.</p>	<p>וַיְהִי בְשִׁמְנֵה עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה לְמֶלֶךְ יֹאשָׁהוּ שָׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־שֹׁפָן בֶּן־אֶצְלָהוּ בֶן־מִשְׁלֵם הַסֹּפֵר בֵּית יְהוָה לֵאמֹר עֲלֵה אֶל חִלְקִיָּהוּ הַכֹּהֵן הַגָּדוֹל וַיִּתֵּם אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף הַמּוּבָא בֵּית יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר אֶסְפוּ שֹׁמְרֵי הַסֵּף מֵאֵת הָעָם. וַיִּתְּנוּהוּ עַל־יַד עֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה הַמְּפָקְדִים בֵּית יְהוָה וַיִּתְּנוּ אֹתוֹ לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית יְהוָה לְחֻזַּק בְּדֶק הַבַּיִת לְתַרְשִׁים וְלַבָּנִים וְלַגָּדְרִים וְלַקְּנוֹת עֲצִים וְאֲבָנֵי מַחְצָב לְחֻזַּק אֶת־הַבַּיִת. וַיִּתְּנוּ אֹתוֹ לְעֹשֵׂי הַמְּלָאכָה אֲשֶׁר בְּבֵית יְהוָה לְחֻזַּק בְּדֶק הַבַּיִת. אֲדָּךְ לֹא־יִחְשְׁב אֹתָם הַכֶּסֶף הַנִּתֵּן עַל־יָדָם כִּי בְּאִמּוֹנָה הֵם עֹשִׂים.</p>

There are conflicting opinions on the origin of this description and the connection between the two versions of it.¹³ Most scholars have not accepted the positions of Hoffmann (1980: 122–23) and Würthwein (1984: 354–57), who ascribed the two passages to the early Second Temple Period, because of the presence of late expressions and titles, especially **כֶּסֶף הַקְּדָשִׁים** (12:5[4]), **הַכֶּהֵן**, **הַגְּדֹל** (v. 11[10]; see Morgenstern 1938; however, see Gabriel 1933: 2–3), the list of cultic utensils (v. 14[13]), and the description of offerings (v. 17[16]; compare with O'Brien 1989: 241–42). Late expressions and titles are usually understood to be late additions to the text and are explained in terms of an editorial process (compare with Montgomery 1951: 429–30; Spieckermann 1982: 180 n. 49, 183 n. 56, 415; Gray 1964: 587). Most scholars consider 2 Kings 12 and 22 to be an authentic testimony to the ancient administrative and economic reality in the temple from the reign of Jehoash through the reign of Josiah.¹⁴

The description of the temple repairs in Josiah's reign has the ring of originality (see the claims of Stade 1885: 290–95) according to Burney (1903: 355–56), Gray (1964: 531, 650, 656), Spieckermann (1982: 48–53, 179–82), Levin (1984: 355 n. 14), and Lohfink (1987: 473 n. 29). But what about the temple repairs in the days of Jehoash? Spieckermann has maintained that the verses in chap. 12 that parallel the verses in chap. 22 (12:5aβ–b, 10, 12–13, 16) were the work of later Dtr redaction. This view is unconvincing (see O'Brien 1989: 241), and in fact most scholars support the opposite position. According to them, the description of the temple repairs under Josiah was based on the description of the renovation under Jehoash (Dietrich 1977: 22–25; Hoffmann 1980: 192–97; Würthwein 1984: 357–58; O'Brien 1989: 241; Fritz 2003: 397–98; Minette de Tillesse 1993: 355–59; Barrick 2002: 121), or at least was influenced by it (Montgomery 1951: 427). These scholars assume that 2 Kings 12 was originally based on a history of the temple (Wellhausen 1878: 257–58; Benzinger 1899: 158–59; Pfeiffer 1941: 401–2) or The Book of the Chronicles of the Kings of Judah (Noth 1943: 65–66; Eissfeldt 1965: 50, 298–99) or documents from the temple archive that were edited by a court historian and integrated into the text by Dtr (Šanda 1912: 148–49; Montgomery 1951: 37–38; Hobbs 1985: 148). Knoppers (1994: 132–33; in some respects, based on Stade 1885; 1886) has argued that Jehoash's commands regarding temple re-

13. I am not dealing here with the various assumptions about the history of each description. There are many different views on this (especially about chap. 22); see, e.g., Dietrich 1977: 18–27; Spieckermann 1982: 46–71; Levin 1984: 363; Würthwein 1984: 445–66; O'Brien 1989: 238–43; McKenzie 1991: 110–12.

14. For bibliography, see Eynikel 1996: 188–91. However, see the reservations brought up by Hurowitz 1986: 290–91 n. 5.

pairs were copied into the description of Josiah's reign as support for its primary theme, which was the discovery of the book and the reform that followed.

Na'aman's position (1998: 337–40; 2002: 94–95) continues in this direction in some respects. He proposes that the detailed description of the temple repairs under Jehoash and the shorter description of the repairs under Josiah were written by the same author at the same time, with the first serving as background for the second, abridged account. According to him, from a historiographical point of view Jehoash's regulations were conceived as being in force until the time of Josiah, and the author was not repeating but was continuing from that point, assuming that the readers had the account of Jehoash in mind.

According to Na'aman, these descriptions, especially the more detailed account in chap. 12, are exceptional in three ways: (1) they concentrate on a building project, (2) they contain unique expressions, and (3) they disclose specific dates. He concludes that these features support the notion that the author composed this section on the basis of an original royal building inscription.¹⁵ In his view, the detailed description of the reign of Jehoash is the background for renovation under Josiah. Thus the book of Kings reflects a historical reality, in which the system for repairs put in place during the reign of Jehoash was still the standard system under Josiah. Chapter 22 was not a copy of chap. 12; however, the descriptions of the renovations are similar because the systems were the same.

I agree with Na'aman's basic assumptions. I believe that the Deuteronomist and his readers in the time of Josiah (Dtr¹)¹⁶ knew that the administrative system of collecting silver for temple repairs was established by Jehoash. I find it harder to accept that the description of Jehoash's repairs in 2 Kings 12 was based on a royal building inscription, considering that there is no reference to building activities (which was surely an essential element in any building inscription). The description of the temple repairs under Jehoash focuses *only* on the administrative and fiscal system: how to collect the silver for the renovations; who was responsible for it; how to count the silver; and how to use it. These matters are not included in royal building inscriptions. Many scholars assume that this description was based on a history of the temple or on documents from the temple archive (see above, p. 246; their assumption is based on this very pericope). Furthermore, according to 2 Kings 12, the king gave only

15. See Parker 2000 for a general criticism of the idea that the authors of Kings used royal inscriptions. See also below, pp. 248–249.

16. It is hard to accept the attempt of Barrick (2002: 126–29) to date the writing of this story to the time of Jehoiakim's regime. There are no real grounds for this dating.

a general order; it was Jehoiada, *the priest*, who actually devised the system.¹⁷ A careful reading of this passage suggests that there were no additional details—beyond the existence of the chest, its location, the system it was part of, and the connection of this system with Jehoash—that had been lost or forgotten in the time of Josiah, when the same system was still in place.

Thus it seems that the chest that stood beside the altar, “on the right side as one enters the house of YHWH” (2 Kgs 12:10[9]),¹⁸ was the basis of the description and the reason for familiarity with the system established by Jehoash. The chest was the only tangible item connected to Jehoash’s system that was still in use in the reign of Josiah. There is no need to speculate about a royal building inscription. The existence and significance of the chest (as in the temples of Babylonia), its ongoing use, the continuous presence of temple officials who operated this system, and the actual knowledge about it during the reign of Josiah are sufficient as a source for the unique description and expressions used by Dtr.

Moreover, the chest was known to Dtr¹ and his readers in Jerusalem at the end of the First Temple Period. All the people who came to Jerusalem regularly knew this chest, as well as its function, where it was kept, who the officials were who collected the silver, and the procedure for counting, smelting, and reusing the silver for ongoing repairs at the temple. A similar distinctive “collection box” is described in Babylonian and Assyrian documents (see Hurowitz 1986), which note its prominence, easily visible to people who came to the temple, and that fiscal procedures ascribed to the remote past were connected with it. Another reason that the Josianic Dtr emphasizes Jehoash’s role and links Jehoash with Josiah is that Jehoash was the king in whose time the collections-for-renovation system was first put in place; because of this system, eventually The Book of the Law was discovered. This way of describing the events served two purposes: (1) this was the history that Dtr¹ and all his readers knew, and it was supported by administrative and fiscal precedent; and (2) it created historiographical support for his description of Josiah’s reform.

17. On the place of this description in the Deuteronomistic History and the emphasis on the cooperation between the king and the priest, see Nelson 1991: 145–47. On the parallel management of temples in Assyria and Babylonia by royal and clerical authorities together, see Hurowitz 1986.

18. For alternative views about the location of this chest, see above, n. 8. On parallel uses of a donation box of this sort (Babylonian *quppu* or *aranmu*) in Babylonian temples for collecting contributions for the maintenance of the temple, see Oppenheim 1947: 117–18; Hurowitz 1986: 291–93.

Historiographical support is also the reason that a few expressions are unique to 2 Kings 12 and 22. Some of these unique expressions are found only in 2 Kings 12 and do not appear elsewhere, even in chap. 22 (אַרְוֹן in the sense of ‘cash box’ or ‘collection box’; see Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 138); some appear in a different, more-common phrase in chap. 22 (וַיִּצְרְרוּ וַיִּמְנוּ in 12:11[10] as compared with וַיִּתְּמוּ in 22:4; and the unique use of the verb וַיִּצְיֵאֻהוּ in 12:12[11] in the sense of ‘paying’, as opposed to the more common use of the verb וַיִּתְּנוּ in 22:5; see Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 139); and some appear exclusively in these two passages (הַכְּהֹנִים שֹׁמְרֵי הַסֵּף; see Jer 52:24; see Cogan and Tadmor 1988: 138 with further literature).¹⁹

*Why the Book of the Law Was Not Discovered
during the Temple Repairs of Jehoash*

Dtr¹ was responsible for the two descriptions of the temple repairs, under Jehoash and under Josiah. According to Dtr¹, both kings gave the same orders, and the same system was operational during both reigns (Na’aman 1998: 339). The way he wrote his descriptions of the repairs suggests that he was aware of a problem they created. Readers were bound to ask why The Book of the Law was not found during the temple renovations under Jehoash. Dtr¹ therefore ensured that the answer to this problem was embedded in the texts, by making a clear distinction between the two periods.

The focus of the description of Jehoash’s reign is the creation of the system, the formation of new procedures, and nothing more. This passage deals *only* with the fiscal system: how to collect the silver, how to weigh it, how to deliver it to the officials and then to the craftsmen. Significantly, it goes no further, especially not to actual temple repairs. This narrow portrayal suited Dtr¹’s literary and ideological objectives but conflicted with the historical reality of Jehoash’s days, which probably entailed a building and renovation project launched by the king as the new fiscal system was being established (or perhaps, after the new fiscal system was established).

Grammatical and linguistic considerations support this understanding. There is a clear contrast between the description of the actions taken by Jehoiada (2 Kgs 12:10a[9a], “then Jehoiada the priest took a chest, bored a hole in the lid, and set it beside the altar on the right side as one entered the house of YHWH”) and the list of verbs in infinitive-construct form that immediately follow (vv. 10b–11[9b–10], “and the priests who were keepers of the threshold

19. On the unique expressions in 12:5–9 and in the parallel verses in chap. 22, see also Long 1991: 162; Na’aman 1998: 339 (with further literature).

would put all the silver in it that was brought into the house of YHWH. Whenever they saw that there was a great deal of silver in the chest, the king's scribe and the high priest would come up and count the silver found in the house of YHWH and would tie it up in bags"). One describes only the formation of the new system, and the other describes repeated or customary action (Long 1991: 159; Nelson 1991: 145; Dutcher-Walls 1996: 56). This contrast was Dtr¹'s principal literary device for linking the reigns of Jehoash and Josiah, while stressing that no actual restoration had been done under Jehoash. There is only a description of the system; we are told nothing about actual repairs carried out in the temple. The passage tells us only how the system was meant to work and did work from that time on.

The historical sequence that arises from the narrative is as follows: the chest was installed in the temple in the 23rd year of Jehoash, and the system of collecting silver for temple repairs was established. Nothing more was done at that time. During the reign of Josiah, the system was widely known, and the association with the reign of Jehoash was clear. Dtr¹ needed only to refer briefly to the fiscal aspect of the system to provide a context for Josiah's orders, and then he could focus on the resulting event. This was the background for the finding of the book.

The fact that there was a gap in time of nearly 200 years between the formation of the system and its actual implementation during the reign of Josiah was not relevant. This was Dtr¹'s literary and historiographical device, as we all know. It enabled him to focus on one year or even one event or issue (a sin, or its opposite, a cultic reform) out of the many other events that must have occurred in the intervening years. In some cases, Dtr simply ignored events that were not compatible with his religious and national ideology or with his historiographical purposes.

To stress the fact that nothing was done in the temple in Joash's reign except create a fiscal system, Dtr¹ used another established literary technique, which was to create a suggestive juxtaposition. Thus, he interpolated the military campaign of Hazael, king of Aram, into the very year in which Jehoash initiated the new system to pay for repairs in the temple. Hazael "fought against Gath, and took it . . . set his face to go up against Jerusalem" (2 Kgs 12:18[17]). Rabinowitz (1984: 62; in contrast, Long 1991: 159) concluded that the editorial conjunction וְכִי was meant to link the collection of the silver for the temple repairs with the fact that "Jehoash king of Judah took all the hallowed things that Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah, his fathers, kings of Judah, had dedicated, as well as his own hallowed things and all the gold found in the treasuries of the house of YHWH and in the king's house and sent (them) to Hazael, king of Aram. Then he withdrew from Jerusalem" (2 Kgs 12:19[18]). Although Dtr did not mention the silver that was collected for the temple repair as being part

of the payment to Hazael, by combining the two stories and assigning them to the same year he established that in Jehoash's time no actual work was done besides creating a system for collecting silver. This is another reason why The Book of the Law was not found at that time.

Summary

The hypothesis of this essay is that Dtr¹ knew about the administrative, fiscal system of collecting silver for the temple repairs, not from a written source but from the presence of the commonly known chest that stood in the temple beside the altar. The presence and the importance of the chest, its permanence, and the existence of temple officials responsible for its use were common knowledge during Josiah's reign and were the source of Dtr¹'s description of the events during Jehoash's reign. Dtr¹ used the contemporary practice of his day to project into the past, probably because tradition connected this chest and its finances with the reign of Jehoash. It also appears that Dtr knew no additional details.

For historiographical reasons, Dtr¹ needed to ascribe the chest to Jehoash, so that he could use the story as a point of departure for the finding of the book and the ensuing cultic reform. This is another reason that the tradition of the origins of the system is probably reliable. I find it hard to believe that Dtr¹ would have dared to base his story on anything but a well-known, familiar fact. In any case, his aim was not to describe temple repairs; indeed, there is no explicit reference anywhere in the book of Kings to actual repairs or renovations in the temple. The subject does not seem to have interested Dtr¹ except as a literary hook to the story of the finding of the book and the ensuing cultic reform. For this reason, the timing of the book's discovery was after the royal commands and early preparations but before any work in the temple actually began.

The final point of this essay is that Dtr¹ was the one who created the link between the commands and preparations of Jehoash and Josiah prior to beginning any actual temple repairs. Apparently, however, he was concerned that this close connection between the two descriptions would prompt the audience to question how it was possible that The Book of the Law was not found under Jehoash. He therefore incorporated the answer by means of grammatical, linguistic, historical, and literary subtleties.

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