

THE HISTORY OF CHRONICLES AS AN EDITORIAL WORKS: Editorial analysis of the Book of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah

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ABSTRACT

The books of Chronicles (1 and 2 Chronicle), Ezra and Nehemiah usually been understood as three separate books, written by different authors. But lately The Old Testament experts claim, that these three books were written in a school called Historical Work of Chronicles or "HWC. There are two groups of experts on HWC, namely the first group states that HWC was written in one period by this school, and the second group HWC was written stages and different times (separated by a long period of time) but having the same point of view. This article uses an exegetical study method with an editor-critical approach. The aim of this is to demonstrate the viewpoint of evidence above, that there is a multi-layered editorial process that shows the process of the Chronic Historical Work (which will then be abbreviated as HWC) and message meaning from the editor.

Keywords: Redaction, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah

INTRODUCTION

Seeing the development of theological knowledge at the present time provides a wealth of theology and gives a richer meaning, as in the writing of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. Menahem Haran and Albright view that the authorship of these books is a single authorship.¹ While some theologians such as Gertz² and Kratz³ admit that the books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were written by two or more authors. It is important to know because it has an impact on the theological meaning conveyed by the authors to the readers of these books. By knowing this theological meaning, the readers capture and live the message that God conveys to the readers (people) through the editor.

The history, literature, and theology in Chronicles present a new way of approaching this key biblical text, arguing that it uses various viewpoints and past knowledge held by its intended readers to reshape social memory and strengthen God's authority. The book of Chronicles communicates to the intended reader a theological worldview built around multiple partial perspectives that inform and balance one another. It is a worldview that emphasizes the limitations of all human knowledge, even theologically "correct" knowledge.⁴

¹ W.F. Albright, *The Date and Personality of The Chronicler*, *Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol.40, No. 3/4 (1921), 120; Menahem Haran. "Explaining the Identical Lines at the End of Chronicles and the Beginning of Ezra," *Bible Review* Vol.2, (Fall 1986), a3. <https://www.baslibrary.org/bible-review/2/3/6>.

² Jan Christian Gertz (Ed.), *Grundinformation Altes Testament* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 505.

³ Reinhard G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Buecher des Alten Testaments* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 94-98.

⁴ Ehud Ben Zvi. *History, Literature and Theology in the Book of Chronicles*. (Oxfordshire, England: Routledge, 2006).

The books of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah known as different works and written by different persons. However, the Old Testament experts today consider that these three books are continuous books written in a colossal work or grand historical work in a school (*mazhab*), which is "The Historical Work of Chronicles" or in German is called *Chronistisches Geschichtswerk*. This article has the consequence, that these three books compose a unity of works, with a point of view or *Weltanschauung* that certainly different from the point of view of the Deuteronomistic Historical Work as well as the Priest Historical Work or Priesthood.

Though they agreed on the thesis "The Work of History," experts are divided into two major views: (a) experts who believe that these three books were written in an orderly period of life when a part of the Jews returned from exile, specifically in the late Persian period; and (b) experts who state that The Historical Work of Chronicles were written in different periods of time, by stages, by different authors, but had the same point of view. This article will show the evidence of (b) above, that there is a multi-layered editorial process that shows the process of the Historical Works of Chronicles (which will then be abbreviated as HWC).

METHODS

This essay uses a biblical exegesis study method with an editorial criticism approach. The flow of this method and approach is: first, the author analyzes the writer of Chronicles as an editor by describing the single author's thesis and editorial thesis; second, the author describes two opinions in the editorial of the book of Chronicles: two editorial levels and four editorial levels; and finally, the author provides an analysis of both opinions and gives a conclusion.

CHRONICLES WRITER AS A REDACTOR: AN EDITORIAL ANALYSIS

The authors of the Book of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah, cannot be known with certainty, because in the Book of Chronicles, it is not mentioned who the author was. There are various views and speculations about the writer or who composed these books.⁵ Many interpreters provide estimations since finding the author of these books is important for interpretation. However, no one can be sure who the real author was, and so they cannot meet the agreement.

The importance is that many experts think that there is a unity between the books of 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah. These books are composed of three or four books that are combined into a single unit because experts see a continuous structural unity⁶ even though few have encountered the conclusion of the unity. However, the experts do not agree on who composed the books. There are two major views in terms of the problem of the composition of these books. First, the view that assumes these books were composed by one author/editor (*a single author*). Second, the view that assumes that these books were the result of composition of many editors from a school which is called the Chronicles authors school (*Chronistische Geschichtschreibung / The Historical Writing of Chronicles*).⁷

Single Author's Thesis

Experts in this side argue that the Book of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah was written by one author (Single Author's Thesis), because according to them there was a unity of ideas and views in the three books. In addition, there was a historical sequence from creation to the returned from exile. So, they

⁵ See for example Winfried Corduan, *I & II Chronicles*, Holman Old Testament Commentary (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2004), 3.

⁶ See also Greg Goswell, Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place. *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society*, Vol.60, No 2 (Jun 2017), 293-298.

⁷ Or Hill call it as a compilation of several books. See Andrew E. Hill, *1 & 2 Chronicles* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2013), 41.

conclude that these three books were written by one same person (there was only one main idea). In Jewish tradition, the Babylonian Talmud: Baba Bathra Folio 15a, it was stated that Ezra was the Author of the Book of Chronicles.⁸ For this reason, in Jewish tradition Ezra was called "Ezra, the author" or "Ezra, the Chronicle writer." According to the Apocrypha, 2 Maccabees 2:13 says: "Apart from what is told in the manuscripts and in the memorial book of Nehemiah (*Nehemiah Memoar / Nehemiah Denkschrift*), Nehemiah had compiled a library by collecting various books about the kings and prophets (David's writings and letters of the kings regarding donations: voluntary donations." Ancient tradition also said that Nehemiah, during his time as governor, established a library in Jerusalem which contained many documents from kings and prophets. As a spiritual leader, Ezra was given the right to use all the documents that were available in compiling Chronicles.⁹

Among modern researchers, there are some who have a thesis that almost same as the view of this early Jewish tradition. According to Zunz's thesis in 1832, both the Book of Chronicles and the Book of Ezra - Nehemiah were one whole corpus that came from an author who could be called "Chronicles writer." However, Zunz did not identify the author of this unitary book as Ezra, but rather simply called "Chronicles writer" only.¹⁰

A modern interpreter after Zunz, William Foxwell Albright is the one who concluded that the author of these books was Ezra. He based his view on the traditional Jewish opinion.¹¹ One modern German interpreter who maintains the unity of the Books was written by Ezra is Eichhorn,¹² and for North American interpreters is Hill & Walton.¹³

Editorial Thesis

⁸ See Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, Old Testament Library (OTL), (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993), 2. Regarding the view of Ezra as the writer of the Chronicles tradition, Corduan said: "There was a strong ancient tradition that the priest Ezra wrote the books of Chronicles – not a bad start, though not definitive." Winfried Corduan, *I & II Chronicles*, Holman Old Testament Commentary (Nashville: Broadman & Holman Publishers, 2004), 3. Corduan provides evidence of Ezra's authorship status: 1. The last two verses of Chronicles (2 Chr. 36:22-23) are identical to Ezra 1:2b-3a). ... 2. In style and subject matter, Chronicles and Ezra are identical. ... 3. Given profound focus of Chronicles on the temple and the priesthood, one might expect the author was a priest. This holds true for Ezra (Ezr 7:1-6). 4. The nature of the project demanded that the person who wrote Chronicles had knowledge and access to the written sources. The person who wrote 1 and 2 Chronicles reminds us that he had access to official royal records. One might expect a man of Ezra's status to have this background, but there is more to go on ... 5. The author of 1 & 2 Chronicles must have been in a prominent position of leadership. ..." Corduan, 3. Then Corduan concluded: "Thus there is good reason to believe that Ezra was the author of 1 and 2 Chronicles." Corduan, 4. However, the author does not agree with Corduan's opinion, because there is indeed a unity of thought in the writings of this Chronicles, but at the same time there can also be found clear discrepancies in these books, so it is not possible to be written by just one person. Moreover, these discrepancies prove that each part was written in different eras, and that some even have the context of the end of the Old Testament, so Ezra could not have written these books.

⁹ Zunz's view is extracted from Japhet's book, *I & II Chronicles*, 3.

¹⁰ Agus Santoso, "Perceraian dalam Tradisi Tawarikh dan Tandingannya", in *Perceraian di Persimpangan Jalan* (Jakarta: BPK Gunung Mulia, 2015), 102.

¹¹ W.F. Albright, *The Date and Personality of The Chronicler*, 120.

¹² Johann G. Eichhorn, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Vol.2* (Leipzig: Weidmann, 1830), 579-601.

¹³ Hill and Walton say that for the present time most Old Testament scholars recognize the unity of Books 1 and 2 Chronicles, but separate them from Ezra and Nehemiah because they find differences in themes such as not mentioning the Messiah came from David's descendants, the "second output" tone, and the "pan Israel" emphasized in Ezra and Nehemiah. It turns out that the relationship between the authors of the Book of Chronicles with the books of Ezra and Nehemiah is uncertain. Thus the best way is to recognize the Book of Chronicles as a unified work written by an unknown Chronicle Author. It is possible that the writer was a priest or Levite who served in the Temple, because the writer understood and paid attention to the Temple in Jerusalem, to the priests and Levites who served in the Temple. Andrew E. Hill & John H. Watlton, *A Survey of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2000), 348.

In 1930 Gerhard Von Rad developed Zunz's thesis with the opinion that 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were a unitary work called Chronicles works (*Chronistischen Werk*). Noth (1943) and Rudolph (1955) supported Von Rad thesis with the conclusion that 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were colossal works called Historical Works of Chronicles / HWC (*Chronistischen Geschichtswerk*). The thesis that modern interpreters convey are based on the similarity of theology and language between Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.¹⁴ A striking sign of unity is found in the similarity (or slightly edited) between 2 Chronicles 36: 22-23 and Ezra 1: 1-3.¹⁵ According to Japhet, the Books of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah are two different works written by two different authors. On the one hand, The Book of Chronicles is more traditional than the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah in historical writing and continues to keep the literary tradition of early biblical historiography, especially Deuteronomics.¹⁶ Gerhard Von Rad started the era of editorial thesis for the interpretation of the Chronicles tradition.

On the progress of study, there is an opinion of experts who hold that the Book of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah was not written by an author, as stated by the tradition that Ezra is the sole author of Books 1 & 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. These experts argue that the Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were written by several people who came from the same *circle or school* and are referred as Historical Work of Chronicles (HWC). It is certain that each of these writers wrote at a different time, so that the occurrence of these three books were in layers. Meaning the work was written by the first author, edited by the second author, and the second author's work was edited by the third author, and so forth.¹⁷ Though it was edited by different people from different eras, the editorial work of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were carried out by several editors from the same ideology (Editorial Thesis) referred as Chronicles (German: *Chronistisch*). Barnabas Ludji called it Muwarikh / Chronicles / Kronist / Priest.¹⁸ Since the author is not an individual, but a number of very large experts, Brueggemann & Linafelt call it as "*Grand Opera*".¹⁹ The illustration of "*opera*" used in terms these writers sing with different voices, yet one entity in a way to form a beautiful harmonious unity. According to Brueggemann, this book is a grand composition of each writer and editor who lived at different times, not knowing each other, with different voices, but they became a one whole inseparable to each other (German: *Einheitlichkeit in Vielfaltigkeit* or "Unity in Diversity").

I agree with the second opinion, where the Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah were not written by one person, identified to someone named Ezra, but by many people who formed a unity (*Einheitlichkeit in Vielfaltigkeit*). This matter, the author based his opinion on the following arguments:

First, several different sources from Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. Chronicles extends from Genesis to King Cyrus' decree; while Ezra and Nehemiah continued the history of Israel (Judah) during Cyrus' reign and subsequently, concerning the role of Ezra and Nehemiah in the exile of the people.²⁰ Thus not all the material in Chronicles was written by Ezra. For example the source of *Deuteronomistic History*, written in the Book of 2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings and records from the Torah kept by the priests (*Priestly Source*). The genealogy is written in 1 Chronicles 1–9. It is possible that the writer took it from the Torah, as well as the Book of Joshua and others. In the Book of Chronicles, we find several quotations from the Psalms, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel. However, there are writings in the Book of Chronicles where the source is no longer found at this time, as written in 2 Chronicles 9:29 mentioned sources "The Book of Solomon History" (Acts of Solomon), also the records of a number of unknown prophets, such as

¹⁴ Sara Japhet, "*The Supposed Common Authorship of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah Investigated Anew*", VT 18 (1968), 332-372.

¹⁵ Santoso, *Perceraian*, 102-103.

¹⁶ Japhet, *I & II Chronicle*, 4.

¹⁷ Santoso, *Perceraian*, 103.

¹⁸ Barnabas Ludji, *Pemahaman Dasar Perjanjian Lama 1* (Bandung: Bina Media Informasi, 2019), 185.

¹⁹ Walter Brueggemann & Tod Linafelt, *Introduction to the Old Testament The Canon and Christian Imagination* (Louisville, Westminster John Knox Press), 376.

²⁰ In line with Brueggemann, see Ludji, *Pemahaman Dasar*, 184; Nissim Amzallag. The Authorship of Ezra and Nehemiah in Light of Differences in Their Ideological Background. *Journal of Biblical Literature* Vol.137, No.2 (2018): 271–97. <https://doi.org/10.15699/jbl.1372.2018.340296>.

Ahijah the Shilonite and Iddo the seer. There are also historical events outside the Bible, for example the attack of King Shishak of Egypt at the end of the 10th century BC (2 Chronicles 12: 2-4), and preparation as well as preservation of water sources in Jerusalem by King Hezekiah before the attack of the Assyrian Empire at the end of the 8th century BC (2 Chronicles 32: 2-4).²¹ In the writing of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah there are several sources which give an indication that these two books could not have been written by just one writer. The sources in question are some personal notes from Ezra and Nehemiah, which are their own stories. This section uses the first-person pronouns in Ezra found in Ezra 7: 27-9: 15 (except 8: 35-36, summaries in the form of third-person pronouns); the rest are stories in third-person pronouns, except in the part about Nehemiah's covenant in 9: 38-10: 39. The section that uses the first person in the Book of Nehemiah is found in Nehemiah 1: 1-7: 5 and 12: 31-13: 31. Other sources used in writing Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah that did not originate from Ezra, some are documents and proclamation letters of Cyrus, which allowed exiles to return to their homeland written in Aramaic (Ezr 6: 3-5); the proclamation was adjusted in Hebrew (Ezr 1: 2-4) for the exiled Jews. The letter of Artaxerxes which authorized Ezra to return to Judah (Ezr 7: 12-26), has also been adjusted for exiled Jews. Other letters written in Aramaic, among officials in Palestine with the Persian palaces, included Rehum and Simshai's letter to Artaxerxes (Ezr 4: 8-22) and correspondence between Tatnai and Darius (Ezr 5: 7-17; 6: 6-12). All of these letters (adverb: definitely) derived from Persian state archives. Various lists (including): a list of people returning from exile together with Zerubbabel (Ezr 2, repeated in Neh. 7: 7-72a); list of the chief of their fathers who returned with Ezra (Ezr 8: 1-14); details of the equipment of the House of God returned by the Persian government to Sheshbazzar (1: 9-11); list of people who are married to foreign women (10: 18-44); list of people who built walls (Neh. 3). The closing section of the story about the first term of office of Nehemiah (Neh 11) contains a number of lists, including: list of new residents of Jerusalem (verses 3-19); other villages occupied by Jews (verses 25-36); list of high priests from Jeshua to Jaddua (12: 10-11); and list of heads of Levite families (verses 12-26). All of this list must have been obtained from the archives of the House of God or records from the regional head office of Judah.²² the details above, it is clear that there are many sources of writing used that were not from Ezra.

Second, regarding the time of writing. The author completes his work in the post-exilic times, around 400 BC. But later on, his work was also adapted and added. The Book of Chronicles was only completed in full around 160 BC.²³ By observing the period of Ezra and Nehemiah's work in reorganizing Jerusalem and the religious life of the Jews in Judah around 458-420 BC (Ezra 7-Nehemiah 13), it is not possible for him to finish (definite article: the) writing the Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah.

Third, there are theological differences in the Chronicles with the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, such as about mixed marriages. The theology developed in the Book of Chronicles gives an indication not to be anti-intermarriage (Jewish to non-Jewish). An example has been seen in the story of Judah having an unnamed wife. From this wife he has three children, named Er, Onan and Shelah. Judah's wife is only called "the daughter of Shua the woman of Canaan" (1 Chr 2: 3). The author of Chronicles does not criticize this marriage with a non-Israeli woman. The author of Chronicles also reports a number of any marriage from Israel with foreigners without ever uttering words of rebuke. Some of them are:

- 1 Chronicles 2:17, Abigail (younger brother of David) gave birth to Amasa and Amasa's father was Jether, the Ishmaelite.

²¹ Michael D. Coogan, *A Brief Introduction to Old Testament* (New York: Oxford, 2009), 361; Greg Goswell, Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place, 284-285; Paul S. Evans. *Historia or Exegesis?: Assessing the Chronicler's Hezekiah-Sennacherib Narrative*. In *Chronicling the Chronicler: The Book of Chronicles and Early Second Temple Historiography*, edited by Paul S. Evans and Tyler F. Williams, 103-20. Penn State University Press, 2013. <https://doi.org/10.5325/j.ctv18r6rlj.11>.

²² W.S. LaSor, D.A. Hubbard, and F.W. Bush. *Old Testament Survey* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2016), 433-434.

²³ C. Groenen OFM, *Pengantar ke dalam Perjanjian Lama* (Yogyakarta: Kanisius, 2016), 162; see also Jozef Tino; Bratislava, An Elaboration of Some Theological Issues of Second Temple Judaism in Chronicles and Jubilees. *Journal of Communio Viatorum*, Vol. 59, No.1, (2017): 25-27.

- 1 Chronicles 2: 34-35 Sheshan (a Judah) had no sons, but daughters, and Sheshan had a male slave, an Egyptian, named Jarha. So, Sheshan gave no son to Jarha, his slave, became his wife, and she gave birth to him Attai.
- 1 Chronicles 4:17, Mered (a Judahite) married Bica the daughter of Pharaoh. This woman gave birth to Miryam, Samai and Yisbah, Estemoa's father.
- 1 Chron. 7:14, the descendants of Manasseh were Asriel who was born by his concubine, the Syrian woman; this woman gave birth to Makhir, father of Gilead.
- 1 Chronicles 8: 8, Shaharaim (Benjaminites) had a child in the area of Moab (possibly through his wife a Moabite woman).
- 2 Chron. 2: 13-14, King Hiram sent Hiram Abi, son of a woman from the Danites, while his father was a man of Tyre to work on building the Temple of Solomon. He was good at working on gold, silver, copper, iron, stone, wood, light purple cloth, dark purple cloth, fine linen and scarlet, and also good at making all kinds of carvings and all kinds of designs assigned to him with the assistance of the King's experts Solomon and by experts from David.
- 2 Chronicles 8:11, Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter.
- 2 Chron. 12:13, mother of King Rehoboam had the name of an Ammonites woman (she was the wife of King Solomon).

Why does Chronicles not criticize the act of marrying foreign women or associating with non-Jews? This is because the purpose of the genealogy in Chronicles is more for inclusion than exclusion.²⁴ In contrast to the theology developed in the book of Ezra in Ezra 9-10, where Ezra required Jews to divorce foreign wives (non-Jews). As a result, more than one hundred people divorced their wives and with their children were driven away from Judah (Ezr 10: 18-44). This intermarriage problem also occurred during Nehemiah's work in Judah. Some of them intermarried with Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab (Neh. 13:23) women. As a result, many of their children spoke in Ashdod but could no longer speak Hebrew (Neh. 13:24). Nehemiah was angry and forced them to divorce their wives from strangers and they were forced to take an oath not to give their daughters to marry Ashdod's children or take their daughters for their own children. Nehemiah had also mentioned the deviations committed by King Solomon by marrying foreign women. Nehemiah's anger can be seen in Nehemiah 13: 25-27 as follows:

And I contended with them, and cursed them, and stroked certain of them, and plucked off their hair, and made them swear by God, saying: "All of you shall not give your daughters to their sons, nor take their daughters for your sons, or for yourself! Didn't Solomon, King of Israel, commit these transgressions? Nevertheless, among many nations, kings like him, who were beloved of their God, and God made him king over all Israel, even he did foreign. Women because of this sin. Will we then listen to you in doing this great evil, transgressing against our God by marrying strange wives?"

If Ezra and Nehemiah strongly emphasize divorcing wives from strangers, this is a consequence of preserving their identity and who they are as "pure" and "holy" Jews.²⁵ Theological differences can also be seen in the treatment (adding: of) strangers. The writer of the Book of Chronicles says that the presence of strangers among the Jews is not a problem that must be pointed out in separation. This can be seen in 1 Chronicles 2:50 and 55. In Hur's genealogy, the Kenites of Hamath's descendants are inserted, named the Tirathites, Shimeathites, and Suchathites. They were letter experts who lived in Jabez. The theological understanding of strangers, as written in Ezra 9-10, requires separation from strangers and driving them away from the Jews in Judah.

The story of the division of Northern Israel (Israel), whose capital is Samaria, and Southern Israel (Judah / Jewish), whose capital is Jerusalem, is told in the Book of Chronicles. When Rehoboam wanted

²⁴ Japhet, *I & II Chronicles*, 74.

²⁵ Santoso, *Perceraian*, 108; see also Greg Goswell, *Putting the Book of Chronicles in Its Place*, 295-296.

to fight northern Israel, the prophet Shemaiah delivered the word of God that war would not be carried out because they were brothers (2 Chr 11:1-4). In this story, it can be seen how the Book of Chronicles was not adverse to the Samaritans (foreigners). On the other hand, Chronicles has a really positive attitude towards Northern Israel. Six Judean Kings were involved in military and religious activities in the north: King Asa (2 Chr 15: 8); King Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 19: 4); King Hezekiah (2 Chr 30: 10-11; 2 Chron 34: 6, 21) differs from 2 Kings 22:13; King Jehoram (2 Chr 21: 4); and King Ahaz (2 Chr 28). In the era of the divided kingdom, the priest and Levite from the North, with Rehoboam in Jerusalem, joined with the representatives of all the tribes (2 Chr 11:16). Asa and Hezekiah made a covenant with the people of the North (2 Chr 15:9-15; 31).²⁶

After the return of the Jews to Jerusalem, the Samaritans, who are called brothers in the book of Chronicles, apparently became opponents and enemies in the books of Ezra and Nehemiah (Ezra 4: 1-5; Neh 4: 1-3). The Samaritans were not permitted to be involved in the construction of the walls of Jerusalem. The Book of Ezra and Nehemiah shows an anti-stranger attitude, including opposition to the Samaritans. It is clear here that the writer of Chronicles is not the same as the writers of the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah.

Fourth, the difference between the literature in the Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. The researchers of the tradition of Chronicles have separated the literature of the Book of Chronicles from Ezra and Nehemiah. At least three themes that only exist in the Book of Chronicles and are not quoted in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah, which are: Messiah comes from the line of David; the second output tone; the emphasis "pan-Israel."²⁷

Fifth, the early history of Israel. In narrating about the beginnings of Israel and their descendants, there were a difference between the writers of Chronicles and the Writers Ezra and Nehemiah. The Book of Chronicles focuses on Jacob Patriarch, which is always interpreted with the name Israel. The name of Abraham is replaced with the name of Israel in 1 Chronicles 16: 13a, and in genealogy in the first few chapters of Chronicles, the selection of kindled against his people occurs not through Abraham, but directly through Israel (1 Chr 2: 1-2), and then (missing subject) gives details on the names of the descendants of the children of Israel. In 1 Kings 3:8, the people who are called innumerable describe Ishmael's descendants in Genesis 16:10. However, when mentioned in the Book of Kings, which is incorporated into Chronicles (2 Chron. 1:9), those who are described as large amounts of dust are not descendants of Ishmael, but of Jacob / Israel (Gen 28:14). In the Book of Chronicles, the exodus from Egypt to the Land of Canaan, not highlighted. In Solomon's prayer during the dedication of the Temple, The book of Chronicles refer to the Exodus in 1 Kings 8:21 and 53. The king mention the Covenant of the LORD was made to the ancestors when He brought them out of the land of Egypt. A covenant between Yahweh and Israel mentioned in 2 Chronicles 6:11. In 2 Chronicles 6: 41-42, it includes quotes from Psalms 132: 8-10 and 132:1, which mentioned the covenant dynasty of David. The very important role of Jacob / Israel described in the Book of Chronicles was not seen in the Books of Ezra and Nehemiah. In this case there are several different things. In Nehemiah 9: 7-8 is written that the selection of God was through Abraham, not directly through Jacob / Israel as written in the Book of Chronicles. What important to note is that Nehemiah greatly highlighted the exodus from Egypt and the occupation of the Land of Canaan (Neh 9: 9-25). When Nehemiah prayed, he quoted the event that the LORD had done in the Exodus (Neh 1:10). By looking at the differences, those possibly caused by the different writer of the Book of Chronicle and the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah.

Sixth, the book of Chronicles emphasizes more on the dynasty of King David and the Covenant of the Lord with him (1 Chron 17: 1-15; 2 Chron 7:18; 13: 5; 21: 7; 23: 3). While King David played a small role in Ezra-Nehemiah, he did not mention the LORD's Covenant with David. Abijah's sermon in 2 Chronicles 13 describes the eternal character of David's regulation (cf. 1 Chron. 12: 39-40; 17: 13-14; 22: 9-10; 28: 6-7). In the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah, it stresses the importance of the Sinai Covenant and

²⁶ Rehoboam's actions can be read in writing of Troy D. Cudworth, The Division of Israel's Kingdom in Chronicles: A Re-Examination of the Usual Suspects, *Biblical*, Vol.95, No.4 (2014): 501-509.

²⁷ Hill & Walton, *Survey*, 348.

explains the LORD's Covenant to the ancestors of Israel, also to David's descendants and to Zerubbabel (cf. 1 Chron. 3:19; Hag. 2:23). Even if Ezra-Nehemiah mentions David, it is more to explain the liturgical rules of worship commanded by King David alone (Ezr 3:10; Ne 12:24).

Seventh, the law of retribution. All the history and events written in the Book of Chronicles can be identified because of the doctrine of the law of vengeance. A king or kingdom is honored or punished for doing good deeds or mistakes. The good deeds that are meant are more about worship and doing the rules of God's law. The gist of the news from the Book of Chronicles: Whoever sins against God, God will soon punish; and whoever confesses sin, will soon experience salvation from God.²⁸ For example, Manasseh was a bad king, but he ruled for a long time, which indicates that he was blessed by the Lord. In the Book of Chronicles, it is written that Manasseh was punished. He was captured by the Babylonians. Apparently, in exile, Manasseh repented, then he was released and became king again. Since then, he has made reforms in the field of worship to the Lord. As a result, he can be a king who reigns long enough. So it was with the people of Judah who forsook the LORD and worshiped other gods, and they were exiled to Babylon. The law of retribution in the Book of Chronicles is meant to give advice to His people in their day.²⁹ In the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah, the law of retribution is only intended as a warning. Hardly any of these retribution laws occur in the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah, except in Ezra 9: 8,9,15 and Nehemiah 9: 31,33,36.

All the substantive differences in theology, purpose, and perspective above provide confidence that the Book of Chronicles and the Book of Ezra-Nehemiah are the works by different authors.

THE STAGE OF EDITORIAL ON THE BOOK OF CHRONICLES

It has been said above, that in the book of Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah there are discrepancies which prove, that the writing of these books was not done by one person alone, but by many people and in layers. There are two major views on this editorial thesis, namely the "Two Stage of Editorial" thesis and the "Four Stage of Editorial" thesis.

It has been said above that in the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, there are discrepancies which prove that the writing of these books was not done by one person alone, but by many people and in layers. There are two major views on this editorial thesis, namely the "Two Stages of Editorial" thesis and the "Four Stages of Editorial" thesis.

The Occurrence of the Book of Chronicles (Two Stages of Editorial)

What is meant by a two-stage editorial thesis is a thesis that assumes that the occurrence of the Book of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, twice editorially. In writing the book of Chronicles, the first author produced the basic text composition of Chronicles by using the following sources:

1. First Source: The Book of Samuel and the Book of Kings.
2. Second Source: Book of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers, Joshua.
3. Third Source: Unknown source.

From the editorial of these three sources, then the basic text composition of Chronicles (Chronicles*) took place.

The second author produced a composition of Historical Works of Chronicles by using the following sources:

1. Results of the first Author / basic text of Chronicles (Chronicles *) added with the following sources:
2. Fourth Source: Ezra-Nehemiah.
3. Fifth Source: Exodus, Numbers, Joshua.
4. Sixth Source: Unknown source

If we look at the results of the first author (the basic text of Chronicles) and the second author (Historical Works of Chronicles), it turns out theological differences emerge. In 1 Chronicles 1-9, the

²⁸ Agus Santoso, *Satu Iota Tak akan Ditiadakan* (Cipanas: STT Cipanas Press, 2014), 135.

²⁹ C. Groenen OFM, *Pengantar*, 166.

author did not fault the presence, adding that he lived together with non-Israel, even though they were considered brothers. For example, the sons of Moab, the children of Ammon, the Kenites, etc. Even the presence of Northern Israel is considered as a brother who does not need to be separated. However, in the Book of Ezra 9-10, it is seen that very different treatment to foreigners and to mixed marriages was given to all foreigners (non-Jewish) who were told to leave the Jews, including the Samaritan (Northern Israel). They were not given the opportunity to participate in the building of the temple. All wives were expelled violently from the Jewish *qahal*. By observing this difference, it can be estimated that the authors of the Book of Chronicles can be more than two authors.³⁰

The Occurrence of Historical Works of Chronicles / HWC (Four Stages of Editorial)

According to Reinhard G. Kratz,³¹ the occurrence of HWC is not all at once at one time, but in layers 4 period stages. The four stages are as follows:

The First stage, starting from the occurrence of HWC Basic Texts that began in the middle of the 4th century BC. The HWC Basic Text here is 1 Chronicles 1-9; Ezra 5-6 (known as the "Century of Temple Building" / *Tempelbauchronik*); and Nehemiah 1: 1a+2-6+12 (also known as "*Memoir Nehemiah*").

- The second stage, the HWC Basic Text was edited and added to Ezra 1-4 (possibly in the late Persian period), as well as other materials added to the Nehemiah *Memoir* so that it became Nehemiah 1-13.
- The third stage is the text from the second stage added with Ezra 7-8 and some passages from Nehemiah (possibly during the reign of Alexander the Great).
- The fourth stage, as the final stage, has the text from the third stage added with Ezra 9:10 and Nehemiah. It is possible that this work occurred during the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes IV, or even Carr³² place it during the Hasmonian period, which is around 160-150 BC. In the last layer of HWC, Ezra 9-10 are now included. The text is extremely anti-foreigners. This very strong "anti-foreigner" spirit is clearly not seen in other texts in HWC.³³

The stages of writing the Chronicles tradition as revealed by Kratz above can be described with the following chart.

³⁰ Jan Christian Gertz (Ed.), *Grundinformation Altes Testament* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2006), 505.

³¹ Reinhard G. Kratz, *Die Komposition der erzählenden Bücher des Alten Testaments* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), 94-98. Santoso, *Perceraian*, 104

³² David M. Carr, *An Introduction to the Old Testament: Sacred Texts and Imperial Contexts of the Hebrew Bible* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010), 259.

³³ Santoso, *Perceraian*, 105.

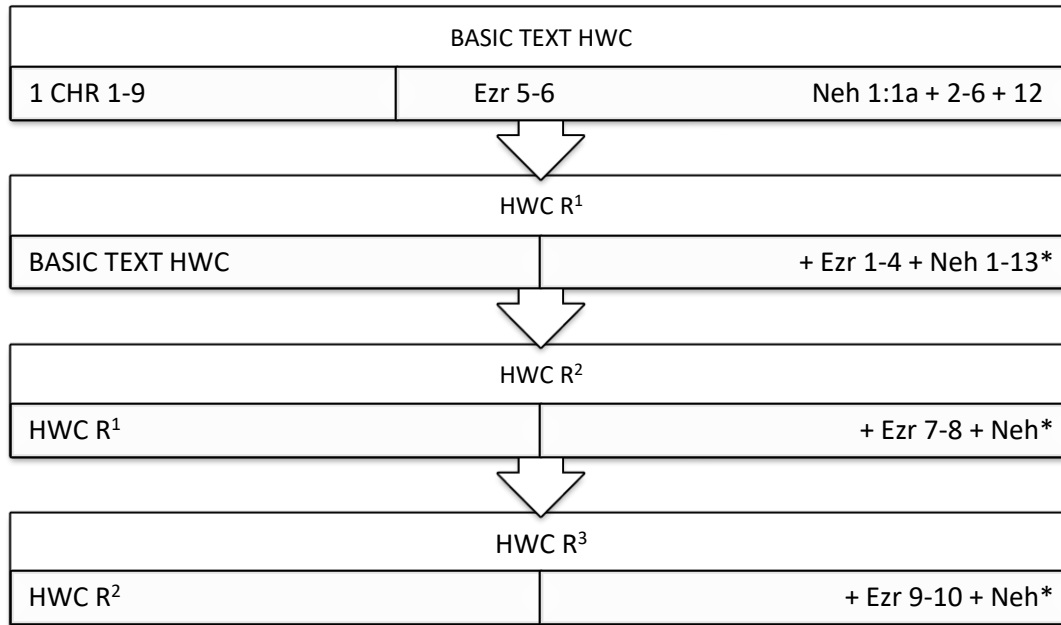


Figure 1: Stages of writing the Chronicles tradition by Kratz

These discrepancies show that these books are not the product of a single writer (*single author*), but a product of many writers. In addition, by looking at the complex theological differences contained in the tradition of the Chronicles books, the Chronicles books are also not the result of two stages of editorial (not just two theological differences), but are the work of four stages of complicated editorial. Even though all four traditions are in the same order, that is the order of Chronicles writers and not different books (separation)? It could not be understood in English. It has been said it is *Einheitlichkeit in Vielfaltigkeit* (unity in diversity) or, according to Brueggemann, "*grand opera*." This is based on different points of emphasis among these four books, for example, the different views of foreigners and mixed marriages.

The implication of the existence of editors' works on the history of the book of Chronicles is that the first is unity in the division, which indicates that God's people are taught to live inclusively, not exclusively. The inclusive life of God's people gives meaning to mutual understanding, mutual respect, and mutual support among fellow human beings so that from this emerge coexistence and peace. Second, the editorial of the Chronicles teaches that God's people live to repent of their mistakes, turn to God, and give hope that God will be deliver and help His people who are in suffering. Whoever sins against God, God will punish and every human who repents of his sins, God will forgive him. This message gives the meaning that God's people are to live in obedience to God according to His commands or words. When God's people live in obedience to God, God gives grace, protection, and blessings to His people.

CONCLUSION

This position is consistent throughout the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, leading to the conclusion that the books were composed and / or edited by different authors, expressing contrasted views on the theological importance of the Babylonian exile.

The occurrence of the books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah did not mean that they were written in the same period of time, even separated by a long period of time. However, they have the same *point of view*. The difference between one stage and another is only a matter of time context, so that the first author is more inclusive, and the latter becomes more exclusive.

Thus, the impact we can take from the discussion is that this new discovery can be developed and applied to survey studies and theology of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, even helping to formulate Old Testament theology. Furthermore, this theory can be used to construct practical theology by approaching an exclusive but also inclusive, casuistic service (this part can have several meanings) that needs to be expanded.

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