



G I B E O N A N D T H E G I B E O N I T E S

F R O M T H E S E T T L E M E N T

T O S O L O M O N

J O S E P H B L E N K I N S O P P

GIBBON AND THE GIBBONITES FROM THE SETTLEMENT

TO SOLOMON

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Abstract of the Thesis

'Gibeon and the Gibeonites from the Settlement to Solomon'

The main purpose of this thesis is to study the part played by the Gibeonites in the history of Israel from the Settlement to the end of the United Monarchy. A secondary purpose is to present, within this context, a hypothesis to explain the absence of any mention of Gibeon and the Ark between 1 Sam. 7,2 and 2 Sam. 5,25.

In the first chapter the material available for this study is surveyed. The occurrence of one or other of the cities in non-biblical records and the contribution of excavation at el ġib are examined, but in the nature of the case we are dependent almost entirely on the Old Testament. An analysis of the occurrence of 'Gibeon' and 'Gibeonite' in the Old Testament involves us in the textual problems arising out of confusion between 'Gibeon' and similar forms, especially 'ha-Gib'ah'. We conclude that, while there are only two cases where emendation of MT is required, some cases of 'ha-Gib'ah' may refer to Gibeon. The analysis emphasizes the absence of any mention of Gibeon in Jg. and 1 Sam.

In the second chapter the situation of the four cities is discussed in the order of Jos. 9,17. The long debate on the identification of Gibeon is summarized. A situation at el ġib has been confirmed by the recent excavation of that site by J.B.Pritchard. The important question of the relation between Gibeon (el ġib) and the adjoining nebi samwil is discussed. Chephirah is to be identified with tell kefireh and Beeroth

very probably with el bireh. Important information about the inhabitants of Beeroth is found in 2 Sam. 4,2ff and the view that 2 Sam. 4,3 refers indirectly to hostile action of Saul against the Gibeonites is defended. Kiriath-jearim raises a special problem since it occurs in the city-lists of Benjamin and Judah and is described in 1 Sam. 7,2 as the temporary residence of the Ark. After a form-critical discussion of the city- and boundary-lists it is concluded that the form kiriath- is original and the identification with Baalah secondary. The position of Kiriath-jearim (karyet el 'enab) on the boundary of Judah, together with Ekron and Beth-shemesh, is seen as important for the history of the Ark's movements in this obscure period. An additional note on Benjaminite Mizpah concludes with a tentative identification of the Mizpah ~~in~~ occurring in Jg. and 1 Sam. with nebi samwil.

The Gibeonites are described as both Hivite and Amorite in the Old Testament, therefore as having a definite ethnic identity which is examined in the third chapter. It is argued that biblical Horite means Hurrian and that Hivite, though not absolutely identical with Horite, is very closely related to it. This provides good reason for believing that the Gibeonites were a basically Hurrian group, and it is shown that the designation Amorite does not contradict this. The hypothesis of a basic Hurrian element among the Gibeonites is then tested by a study of Gibeonite names, including those from el gib. To these are added the considerable number of Saulite names on the grounds that the mention of his family burial-place in

2 Sam. 21,13f and the Chronicler's Saulite "genealogy" in 1 Chr. 8,33ff imply that Saul had Gibeonite connexions. Making due allowance for names of uncertain derivation, the results of this onomastic study are held to confirm the Hurrian element in the Gibeonites and, to a lesser extent, in Saul's family.

In the following chapter an attempt is made to place the biblical evidence for Hurrians in Palestine, especially in the region north west of Jerusalem, in the context of our present knowledge of Hurrian movements in the second half of the second millenium. The evidence from sites in Syria points to a movement towards the south and west and this is consonant with what we find in the Amarna letters and the earliest biblical traditions. A possible explanation of the absence of Gibeon in any inscription^{or} record of the period is that this city was an appendage of the "land" of Jerusalem during the Amarna age. This view is defended and the provisional group of conclusion is drawn that the Gibeonite cities, as we meet them in Jos.9-10, was formed towards the end of or shortly after the Amarna period, a more exact date depending on the role of Joshua in the ratification of the treaty and the date assigned to him. Forrer's hypothesis based on the Pestilence Prayer of Mursilis is also examined.

The Gibeonite cities are understood as forming a definite political and ethnic unit under an oligarchic rule, in some respects similar to the situation at Shechem. Very probably they worshipped at a central sanctuary which is identified with

nebi samwil.

An evaluation of the historical character of Jos. 9-10, describing the Israelite-Gibeonite treaty followed by the anti-Gibeonite Amorite coalition and its defeat, is evidently important for the Gibeonite question. A literary analysis of Jos.9 reveals two principal motives behind this composition: to justify Israelite tolerance of this ethnically non-Israelite group and to explain the origins of a class of minor cult personnel known in the post-exilic period as the nethinim. Evidence of anti-Gibeonite and anti-Benjaminite polemic is also found in this chapter. The historicity of the treaty is supported by a close comparison with contemporary or near-contemporary treaties, especially those of the Hittites. The contracting parties were Benjamin, and possibly the Joseph tribes, on the one side, all of the Gibeonite cities acting in solidum on the other. It is concluded that the biblical Gibeonites and the Benjaminites probably arrived at much the same time in Canaan and concluded an agreement shortly after their arrival.

In chapter six the battle-narrative (Jos.10,10-14) is examined, from which the conclusion is reached that there is no reason to doubt the historical connexion between treaty and battle, though the role of Joshua may be secondary. The hypothesis is advanced that the verse fragment (vv.12b-13a) was originally addressed to a solar deity enjoining upon it not to take part in the action. It is further suggested that a causal connexion may have existed in the mind of the redactor between the discomfiting of the

enemy and the presence or proximity of the Ark.

In the following chapter we return to the problem of the almost complete lack of reference to the Gibeonite cities in the Old Testament tradition covering the period of the Judges and the reign of Saul. The only exceptions are 1 Sam. 6,21-7,2 and 2 Sam. 6,25-6,3, respectively the account of the transfer of the Ark from Beth-shemesh and its being taken up to Jerusalem. These two events are separated by a period of about half a century, for which period the Old Testament historical tradition has left us no mention of either Gibeon or the Ark. It is argued that this demands an explanation, and the possibility is investigated that Judahite and/or Deuteronomist re-editing may have been partially responsible for this "silence" of the tradition. Indirect evidence for Gibeon and the Gibeonites during this period is sought in 2 Sam. 4,2ff and 21,1ff, referring to hostilities of Saul against the Gibeonites, 1 Kings 3,4 and post-exilic references to the city and an analysis of the passages in 1 Sam. dealing with the Philistine war. On this basis a reconstruction of the part played by the Gibeonites in this period is attempted.

In chapter eight the hypothesis is advanced and tested that the Gibeonite high place was an Ark-sanctuary for part of the period between 1 Sam. 7,2 and 2 Sam.6,1. It cannot be supposed without further question that the Ark was simply neglected during this period. Older hypotheses of Gibeon as Ark-sanctuary (especially those of Poels, Schlatter and Bruno) are examined and found deficient either because of indiscriminate topographical

assimilation or an insufficiently critical attitude to the historical traditions in Jg. and Sam. A new approach is suggested, beginning with an examination of the most relevant texts which are: 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1; 2 Sam. 6,1-19; 1 Sam. 6,19-7,1; 1 Sam. 7,2-17; 2 Sam. 5,17-6,4 - in the order in which they are examined in this thesis. The main conclusions are as follows. 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 is a distinct source with clear thematic and stylistic resemblances with 2 Sam. 6,1-19. Its last section, 1 Sam. 6,19-7,1, describes the transfer of the Ark from Ekron to Beth-shemesh and from Betheshemesh to the "house of Abinadab on the hill" by the people of Kiriath-jearim. These three cities are associated in different ways in the border- and city-lists in Jos. The close connexions between the non-Israelite element in Dan (Beth-shemesh) and Benjamin (Gibeonite cities) are indicated, and the significance of such elements for the history of the Ark assessed after a careful study of 1 Sam. 6,18b-19. Beth-shemesh represents a definite Ark-stage, of unknown duration, similar to that in Gibeonite territory. The crucial point is made that in 1 Sam. 6,19-7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,1-19 all we are told of the location of the Ark is that it was: in the house of Abinadab; on the hill (bag-gib^{ah}). 1 Sam. 7,2-17 cannot confidently be used as a historical source and this, per se would apply to the information contained in it that the Ark was located for twenty years at Kiriath-jearim. In 2 Sam. 5,17-6,4, the description of events leading to the final transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem, יְרֵמֹה is not emended, בְּנֵי נֶחֱשִׁי is referred either to 5,25 (the region "from Gibeon to Gezer") or, less probably to 1 Sam. 7,1 (the house of

Abinadab on the hill).

The hypothesis therefore states that the gib^{eah} of 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,3 refers, without emendation, to the Gibeonite high place. Support for this hypothesis is sought in an analysis of the term gib^{eah} in the Old Testament, a consideration of the Gibeonite role during the reign of Saul, the fact that Gibeon not Kiriath-jearim is a levitical city, the Holy War episodes examined in chapter six, the simultaneous "silence" of the Old Testament historical tradition on Gibeon and the Ark. The Kiriath-jearim tradition (1 Sam. 7,2; 1 Chr. 2,50b, perhaps also Ps.132,6) was due to the situation of this city on the borders of Judah, Benjamin and Dan, the fact that it alone of the Gibeonite cities is ascribed to Judah and is ethnically associated with populations in Judah, and the suspect reputation of the Gibeonite high place.

It is emphasized that this is presented as a hypothesis which is, by definition, provisional and subject to modification or even rejection as a result of the discovery of new facts which do not support it. It seeks to present a solution to a real problem which occupied the older historians, while taking account of the relevant archaeological data and a correct methodological approach to the Old Testament historical tradition.

In chapter nine the account of the ritual execution of the descendants of Saul (2 Sam. 21,1-14) is studied, together with the events leading up to it, including the encounter at Gibeon

between the armies of Abner and Joab (2 Sam. 2,12-17). The dialogue between David and the Gibeonites refers to an event in Saul's reign, his violation of the treaty by attempting to liquidate the Gibeonites, on which we have no direct information but which cannot be equated with the massacre of the priests of Nob recorded in 1 Sam. 22,17ff. It also shows up in sharp relief the difference between Saul's and David's treatment of the non-Israelite populations of Canaan. There are some aspects of the execution which are reminiscent of the enactment of the fertility-myth, known chiefly through the Ugaritic mythological texts, and which, added to other indications noted throughout the study, reveal syncretic religious attitudes and practices among the Gibeonites. A note at the end of this chapter explores possible affinities between the E writer in the Pentateuch and the Gibeonite narratives in Jos. and Sam.

The study is completed in the last chapter which examines texts in the Chronicler and the Talmud dealing with Gibeon as a great religious sanctuary in the period prior to the building of the Temple and the Gibeonites as the ancestors of the nethinim.

CHAPTER ONE

SURVEY OF THE AVAILABLE MATERIAL

For a study of Gibeon and the Gibeonites from the Israelite Settlement to Solomon we have to rely almost entirely on the Old Testament. In the nature of the case, the material which we find there will be fragmentary and hard to piece together. The list of Gibeonite cities in Jos. 9,17 warns us that a history of the Gibeonites during this period cannot be confined to a history of the city of Gibeon, a fact which has been to a considerable extent neglected in previous studies. With this methodological prerequisite in mind we may usefully begin with a survey of the incidence of the name גִּבְעֹנִי (גִּבְעָנִי) and the gentilic 'גִּבְעֹנִי, גִּבְעָנִי in the Old Testament.

The gentilic occurs in the plural only in the account of the ritual execution of the Saulites (2 Sam. 21,1-14, five times). Here it refers not just to the inhabitants of the city of Gibeon but to those of all four cities and their dependent regions since all had been affected by the hostility of Saul. This will emerge more clearly later in this study. Apart from this passage, we find reference to three individual Gibeonites in the stricter sense of the term: Ishmaiah (1 Chr. 12,4), Hananiah ben-Azzur a prophet (Jer. 28,1) and Melatiah (Neh. 3,7). Only the first of these belongs to our period. This type of name appears to have been common at Gibeon during the divided monarchy since several of the same kind have turned up in the excavations of

el Gib (Gibeon, see below), including two Hananiahs.¹

The place-name גִּבְעֹן occurs some forty times in MT. These occurrences cover the period from the treaty between Israelites and Gibeonites to the post-exilic period. We can divide them as follows:

1. The account of the treaty and its immediate consequences:

Jos. 9,3.17; 10,1.2.4.5.6.10.12.41; 11,19.

2. The Benjamin city-list: Jos. 18,25; the list of levitical cities: Jos. 21,17.

3. The ritual execution of the Saulites: 2 Sam. 21,6.

As we have just seen, "Gibeonites" occurs here five times. 21,6 (MT) has גִּבְעֹנִים but we shall see in a later note that this must be emended with LXX^{BO}, Aquila and Symm. to גִּבְעֹן.

4. Other references for the reign of David: 2 Sam. 2,12.

13.16.24, a passage describing the meeting between Abner and Joab at Gibeon and the ensuing military action; 3,30 and 20,8, referring to the assassination of Amasa at "the great stone which is in Gibeon"; 1 Chr. 14,16, David's defeat of the Philistines "from Gibeon to Gezer" (cf. 2 Sam. 5,25); Is. 28,21, referring very probably to the same event; 1 Chr. 12,4, mentioning Ishmaiah of Gibeon, one of David's warriors.

5. References for the reign of Solomon: 1 Kings 3,4.5 and 9,2, the inaugural visit to the sanctuary of Gibeon (cf. 2 Chr. 1,3.13).

1. J.B.Pritchard, Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, Philadelphia, 1959, pp.1-27.

6. From Zedekiah to the post-exilic period: Jer. 28,1;
41,12.16; Neh. 3,7 (twice); 7,25.

7. In the genealogies and "cultic tradition" of the Chronicler:
1 Chr. 8,29 (twice); 9,35 (twice); 16,39; 21,29.

A rapid glance at this survey reveals one rather strange fact to which we shall have to return often in the course of this study. Gibeon is first mentioned in the account of the treaty shortly after the Settlement and then from the first part of David's reign down to the building of the Temple. During the long period of the Judges and the reign of Saul, however, there is not one occurrence of the name in MT. Yet this is precisely the period when, as we have reason to believe, Gibeon played a not inconsiderable part in the history of Israel. An important part of the present study will be dedicated to examining this problem of the "silence" of the Old Testament historical tradition on Gibeon at this time.

Before going any further we need to examine more carefully the textual problem caused by the frequent confusion between גִּבְעֹן and similar forms, notably the place-names גִּבְעֹן and גִּבְעֹן and the substantive גִּבְעֹן (with or without the article). As a result of possible emendations of MT we may have to add to or subtract from the above list of occurrences. The problem is further complicated by having to contemplate the possibility of conscious alteration or suppression of the name resulting from the polemical and ambiguous role of Gibeon in the history of Israel during the period in question. In a field of enquiry which has witnessed such a welter of hypotheses it is above all necessary to distinguish

carefully what is certain from what is probable or merely possible. We shall therefore accept emendation only when (a) we have good support from parallel Old Testament texts (MT) or important versions or (b) MT is impossible in the context. Only after doing this will we go on to suggest probable or possible cases of textual corruption or alteration.

The possible sources of confusion may be listed as follows:

1. Between $\gamma\beta\lambda$ and $\gamma\beta\lambda$. This occurs frequently and has sometimes led commentators to suggest an original $\gamma\beta\lambda$ though never on purely textual grounds.
2. Between $\gamma\beta\lambda$ and $\gamma\beta\lambda$: 2 Sam. 5,25 and 1 Chr. 8,6. 2 Sam. 5,25 (MT) reads $\gamma\beta\lambda$ but with the great majority of commentators we emend this to $\gamma\beta\lambda$ in keeping with LXX^{BA}, the parallel 1 Chr. 14,16 and Is. 28,21, $\gamma\beta\lambda$,referring almost certainly to the same event.² This is, moreover, fully in keeping with the context since there follows at once the narrative of the expedition to bring the Ark to Jerusalem from a Gibeonite city where it had been left.

In 1 Chr. 8,6 LXX^L has $\gamma\beta\lambda$ but in the absence of further support for this reading MT must stand.

We may add here 2 Sam. 2,24 (MT), $\gamma\beta\lambda$, which most commentators and geographers have found difficult to accept since there is no "desert" at

2. Besides referring to a victory "in the valley of Gibeon", the text also speaks of Perazim cf. 2 Sam. 5,20. The phrase "Yahweh will rise up" is reminiscent of Ark-terminology cf. Num.10,35.

Gibeon and we should not in any case expect the pursuit to end at Gibeon; hence the tendency to read $\gamma\beta\lambda$.

We are only told, however, that the hill of Ammah was on the way to the wilderness of Gibeon and $\gamma\beta\gamma\eta$ does not necessarily imply a "desert" in the strict sense.³

For these reasons, and in the absence of variant readings, we should therefore retain MT.

3. Between $\gamma\beta\gamma\lambda$ and the place-name $\gamma\beta\gamma\lambda$. The latter is found in many parts of Palestine and may date to a definite stage of the Settlement.⁴ There are Gibeahs in Ephraim and Judah apart from Benjaminite Gibeah with which alone we are concerned here.⁵ Allowing for some textual uncertainty here and there, Benjaminite Gibeah occurs some forty four times in MT under the following designations:

- a) "Gibeah which belongs to Benjamin", Jg. 19, 14; 20, 4.
- b) "Gibeah of Benjamin", Jg. 20, 10 (? in LXX);
1 Sam. 13, 2. 15; 14, 16.
- c) "Gibeah of Saul", 1 Sam. 11, 4; 15, 34; 2 Sam.
21, 6; Is. 10, 29.
- d) "Gibeah of Elohim", 1 Sam. 10, 5. From the context

3. For further discussion see J. Simens, The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament, Leiden, 1959, pars. 744-6; M. du Buit, Géographie de la Terre Sainte, Paris, 1958, pp. 102f.

4. B. S. J. Isserlin, 'Israelite and pre-israelite Place-Names in Palestine', PEQ 89 (1957) 133ff.

5. In Ephraim, Jos. 24, 33, identical with the Gibeah of 1 Chr. 2, 49 according to M. Noth, Das Buch Jesua, Tübingen, 1953², p. 98; in Judah, Jos. 15, 57; 2 Chr. 13, 2.

this must be the same place as the Gibeah of 10,10 since it was there that Saul was to meet, and did meet, the band of prophets. We may, however, with equal probability, translate "the hill of God" (or, possibly, "the most high hill"⁶) and thus consign it to the next section (4).

e) "Gibeah" tout court in all other cases.

We have in this section two cases where emendation is possible on purely textual grounds. 2 Chr. 13,2 (MT) refers to Micaiah mother of the Judahite king Abijah and daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, whereas LXX^{BA} have γαβαων. This, however, is insufficient support for this reading. More important is 2 Sam. 21,6 where MT reads: בגבעת שאול. This makes good sense in itself since the place-name is recorded elsewhere (see 3c), and it would be appropriate to carry out the execution in Saul's own city. In 21,9, however, the execution is recorded as taking place בגבעת יקון, which would lead us to suspect textual corruption in v.6. This suspicion is confirmed by LXX^{BO}, Aquila and Symm. which read גבעון for גבעת. The corruption of the text may have begun with the substitution of בק'ר for בגבעת or בק'ר for גבעת.

6. Cf. Ps. 80,11, אֲרֵזִים-אַל, "most high cedars" (RSV "mighty").

7. S.R.Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel, Oxford, 1913², ad loc. pp. 351f.

גִּבְעֹן;⁸ but in any case very good grounds exist for reading Gibeon rather than Gibeah, and so the great majority of the commentators agree.

We may add the less important Jg. 20,31 where Kittel suggests an emendation of Gibeah to Gibeon without, however, any support from the versions.⁹

4. Between גִּבְעֹן and גִּבְעָה (with article) meaning "hill". Omitting the stereotyped "on every green hill" (גִּבְעָה), which occurs invariably in a homiletic context,¹⁰ 1 Sam. 10,5.10 (see above) and 13,3 (reading גִּבְעָה with LXX^{BA}, Sam. Targum and following the context), גִּבְעָה occurs eighteen times in MT. In no case would the rules of textual criticism oblige or suggest emendation.

For the sake of completeness we may add that Jg. 20,45 (Syr.) presupposes a reading גִּבְעֹן for גִּבְעָה but this is insufficient evidence for emending.

Absolutely speaking, therefore, we have only two cases in which the criteria adopted would oblige us to emend: 2 Sam. 5,25 and 21,6. As we shall see, both of these are of great importance for our interpretation of the Gibeon texts.

It remains to be added that in view of the obscurity surrounding Gibeon and the Gibeonites during the period in question

⁸. As suggested by G. Bressan, Samuele, Turin, 1954, 688.

⁹. Biblia Hebraica, Stuttgart, 1937⁹, p. 402.

¹⁰. 1 Kings 14,23; 2 Kings 17,10; Jer. 2,20; Ezek. 6,13; 34,6; 20,28.

various hypotheses have been advanced which involve the belief that גִּבְעָה has replaced גִּבְעָה in some of these texts. These will be evaluated singly in the course of this study. Since, moreover, the former is almost invariably found with the article - as is natural in view of its etymology¹¹ - the possibility has to be reckoned with that the text refers to a specific hill.

This is true especially of the following three cases:

1. Jg. 19-20, containing the account of the crime of the inhabitants of Gibeah of Benjamin (here the article is always used).
2. 1 Sam. 10,5.10 and 13,3 (reading גִּבְעָה as we stated above). All of these refer to a place in Benjamin where there was a Philistine גִּבְעָה.
3. 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,3.4. Here we are told that the Ark was left גִּבְעָה (RSV, "on the hill").

which will be discussed at the relevant point in this study.

Neither the place-name nor the gentilic occurs in any extra-biblical text known to us from the period under consideration.

Gibeon occurs in a city-list of Sheshonk I (945-24) on the wall of the Amun temple at Karnak commemorating his invasion of Palestine.¹² The same event is referred to in 1 Kings 14,25. About thirty jar-handles bearing the inscription g b 𐤍 in the Phoenician lettering have been recovered from the recent

11. From a verbal root גָּבַח ,to swell,to be high, not attested in MT but found in Aram. Cf. ha-ramah, ha-mizpah.

12. ANET p.240.

excavations at el ġib.¹³ These have played a decisive part in identifying the site excavated, as we shall see in the following chapter, but come from a period somewhere between the beginning of the seventh century and the Exile. The overall contribution which these excavations have made to our knowledge of Gibeon for the period we are discussing will be considered in subsequent chapters.

13. See J.B.Pritchard, *op.cit.*, pp.1-21; id., 'Gibeon's History in the Light of Excavation', VTS 7(1960)1 and, on a more popular level, Gibeon Where the Sun Stood Still, Princeton, 1962, p.46. There is some little discrepancy as regards the number in these publications.

CHAPTER TWO

TOPOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE GIBEONITE CITIES

The cities of the Gibeonites (Hivites) are named in Jos. 9,17: "the people of Israel set out and reached their cities on the third day. Now their cities were Gibeon, Chephirah, Beeroth and Kiriath-jearim." We have first to look into the question of their identification.

We can conclude from the survey of texts in the previous chapter that Gibeon was in Benjamin (Jos. 18,25), not more than a night's march from Gilgal near the Jordan (Jos. 10,9 cf. 9,6f. 16) and not too distant from the Philistine area, as is clear from 2 Sam. 5,25 (emended reading). We may further presume that it was not far from the other Hivite cities named, nor from the Ascent of Beth-horon, Azekah, Makkedah (Jos. 10,10) and Aijalon (10,12). The topographical reference in 2 Sam. 2,24 is uncertain, as is also the reading ךיבגל . Noth¹ deduces from 2 Sam. 20,8 that it must have lain on the northern road from Jerusalem. He assumes that Abishai and Joab were heading due north to deal with the rebellion of Sheba and that the meeting with Amasa at Gibeon was a chance encounter. It is equally possible, however, that the meeting was arranged to take place there for reasons which the text does not state. To judge by an earlier meeting at Gibeon described in 2 Sam. 2,12ff, and possibly also that referred to in Jer. 41,12, this city seems to have been favoured as a meeting-

1. M.Noeth, 'Lehrkursus' 1956', ZDPV 73(1957)10.

place.

The occurrence of Gibeon in the city-list of Pharaoh Sheshonk I, referred to in the previous chapter, is the oldest non-biblical reference to the city of which we know. The list is of Palestinian cities captured during the campaign which, according to 1 Kings 14,25, took place in the fifth year of Rehoboam, and which initiated a new aggressive policy of Egypt towards Asia at the beginning of the twenty second dynasty.² The suggestion has been made that the cities are in the topographical order of Sheshonk's victorious progress northwards.³ Despite the plausibility of Mazar's boustrophedon reading of the text, the reconstruction of such a route remains hypothetical since the identification of at least two key place-names cannot be established with any certainty. Rubuti may be the biblical Rabbah (Jos. 15,60) which was in the Shephelah region of Judah, at a site not yet identified. The reading Qiryathaim, which we owe to Mazar, is hypothetical, being based on the supposition of Czerny that the list was copied from an hieratic text, the letters d and r being interchangeable in cursive hieratic.⁴

Late Jewish tradition about Gibeon is interested in the city only as one of the three loci of the Tent (and therefore the Shekinah), together with Shiloh and Nob, before the building of

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2. For the Karnak inscription see J.A.Wilson, ANET pp.242f,263f; J.Lammeyer, Das Siegesdenkmal des Königs Scheschonk I zu Karnak, Neuss-am-Rhein, 1907, pp.29f.
 3. A.T.Olmstead, History of Syria and Palestine, New York, 1931, pp. 354-6; B.Mazar, 'The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak in Palestine', VTS 4(1957)pp.57-66; Y.Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, London, 1966, pp.283-8; A.Alt, in Kl.Schr. II, 79f.
 4. Mazar, art.cit., p.60.

the Temple. The Gibeonites are seen almost exclusively as the ancestors of the nethinim.⁵ There seems to be no Jewish tradition about the topographical situation of Gibeon.⁵

Josephus informs us that during the Civil War Cestius pitched his camp at Gibeon which was fifty (or, perhaps, forty) stadia from Jerusalem.⁶ This would certainly be consistent with a location at el ġib and is confirmed by the fact that nebi samwil, about one mile from el ġib, has an evident strategic importance well illustrated at the time of the Crusades,⁷ during the British campaign against the Turks during the first World War when nebi samwil was an important Turkish strong point, and in the recent Israeli-Arab war on the second day of which (June 6th 1967) it was occupied by the Israeli forces.

The text which has been most discussed in the modern controversy over the site of Gibeon is the Onomasticon of Eusebius which states that Gibeon lay on the road leading north out of Jerusalem.⁸ This led Alt to identify Gibeon first with

5. This is dealt with in the last chapter.

6. War 2 19 1 (Loeb 515f); Ant. 7 11 7 (Loeb 283). The stadium is about 185 metres; this would approximate to the distance between Jerusalem and el ġib.

7. See F-M Abel in JPOS 11(1931)pp.141-3.

8. Onomasticon 66, 11ff. See G. Beyer, 'Eusebius über Gibeon und Beereth', ZDPV 53(1930)pp.199ff; F-M Abel, 'La Question gabaonite et l'Onomasticon', RB 43(1934)pp.349ff; M. Noth, 'Die topographischen Angaben im Onomastiken des Eusebius', ZDPV 66(1943)32ff; for a general survey of the background C.U. Wolf, 'Eusebius of Caesarea and the Onomasticon', BA 27/3(1964)66ff.

tell en-nasbeh and later, when this was ruled out by Badè's excavations at that site, with el birch.⁹ But not only is the interpretation of the Onomasticon uncertain at this point - Abel has argued against Alt that it is reconcilable with Josephus¹⁰ - we have other texts from the Early Christian period which favour el ġib or nearby nebi samwil. Jerome has preserved a statement of Paula that she saw Gibeon on her right when she was going up to Jerusalem on pilgrimage. Presuming that she followed the normal route, this would be consistent with a location at el ġib.¹¹ Epiphanius refers to a summit about eight miles from Jerusalem, the only one which can vie with the Mount of Olives in height, which he calls ἡ Γαβαὼν.¹² This suggests that nebi samwil was known locally as Gibeon in the fourth century.

Interpretations given in the accounts of pilgrims from the same century to early modern times are not reliable guides since it is uncertain to what extent, if at all, they derive from a tradition independent of a particular interpretation of the biblical texts. Also, some display a very confused knowledge of the relevant Old Testament texts as, for example, the testimony of Peter the Deacon in the Liber de Locis Sacris.¹³

9. A.Alt, 'Gibeon und Beeroth', PJB 22(1926)pp.1ff; 'Neue Erwägungen über die Lage von Mizpa, Ataroth, Beeroth und Gibeon', ZDPV 69(1953)pp.1-27.

10.art.cit.pp.352f.

11.Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae cap.VIII.

12.Adv.Haereses XLVI 5.

13.See Itinera Hierosolymitana seac.III-VIII ed.P.Geyer, Corpus Script.Eccl.Lat., Vienna,1898,p.39. Peter was evidently thinking of Gadera, as also Antonius Placentius in his Itinerarium,163.

On the basis of an uncertain and disputed interpretation of the Madaba mosaic map Elliger believed it possible to place Beeroth at el ġib, but we may doubt whether it can be identified on the map with the degree of precision to justify such a conclusion.¹⁴

That controversy has raged for practically a century over the identification of the site of Gibeon, there being at least three claimants among modern place-names (el gib, el bireh, tell en-naşbeh), suggests the conclusion that no clear and unanimous tradition has survived from the Early Christian period. It is at least clear that even before the excavations at el ġib the Onomasticon could not be appealed to to foreclose the argument.

Though there may well have been a continuous tradition identifying Gibeon with either el gib or nebi samwil we are not now in a position to document it. In the modern period, the identification is proposed from the seventeenth century by visitors and pilgrims to Palestine. Franz Ferdinand von Troile states this in 1666 and Richard Pococke was of the same opinion after visiting the site in 1738. The first to support this with arguments was Edward Robinson from whose visit to Palestine in 1838 the modern, scientific era of Palestinian topography is generally dated.¹⁵ Robinson spent only forty minutes at the site on May 8th of that year and had probably reached this conclusion before setting out on his journey, mainly on the basis

14. K. Elliger, 'Beeroth und Gibeon', ZDPV 73 (1957) pp. 125ff; 'Noch einmal Beeroth', Mélanges A. Robert, Paris, 1957, pp. 82ff; R. T. O'Callaghan, 'Is Beeroth on the Madaba Map?', Bib 32 (1951) pp. 57ff.

15. E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine I, Boston, 1874, p. 456; F-M Abel, 'Edward Robinson and the Identification of Biblical Sites', JBL 58 (1939) pp. 366f.

of the similarity between the names. We should note, however, that this argument is not without its difficulties, due principally to the absence of ġayin in the Arabic name and the long i in g Ī b.¹⁶

Even before the excavations at el ġib had begun, this site was, from the time of Robinson, the principal contender, being accepted by many scholars with an excellent knowledge of Palestinian topography such as Dalman, Abel and de Vaux.¹⁷ Alt was forced to abandon his identification of Gibeon with tell en-naṣbeh after Badé's excavations at that site,¹⁸ but since he died in 1956, the year when digging began at el ġib, we do not know whether he would likewise have ~~abandoned~~ his choice of el bireh. After a long period of uncertainty both Noth and Albright accepted the claim of el ġib, once the results of the excavation had begun to come in.¹⁹

The excavations of J.B.Pritchard uncovered epigraphical evidence of names connected with Old Testament Gibeon and some

16. This difficulty is alluded to in an old article of G.

Kampffmeyer, 'Alte Namen im heutigen Palästina und Syrien', ZDPV 16(1893)pp.26f; more recently in Elliger, art.cit., p.128.

17. G.Dalman, 'Die Nordstrasse Jerusalems', PJB 21(1925)pp.58ff; 'Zur "Tradition" von Nebi Samwil, Mizpa und Gibeon', id., 22(1926) pp.104ff; 140ff; Jerusalem und sein Gelände, Gütersloh, 1930, pp.218ff; Abel, art.cit., pp.341ff; Géographie de la Palestine, II, Paris, 1938, p.419; R.de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, Paris, 1961², p.153.

18. The definitive publication in C.C.McCown (ed.), Tell en-Naṣbeh, Berkeley and New Haven, 1947 (after a lapse of twelve years).

19. Noth in VTS 7(1960)p.273; Albright, The Archaeology of Palestine, Harmendsworth, 1960, p.48; BAJOR 159(1960)p.37.

thirty jar-handles bearing the inscription g b ʿ n in circumstances which lead us to believe that they come from the same site.

h n n y h w n r ʾ on one of the handles corresponds with the name of the Gibeonite prophet in Jer. 28,1. n r ʾ which occurs several times on seals and is, as Pritchard suggests, probably hypocoristic, is identical with the Neriah of Jer. 36,32 with which we should compare Ner and Abner in the Gibeonite

"genealogy" of the Chronicler (1 Chr. 12,5 [LXX v.33]). Pritchard

suggests that the puzzling g d r, in the frequently occurring

g b ʿ n g d r, refers to the place-name Gederah (1 Chr. 12,5)

probably to be identified with jedireh about half a mile north east

~~next~~ of el ġib.²⁰ An alternative explanation may, however, be

sought in the personal name Geder which is found immediately

after Ner and Abner in the same "genealogy" (1 Chr. 12,7). That

the jars originated in el ġib is established beyond reasonable

doubt by the fact that stoppers and funnels were also found which

fit them, suggesting that the bottling was done at this

"Bordeaux of Palestine".²¹ Thus, despite one or two dissident

or doubtful voices,²² we may conclude that the identification of

Gibeon with el ġib has been settled beyond reasonable doubt.

20. Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, p.9.

21. Gibeon Where the Sun Stood Still, p.79.

22. Elliger, art.cit., p.132; J.Simons, op.cit., pp.175f.

Apart from identifying the site, the four seasons of excavation at el ġib have given us disappointingly little information on the city for the period covered in the present study, corresponding to the end of Late Bronze and Iron I. The main problem is the absence of any significant evidence for the "great city" (Jos. 10,2) which the biblical evidence leads us to suppose existed towards the end of Late Bronze.²³ It may be that the site of the Late Bronze city lies elsewhere on the tell, only a relatively small area of which was excavated. What evidence there is suggests that the city may have been enlarged and possibly resettled at this time; Pritchard dates the ^{first} city-wall not later than 1200 B.C. and the first stage of the vast hydraulic works connected with defence may have been carried through at much the same time.²⁴ The archaeological evidence is, however, unable to bear the weight of any large-scale hypothesis as to the history of the inhabitants of the city at this period. It may be, as Albright has stated,²⁵ that this favours the view of Gibeon as an insignificant settlement attached to Jerusalem ; we shall follow up this line of argument in a later chapter. It

23. Pritchard, VTS 7(1960)pp.11f.

24. id., 8ff. H.J. Franken and C.A. Franken-Battershill, A Primer of Old Testament Archaeology, Leiden, 1963, pp.110-14, have questioned Pritchard's chronology and suggested further work needs to be done, especially on the stepped tunnel, towards determining the date of construction.

25. In a short note in BASOR 178(1965)p.71.

may also be that the evidence, exiguous as it is, favours the thesis of a cultural hiatus at Gibeon about this time which could be accounted for by the arrival of a new ethnic group in the Gibeonite region shortly before or during the Amarna age. We shall in fact propose this at a later stage though relying on other data. Until we know definitely whether a Late Bronze city existed on this site it will be unwise to base any arguments on the data so far provided. At this time we cannot even rule out the possibility of a major destruction at Gibeon during the period in question.

The strategic importance of Gibeon, amply attested in the biblical record, is due not just to its high elevation and its situation on a major route from the Central Highlands to the Coastal Plain but to the abundance of its water-supply. Jer. 41,12 refers to "the great waters which are in Gibeon" and 2 Sam. 2,13 more specifically to "the pool (²הַכֶּזֶב) of Gibeon". This can no longer be identified with the reservoir north east of the mound since this dates only from Roman times. Pritchard tentatively identified it with the great cylindrical cistern 80' in depth discovered and cleared in 1956-7.²⁶ Against this identification we may argue that this could hardly be called a ²הַכֶּזֶב and that it is inside the wall, whereas the single combat in 2 Sam. 2,13-16 must have taken place outside the city limits since the Philistines were almost certainly in occupation at this time and the place of the action was known

26. Gibeon Where the Sun Stood Still, pp.159f.

as חלקה העריים, suggesting a site outside the city.²⁷

"The great stone which is in Gibeon", 2 Sam. 20,8, has sometimes been identified with the altar upon which Solomon offered sacrifices as recorded in 1 Kings 3,4.²⁸ There are, however, no grounds for this at all. What is significant is that the excavations revealed no trace of a sanctuary or high place within the city-limits. An altar with *maššebah* from Middle Bronze IIC was discovered but nothing at all from the Iron Age.²⁹ This does not provide an argumentum e silentio for identifying the Gibeonite high place with nebi samwil about a mile south of el ġib but it is in accord with this view. If, as we shall propose later, some Gibeonites first served as menial cultic personnel at the Gibeonite high place, the appropriateness of the phrase "hewers of wood and drawers of water" would, in this hypothesis, be beyond question.

This brings us to one of the most difficult aspects of the topographical problem and one fundamentally important for any discussion of Gibeonite history at this time: the relation between the sites of el ġib and nebi samwil. As we have just seen, the latter lies about a mile south of el ġib and has an

27. The same conclusion is drawn by Elliger, art.cit.pp.131f and K-D Schunck, Benjamin, Berlin, 1963, p.133n.123.

28. Pritchard, art.cit.p.6; H.Vincent, 'Nebi Samwil', RB 31(1922) p.366; R.Brinker, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel, ~~reads~~ Manchester, 1946, p.157, reads הַבַּיִת הַגָּדוֹל but this is pure speculation.

29. Pritchard, op.cit.pp.86f; RB 70(1963)p.433.

elevation above sea level of some 2835', more than 492' higher than el ġib. This in itself would suggest the probability of some religious association between "the great city" (Jos. 10,2) and the adjoining height, the most imposing in that part of Palestine. In view of the traditional association of nebi samwil with the prophet Samuel, apparent in the Arabic name, several scholars of note, including Alt, Noth and Albright, have identified it with the Mizpah of 1 Sam. 7,5ff and 10,17ff.³⁰ We shall argue that this is not inconsistent with the view of nebi samwil as the central sanctuary of the Gibeonite city-group. We may, for the moment, remind the reader that the description of the Gibeonite sanctuary visited by Solomon as "the great high place" (1 Kings 3,4) is eminently suited to nebi samwil and "the mountain" on which the Saulites were executed (2 Sam. 21,9) applies better to this eminence than to el ġib itself. In view of the fact that all of the Gibeonites were involved in the demand for retribution, the choice of the highest and most imposing point in the whole region would be appropriate.³¹

30. For this tradition see H.Vincent, art.cit.; F.M.Savignac and F-M Abel, 'Neby Samouil', RB 21(1912)pp.267ff; H-W Hertzberg, 'Mizpa', ZAW 6 n.F.(1929)p.191 (the Samuel grave-tradition); G.Dalman, op.cit., pp.62f. See also Additional Note on Mizpah, below pp.40ff.

31. In addition to the authors mentioned in the preceding note this is accepted by M-J Lagrange, 'Lettre de Jérusalem', RB 1(1892)455; de Vaux, op.cit.p.233. It is questioned by J. Simons, op.cit.p.176 327; most recently by J.A.Soggin, 'Der offiziell gefördete Synkretismus in Israel während des 10 Jahrhunderts', ZAW 78(1966)p.190n.25.

At this stage we have no archaeological evidence from the site of nebi samwil. Some early attempts to excavate part of the site were carried out unscientifically, and the presence of a Moslem mosque has made it impossible to carry out excavations with the purpose of finally proving or disproving the thesis.³²

The question whether "the hill" of 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,3 may also be identified with the Gibeonite high place will be discussed at length in a later chapter.

Chephirah ([ח]ר'פ, "young lion") occurs second in the Jos. 9,17 list and in that of the repatriated exiles in Ezra 2,25 = Neh. 7,29 where Gibeon does not occur. Together with the other three it is ascribed to Benjamin in the city-list of that tribe (Jos. 18,26). That the four are not listed consecutively here may imply that at the time of compilation (the date will be discussed shortly) they were fully integrated politically. Chephirah is generally identified with tell kefireh less than five miles west of el ġib and north north west from Jerusalem.³³

Two of the Amarna letters were written by a certain Ba'alat - Neše (belit neše) from a location in Palestine north of Jerusalem and in the vicinity of a - i a - l u - n a (Aijalon) and š a - a r - ḥ a (probably modern Sar'a near Beth~~lehem~~-shemesh)³⁴

32. On the early attempts see P.Löhmman, 'Archäologisches von en-nebi-samwil', ZDPV 41(1918)pp.117ff; L.H.Vincent, RB 31(1922) pp.362ff.

33. J.Simons, op.cit.p.176; Aharoni, op.cit.p.375.

34. J.A.Knudtzon, Die El-Amarna Tafeln, Leipzig, 1915, No.273; S.A.B. Mercer, The Tell El-Amarna Tablets, II, Toronto, 1939, pp.686ff.

H.Bauer suggested that this "lady of the lions" wrote from the biblical city of Chephirah, Neše (ideographically UR-MAH-MEŠ) corresponding to $\square' \gamma' \gamma' \gamma'$. He further suggested that the place-name $\square' \gamma' \gamma' \gamma'$ of Neh. 6,2 (MT) refers to the Gibeonite city of the pre-exilic period.³⁵ If this hypothesis is correct, we have here the only reference to any of the Gibeonite cities in the Amarna letters.

Beeroth ($\square' \gamma' \gamma' \gamma'$, equivalent in meaning of the English city Wells) is third in the list. It is elsewhere ascribed to Benjamin (Jos. 18,25) and according to Ezra 2,25 = Neh. 7,29 was re-populated after the Exile. It is probably identical with the Berea mentioned in 1 Macc. 9,4. In 2 Sam. 23,37 (= 1 Chr. 11,39) a Beerothite named Naharai is the armour-bearer of Joab and one of the Thirty, David's corps d'élite. We cannot exclude the possibility that it is the same city as the Be'er to which Jotham fled (Jg. 9,21). If so, we would have an interesting possibility of enquiry into associations between the two areas of greatest Hurrian concentration in Palestine at the time of transition to monarchy. This kind of place-name is, however, by no means uncommon (Beer-Sheba, Beeroth bene-Jaaqan etc).

Neither the biblical texts nor the reference to this city in the Onomasticon point decisively to any one site. The question of the identification of Beeroth cannot be solved without taking in the controversy about Gibeon and Mizpah.

35. H.Bauer, 'Die "Löwenherrin" der Amarnabriefe Nrr.273 und 274', ZDMG 74(1920)pp.210f; A.Alt, in Kl.Schr. I 107n.6.

Heidet identified Beeroth with el ġib, as did Alt some years later, though using a much more scientific approach.³⁶ Until recent years this conclusion was accepted by a number of eminent scholars, including Noth, Galling and Elliger, the last seeking for additional support from the Madaba Map.³⁷ We have seen that this view has been rendered extremely precarious, if not untenable, by the excavations at el ġib. Albright proposed tell en-naṣbeh but this had to be abandoned after Badè's excavations at that site.³⁸ Kallai-Kleinmann places it at nebi samwil but this does not seem to take account of the peculiar relations between el ġib and nebi samwil which we spoke of a moment ago and to which we shall return.³⁹ From the beginnings of scientific Palestinian topography with Robinson, el bireh (or, more precisely, raš et-tahūne nearby) has been the favourite claimant.⁴⁰ This site, about ten miles north of Jerusalem, is consistent with the biblical references, is supported by the onomastic similarity (though this by itself is insufficient and could be misleading) and has achieved a greater degree of probability with the elimination of its principal rivals as a result of

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36. L.Heidet, 'Maspha et les Villes de Benjamin, Gabaa, Gabaon et Béroth', RB 3(1894)pp.321ff; Alt, ~~Kir-Sekir~~ 'Gibeon und Beeroth', PJB 22(1926)11ff; ZDPV 69(1953)1ff.
37. Noth, ZDPV 66(1943)32ff; 'Lehrkursus 1956', ZDPV 73(1957)7ff; K.Galling, Biblisches Reallexikon, Tübingen, 1937, p.195; Elliger, art.cit.pp.125ff.
38. See review notices in JBL 58(1939)p.180; 59(1940)p.541.
39. See Z.Kallai-Kleinmann, in Eretz-Israel 3(1954)pp.111ff.
40. Robinsen, op.cit. I 452; Abel, op.cit.II p.262; de Vaux, op.cit. p.161; M.Haran, in VT 11(1961)p.160; du Buit, op.cit.pp.163f.

progress in archaeology.

Discussion of the most important and difficult text dealing with Beeroth has been left over to this point. 2 Sam. 4,2ff narrates the assassination of Ishbaal by Baanah and Rechab sons of the Benjaminite Rimmon. Following on the information that Rimmon came from Beeroth the writer, or perhaps a later glossator, deemed it necessary to add a note to the effect that Beeroth was a Benjaminite city and that its inhabitants fled to Gittaim and were gerim there up to the time of writing. If vv. 2b and 3 originally formed one consecutive note, the explanation could be understood in the sense that the city was Benjaminite because resettled by Israelites of Benjaminite stock after the flight of the previous Gibeonite inhabitants. If, however, they were originally unconnected, or at least if v.3 is not seen as causally connected with v.2b, we would simply have two items of information: Beeroth is a Benjaminite city;⁴¹ its inhabitants at some unspecified time and for some unspecified reason fled to Gittaim and stayed there.⁴²

Before attempting to answer the question why the Beerothites fled, we have to examine the topographical problem of Gittaim. The name occurs only here and in Neh. 11,33 where it is listed as Benjaminite. But Gittaim is the dual form of Gath, and in 1 Chr. 7,21 and 8,13 a Gath is mentioned which can only with great difficulty be identified with the Philistine Gath in view of the context.⁴³ The hypothesis has been advanced that this

41. Perhaps ~~this~~^{it} was thought^{necessary} to state this in view of the extreme northern situation of Beeroth. See map opposite p.54.

42. For another explanation see H.P.Smith, Samuel, Edinburgh, 1904, p.285.

43. See J.M.Myers, 1 Chronicles, New York, 1965, p.55.

Gath is the same as the Gittaim of 2 Sam. 4,3.⁴⁴ The question would then arise whether this Gath-Gittaim occurs elsewhere, in particular in 2 Sam. 6,10, the Gath which was the residence of Obed-edom in whose house the Ark was left before its final transfer to Jerusalem. This in its turn leads to the interesting possibility that Obed-edom may have been one of the Beerothite Gibeonites who fled to Gittaim and was there in the early years of David's reign. This can only be suggested not proved; but it is at least more probable that he was a Gibeonite rather than a Philistine. Having just taken the Ark from Philistine control (see 2 Sam. 6,1ff following ^{David} directly on 5,17-25) it is unlikely that ~~he~~ would have given it back into the charge of a Philistine. Since the reason for leaving it for an indeterminate period of time (2 Sam. 6,11 gives three months) in the house of Obed-edom was the fear of taking it from its former shrine where it had been for about half a century in a Gibeonite city,⁴⁵ it would be natural to leave it in charge of a Gibeonite until it was clear that Jerusalem had the approval of the Ark-god.

The probability that we have to reckon with at least two Gaths, the location of none of which is as yet established with certainty,⁴⁶ makes it difficult to decide whether the Gittaim

44. See A.Alt, 'Gittaim', PJB 35(1939)pp.100-4; B.Mazar, 'Gath and Gittaim', IEJ 4(1954)pp.227ff.

45. See below pp.

46. B.Mazar, art.cit.227ff, suggests raš abu hāmid about one and a half miles south east of er-ramleh as the site of Gittaim and this is accepted by Elliger, art.cit.p.132. The site of Philistine Gath does not concern us here.

of 2 Sam. 4,3 occurs in non-biblical sources. An Amarna letter from the lord of Gezer refers to g a m - t i - e - t i which is the plural form of the place-name g i - i m - t i mentioned in the account of Sargon II's campaign against the Philistines towards the end of the eighth century.⁴⁷ This may be seen as evidence of the variability of form in this kind of name. The Γιθθαμ of the Onomasticon, wrongly identified with Philistine Gath (which was much better known), also appears to be different from the Γιττα of the Madaba Map and the town of the same name which Justin tells us was the birthplace of Simon Magus.⁴⁸ We have therefore reason to suggest the probable identity of Gittaim in 2 Sam. 4,3 with Gath of 1 Chr. 7,21 and 8,13 and the identity of this city with the Gath of Obed-edom in 2 Sam. 6,10. There is, naturally, no question here of going beyond hypothesis.

The note in 2 Sam. 4,2b gives no reason for the flight of the Gittites. In view of the fact that Beeroth was a Gibeonite city, however, we may suggest that it was occasioned by the hostile policy of Saul towards this alien ethnic group evidence of which is found in 2 Sam. 21,2, which also has the appearance of an explanatory note. This suggestion will be followed up when we come to discuss the execution of the Saulites and the events which led up to it.⁴⁹

47. For the Amarna letter see Knudtzon, op.cit., No. 295, verso, line 7. For Sargon's campaign, ANET p. 286. The same name also occurs in Amarna letter No. 290. See Knudtzon and ANET p. 489.

48. Onomasticon 72,7; Justin, Apol. I 26, identified with djett by Alt, in Kl. Schr. I, p. 200.

49. See below pp. 279.

Kiriath-jearim (ק'רית יר, "town of forests"; in LXX in Vulg. Cariathiarim) is last in the Gibeonite list and first in the post-exilic list, Ezra 2,25 = Neh. 7,29. Jer. 26,20 mentions a prophet from Kiriath-jearim, Uriah ben-Shemaiah, who lived during the reign of Jehoiakim (cf. the Gibeonite prophet Hananiah, Jer. 28,1). We may note that he bears the same name as the Hittite (probably Hurrian⁵⁰) husband of Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11,2).

The first problem arising from this place-name which calls for discussion is its occurrence in both the Benjaminite (Jos. 18,28) and Judahite (Jos. 15,60) city-lists and the boundary descriptions of both tribes (Jos. 18,14f; 15,9). The first step towards a solution is to establish the date of the redaction of these lists. Before passing on to this, however, there are two points of importance to be noted about the position of Kiriath-jearim in the boundary-lists.

1. The descriptions of the northern boundary of Judah and the southern boundary of Benjamin are practically identical as to the topographical names used as points of reference from the Jordan to Kiriath-jearim. We may draw them up as follows:

<u>The Judah boundary, Jos. 15,5-9</u>	<u>The Benjamin boundary, Jos. 18,15-20</u>
1. mouth of the Jordan	12. mouth of the Jordan
2. Beth-hoglah	11. Beth-hoglah
3. Beth-arabah	10. Beth-arabah
4. the stone of Bohan	9. the stone of Bohan

50. See below p. 75 n. 61.

5. Debir	
6. Gilgal	8. Geliloth which is opposite
7. The Ascent of Adummim	the Ascent of Adummim
8. En-shemesh	7. En-shemesh
9. En-rogel	6. En-rogel
10. Valley of ...Hinnom	5. Valley of Hinnom
11. Valley of Rephaim	4. The southern end of the
	Valley of Rephaim
12. Nephtoah	3. Nephtoah
13. Mount Ephron	2. Ephron
14. Baalah (that is, Kiriath-jearim)	1. Kiriath-jearim

This close parallelism suggests that both have drawn on the same list of fixed border points which must go back to the time when Benjamin existed independently of Judah, therefore not later than the Early Monarchy and probably in the pre-monarchic period.⁵¹ These fixed points are outside the territory of Judah and inside that of Benjamin.⁵² The only exceptions are Beth-arabah and Kiriath-jearim which are in the city-lists of Judah and Benjamin.⁵³ Since it appears more natural to select points for fixing a boundary outside of the boundary in question, it would be more natural to suggest that the Benjamin boundary-list was redacted secondarily on the basis of a Judahite list.

51. See A.Alt, 'Das System der Stammesgrenzen im Buche Josua', in Kl.Schr. I pp.193ff; M.Noth, 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josuabuches', ZDPV 58(1935)pp. 185ff; Das Buch Josua p.85.110.

52. At least as far as the cities are concerned. From Beth-hoglah to Eglon all the points are in Benjamin.

53. Beth-arabah, Jos.15,61 and 18,22; Kiriath-jearim, Jos.15,60 and 18,28.

With respect to Kiriath-jearim the texts read as follows:

Then the boundary bends round to Baalah (that is, Kiriath-jearim); and the boundary circles west of Baalah to Mount Seir, passes along to the northern shoulder of Mount Hearim (that is, Chesalon), and goes down to Beth-shemesh ...

15,9b-10.

The boundary ... ends at Kiriath-baal (that is, Kiriath-jearim) a city belonging to the tribe of Judah.

18,14.

Noth argues that a redactor has wrongly identified Baalah and Kiriath-jearim, as if Kiriath-jearim were a new name for an old settlement; but in fact names formed with kiriath- are found in Syria and Palestine from at least Middle Bronze, and the form k r t occurs in Ugaritic and Punic inscriptions.⁵⁴ We would accept this evidence and add the analogous case of Hebron the former name of which was Kiriath-arba (Jos. 14,15) and Debir formerly Kiriath-sepher (Jos. 15,15). Noth adds that the explanatory gloss in the Benjaminite boundary-description identifying Kiriath-baal with Kiriath-jearim is not defensible topographically and that the hybrid form Kiriath-baal was formed at some later redactional stage.⁵⁵

54. Das Buch Josua, pp.89f.

55. op.cit.p.110.

2. Of particular importance for our study is the (literally) cardinal position of Kiriath-jearim on the Judah - Benjamin boundary. Jos. 18,14 states that the boundary ends at Kiriath-jearim. It is not only the point at which, in the lists, the northern border of Judah ends and the southern border of Benjamin begins, it is also the nodal point between the tribes of Judah, Benjamin and Dan. We may significantly note that the three stages of the Ark's movement after its capture by the Philistines occur in the Judah boundary-list in inverse order:

Then the boundary bends round to Baalah (that is, Kiriath-jearim); and the boundary circles west of Baalah to Mount Seir, passes along to the northern shoulder of Mount Jearim (that is, Chesalon), and goes down to Beth-shemesh, and passes along by Timnah; the boundary goes out to the shoulder of the hill north of Ekron ...

Jos. 15,9b-11a

We shall return to this when we discuss the role of Kiriath-jearim in the narrative of the taking up of the Ark in 2 Sam. 6.

Kiriath-jearim is also in both city-lists:

Kiriath-baal (that is, Kiriath-jearim) and Rabbah: two cities with their villages. Jos 15,60

Gibeon, Ramah, Beeroth, Mizpah, Chephirah, Mozah, Rekem, Irpeel, Taralah, Zela, Gibeah and Kiriath-jearim⁵⁶ - fourteen cities with their villages. Jos 18,25-28a

56. In LXX^{BA}. MT has "Kiriath".

The old view was that these lists were more or less arbitrary and unreliable creations of P.⁵⁷ Probably the first to propose a serious alternative to this view was Alt who argued that they derive in substance from an administrative document the date of which per se could be any time from the reign of Rehoboam to the end of the Southern Kingdom. As a result of his investigation into the redactional activity carried out on the Judahite list (Jos. 15) he defended the view that it reflected the administrative reforms and expansionist policy of Josiah towards the end of the seventh century, while admitting that it could contain older material.⁵⁸ Discrepancies in the city-lists, especially the ascription of a city to two tribes,⁵⁹ were explained by the hypothesis of a twelvefold administrative division of the Kingdom of Judah (including territory formerly belonging to Benjamin) in the Josian document. This list was drawn on for the redaction of both city-lists in Jos. and in the process two cities were ascribed to both tribes. The tenth Josian province was that of Jerusalem which took in Kiriath-jearim and Rabbah (Jos. 15,60). The full list for this division is, however, to be found in the second

57. See O.Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Tübingen, 1956², pp.302ff; S.Mowinckel, Zur Frage nach dokumetarischen Quellen in Josua 13-19, 1946.

58. 'Judas Gaue unter Josia', PJB 21(1925)pp.100ff and Kl.Schr. II pp.276ff.

59. Eshtaol and Zorah are in Judah (15,33) and Dan (19,41). Kiriath-jearim and Rabbah are in Judah (15,60) and Benjamin (18,22.27).

half of the Benjamin city-list (18,25-28) - hence the repetition of Kiriath-jearim.⁶⁰ This explanation agrees substantially with that of Noth, except that the Jerusalem division is eleventh not tenth in his analysis.⁶¹

The great merit of Alt's investigation of the lists was to bring them within the bounds of historical reality by insisting on the importance of determining their Sitz im Leben Israels. His conclusions have not, however, gone unchallenged. F.M.Cross and G.E.Wright⁶² begin from the combination of the Dan list (19,41-46) with those of Judah and Benjamin. They note that the most surprising thing about the first is the absence of Beth-shemesh. This can only be explained on the hypothesis that at the time of compilation Beth-shemesh was not significantly inhabited. The excavations conducted at Ain Shems are alleged to demonstrate that the city area, though large and evidently important during the time of David, was never fortified after this time and does not appear to have been inhabited during the following century. The Judah city-list, including Dan, could therefore have been drawn up any time after the reign of David even though David may well have been responsible for the first administrative division of the kingdom embodied in 1 Kings 4,7-19. Biblical evidence would, on the whole,

60. Alt, op.cit.p.278.

61. M.Noth,Das Buch Josua,pp.99.109ff; 'Studien zu den historisch-geographischen Dokumenten des Josuabuches',ZDPV 58(1935)pp. 185ff; 'Überlieferungsgeschichtliches zur Zweiten Hälfte des Josuabuches', in Nötscher Festschrift,1950,152ff.

62. 'The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Juda',JBL 65(1956)pp.202ff.

favour a date sometime in the reign of Jehoshaphat (ca.873-49).

This agrees in substance with Albright's dating.⁶³

Kallai-Kleinmann, a pupil of Mazar's at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem, has in turn criticized the conclusions of Cross and Wright, and, in particular, questioned the relevance of their arguments drawn from the excavations of Ain Shems.⁶⁴ His view is that the boundary-lists go back essentially to the census taken by David while the Judah city-list is from the time of Hezekiah. He explains the discrepancies by referring to the different times of composition of the Judah and Benjamin lists. More to our purpose, he does not accept the identification of Kiriath-baal (15,60) with $\aleph' \gamma \rho \aleph \gamma \beth \lambda$ (18,28 MT). The latter refers to a new Judahite quarter built on to the old city after Benjamin had been absorbed into Judah; it is this which is referred to in 18,14 as "the city of the sons of Judah" as opposed to the older Benjaminite part of the city.

Whatever we may think of his dating, this last theory of Kallai-Kleinmann's does not take account of the following factors:

- i) as we have seen, Kiriath- is an old pre-Israelite formation.
- ii) gib'ath-kiriath is an exceedingly improbable name to give to a new city or part of a city. Several of the versions seem to have felt this difficulty.⁶⁵

63. 'The Topography of the Tribe of Issachar', ZAW 44(1926)pp.236f; Review of Noth: Das Buch Josua in JBL 57(1938)226.

64. 'The Town-List of Juda, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan', VT 8(1958)134ff; VT 11(1961)223-7 (his reply to Aharoni's criticism); 'Notes on the Topography of Benjamin', IEJ 6(1956)p.187.

65. LXX^A reads: $\Gamma \alpha \beta \alpha \alpha \Theta \kappa \alpha \iota \pi \omicron \lambda \iota \varsigma \text{ } \text{I} \alpha \rho \epsilon \mu$

iii) this reading leaves us with only thirteen cities, not fourteen as the final summary (18,28) states.

We would therefore conclude that he has failed to demonstrate that Kiriath-jearim is not found in both lists and to disprove Alt's theory that the lists draw on one administrative document.

Y.Aharoni,⁶⁶ while accepting and expanding ~~and~~ this interpretation of Jos. 18,28 with reference to "the city of the sons of Judah" (18,14) and the textually uncertain reference to "the hill" in 1 Sam. 7,1 (this would be another way of describing the Judahite quarter of the city), rejects the separation of the Judahite and Benjaminite city-lists. The imponderable element is recognized to be the extent of Judah and the positioning of her boundaries at any given period. Reviewing the history of the relations between North and South during the Divided Monarchy, he arrives at the conclusion that no significant change took place in the Northern boundary after the war between Asa (ca.911-870) and Baasha (909-889) and that therefore the Judah list probably derives from the administrative reorganization carried out by Uzziah (ca.781-740). Kiriath-jearim and Ha-rabbah (probably to be identified with Beth-shemesh) represent one province by themselves and are not to be joined on to the Benjaminite cities in 18,21-28.

As we shall see later, the identification of Beth-shemesh with Ha-rabbah, if accepted, would provide a further valuable

66. 'The Province List of Judah', VT 9(1959)pp.225ff.

indication of close association between Kiriath-jearim and Beth-shemesh. This may well be relevant for our understanding of some aspects of the history of the Ark's movements in 1-2 Sam.

While the discussion on the date of these lists is still in progress it would be rash to opt for a definitive explanation. We may content ourselves with summarizing the conclusions we have reached with regard to Kiriath-jearim:

1. It is in both lists (15,60 and 18,28).
2. The form kiriath- is original not secondary.
3. The two lists derive from an administrative document redacted at a time when Kiriath-jearim was identified, perhaps not correctly, with a certain Baal(ah), Jos. 15,60; 2 Sam. 6,2 (?)
4. It was originally in Benjamin and, together with other cities which were originally Benjaminite - either Ha-rabbah alone or, more probably, those listed in Jos. 18,21-28 - came to form a separate province of the Kingdom of Judah. This is in agreement with the province-list of 1 Kings 4,7-19.⁶⁷ In this list one of the provinces is that of Benjamin under Shimei ben-Ela (v.18, a Benjaminite name, cf. Shimei in 2 Sam. 16,5). The capital of this province was Jerusalem (the tenth province of Alt and the eleventh of Noth) which took in most if not all of the Gibeonite region originally

67. See W.F.Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore, 1953³, 141; JPOS 5(1925)pp.16ff.

annexed to Benjamin. This is in agreement with the close ethnic, cultural and political association between Gibeon and Jerusalem in the pre-monarchic period which will be discussed at a later point in this study.

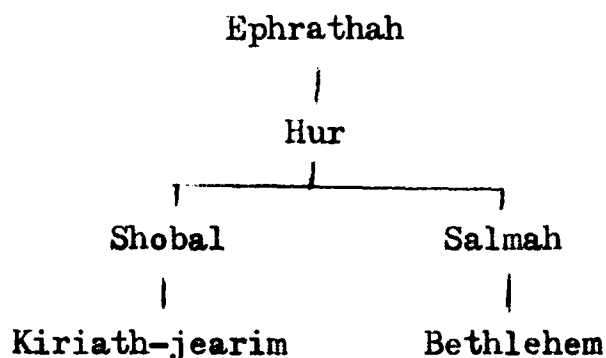
Kiriath-jearim is also mentioned in Jg. 18,12 as the site of the Danite encampment on their way to the north. This was known at the time of writing as "the camp of Dan".⁶⁸ We may well have here yet another indication of association between Danites and Benjaminites (Gibeonites) during the immediate pre-monarchic period.

The topographical "genealogy" of Kiriath-jearim in 1 Chr. 2,50-3 and the ethnic associations between this city and the Bethlehem (Ephrathah) region will come up for discussion at a later point.

The best-known references to the city are, of course, those which occur in 1 Sam. 6,21; 7,1.2; 1 Chr. 13,5f (cf. 2 Chr. 1,4) with reference to the history of the Ark. The Chronicler evidently interpreted בֵּית יִרְמְיָהוּ of 2 Sam. 6,2 as an alternative form of the name of the city. This too will be discussed at the relevant place. Ps. 132,6, referring to the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem by David,⁶⁹ has יְרֵמֶה in apposition to Ephrathah. This agrees with the post-exilic genealogical tradition in 1 Chr. 2,50b:

68. Discussed by E. Täubler, Biblische Studien: Die Epoche der Richter, Tübingen, 1958, p. 65, with further bibliography.

69. H-J Kraus, Psalmen II, Neukirchen, 1961², pp. 876ff; A. Weiser, Die Psalmen, Göttingen, 1963, pp. 538ff.



and is further elucidated by the explanatory gloss in Mic.
4,15:

But you, O Bethlehem (Ephrathah),
Who are little to be among the clans of Judah ...

Mazar and Aharoni claim to find Kiriath-jearim in the
account of Sheshonk's Asian campaign. But the q d t m of
the inscription seems to be situated between Aijalon and
Beth-horon which hardly fits the site of Kiriath-jearim (see
map opposite p.54).⁷⁰

The city does not occur in the Amarna letters.

There is fortunately little doubt about the identification
of this Gibeonite city. It lay in the neighbourhood of
k a r y e t e l ' e n a b about fourteen miles west of
Jerusalem on the old Jaffa road. This was the site chosen by
Robinson and accepted by Dalman, Abel, Alt and many others.⁷¹

70. B.Mazar, 'The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak', VT 4(1957)p.61;
Aharoni, op.cit.p.287.

71. Robinson, op.cit. I p.446; Dalman, op.cit. pp.214, 224 (see air-
photograph of site); Abel, op.cit. II p.56; 'La Question
gabaonite et l'Onomasticon', RB 43(1934)p.349; Alt, PJB 21
(1925), p.57; Kl.Schr. I p.152; Simons, op.cit.p.151;
H.Vincent, 'Eglise Byzantine et Inscription Romaine à Abou-
Ghoch', RB n.s.4(1907)pp.414ff; S.Lauffs, 'Zur Lage und
Geschichte des Ortes Kirjat-jearim', ZDPV 38(1915)pp.249ff;
P.T.Cooke, 'The Site of Kiriath-jearim', AASOR 5(1923/4)pp.105ff.

More precisely, the site of the ancient settlement is at d e r e l ' a z h a r, the hill on the other side of the road, which name may have preserved the memory of Eleazar priest of the Ark during its stay in the "house" of Abinadab (1 Sam. 7,1), though a limited excavation has revealed no trace of a sanctuary from this early period.⁷²

Jos. 15,60 refers to Kiriath-jearim with its dependent villages. Lauffs compared this notice with the modern e l - k e r j e with its twenty three villages as it was fifty years ago.⁷³ Dalman suggests that Kiriath-jearim was an administrative centre for the surrounding area. He writes:

Vielleicht hatte Kirjath wie das heutige el kerje eine Vorherrschaft über die Ortschaften dieses Geländes, welche auch deshalb eine Trennung desselben von judäischen Gebiet unmöglich erscheinen liess.⁷⁴

This may have been the case at the time of the redaction of the list, but we know nothing of this for the pre-monarchic and early monarchic period.

We may deduce from Jos. 15,60 ("Kiriath-baal [that is, Kiriath-jearim] and Rabbah: two cities with their villages") that it was not far from Rabbah which is probably to be identified with the r u b u t e of the cuneiform inscriptions,

72. R.de Vaux and M.Stève, Feuilles de Qiryat el-Enab, Paris, 1951, pp.10f.

73. art.cit.p.265.

74. op.cit.p.225.

Amarna in particular, and the r b t of Egyptian topographical lists. If Aharoni is right in identifying it with Beth-shemesh,⁷⁵ we would have a confirmation of its highly strategic position as key border-post between Dan, Benjamin and Judah . This would further elucidate the part played by both Beth-shemesh and Kiriath-jearim in the history of the Ark's movements in 1 Sam. and the close relations then existing between the populations of the Danite and Gibeonite cities.

The order in which the cities are listed in Jos. 9,17 does not seem to have any special significance. Hertzberg⁷⁶ suggested an ordering according to an east to west direction but this is not possible with the identifications proposed above.

75. op.cit.pp.286f; art.cit.p.229.

76. ZAW n.F.6(1929)p.184.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON MIZPAH

Though not listed among the Gibeonite cities, Mizpah of Benjamin must be taken into account in our study since the problem of its identification has been inseparable from that of the identification of Gibeon and its sanctuary.

The name derives from מִצְפָּה and is cognate with the substantive מִצְפָּה, "watch-tower", "look^kout post" (2 Chr. 20, 24; Is. 21,8) and possibly also with מִצְפָּה, Lam. 4,17.

Wellhausen suggested a derivation from מִצְפָּה (מִצְפָּה) rather than מִצְפָּה,¹ but the generally accepted derivation seems the more obvious and likely. Its suitability as designating a prominent and elevated local feature is therefore easily understood, as also the fact that it is found, with only one exception (Hos. 5,1), with the article. The forms Mizpah and Mizpeh seem to be interchangeable: the Mizpah of Jos. 11,3 is identical with Mizpeh of v.8² and the Gilaad Mizpeh (Jg. 11,29) appears to be the same as the Mizpah of Jg. 10, 17; 11,11.34 .

The name is found in many parts of Syria and Palestine: in Judah (Jos. 15,38), Gilaad (Jg. 11,29; Gen. 31,49), Moab (1 Sam. 22,3), Gad (Jos. 13,26, Ramath ha-Mizpeh) and East of

1. Die Composition des Hexateuchs, Berlin, 1885, p.44.

2. See Noth, Das Buch Josua, p.69.

the Jordan (Jg. 10,17; 11,11.34; these, however, may refer to the Mizpah of Gilaad). The "land of Mizpah" in the Beqa (Jos. 11,3) appears to be identical with "the valley of Mizpeh" of v.8. This was a region inhabited by Hivites (v.3). There is, finally, at least one Mizpah in Benjamin and it is with Benjamin that we are alone concerned.

Ha-Mizpah^e is one of fourteen cities in the second half of the Benjamin city-list (Jos 18,26). In all of the other 34 occurrences of the Benjaminite city the form is ha-Mizpah, and we cannot assume a priori that all refer to the same place. We shall suggest that it is precisely this assumption which has for so long confused the issue and made it more difficult to solve the problem of identification.

We can list the occurrences as follows:

1. The punishment of the crime of the Benjaminites of Gibeah, Jg. 20-21. According to one narrative-strand, the Israelites came together at the religious sanctuary of Mizpah (20,1.3; 21,1.5.8). The context provides no clue as to its situation and ^{the writer} does not appear to be interested in where it was. It seems to be thought of as a central sanctuary: "all the people of Israel", "the congregation" (20,1), "the assembly of the people of God" (20,2) and the official decision to punish Jabesh Gilaad for absenteeism (21,8ff).

2. Place of tribal convocation by Samuel in 1 Sam.

He calls together all Israel at Mizpah for a liturgy of repentance and re-dedication after the return of the Ark

(1 Sam. 7,5ff). This ended with a Philistine attack which was routed, the people going out from Mizpah and pursuing the enemy "as far as below Beth-car" (7,11). After this Samuel set up a commemorative stone Eben-ezer between Mizpah and ha-Shen (7,12).

The situation of Beth-car is unknown; hence the tendency of commentators to substitute Beth-horon.³

MT ha-Shen may be identical with *b e i t s h e n n a* below Beth-horon in the valley of Aijalon, but this is no more than a guess.⁴ In the mind of the writer Mizpah was certainly easily reached by the Philistines and in the region hotly contested between them and the Israelites.

According to one tradition (in 1 Sam. 10,17) Samuel chose Saul as king by lot at Mizpah. Again we have no indication of its situation except that it was in Benjamin.

3. In the war between Baasha and the Judah-Syria coalition the former was unable to proceed with his plan of fortifying Ramah (er ram) and material from the site was used by Asa to fortify Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah (1 Kings 15,22 = 2 Chr. 16,6). Per se, all this implies with regard to the situation of Mizpah is that it was not too far from Ramah. We shall examine the text more closely in a moment.

3. See Abel, op.cit. II pp. 269.309; A. Klostermann, Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige, Nördlingen, 1887,

4. See de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, p. 48.

4. Presuming that Hos. 5,1 refers to a Mizpah in Gilaad, there is no further mention until we come to the account of the ~~the~~ assassination of Gedaliah with the events leading up to and following from it (2 Kings 25,22ff; Mizpah in vv.23.25). This event is told at greater length in Jer. 40-41 (Mizpah mentioned 14 times) where we learn that certain Israelites came to Mizpah on their way to the Temple of Jerusalem (41,5) and that the cistern made by Asa as part of his defensive arrangements against Baasha was also there (41,9). Mizpah is evidently the administrative centre of Judah and a place of considerable importance. It is distinct from Gibeon though not far from it, as is implied in 41,12.
5. Mizpah and Gibeon are again mentioned together in Neh. 3,7. Men from these cities worked together in repairing the walls of Jerusalem under the supervision of the governor of the province 'Beyond the River'. Later (v. 15) Shallum ruler of the district of Mizpah occurs. This again emphasizes the importance of the city in the exilic and immediate post-exilic period.
6. 1 Macc. 3,46 speaks of an assembly for prayer and penitential rites convoked by Judas which took place at Mizpah "for there was in former days a place of prayer at Mizpah for Israel". Of its situation we learn that it was *κατεναντικα* (*επουκα* ^{-η}), and this much-discussed phrase would in itself imply that Mizpah was only a short distance from Jerusalem and normally visible from it.

These are the ^{only} biblical references to Benjaminite Mizpah. A certain Simon of Mizpah is mentioned in the Talmud⁵ but no light is thrown on the location of his birthplace. Mizpah is not on the Madaba Map and the Onomasticon is so confused on the subject of the various Mizpahs that we cannot safely use it. We are therefore thrown back on the Old Testament, with the proviso that the situation of Mizpah can be solved only within the total context of Benjaminite topography, especially the identification of Gibeon and Beeroth.

We have, finally, to take account of the results of Badè's excavation of tell en-naşbeh situated about eight miles north of Jerusalem near the main road to Nablus. This excavation, concluded in 1935,⁶ provided valuable new material for the discussion which had been in progress since the time of Edward Robinson and, together with the results of Pritchard's work at el ġib, at least had the effect of eliminating some identifications and sharpening the issue.⁷

It will not be necessary for us to trace in detail the history of the debate. After earlier surveys by Albright and Hertzberg,⁸ the period down to 1946 was exhaustively covered by Muilenburg in the official record of the excavations.⁹ In the

5. Pes. II 66; Yoma 14b.

6. See Ch. One n. 18; also W. F. Badè, 'The Tell en-Naşbeh Excavations of 1929', PEQ 1930, 8ff; 'New Discoveries at Tell en-Naşbeh', BZAW 66 (1936) 30ff; E. W. G. Masterman, 'Excavations at Tell en-Naşbeh 1926-7', PEQ 1929, pp. 56f; W. F. Albright, Review of C. C. McCown: Tell en-Naşbeh, JNES 7 (1948) pp. 202ff.

7. Among identifications eliminated were Sha'afat proposed by Guerin, el birih proposed by Heidet and khirbet batn es-sa'ideh.

8. Albright, AASOR 4 (1924) 90ff; Hertzberg, ZAW n. F. 6 (1929) 61ff.

9. McCown, *op. cit.* pp. 3ff; Studia Theol. Lund, 8/1 (1954) pp. 25ff.

earliest stage nebi samwil was favoured as the site of Benjaminite Mizpah, no doubt principally because of the tradition associating Samuel with this site, a tradition which was presumed to go back to 1 Sam. 7,5 and 10,17.¹⁰ With the work of Robinson, however, the candidature of tell en-naşbeh came to the fore, and was supported by some of the leading experts in Palestinian topography at that time, including Vincent, Dalman and Alt.¹¹ Their view was confirmed by the excavations of Badè, and even Albright, who had opposed tell en-naşbeh so long, admitted in 1948 that "the odds now favor the identification of Tell en-Naşbeh with Mizpah".¹² As we shall see, however, the question cannot at this time be considered settled in the favour of either of the two identifications, tell en-naşbeh or nebi sanwil.

The arguments in favour of tell en-naşbeh are easily rehearsed. Onomastic similarity had been argued long before the excavations began,¹³ and the most we can say is that it is philologically possible but by no means conclusive. Badè's excavations revealed a city uninhabited during Late Bronze but defended with an imposing fortification-system during the Iron

10. Argued by Alt, ZDPV 69(1953)pp.1ff.

11. See documentation in Albright, art.cit.pp.40ff.

12. JNES 7(1948)p.203.

13. See Muilenburg, in McOm, op.cit.pp.15f.

Age (from about 1200 B.C.). This eliminated Alt's identification with Gibeon but would not in itself compel us to accept the claim of Mizpah.¹⁴ The discovery of a jug-handle on the site inscribed with m s p (later read as m s h)¹⁵ and of an agate seal in a Middle or Late Iron Age tomb inscribed with the name Jaazaniah, a name borne by one of the Israelite delegates who came to Gedaliah at Mizpah (2 Kings 25,23),¹⁶ seemed to settle the question for Badè, though the first is not without its difficulties and the second could be a coincidence.

Crucial to the whole question is the interpretation of 1 Kings 15,22 (= 2 Chr. 16,6): "king Asa made a proclamation to all Judah, none was exempt, and they carried away the stones of Ramah and its timber, with which Baasha had been building, and with them king Asa built Geba of Benjamin and Mizpah". The view of Badè, Muilenburg and the many others who accepted their conclusions¹⁷ is that tell en-nasbeh has the best situation to qualify as the site of the Mizpah referred to here since it lies on or near the northern boundary of Judah in a position well suited for defence against Asa's hostile neighbour to the north. However, as Myers has pointed out,¹⁸ it is important to know

15. For Alt's arguments which, of course, antedate Pritchard's excavation of el ġib, see art.cit.pp.1ff.

16. See Masterman, art.cit.p.56 and, for the interpretation of the inscription, Alt, PJB 25(1929)pp.12ff and A.Barrois, 'Fouilles en Palestine', RB 38(1929)pp.318f (reading m o z a).

17. For example, A.Kuschke, 'Mizpa', RGG³ IV, 1960, col.1065; K. Galling, Bibl. Reallexikon, Tübingen, 1937, col.385f; J.Gray, I & II Kings, London, 1964, pp.321f. G.E.Wright, BA 10/4(1947)pp. 69ff remained undecided.

18. J.J.Myers, II Chronicles, New York, 1965, p.94.

whether Asa's action was thought of as offensive or defensive. If the former, a position well forward on the northern frontier would be indicated and the claim of tell en-naṣbeh, taken with the considerations advanced above, would be practically irresistible. But this is by no means certain. The defeat of Baasha, who had initiated hostile proceedings (1 Kings 15,17), would have been thought of as temporary and the emergency character of the operation, involving all the manpower of Judah, gives the impression of an attempt to use the time gained by the intervention of Syria to strengthen the defensive capacity of the Southern Kingdom. This is stated as explicitly as we could desire in Jer. 41,9.

We also have to note that Baasha had been fortifying Ramah which is some distance to the south of tell en-naṣbeh, indicating that it was not merely a question of erecting or strengthening border strong points. But the most serious difficulty against tell en-naṣbeh is the discovery made by Badè that the city-gate faced north not south as we would expect in defensive planning against the north.¹⁹ Until these difficulties are satisfactorily disposed of we cannot accept unconditionally this identification.

Further difficulties await us when we turn to the texts dealing with the Mizpah of the period immediately following the

19. See Albright, Review of Abel: Géographie de la Palestine, in JBL 58(1939)p.180, though this difficulty is not pressed in the review of McCown, op.cit., JNES 7(1948)p.203.

fall of Jerusalem and the deportation of the population of Judah by the Babylonians. Jer. 41,9, which states that the cistern into which Ishmael cast the bodies of the men he had murdered was part of the defensive arrangements of king Asa, makes it clear that this Mizpah was considered to be the same as that referred to in 1 Kings 15,22. Albright has sought support for this in the fact that tell en-naṣbeh was one of the very few sites in this part of Palestine which remained undisturbed in this period.²⁰ According to Badè the city had been destroyed by Sheshonk (Shishak), then rebuilt by Asa, then destroyed again by Sennacherib in 701 B.C., after which no further traces of destruction could be discerned.²¹ Despite this, the literary evidence from 2 Kings 25,22ff and Jer. 40-41 proves refractory in some important respects. As Albright again pointed out, more than forty years ago, in Jer. 40,5 the prophet is told to return from Ramah to Mizpah, and this verb would hardly be appropriate for a journey northward.²² More important, in Jer. 41,10ff we read that Ishmael, who had set out from Mizpah in the direction of Amman, was met by Johanan and his army at Gibeon, that is, SSW of tell en-naṣbeh, and it is difficult to believe that Ishmael,

20. The Archaeology of Palestine, pp.141f.

21. See his articles in ZAW 51(1933)pp.150ff; BZAW 66(1936)pp.30ff.

22. AASOR 4(1922/3)p.93.

des^ferately in need of time to escape after the assassination, would have gone in practically the opposite direction.²³ To suppose that this was a circuitous route known only to Ishmael or, even less likely, that the meeting was planned at Gibeon (as was the one some four hundred years earlier between Abner and Joab, 2 Sam. 2,12ff), seems a desperate expedient. If, however, Mizpah is identified with nebi samwil, the difficulty would not occur since Ishmael, proceeding from there, would have passed Gibeon on his way eastward.

An argument advanced by the defenders of tell en-naşbeh is that the men on their way to the Temple-site at Jerusalem who had set out from Shechem, Shiloh and Samaria (Jer. 41,5) would naturally travel along the main north-south road on or near which tell en-naşbeh is situated. This, however, ignores the possibility that they may have had to obtain permission from Gedaliah at Mizpah to go there and that therefore they had to visit Mizpah before proceeding to Jerusalem.²⁴

A further difficulty for the tell en-naşbeh thesis is 1 Macc. 3,46 (see above under 4.) referring to a Mizpah which was formerly a "place of prayer" and which was situated *κατεναντι* i.e. opposite or facing Jerusalem. A survey of the use of this preposition in the Greek versions confirms that it normally implies proximity and visibility, which is eminently true of

23. This is well stated by J.Bright, Jeremiah (Anchor Bible), New York, 1965, p.255.

24. See Albright, AASOR 4(1922/3)p.93.

nebi samwil with respect to Jerasalem and very much less so of tell en-naṣbeh.²⁵ Jos. 3,16, proposed by Dalman to illustrate a wider use of this preposition, is hardly conclusive since Jericho (tell es-sultan) is rather less than six miles from the Jordan and, in any case, the preposition here is $\alpha\pi\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ not $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$.²⁶ Like many other scholars at that time, Dalman did not contemplate the possibility of more than one Mizpah in Benjamin.

We may add that the name ha-mizpah ("the watch-tower") is not particularly well suited to tell en-naṣbeh which has not a strikingly high elevation and is surrounded by hills some of which are higher than it. One may argue, of course, that name-giving follows psychological rather than logical rules, but it is true nevertheless that such a name would be more suited to nebi samwil which dominates the skyline north west of Jerusalem and provides an unobstructed view covering a great distance in all directions.

Finally, Neh. 3,7, and possibly also the account of the flight of Ishmael in Jer. 41,11ff, suggests a close connexion between Mizpah and Gibeon which would be more easily explained on the hypothesis that Mizpah is identical with nebi samwil about a mile from Gibeon.

These difficulties we encounter in interpreting the relevant texts show us that the tell en-naṣbeh thesis, despite

25. There is nothing higher than nebi samwil between this hill and the Temple area. See H.Vincent, RB 31(1922)pp.360ff. For ~~26x~~ the use of $\kappa\alpha\tau\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ see Hatch and Redpath, A Concordance to the Septuagint and the Other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1895-7, II, p.749.

26. PJB 7(1911)pp.14f.

the strong support it received from the excavations, cannot yet be accepted with any confidence.

We must, however, go on to state that the arguments in favour of nebi samwil are not decisive either. Despite the greater appropriateness of the name to that site, the crucial but obscure 1 Macc. 3,46, the association between Mizpah and Gibeon in exilic and post-exilic texts and the Arabic name (understood to reflect a Samuel-tradition going back to 1 Sam. 7,5ff and 10,17ff) we cannot arrive at a definite conclusion.

It may be suggested that the basic cause of the confusion is the name itself, designating a topographical feature widespread in Palestine. It is not impossible that both sites acquired this name. In different ways both Alt and Albright arrived at the conclusion that tell en-naṣbeh was the site of biblical Ataroth and yet was also known as Mizpah from the time of Asa.²⁷ We would suggest that, in a somewhat similar way, nebi samwil was known in an earlier period as ha-Gib'ah, later as ha-Mizpah. This would be appropriate especially since the former is probably a pre-Israelite, the latter an Israelite form.²⁸ We would further suggest that the confusion between the two sites may have already been widespread at the time when 2 Kings 25,22ff and Jer. 40-41 were redacted - a fortiori at the time of the composition of 1 Macc. This would imply that we can have no

27. A.Alt, 'Neue Erwägungen über die Lage von Mizpa, Beeroth und Gibeon', ZDPV 69(1953)pp.1ff; W.F.Albright, AASOR 4(1922/3)pp.33ff.

28. See Isserlin, PEQ 89(1957)pp.133ff.

guarantee that the crucial v.9 of Jer.41, on the basis of which alone the exilic Mizpah is identified with that of Asa, is historically trustworthy. Failure to make allowance for the possibility that the texts may refer to more than one place²⁹ has made it more difficult to clarify the problem and arrive at a conclusion.

Taking all the evidence into account we would suggest the following tentative and provisional conclusion. The sanctuary of Mizpah referred to in Jg. 20-21 and 1 Sam. 7,5ff;10,17ff is nebi samwil which we have identified as the central sanctuary of the Gibeonite cities. This goes some way to meeting the difficulty referred to at the beginning of this study that nowhere in the texts dealing with the Judges and the reign of Saul is Gibeon ever mentioned. We find additional support for this in the fact that another centre of Hivite population, situated in the Beqa, is described as "the land of Mizpah" (Jos. 11,3). It has often been noted that in Jg. and 1 Sam. Mizpah occurs in a late strand of the complex literary history of the tradition here set forth.³⁰ More in particular, certain similarities in style and religious Weltanschauung between these passages and writing of the time of Jeremiah make it

29. With the exception of Alt who argues that the Mizpah of Jg. and 1 Sam. is nebi samwil, that of the later texts tell en-našbeh.

30. See Muilenburg, 'Mizpah of Benjamin', Studia Theol. Lund 8 I(1954), pp.37ff. For 1 Sam. see below pp.244ff.

reasonable to suggest that this late strand dates from that time or shortly afterwards.³¹ During the half millenium which elapsed between the reign of Saul and the events described in 2 Kings 25,22ff and Jer. 40-41 the importance of this early religious sanctuary fell into oblivion, no doubt partially due to an anti-Gibeonite bias traces of which can be detected without great difficulty in the Old Testament historical tradition.³² In these circumstances confusion with another Mizpah, that fortified by Asa, could easily have occurred. In the present state of our knowledge the only Mizpah text which can be referred to tell en-nasbeh with any confidence is 1 Kings 15,22 and even this is not free of difficulties, as we have seen.

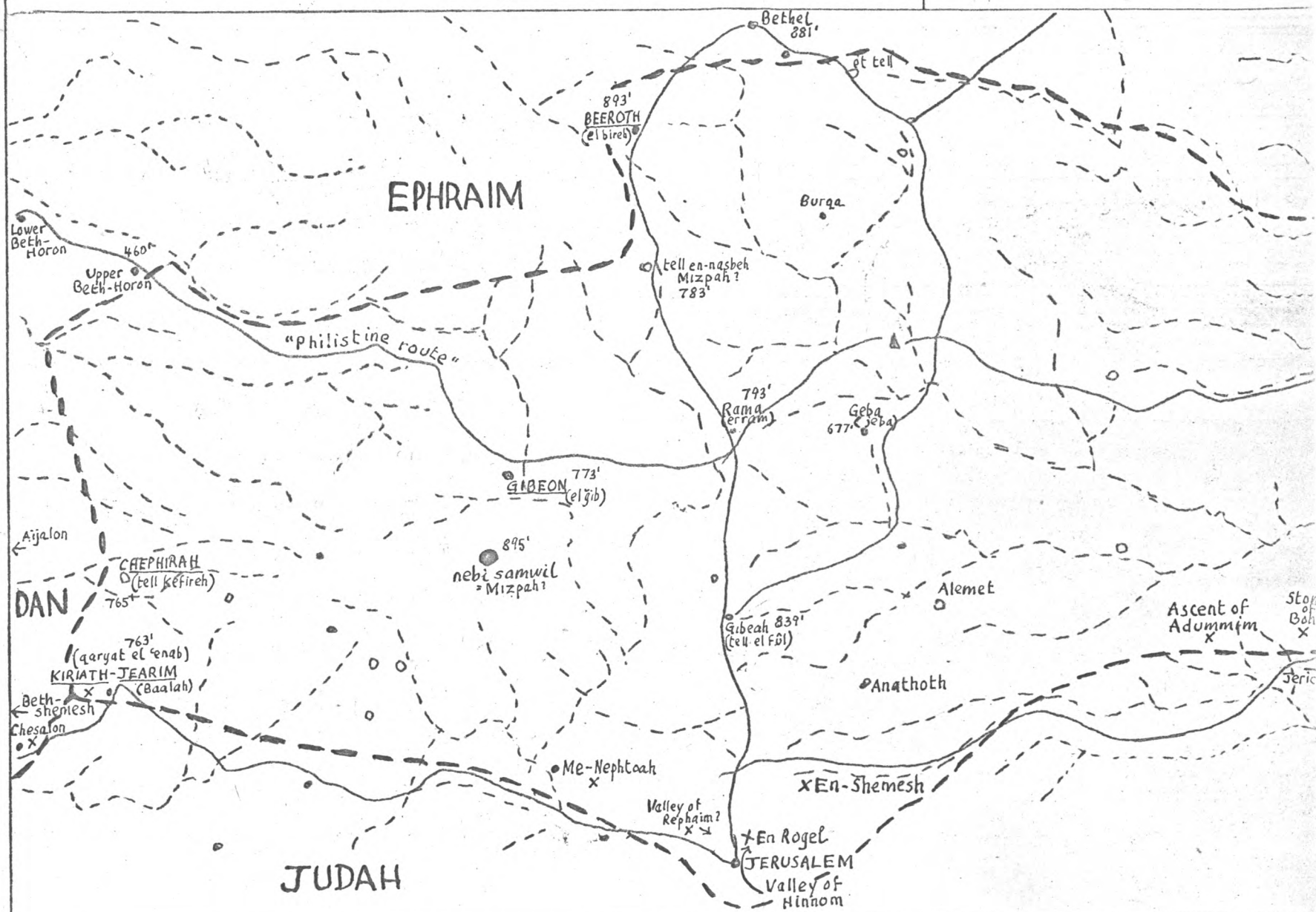
We have, finally, no means of knowing the location of the ha-Mizpeh of the Benjamin city-list (Jos. 18,26).

31. See Muilenburg, art.cit. pp.37ff. Alt places it a generation after the fall of Jerusalem; see reference in Muilenburg, p.30.

32. See below pp. 135.152.189ff.

MAP OF GIBEONITE CITIES (UNDERLINED)

0 1 2 3 Miles



LEGEND: — road system, --- wadi, --- tribal boundary, x Judah-Benjamin boundary-point, o tell.

CHAPTER THREE

THE ETHNIC IDENTITY OF THE GIBEONITES

In Jos. 9,7 and 11,17 the Gibeonites are described as Hivite (') and in 2 Sam. 21,2 as non-Israelite, "part of the residue of the Amorites". In the present chapter we will try to establish the meaning of these terms in biblical usage and then in the wider context of populations in Canaan about the time of the Israelite Settlement.

The Old Testament contains twenty one lists, of a more or less stereotype nature, of six or more peoples in Canaan when the Israelites arrived.¹ The Hivites occur in eighteen of these, generally (fourteen times) second-last followed by the Jebusites. They are regarded as distinct from Amorites and Hittites since these occur in all the lists. Horites do not occur. We may anticipate what we shall study more closely later in drawing attention to their position in the lists next to Jebusites. For MT LXX have $\epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda\omicron\lambda$ with the one exception of Jos. 11,3 where we find $\chi\epsilon\tau\tau\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ a reading which Meyer accepted as original.² In LXX the order of peoples in the lists is sometimes different from MT.

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1. Gen. 10,15; 15,19-21; Ex. 3,8.17; 13,5; 23,23; 33,2; 34,11; Dt. 7,1; 20,17; Jos. 3,10; 9,1; 11,3; 12,8; 24,11; Jg. 3,5; 1 Kings 9,20; 1 Chr. 1,13-16; 2 Chr. 8,7; Ezra 9,1; Neh. 9,8.
 2. E.Meyer, Israel und ihre Nachbarstämme, Halle, 1906, pp. 334f.

Apart from the lists, the references to Hivites fall into three groups:

1. In Shechem and the surrounding region. Gen. 34,2 speaks of Shechem ben-Hamor the Hivite. Here and in Jos. 9,7 LXX^B has $\chi\omicron\pi\pi\alpha\lambda\omicron\varsigma(\omicron\varsigma)$ which presumes '7Π7, the double ~~ρρρρ~~ρ representing ḥ u r r - leading to tone-long $\bar{o}$ before guttural.
2. In the Beqa. Jg. 3,3 numbers among the nations left to test the Israelites "the Hivites who dwelt on Mount Lebanon, from Mount Baal-Hermon as far as the Entrance of Hamath". Here LXX have $\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ as in the lists. In Jos. 11,3 there are Hivites "in the land of Mizpah" (cf. v.8, "the valley of Mizpeh") under Hermon, and the account of David's census-commission describes how they "came to the fortress of Tyre and to all the cities of the Hivites and Canaanites" (2 Sam. 24,7). This clearly refers to the same region.
3. In Edom. Gen. 36 contains lists of Edomite rulers and chieftains. One of the latter is Zibeon "one of the chiefs of the Horites" (v.29), son of Seir the Horite (v.20). In v.2 he is described as Hivite. The presence of Horites in Edom is attested also in Gen. 14,6 ("the Horites on their Mount Seir") and Dt. 2,12.22, two learned glosses on the Edomite Horites before the establishment of the monarchy.

The fact that Zibeon is described in Gen. 36 as both Horite and Hivite raises at once the problem of the relation

between these two terms. In the first place, it is hardly necessary to prove that the biblical Horites are identical with the Hurrians of the cuneiform and hieroglyphic inscriptions. As we have seen, the two words are phonetically identical and the evidence which we now possess of Hurrian movements in Western Asia fits in well with the biblical evidence for Horites. This has been ^{widely} ~~almost universally~~ recognized since the time of Edward Meyer.³ We find no such unanimity when we come to the relation between Horite and Hivite. The references to Zibeon in Gen. 36 would lead us to suppose that the terms ~~were~~ ^{are} interchangeable: his father is a Horite and he is a Hivite. Albright, however, has proposed to eliminate ' 7] from this chapter.⁴ He denies that Edom was ever a centre of Hurrian (Horite) concentration principally on two grounds: first, that surface investigation carried out there by Nelson Glueck has revealed no trace of any settled population in Middle and Late Bronze (ca. 1800-1200 B.C.); second, that the personal names in Gen. 36 are mostly Semitic, without one clear case of a Hurrian derivate. He concludes that the Hivites should be located here and here only and therefore logically rejects MT in Gen. 34,2

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1. Meyer, op.cit. pp. 328ff; R.T.O'Callaghan, Aram-Naharaim, Rome, 1948, pp. 54f; E.A. Speiser, 'Ethnic Movements in the Near East in the Second Millenium', AASOR 13(1933) pp. 27ff; W.F. Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, New York, 1957², pp. 152f.
4. 'The Horites in Palestine', in From the Pyramids to Paul ed. L.G. Leary, New York, 1935, pp. 21ff.

and Jos. 9,7 in favour of LXX. 'ח derives from a Semitic, probably Arabic root, perhaps Arab. ḥ a w w ô t - "camp" (cf. ḥ i w a ' n - "a group of tents") or the early Arabic tribal name ḥ w y.⁵ E.A. Speiser, one of the most eminent scholars in the field of Hurrian studies, is also impressed by the lack of any archaeological or epigraphical evidence for Hurrians in pre-monarchic Edom. He suggests, however, a different solution from that of Albright. 'ח should not be eliminated from Gen. 36. "Horite" and "Hivite" are virtually synonymous, as the example of Zibeon shows, but these Edomite Horites are quite different from the Horites on the other side of the Jordan. The former are Semitic ('ח - "cave⁻dwellers"), the latter genuinely Hurrian. The term, therefore, is ambivalent.⁶

On these two views we make the following comments:

1. Albright completely reverses the evidence contained in MT since all occurrences of 'ח, with the exception of the textually doubtful Num. 13,5,⁷ refer to Edom and Edomites. Besides Gen. 36, we have also Gen. 14,6 and Dt. 2,12.22, as we have seen.
2. The archaeological evidence deriving from Nelson Glueck's surface exploration⁸ would oblige us, at the most, to conclude that whatever ethnic elements were in

5. op.cit.p.24. The last suggestion is due to B.Moritz, 'Edomitische Genealogien', ZAW 44(1926)p.93.

6. See n.1 and, most recently, 'Horite', IDB II, New York, 1962, p. 645; Genesis (The Anchor Bible), New York, 1964, pp.279ff.

7. MT refers to § Hori a Simeonite; LXX^B has Σουρι, LXX^{AF} Σουρι, LXX^L Σουδρι.

8. AASOR 15(1935)p.138.

the region before the Edomite conquest had adopted a nomadic or semi-nomadic way of life in keeping with environmental factors.^{8bis} In addition, negative conclusions of this kind drawn from archaeological premisses are notoriously subject to revision, and in fact some signs of revision in this particular case have already appeared.⁹ In view of the widespread movement of Hurrians during Late Bronze in the direction of south and west, a movement which would have been intensified by the expansionist policy of Shuppiluliumas and the break up of the Mitanni empire in the middle of the fourteenth century,¹⁰ we would expect to find Hurrians on both sides of the Jordan at this time. We shall go on to see that there was a considerable Hurrian (Horite) element among the Israelites shortly after the Settlement; and the close association between Israelites and Edomites presupposed by the cycle of stories about Jacob and Esau (Gen. 25,19ff) would make it reasonable to suppose that the Hurrian element was present in both groups.

3. Study of the seventy six names in the Gen. 36 lists may lead us to have some reservations about the studies of Meyer and Moritz (and the conclusions of Albright in

9. Especially the discovery of a Middle Bronze tomb at Amman, see G.Lankester Harding, PEFA 6(1953)pp.14-26; O.Tufnell, PEQ 1958,p.150. See N.Glueck, *op. cit.* pp. 443f.

10. See below pp.109f.

8bis. This possibility is admitted by N.Glueck, Archaeology and Old Testament Study (ed. D.Winton Thomas), Oxford, 1967, pp. 443f.

part based upon these) carried out against an exclusively Arabic background. The Arabic comparative material comes from a very late date - in some parallels adduced as late as the immediate pre-Islamic period - and in no case earlier than 500 B.C. This was long after the complete assimilation of the Hurrian element on the west bank of the Jordan. A useful comparison is available in the typically Israelite and Yahwist names found at el ġib from no more than two centuries earlier.

- 4) Later in this chapter we shall see that there are nine Gibeonite or Saulite names which are identical or practically identical with names occurring in the Gen.36 Edomite lists. If it is accepted that the Gibeonites were basically Hurrian, or even simply contained a significant Hurrian element, the hypothesis of Hurrian presence in Edom would thereby be strengthened.

While certainty is rarely attainable in onomastic study of this kind, especially due to the paucity of Hurrian material at our disposal, we may at least submit that the absolute exclusion of the Hurrian element in Edom goes too far. We suggest that the following names in the Gen. 36 lists may have a Hurrian derivation;

1. Aiah, אִיָּה, 36,24; 1 Chr. 1,40 cf. 2 Sam. 3,7; 21,8.10. Cf. Hurrian a y a (= "god").¹¹ Aiah, moreover, is son of the Horite Zibeon (v.20).

11. W.Feiler, 'Hurritische Namen im Alten Testament', ZA 45(1939) p.219; H.L.Ginsberg and B.Maisler (Mazar), 'Semiticized Hurrians in Syria and Palestine', JPOS 14(1934)p.257.

2. Alvan, 𐎠𐎵𐎶 , 36,23, susceptible of derivation from a Hurrian form with the typical termination -wana.¹²
3. Anah, 𐎠𐎶𐎶 , v.2; 1 Chr. 1,38 han-aya cf. hania.¹³
4. Dishan, Dishon, 𐎠𐎶𐎶 , 𐎠𐎶𐎶 , 36,21.25.26;
1 Chr. 1,28.41. Moritz regards these as quite distinct on the basis of the forms $\text{P} \epsilon \text{L} \epsilon \text{W} \text{V}$, $\text{P} \epsilon \text{W} \text{V}$ found in LXX for the former. A Hurrian derivation tai - šenni has been suggested for both.¹⁴ Cf. To'i in 2 Sam. 8,9. A r i š e n of the Tušratta letter, the first Hurrian name discovered, derives from a r i = "god" and š e n n i = "brother" (cf. the Israelite Ahiyya).¹⁵
5. Eliphaz, 𐎠𐎶𐎶 , 36,4. A connexion between this name and 𐎠𐎶𐎶 , a word only used in the Old Testament in an Edomite context (Gen. 36,19.40; Ex. 15,15) has been suggested. 𐎠𐎶𐎶 , rather than 𐎠𐎶𐎶 = 1000, may have a Hurrian derivation.¹⁶

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12. Feiler, art.cit. p.221. Cf. the proposed derivation of Arauna from a r i - w a n a, Feiler, p.225 and H.B. Rosén, 'Arawna - Nom Hittite?', VT 5(1955) pp.319f.
 13. Feiler, p.221; Ginsberg-Maisler, p.257.
 14. Feiler, p.220; Ginsberg-Maisler, p.257.
 15. Moritz, art.cit. p.90; Meyer, op.cit. p.341 and Gunkel, Genesis, Göttingen, 1964⁶, p.393 suggest an alternative Semitic derivation of these two names.
 16. See R. de Vaux, La Genèse, Paris, 1953, p.163. The "Arabic school" does not consider the possibility of a Hurrian derivation for this word

6. Hori, 'ḥḥ, 36,22 cf. 1 Chr. 2,50b: Hur father of Shobal (see below) father of Kiriath-jearim.¹⁷
7. Kenaz, ḥḥp, 36,11.42, a name which can hardly be dissociated from the tribal name kenizzi cf. perizzi which is typically Hurrian.¹⁸ Cf. the tribal name k a n a i from Nuzi.¹⁹
8. Samlah, ḥḥw, 36,36 cf. Ru.4,20.21. We may compare this with Hurrian s a - i l m a.²⁰
9. Shepho, ḥḥw, 36,23; 1 Chr. 1,40 (with variant form in LXX^B). In the absence of a satisfactory Semitic derivation, Hurrian s u - a p a may be suggested.²¹
10. Shobal, ḥḥw, 36,20.29; 1 Chr. 2,50ff and elsewhere. Both this personal name and the place-name Sobala in N.Edom may be derived from Hurrian š a b i l - i š.²²
11. Timna, ḥḥḥ, 36,12.22.40 (here masc.); 1 Chr. 7,35. A derivation from Hurrian t i m n a u š, t a m n a u š has been suggested.²³

17. Moritz, art. cit. p.90, suggests an Arabic derivation.

18. Cf. a - k i - i z - z i king of Hurrianized Qatna. See A. Gustavs, 'Die Personennamen in den Tontafeln von Tell-Ta'annek', ZDPV 50 (1927) p.14; also t r g z z > tarḥu, name of a Hurrian deity, Ginsberg-Maisler, pp.243.253. See also *Perizzi a Hurrian envoy in an*

19. Ginsberg-Maisler, p.258. *Amarna letter, Knudtson, p.28*

20. id., p.262.

21. id., p.257.

22. Meyer, op. cit. 340; Moritz, art. cit. p.90; Ginsberg-Maisler, p.257.

23. Ginsberg-Maisler, p.257.

These comments on the conclusions reached by Albright and Speiser are advanced with the modest purpose of suggesting that we do not reject too rapidly the view, supported by the biblical evidence, of a Horite = Hurrian presence in Edom in the Late Bronze and Iron ages.^{23bis}

As we have seen, MT attests to Hivites but not Horites in Palestine proper. This raises the problem of the relation between Horite and Hivite in the Old Testament. That they are not absolutely identical is suggested by the ~~numismatic~~ fact that they have different correspondents in the Greek versions. Nor do the cases of textual confusion (Gen. 34,2 and Jos. 9,7) justify us in getting rid of one or the other. At the same time they are evidently closely related. In Gen. 36,29 Seir (= Edom) the Horite has two sons one of whom is Zibeon earlier (v.2) described as Hivite. In Gen. 34,2 the prince of Shechem is called a Hivite and we have good grounds for believing that during the Amarna period there was a Hurrian population in and around that city.²⁴ The references to Hivites in the Beqa would also fit in well with what we know of a Hurrian movement southward shortly before the time referred to in the biblical passages. The LXX reading *χορραιος* for MT *'l* in Gen. 34,2 and Jos. 9,7 could also be taken as confirmation of this close relationship. On the basis of our present knowledge of Hurrian movements from about the middle of the second millenium²⁵ we should expect to find Hurrians in Palestine during the earliest

^{23bis}. See most recently C.J. Mullo Weir, in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*, ed. D. Winton

²⁴. The name Birassena attested at Shechem suggests a Hurrian population under Indo-aryan rulers. See Albright, 'A Teacher to Thomas, Oxford, 1967, pp 80f.

a Man of Shechem about 1400 BC', *BASOR* 86(1942)pp.28ff. See also *BASOR* E.A. Speiser, *IDB II*, 1962, p. 665.

²⁵. See below pp. 101ff. 94(1944)pp.125f.

biblical period down to and shortly after the Settlement. The evidence from sites such as Qatna on the Orontes, Alalakh, Ta'anak, Ras Shamra and Shechem²⁶ agrees with the biblical evidence for Hurrian presence in Palestine, including Hurrian names.²⁷ We have seen that '𐎶𐎵 is identical with h u r r i (cf. Eg. h u r u, Ug. h r y and Acc. h u r r i). From the time of the eighteenth dynasty (ca.1500 B.C.) Syro-Palestine is known as Khuru in Egyptian inscriptions and less than three hundred years later the same term is used in parallelism with "Israel" on the Merneptah stele.²⁸

If we accept the biblical evidence for Hivites in regions as distant as the Beqa, Shechem and the Gibeonite region, an Arabic derivation does not seem probable. The suggested comparison with a Hyksos group called ' a w w i m,²⁹ or with certain transcriptions of the name of the great Hurrian goddess Hepat,³⁰ though interesting, remain in the realm of conjecture.

26. For Qatna see I.Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians, Chicago, 1944, pp.69f; and articles in Syria 10(1929)pp.90ff; 11(1930)pp.311ff. For Alalakh see below pp.101f; Ta'anak, see A.Gustavs, art.cit. ^{Albright, BASOR 94(1944), pp.12ff.} pp.7ff; (Ras Shamra, B.Hrozný, 'Une Inscription de Ras-Šamra en Langue Churrite', ArchOrient 4(1932)pp.118ff; Syria 15(1934)pp. 144ff. For Shechem see Albright, art.cit.; A.Gustavs, ZDPV 50 (1927)pp.1ff; Gelb, op.cit.p.59; O'Callaghan, op.cit.p.65. The typically Hurrian brachycephalic type has been found at Megiddo, O'Callaghan, p.54, and the name of this city may be Hurrian, B.S.J.Isserlin, PEQ 88(1956)pp.141ff.

27. A Hurrian derivation has been suggested for Uriah, Araunah, Toi, Shamgar, Agee, Aiah inter alia.

28. See below p.103.

29. E.A.Speiser, Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale I/2(1953)p.30.

30. Hrozný, art.cit.pp.121ff. He gives the Punic form as 𐤍𐤏𐤍 and compares with Hawwa of Gen. 3,20. See also J.Heller, Arch.Orient 30 (1958)pp.636ff.

In the present~~s~~tate of our knowledge the most probable hypothesis is that either h i w w i (Hivite) is the form under which the Hurrian element was known in certain localities at some particular period or that the Hivites~~f~~ormed one of several subdivisions of the Hurrian ethnic group in Syria, Canaan and surrounding areas. We have no means of determining the relation between the Horites-Hurrians of Syria and Palestine on the one hand and the Horites of Edom on the other. But, as we have seen, it is not necessary to suppose that they were distinct ethnically.

We may conclude that the ~~G~~ibeonites were known at that time as a basically Hurrian group, whether we accept the reading of MT or LXX^B in Jos. 9,7 (LXX^B has no name corresponding to Hivite in Jos. 11,19). Support for this will be~~s~~ought in a ^{personal} study of the_knames associated with the Gibeonite cities and other elements of the Old Testament historical tradition seen in the light of our present knowledge of Hurrian movements.

We turn now to the description of the Gibeonites in 2 Sam. 21,2 as "of the remnant of the Amorites", $\text{'\text{ג} \text{ח} \text{ח} \text{ג} \text{ר} \text{מ} \text{י} \text{נ} \text{ו}}$. For the purposes of this study it will not be necessary to enter into an exhaustive analysis of the use of the term "Amorite" in the Old Testament. We find it applied to populations on both sides of the Jordan and in a way which is far from univocal.³¹ Thus

31. See Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, pp.151ff; K.Kenyon, Amorites and Canaanites, London, 1966. It is used of peoples east of the Jordan in Num. 21,13ff; Jos. 2,10; 9,10; 24,8; Dt. 1,4; 3,2ff; Jg. 10,8.11; 11,19ff, etc. West of the Jordan in Jos. 10,5ff; 24,15.18. Other examples will be seen in what follows.

it occurs side by side with Hittite, Canaanite etc. as one of several ethnic groups in pre-Israelite Palestine in the stereotype lists. According to Gen. 10,16 (the so-called "Table of the Nations", cf. 1 Chr. 1,14) the Amorites are descended from Canaan. In other texts it is used as a package-term for the pre- and non-Israelite populations in general.³² Sometimes "Amorite" is used with "Hittite" to divide up all the early ethnic groups in Palestine, as in Is. 17,9 and the well-known allegory of Ezek. 16,3ff, a division roughly corresponding to Semitic and non-Semitic.

With regard to the use of the term "Hittite" in the Old Testament, we recall that from the first half of the second millenium there had existed a close cultural symbiosis between Hittites and Hurrians,³³ one consequence of which is that "Hittite" in the Old Testament may be not just political but ethnic in connotation; in fact, it will generally be ethnic since the Hittite Empire ceased to exist about 1200 B.C. This is particularly clear in Ezekiel's allegory and in such texts as Gen. 10,15 where Heth is described as son of Canaan.

32. Gen. 15,16; Jos. 24,15.18; Jg. 6,10; 2 Kings 21,11; Am. 2,9.10.

33. See A.Goetze, Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrer, Oslo, 1936, pp. 70ff; E.O.Forrer, 'The Hittites in Palestine', PEQ, 1936, pp. 190ff; G.Couteneau, 'Hourites', DBS 4(1949)cols.128ff; J.R.Kupper, 'Northern Mesopotamia and Syria', CAH, Cambridge, 1963², vols.I-II, 38ff (fascicle ed.).

The allegory of Ezekiel illustrates the fact that Canaan was one of several regions in North-West Asia which witnessed a symbiosis of some kind between Semitic and non-Semitic elements. A specially instructive parallel is the situation at Nuzi where the population was basically Hurrian with Semitic elements. Of the more than thirty names of habiru preserved on contracts from Nuzi, at least four are Amorite and a greater but not exactly defined number Hurrian. In general, at least a half of the more or less 3000 personal names discovered there ~~are~~ ^{is} Hurrian.³⁴ The list of Hurrian deities in a Ras Shamra tablet (presuming the correctness of Hrozný's interpretation) ^{Hurrian element also} points to a ~~somewhat similar or not completely dissimilar~~ situation there.³⁵ Much the same at tell 'atshaneh (Alalakh).³⁶ The biblical evidence, read in the context of the cultural and political history of the ancient Near East at that time, suggests that a similar situation existed around Shechem, in the Central Highlands of Judaea (corresponding to the territory of Judah, Benjamin and Dan) and in the south around Hebron. Here we are especially indebted to the Amarna tablets for our knowledge

34. E.Chiera, 'Habiru and Hebrews', AJSL 49(1933)p.115.

35. Hrozný, art.cit.pp.118ff; see also articles in JCS 1(1947)p. 25; ZA 49(1949)pp.336-9.

36. I.Gelb, op.cit.p.64 and below pp. 101f.

of the ethnic and political situation in Canaan during the century preceding the Settlement.³⁷

That there need be no incompatibility between "Hivite" and "Amorite" as used of the Gibeonites can be shown by analogy with other areas where a strong non-Semitic element was present and which nevertheless are described as "Amorite". Shechem, of eponymous founder, the city, is Hivite (Gen. 34,2) but Jacob affirms that he captured the city from the Amorites (Gen. 48,22).³⁸ Mamre is Amorite (Gen. 14,13), yet "the people of the land" are Hittite (Gen. 23,3ff; 49,29f; 50,13). In both cases there is extra-biblical evidence for non-Semitic elements in the local populations of both areas in the pre-Israelite period. We referred above to Birassena of Shechem. Shuwardata, prince in the Hebron region, occurs in the Amarna letters. Like Birassena, his name is Indo-aryan.³⁹ Of the three Hebronite names in Jg. 1,10 one at least appears to be Hurrian, that of Talmai.⁴⁰ *Jos. 15,14 may also attest Hurri-type names near Hebron.*^{40 bis}

We have no lack of evidence for an ethnically mixed population in the Central Highlands around Jerusalem in this period. In Num. 13,29 the spies' report on the area speaks of

37. See W.F.Albright, ANET pp.483ff; CAH Chapter XX, Cambridge, 1966 (fascicle ed.No.51); O'Callaghan, op.cit.p.59; P.Dhorme, 'Les Pays bibliques au Temps d'El Amarna', RB 6(1909)pp.50ff; E.F. Campbell, 'The Amarna Letters and the Amarna Period', BA 23.1 (1960)pp.2ff.

38. See Gunkel, op.cit.474; de Vaux, op.cit.p.210.

39. ANET pp.486f; O'Callaghan, op.cit.pp.60ff; A.Gustavs, ZA n.F.2 (1925)pp.297ff; art.cit.p.12.

40. Practically identical with Hurrian t a l m a = "great". See Feiler, art.cit.pp.225-7.

40 bis. See R.de Vaux, RB 55(1948)p.326 n.1; Muller-Weir, op.cit.p.81.

Hittites, Jebusites and Amorites. Ezekiel's allegory on Jerusalem, whose father was an Amorite and mother a Hittite, points in the same direction (Ezek. 16,3.45). As is generally recognized, the Jebusites were not fully Semitic and may have been predominantly non-Semitic. One indication is the name of the Jebusite *Aṭauna* which is very probably Hurrian.⁴¹ Yet they are comprised within the Amorites since the king of Jebusite Jerusalem (see Jos. 15,63) leads the Amorite alliance against Gibeon and Joshua in Jos. 10,5. This could not have been long distant in time from the reign of Abdi-hepat ruler of Jerusalem during the Amarna period, who bears the name of the great Hurrian goddess.

In the early document on the Settlement contained in Jg. 1 the Amorites settle in what will later be the territory of Dan and control a good part of that region.⁴² They drive the Danites back into the Central Highlands in the direction of the territory of Benjamin before being defeated by the Joseph tribes and put to forced labour. This is almost exactly parallel to the fate of the Gibeonites in Benjaminite territory, since they too preserved their independent status for some time

41. See A J Sayce, 'The Hittite Name Araunah', *JTS* 22(1921)pp.267f; id., 29(1928)p.401; H.B.Rosén, art.cit.pp.219ff; Speiser, *AASOR* 20(1941)p.218.

42. See Abel, op.cit. II pp.282.343; Aharoni, op.cit. pp.216f.

before being reduced to servitude as "hewers of wood and drawers of water" (Jos. 9,21.23.27).

The context of 2 Sam. 7,2ff would lead us to suppose that the "Amorites" with whom there was peace during the judgeship of Samuel were, or at least included, the Gibeonites described in 2 Sam. 21,2 as "of the remnant of the Amorites".

We do not know for certain what the glossator in 2 Sam. 21,2 meant by describing the Gibeonites as "of the remnant of the Amorites". Since his main point was that they were not ethnically Israelite, he probably intended to designate them quite generically as part of the pre-Israelite population left over after the Conquest. They are, in any case, clearly differentiated from the other Amorite cities which leagued against them since Jos. 9,7 and 11,17 describe them, and them, alone, as Hivites. We shall see later that this difference was also reflected in their political organization which was unlike that of the small "kingships" found throughout Canaan at that time.

We feel justified, therefore, in drawing the conclusion that at the time of the Settlement the Gibeonite cities were inhabited by a population containing a significant Hurrian element, ^{perhaps} ~~possibly~~ predominantly Hurrian. We pass on to test this conclusion by a study of the Gibeonite personal names known to us.

Confirmation of the Hurrian element from

Onomastic Study

The study of Hurrian personal and place-names in Syria and Palestine has not yielded abundant fruits, but the results which have emerged so far confirm that Hurrian penetration must have been widespread by the Amarna period and that for some centuries afterwards the Hurrian ethnic element remained only partially assimilated.⁴³ The evidence for Hurrian presence consists directly in Hurrian names (where a Hurrian derivation can be established with certainty or strong probability), indirectly in Indo-aryan names, since the Indo-aryan element was politically dominant though numerically inferior in the Mitanni Empire and in Hurrian centres of population after that empire had broken up. In what follows our object will be to assemble and study Gibeonite names known to us from the Old Testament, to which we may add the personal names discovered in the excavation of el ġib, to see whether they shed any light on the cultural, political and ethnic character of the Gibeonites during the period in question. Assuming a strong Hurrian element in the Gibeonite region, it should be possible in principle to test this assumption by comparing Gibeonite names with Hurrian names known to us from other sources. We may at least discover what percentage of these

43. See above n.26.

names is of demonstrably Semitic and Israelite origin. We will have to bear in mind the uncertainties inseparable from this kind of study (especially^{due} to our imperfect acquaintance with Hurrian) and the fact that the names occur in sources widely differing in date of composition and quality. A special problem is set by the many that we find in the work of the Chronicler.

If we include the Gibeonite "genealogy" in 1 Chr. 8,29-32 the Old Testament contains thirty names associated with the Gibeonite cities. They are:

- i) ABINADAB in whose house "on the hill" the Ark was kept, and his son ELEAZAR (1 Sam. 7,1).
- ii) BAANAH and RECHAB, sons of RIMMON from Beeroth (2 Sam. 4,2); NAHARAI of Beeroth (2 Sam. 23,37).
- iii) URIAH ben-SHEMAIAH of Kiriath-jearim (Jer. 26,20).
- iv) HANANIAH ben-AZZUR of Gibeon (Jer. 28,1).
- v) MELATIAH the Gibeonite (Neh. 3,7); ISHMAIAH the Gibeonite (1 Chr. 12,4).
- vi) From the list of Caleb and his son HUR in which Kiriath-jearim occurs (1 Chr. 2,50b-53): SHOBAI "father" of Kiriath-jearim; ITHRI, PUTHI, SHUMATHI, MISHRAI, names of Kiriath-jearim clans.
- vii) From the Gibeonite "genealogy" (1 Chr. 8,29-32): YEIEL "father" of Gibeon; MAACAH "wife" of Gibeon; his sons: ABDON, ZUR, KISH, BAAL, NER (with 1 Chr. 9,36 and LXX^A), NADAB, GEDOR, AHIO, ZECHAR, MIKLOTH, SHIMEAH (cf. 9,38, Shimeam and Gen. 36,13, Shammah).

We shall comment on these in turn.

i) ABINADAB (LXX^A Αμειναδαβ ,LXX^B Αμιναδαβ) occurs also in 2 Sam. 6,3.4 and 1 Chr. 13,7 cf. the son of Issai, 1 Sam. 16,8 and of Saul, 1 Sam. 13,2 (but cf. 14,49 which has Ishvi Ishyo). It is also present in the Saulite "genealogy", 1 Chr. 8,33; 9,39. The suspicion that these two names, as occurring in the narrative of the Ark, are not authentic⁴⁴ derives from the fact that ׀׀׀ (hith.) can mean "to offer oneself / a gift for divine service" - either in cult or in the Holy War and that therefore a name like Abinadab could easily have been thought up by a later redactor for cultic functionaries of the Ark.⁴⁵ Moreover, Nadab and Eleazar are the names of sons of Aaron, which led Nöldeke to conjecture that the names of these two sons originally stood here.⁴⁶ We also find a Nadab son of Abi-Gibeon in the Gibeonite "genealogy" (1 Chr. 8,30; 9,36) and there are other names formed with -nadab which are associated with the levitical cult-service,⁴⁷ of evident relevance here since Gibeon was a levitical city. ELEAZAR occurs in two forms:

44. See K. Budde, Die Bücher Samuel, Tübingen, 1902, p. 47.

45. For this verb used of cultic service see 1 Chr. 29,5, of the Holy War, Jg. 5,1. For the cultic function of the Gibeonites see Jos. 9,21.23.27.

46. Referred to in Budde, op. cit. p. 47.

47. Amminadab, 1 Chr. 6,7; Ahinadab, 1 Kings 4,14.

פִּינְחָס as here and פִּינְחָס. The former is the name of Aaron's son and his (Eleazar's) son was Pinhas whom P and the Chronicler associate with the Tent, located according to the latter at Gibeon.⁴⁸ There is also a Davidic levite, brother of Kish, who bears this name (1 Chr. 23,21; 8,30; 9,36). Bearing the name in the longer form are: a Benjaminite (1 Chr. 7,8), a priest who officiates before the Ark (1 Chr. 15,24) and a levitical chief (Ex. 8,16 and 10,23). Both names, therefore, have very clear levitical connexions.

Both names are Semitic and have parallels in the languages cognate to Hebrew: Acc. a b u - n a d i b, i l i - h a z i r i or - a z i r i; Ug. gentilic n d b n, b n n d b n.⁴⁹ The form in which these occur has given rise to the view that Abinadab is theophoric, as is very probably Obed-edom in whose house the Ark was placed (2 Sam. 6,11) but whom we meet in the Chronicler's account of the same incident as a minor cultic functionary in attendance on the Ark (1 Chr. 15,21).⁵⁰ We have no means at the present of establishing the identity of such a deity.

48. 1 Chr. 9,19f; 16,39-42; 21,29f; 2 Chr. 1,3-6.

49. For the Accadian parallels see P.Dhorme, Les Livres de Samuel, Paris, 1910, p.63; W.Nowack, Die Bücher Samuelis, Göttingen, 1902, pp.30f. For the Ugaritic see C.Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, Rome, 1955, sub voce.

50. For the name Abinadab see T.Nöldeke, ZDMG 42(1888)p.480.

ii) The etymology of BAANAH is obscure. A derivation from 𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤍 seems only a faute de mieux.⁵¹ The name however occurs in an Edomite list (Gen. 36,2) and a Hurrian derivation has been suggested for it.⁵² The Baanah of 1 Kings 4,12 is in charge of the region near Ta'anak and Megiddo for both of which Hurrian presence in the pre-Israelite period is attested.⁵³ In 2 Sam. 23,29 a warrior of David bearing this name occurs originating in Netophah. This place is mentioned near Kiriath-jearim in the Calebite (predominantly Hurrian) "genealogy" of the Chronicler.⁵⁴ In 1 Kings 4,16 we find a Baanah ben-Hushai and the latter name is practically identical with the Husham of the Edomite king-list (Gen. 36,34). RECHAB could be derived from 𐤓𐤕𐤁 ("rider", "charioteer"). According to 1 Chr. 2,55 the Rechabites are closely related to the Kenites a group which contained a ~~strong~~ Hurrian element.⁵⁵ RIMMON, the father of these two, bears the name of a deity worshipped in Syria, Assyria, the neighbourhood of Megiddo and probably the Negeb. He was identified with

first

51. By analogy with '𐤁𐤀𐤏𐤍 , the name given to Benjamin (Gen. 35,18), suggested by G. Bressan, Samuele, Turin, 1954, p.497.

52. See above p.60 (Anah).

53. See n.26.

54. 1 Chr. 2,54. For the Hurrian element in Kenites / Kenizzites see below under vi).

55. See below under vi).

the storm-god Hadad, as is clear from Zech. 12,11 and the name of Tab-rimmon's son Ben-hadad (1 Kings 15,18).⁵⁶ Though Rimmon was not, to our knowledge, worshipped by Hurrians directly, Teshub is identified with Hadad-Rimmon and we find Hapat associated with him.⁵⁷ Moreover, Hadad occurs as a hāiru personal-name at Nuzi and is found in the Edomite lists.⁵⁸ In view of the fact that the Hurrians were the purveyors of Assyro-Babylonian culture to the west, it is not without interest to note that the storm-god, standing on a bull and holding the lituus, or being drawn in a chariot through the sky, is well attested in Hurrian art.⁵⁹ In this guise he corresponds to Hadad described in the Ugaritic texts as r k b ' r p t, and in fact the name of the Hurrian storm-god Hamani has turned up at Ras Shamra.⁶⁰

iii) URIAH, 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢 , is practically identical with the name of the Hittite husband of Bathsheba (2 Sam. 11,3), and a Hurrian derivation has been proposed for this name.⁶¹ SHEMAIAH is close to Ishmaiah (1 Chr. 12,4) and Shimeah

56. See 1 Kings 15,18 referring to Tab-rimmon and 2 Kings 5,18, the temple of Rimmon at Damascus. r a m m â n u is the Assyrian storm-god (cf. r a m â m u, "roar" and 𐎠𐎢𐎣 , "thunder"). See W. Muss-Arndt, JBL 11(1892)p.172; H. Zimmern, Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament, Berlin, 1903³, pp.442ff. For the Negeb see Jg. 20,45.47; 21,13.

57. See Kupper, op.cit. p.43.

58. The Nuzi names are: (d) a d a d - m a - i l u, (d) a d a d - r â b i, (d) a d a d - m i - i - l u, see E. Chiera, AJSL 49(1933)pp.117f.

59. See P. Dhorme, in ed. R. Dussaud, Les Religions des Hittites et des Hourites, Paris, 1945, pp.336ff.

60. ' e n () h m m d. See Hrozný, art.cit. p.118. Also at Alalakh. See Wiseman, op.cit. p.

61. A. Gustavs, ZAW 33(1913)pp.201ff; O. Schröder, ZAW 35(1915)pp.247f; A.T. Clay, JPOS 1(1920)p.30; A.H. Sayce, JTS 29(1928)p.401; L. Delaporte, RHA 4(1938)p.295; W. Feiler, ZA 45(1939)p.219; M. Vieyra, RHA 5(1938)pp.113ff. 131 (below p. 201 n. 2)

(1 Chr. 8,32), both Gibeonite names.

iv) We find the name HANANIAH belonging to another

Benjaminite (1 Chr. 8,24). Most significantly, it
among the
occurs ~~in the list of~~ names discovered at el ġib as
h n n y h. AZZUR occurs elsewhere only in Ezek. 11,1
and Neh. 10,18.

v) MELATIAH is hapax legomenon. ISHMAIAH (cf. Shemaiah,
Shimeah above) is a type which occurs often among
Gibeonite names in the later period both in the Old
Testament and at el ġib.

vi) This Calebite list contains much pre-exilic material,
quite possibly from the time of the United Monarchy.⁶²
The Calebites were Kenizzites who settled in the south
around Hebron and had some racial affinities with the
early population of Edom.⁶³ Significantly, Manahathites
(2 Chr. 2,54) are found near Kiriath-jearim and in early
Edom. Ginsberg and Maisler comment on this as follows:

He (Shobal) is made the ancestor of 'a half of the
Manahathites' and of a number of families of Kiryat
Yearim to whom the ancestors of Sor'ah and Esta'ol
also traced their descent. It is quite impossible to
dissociate this 'half of the Manahathites' in the
territory of Dan, whose eponym was Sobal the Hurite,
from the Manahathites of Mount Seir whose heros
eponymos was Sobal the Horite; and consequently the

62. See J.M.Myers, I Chronicles, New York, 1965, p.16 and further
bibliography referred to there.

63. According to Num. 23,22 and Gen. 36,32 Kenizzites formed part
of the pre-monarchic Edomite population. Korah and Shanmai
occur in an earlier Edomite list (1 Chr. 1,35.37; 2,42.44).
See N. Glueck, op.cit. p. 434.

population around Kiryat Yearim, Sor'ah and Esta'ol must be regarded as of very much the same essentially Hurrian stock as that of Mount Seir.⁶⁴

The lineal descent

Ephrathah
|
Hur
|
Shobal
|
Kiriath-jearim

suggests that the population around Kiriath-jearim, or part of it, had some affinities with groups settled in the Negeb or in the area south and south-east of Jerusalem, especially with the population around Bethlehem = Ephrathah (cf. Ps. 132,6 where "the fields of Jaar" is in parallelism with Ephrathah).⁶⁵ This strongly suggests that some part of the canaanized Hivites of the Gibeonite tetrapolis originated in the Negeb, though unfortunately we do not know at what time ~~this association originated.~~
took place.

Hori of the Edomite lists (Gen. 36,22) would be the natural gentilic of HUR (cf. h u r r i). There is a Hur associated with Aaron (Ex. 17,10 etc), different from the Judahite Hur mentioned here, who is elsewhere described as father of Uri (cf. Uriah) father of Bezalel. Two points of some importance for our study should be mentioned here. This genealogical tradition represents

64. art.cit.p.260.

65. "Les éléments de Benjamin qui avaient pu pénétrer dans cette ville gabaonite durent se fondre avec les Judéens lorsque ceux-ci eurent peuple Qiryat-Yearim revendiqué par eux", Abel, op.cit.II p.56.

the population of Kiriath-jearim as deriving from what was later to be the territory of the tribe of Judah. This is consistent with the listing of Kiriath-jearim as a Judahite city and with the importance accorded to it in the Judahite and Jerusalemite Ark-tradition. Bezalel, "grandson" of Hur, is known to later tradition as the maker of the Tent and its furniture, including the bronze altar. The Chronicler places both Tent and bronze altar at Gibeon (2 Chr. 1,5).

Both of these points will be taken up and discussed later on in this study.

SHOBAL, ancestor of Kiriath-jearim, occurs in the Edomite list (Gen. 36,28.29) and, as we saw earlier, a Hurrian derivation has been suggested for it. We may suggest that the š b ʾ l of the el ǧib inscriptions may possibly be another form of the same name. ITHRI, gent-ilic, is close to ׀׀׀ of the Edomite list and to ׀׀׀ father-in-law of Moses who must be the same person as Hobab who was a Kenite (Num. 23,21f).⁶⁶ In 2 Sam. 23,28 = 1 Chr. 11,40 two Ithrites occur between Naharai of Beeroth and Uriah the "Hittite". This may indicate that the warriors in this part of the list were of Gibeonite origin. PUTHI is hapax legomenon; in the absence of any satisfactory Semitic derivation we may

66. The Kenites are brothers of the Rechabites (1 Chr. 2,55) and closely related to the Kenizzites.

suggest Hurrian p u t i (= "servant of a god ") as in
p u t i - h e b a (Abdi-Hepat) of the Amarna letters from
Jerusalem.⁶⁷

SHUMATHI and MISHRAI are both hapax legomena and
of unknown derivation.

vii) We do not know to what extent this list contains
genuinely ancient onomastic material, but the parallels
adduced below suggest that to a considerable extent it
does. It may represent the way in which the ex-exilés
who settled at Gibeon traced back their ancestry to
the Gibeonites of the pre-monarchic and early monarchic
period (see Neh. 7,25). YEIEL, supplied from 1 Chr.
9,35 and LXX^L, has an alternative form Yeuel with which
we can compare the Reuel of the Edomite list (Gen. 36,4).
MAACAH, "wife" of Gibeon may be a way of representing
racial symbiosis. 2 Chr. 13,2 (MT), differently from
the parallel 1 Kings 15,1 and the LXX readings, makes
Maacah daughter of Uriel of Gibeah, therefore Benjaminite.
ABDON is also the name of a Benjaminite in 1 Chr. 8,23.
For the Abdon of 2 Chr. 34,20 the parallel 2 Kings 22,12
reads "Achbor" with which we may again compare ~~the~~ an
Edomite name (Gen. 36,38). ZUR is also borne by a Midianite

67. See A.Gustavs, ZDPV 50(1927)p.10. He addresses six letters to
the Egyptian court (Knudtzon Nos.285-290) and is mentioned in
others.

prince (Num. 25,15; 31,8; Jos. 13,21). KISH,BAAL and NER provide the link with the Saulite genealogy which follows and will be discussed under that heading. We have already treated of NADAB under Abinadab. With GEDER we can compare the Geder of the Hur list (1 Chr. 4,4) and g d r of the el ġib inscriptions where, however, it may be a place-name, referring to el jedireh about half a mile north east of el ġib.⁶⁸ AHIO occurs also in the Benjaminite list (1 Chr. 8,14). In 2 Sam. 6,3.4 Ahio and Uzzah carry the Ark, but the name here may be a corruption of אֶחָיו, "his brother".⁶⁹ Curiously, personal names formed with ah-, ahi- are met with frequently among Gibeonites, Saulites and cultic personnel connected with the Ark.⁷⁰ ZECHER is essentially identical with Zichri which is levitical (Ex. 6,21; 1 Chr. 26,25) and Benjaminite (1 Chr. 8,19ff; Neh. 11,9) and similar to Zachur, a name borne by a levite (1 Chr. 24,27). It may have some connexion with זָכַר used in the liturgical sense of "recite", "proclaim in the cult". MIKLOTH is found only here and in 1 Chr. 27,4 (an officer of David).

68. See Pritchard, Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, p.9 and Abel, op.cit. II, p.330.

69. See below pp.258ff.

70. Saulite names: Ahinoam, Ahimaaz (1 Sam. 14,50), Ahiezer (1 Chr. 12,3); Ark-personnel: Ahijah, Ahitub (1 Sam. 14,3), Ahimelech (= Ahijah) (1 Sam. 22,9), Ahio (2 Sam. 6,3); Ahishahar a Benjaminite (1 Chr. 7,10).

With SHIMEAH (cf. 9,38, Shimeam) we may compare the Edomite Shammah (Gen. 36,13), though the latter does not have the aleph.

Before we take this onomastic survey any further and attempt to draw some conclusions we have to deal with the relation between Saul and Gibeon and justify the inclusion of Saulite names in the survey. Scattered throughout 1-2 Sam. we find twenty eight Saulite personal names. There are twenty four in the Saulite "genealogy" of 1 Chr. 8,33-40 (with some alternative forms in 9,39-44) and twenty three of the "brethren of Saul" are listed in 1 Chr. 12,1-7. Though the preposition here suggests that "Benjaminites" and "brothers" are not in apposition, we cannot be certain that in the context **וְיָנִיחַ** refers to blood-relations in the strict sense. Despite this we **are** methodologically justified in taking them into account, in which case we have, throughout the Old Testament record, seventy five Saulite names in all.

The association between Saul and Gibeon has to be determined by (i) traditions which associate the family of Saul with a particular locality, and (ii) onomastic study of the Saulite names preserved in the tradition. We shall deal with these in turn.

(i) Traditions which associate Saul and his family with a particular locality.

In studying any aspect of the reign of Saul, we must bear in mind that the traditions in 1 Sam. represent all that has been allowed to survive. It is a fact worthy of mention that nowhere in the Hebrew Old Testament outside of 1-2 Sam. and 1 Chr. is the name of Saul ever mentioned, with the exception of some psalm-titles and the indirect reference (to Gibeah of Saul) in Is. 10,29. It is absent in Ben Sira's review of Israel's past history; conspicuously at the point where he speaks of the achievements of Samuel (Sir. 46,13ff). The references to the institution of monarchy in the anti-monarchist Hosea are always indirect and avoid the name of Israel's first king: "the days of Gibeah" (9,9; 10,9), perhaps also the allusion to Gilgal where Yahweh began to hate his people (9,15). The possibility also has to be reckoned with that some of the material which has survived has been redacted polemically to testify against Saul.

According to 1 Sam. 9,1, Saul was the son of a fifth generation Benjaminite. It must occasion some surprise that there is no mention here of the family place of origin - this is given in the case of much less distinguished figures at this time. The fact that we find him later on established at Gibeah, which was at least for a time his capital,⁷¹ would not by any

71. Identified with tell el-fûl. See Albright, AASOR 4(1922/3)pp. 1ff; BASOR 52(1933)pp.6ff; L.Sinclair, 'An Archaeological Study of Gibeah', BA 27(1964)pp.52ff; AASOR 34(1954/5)pp.10ff; K.Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, London, 1965², pp.237ff.

means imply that this was the family place of origin. A surer indication of this is the family burial-place and this was situated "in the land of Benjamin, in Zela" where the tomb of Kish his father was located (2 Sam. 21,13f).⁷² Zela is probably to be identified with the city of the same name in the Benjaminite city-list (Jos. 18,28) situated at khirbet salah less than a mile from nebi samwil.⁷³ Such a situation would fit in admirably with the tradition preserved in the Chronicler's work associating Saul with Gibeon. If Gibeah (or, the hill) of Elohim (1 Sam. 10,5.10) - which is the same as the Gibeah (hill) of 13,3 where there was a Philistine ג'יב - is identified with Gibeon or its high place (and we have seen that this is possible⁷⁴), the case would be strengthened even ~~the~~ further. Sayl was certainly well known there (see 1 Sam. 10,11) and it was there that his uncle Abner lived.⁷⁵

(ii) Onomastic Study of Saulite Names.

The following traditions about Saul's family - using the term in the widest sense - have been preserved in 1-2 Sam:

72. For a discussion with further bibliography see Schunck, op.cit. pp.89.118f.

73. See M.Noth, Das Buch Josua, p.113; Alt, Kl.Schr. II p.31; de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, p.234.

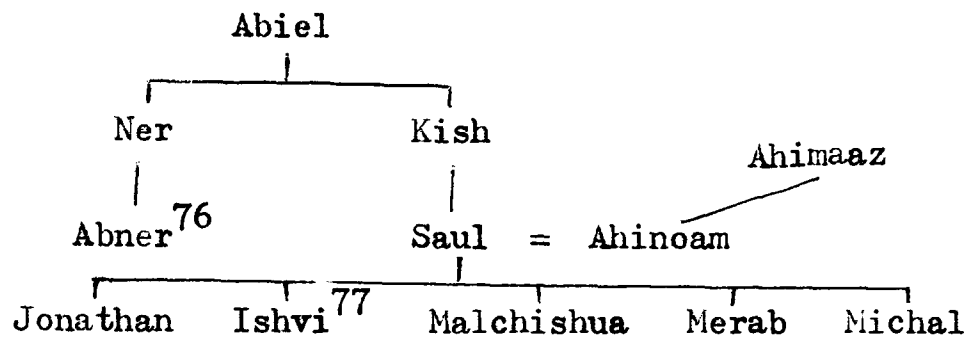
74. See above pp.5.8.

75. D.R.Ap-Thomas, 'Saul's "Uncle"', VT 11(1961)pp.241ff, argues that ג'יב means "one who takes the place of a father" or "deputy", "deputy-ruler, governor"; in this case the Philistine ג'יב or garrison-commander to whom Saul had to report and from ^{whom} ~~from~~ naturally he withheld the information about his kingship. We agree with Ap-Thomas in the possibility of locating "Gibeah of God" at Gibeon but find the interpretation of ג'יב unconvincing.

1 Sam. 9,1 Aphiah, Becorath, Zeror, Abiel, Kish.

1 Sam. 10,21 of the clan of Matri

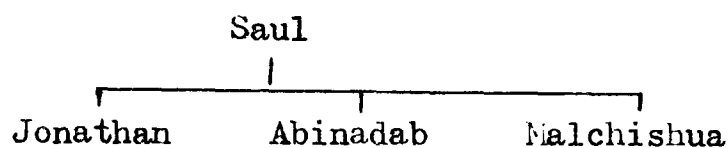
1 Sam. 14,49-51



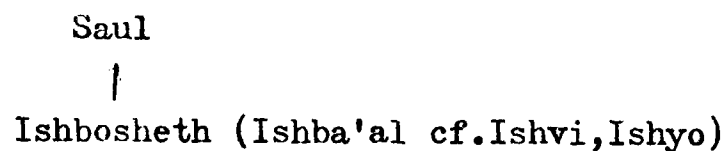
1 Sam. 25,44 Michal = Paltim~~k~~ (Paltiel, 2 Sam. 3,15)

daughter of Laish.

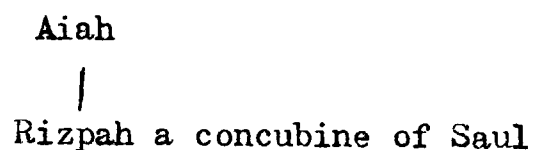
1 Sam. 31,2



2 Sam. 2,8



2 Sam. 3,7



76. According to 1 Chr. 8,33 Ner is the father of Kish, not his brother as here. For the view that "son of Ner" has dropped out after Kish see Myers, op.cit. p.62.

77. The Greek versions have Ishyo which could correspond to Ishba'al (1 Chr. 8,33; 9,39) cf. Ishbosheth (2 Sam. 2,8). There may be confusion between this son and the Abinadab of 1 Sam. 31,2.

2 Sam. 9,2

Jonathan

↑

Mephiba'al

|

Mica

2 Sam. 21,8

Rizpah

|

Armoni

Mephiba'al

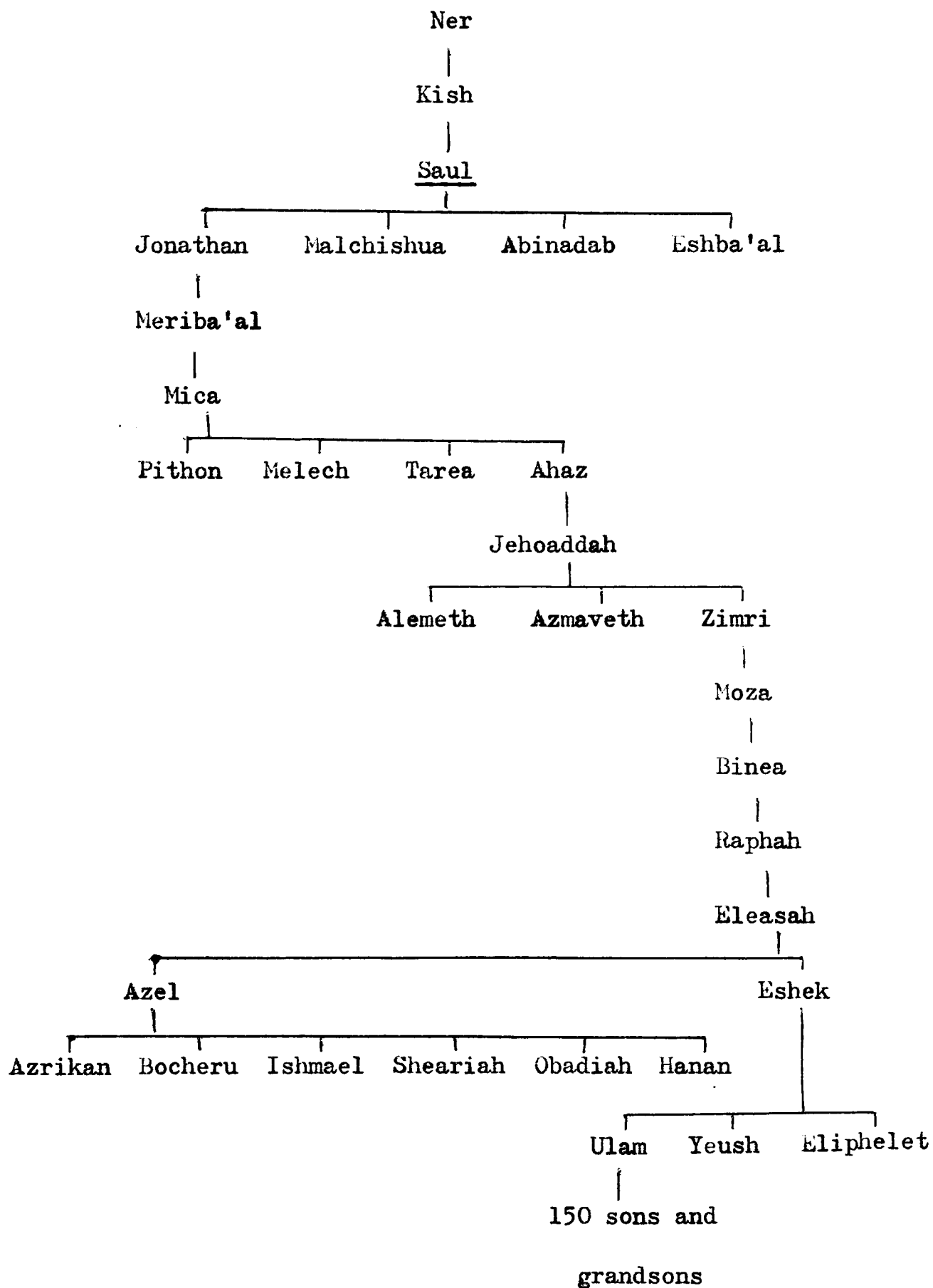
Merab daughter of Saul = Adriel

|

5 sons

1 Chr. 8,33-40 contains a Saulite genealogy traced from Ner, grandfather of Saul, through eighteen generations, presumably to the time of writing. If we place the first link near the beginning of the eleventh century this would bring us down to the immediate post-exilic period, and therefore the list could be interpreted as representing the efforts of a group after the Exile to trace their ancestry back to the Benjaminite king.

1 Chr. 8,33-34 follows the tradition in Sam. The remaining names are found only here and in the parallel genealogy in 9,39-44 with some variations which will be noted. The all-important link with Gibeon is ostensibly the occurrence of Kish (and Ner with LXX) in the latter; but this in itself is insufficient to explain the association. Whether some tradition independent of 1-2 Sam. had survived into the post-exilic period we do not know. The essential fact is that the Chronicler's genealogy, set within a Gibeonite context, confirms the indirect evidence for an association with Gibeon found in the earlier traditions. We can set out the names genealogically as follows:



The parallel genealogy in 9,39-44 gives us the following alternative forms: Zechariah for Zēcher (9,37), Shimeam for Shimea (9,38) - both in the Gibeonite genealogy; then Tahrea for Tarea (9,41), Jarah for Jehoaddah (9,42), Rehaiah for Raphah (9,43).

The list of Saul's "brethren" in 1 Chr. 12,3-7 gives us the following twenty three names: Ahiezer and Joash sons of Shemaah of Gibeah, Jeziel and Pelet sons of Azmaveth, Beracah, Jehu of Anathoth, Ishmaiah of Gibeon, Jeremiah, Jahaziel, Johanan, Jozabad of Gederah, Eluzai, Jerimoth, Bealiah, Shemariah, Shephetiah, the Haruphite, Elkanah, Ishiah, Azarel, Joezer, and Jashobeam of Korah, Joelah and Zebadiah sons of Jeroham of Gedor.

We pass on to a discussion of some of these names which we judge to be of significance for our study with a view to testing the hypothesis of a connexion between Saul's family and Gibeon.

SAUL occurs as a personal name in the Edomite king-list (Gen. 36,37 = 1 Chr. 1,48f, and is the name of a levite in 1 Chr. 6,9 (Shaul ben-Uzziah). As gentilic, it refers to a Simeonite clan in the Negeb⁷⁸ and one which contains a strong admixture of Canaanite (that is, non-Israelite) blood ("born of a Canaanitish woman", Gen. 46,10). The name therefore is found in two areas where we have reason to believe Hurrians settled. If we discount the possibility that 1 Sam. 1,20 (cf. vv. 27.28) referred originally to Saul not Samuel and that שִׂיחָו is a technical rather than personal name with reference to a vow,⁷⁹ we will have to seek a

78. Gen. 46,10; Ex. 6,15; Num. 26,13; 1 Chr. 4,24.

79. See Noth, Die israelitische Personennamen im Rahmen der Gemein-semitischen Namengebung, Stuttgart, 1926, p. 136 and commentaries ad loc.

derivation of the name elsewhere. Whether or not we accept the various suggestions made for an Arabic derivation⁸⁰ the absence of a theophoric element calls for comment, (as with David and, possibly, Solomon). We cannot exclude the possibility that a non-Israelite name has been given a form which makes it susceptible of a new and orthodox meaning. In Hurrian there exists a type of personal name formed with p a l - (from the verb "to ask for") e.g. p a - a l - t i in the Nuzi tablets⁸¹ with which we can compare Palti (Paltiel) husband of Michal, Saul's daughter. This would give an exact correspondent to Saul (passive part. of *ḥw*) with the name of the deity omitted.⁸²

AIHIAH and ZEROR are hapax legomena and of unknown derivation. BECORATH is a typical Benjaminite formation cf. Becher son of Benjamin (Gen. 46,21),⁸³ Bichri the Benjaminite (2 Sam. 20,1 cf. Bichrites, 20,14), Bocheru (1 Chr. 8,38 = 9,44). The only other occurrence of ABIEL is in the list of David's

80. See B.Moritz, 'Die Könige von Edom', Muséon 1(1937)p.116; J.R.Bartlett, 'The Edomite King-List of Genesis xxxvi.31-39 and 1 Chron. i.43-50', JTS 16(1965)p.308.

81. E.Chiera, art.cit.p.117.

82. See below Additional Note on Saul and the Edomites, pp. 97ff.

83. We may note in passing that the first son of Benjamin (Gen. 46, 21 and 1 Chr. 8,1) bears the same name as Bela of the Edomite king-list (Gen. 36,32), see Meyer, op.cit.pp.376ff.

warriors (1 Chr. 11,32) many of whom were either Benjaminite or bearers of non-Israelite names. KISH, like Saul, is a levitical name.⁸⁴ The only other biblical occurrence of the name is in Est. 2,5, an ancestor of Mordechai. Its derivation is a matter of conjecture. Nöldeke compared it with $\text{K}\text{W}'\text{p}$ of the Higr inscription, the bearer of which, he suggested, may have been the biblical Kish.⁸⁵ He further suggested that it may have been the name of an Arabic deity from the late pre-Islamic period found in the tribal name $\text{b a n } \hat{\text{u}} - \text{q a i s}$ and the personal name $\text{' a b d a l } \text{q a i s}$. Wellhausen also suggested an Arabic derivation, comparing it with Arabic and Edomite Q a u s (q a u s g a b a r , q a u s m a l a k in Assyrian inscriptions).⁸⁶ Noth puts forward an Accadian cognate of the name.⁸⁷ In view of the relatively late date of the Arabic material we would tentatively suggest the possibility of a Hurrian cognate since a Hurrian name $\text{k i} - \text{i } \check{\text{s}}$ occurs in the Nuzi tablets.⁸⁸

MATRI, the name of Saul's clan, (1 Sam. 10,21) is hapax legomenon but Matred occurs in the Edomite lists (Gen. 36,39),

84. 1 Chr. 23,21f; 24,29; 2 Chr. 29,12.

85. See ZDMG 40(1886)pp.166f.

86. Reste Arabischen Heidentums, Berlin,1897²,p.67.

87. op.cit.p.17ln3.

88. Chiera,art.cit.p.117. We may also recall the name of the Hurrian hunter-god $\text{k e } \check{\text{s}} \check{\text{s}} \text{ i}$ of the Boghazköi tablets,J.Friedrich, ZA 49(1949)p.235.

a similarity all the more striking in view of LXX^A

Ματταρεί in 1 Sam. 10,21.

NER, as component of a personal name, was discovered on several seals at el ġib.⁸⁹ The Hebrew correspondent would be either Neriyyah or Neriyaḥu (Jer. 36,32; 43,6 etc). The suspicion that Ner is non-Hebrew has been strengthened by the discovery of the word in a Hurrian text at Ras Sharma and in a Hurrian personal name formed with the common ' w r (= "lord").⁹⁰ We shall take up at a later stage the question whether the names Saul gave his children may reflect in some way his own religious evolution. JONATHAN is, of course, Yahwist and is borne by many people in the Old Testament including levites and priests (e.g. 2 Chr. 17,8; Neh. 12,35). ISHVI (Ishya, Ishba'al) is more probably to be explained by $\text{by} \text{v} \text{w}$ rather than $\text{by} \text{v} \text{h}$, implying an affirmation of the reality (efficacy) of Ba'al and Yo (Yah) respectively.⁹¹ Presuming that the original form was Ishba'al, we would have three baalist names in the Gibeonite and Saulite genealogies (see also 1 Chr. 8,31 and 8,34). While MERAB and MICHAL are hapax legomena and of unknown

89. Pritchard, Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, pp.11.22f.

90. C.Gordon, Ugaritic Manual, sub voce; F.Thureau Dangin, Syria 12 (1931)234ff; 15(1934)pp.137ff.

91. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore, 1956⁴, p.113.

derivation, the theophoric element in MALCHISHUA is found also in ~~Bath~~shua (alternative form of Bathsheba (Gen. 38, 2.12; 1 Chr. 2,3), Elishua (2 Sam. 5,15; 1 Chr. 14,5), and Abishua (1 Chr. 5,30f; 6,35; 8,4; Ezra 7,5). These forms presuppose a deity Shua of unknown but certainly non-Israelite origin, as conjectured long ago by Gunkel.⁹² Bathshua is the daughter of a Canaanite (Gen. 38,2) and one of her children, Onan, bears a name which is very similar to the Onam of the Edomite lists.⁹³ Bathsheba = Bathshua was the wife of a "Hittite" whose name, as we have seen, is very probably Hurrian.

PALTI (alternative form Paltiel) is borne only by the second husband of Michal and a Benjaminite (Num. 13,9). It occurs as gentilic in the list of David's warriors (2 Sam. 23,26) shortly after a certain Shammah, a name which occurs also in the Edomite lists (Gen. 36,13).

As we have seen, Palti also occurs in the Nuzi habiru list and is almost certainly Hurrian.^{93bis}

92. Genesis, p.412.

93. The hypothesis of a Hurrian origin of this deity might be strengthened by the fact that the fratriarchate and levirate, with which the story of Bathshua's sons is essentially concerned, are of Hurrian origin, see Albright, in From the Pyramids to Paul, ed. Leary, New York, 1935, p.18; P. Koschaker, 'Fratriarchat', ZA 41(1933)pp.1ff; Speiser, 'The Hurrian Participation' p.323; C.H. Gordon, 'Bible Customs and the Nuzi Tablets', BA 3.I(1940)pp.1-12.

93bis. R.H. Pfeiffer and E.A. Speiser, 'One Hundred New Selected Nuzi Texts', AASOR 16(1935/36) p.159. Cf. *pal-tešub*.

AIAH, father of Rizpah, occurs only here and in Gen. 36,24 = 1 Chr. 1,40, son of the Horite Zibeon. Hurrian a y a = "god" is identical and therefore a Hurrian derivation is strongly suggested.⁹⁴ RIZPAH occurs only in 2 Sam. 3,7 and 21,8ff. No Hebrew derivation is unknown. If Aiah is Hurrian we would expect this name to be also, but no Hurrian parallel is known. ARMONI son of Rizpah is found only here. We do not know whether it derives from 𐎠𐎢𐎣𐎢𐎠 or some unknown non-Semitic word.⁹⁵

In the Saulite genealogy in 1 Chr. 8,33ff the names fall in increasingly with the normal formation of Israelite personal names the further we progress from the time of Saul. Some are similar in formation to the el gib names, reflecting no doubt the gradual assimilation of the Gibeonite population. Nearer to the time of Saul are some names which do not easily admit of a Hebrew derivation, such as PITHON, TAREA. PELET is virtually identical with Palti discussed above. There also occur names identical with or similar to the Edomite names in Gen. 36, especially YEUSH, ISHMAEL and HANAN.⁹⁶ ALEMETH and AZMAVETH are MOT-names (cf. the ~~BAAL~~-names above) and may be taken as indicating the survival of Canaanite or syncretic

94. Feiler, art. cit. p. 219; Ginsberg-Maisler, art. cit. p. 257.

95. See BDB p. 74 sub voce. If Gordon's reading u r m n is correct, there is an identical form in Ug. though of uncertain meaning, See Ugaritic Manual sub voce.

96. Gen. 36,3.5.18.38.

religious ideas and practice in Benjamin and the Gibeonite area in particular.⁹⁷

We have, finally, fifteen names from el ḡib all of which, with the possible exception of the first, appear to be personal names:

g d r, ' z r y h, ' m r y h, d m l ' , š b ' l,
 ḥ n n y h, n r ' m ṣ p, n ḥ m ḥ ṣ l y h w,
 t n ḥ m n g b, m š l m ' l n t n, t n ḥ m m g n,
 m r t s m n, ' n y h w b n ḥ r y h w,
 ḥ z z l ḡ h, ḥ r t h n w.⁹⁸

We discussed g d r, š b ' l and n r ' in connexion with one or other of the Gibeonite or Saulite names. We find several of these names in texts from the time of Jeremiah; most come from a period not earlier than the seventh century to judge by the archaeological evidence, and therefore are of limited interest for our enquiry. Only d m l ' has provided a serious difficulty of interpretation.⁹⁹ ḥ r can be compared with Hori and Hur.¹⁰⁰ We may note, finally, that one or two levitical names feature in this list: Azariah, Amariah and Shebuel; while one other, Hananiah, is found only in Judah and Benjamin.

97. Presuming a derivation from גִּבְעָת and גִּבְעָת respectively. On religious syncretism in Benjamin see J. Duš, 'Der Beitrag des benjaminitischen Heidentums zur Religion Israels', CommViat 6 (1963) pp. 61ff.

98. Pritchard, Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, Philadelphia, 1959, passim.

99. id., p. 9.

100. See above p. 77.

Taking the onomastic study of the Gibeonite, Saulite and el ġib names together we have the following results:

- i) Names which are certainly or very probably non-Hebrew:
 Baanah, Rechab, Rimmon, Uriah, Shobal, Ithri, Puthi, Shumathi,
 Mishrai, Maacah, Zur, Kish, Baal, Ner, Matri, Merab, Michal,
 Palti, Aiah, Rizpah, Pithon, Tarea, Pelet.
- ii) Names with a non-Israelite theophoric element: Abinadab,
 Nadab (?), Rimmon, Kish (?), Malchishua, Palti, Pelet
 (presuming the name of the deity missing), Ishba'al,
 Meribba'al, Mephiba'al, Alemeth, Azmaveth.
- iii) Names susceptible of a Hurrian derivation: Baanah, Uriah,
 Shobal, Puthi, Kish, Palti, Pelet, Aiah.
- iv) Names found in the Edomite lists (Gen.36): Baanah (cf.
 Ben-anah), Shobal, Ithri, (cf. Ithran), Saul, Matri (cf.
 Matred), Aiah, Jeush, Ishmael, Hanan.
- v) Gibeonite / Saulite names found at el ġib: Hananiah, Ner,
 Gedor (?), Shobal (?).
- vi) levitical names: Abinadab, Eleazar, Ahio, Zecher, Saul, Kish,
 Jonathan; from el gib: Azariah, Amariah, Shebuel.

Making all due allowance for the wide margin of uncertainty in this kind of study (especially in view of scant evidence of Hurrian names) and taking account of the fact that many of these 120 names come from a period when assimilation of Gibeonite with Israelite was complete, this gives us impressive indirect evidence for the non-Israelite element and religious syncretism among the Gibeonites and Saulites. It also supports the thesis of a ~~basically~~ *element among* Hurrian ~~composition of~~ the Gibeonites. That several Saulite names

do not easily allow for an Israelite derivation and some have Hurrian associations (either directly or by comparison with the Edomite lists) supports the view that his family^y~~ies~~ had close connexions with Gibeon. His partiality to the Kenites (see 1 Sam. 15,6), a group which had Hurrian affinities, points in the same direction. We have, unfortunately, no means of determining the nature of these connexions. According to 1 Sam. 9,1 he was a sixth generation Benjaminite. This would presumably place Abiah, first in the line, in the first or second quarter of the thirteenth century. As we shall see, this would probably be shortly after the establishment of the Hurrian Gibeonites north-west of Jerusalem as an identifiable political unit. There is also the possibility of connexions with partly Hurrian groups further south, especially if an Arabic derivation of the name Saul is upheld. This would appear to be true also of the population of Kiriath-jearim.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON SAUL AND THE EDMITES

The study of the Saulite names revealed that not only the name of Saul himself features in the Edomite king-list (Gen. 36,37) but also Bela, Hanan (cf. Baal-Hanan, Gen. 36,38) and Matri (cf. Matred, Gen. 36,39) of the Gibeonite / Saulite genealogies.

The date of the Edomite king-list depends on the interpretation of v.31: "these are the kings who reigned in all the land of Edom, before any king reigned in Israel". If it refers to the beginning of the Israelite monarchy it will go up to the time of Saul, but if - and this view is more generally accepted - it refers to the beginning of Israelite rule in Edom it would reach the time of David.¹ The Edomite Saul is sixth and antepenultimate in the list; if the last king Hadar (Hadad?)² was contemporary with the Edomite Saul David, would have flourished either shortly before or contemporaneously with Israelite Saul.

Some indications in the list, however, suggest that it is not a case of dynastic succession. Each king reigns in a different region and there is no father-son succession. V.39 suggests that Hadar's claim to the throne came through the distaff side. The

1. See Gunkel, op.cit. 393f; von Rad, Das Erste Buch Mose, Göttingen, 1953, p. 303.

2. See 2 Sam. 8,13f, David's victory over Edom. Another Hadad of the royal house of Edom occurs in 1 Kings 11,14ff during the reign of Solomon.

monarchy would then have taken place in Edom and Israel (Benjamin).

Of Saul's relations with Edom we read only that he fought successfully against them. (1 Sam. 14,47). It was left to David to subdue them and annex Edom temporarily to Israel (2 Sam. 8,12ff; Ps. 60,1). But Israelite-Edomite relations remained stormy right down to the Exile when they were regarded as the enemy par excellence (see Ps. 137,7-9).

An interesting and in some respects puzzling episode is the betrayal of Ahimelech by Doeg the Edomite at Nob and the subsequent slaughter of the priests of the sanctuary. Doeg is described as: a certain man of the servants of Saul (1 Sam. 21,7a); detained before Yahweh (לפני יהוה) at Nob (7a); אביר הרעי (7b); אביר הרעי על עבדי שאול (22,9), either "standing by" or "placed over" the servants of Saul.¹⁰

There has been much speculation as to what an Edomite was doing at the sanctuary of Nob.¹¹ It is not probable that he just happened to be there either in fulfilment of a vow¹² or requesting an oracle. He is in the permanent service of Saul as the leader (literally, strong one) of his herdsman.

9. LXX has *νερωυ τας ημιονους*; Driver, Budde, Kittel et al. suggest we read אביר הרעי, see H.P. Smith, *op.cit.* p.200, making Doeg the chief of Saul's couriers.

10. The latter is more probable in view of 21,7; if על is translated "with", "alongside", it would imply that Doeg was not one of these servants.

11. See W. Caspari, Die Samuelbücher, Leipzig, 1926, p.269.

12. A. Médebielle, Les Livres des Rois, Paris, 1949, p.435.

This may, if we retain MT, imply an agricultural function and no more (we recall that the ambassadors from Jabesh Gilead found Saul ploughing, 1 Sam. 11,5). But there are examples throughout the ancient Near East of temple-herds, chiefly for sacrifice, looked after by officials who had some importance in the temple hierarchy. Kapelrud suggests that Amos, described as 𐤀𐤏𐤍𐤏, may have had this function.¹³ The colophon of one Ugaritic text refers to r b k h n m . r b n q d m (chief of priests, chief of herdsmen) and another text numbers n q d m among other temple-offices, preceded by doorkeepers and singers.¹⁴ It would not be unreasonable to suggest that Doeg, though detained at the sanctuary (𐤏𐤏𐤏 implies real servitude), had been given charge of the herds of Saul, perhaps with reference to sacrifices carried out at this important sanctuary. He would therefore have been in much the same category as the Gibeonite "hewers of wood and drawers of water" since wood and water ^{were} also required for sacrificial rites.

The question whether Nob was an Ark-sanctuary and its part in the religious history of the reign of Saul will be discussed in a later chapter.

13. A.S.Kapelrud, Central Ideas in Amos, Oslo, 1961, pp.5ff.

14. 62:VI:53-7 and 300 in Gordon's numeration. See Kapelrud, op. cit. p.6.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL SITUATION OF THE GIBBONITES
AT THE TIME OF THE SETTLEMENT

The existence of a ^{partially} ~~basically~~ Hurrian population inhabiting the four cities listed in Jos. 9,17 has to be taken as part of the whole question of Hurrian presence in Syria and Palestine in the second half of the second millenium. This wider context will first occupy our attention in this chapter.

The main source of our knowledge of conditions in Palestine at the beginning of the second millenium is the Egyptian Execration texts from the twelfth and thirteenth dynasties. With few examp~~t~~ions, perhaps only one, all the Palestinian names in these texts are Semitic.¹ This is what we would expect in view of the Amorite migration to the west some short time before. Between one and two centuries later, however, we have considerable evidence of Hurrian presence in Syria,² the incidence of which

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1. See ANET pp.328f; Albright, 'Palestine in the Earliest Historical Period', JPOS 2(1922)pp.110ff; 'The Egyptian Empire in Asia in the Twenty First Century B.C.', id., 8(1928)pp.223ff; 'The Role of the Canaanites in the History of Civilization', The Bible and the Ancient Near East ed. G.E.Wright, London, 1961, pp.333f; Alt, ZDPV 64(1941)pp.21ff; Noth, 'Die syrisch-palästinische Bevölkerung des zweiten Jahrtausends vor Chr. im Lichte neuer Quellen', ZDPV 65(1942)pp.9ff, giving a detailed analysis of the names with the only possible non-Semitic name t ' h ' r s, art.cit.p.27.
 2. O'Callaghan, op.cit.p.46; Gelb, op.cit.pp.64f; for Alalakh see L.Woolley, A Forgotten Kingdom, Harmondsworth, 1953; Alalakh, An Account of the Excavations at Tell Atchana in the Hatay, Oxford, 1955; A.Goetze and W.F.Albright, BASOR 146(1957)pp.20ff; A.Goetze, 'On the Chronology of the Second Millenium B.C.', JCS 11(1957)pp.53ff; See also above p. 63n.26.

D.J.Wiseman, Archaeology and Old Testament Study, (ed. D.Winton Thomas), Oxford, 1967, pp.119ff.

fits the hypothesis of a widespread movement of Hurrians southwards through Syria and Canaan in the direction of Egypt.

A steadily increasing hurrianization took place in Syria as from about 1700 B.C. The Alalakh tablets from level VII (ca.1700) have only a few Hurrian personal names but those from level IV, between two and three centuries later, show an almost complete hurrianization.³ At some time not later than the beginning of the fifteenth century, the chain of Hurrian states in the basin of the Upper Euphrates and in Northern Syria coalesced to form the Kingdom of Mitanni. This kingdom lasted until its dissolution or destruction as a result of the expansionist policy of Shuppiluliumas about one hundred and forty years later. This would undoubtedly have led to an increase in Hurrian presence in the southern part of Syria and to a lesser extent in Canaan about the time of the Amarna letters.

Apart from this, however, we have insufficient data for establishing even a rough chronology for this southward movement. At the time of Alalakh VII we have, to date, no parallel evidence for Hurrians in Lower Syria. We know that, at the time of the First Dynasty of Babylon, Aleppo and Qatna were predominantly West Semitic and that less than two centuries later, ca. 1500, they had become predominantly Hurrian.⁴ Similarly, a Hurrian presence at Ugarit does not seem to go beyond this time.⁵ Towards the

3. See Kupper, op.cit. pp. 24f and bibliog. p. 46.

4. Kupper, op.cit. pp. 25f.

5. See above pp. 63f.

end of the first half of the millenium the "land of Amurru" south of Qatna (= tell el mishrifeh) is decidedly West Semitic, yet by the time of the Israelite Settlement we find a strong Hurrian concentration precisely in this area.⁶ The evidence from sites such as Ta'anak and Shechem, which we have already considered, leads on to the Amarna letters with their evidence for some Hurrian presence in Canaan. Albright⁷ finds sixty one non-Egyptian names in the letters of which twenty are Indo-aryan and three Hurrian. Despite his statement (on the same page) that no letter from Palestine shows any evidence for the kind of Hurrian substratum found further north, the name-analysis points to a typical Mitannian ^{union} ~~syndesis~~ of Indo-aryan and Hurrian since, in the nature of the case, the names of rulers would be bound to predominate.⁸

As we have seen, Palestine is referred to in Egyptian inscriptions as khuru from about 1700, the time of the eighteenth dynasty. This implies a considerable Hurrian presence there.

6. Jos. 11,3.8; Jg. 3,3; 2 Sam. 24,7.

7. CAH Vol.II, ch.XX (fascicle ed.), p.13.

8. See also Alt, Kl.Schr. I, p.98; P.Dhorme, 'Les Pays bibliques au Temps d'El Amarna'; RB 5(1908)pp.500ff; id., 6(1909)pp.50ff; pp.368ff; W.Riedel, OLZ 42(1939)cols.145-8.

Despite decades of controversy, much uncertainty still surrounds the origins and composition of the Hyksos. Since the Hyksos movement was roughly contemporary with the westward and southward thrust of the Hurrians, some connexion has generally been seen to exist between the two, and consequently the political rule of the Hyksos in Egypt and Egyptian territories from ca. 1700 to ca. 1560 could possibly help to explain the origins of groups such as the Gibeonites in the Central Highlands of Palestine. Since, however, we know of few clearly Hurrian names among the Hyksos, who appear to have been predominantly Semitic,⁹ this must be left out of account in our enquiry into Gibeonite origins.

On the basis of the evidence available to date, we can at least state that the biblical evidence, either direct or indirect, for Hurrian elements in the regions of Shechem and Gibeon is consonant with non-biblical evidence for the period from about 1700 to the time of the Settlement. This is particularly true of the Amarna letters.

9. For the Hyksos see K. Sethe, ZAS 65(1930)pp.85ff; R.M. Engberg, The Hyksos Reconsidered, Chicago, 1939; T. Save-Soderbergh, JEA 37(1951)pp.53ff; O'Callaghan, op.cit.pp.45.75f; Albright, 'The Role of the Canaanites', The Bible and the Ancient Near East, p.335 especially n.7 (but see Alt, in Kl. Schr. I, pp.94ff). The view that the Hyksos were predominantly Semitic is held widely since the studies of W. Wolf, ZDMG 8(1929) pp.67ff; R. Dussaud, RHR 109(1934)pp.113ff and other scholars of that time. Albright, JPOS 2(1922)pp.121f, traces them to the Eurasian Plain, J. Leibovitch, IEJ 3(1953)pp.99f, to Phoenicia. Kupper, op.cit.pp.37f, concludes that Syria played no part in the Hyksos movement.

Our main difficulty with Gibeon is that it is not mentioned in any inscription from the second millenium. It is absent from the Execration texts, the Thutmoses city-list (ca. 1480) which contains 117 place-names ⁱⁿ ~~from~~ Palestine,¹⁰ the Palestinian records of Amenophis II and III and the latter's successor Akhnaten,¹¹ and those from the time of Sethos I (1301-1290) and down to Merneptah (+ ca. 1214).¹² Since at the time of the Israelite Settlement it is described as "a great city, like one of the royal cities" (Jos. 10,2) and seemed to be a force to be reckoned with (10,2b, "all its men were mighty")¹³ this absence in the inscriptions would seem to demand an explanation. We have seen, in addition, that excavation at el ġib has not to date revealed any significant trace of a Late Bronze settlement.¹⁴

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10. See ANET pp.234ff; M.Noeth,ZDPV 61(1938)pp.26ff; 66(1943)pp. 156ff; P.O.Munch, ZDMG 18(1939)p.248; A.Alt, Kl.Schr. I pp. 102f. Beeroth occurs in this list, ANET p.242.
 11. Alt, Kl.Schr. I p.98; Leibovitch,art.cit.pp.106f; B.Maisler, B.Maisler,'Canaan and the Canaanites',BASOR 102(1946)p.9; A.Badawi,AnnServAntd'Eg 42(1943)p.21; ANET p.241. There is also a provisions list of Amenophis II, see Alt,Kl.Schr. I p.99n4.
 12. For the Beth-Shean stele of Sethos I see Alt,id.,p.98n.²~~2~~; 251ff; Kenyon, op.cit.,p.219; A.Rowe, The Topography and History of Beth-shan,1930,pp.29f.
 13. Though this may be thought to ill accord with their acceptance of servitude. J.Craviotti,'Gabaon y su Problema racial', RevBibl 25(1963)pp.137ff, gives an imaginative and somewhat far-fetched explanation of this attitude.
 14. See above pp.17f.

One possibility of explaining this failure of Gibeon to show up in the inscriptions in the second half of the millenium, especially in the Amarna letters, and in the excavations, is that Gibeon during this period was an insignificant appendage of Jerusalem. The close proximity of Gibeon to Jerusalem and the cultural associations between them certainly suggest this strongly. Both had a mixed population: the Gibeonites are described as Hivites and Amorites, Jerusalem was at the head of an Amorite alliance against Joshua and Gibeon (Jos. 10,1.5) and the pre-Israelite city was inhabited by Jebusites. That these contained a Hurrian element is suggested by the name of Araunah, almost certainly Hurrian,¹⁵ and the fact that ~~the~~ Hivites and Jebusites occur together in thirteen of the Old Testament lists of indigenous populations of Canaan, being second-last and last respectively.¹⁶ In the Amarna letters puti- (abdi-)hepa(t), king of Jerusalem, bears a name which is formed with that of the great Hurrian goddess and we learn from letter 286 that he was born in Jerusalem.¹⁷ The allegory of

15. See above p.60n.12 and p.68n.41.

16. For the lists see J.Blenkinsopp, CBO 28(1966)p.207. That the Jebusites are Hurrian is proposed by E.A.Speiser, 'The Hurrian Participation in the Civilizations of Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine', Cahiers d'Hist.Mondiale, I/2(1953)p.321; A.Jirku, 'Eine hethitische Ansiedlung in Jerusalem zur Zeit von El-Amarna', ZDPV 43(1920)pp.58ff; Albright, JPOS 2(1922)p.127 takes them to be of Cappadocian or Nesic descent.

17. Knudtzon, op.cit.No.286; Mercer, op.cit.II pp.706ff; Jirku, art. cit. p.59.

Ezekiel (16,3.45) points in the same direction since "Hittite" must be an ethnic not political designation and refers to, or at least includes, Hurrian. We have a more or less parallel case at Hebron. In Gen. 23,7 the "people of the land" around Hebron are described as Hittites. Hebron itself does not occur in the Amarna letters but the king in that region has an Indo-aryan name, Shuwardata. As we saw earlier, the names of the pre-Judahite rulers of Hebron in Num. 13,22 are not Israelite and one, Talmai, may well be Hurrian.¹⁸ Hebron is given to a Kenizzi tribe after the Conquest and this name, as we have seen, is almost certainly of Hurrian type.

Indirect confirmation is found in the ethnic association between the people of Kiriath-jearim and Bethlehem. The latter occurs in the Amarna letters as a "city of the land of Jerusalem".¹⁹ Ephrathah, parallel with "the fields of Ja'ar" in Ps. 132,6, is identified with Bethlehem in Mic. 5,1 and Ru. 4,11, andⁱⁿ the "genealogy" of Ephrathah in 1 Chr. 2,50bff Kiriath-jearim and Bethlehem are collaterally related, both descended from Hur (cf. Hurri). A further confirmation of the association between Kiriath-jearim and Bethlehem, which has so far gone undetected, is the fact that El-hanan of Bethlehem, the slayer of Goliath according to 2 Sam. 21,19, is the son of Jair, consonantically identical with Ps. 132,6, Ja'ar.²⁰ This can hardly be a mere coincidence,

18. See above p.67.

19. See Mercer, op.cit. p.722.

20. MT has יַעֲרִי אֶרְגִּי but אֶרְגִּי is due to dittography, from the same word on the following line cf. 1 Chr. 20,5 (Jair) and 2 Sam. 23,24 where the father of Elhanan is Dodo.

If Gibeon, and with it the other Gibeonite cities, ~~at~~ belonged to the land (m â t u) of Jerusalem at the time of the Amarna letters the hostile reaction of Adonizedek in placing himself at the head of a punitive expedition (Jos. 10,1ff) would be fully intelligible since the alliance of the Gibeonites with Israelites would have constituted a renunciation of allegiance of the kind frequently met with in the letters.

This hypothesis, and it is no more than that, is supported not only by the absence of Gibeon from the Amarna letters but by the overall picture which they give us of the political situation in the Central Highlands of Palestine towards the beginning of the fourteenth century. Shechem, ruled for a time by Laba'ya and his sons, Jerusalem under puti- (abdi-)hepa(t) and the Hebron region under Shuwardata appear to be the only important political centres along the central uplands of the country. Amarna Jerusalem took in Bethlehem and was contiguous with the kingdom of Shuwardata to the south and Gezer to the north-west. Apart from this, however, we have no positive means of establishing its extent. Beth-shemesh appears very probably to have been within the jurisdiction of Jerusalem at this time,²¹ which greatly increases the probability that Gibeon was also.

21. See Mercer, *op.cit.* 722; G. Dalman, *Jerusalem und sein Gelände*, p. 224; Noth, *ZDPV* 65 (1942) pp. 64ff; Maisler, *JPOS* 10 (1930) pp. 181ff; A. Mallon, *JPOS* 8 (1928) pp. 1ff; Jirku, *ZDPV* 43 (1920) pp. 58ff.

The view that Gibeon, which lies only six miles from the Temple area, belonged politically to Jerusalem during the Amarna period makes it easier to understand the close associations between the two cities in later biblical tradition, especially the cultic tradition of the Ark and the Tent.²² We may add finally that ~~both~~ Urijah and Arauna, both of whose names are very probably Hurrian, lived in Jerusalem.²³

If there is no evidence in the Amarna letters for a well-defined group of Gibeonite cities north-west of Jerusalem, we would be led naturally to investigate the possibility that this group, as we find it in the Old Testament historical tradition (Jos. 9-10), originated, or at least achieved the identity which it had at the time of the Settlement, during or after the Amarna period.

We have seen that there was a large-scale Hurrian movement southward and westward from about the eighteenth century B.C. which would have resulted in Hurrian settlements in Syria and, to a lesser extent, in Canaan. Whether this was intensified by the expulsion of the Hyksos from Egypt about 1560 B.C. we do not know, but this event must have had political and social repercussions in Canaan.²⁴ The break-up of the Kingdom of Mitanni two centuries later would have resulted in a further

22. See below pp. 204ff. 302ff.

23. 2 Sam. 11,3.8.11-13 and 24,18ff. For Arauna see p.60n.12 and p.68n.41; for Urijah p. 75n.61.

24. See Albright, JPOS 15(1935)pp.229ff; From the Pyramids to Paul, p.21; Kenyon, Amorites and Canaanites, pp.65.73.

inhabitants of which had been transferred by the Hittites or, perhaps, had emigrated of their own choice, to Egyptian territory. They were the subject of a treaty made with the Egyptians under the auspices of the Hittite, originally Hurrian, storm-god Teshub. This treaty was violated by the Hittites, the violation consisting in an invasion of ~~Am~~qa (the Beqa) then ~~part of~~ Egyptian territory. This military action was successful, but the prisoners of war brought back from the campaign were responsible for the outbreak of the epidemic.

Forrer has suggested that this settlement of an Anatolian population in territory under the jurisdiction of Egypt may explain the presence of "Hittite" elements in the Central Highlands of Palestine as witnessed by the biblical tradition.²⁸ Palestine was certainly regarded as Egyptian territory at the time when this event took place (about 1350), but none of the texts in which the incident is narrated states precisely where the people of Kurustamma settled. Since the Hittites broke the treaty with Egypt, made a propos of the transference of this group to Egyptian territory, by invading "the country of Amqa",²⁹ we would be inclined to think of this as the region where these people settled

28. E.O.Forrer, 'The Hittites in Palestine', PEQ 1936, pp.190ff; 1937, pp.100ff.

29. ANET p.395. Y.Aharoni, 'The Land of 'Amqi', IEJ 3(1953)pp.153ff.

especially since Jg. 3,3 and Jos. 11,3.8 ^{refer to} ~~witness~~ to the same region as an area of Hivite (i.e. Hurrian) concentration.

Of further interest in this question is the parallelism which Malamat has pointed out between the treaties between Hittites and Egyptians on the one hand and Gibeonites and Israelites on the other and the consequences which flowed from their violation.³⁰ In both cases the violation leads to a public calamity in the following reign. Both David and Mursilis seek ~~enlightenment~~ enlightenment from an oracle on the cause of the calamity and are referred back to a treaty-violation which took place in ^athe preceding reign. The fact that the demand of the Gibeonites (2 Sam. 21,5f) is in keeping with the retribution clause in Hittite treaties, according to which the whole group or family is held responsible in solidum, makes this parallelism even more striking.³¹

We note that two Hivite areas are mentioned in the Old Testament both of which have a principal city which at some stage was called Mizpah.³² It would be natural to suppose that there was some relation between these two areas. In his Géographie de la Palestine Abel comments on this as follows:

30. A.Malamat, 'Doctrines of Causality and Biblical Historiography: a Parallel', VT 5(1955)pp.1ff.

31. Malamat, art.cit.pp.8f; V.Korošec, Hethitische Staatsverträge, Leipzig, 1931, pp.102ff.

32. For the identity of the Mizpah of Jg. and 1 Sam. with nebi samwil see above pp.51ff.

Le clan hiwite, du pays de Mišpa, entre Hermon et Liban, paraît bien avoir eu une Mišpa pour capitale, détail qui est de nature à éclairer les origines de Tell en-Našbé. Serait-il surprenant que le clan hiwite établi au nord-ouest de Jérusalem ait eu aussi une capitale appelée Mišpa et que celle-ci ait succombé à une attaque par des bandes en des conjectures que nous ignorons? ... Quand plus tard les Benjamites ou d'autres resuscitèrent la vieille cité ensevelie à Našbé, il est naturel qu'ils aient conservé au site le nom de Mišpa qu'ils trouvaient attaché à ses ruines. C'est réduit à la tétrapole gabaonite, Gabaon, Beëroth, Kephira et Qiryath-Ba'al que l'état hiwite se presenta aux tribus conduites par Josué.³³

Although Abel, contrary to the view defended above, located the Mizpah of Jg. and 1 Sam. at tell en-našbeh and ~~does~~^{did} not believe that the Hivites were ethnically Hurrian,³⁴ he ~~does~~^{did} presuppose some connexion between the two Hivite areas, in the Beqa and north west of Jerusalem, though he ~~did~~ not state precisely how the association arose. While the Pestilence Prayer does not provide us with the means for positively establishing such an association - it informs us neither on the ethnic character of the people of Kurustamma nor the place where they settled - it does open up a possibility. If the people of Kurustamma were

33. F-M Abel, Géographie de la Palestine, II pp.30f.

34. id., I pp.321f; II p.79n.1.

Hurrian, they may have left their place of origin as a result of the anti-Hurrian policy of Shuppiluliumas, settled in the "country of Amqa", some way inside the Egyptian sphere of influence and then, as the result of further Hittite expansion towards the south, moved into the Central Highlands near Jerusalem.

Of necessity, there is much here which is hypothetical. We take the view that during the Amarna period Gibeon was probably a not very important settlement within "the land of Jerusalem" and that some time in the century after Amarna (ca. 1360-1250) the city and surrounding region, including the other three cities ~~of the~~ referred to in Jos. 9,17, were settled by a predominantly Hurrian group, possibly as a consequence of the expansionist foreign policy of Shuppiluliumas which led to the break-up of the Kingdom of Mitanni. This date would be reconcilable with the archaeological evidence from el ġib, which witnesses to a cultural hiatus about this time,³⁵ and would not be contradicted by the evidence we have seen of some association between the population of the Gibeonite cities and non-Israelite groups to the south. If the activity of Joshua is placed in the fourteenth century³⁶ and his ~~date~~ part in the treaty-making accepted, the date would have to be towards the beginning of this period. In this case, the claim of the Gibeonites to have just arrived from a far country may have been nearer the truth than is generally realized.

35. See above pp.17f.

36. As, for example, by T.J.Meek, Hebrew Origins, New York, 1960, p.vii.

At the time of the Settlement the Gibeonite cities formed an identifiable political unit. Not only do they act as a body in the treaty-making - whether or not the "country" ($\Upsilon\Gamma\aleph$, Jos. 9,11 cf. 6.9) refers to their present home - but the demand for retribution in 2 Sam. 21,4ff is made by them all together. The "land of Mizpah" (Jos. 11,3) provides, as we have just seen, an interesting parallel. The designation would probably have much the same meaning as $m \hat{a} t u$ in the Amarna letters: a metropolis surrounded by dependent cities. The description of the ritual execution of the Saulites makes it very probable that the Gibeonite cities had their central sanctuary "at Gibeon, on the mountain of the LORD" (2 Sam. 21, 6.9). In this respect the term "amphictyony" would apply more exactly to a political and religious unity such as obtained among the Gibeonites and Philistines than it does to the Israelite tribes since an amphictyony is essentially a federation of cities grouped around a central sanctuary.

This interpretation of the ~~ix~~ biblical tradition on the Gibeonite cities is supported by what we know of conditions in Palestine in the period immediately after the time of the Amarna letters. At this time there was a tendency for larger political units to emerge incorporating the smaller city-states, and this was particularly in evidence along the Central Highlands, as is seen in the regions of Shechem and Hebron.³⁷

37. See Alt, Kl.Schr. I pp.110ff.

The description of Gibeon as "a great city, like one of the royal cities" (Jos. 10,2, **כְּעִיר הַחֲמִלָּה**) suggests that it was not ruled by a king, as was the case with the Amorite cities leagued against it. The "elders" (Jos. 9,11) play the leading part in the treaty-making, and there is no mention of a king — which we should certainly have expected if Gibeon had been a monarchy. We know that an oligarchic type of rule did exist in pre-Amarna Palestine alongside the monarchic city-states.³⁸ The Abimelech incident at Ophrah and Shechem (Jg. 9) is probably to be interpreted as an attempt to set up a local hereditary kingship in place of the oligarchic rule existing there at that time; and in view of the Hurrian element at both Shechem and Gibeon, we should recall other cases known to us of cities with a large Hurrian element in their population ruled by a type of feudal aristocracy, though this was not necessarily incompatible with monarchy.³⁹

The political situation presupposed by Jos. 9-10 fits in well with what we know of conditions in Palestine during the Amarna age. The letters show us the rapid formation and equally

38. See Alt, *Kl.Schr.* I pp.98.100n.1; ANET pp.245ff.

39. A chariot aristocracy was one of the main features of Hurrian social organization. See Couteneau, *op.cit.* pp.128f; Kupper, *op.cit.* p.26¹/₂

rapid dissolution of coalitions. Jerusalem and Hebron ally against the habiru but we also find Jerusalem facing a coalition of Hebron and Gezer. The alliance of Laba^h'ya of Shechem with the habiru is not dissimilar from that of the Gibeonites with the Israelites. If we had not reason to date the historical substratum of Jos. 9-10 later than the Amarna age, the temptation would be to identify the Amorite allies of Jos. 10,3 with those states which had remained faithful to the Egyptian overlord.⁴⁰ States were bound together among themselves and singly with the Pharaoh by treaties which implied the taking of oaths and the acceptance of responsibilities such as we find implied in the alliance of Jos. 9.⁴¹

A comparison between Shechem, which played such an important role in the political history of Palestine during the Amarna age, and Gibeon, which is not mentioned in the letters, may throw some light on the political and sociological situation of the latter at the time of the Israelite Settlement and shortly afterwards.

- i) They have an ethnically similar population. Both are described as "Hivite" (see Gen. 34,2) and Hurrian presence at Shechem may be deduced from the Indo-aryan name Birassena in one of the Amarna letters.⁴²

40. As does J.Garstang, The Foundations of Biblical History: Joshua and Judges, London, 1931, pp.177f.

41. See Knudtzon, Nos.249,287; Albright, CAH Vol.II, Ch.XX, pp.10.14.

42. ANET p.490; Albright, BASOR 86(1942)pp.28ff; A.Gustavs, ZDPV 50(1927)pp.12f. *For the ethnic implications of the Abimelech episode see Speiser, IDB II, 1962, p.665.*

ii) Both consisted of a closely integrated group of cities:

in Amarna Labā'ya prince of Shechem is also lord of the dependent cities and for a time controlled a large area of the North-Central Highlands.⁴³ In the Abimelech episode we hear of Beth-millo (Jg. 9,6), Arumah (9,31. 41) and Thebez (v.50). We may add here appositely the even closer parallel of Hebron. To judge by the earlier name Kiriath-arba it appears to have been a tetrapolis like Gibeon. It had an ancient sanctuary (Mamre) on which political activity centred. We do not know the exact nature of the political rule at Shechem before Abimelech. In Gen. 34,2⁴⁴ the Hivite Shechem ben-Hamor is ח'שן of the land of Shechem (a title which may correspond more or less to the Edomite ח'שן) but by the time of Abimelech, shortly before or even perhaps contemporarily with the Gibeonite treaty,⁴⁵ it is the בעלי שכם (cf. 2 Sam. 6,1, בעלי יהודה) who make Abimelech king.

iii) Jg. 9,6 refers to a sacred enclosure ("the oak of the pillar at Shechem") where Abimelech was made king, and in the same chapter we find a temple of Ba'al-berith mentioned (9,4 cf. "the house of El-berith, 9,46; 8,33). The sacred oak is also mentioned in the fragmentary account of a covenant-renewal ceremony connected with Jacob in

43. ANET p.486; J.Bright, A History of Israel, Philadelphia, 1959, p.77; E.Nielsen, Shechem, Copenhagen, 1955, pp.142ff.

44. The incident described in this chapter may well be based on reminiscence of treaty-relationships between habiru and Shechem-ites during the Amarna age. See Albright, op.cit. p.20.

45. Albright, The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra, New York, 1963, p.47, takes the view that they were contemporary.

Gen. 35,4, and in Jos. 24,25f Joshua concludes the covenant-renewal in the וְתַרְנֶנֶת of Yahweh which was "under the oak" (v.26). This was the old pre-Israelite sanctuary, the temenos which may be the one uncovered in the recent excavations at tell balâta. The way in which the story of the king-making of Abimelech is told strongly suggests that this ancient sanctuary was the central religious shrine for the "land" of Shechem. G.E. Wright maintains⁴⁶ that the sanctuary of Jg. 9,6 is which was temple 2b of the tell balâta excavations, completed not later than 1200 B.C., and Albright suggests that the ā l i l i mentioned in Amarna letter 254 may well be the same sanctuary.⁴⁷ Suspect cult practices were associated with both the Shechemite and Gibeonite sanctuaries in the biblical period: the injunction to put away foreign gods in Gen. 35,2 and Jos. 24,23 is almost exactly parallel with that made by Samuel at Mizpah in 1 Sam. 7,3, and the immolation of the seventy sons of Jerubbaal "upon one stone" (Jg. 9,5) at Ophrah appears to have a cultic character similar to the execution of the Saulites in 2 Sam. 21,1-14.

46. G.E.Wright, Shechem, New York, 1965, 87ff. He dates the Abimelech episode ca. 1130-1100. See also B.W.Anderson, The Place of Shechem in the Bible, in Biblical Archaeologist Reader 2, ed. E.F. Campbell and D.N.Freedman, New York, 1964, p.265.

47. op.cit.p.19.

iv) Whether Shechem was an Ark-sanctuary during the pre-monarchic period has long been ~~in~~ disputed⁴⁸. The Deuteronomist covenant-tradition is rooted in Shechem, and for the Deuteronomists the Ark cannot be dissociated from covenant-renewal, as is clear from Dt. 31,9ff.24ff and Jos. 8,30-35. Though some scholars have seen this as a theological construct of the Deuteronomists⁴⁸ no convincing argument has yet been produced to show that the Ark did not play a part in the liturgy of covenant-renewal at Shechem which is carried over from the Northern tradition into Dt. Ark-terminology occurs in this book even when the Ark is not explicitly mentioned, in particular the phrase *ל'יהוה* (cf. Jos. 24,1).⁴⁹ The levites are for the Deuteronomists both the cultic Ark-officials and the traditioners of the covenant-idea, in the light of which it is significant that both Shechem and Gibeon are levitical cities.⁵⁰ It is in this context we can best see the significance of the fact that ten

48. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, pp.103f; J. Bright, op.cit.p.147; Nielsen, op.cit.p.301; H.H.Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua, London, 1950, pp.125f; Y.Kaufmann, The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine, Jerusalem, 1960², p.98; E.Auerbach, VTS 1(1953)p.3.

49. For the Deuteronomist conception of the Ark see G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, New York, 1962, p.238.

50. Jos. 21,17.21. For the relation between levites and Ark in Dt. see von Rad, Studies in Deuteronomy, London, 1953, pp.13f. 66f; G.E.Wright, 'The Levites in Deuteronomy', VT 4(1954)pp. 325ff; J.A.Emerton, 'Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy', VT 12(1962)pp.129ff.

Gibeonite and Saulite names (including those discovered at el Gib) are of levitical type⁵¹ and in 2 Sam. 6,2 Uzzah the Ark-bearer has a levitical name.⁵² For the Deuteronomists the levites are the only legitimate bearers of the Ark.⁵³ According to biblical tradition, the Ark was left for a period of time in a Gibeonite city (1 Sam. 7,1f).

v) Among both the Shechemites and Gibeonites relations with the incoming Israelites were regulated by treaty. We find no mention of any Israelite conquest at Shechem and Gen. 34 reflects such a treaty-relationship, as is generally recognized. The account of the Gibeonite treaty follows directly after the covenant-renewal at Shechem in Jos. (8,30-35; 9,1-27). Presuming, as we surely may, a connexion between a Shechemite covenant-tradition and the covenant-theology of Dt., it is significant that we read of the participants in the liturgy, including the 71 who "hews your wood and draws your water", entering into the sworn covenant (Dt. 29,11f cf. Jos. 9,21.23.27). A further and more debatable point is the circumcision which seals the Shechemite covenant in Gen. 34,15ff. Jos. 5,2-9 contains an

51. See above p.95.

52. > 7Y, which has a strong thematic link with the Ark, e.g. Ps. 78,61; 132,8 = 2 Chr. 6,41. See G. Henton Davies, 'The Ark in the Psalms', Promise and Fulfilment (presented to S.H. Hooke), Edinburgh, 1963, pp. 51ff. In some Ps. texts 7Y can refer to the heavenly fortress or citadel of which the Ark is the earthly counterpart e.g. Ps. 8,3; 78,26; 132,8; 150,1. Names formed with uzz- occur frequently in Benjaminite and levitical lists.

53. Dt. 10,8; 30,9.25; Jos. 8,33.

isolated and probably fragmentary tradition about a circumcision ceremony at Gilgal. Since the reasons given for the circumcision ~~are~~ of Israelites at this late stage are far from convincing⁵⁴ the tradition could well be referred to the circumcision of non-Israelites incorporated into Israel after the Settlement. The Gibeonite treaty takes place at Gilgal (Jos. 9,6) and the Gibeonites, if Hurrians, would not have been circumcised and would certainly have had to accept circumcision. A final point worthy of note is that the abjuration of foreign gods plays an important part on two cultic occasions at Shechem (Gen. 35,2⁵⁵ and Jos. 24,23). The same injunction made by Samuel follows immediately after the Ark is left in a Gibeonite city.

vi) The first two attempts to set up hereditary kingship in Israel are associated respectively with Shechem and Gibeon. Abimelech was Shechemite on his mother's side (Jg. 9,1) and Saul, as we have seen, had definite connexions with Gibeon. Both attempts were abortive. The evident associative link between Ark and kingship would strengthen the supposition that both Shechem and Gibeon were for a time Ark-sanctuaries. If the Chronicler is correct in

54. See M.Noth, Das Buch Josua, pp.5f; Hertzberg, Die Bücher Josua, Richter und Ruth, Göttingen, 1959², p.32.

55. See Alt, 'Die Wallfahrt von Sichem nach Bethel', Kl.Schr. I pp.79ff.

providing Saul with a Gibeonite genealogy, we have a striking similarity between Abimelech's relations with his Shechemite brothers and those of Saul with the Gibeonites. The texts provide us with no clear indication of any connexion between the two political actions but if, as Albright suggests,⁵⁶ the two were almost contemporary, the disturbances at Shechem recorded in Jg. 9 may have occasioned the Ark's removal to another sanctuary further south.

56. Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, Baltimore, 1956⁴, p.113.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GIBEONITE-ISRAELITE TREATY AND ITS SEQUEL

A discussion of the part played by the Gibeonites in the Israelite Settlement involves us in an attempt to evaluate the historical character of the narratives in Jos. 9-10 dealing with the treaty at Gilgal and the reaction it provoked among neighbouring states. This in its turn presupposes an understanding of the literary composition of these narratives. We begin with Jos. 9, the account of the treaty.

The Composition of Jos. 9

That the narrative describing the treaty-making has undergone successive editing is clear from the way ^{it} ~~the narrative~~ unfolds, especially with respect to the roles of the different parties concerned: Joshua, the נשיאי העדה and the people of Israel variously described as ישראל (v.2), איש ישראל (vv.6.7), בני ישראל (vv.17.18), העדה (v.18) or simply האנשים (v.14); on the other side "the inhabitants of Gibeon" (v.3), "the Hivites" (v.7), זקנינו (v.11). This already suggests that the identity of the contracting party on the Israelite side was a question of some importance in the literary history of this narrative. The account itself is also uneven. The Gibeonites speak to Joshua and the men of Israel but only the men of Israel answer (vv.6f). Then Joshua asks the same question in different words (v.8) and

the Gibeonites answer with a set speech after which (a) the men of Israel partake of the stale bread (b) Joshua makes peace with the Gibeonites (c) the leaders of the congregation take the oath committing the Israelites to the treaty. Then, in v.22, just when the whole question seemed to be settled, Joshua re-opens negotiations and from then on only Joshua and the people of Israel, never the leaders of the congregation, are mentioned.

The literary analysis of this chapter on the basis of pentateuchal source-criticism has not resulted in any kind of unanimity nor has it marshalled anything like the evidence necessary to make out a convincing case for itself. In general, the continuation of J and E into the historical books has not proved its worth as a useful hypothesis and is looked on with increasing and justified suspicion.

The main attempts were made by Budde, ZAW 7(1887)136ff who held that the chapter was mainly J. C.Steuernagel, Das Deuteronomium und das Buch Josua, Göttingen, 1923², 241ff, read it as basically E with signs of P redaction in vv.17-21. H.Holzinger, Das Buch Josua, Tübingen, 1901, pp.30-2, as a combination of J and E (JE) worked over by P and then P, the 1st evident in the list of cities. S.R.Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913, p.167, divided it between J and E. O.Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Tübingen, 1956², pp.300-2, also finds evidence of J and E with some P additions in vv.15-27. O.Procksch, Das nordhebräische Sagenbuch, Leipzig, 1906, pp.330ff, reads it as mostly E. E.Sellin, Gilgal, Leipzig, 1917, argues against Budde and Holzinger and makes the occurrence of "Joshua" and "the men of Israel" the criterion of source-division. In

different ways H.Wheeler Robinson, Deuteronomy and Joshua, Edinburgh, 1907, pp.307ff; J.Wellhausen, Die Composition des Hexateuchs, Berlin, 1899³, pp.229ff; J.A.Simpson, The Early Traditions of Israel, Oxford, 1948, pp.301ff and B.L.Goff, 'The Lost Yahwist Account of the Conquest of Canaan', JBL 53(1934)p.246, divide up the chapter between J and E and take it to be worked over redactionally by either D or P or both.

We begin our examination by what is least open to doubt, namely, the evidence in this chapter ^{for} of Deuteronomist editing. The introduction (vv.1-2) is clearly in line with Deuteronomic usage: the division of the land into hill country, lowlands and coastal plain occurs in Dt. 1,7 and the list of indigenous populations has the same number and in the same order as Dt. 20,17, which stands in a context dealing with the Holy War. Dt. 20,10-18 enunciates rules on how to deal with cities in Canaan, including cities "which are very far from you" (v.15). Of the twenty one such lists in the Old Testament only these two (Jos. 9,1; Dt. 20,17) are in this order.¹ After vv.1-2 the Deuteronomic hand can be detected in the following:

- i) The method of proceeding in the Holy War, with special reference to the treatment of opposition met with in the course of the occupation of Canaan, is laid down in Dt. 20,10-18. This provides the basic preamble for understanding the conduct of the Israelites presented with the Gibeonite petition for a b^erith. The ban had to be applied to all Canaanite cities whether they surrendered or not; but if distant cities, ערים יחזקות,

1. For the lists see p.54.

offered peace they were to be spared but put to forced labour, **עֲבָדוּ**. In Jos. 9,6 the Gibeonites claim to come from a distant land, **מֵאֶרֶץ רְחֹקָה** (cf.v.22), and they are put to forced labour, if of a special kind.² The fragmentary tradition contained in Jg. 2,1-5, which has also probably undergone Deuteronomic revision,³ contains a prohibition against making treaties with the inhabitants of the land and points to the consequences which would follow from such treaties, namely, that these peoples would turn against them and their gods would become a "snare". Worthy of note is the point of departure of the angel of Yahweh (= the Ark?), which is Gilgal where the Gibeonite treaty was made.⁴ The consequences threatened in this passage could very well have been verified in the case of the Gibeonite-Israelite treaty.

- ii) The treaty is made in Gilgal (v.6). Dt.27 contains traces of a covenant-ceremony associated with the Gilgal sanctuary

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2. Some relevant remarks on slavery in Israel in J.Mendelsohn, 'State Slavery in Ancient Israel', BASOR 85(1942)pp.14ff; 'On Corvée Labor in Ancient Canaan and Israel', BASOR 167(1962)pp. 31ff.
3. Eissfeldt, op.cit.p.360.
4. See K.Möhlenbrink, 'Die Landnahmesagen des Buches Josua', ZAW 56(1938)p.241. The incident may, however, be associated primarily with Bethel. See K.Galling, 'Bethel und Gilgal', ZDPV 67(1944/5)p.30.

near the Jordan conflated with a Shechem covenant-narrative. Evidence of such conflation is not lacking: Moses and the elders speak in v.1, Moses and the levitical priests in v.9, Moses alone in v.11, the levites alone in v.14. Two commands are given to set up commemorative stones: immediately after crossing the Jordan, v.2, at Ebal near Shechem, v.4. The levites are counted among the tribes at Gerizim, v.12, they are covenant cult-personnel (as is usual in Dt.) in v.14. The command in vv.3f, quite distinct from that in vv.4-8 which speaks of Ebal (Shechem), must refer to the same sanctuary as Jos. 4,19f which speaks of commemorative stones set up near the Jordan at Gilgal.⁵ A tradition of a covenant-ceremony at Gilgal certainly existed at some stage, therefore, and it was at Gilgal that the Gibeonite covenant was made.

iii) In Jos. 9,21.23.27 the Gibeonites are condemned to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water", a class referred to in Dt. 29,10 in the same terms and identified with גֵּרִי אֲשֶׁר בְּקִרְבֵּנוֹ, that is, non-Israelite elements

5. For Sellin's arguments for a Gilgal sanctuary near Shechem see Gilgal, Leipzig, 1917, pp.43f. That Gilgal occurs only twice in the Old Testament without the article (Jos.5,9; 12,23) betrays its origin in a local feature, probably a circle of stones (cf. Jg. 3,19, the מַצֵּבָה near Gilgal). Gressmann, Alt and Noth have drawn out attention to the aetiological aspects of Jos. 4,19f, the dodekalithon tradition (see M.Noth, Das Buch Josua, p.33). It is doubtful whether, as Kraus suggests ('Gilgal', VT 1 [1951] pp.194ff), this passage reflects a service commemorating the crossing of the Jordan. See A.Kuschke, 'Gilgal', RGG³, Tübingen, 1958, II pp.77f.

which had been incorporated into the tribal structure without full rights. The incorporation envisaged in Jos. 9 is of this kind. Joshua was obliged to rush to their assistance when they were attacked, but from 2 Sam. 21,4 we gather that the Gibeonites were not able to apply the blood-feud principle.⁶ The quasi-technical **בְּקָרָב** occurs in Jos.10,1: "When Adonizedek king of Jerusalem heard how ... the Gibeonites had made peace with Israel and were in their midst (**בְּקָרָב**)". This may give an added significance to Dt. 9,12 which speaks of entering into the covenant rather than just renewing it, and in the same context we read of this sworn covenant, recalling the oath sworn by the leaders of the congregation and afterwards broken by Saul (Jos. 9,15; 2 Sam. 21,2).

iv) Mention by the Gibeonites of the mighty deeds of the Israelite god, especially the Exodus-theme (vv.9f.24), betrays the Deuteronomic hand and is also found on the mouths of the Philistines (1 Sam. 4,8).⁷ We may also compare v.10, reference to the Israelite campaigns east of Jordan, with Dt. 2,26ff.

6. "Neither is it for us to put any man to death in Israel". See H.Cazelles, 'David's Monarchy and the Gibeonite Claim', PEQ 87 (1955) pp.165.

7. cf. Dt. 4,20.34; 5,6 etc. See Steuernagel, op.cit. p.241; J.Liver, 'The Literary History of Joshua IX', JSS 8/2(1963) pp.228f.

v) In Dt. 8,4 and 29,4 we find a parallel to vv.4-5 significant precisely because in itself trivial. In speaking of their decrepid appearance the Gibeonites use the adjective בלה four times. Of the condition of the Israelites in the desert Dt. says:

8,4 שחלתך לא בלתה מעליך
לא-בלו שחלתיכם מעליכם
29,4 ונעלך לא-בלתה מעל רגלך

Perhaps the idea behind the Gibeonites' description of themselves is that they too had just completed an Exodus similar to that of the Israelites and inspired by the mighty deeds of the same god. In view of the fact that the Deuteronomists are the heirs of the spiritual message of the eighth century prophets, it is significant that they were much concerned with Yahweh's relations with "the nations round about". Amos even asserts that Yahweh had been responsible for the exodus of other peoples apart from the Israelites (9,7).

vi) The final phrase, "in the place which he should choose", Jos. 9,27, is clearly a Deuteronomic addition to the original conclusion "to this day", which is how this kind of aetiological narrative ends in this book (cf. 5,9; 7,26; 8,29). We are therefore justified in speaking of at least one Deuteronomic edition of the treaty-narrative.⁸

8. Noth, op.cit. pp.9f and Abel, Le Livre de Josué, Paris, 1958², posit a double Deuteronomic redaction.

Many commentators have also taken it for granted that this chapter has undergone Priestly redaction during or after the Exile. The basis for this supposition is the mention of 'ח'שׁוּ] אֲלֵיךְ and the role which "the leaders of the congregation" and the congregation itself play in the treaty-making.⁹ The "altar of Yahweh" (v.27) and the association which certainly exists between the Gibeonites and nethinim are seen as confirmation of this. Noth, however, has counselled caution since 'ח'שׁוּ] and אֲלֵיךְ may be genuinely ancient terms in use in the earliest period of tribal organization and the reference to the altar of Yahweh could be ascribed just as well to the Deuteronomists.¹⁰ Late Priestly influence on this narrative cannot therefore be accepted with the same confidence as previously.

This evidence for redactional activity will be seen more clearly if we consider some fairly obvious difficulties in the narrative. Is it likely, we may ask, that the Israelites would allow themselves to be so easily fooled or that they did not ask themselves why the Gibeonites, if they were emissaries from a far country, should have desired or required a treaty with them? They certainly were not asking for exemption from the Holy War rules on the grounds of their recent arrival in Canaan; the fact

9. אֲלֵיךְ occurs only in P according to the "classical" pentateuchal source-division. See B.Luther, 'Kāhāl and 'edah als Hilfsmittel der Quellenscheidung in Priesterkodex und in der Chronik', ZAW 56(1938)pp.44ff.

10. op.cit.p.55 and Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels, Stuttgart, 1930, p.102n.2 (apropos Jg. 20-21 where אֲלֵיךְ also occurs in a similar role).

that they had arrived would have put them at once under the ban.

At one point the bread is there simply to prove the length of the journey they had come. A little later we find the Israelites partaking of it and therefore entering into a bond of treaty-solidarity. One can detect a certain air of unreality and even perhaps detached humour, especially with regard to the means chosen by the Gibeonites to authenticate their mission - as if anyone would believe that they could not have obtained fresh bread on their long journey! We referred earlier to the difficulty created by the mention of three contracting parties on the Israelite side. This may well reflect the concern felt at the consequences of the treaty and the need to establish who was responsible for contracting such a treaty in open defiance of the (Deuteronomic) laws concerning relations with the inhabitants of the land. There are, therefore, two prominent factors which have influenced the formation of this narrative:

the need to justify Israelite tolerance of this ethnically alien group and to establish responsibility for making the treaty

an explanation of the origins of the nethinim, a class of menial servants in the Second (and possibly First) Temple.

Passing on to the more precise source-division of this chapter on the basis of formal-stylistic and structural elements, we find that most commentators, quite apart from those who start out from J and E of the Pentateuch, posit at least two superimposed

narrative-strands. MÖHLENBRINK¹¹ supposes there to be an earlier Gilgal version of the episode featuring "the men of Israel" which made no mention of the fate of the Gibeonites, and a later Shiloh narrative which described their fate. This latter, however, referred originally not to Gibeon but to Shechem.¹² NOTH¹³ also sees the chapter as the result of a conflation of two traditions, one aimed polemically against Benjamin which entered illegitimately into treaty-relationship with the native population, the other explaining the origins of a class of minor cultic personnel in the Temple. For him the role of Joshua is secondary throughout, whereas for Möhlenbrink Joshua did feature in the Shiloh strand. HERTZBERG¹⁴ finds the basic narrative in vv.16-21a which was favourable to the Gibeonites. To this was later added the story of the ruse featuring Joshua and reflecting anti-Gibeonite animus in Jerusalem under Solomon. ABEL¹⁵ also finds two strands: one with Joshua and "the men of Israel", the other of Priestly origin featuring "the leaders of the congregation". Others have

11. K.Möhlenbrink, art.cit.pp.241ff.

12. Here he follows a suggestion, hardly capable of substantiation, put forward by A.Bruno, Gibeon, Leipzig, 1923, p.135.

13. Das Buch Josua, pp.29ff.

14. H-W Hertzberg, Die Bücher Josua, Richter, Ruth, Göttingen, 1959², pp.66-9.

15. op.cit.pp.47f.

applied different criteria or the same criteria with different results.¹⁶

Apart from a passing reference in Steuernagel,¹⁷ no commentator has exploited the alternative use of $\text{לִשְׁכַּת יְשׁוּעָה}$ and בְּנֵי יְשׁוּעָה as a criterion for source-division, as has been done in the more complicated literary history of Jg. 19-21.¹⁸ This would strengthen the impression of a break after v.15, with vv.16-27 centred on the fate of the Gibeonites as minor cultic personnel, "hewers of wood and drawers of water". But even in this second half of the chapter the double conclusion:

So they became hewers of wood and drawers of
water for all the congregation as the leaders
had said to them. v.21b

But Joshua made them that day hewers of wood
and drawers of water ... in the place which
he (Yahweh) should choose. v.27

strongly indicates a conflation of two narrative-strands.

The Historical Character of the Treaty

Even if we suppose, on the basis of literary analysis, that the description of the treaty has been overlaid by a cultic aetiology and that anti-Gibeonite and anti-Benjaminite feeling

16. See Liver, art.cit. for other attempts.

17. op.cit.p.241. $\text{לִשְׁכַּת יְשׁוּעָה}$ occurs in vv.6.7.14, בְּנֵי יְשׁוּעָה in vv.17.18.26.

18. For Jg. 19-21 see E.Bertheau, Das Buch der Richter und Ruth, Leipzig, 1883², pp.265.269. See also A.Besters, 'Le Sanctuaire central dans Jud.XIX-XXI', ETL 41(1965)pp.34ff; Schunck, op.cit.pp.60f.

has changed the emphasis, and even if we cannot be certain who contracted the treaty on the Israelite side ("the leaders of the congregation" may well be added), the fact that there was a treaty need not be brought into question. In view of the prestige of Gibeon as "the great high place" and the danger which this must have constituted for the still insecure position of Jerusalem as the central sanctuary from the time of Solomon, it would be natural to find that the account of the first entry of Gibeon and the Gibeonites on the scene of Israelite history had not been left untouched. Behind this redactional activity, however, we can discern clearly enough a tradition about a peaceful treaty-relationship between Benjamin and the Gibeonites similar to that between one or both of the Joseph tribes and Shechem, and it is hardly accidental that the accounts of both stand side by side in this book (Jos. 8,30 - 9,27).

We have, moreover, independent if indirect confirmation of the historicity of the treaty in 2 Sam. 21,1-14, since David's action can be explained only on the supposition that his predecessor had violated a treaty-obligation undertaken towards the Gibeonites (21,2). To this we may add the assassination of Ishba'al son of Saul by men from a Gibeonite city (2 Sam. 4,2ff), an action intelligible as vengeance for the treaty-violation of Saul.

¹⁹
Schunck suggests an additional argument e silentio from the results of excavation at el ġib, since no trace of any burning or destruction was found from Late Bronze or Early Iron,

19. op.cit.p.23.

contrary to what is attested at other sites at the time of the Israelite Settlement. This may be valid, but we have seen that the Late Bronze city may still lie buried somewhere on the tell.

Indispensable towards an historical evaluation of Jos. 9 is a comparison between this treaty and those known to us from roughly the same period, especially the Hittite treaties. We can identify the following elements in Jos. 9 as fitting into this wider context:

- i) The term ל'גב ללך , attested elsewhere in treaty-making in the North-West Semitic area, is used in vv. 6.7.11.15.16.²⁰
- ii) The Gibeonite emissaries' reference to themselves as ל'גב ללך of the Israelites expresses the unequal status of the contracting parties. We have several contemporary or near-contemporary examples of such disparity-treaties.²¹ The vassal-suzerain type of treaty is presupposed in many of the Amarna letters, which brings us close to the time of the Gibeonite treaty.²²
- iii) The two parties share a meal. From the Alalakh tablets we know of agreements where this was combined with taking an oath.²³ The oath taken by the elders is sworn in the

20. For recent documentation see D. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, Rome, 1963, pp. 52ff.

21. V. Korošec, op. cit.; D. J. Wiseman, The Vassal Treaties of Esarhaddon, London, 1958 (from the seventh century).

22. See F. C. Fensham, 'The Treaty between Israel and the Gibeonites', BA 27(1964)No. 3, pp. 96ff; I. M. Grintz, 'The Treaty with the Gibeonites', Zion 26 (1960/61) pp. 69ff (Heb.).

23. Fensham, art. cit. p. 98; McCarthy, op. cit. pp. 57ff.

name of Yahweh God of Israel (vv.15.18.20 cf. 2 Sam. 21, 2), which no doubt explains why Yahweh himself came to the assistance of the threatened Gibeonites in the battle which followed (10,10ff).²⁴ The name of the tutelary deity on the Gibeonite side is, understandably, not found in the text. In the Hittite-Egyptian treaty referred to earlier,²⁵ the tutelary deity was Teshub. If the interpretation of ŠMŠ in Jos. 10,12 as a deity worshipped at Gibeon can be maintained,²⁶ the same deity may very well have had a part in the treaty. The question at issue would be whether the two deities involved in the treaty should take part in the action together or whether Yahweh should act alone.

- iv) The technical treaty-term $\Pi 150$ is used (v.15). This implies at least mutual non-aggression. Its further implications can be studied in other Semitic treaties, for example, a treaty-text from Mari.²⁷
- v) The curses which almost invariably have a part in such treaties are not found in Jos.9, but the famine which raged in Israel under David (2 Sam. 21,1) was interpreted

24. Fensham, art.cit.p.99; McCarthy, op.cit.pp.47ff.

25. See above pp.110ff.

26. See below pp. 166ff.

27. M.Noth, 'Das alttestamentliche Bundschliessen im Lichte eines Mari-Textes', Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, Munich, 1960, pp.142ff; H.W.Wolff, VT 6(1956)p.316.

as resulting from Saul's action in breaking the treaty-relationship.²⁸ We noted earlier the similarity between the violation of the Gibeonite treaty and that referred to in the Pestilence Prayer of Nursilis, and there are other examples of plague, drought and the like inflicted as punishment for treaty-violation in keeping with the curses accepted by the contracting parties. The connexion between Jos.9 and 2 Sam. 21,1-14 is further emphasized by the exposing of the corpses of the Saulites which is in accordance with the fate of treaty-violators elsewhere in the ancient Near East.²⁹ Further, the demand for retribution made to David (2 Sam. 21,4-6) is fully in accord with the retribution-clause in several Hittite treaties of the period.³⁰

vi) Though no document is referred to in Jos.9, comparative study makes it reasonable to suppose that the treaty was in writing;³¹ it was, at any rate, still in force at the time of David. We may suppose, without of course being able to adduce proof, that a copy of the treaty was

28. On the curse in this kind of treaty see McCarthy, *op.cit.* pp.2. 28; G.E.Mendenhall, 'Covenant Forms in Israelite Tradition', *BA* 17(1954)pp.50ff; J.Scharbert, 'Fluchen und Segen im Alten Testament', *Bib* 39(1958)pp.5ff; Fensham, *ZAW* 75(1963)pp.155ff.

29. Fensham, *BA* 27(1964)No.3, pp.99f.

30. V.Korošec, *op.cit.* pp.102ff; Malamat, *VT* 5(1955)p.8; cf. the curses in the Sefire treaty on Mati'el and his land, McCarthy, *op.cit.* p.62.

31. McCarthy, *op.cit.* pp.4.38.

deposited in the Gibeonite sanctuary (cf. Dt.31,25f).

Mursilis visited the sanctuaries of the gods to receive an oracle on the cause of the plague;³² and some have suggested that it was at the Gibeonite sanctuary that David sought and received the oracle leading to the retribution visited on the Saulites.(2 Sam. 21,1).³³

That so many features of the Gibeonite treaty correspond to what we know of other Near Eastern treaties and the Hittite vassal treaties in particular is not entirely surprising since the period between Amarna and the Israelite Settlement witnessed the greatest concentration of these latter. Two of similar type are known from Alalakh from ca. 1400 b. which time, as we have seen, the city was fairly thoroughly hurrianized. The Hurrians were still at that time the cultural middlemen in the Near East and Hittite political and cultural life was saturated with Hurrian influence, especially in the years after Suppiluliumas I. In view of the Hurrian element in Shechem and the Gibeonite cities we should seek here (in Jos.9 and the treaty-relationship between Shechem and Israel) an explanation of the ~~ext~~ structural similarity between the Old Testament

32. ANET pp.394f.

33. "To seek the face of Yahweh" suggests a visit to a sanctuary, and in view of the nature of the request this would naturally be the Gibeonite sanctuary. See Hertzberg, Die Samuelbücher, Göttingen, 1960², p.315.

presentation of the covenant and the Hittite vassal treaties.³⁴

In a later section of this chapter we shall raise the question whether the Gibeonite-Israelite treaty can be related in any way to the treaty-relationships presupposed in the Amarna letters and, in particular, that between Shechem and the *habiru*.

A further question which requires discussion is the identity of the contracting parties in the treaty. On the Israelite side, we have to ask whether the treaty was made with Israel as a whole, as the narrative states, or with Benjamin either alone or associated with neighbouring tribes. Also, whether the role of Joshua is original or secondary.

As to the first. Jos.9 represents all-Israel as involved in the negotiations in the same way that the book as a whole ascribes the Conquest to the concerted effort of all the tribes. That this latter is the outcome of a theological postulate is indicated by independent evidence in the Old Testament itself, notably Jg.1 where individual tribes, or small groups of tribes, are seen coping with the problem of settlement in their allotted areas as well as they could and generally with only limited success. We have also to take seriously the view that the first part of the book derives mainly from Benjaminite tradition. This is seen principally in the great importance given to Gilgal

34. G.E.Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, Pittsburg, 1955.

where the treaty took place.³⁵ The reticence of the more ancient tradition contained in Jg.1 on the fortunes of Benjamin (it states only that this tribe did not succeed in taking Jerusalem, v.21) can be explained on the grounds of its Judahite origin and Judahite polemic against Benjamin. This tradition goes so far as to claim that Judah captured Jerusalem in the early days of the Settlement (v.7b) in open contradiction to v.21. If Adonibezek is identified with the Adonizedek of Jos. 10,11f the polemical element will, of course, be more obvious. But looking beyond this, we have good reason to believe that Benjamin had its own part to play in the settlement of the area north and north-west of Jerusalem, quite independently of any hypothetical deductions from the mention of b e n e n i m a and y a s h u y a in the Amarna letters.³⁶ The treaty itself is concluded in the main Benjaminite sanctuary and the Gibeonite cities were incorporated into Benjamin as a result.³⁷

This, however, does not exclude the possibility that elements from the Joseph tribes to the north acted in concert with Benjamin. This possibility is suggested not only by the part

35. See Noth, Das Buch Josua, pp.11f.

36. Their identification with Benjamin and Joshua respectively was confidently proposed by A.T.Olmstead, The History of Palestine and Syria, New York, 1931, pp.202.197. See also Meek, op.cit. p.21; Albright, JQR 24(1934)p.370; Alt, Kl.Schr. I p.168n.3; Rowley, op.cit.p.42.

37. Jos. 18,14.25f cf. Neh. 7,29 = Ezra 2,25. 2 Sam. 4,2a for Beeroth.

played in the treaty-making by the Ephraimite Joshua but also by the proximity of Gilgal to the boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh, a fact which has given rise to the hypothesis that Gilgal was the centre of a three-tribal amphictyony or symmarchy.³⁸ No certainty is attainable here since this question can be answered only in the context of the wider issue of the roles of these three tribes in the Settlement, and this issue is still very much open.³⁹

The role of Joshua is of lesser importance for Gibeonite history, though we shall have to discuss the part that the biblical tradition gives him in the military actions which were occasioned by the treaty. We can content ourselves with saying at this point that if we associate Benjamin with the Joseph tribes in the Settlement or Conquest there would be no reason to doubt that he also took part in the negotiations with the Gibeonites. We may note, finally, that the tendency to minimize his role in the Conquest narratives has been increasingly questioned in recent years.⁴⁰

On the Gibeonite side, the only difficulty is in determining whether the treaty was made with Gibeon alone of

38. H-J Kraus, 'Gilgal', VT 1(1951)pp.181ff. See evaluation of Kraus' hypothesis in Schunck, op.cit. pp.39-48.

39. See Alt, Kl.Schr. I pp.89ff; Albright, BASOR 58(1935)pp.10ff; T.J.Meek, BASOR 61(1936)pp.17ff; Rowley, op.cit. pp.33ff; Noth, The History of Israel, pp.68ff; Schunck, op.cit. pp.18ff.

40. For the restrictive view see Noth, op.cit. p.93; Alt, 'Josua', Kl.Schr. I pp.176ff; Möhlenbrink, ZAW 56(1938)pp.238ff.

This is opposed by Albright, From the Stone Age to Christianity, New York, 1957², pp.274ff and G.E.Wright, 'The Literary and Historical Problems of Jos.10 and Jg.1', JNES 5(1946)pp.105. A middle position is taken up by G.Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israels, II, Stuttgart, 1925⁶, pp.410ff and Schunck, op.cit. pp.36ff.

the inhabitants of all the Gibeonite cities, the Gibeonites, that is, understood as a distinct political and ethnic group. In reality, this difficulty will arise only for those who reject or doubt the authenticity of the list of cities in Jos. 9,17. Schmidtke, impressed by the fact that they are bracketed together in the post-exilic Ezra 2,25 (= Neh. 7,29), took v.17b to be secondary, inserted by a post-exilic Priestly hand.⁴¹ But these cities occur together in the Benjaminite city-list which is certainly quite early in date, and the whole point of the narrative has to do with the Gibeonites as ethnically non-Israelite. They must therefore be considered as forming a distinct political and ethnic group.

In view of the parallels between the Gibeonite treaty and contemporary or near-contemporary vassal treaties, especially those of the Hittites, a difficulty may be felt in that ~~some~~ none of these latter contains a stipulation enjoining forced labour. This, together with the evidently aetiological aspect of the narrative as explaining the origin of the nethinim, may suggest the conclusion that originally the treaty only envisaged incorporation into Israel (Benjamin) and a non-aggression and mutual assistance pact. The condemnation to the status of "hewers of wood and drawers of water" is mentioned only after the Israelites had agreed to "let them live" (v.21b), the treaty results in Joshua marching at once to their assistance when attacked (which he would hardly have done if its outcome was only

41. F.Schmidtke, Die Einwanderung Israels in Kanaan, Breslau, 1933, pp.126f.

to allow them to survive the ban as minor cultic personnel), and Saul's violation is described in 2 Sam. 21,5 by the Gibeonites as having the aim "that we should have no place in all the territory of Israel".

A further difficulty ought to be mentioned. Accepting the earlier and more realistic view of the Settlement contained in Jg. 1, where the Israelite conquest is seen as a gradual and painful process, it must seem strange that Israel, a fortiori one tribe, should succeed in imposing such a humiliating treaty on Gibeon which was "a great city" with a warlike reputation (Jos.10,2). This in spite of the military prowess of Benjamin as evidenced in Jg. 20-21 and Gen. 49,27. The difficulty is increased by the fact that in this kind of treaty the oath is generally taken by the inferior party. We frequently find a stipulation in the Hittite vassal treaties that the vassal must give military assistance to the suzerain when this is needed.⁴² Only two exceptions to this are known to us from the treaties which have come to light so far. McCarthy⁴³ alleges two biblical exceptions: the covenant between Abraham and Abimelech (Gen. 21, 22-24) and that between Yahweh and the fathers (Dt. 7,12). But it is not at all clear that Abraham is the superior in the first case, and in the second the juridical element is quite in the

42. Korošec, op.cit.p.27; McCarthy, op.cit.p.47.

43. op.cit.p.47.

background; the swearing of Yahweh occurs in a homiletic rather than juridical context. We know, moreover, of other Israelite tribes which had to accept a subordinate position with regard to the Canaanite city-states - and this could very well have involved forced labour.⁴⁴ Other city-states are known to us which ended up as vassals to the Hurrians - Kizzuwatna and Alalakh under Idrimi, for example.⁴⁵ Weinheimer's hypothesis that the biblical tradition has reversed the roles of vassal and overlord may not, therefore, be entirely gratuitous.⁴⁶

As long as we are without information independent of biblical tradition on the size and importance of Gibeon during Late Bronze it will be difficult to dispose completely of this objection. It would however, on the whole, be easier to doubt the accuracy of Jos.10,2 on the importance and military prestige of Gibeon than to suppose that the roles in the treaty-making have been reversed. In any case, the arguments can be turned the other way round. There are, as we have just seen, at least two treaties in which the overlord not the vassal swears the oath and in any case the overlord had the duty of defending his vassal from attack. Joshua is reported to have done just this. Moreover Jg.1, which all admit contains genuine early tradition, gives several examples of Canaanite groups or cities which became

44. Issachar, as the name suggests (Gen. 49,15), possibly also Zebulon and Asher. See Noth, The History of Israel, pp.79f.

45. McCarthy, op.cit. p.60.

46. H. Weinheimer, Hebräer und Israeliten, Tübingen, 1912, pp.31, 34n.1.

subject to one or other of the tribes at a fairly early stage and were put to forced labour.⁴⁷ Perhaps we should add, finally, that it might be unwise to push the analogy with vassal treaties too far since the parallels we have studied could still be accounted for on the supposition that the Israelite-Gibeonite treaty aimed primarily at non-aggression, mutual assistance and some form of political incorporation of the Gibeonites.

The Composition of Jos. 10

Jos. 10 deals with the reaction provoked among the neighbouring city-states by the treaty. The king of Jerusalem placed himself at the head of a coalition of five Amorite cities which launched an attack on Gibeon (vv.1-5). In reply to the appeal for assistance from the Gibeonites, Joshua marched from Gilgal and inflicted a crushing defeat on the coalition.(vv.6-15). The fate of the five kings is then described in detail (vv.16-27), and this is followed by a summary account of the Israelite conquest under Joshua of "the hill country, the Negeb, the lowlands and the slopes", that is, the whole of the south (vv.28-43).

The analysis of this chapter on the basis of Pentateuchal source-criticism is no more convincing than in the previous

47. vv.28.30.33.35. An up-to-date survey in Schunck, op.cit.pp. 28ff.

chapter.⁴⁸ We have to begin here as there with the positive structural and stylistic elements discernible. It falls naturally into three parts: the coalition and campaign, the fate of the five kings, the summary of Joshua's campaigns in the south. Whether this corresponds to three distinct original sources can be determined only after a closer look at the composition of each part. Most scholars take^{at least} the aetiological narrative of the five kings as distinct, though some few have attempted to defend the unity of the chapter as a whole.⁴⁹

The first section is closely related to the account of the treaty, as is clear from vv.1-2. This connexion is important for in the assessment of the historicity of the treaty itself.

Gressmann, followed by Sellin, took the account of the coalition as historical and the treaty as added on secondarily to prepare for and explain the military action which followed.⁵⁰ No convincing evidence was, however, adduced, and none seems available. An important link between ~~both~~^{the two} chapters is the central position and role of Joshua in both. Mlt's interpretation of the battle as an Ephraimite Heldensage is well known.⁵¹

He took the decisive point of the battle to be Beth-horon which is in Ephraim (Jos. 18,13 places it on the Benjaminite

48. See pp.127f.

49. Especially G.E.Wright, JNES 5(1946)pp.105ff.

50. H.Gressmann, Die Schriften des Alten Testaments, Göttingen, 1922, p.151; Sellin, Gilgal, p.43.

51. Kl.Schr. I pp.176ff; BZAW 66(1936)pp.24f. Criticized by Noth, Das Buch Josua, p.61.

border) and assumes that the mention of Gibeon in the prose narrative is part of the editorial work involved in linking this chapter with the preceding. What really happened was an encounter between Israelites and Canaanites, with Joshua at the head of the tribal levy of the Joseph tribes or possibly just Ephraim. Alt's view, however, presupposes that the quotation from "the Book of Yashar", which places the decisive encounter near Gibeon and Aijalon, is secondary, and neglects the importance in this kind of Holy War episode of the pursuit. Beth-horon lies on the natural access- and escape-route between the Central Highlands and the Coastal Plain and as such features in this and several other similar warlike episodes both in the Old Testament and the Amarna letters.⁵³ As far as this chapter is concerned, the fact that it is in Ephraim need not be particularly significant.

If we take Joshua to be an Ephraimite charismatischer Führer⁵⁴ it need not follow that his activities were limited to his own tribe. We have examples from shortly after the Settlement of several tribes gathered round a charismatic leader in moments of crisis, notably in Jg. 4-5. Nothing therefore rules out the possibility that Joshua's role in both treaty and battle, as the leader of Ephraimites and Benjaminites,

53. For the strategic importance of Beth-horon see Garstang, op.cit.p.163 and for the Amarna reference Knudtzon, op.cit.p. 287. For the other biblical references J.Blenkinsopp, CBQ 26(1964)pp.429f.

54. Alt, Kl.Schr. I p.187.

is original.

For the purposes of this study we do not need to treat in detail of the coalition and campaign (the battle itself will be dealt with in the next chapter) or discuss whether originally only one king not five featured in the narrative.⁵⁵ What is important is to situate historically, as exactly as we can, the part played by Gibeon at this stage of the Conquest and its relations with Jerusalem and the city-states allied with Jerusalem. The first problem which occurs here is to relate what we find in Jos. 10 to the early traditions about the Conquest and Settlement in Jg.1. At first sight, Jg. 1,4ff looks like a Judahite version of Jos. 10,1ff. We should note the following points:

i) Despite the variant reading of LXX^{BA} in Jos. 10,1, we are justified in taking Adonizedek as the original reading both here and in Jg. 1,5ff. Both are described as kings of Jerusalem and no satisfactory derivation is known ~~for~~ Adonibezek. This form may well have arisen through homeoteleuthon ($\rho\tau\beta\beta$ coming immediately afterwards).⁵⁶

ii) The sphere of operations is the same in both texts cf. Jos. 9,1; 10,40 with Jg. 1,9.

55. See Noth, op.cit. pp.60ff; Schunck, op.cit. pp.28ff; Elliger, 'Josua in Judäa', PJB 30(1934) pp.47ff; A.Malamat, The Conquest of Palestine in the Time of Joshua (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1954², pp.26f; M.Haran, 'The Gibeonites - their place in the order of the occupation of the land and in the history of Israel', (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1960.

56. See K.Budde, Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, ihre Quellen und ihre Aufbau, Freiburg, 1890, pp.63ff; H.Holzinger, Das Buch Josua, Tübingen, 1901, p.38; H.W.Hertzberg, JPOS 6(1926) pp.213ff; H.M.Wiener, JPOS 9(1929) p.12 all of whom accept this reading.

iii) Three of the cities which are taken and destroyed by Joshua in Jos.10 are captured by Judahites in Jg. 1: Jerusalem (this is presumed in Jos. 10,42, "all these kings and their land") cf. Jg. 1,7f; Hebron, Jos. 10,3.5.36f cf. Jg. 1,10.20; Debir, Jos. 10,38 cf. Jg. 1,11.

These discrepancies are clearly the result of a polemical re-editing of old traditions respectively by a Benjaminite (Ephraimite?) and Judahite hand. To what extent both were prepared to go can be seen in the claim on both sides to have taken Jerusalem, a key city and "land" (m â t u cf. Jos. 10,42) in the Amarna period. This addiction to polemical re-editing must be held responsible for much of the obscurity which surrounds Gibeon at the time of the Settlement and shortly after. It also makes a comparative study of the two texts extremely difficult. Not only are there inconsistencies within each (e.g. concerning Makkedah in Jos. 10 and Jerusalem in Jg. 1), but contradictions as between the two (e.g. Gezer is taken by Joshua according to Jos. 10,33, the Ephraimites fail to take it according to Jg. 1,29). This means that we have to be acutely aware of the polemical slant of both narratives before we can use them as historical sources. ⁵⁷

To return to the account of the campaign in Jos. 10,1-15. We shall discuss in the following chapter the context of the

57. These difficulties are stressed in Alt,Kl.Schr. I pp.176ff; Noth,op.cit.pp.11ff and rather underestimated by Wright,JNES 5(1946)pp.105ff.

the poetic fragment in vv.12f. For the moment we note that it seems much more natural to suppose that the poetic fragment is genuinely ancient and parallel to the prose narrative which it completes than that it is a later and highly coloured version of the sober prose account of a forced march and military action near Gibeon. There are other instances in the Old Testament of an episode described in verse and prose. All admit, for example, the genuine antiquity of Jg.5 which parallels the prose narrative of Jg.4. Other examples are Ex. 14,15-31 parallel with 15,1-18 and 1 Sam. 31 parallel with 2 Sam. 1,5-27. Moreover, in view of the general situation - the topography of the battle and the conjuration of the sun at Gibeon - we have good reason for maintaining an original link between the treaty and the battle and no reason for doubting the sequence: treaty - coalition - battle near Gibeon.

(vv.15.43)

Joshua's and Israel's return to the camp at Gilgal¹ is a compositional element which separates the account of the campaign from the aetiological story of the fate of the five kings followed by the summary of Joshua's campaigns in the south. It fits into the pragmatic scheme of the book, but we may doubt whether in either case Joshua would have abandoned his strong position in the Central Highlands to return to his point of departure. The location of the camp at Makkedah must also have been inserted secondarily (attracted no doubt by the story of the fateful cave) since its capture is only recorded at a later point (v.28) and the camp could hardly have been at two places

at the same time.⁵⁸

The account of how the five kings met their end does not concern the history of Gibeon and can therefore be quickly passed over. It illustrates the Ortsgebundenheit of this type of aetiological story in Jos. - the cave and the five trees at Makkedah - and has therefore usually been regarded as historically untrustworthy.⁵⁹

The last section of the chapter is occupied with a summary of Joshua's conquests in the south (vv. 28-43). These are presented as the outcome of a decisive battle near Gibeon, and while comparison with Jg. 1 suggests caution in the use of this section as a historical source, we have no reason to doubt that a decisive battle did take place which had important consequences. While certain details are doubtfully historical: Makkedah as a base of operations (v.21 cf. v.28), the capture of Jerusalem by Joshua (also Gezer, Hebron and Debir), the completion of the campaign in an amazing Blitzkrieg of two days (vv.28.32.35),⁶⁰ and while we may reasonably hold that vv. 36-39 have been added by a Deuteronomist redactor, the main point, that a battle took place which gave Israelites control of a good part of the Central Highlands and the South, may be confidently retained.

58. See Schunck, op.cit. pp.29ff for a thorough discussion of Makkedah and Azekah in this narrative.

59. Noth, op.cit. pp.61f; Elliger, PJB 30(1934) pp.47ff.

60. This is dictated by the need, inherent in Holy War ideology, to ~~complete~~ carry out the ban integrally and swiftly (see Dt. 20,10-18), ~~and~~ which is emphasized throughout.

Date and Historical Background of the Events described

A terminus a quo for dating the events described in Jos. 9+10 (treaty - coalition - battle) is the arrival of Benjamin and the Gibeonites in Canaan. If the low date for the Exodus and Settlement is held exclusively, then these events could not have taken place before the middle of the thirteenth century. Without taking an exhaustive poll of scholarly opinion, we can say that few would be prepared to defend such an exclusive view today. While strong arguments exist for the main entry into Canaan in the thirteenth century,⁶¹ good reasons also exist for believing that Benjamin and the Joseph tribes - or part of these - entered Canaan before this time, whether or not Benjamin was associated with the Joseph tribes before this date. The latest results from Jericho support a dating roughly a century earlier, that is, in the middle of the fourteenth century.⁶² This would

61. See C.F. Burney, Israel's Settlement in Canaan, London, 1921³, p.83; H.H. Rowley, From Joseph to Joshua, London, 1950; R. Kittel, op.cit. pp.420ff; T.H. Robinson, A History of Israel, Oxford, 1932, p.132; E. Auerbach, Wüste und gelobtes Land, I, Berlin, 1936, pp.76f; de Vaux, ZAW 15(1938) pp.236f; G.E. Wright, 'Epic of Conquest', BA 3(1940) pp.25ff; Albright, BASOR 58(1935) pp. ~~10~~.10ff; 74(1939) pp.11ff; The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra, p.27; O. Eissfeldt, in CAH vol. II, Chapter XXVI(a), Cambridge, 1965², p.31 (fascicle edition).

62. Meek, op.cit. p.vii; Kenyon, Archaeology in the Holy Land, p.211.

coincide with the date which we tentatively established as the most probable for the arrival of the Gibeonites in the region north-west of Jerusalem.⁶³

Of special interest is the fact we alluded to earlier that both Benjamin and the Joseph tribes regulated their relations with the incoming Israelites by treaty. No hostilities are recorded between the Israelites and either Shechemites or Gibeonites in the historical traditions of the Settlement.

Neither the treaty nor the events following from it are recorded in any non-biblical source. None of the names of the five kings occurs elsewhere. But if the encounter between Israelites and (Benjaminites) and Gibeonites may be dated tentatively in the middle of the fourteenth century, in the decades immediately following the Amarna period, the relevance of the latter would be at once apparent.⁶⁴ We may therefore compare the data furnished by Jos. 9-10 with the political condition of central and south Palestine as it emerges from the

63. See above p.114.

64. That the Joseph tribes entered Palestine before the others was proposed for the first time by E.Meyer, op.cit.73ff. It has been defended by Albright, 'Historical and Mythical Elements in the Story of Joseph', JBL 37(1918)pp.138ff; ~~BASOR 58(1935)pp.10ff~~ 'Archaeology and the Date of the Hebrew Conquest of Palestine', BASOR 58(1935)pp.10ff; The Biblical Period from Abraham to Ezra, p.26; Meek, op.cit. pp.vii.21ff.

Amarna letters in the hope of assessing more accurately the historical character of these chapters.⁶⁵ The relevant points may be summarized as follows:

- i) Two of the five cities in the Amorite coalition against Joshua are mentioned in Amarna: Jerusalem and Lachish. Hebron itself is not mentioned but Suwardata was almost certainly ruler of Hebron.⁶⁶ Both in Jos. and Amarna they are ruled by kings (š a r r u cf. Canaanite m i l k u). Where rulers of these cities are mentioned in Amarna the names differ from those in Jos.10: Abdi-hepa(t) of Jerusalem - Adonizedek; Zimredda of Lachish succeeded by Shipti-ba'alu and Iabni-ilu - Japhia; Suwardata of the Hebron region - Hoham. We may add the Gezer dynasty: Milki - ilu succeeded by Iapakhu and Ba'alu - shipti - Horam.⁶⁷ If the biblical names are authentic, the coalition could not very well have taken place at the time when the letters in question were written.⁶⁸

65. For the political background of Palestine at that time see P.Dhorme, RB 5(1908)pp.500ff; 6(1909)pp.368ff; A.Jirku, ZDPV 43(1920)pp.58ff; A.H.Sayce, JTS 29(1928)pp.401ff; B.Maisler, JPOS 10(1930)pp.181ff; J.de Koning, Studien over de El-Amarna-brieven en het Oude Testament, Delft, 1940; Noth, ZDPV 65(1942) pp.64ff; Albright, CAH vol.II ch.XX, pp.21ff.

66. Albright, op.cit.p.20n.6.

67. See Knudtzon, op.cit. Nos.265-290 are from Abdi-hepa(t), Nos. 280, 287, 289, 290 concern Suwardata, Nos.270, 271, 287, 289, 290 the Gezer dynasty. For Lachish see Albright, BASOR 87(1942)pp.32ff.

68. For the most recent assessment of chronology see Albright, op. cit. pp.3-7.

ii) The dominant position of Jerusalem in the coalition is in accord with what we learn of this city from the letters, especially the important batch from Abdi-hepa(t). The biblical tradition which witnesses to Hittite elements in the composition of the population of early Jerusalem is supported by the name of this king which is partly Semitic, partly Hurrian. The name Adonizedek is also clearly theophoric and z d k may refer to a deity worshipped in pre-Israelite Jerusalem. Melchizedek, Adonizedek and Zadok are all Jerusalemite.⁶⁹

We suggested earlier that Gibeon may have been a dependency of Jerusalem during the Amarna period and that this would the better explain the prompt reaction of Adonizedek. This would be true even if suppose, as we have done, that the Gibeonites referred to in Jos. 9-10 arrived during or after the Amarna period.

iii) The political situation which emerges from a study of the letters would certainly allow for the sequence of events in Jos. 9-10. In particular, the Gibeonite-Israelite alliance and the kind of reaction it elicited bears a close similarity to the alliance between Shechem and the h a b i r u in Amarna and the dismay this caused among neighbouring city-states. We saw earlier

69. For Phoenician parallels to this deity see H.H.Rowley, 'Melchisedek and Zadok', Bertholet Festschrift, Tübingen, 1950, pp.461ff (the name occurs on pp.464f); 'Zadok and Nehushtan', JBL 58(1939)pp.113ff.

that the difference between the biblical names of the allied kings and those in Amarna makes it impossible to accept Garstang's view that the allies of Jos. 10,3 were the states which remained faithful to Egypt - quite apart from difficulties of chronology.

The relations of the various rulers to the Pharaoh were regulated by an intricate system of alliances which implied the taking of oaths and obligations in some respects similar to those of the Gibeonite-Israelite treaty.

- iv) Cities which, like Jerusalem, controlled the surrounding region are described in Amarna as *m â t u*.⁷⁰ With this we can compare the Gibeonites' description of themselves as a "land" (Jos. 9,11) cf. "the land of Mizpah" in the Beqa (Jos. 11,3).

These comparisons are close enough to establish with reasonable probability that the treaty and subsequent events took place not too distant in time from that of the Amarna letters; either towards the end of or shortly after the Amarna period. Taken with the conclusions reached earlier on the time of the formation of the Gibeonite political group north-west of Jerusalem they lead to the conclusion that, in all probability, Gibeonites and Benjaminites (with, possibly, other groups) arrived at much the same time in Central Palestine and concluded a treaty shortly after their arrival.

70. Knudtzon, Nos. 236, 288 etc. Cf. the *m â t u* of Gezer, Ashkelon, Lachish, No. 287.

CHAPTER SIX

THE BATTLE OF GIBEON

(Jos. 10,10-14)

The battle follows on the concerted attack on Gibeon by the Amorite allies, itself occasioned by the treaty. The fact that the Israelites under Joshua come at once to the assistance of the Gibeonites suggests that the treaty contained a clause providing for this kind of situation, as with other vassal (or disparity) treaties known to us. In what follows we shall consider the actual account of the battle (Jos. 10,10-14) only as a possible source of information on Gibeon and the Gibeonites at this time.

Several difficulties have been advanced against both the unity and the historical credibility of the battle narrative itself. Some scholars have suggested a conflation of two sources since there appear to be two different indications of the route taken by the escaping allies and two distinct causes for their defeat. In v.10b the Amorites flee "as far as Azekah and Makkedah" and in v.11a "from the Ascent of Beth-horon".¹ In view of the position of Azekah and Makkedah, well south of the well-trodden "way of Beth-horon", they may have been added, perhaps by the editor who inserted the Makkedah tradition.

1. Noth, Das Buch Josua, p.63; Schunck, op.cit. p.29; H.G. May, 'Joshua' in Peake, London, 1963², p.297.

We cannot, however, state this too categorically since the situation of one of these places is not known for certain.²

As for the cause of the defeat: the assistance granted by Yahweh in the form of preternaturally large and destructive hailstones and the sun standing still need not be ascribed to two different traditions or editors. The first has to do with the battle itself, the second with the need - within the context of the Holy War - to complete the h e r e m before nightfall.

As elsewhere in this book, the role of Joshua has been questioned here. In the preceding chapter we referred to Alt's interpretation of the narrative of the battle as an Ephraimite Heldensage in which Joshua's role is original and irreducible. We may doubt, however, whether this conclusion can be deduced from the premiss that the decisive part of the action takes place at Beth-horon in Ephraim. V.10 states that the חכר-גדולה was at Gibeon, and the route taken by the retreating enemy is mentioned chiefly because of the importance, in the context of the Holy War, of completing the destruction of Yahweh's enemies. Another difficulty in this hypothesis to which Noth draws our attention,³ is that the name of Joshua does not appear in the

2. Azekah is tell zakariya ca. three miles south of tell rumeileh. Makkedah may be khirbet el-kheisun about fourteen miles west of Bethlehem, but this is only a guess. See J.Simons, op.cit.p. 273.

3. op.cit.p.61.

poetic fragment from the Book of Yashar which may be taken to be the most ancient part of the narrative.

The actual battle is described in terms familiar to us from other Holy War episodes, and to these we will return later.

The quotation from the Book of Yashar (vv.12b-13a) is followed by what appears to be a prose paraphrase (v.13b) though even here there is a strong rhythmic element:

יעמוד השמש בחצי השמים
ולא-אץ לבוא כיום תחיים

v.13a is also dimetric: וידם השמש / וירח עמד

The juxtaposition of prose- and verse-narrative is found elsewhere in the Old Testament. The Song at the Papyrus Sea (Ex. 15,1-18) is also introduced by the "heroic adverb" *וַיֵּץ* which occurs often in the Song of Deborah.⁴ *וַיֵּץ* also introduces a poetic fragment in Num. 21,17 and 1 Kings 8,12 which, following LXX, may also be from the Book of Yashar,⁵ as 2 Sam. 1,17-27, the verse parallel of 1 Sam. 31, explicitly is in MT. That vv.12b-13a comes from a verse collection represented elsewhere in the Old Testament makes it necessary to consider the quotation and the context in which it occurs in this chapter separately.

4. Jg. 5,8.11.13.19.22. Other occurrences of *וַיֵּץ* with imperfect:
Ex. 4,10; Is. 41,1; Mal. 3,16; Ps. 2,5; 89,20. See S.Mowinckel,
'Hat es ein israelitisches Nationalepos gegeben?', ZAW 53(1935)
pp.130-2.

5. See below p. 163f.

1. The interpretation of the quotation as given in v.12a and vv.13b-14 is clear. Joshua asks Yahweh in the presence of the Israelite army for time to complete the pursuit and annihilation of the enemy, and this is granted by the sun remaining high in the sky for a whole day (or, the remainder of the day). This is how the incident has generally been understood in Jewish tradition (e.g. Sir. 46,4-6) and in the Christian churches. Whether or not vv. 12-14 are considered as originally distinct from the rest of the narrative,⁶ the reference is clearly to a battle at or near Gibeon.

2. The quotation itself is limited to vv.12b-13a though, in view of the difficult and prosodically irregular וְיָלַד אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל

וְיָלַד, 13a has sometimes been seen as an addition in verse explanatory of 12b, especially in view of the similar phrase, וְיָלַד אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל, occurring in a prose passage in 1 Sam. 14,24.⁷

The Book of Yashar, from which, according to v.13b the verse-fragment is derived, is referred to also in 2 Sam. 1,18 and possibly 1 Kings 8,13.⁸ It remains, however, difficult of

6. As understood by Noth, op.cit. pp.64f; Hertzberg, op.cit. p.74;

B.J.Alfrink, 'Het "stil staan" van zon en maan in Jos 10.12-15', Studia Catholica 24 (1949) pp.238ff, places vv.12-14 after v.42, but this is an unnecessary complication.

7. This appears to be the view of J.Heller, 'Die schweigende Sonne', CommViat 9(1966) pp.73ff who follows the explanation of J.Duš, 'Gibeon, eine Kultstätte des ŠMS und die Stadt des benjaminitischen Schicksals', VT 10(1960) pp.353ff. F.Delitzsch, Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament, Berlin, 1920, 7, reads וְיָלַד for וְיָלַד; the latter arose through haplography.

8. 1 Kings 8,53a (LXX) = v.13 (MT) and reads: ἐν βιβλίῳ τῆς ὁδῆς which presupposes וְיָלַד אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל, which may be a corruption of וְיָלַד אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל.

interpretation since we do not know whether it formed part of a larger composition or was originally in a context different from the one here. Also, we know nothing about the Book of Yashar apart from the two, possibly three, quotations from it in the Old Testament.⁹

We must at least take note of some apparent discrepancies between the quotation itself and the context in which it is found in the present text:

- i) Whereas in the former Joshua addresses Yahweh, the quotation is an invocation by an unknown speaker to the sun and moon.¹⁰
- ii) The verb $\square\aleph\gamma$ is used of the sun in the former, $\gamma\aleph\gamma$ in the latter.
- iii) The moon is not referred to in the prose-setting, which we would have expected from the quotation. It is therefore possible that the moon has been added, chiefly for parallelism with the sun.¹¹
- iv) In the quotation the sun is $\aleph\gamma\beta\gamma\epsilon\iota\aleph$ not, as we would have expected, $\aleph\gamma\beta\epsilon\iota\aleph$, and the moon $\beta\epsilon\aleph\eta\kappa\alpha\iota\epsilon\iota\aleph$. The presumption is that they were are both simultaneously visible. In the prose setting the sun is $\square\beta\aleph\gamma\epsilon\iota\aleph$, that is, at its zenith when, of course, the moon would be invisible.

9. On this ancient collection see H.St.John Thackeray, 'New Light on the Book of Yashar', JTS 11(1910)pp.518ff; Lissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, pp.155f; S.Mowinckel, art.cit.

10. Noth, op.cit. pp.64f; May, op.cit. p.297.

11. Heller, art.cit. p.74.

These considerations suggest that we take into account the possibility that the quotation had originally an existence independent of the present context.

Numerous hypotheses have been advanced to explain the quotation in itself, which for the purposes of this study it will not be necessary to evaluate singly and in detail. The literary form of the couplet, which is apostrophe or address, suggests an incantation or spell the exact determination of which would depend on the meaning given to the verbs $\square n \gamma$ and $\gamma n \gamma$. The latter provides no great difficulty, but attempts to determine the meaning of the former in the present context have so far proved inconclusive. The meaning "to be dark", "not to shine" has been suggested; but against this is the fact that there is no evidence for this meaning either in the Old Testament or in the Ugaritic texts.¹² More commonly the sense "to stand still" or "to be silent" is suggested. Of the thirty occurrences of ~~this~~ ~~this~~ verb in the Old Testament thirteen refer to the latter and six to the former with the remainder uncertain.¹³ We should add that in several of these texts both ideas may be implied since the two are closely connected. According to Driver,¹⁴ $d m$ ($d m y$) occurs four times in the Ugaritic texts. Whichever of the two connotations is accepted, will evidently depend on the interpretation of the passage as a whole.

12. See, for example, Alfrink, art. cit. p. 263, on which Noth, op. cit. p. 65; J. Bright, in Interpreter's Bible II, New York, 1953, p. 605.

13. "to be silent" in Lev. 10, 3; Jer. 8, 14; 47, 6; Lam. 2, 10; Ezek. 24, 17; Am. 5, 13; Ps. 4, 4; 30, 12; 31, 18; 35, 15; 37, 7; 62, 5; Job 29, 21. "To stand still" in Ex. 15, 16; 1 Sam. 14, 9; Is. 23, 3; Jer. 8, 14; Ps. 131, 2; Job 30, 27. Uncertain in 1 Sam. 2, 9; Jer. 25, 27; 48, 2; 49, 26; 50, 30; 51, 6; Lam. 2, 18; 3, 28.

14. G. R. Driver, Canaanite Myths and Legends, Edinburgh, 1956, p. 154. The meaning given is "be quiet, still, silent"

Widely overlooked in this discussion is the occurrence of both $\square n \gamma$ and $\gamma n \gamma$ together in 1 Sam. 14,9, also in a Holy War context. Jonathan is preparing for his attack on the Philistine position and instructs his armour-bearer on how to proceed in the imminent action:

($\square n \gamma$)
 If they say to us, 'wait_k until we come to
 you' then we will stand still ($\square \square \gamma n \gamma$)
 in our place and we will not go up
 ($\gamma \gamma \gamma$) to them.

From this we may infer that $\square n \gamma$ can have the meaning of non-participation in battle, the opposite of $\gamma \gamma \gamma$, to attack. This is clearly the closest parallel which we have in the Old Testament, and the Holy War context in which it occurs makes it particularly significant.¹⁵ If its relevance for the understanding of the present text is accepted, it would imply that we have here an abjuration addressed to the sun and moon not to take part in the action.

This leads to a further consideration. Recently Duš, followed by Heller, has suggested that the ŠMS addressed is a sun-deity worshipped at Gibeon.¹⁶ According to Duš, the couplet had no original reference to the episode here but was an incantation recited in the Israelite sanctuary of Gibeon after the tutelary deity of the city, ŠMS, had become subject to Yahweh.

15. For the Holy War aspects of 1 Sam. 14 see J. Blenkinsopp,

'Jonathan's Sacrilege', CBQ 26(1964)pp.427ff.

16. Duš, art.cit.pp.353ff; Heller, art.cit.p.75.

He finds confirmation of this thesis in local onomastics, place-names formed with ŠMŠ,¹⁷ the conspicuous place given to sun-worship in the Jerusalem cult (especially 1 Kings 8,12) and a comparative study of the ritual execution of the Saulites with Num. 25,4. In view of the possibility that we may have here indirect evidence bearing on the cultural and religious history of Gibeon at this time, the hypothesis deserves closer investigation. Four aspects of it call for discussion.

- i) Given the Hurrian substratum of the Gibeonite population, we must ask in the first place whether the worship of a sun-deity played any part in Hurrian religion. By the last years of the Hittite Empire the great sun-goddess Arinna had become fully identified with Hapat; she was the supreme patroness of the empire and her assistance in battle was looked for as a matter of course.¹⁸ She is also found in association with the Hurrian Gewittergott one of whose functions was to protect the king during battle and in general further his cause.¹⁹ A male solar deity Shimike occurs in some texts. He may be identical with the solar god invoked by king Muwatallis, but we do not know for certain. The relationship between the male and female solar deities is not clear.²⁰ The letter of Tusratta, a primary source

17. Jos. 15,10; 19,38.41; 15,7.

18. See P.Dhorme, in ed.R.Dussaud, Les Religions des Hittites, et des Hourites, des Phéniciens et des Syriens, Mana 1/2(1949)pp.335f; O'Callaghan, op.cit.pp.70f; O.R.Gurney, op.cit.pp.139f; J.Friedrich, ZA 49(1949)pp.215ff.225ff for myths of the Hurrian sun-god.

19. Gurney, op.cit.p.140.

20. Gurney, op.cit.p.139; O'Callaghan, op.cit.p.70.

for our knowledge of the Hurrians, contains the prayer that Amenophis III be protected by ŠMŠ and Ishtar, thus providing evidence that the Semitic solar god was known and venerated among the Hurrians.²¹ There would therefore be nothing strange in the Gibeonites, qua Hurrians, appealing to a sun-deity at a time of great danger and representing him as active in their cause side by side with the Israelite god.

In keeping with the parallel use of the verbs $\square 0 \gamma$ and $\gamma 0 \gamma$ in 1 Sam. 14,9, the quotation would then have the character of an abjuration addressed to this deity by the Israelites, that he stand aside and leave the issue of the action entirely to Yahweh.

ii) Archaeological support for this thesis of sun-worship

at Gibeon is slight and cannot in any case be derived necessarily from Hurrian, rather than Egyptian, influence.

A royal seal with the winged sun-disc and what may be representations of the solar charioteer were discovered at el ġib.²² An inscribed seal found in the valley of Aijalon has been interpreted as representing the adoration of the sun-child Horus, and with this a scarab inscribed $h r \quad t h n w$, found at el ġib, can be compared.²³

Solar motifs, including the wheel and spiral, were

21. See translation of the text in Dhorme, RB 6(1909)p.53. [*cont. below**]

22. J.B.Pritchard, Hebrew Inscriptions and Stamps from Gibeon, pp.18ff; Gibeon where the Sun Stood Still, fig.82 and p.122.

23. F.Moore Cross, 'An Archaic Inscribed Seal from the Valley of Aijalon', BASOR 168(1962)pp.12ff; J.B.Pritchard, The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon, Philadelphia, 1963, p.154.

* Alalakh personal names imply the veneration of the Hurrian moon-god Kušah and Shamash (Saps); see Wiseman, *op.cit.* p.130.

commonly represented by Hurrian artists, but we cannot be certain that this too was not due to Egyptian influence.²⁴

iii) The place-names referred to by Duš - Beth-shemesh, En-shemesh, Ir-shemesh, are in Dan not Benjamin, though not far from Gibeon. Significantly, Samson (שמשון) is also a Danite. Close association between Gibeonites and Beth-shemeshites can be deduced not only from the Old Testament but also from the excavations at el ġib.²⁵ Beth-horon, where the final annihilation took place, cannot be dissociated from the Egypto-Canaanite solar deity Horon (Hauron).²⁶ We must also admit that the association between the cult-tradition^{about} of Gibeon and that of Jerusalem in the Old Testament, as well as the recurrence of solar worship under the monarchy, increase the plausibility of solar worship at Gibeon itself at this time.

As we saw earlier, the names of Abdi-hepa(t) and Arauna attest a Hurrian element in the pre-Israelite population of Jerusalem. Much has been written in recent years on the contribution of pre-Israelite Jerusalem to the religion and worship of Israel; and the

24. Dhorme, op.cit. p.336; A.Goetze, Hethiter, Churriter und Assyrier, Oslo, 1936, pp.82ff.

25. See 1 Sam. 6, 19ff and below pp.234ff. Pritchard, Gibeon Where the Sun Stood Still, p.118.

26. W.F.Albright, 'The Canaanite God Haurôn (Hôrôn)', AJSL 53(1936) pp.1ff; 'The Egypto-Canaanite Deity Haurôn', BASOR 84(1941) pp.7ff; J.Gray, 'The Canaanite God Horon', JNES 8(1949) pp.27ff; The Legacy of Canaan, Leiden, 1965², pp.150.179f.

description of the transfer of the Ark from a Gibeonite city to Jerusalem has been used to prove a dependence of the Jerusalemite cult, *on*, or at least an association ~~if it~~, with pre- and non-Israelite religious practice in Gibeon. The evidence for some form of solar worship in Jerusalem under the monarchy is real enough but ought not to be exaggerated. The principal texts are: 2 Kings 23,11; Ezek. 8,16; indirectly perhaps Ps.19 and Ps.104. Duš (art.cit.p.363) also claims support from 1 Kings 8,12f which he translates: "Šemeš erklärte vom Himmel her / Jahwe sprach zu mir / im Dunkel wolle er wohnen / 'Eifrig baue mein Haus / ein Heiligtum (zur) Wohnstätte für mich / dass ich dort sitze im Ewigkeit'". A rather exaggerated view of this subject is taken in F.J.Hollis, 'The Sun-Cult and the Temple at Jerusalem', in Myth and Ritual ed. S.H.Hooke, London,1933.

- iv) Whatever we may think of the attempt to link the two ritual executions in Num. 25,1-5 and 2 Sam. 21,1-14, there are at least some striking points of resemblance between the two narratives. In both cases the execution is a ritual act, performed הָלַלְתִּי (Num. 25,4; 2 Sam. 21,6). The manner of execution is expressed in the obscure verb שָׁפַךְ found only in these two texts in the Old Testament.²⁷ At Peor the action has to be performed

27. 1 Sam. 31,10 and 1 Chr. 10,10 (MT) read שָׁפַךְ which it is not necessary to emend with Köhler-Baumgartner p.398. The meaning of this verb (שָׁפַךְ) will be further discussed below p.290.

וְהָשִׁיב לַיָּם (v.4) and in 2 Sam. 21,6 LXX translate the obscure Hebrew verb by the equally obscure ἐξηλασμεν which Liddell and Scott take to mean "to set in the sun; to crucify or hang in the open air",²⁸ but to which Heller gives the further meaning of carrying out a rite in honour of the sun-god.²⁹ This is clearly going beyond the evidence. A safer, though equally interesting approach could begin from the thematic similarity between the account of the execution and the Canaanite fertility myth in which the roles of MOT and ŠMS are intimately connected. We know from the Letter of Tusratta that the Hurrians knew of and had probably adopted the cults of ŠMS and Ishtar. We also have the evidence of a Mari tablet for the cult of the Semitic grain-god Dagan among the Hurrians since it speaks of a sacrifice to d a g a n š a h u r - r i. This god was perhaps assimilated to the great Hurrian god Teshub.³⁰

This possibility will be further explored in a subsequent chapter on the sacrifice of the Saulites in 2 Sam. 21,1-14.

While this does not take us beyond an interesting hypothesis, we should at least state the possibility that a solar deity was

^{H.G.}
28. ^{R.} Liddell and ^A Scott, ^{Lexicon} Greek-English Dictionary ad loc. according to whom the verb is used in Hesych., LXX and Hdt. 3,124sq. This last speaks of Polycrates crucified by Oroetes.

29. art.cit.pp.75f.

30. For the Mari text see I.Gelb, Hurrians and Subarians (Studies in Ancient Civilizations No.22), Chicago, 1944, p.63.

known and worshipped among the canaanized Hurrians of the Gibeonite region at the time of the Settlement and that the same kind of syncretism existed there as among the Philistines who had temples dedicated to Dagan and Ashtaroth.³¹ In view of this, it would not be unreasonable to advance the hypothesis that the ŠMS addressed is a solar deity worshipped at Gibeon and that the apostrophe enjoins on this deity to remain inactive (cf. 1 Sam. 14,9) leaving the issue in the hands of the Israelite god who now holds the dominant place as the result of the unequal treaty entered into.

We now return to the battle-narrative as a whole. Quite apart from the verse-fragment, the description is in terms of a Holy War episode and there are ~~other~~ similar military actions which can be compared with it. Four of these, which take place in the same locality, ought to be considered:

- i) Jg. 20,14-48. The defeat of Benjamin by the tribal levy.
- ii) 1 Sam. 7,7-12. Samuel's defeat of the Philistines at Mizpah.
- iii) 1 Sam. 14,1-46. Jonathan's surprise attack on the Philistines.
- iv) 2 Sam. 5,22-5. David's victory over the Philistines.

Jg. 20,14-48. This episode, included here on the basis of a hypothetical emendation of 20,31 (MT) from גבֹעֹתָיָהּ to גִּבְעֹנָה

31. Jg. 16,23; 1 Sam. 31,10.

- which gives better sense topographically³² - is in some respects a typical Holy War campaign. A sacred fast is ordained before the battle (vv.20.26 ~~vv.18.23.27~~), an oath (21,1), consulting for an oracle (20,18.23.27) and the building of an altar afterwards (21,4). The victory is ascribed to Yahweh, though nothing is said about a miraculous intervention during the action. The completion of the herem is clearly of importance (20,42ff) as it is in Jos.10,11-13. The "heroic" **אִלֹּהִים** occurs several times (20,15.21.35.46).

1 Sam. 7,7-12 is of interest in view of the conclusion reached earlier that the Mizpah of 1 Sam. is identical with the central sanctuary of the Gibeonites and the fact that this episode follows soon after the narrative of the Ark's sojourn in Gibeonite territory (6,21 - 7,1). The retreat passes through Beth-car (7,11 cf. LXX *Βαθχαρ*) a place-name otherwise unknown. The versions give us no help in identifying it so that many commentators have accepted Klostermann's emendation to Beth-horon,³³ especially since a retreat-route starting at Mizpah-Gibeon would have taken the Philistines down the valley of Aijalon. The pattern is close to that in Jos.10,10ff and 1 Sam. 14: Yahweh struck them with panic (**נִתְּנָה**, 7,10), by means of natural agency, not hailstones this time but thunder.³⁴ The

32. The text speaks of two highways which "go up" from Gibeah, one towards Bethel and the other towards Gibeah!

33. A.Klostermann, Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige, Nördlingen, 1887, ad loc.

34. Regarded as the angry voice of Yahweh. See Am.1,2; Jl.4,15-17 and the phrase **n t n q l** used in Ug. of Ba'al; Ba'al and 'Anat 76 III 31; 51 V 70; 51 VII 29 (Gordon's enumeration).

retreat leads to total victory and the annihilation of the enemy and is celebrated by the erection of a commemorative stele (v.12). There is the customary **ב' יום ההוא** (v.10).

1 Sam. 14,1-46. The surprise-attack of Jonathan, though much more primitive in approach and theological colouring than the preceding, is also described within the same context of ideas. We find here the request for an oracle (vv.18.41) and the ascription of the victory, **יְשׁוּעָה**, to Yahweh. **ב' יום ההוא** occurs four times. A comparatively inordinate amount of space is given to the pursuit and for the same reasons as we have seen in Jos.10,10ff. The cause of the enemy's undoing is the divinely-inspired panic, **חֵהוּמָה גְּלוּלָהּ חָאָדָה** (14,15.20, verbally identical with 1 Sam. 5,9). Jonathan's feat of arms is recorded as taking place near Michmash (the modern mukhmas) and Geba (jeba),14,5, that is, less than five miles NNE of Gibeon. Once again, the retreat is down the valley of Aijalon (14,31) which must have taken them past Gibeon (el 'gib). This will be even clearer if we read Beth-~~xxx~~ horon for Beth-aven in 14,23.³⁵

We recall that it is this account which contains the two verbs **חָאָדָה** and **חֵהוּמָה** used together and in the same context as in Jos.10,13.

35. With LXX^B and most commentators beginning with Threnius, e.g. de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, p.75. According to J. Simons, op.cit. p.316, it is probable but not altogether certain.

2 Sam. 5,22-25. The second of the two victories of David over the Philistines described here also took place in the immediate neighbourhood of Gibeon since, as we have seen,³⁶ MT must be corrected to וַיִּבְרַח in 5,25. The victory is ascribed to the intervention of Yahweh who marches to the assistance of his army at the tops of the balsam trees. This is not a tree oracle³⁷ but a marching to the aid of the army, ^{accompanied by} perhaps ~~figured as~~ a violent storm or wind. There is also the request for an oracle before the action is engaged (5,23).

On the basis of these comparisons we may read Jos. 10,10-14 as one of a series of military actions which take place in the immediate neighbourhood of Gibeon, are described in the same kind of language and in the context of the Holy War theology. We have found: similarity of terminology, especially the "heroic" בְּיַד יְהוָה,³⁸ the intervention of Yahweh by means of natural agencies and the divinely inspired וַיִּהְיֶה³⁹, the importance of the pursuit leading to the

36. See above p.4.

37. As suggested by Herxberg, op.cit. p.225.

38. On the possible connexion between this and the יוֹם יְהוָה of the prophets see von Rad, 'The Origin of the Concept of The Day of Yahweh', JSS 4(1956)pp.97ff.

39. Either the substantive מַהוּמָה, מַהוּמָה אֲלֵהֶם or some form of the verb מָהַם is used. Thus, Sisera is afflicted with panic by Yahweh, Jg.4,15, and the same verb is used of an earth-tremor in 1 Sam. 4,7 cf. 5,9.11; 7,10; 14,20 and Dt.

7,23. In the prophetic literature this panic appears frequently as a feature of the Day of Yahweh, e.g. Is. 13,13; 22,9; Ezek.

14,3. The acclamatio, וַיִּבְרַח, also has its place in the prophetic description of the Day of Yahweh as it has in the Holy War. Yahweh makes use of natural agencies such as hail-stones, thunder and, in Jg.5,20, the stars (thought to produce rain).

completion of the herem.⁴⁰ As regards this last, we have a useful/parallel to Jos.10,12f in Jer. 6,4 which speaks of the need to complete the Holy War action before "the shadows of evening lengthen" or, failing this, to make a unique exception and pursue the enemy during the night.

In view of the close association between the Ark as a battle-palladium and the miraculous intervention of Yahweh (for example, in 1 Sam. 4,4f the arrival of the Ark on the battlefield is followed by the shaking of the earth), we should raise the question whether the Ark has, in the mind of the writer or editor, anything to do either explicitly or implicitly, with the miraculous intervention of Yahweh in the incidents ~~we~~ have to which we have referred. The divinely-inspired panic is explicitly attributed to the Ark in 1 Sam. 5,9.11. We find it linked with the יְיָ יִרְאֵה (acclamation) in 1 Sam. 4,5, more clearly in the theologically highly coloured account of the capture of Jericho (Jos. 6,10.16.20). Whether there is an explicit association of Ark and יְיָ יִרְאֵה in 1 Sam. 14,20 would depend on whether we accept MT reading יְיָ יִרְאֵה in 14,18.⁴¹ The Ark is not mentioned either in Jos.10 or 1 Sam.

40. See Dt. 7,1-2; 20,1-2; Num. 21,2; Jos. 8,15ff.

41. Most commentators read יְיָ יִרְאֵה for יְיָ יִרְאֵה with Aquila, Symm. on the grounds that the Ark was not used for consultation. See, for example, H.P. Smith, Samuel, p.112; de Vaux, *op.cit.* p.74. This, however, neglects Jg. 20,27 where Yahweh is consulted at the Ark-sanctuary and a note similar to 1 Sam. 14,18b is added. Hertzberg, *op.cit.* p.89f, retains יְיָ יִרְאֵה as lectio difficilior.

7,7-12, though the account of the clash with the Philistines at Mizpah follows immediately after the installation of the Ark at Kiriath-jearim and the meteorological miracle which, according to 1 Sam. 12,8, takes place at the Mizpah sanctuary, suggests that the source of the miraculous phenomena is considered to be the divine presence in the sanctuary. Here it is thunder, that is, the voice of Yahweh, and it is interesting to note that the thunder (the voice of Yahweh) proceeds from the sanctuary in Am. 1,2. This causal connexion between Ark-presence and the discomfiting of the enemy is implicit in the ancient acclamation for the taking up of the Ark in Num. 10,35 (cf. Ps. 68,2): "Arise, O LORD, and let thine enemies be scattered; and let them that hate thee flee before thee". This helps to explain the importance of the pursuit in these Holy War episodes.

In the four passages in which we have found significant resemblances to Jos. 10,10-14 the association of the miraculous intervention of Yahweh with the Ark is beyond reasonable doubt. The tribes who war against Benjamin in Jg. 20 have Mizpah as a central sanctuary in one narrative-strand and Bethel in another, That the latter was the Ark-sanctuary is stated explicitly in 20,27. There is no such statement for Mizpah, but the reference to the congregation gathered there to Yahweh (20,1) and the distribution of the severed body of the concubine to the twelve tribes as the occasion of the gathering together of all-Israel to this sanctuary suggests at least that it was a central sanctuary, and the Ark is represented in the tradition as

the central cult-object of the tribes located at the central sanctuary.⁴² The episodes described in 1 Sam. 7,7-12 and 2 Sam. 5,22-5 occur, respectively, immediately after the placing of the Ark at Kiriath-jearim and immediately before its transfer to Jerusalem. Mizpah (which we have identified with the Gibeonite sanctuary) occurs in the first, Gibeon in the second.⁴³ The Ark is actually on the battlefield in 1 Sam. 4,4f and 2 Sam. 11,11, both of which are described in terms of the Holy War.⁴⁴ If we retain the reading of MT in 1 Sam. 14, 18 the same will be true of this episode. At the time of the events referred to in Jos. 10 the Ark was not, of course, at Gibeon. But the tradition of the Ark's sojourn in Gibeonite territory, in conjunction with the parallels we have been studying, gives good grounds for believing that Ark-theology lies behind the account of the battle in Jos. 10,10-14 and has its part in explaining those characteristics of the narrative to which we have alluded.

We stated at the beginning of this chapter that Jos. 10,10-14 would be considered only as a possible source of information on

42. See von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, New York, 1962, pp. 17f; 236f.

43. 1 Sam. 7,5ff; 2 Sam. 5,25 (LXX).

44. Shown in the case of the latter by the sexual abstention of Urijah while on campaign, 11,11 (cf. 1 Sam. 21,4f).

Gibeon and the Gibeonites at this time. We may summarize the conclusions reached as follows:

1. We have no reason to doubt an historical connexion between the treaty and the battle and may reasonably suppose that the latter came about as the result of a clause in the treaty stipulating mutual military assistance. This is true of similar treaties of that period.

2. We cannot be certain that the role of Joshua in the battle, as described in Jos. 10,12-14, is original.

3. A careful reading of the passage suggests that the verse-fragment has been edited into the present account. The hypothesis was advanced that it was originally an oracle addressed to a solar deity in the Gibeonite sanctuary enjoining upon it not to take part in the military action.

4. The battle is described as an episode of the Holy War. Comparison with similar episodes in Jg. and 1-2 Sam. which are described as taking place near Gibeon suggests the possibility that there was, in the mind of the writer, a causal connexion between the discomforting of the enemy and the presence or proximity of the Ark. This gives added weight to the tradition of the Ark's sojourn in Gibeonite territory at a somewhat later period and may be seen to support the hypothesis, defended below, that the Ark was located for a time at the central sanctuary of the Gibeonite cities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GIBEONITE CITIES DURING THE PERIOD OF THE JUDGES AND THE

REIGN OF SAUL

After the narrative of the treaty and its immediate results (Jos. 9-10; 11,19) none of the Gibeonite cities is mentioned in Jos., Jg. or 1 Sam. until we come to the account of the transference of the Ark from Beth-shemesh to Kiriath-jearim in 1 Sam. 6,21-7,2. With the exception of 2 Sam. 2,12ff (Gibeon) and 4,2b (Beeroth), there occurs no further mention until the last stage of the Ark's movements, which is from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem, is described in 2 Sam. 6,1ff (preceded by the defeat of the Philistines "from Gibeon [LXX and Chr.] to Gezer", 5,25). The only information relevant to our study for the period of Judges and Saul is therefore that the Ark was left in a Gibeonite city for a period of "some twenty years" (1 Sam. 7,2).

Corresponding to this almost total absence of information on Gibeon and the Gibeonites during this vitally important period, we find an almost complete silence of the tradition on the Ark. With the exception of 1 Sam. 14,18 where גִּבְעֹן is generally read for גִּבְעָה ,¹ it is not referred to at all between 1 Sam. 7,2

1. See above p.176 n.41.

and 2 Sam. 6,2. This covers the period from immediately after the fall of Shiloh to the early part of David's reign, and must have been more than the stereotype "twenty years" of 1 Sam. 7,2. As we shall go on to see, 1 Sam. 7,2-17 is a late composition and untrustworthy as a historical source for the period. It also shows clear signs of Deuteronomic editing, and "twenty years" or a multiple of twenty occurs frequently in the Deuteronomic history (e.g. Jg. 15,20; 16,31). The period must take in: the phase of Philistine domination ^{to} ~~in~~ the beginning of Saul's reign; all of Saul's reign; the early part of David's reign down to the moving of the Ark to Jerusalem. This last cannot be determined with certainty since we do not know whether the seven and a half years' reign of David at Hebron overlapped with Saul's reign (2 Sam. 5,5).

The unknown element in this calculation of time is, of course, the length of Saul's reign. 1 Sam. 13,1 (MT) is corrupt and grammatically unfeasible as it stands.² Some Greek minuscules have "thirty years" and a late Jewish tradition speaks of a reign of forty years.³ A careful study of the Saul-traditions suggest a

2. Emendations are suggested by S.R.Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text and Topography of the Books of Samuel, Oxford, 1913², p. 97; J. Wellhausen, Der Text der Bücher Samuelis, Göttingen, 1871, pp. 79f; K. Budde, Die Bücher Samuel, Tübingen, 1902, pp. 82f; H.P. Smith, op.cit. p. 92. M. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, Halle, 1943, pp. 18ff and The History of Israel, p. 176 wants to retain MT.

3. Josephus, Ant. 6 14 9; Acts 13, 21.

considerably longer period than two years. His manifold military operations, his proceeding against non-Israelite groups such as the Gibeonites, David's stay of one year and four months with the Philistines (1 Sam. 27,2), the ages attributed to his children,⁴ his own psychological and religious evolution suggest a longer period. This last point is of special interest. His zeal for Yahweh (2 Sam. 21,2) is evident in his religious scrupulosity - illustrated by his waiting seven days for the tardy Samuel (1 Sam. 13,8ff) and his insistence on the death of his son for breaking a religious tabu (14,37ff) - and the expulsion of the mediums and wizards (1 Sam. 28,9). It ^{also} led him to ~~see~~ *to try to* exterminate ethnically and religiously dangerous enclaves such as the Gibeonites. After his defeat of the Philistines (1 Sam. 14) he seems to have become an ardent Yahwist. Some time would be ^{religious} required for him to reach the ~~low~~-ebb seen in his visit to the witch and loss of the sense of spiritual power and confidence. Indirect evidence of this evolution may be seen in the names given to his sons; the first, Jonathan, has a good Yahwist name while ⁵ later sons have names formed with Ba'al. ~~X~~

4. In 1 Sam. 13,14 Jonathan has already come of age, and in 31,2 two younger sons fight at the battle of Gilboa.

5. See above pp.84ff.

It is probable that the text has been altered from an originally higher number to "two years" on polemical grounds cf. the two years allotted to Ishba'al (2 Sam. 2,10). A reign of nine, twelve or twenty years has been suggested.⁶ If we accept the usual date for the destruction of Shiloh, namely 1050,⁷ and the beginning of David's reign as ca.1000, we would have a period of at least half a century for the sojourn of the Ark in a Gibeonite city.⁸

The fact that Old Testament historical tradition is silent on Gibeon and the Ark during this period may at first sight not seem to call for explanation. Maier⁹ takes the view that the Ark was of no great importance at that time and was simply neglected. Others¹⁰ take the view that it was no longer thought of^{as} the central cult-object of the tribal "amphictyony". Noth¹¹ states that the Philistines took the Ark after the destruction of Shiloh as a pledge of their control of the tribes and that subsequently the tribes took no notice of it, which would be

6. See O.Eissfeldt, 'The Hebrew Kingdom', CAH Vol.II, Ch.XXXIV, Cambridge, 1965, pp.34.39; Schunck, op.cit. pp.121ff; H.Seebass, 'Die Vorgeschichte der Königserhebung Sauls', ZAW 79(1967) pp. 155ff 168.

7. See Albright, AASOR 4(1922/3)p.52; Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p.103f; Eissfeldt, op.cit. p.35; H.Kjaer, JPOS 10(1930) pp.87ff. This, of course, must be understood to be approximate.

8. R.Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, II p.73, speaks of "eine gräune Zeit"; Hertzberg, Die Samuelbücher, p.50, and J.Morgenstern, HUCA 17(1942/3)p.241, of about half a century.

9. J.Maier, Das altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum, Berlin, 1965, p.48.
10. The History of Israel, p.191.

10. J.A.Soggin, ZAW 78(1966)p.183, referring to a work of H.Gese.

strange if it was, as Noth thinks, the amphictyonic palladium. Similarly Bright,¹² though he sees the transference of the Ark to Jerusalem by David as of vital importance, states without further comment that it lay neglected for a generation or more at Kiriath-jearim.

If we take the historical tradition as put together in 1-2 Sam. at its face value, the Ark is clearly of importance for Israel during the early phase of the Philistine war and for David in particular during the last phase which ended with his kingship over all-Israel. The problem of the "silence" of the tradition on the Ark is seen in sharper profile if we consider the mention of the Ark in these chapters from the purely statistical aspect. In 1 Sam. 1-3 it is referred to only once, towards the end, and in a subordinate clause (3,3). 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 is a more or less continuous composition. Different from 1-3 in style and prosodic rhythm, its literary and theological character betrays its more recent date. In passing from 1 Sam. 4,1a to 4,1bff one is aware at once of a sharp contrast in style and presentation.¹³ In the latter the interest is clearly focussed on the Ark which is mentioned

12. A History of Israel, pp.165.179.

13. cf. the transition from Jg. 13,25 to 14,1. In both ~~vases~~ ~~we have~~ a transition from an infancy-narrative to one of a quite different character. The theological character of 1 Sam. is specially apparent in the presentation of the figure of Samuel. See de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, p.10; R.Press, ZAW 56(1938)pp.177ff; O.Eissfeldt, OLZ 30(1927)pp.657ff; 31 (1928)pp.801ff.

thirty five times under five different designations: "the Ark of Yahweh" (14 times), "the Ark of God" (11 times), "the Ark of the God of Israel" (6 times), "the Ark" (twice), "the Ark of the covenant of Yahweh (of hosts who is enthroned on the cherubim)" (twice, 1 Sam. 4,3.4, but see variations in LXX^B). After this passage (4,1b-7,1) it is mentioned only in 7,2 and 14,18 (the disputed reading referred to earlier) until the history of its vicissitudes is resumed in 2 Sam. 6,1.

In 2 Sam. 6,1-19 it is mentioned fourteen times, equally divided between ארון יהוה and ארון אלהים. This emphasizes the existence of a gap in our knowledge of the history of the Ark when it was in Gibeonite territory, despite the fact that it must have been accessible to the Israelites after the defeat of the Philistines recorded in 1 Sam. 14.¹⁴

In view of this it is understandable that many commentators and historians have seen this as one of the major unsolved riddles of Old Testament history. Kittel speaks of the fate of the Ark at this time as "rätselhaft",¹⁵ G.Little pertinently remarks that "no satisfactory answer has yet been given to the question why the Israelites were content to leave the Ark for so long in obscurity at Kiriath-jearim",¹⁶ and we agree with Kennedy when he complains that "our extant sources throw so little

14. We leave out of account 1 Sam. 7,13, the victory allegedly won by Samuel, which is historically unreliable and in fact contradicted by what follows.

15. Geschichte des Volkes Israel, p.73.

16. The Interpreter's Bible II, New York, 1953, p.1076.

light upon the inexplicable neglect of the ark during the long lifetime of Samuel and the reign of Saul".¹⁷ The relevance of this for a study of the Gibeonites lies, of course, in the fact that the tradition represented in 1 Sam. 7,22f and supported indirectly by 1 Chr. 13,3-5 (which states that the Ark was neglected during the reign of Saul) and Ps. 132,6, places the Ark at Kiriath-jearim, a Gibeonite city, during this period, and that for the same period there is nothing in the tradition about Gibeon and the Gibeonites. The importance of Gibeon just before this period is attested by Jos. 10,2 which speaks of it as "a great city" and there are no grounds for denying this. Shortly after the period in question it is described, in 1 Kings 3,4, as "the great high place". Its cultic importance for the time prior to the building of the Temple is attested by the Chronicler and rabbinical tradition, as we shall see in the last chapter of this study.

The strategic position of the Gibeonite cities alone would have invested them with great importance during the Philistine war. We have evidence that Saul attacked one, and possibly two of the Gibeonite cities (2 Sam. 21,1ff and 4,3), which may have been due to the fact that, ~~they~~ strategically, they cut his small kingdom in half - quite apart from the possibility of collusion between Gibeonites and Philistines.¹⁸ His intemperate policy

17. Samuel (The Century Bible), Edinburgh, 1905, p. 218.

18. See Alt, Kl. Schr. and H. Cazelles, 'David's Monarchy and the Gibeonite Claim', PEQ 87(1955)p.170.

may have driven them, as it did David, into the arms of the Philistines. In addition, we have seen that the burial-place of Saul's family and the Saulite "genealogy" of the Chronicler point to some association between Saul and Gibeon. Yet, despite this, no Gibeonite city is mentioned in the records for this period.

We may therefore at least conclude that it is legitimate to investigate further this "silence" of the tradition on Gibeon and the Ark at this time and explore the possibility that the two are not unconnected. With regard to the Ark, we may remark, finally, that, in view of its association with the kingship of Yahweh, its religious relevance for the inception of monarchy in Israel would be crucial.¹⁹ It is clear at least that David wasted no time in bringing it to Jerusalem with the purpose of giving his kingship over Israel the religious authentication which it would otherwise have lacked.

Before going on to see whether we have any indirect evidence which might fill in to some extent the lacuna in the tradition, we have to ask whether this "silence" with regard to Gibeon and

19. See especially 1 Sam. 4,4 and Is. 6,3.5. von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, p.23; Alt, Kl.Schr. I pp.345ff; K-H Bernhardt, Das Problem der altorientalischen Königsideologie im Alten Testament, Leiden, 1961, p.99; O.Eissfeldt, RGG³ VI pp. 1875f; E.G.Kraeling, JBL 47(1928)pp.153f; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, London, 1961, p.300. We cannot ~~take up~~ discuss here the view held by Reichel, Dibelius and Gunkel, and more recently by Gallinger, von Rad, Eissfeldt, Nielsen et al. that the Ark was originally an empty throne. There is much in favour of it.

the Gibeonites could be to some extent due to anti-Gibeonite polemic or whether, more indirectly, polemical attitudes to Benjamin and Saul have influenced the way the texts as we have them cover the history of his reign.

Such an attitude could, in the first place, be expected to characterize the Judahite (Jerusalemite) redaction of the historical traditions dealing with this period. Examples of this polemical re-editing are not lacking. A marked anti-Benjaminite animus characterizes the story of the crime of Benjaminite Gibeah in Jg.19-20.²⁰ All of Jg. 17-21 appears to have been edited by pro-monarchic writers, to judge by the recurrent comment, "in those days there was no king in Israel" (17,6; 18,1; 19,1; 21,25). Judah is represented as divinely appointed to lead the tribal levy against Benjamin (20,18) and we cannot rule out the possibility that the story has been written up to reflect an event or events in the reign of Saul - with evidently unfavourable implications.²¹ Opposition to the dynasty for the whole of David's reign came from Benjaminites:

20. See J.Muilenburg, in Tell en-Nasbeh ed. C.C.McCown, I, New Haven, 1947, pp.45f; O.Eissfeldt, 'Der geschichtliche Hintergrund der Erzählung von Gibeas Schandtat', Festschrift G.Beer, Stuttgart, 1935, p.27; A.Besters, ETL 41(1965) pp.29.32; Schunck, op.cit.p. 63. For the editorial history of Jg. 19-21 see Eissfeldt, op.cit.pp.21ff; C.Kuhl, Die Entstehung des Alten Testaments, Berne, 1953, pp.129f; Schunck, op.cit.pp.57f.

21. Suggested by A. van den Born, 'Haggib'ah', OS 10(1954) pp.201ff.

the opprobrious language of Michal Sayl's daughter (2 Sam. 6, 20ff) the opposition of Shimei ben-Gera (16,5ff) and the rebellion of the Benjaminite Sheba (20,1ff) all witness to this. The explanation is no doubt to be sought in the progressive elimination of the descendants of Saul during David's reign: Abner (2 Sam. 3,22), Ishba'al (4,1ff), the seven Saulites executed at Gibeon (21,1ff) and the sequestration of Meribba'al's property (16,1ff). All these are narrated with a strong emphasis on David's innocence and non-complicity designed, not altogether with success, to dispel suspicion (e.g. 2 Sam. 3,37f).

The disputed situation of the tomb of Rachel provides indirect evidence of this polemical attitude. The earliest sources place it in Benjaminite territory (1 Sam. 10,2 cf. Jer. 31,15) but the Yahwist narrator locates it at Bethlehem (Gen. 35,19; 48,7), within the borders of Judah.²² We cannot ignore the possibility that traditions associated with pre-Jerusalemite shrines have been transferred to Jerusalem in keeping with the pragmatic-theological requirements of apologists for David's dynasty and, at a later time, the Deuteronomists. Thus הַמִּזְבֵּחַ of Gen. 22,2 has, by the time of the Chronicler, (2 Chr. 3,1), become the site of Solomon's temple. If, instead of the unknown and problematic הַמִּזְבֵּחַ we read with Syr. מִזְבֵּחַ we could even suggest some connexion between the ritual sacrifice of Isaac and

22. See J. Muilenburg, 'The Birth of Benjamin', JBL 75(1956)pp. 194; J.A. Soggin, 'Die Geburt Benjamins', VT 11(1961)pp.432ff; R. Brinker, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel, Manchester, 1946, pp.145f.

and that of the Saulites at some stage of the transmission of Gen. 22,1-14.²³ The Gibeonites are described as 'Amorites' in 2 Sam. 21,2; "the mountain of Yahweh" occurs only in Gen. 22,14, 2 Sam. 21,6 and Num. 10,33, the last a text dealing with the Ark; and Gen. 22,14, **בְּהַר יְהוָה יֵרָאֶה**, may be compared with 1 Kings 3,5, **בְּגִבְעוֹן יֵרָאֶה יְהוָה**. These are indications not proof. They may therefore only lead to an hypothesis: that what was originally a Gibeonite tradition has been transferred to the new sanctuary of Jerusalem. 2 Sam. 21,1ff implies that David took the side of the Gibeonites whom Saul had attempted to eliminate, and in general reversed the policy of his predecessor towards the autochthonous populations. A good example of this is his tolerant attitude to the Jebusites after the conquest of Jerusalem. But once the Ark, which had been in a Gibeonite city for half a century, had been transferred to Jerusalem, the strong political necessity of one unchallenged cult-centre would have necessarily implied the downgrading and eventual disappearance of possible rivals, chief of which was Gibeon as we see from 1 Kings 3,4.

At this point, and within this context of understanding, we suggest that the textual confusion in many Old Testament references to Gibeon, in particular that between **גִּבְעוֹן** and **גִּבְלֵן** (**גִּבְלֵן**) may have been, to some extent, caused by this polemical attitude to the city during the time when the narratives were being transmitted.

23. See E. Sellin, Gilgal, Leipzig, 1917, p. 76; H-W Hertzberg, 'Lizpa', ZAW n.F. 6 (1929) p. 191.

cause

We may suggest a further ~~source~~ of the obscurity surrounding Gibeon in the immediate pre-monarchic period and under the United Monarchy, namely, Deuteronomic polemic against local sanctuaries and cults. Even in the important notice about Gibeon in 1 Kings 3,3ff, generally understood as part of the Deuteronomist-edited history,²⁴ there is a note of disapproval of Solomon's visit to "the great high place", during which he received the oracle which inaugurates his reign. This account is immediately preceded by a general evaluation of his conduct in the Deuteronomist manner: "Solomon loved Yahweh, walking in the statutes of David his father; only (p7) he sacrificed and burnt incense at the high places". This can hardly be dissociated from the mention of Gibeon as the great high place.²⁵ For the Deuteronomists Jerusalem was the only legitimate sanctuary, and at the time of writing the tradition about Gibeon as the greatest rival of Jerusalem was still alive.

A further cause of this polemic attitude has to be stated. That alliances with the native populations are to be avoided is a cardinal point of Deuteronomic law and a basic criterion of moral evaluation in the Deuteronomist history.²⁶ This would reflect unfavourably on Benjamin in whose territory the Gibeonite cities had been incorporated. As we saw earlier, this has influenced the account of the treaty-making in Jos.9. All

24. Eissfeldt, Einleitung, pp.346f.

25. H.Cazelles, 'A Propos d'une Phrase de H.H.Rowley', VTS 3(1955) pp.26ff.

26. e.g. Dt. 7,2; Jg.2,2.

agree, moreover, that the traditions about Saul have been edited at least once by Deuteronomists, and in a sense decidedly unfavourable to him. In their attitude to the monarchy in general, they never go beyond cautious approval and are generally condemnatory. In this respect they are the heirs of the eighth century prophets who condemned the monarchy of the Northern Kingdom. Hosea, in particular, traces the religious corruption of Israel to the establishment of the monarchy, referring indirectly to Saul in 9,9 and 10,9. In 1 Sam. the opposition between Samuel and Saul is presented as a paradigm of prophetic opposition to the monarchy, whatever historical evaluation we make of the figure of Samuel himself.²⁷ We may note, finally, the fact that the ritual execution of the Saulites (2 Sam. 21,1-14) very probably did not form part originally of the Deuteronomist historical corpus, but was brought into the present narrative-complex as part of an 'appendix' to the Books of Samuel at a later stage and out of chronological order.²⁸

27. This opposition is seen most clearly in 1 Sam. 8,10-22; 13,8-15; 15,10-31.

28. See Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, I, Halle, 1943, p.54; C.A.Simpson, JSS 3(1958)p.395 and below p.

Indirect Evidence for Gibeonite History during this period

The absence of any direct information on Gibeon and the Gibeonites for this period and the polemical re-editing of the traditions make it necessary to fall back on whatever indirect sources of information are available. Proceeding in this way demands caution in not going beyond the evidence and distinguishing carefully between what is reasonably certain and what is merely hypothetical. Any hypothesis which is advanced will be justified to the extent that it explains some at least of the aspects of the problem outlined above and is not positively excluded by evidence from any source. We shall also have to bear in mind that a hypothesis is, by definition, provisional. It can be modified or rejected at any time by the discovery of new facts which do not support it.

The indirect evidence bearing on Gibeon and the Gibeonites at this time may be summarized as follows:

1. The action taken by Saul against Gibeonite cities (2 Sam. 21,1.2.5 and, probably, 2 Sam. 4,2ff).
2. Gibeon as an important religious sanctuary in the pre-monarchic period and during the United Monarchy. This can be concluded from: 1 Kings 3,4 = 2 Chr. 1,3-6, Solomon's visit to Gibeon where, according to the Chronicler, the Tent and the bronze altar were; 1 Chr. 16,39-42, Zadok and Zadokites responsible for the cult at Gibeon; 1 Chr. 21,29, Tent and altar at the Gibeonite high place.

3. The obvious strategic importance of the Gibeonite cities ^{a significant role} which would have given them ~~importance~~ during the military operations of Saul against the Philistines, A study of the historical traditions dealing with the Philistines' war at this time might therefore be expected to throw some light on at least the background of Gibeonite history (i.e. the relations between the cities and the Philistines on the one hand, Saul on the other).

4. The presence of the Ark during all of this period in ~~one~~ of the Gibeonite cities. The traditions dealing with the Ark and its movements could well illuminate some aspects of Gibeonite life and history during the reign of Saul and the early reign of David. This possibility will be explored in the following chapter.

1. That Saul attempted to destroy the Gibeonites as a non-Israelite enclave in defiance of the treaty-obligations assumed earlier is attested independently of the Saul-traditions in 2 Sam. 21,1-2.5, and the reason given is his "zeal for the people of Israel (and Judah)". We may reasonably suppose that this refers to an event or events which occurred rather early in his reign when he was still an enthusiast for Yahwism (cf. his expulsion of the mediums and wizards, 1 Sam. 28,2). His action would be all the more striking and also, perhaps, psychologically explicable, in view of the Gibeonite attachments of Saul to which we referred in an earlier chapter.

2. This evidence agrees with the view presented earlier that the Gibeonite high place, which we have identified with nebi samwil, was a sanctuary of great importance and prestige in the pre-monarchic period. That "the great high place" was the central sanctuary of the Gibeonite cities is strongly indicated by the fact that these cities constitute a political unity both in the treaty-making and the demand for retribution in 2 Sam. 21,1ff, and ^{is} supported by the analogy of other groups in Palestine at that time (Shechem, Hebron, the Philistine cities in particular).²⁹ The tradition about Gibeon as a great cult- centre before the monarchy, as preserved in the Chronicler and the Talmud, will be discussed in the last chapter of this study. That its cultic importance continued into David's reign is shown by the fact that it was the most important cult-centre outside of Jerusalem at the beginning of the reign of his successor. (It is also probable,) In view of the context, at Gibeon that David "sought the face of the LORD" (2 Sam. 21,1); this phrase generally presupposes a visit to a sanctuary. Whether Nathan received his temple-oracle (2 Sam. 7,4ff) at Gibeon, as some have supposed, is more hypothetical but by no means impossible. The word of Yahweh comes to Nathan at night (7,4) and, according to Ps1 89,19, in a vision, and it was in a dream by night that Solomon received at Gibeon the word of Yahweh. The statement in The Lives of the Prophets that Nathan

29. See above pp.119ff.

was a Hivite from Gibeon (ἦν ἐκ Φαγαών, ἐκ φυλῆς Ἑωή...

ἐτάφη εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ)³⁰ may be based on this

an hypothesis rather than on an independent source of information.

The fact that a case is made out in the oracle against building a temple in Jerusalem may well have something to do with the provenance of the oracle in Gibeon. This, however, is only a possibility; other explanations are at hand.³¹

3. In view of the strategically crucial situation of the Gibeonite cities, Gibeon itself in particular, during the Philistine war, it is very probable, a priori, that they played a significant role in the fighting which took place almost incessantly during the reign of Saul and the early years of that of David. The difficulty of evaluating the historicity of the traditions about the reign of Saul is well known. The redactional history by which these traditions reached their present form is extremely complicated. For the purposes of this study, we need to concentrate on six narrative sections which bear directly on the course of the Philistine war: 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1; 7,2-17; 11; 13,2-14,46; 17; 28-31. A brief note on each of these is necessary.

a) 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 We have seen that a new narrative-source begins with 4,1b dealing with the Philistine war and the fate of the

30. See ed.C.C.Torrey, The Lives of the Prophets (JBL Monograph Series Vol.I), Philadelphia,1946,p.30.

31. G.Ahlström, 'Der Prophet Nathan und der Tempelbau', VT 11(1961) pp.113ff and 'Natan och tempelbygget', Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok 25(1960)pp.5ff, states that Nathan belonged to a Jebusite party which opposed the building of another temple.

Ark. The Philistine victory at Aphek was decisive, Shiloh was destroyed and the Ark captured. We have no reason to doubt that this is substantially what happened, and the victory must have given the Philistines control over the Shephelah and Central Highlands, including the region of the Gibeonite cities. From 1 Sam. 10,5 and 13,3 we learn of a Philistine in ha-Gib'ah.³² This is either a garrison (with RSV) or a garrison commander, which would indicate that the Philistines set up a system of garrisons with local commanders after the Egyptian fashion during the Amarna age.³³ The fragment of evidently ancient tradition preserved in 1 Sam. 13,19 shows how effectively the Philistines disarmed the local population in order to forestall any attempt at re-asserting independence. The example of David makes it probable that Hebrews served in the Philistine army; after Jonathan's coup de main we hear of a number coming back to the Israelites (1 Sam. 14,21).

Alt has maintained that the Philistines claimed suzerainty over Palestine as the successors to Egypt in wielding effective power in that area.³⁴ In keeping with this the surprise blow of ~~Jonathan~~ is described as an act

32. Textually uncertain. See above pp.5f.8. These texts could refer to Gibeon, doubtfully supported by an interpretation of the excavations at tell el-fûl according to which there was no place there for a Philistine garrison. See Seebass, ~~artxartx~~ LAW 79 (1967)p.16ln.29.

33. Kl.Schr. II pp.3f.

33. See Albright, CAH Vol.II Ch.XX, Cambridge, 1966², pp.7ff.

of rebellion and clearly understood as such by the Philistines.³⁴

- b) 1 Sam. 7,2-17 This passage, of Deuteronomist redaction, attributes to Samuel a victory over the Philistines so complete that "they did not again enter the territory of Israel" (7,13). This representation of Samuel as charismatic "judge" (cf. 12,11) is secondary, and that such a victory took place at this stage is flatly contradicted by the subsequent course of events. The writer either had no access to or was not interested in early historical sources or traditions on the Philistine war. We must therefore leave this passage out of account in attempting to reconstruct the actual course of events.³⁵
- c) 1 Sam. 11 As is generally recognized, this chapter belongs to the earliest strata of traditions on Saul.³⁶ It narrates the Ammonite campaign, of special importance since it led directly to Saul's charismatic appointment as king. Though not immediately connected with the Philistine war, we mention it here since it may have provided the Philistine overlords with a casus belli or instigated the short war of independence which must have followed soon afterwards (1 Sam. 13, interrupted by chapter 12 which is of much more recent composition.³⁷) Saul is already living at Gibeah which seems to have been his capital (10,26; 11,4), but the king-making and the

34. Reading יְיָ for יְהוָה in 1 Sam. 13,3 with Budde, Smith, de Vaux et al. See H.P. Smith, op.cit. p.93; de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel, p.68.

35. See also on this passage below pp. 244ff.

36. For a recent survey of the literature see Schunck, op.cit. pp.90f.

37. 1 Sam. 12 continues the narrative from 7,2-17 and 10,17-24 as is clear from the signs of Deuteronomist redaction and the role of Samuel as judge.

rallying of the tribal levy is described as taking place at Gilgal (11,15; 13,7ff).

d) 1 Sam. 13,2-14,46 This long narrative-section begins with the coup of Jonathan, probably consisting in the assassination of the Philistine garrison-commander at ha-Gib'ah.³⁸ The Philistine counter-measures which this act provoked led to a state of war. Saul and his son won a decisive victory and the Philistines were driven back down the old escape-route past Beth-horon to the Coastal Plain (see 14,23). From this we gather that the Gibeonite region had been cleared of the Philistines, whether or not the Philistines actually occupied the Gibeonite cities. This action proved decisive to the extent that we hear of no further attack on Saul's kingdom until, towards the end of his reign, the Philistine counter-attack was launched which led to his defeat and death. Desultory fighting must have continued, as is clear from 1 Sam. 18,27.30 and 23,1ff, but the Philistine stranglehold had been broken for the time being.

e) 1 Sam. 17 Though recounted with many topographical details and featuring Saul, this well-known incident presents difficulties to the historian. In 2 Sam. 21,19 the killing of Goliath is attributed to Elhanan a native of Bethlehem, and this tradition appears to be more ancient than that contained in 1 Sam. 17. It occurs in a list of exploits (vv.15-22) which are presented in a more or less formalized and stereotype way characteristic of archival material.

38. גִּבְיָה is generally used of human beings (the only clear exception is ex. 17,6), see H.P.Smith, op.cit. p.93. For MT 'Geba' read 'ha-Gib'ah' with LXX and Targumim, following 1 Sam. 10,5. See above n.32.

It also takes place during the reign of David not Saul.³⁹

In 1 Sam. 17,54 David is represented as taking the head of the giant Philistine to Jerusalem and placing his armour in ~~the~~ his tent, though of course Jerusalem was not yet taken and the sword at least was put in the sanctuary of Nob, according to 1 Sam. 21,10.

We cannot therefore safely make use of this passage in reconstructing the course of events during the reign of Saul.

- f) 1 Sam. 28-31 These chapters contain an account of a decisive full-scale campaign mounted by the Philistines (28,1f), culminating in the defeat and death of Saul, which re-established the status quo ante and gave back to the Philistines the complete control which they had at the beginning of the reign.

On the basis of this summary analysis we can reconstruct the main outline of events. As a result of the battle of Aphek, which took place before ^{Saul's} ~~his~~ accession, the whole of Central Palestine lay under Philistine control. After the campaigns led by Saul and Jonathan (1 Sam. 13-14) they had to retire once more to the coastal area. Thereafter desultory fighting went on until the last year of the reign when, following on the battle of Gilboa,

39. See Budde, Die Bücher Samuel, pp.309ff; Smith, op.cit.p.377; de Vaux, op.cit.p.89. Bressan, Samuele, pp.696ff contains a full account of the difficulties and possible lines of solution. For the view identifying David with Elhanan see Honeyman, JBL 67(1948)pp.13ff and above p.98.

the Philistine hegemony was reasserted.

What was the role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in this history?

That during the first part of the reign they were under

Philistine control is strongly suggested by their strategic

position between the two warring parties and the fact that

the Philistines allowed the Ark to remain in their territory.

In view of its importance as the Israelite war palladium (see especially 1 Sam. 4,5-9) they would hardly have handed it back unconditionally to the Israelites. We may, perhaps, best think

of the Gibeonites at this time as within the Philistine sphere of influence yet recognized as distinct from Israel - even

though incorporated into Benjamin by treaty - and constituting in some way a neutral enclave. The possibility was suggested

earlier that the place referred to in 1 Sam. 10,5.10 and 13,3

(LXX) - ^להַר־יְהוָה, הַר־בִּגְיֹן (which may be translated simply

"the hill", "the hill of God", perhaps "the highest hill")

is Gibeon.⁴⁰ If accepted, this would mean that Gibeon was

garrisoned by the Philistines at this time and that the

Israelite counter-offensive (13,3) was launched from there.

1 Sam. 14,23, referring to the Philistine retreat past Beth-horon,⁴¹ implies that the Gibeonite region was cleared of

40. See above pp.5f.8.197n.32.

41. MT has "Beth-aven" which we emend with LXX^L and Vetus Lat. (Leg.). See Smith, op.cit. p.113.

Philistine presence and that therefore it came under Saul's control. The events referred to in 2 Sam. 21,1ff (hostile action of Saul against the Gibeonites) could have taken place only at this time. Exactly what happened, and for what reasons, we do not know. It has been suggested that Saul may have attempted to make Gibeon ~~the~~ the capital of his kingdom, impressed as he must have been by its prestige as a religious centre, its size and fortifications - including the great hydraulic works revealed in the excavations - and not least its commanding position.⁴² On this hypothesis, we would have at Gibeon a situation not unlike that at Shechem during the short-lived attempt of Abimelech to establish an hereditary monarchy, an attempt which ended in his alienating the local population and initiating hostile action against them (Jg. 9).

After the defeat and death of Saul (1 Sam. 28-31) Gibeon must have fallen once again under Philistine control, as is implied in 2 Sam. 5,25. Here we see that the transference of the Ark to Jerusalem was made possible by the defeat of the Philistines "from Gibeon to Gezer".⁴³

42. Schunck, op.cit. pp.132f.

43. MT has "Geba" which we correct with LXX readings and 1 Chr. 14,16 supported by Is. 28,21. LXX^B has "from Gibeon to the land of Gazera", LXX^A "from Gibeon to Gaza" and Vulg. "de Gabaa usque dum venias Gezer".

Excavation at el ġib has revealed that the city was enlarged sometime during the Iron Age, and this has been connected with the period of Saul's ascendancy after the counter-attack described in 1 Sam. 14, and even with his establishing his capital there.⁴⁴ This, however, is not at all certain since the enlargement may have taken place any time during the ~~reign of~~ United Monarchy. Here, as in other cases, archaeological evidence is not precise enough to allow over-confident correlation with biblical texts. All that we can say is that it is consistent with the interpretation which we have offered of the role of Gibeon during this period about which the biblical tradition maintains an almost complete silence.

44. Pritchard, VT 7(1960)pp.9f; Schunck, op.cit.pp.131ff.

CHAPTER EIGHT

GIBEON AND THE ARK: A HYPOTHESIS

Having established in outline the history of the Philistine war during Saul's reign, we pass on to the role which the Ark had in this war, with special reference to its stay in a Gibeonite city. In 1-2 Sam. it is certainly regarded as a war palladium, being taken into battle against the Philistines at the beginning (1 Sam. 4,3ff) and by David towards the end (2 Sam. 11,11), and with it the title "Yahweh of the hosts" is closely associated.¹ The function of the Ark makes it difficult to believe that it could have suffered complete neglect during the reign of Saul; and it is worthy of note that both Saul and David employed priests descended from the Ark-priesthood of Shiloh.

We have to ask in the first place whether the Ark moved at all during this period. Despite the evidence that it

1. For the Ark as battle-palladium see B.Stade, Geschichte Israels, Berlin, 1888, I p.458; F.Schwally, Semitische Kriegsaltertümer, Leipzig, 1901, I pp.9ff; E.Kutsch, 'Lade Jahwes', RGG³, 1960, IV p.198. For the ark-title in 1 Sam. 1,3; 4,4: B.Wambacq, L'Epithète divine Jahvé Š^eba'ôt, Bruges, 1947; Alt, Kl.Schr. I pp.345ff; O.Eissfeldt, RGG³ VI pp.1875f; id., 'Jahve Zebaoth', Misc.Acad.Berol. II 2 (1950) pp.135ff; V.Maag, 'Jahwäs Heerscharen', SchThUm (in Köhler Festschrift, 1950, pp.27ff; R.Smend, 'Jahwekrieg und Stammesbund', Göttingen, 1963, pp.59ff; E.deVaux, Ancient Israel, London, 1961, p.304.

was taken into battle , if not regularly at least at crucial moments (1 Sam. 4,3ff; 2 Sam. 11,11), it was generally housed in a sanctuary. At Shiloh it was in "the house of Yahweh" (1 Sam. 1,7; 3,15) and after its return from Philistine territory in "the house of Abinadab upon the hill" (7,1). After this it is not recorded ^{that it} ~~to have~~ moved until David brought it from this "house" to Jerusalem.

In rabbinical tradition the three "divine residences" before the building of the Temple were Shiloh, Nob and Gibeon.² These were evidently selected from the great number of sanctuaries because of the belief that the Tent, and therefore the Shekinah, was located there. The Priestly writer places the Tent at Shiloh (Jos. 18,1), and the Chronicler has it at Gibeon (1 Chr. 16,39). Nob may have been added as the result of identifying the tent in which David placed the Philistine's armour (1 Sam. 17,54) cf. 21,9) with the priestly Tent. According to the Priestly writer Ark and Tent were together. The Chronicler, too, must have known from his sources that both Ark and Tent were at Shiloh as they were both later at Jerusalem. For reasons which we shall discuss later he places the Ark at Jerusalem and the Tent at Gibeon during the reign of Solomon. Unfortunately neither the Chronicler nor the Priestly writer mentions Nob; but there are some indications, which do not amount to proof, that the source in 1 Sam. 21-22 which informs us on Nob presupposes that it was an Ark-sanctuary:

2. See below pp.

- i) The Nob priesthood was descended from that of Shiloh which served the Ark. Saul's priest Ahijah would appear to be identical with Ahimelech priest of Nob (1 Sam. 14, 3 cf. 21,2; 22,9) since the father's name is the same for both. The change from Ahijah to Ahimelech may be due to his association with the Ark-kingship of Yahweh. Another Ahijah, a Shilonite prophet, is mentioned in 1 Kings 12,29ff. Abiathar, son of Ahimelech, became David's priest and remained in office until deposed by Solomon. The appointment of Abiathar by David is consonant with the latter's solicitude to bring the Ark to Jerusalem and thus strengthen his claim to the religious allegiance of Israel. A further indication is that the slaughter of the Nob priesthood fulfils the prophetic threat directed against the priesthood of Shiloh (1 Sam. 2,31-33; 22,11ff).
- ii) The Nob sanctuary contained "the bread of the presence", 1 Sam. 21,5. Ex. 25,23-30 speaks of the לֶחֶם הַפָּנִי in a context dealing with the Ark, with which compare Lev. 24,5ff referring to the twelve loaves at the central sanctuary, clearly as representing the twelve tribes. Although this is a late text which supposes that the number twelve was present from the beginning, it at least witnesses to an association between the Ark at the central sanctuary and "the bread of the presence". ~~Other~~ Early references to the twelve-tribal concept take us back either to Shiloh or to a Benjaminite sanctuary: Ahijah of Shiloh tearing his cloak in twelve parts (1 Kings 11,29ff), the

twelvefold dismembering of the concubine by the levite after the crime of Gibeah (Jg. 19,29, reminiscent of Saul's dismembering of the oxen, 1 Sam. 11,7), the Gilgal dodekalithon tradition.³

- iii) The placing of Goliath's armour in the Nob sanctuary (1 Sam. 21,9 cf. Saul's armour in the temple of Ashtaroath, 31,10) and the presence there of the ephod indicate at least the privileged status of the Nob sanctuary. The need for ritual purification before eating the loaves (21,4f) points in the same direction; Urijah's refusal to sleep with his wife during the Ammonite campaign is motivated by the presence of the Ark among the troops (2 Sam. 11,11).
- iv) David came to Nob "to enquire of God" (1 Sam. 22,13). We have reason to believe that this oracle concerned the outcome of the struggle between Saul and David and ~~the~~ latter's prospect of success. This is clear from Saul's accusation of Ahimelech who does not deny the charge but pleads ignorance (22,12ff). The oracle is not mentioned in the account of David's visit in the previous chapter, and it seems strange that there were not five loaves of bread in this "city of priests" (22,19) of whom there were at least eighty five with their wives and children (22,18f).

3. On this question in general see M.Noth, Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels, Stuttgart, 1930 passim; O.Eissfeldt, CAH, Cambridge, 1965², Vol.II, Chapter XXXIV, p.16 (fascicle edition); A.Caquet, 'Ahiyya de Silo et Jeroboam^{er}', Sem 11(1961)pp.17ff.

Perhaps behind this somewhat puzzling narrative there is concealed an action similar to that performed by Ahijah of Shiloh in his encounter with Jeroboam (1 Kings 11,29-31, twelve loaves, twelve parts of the cloak).⁴

On the hypothesis that there was but one Ark and that Nob was an Ark-sanctuary we would have to draw the conclusion that the Ark was moved from the Gibeonite city where it had been left to another site during this period. The place-name Nob occurs in the Old Testament only here and in Is. 10,32 and Neh. 11,32. Is. 10,32, which is textually uncertain, presupposes that Nob is situated between Anathoth and Jerusalem and not far from the latter:

That very day he will halt at Nob,
He will shake his fist
At the mount of the daughter of Zion,
The hill of Jerusalem.

Neh.11,32 also places Nob near Anathoth. Following St.Jerome, Abel identifies Nob with Nobe (the modern 'annabe) near Lydda (Lud), justifying this choice with reference to the altar built by Saul after his victory over the Philistines in that region (1 Sam. 14,31ff).⁵ This, however, does not agree with the

4. That Nob was an Ark-sanctuary is accepted, inter alios, by Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p.104; S.H. Hooke, in Peake's Scripture Commentary², p.145.

5. Géographie de la Palestine, II, p.400; Jerome, Ep.108.

evidence of the two texts referred to. Proximity to both Anathoth and Jerusalem has suggested a site on Mount Scopus, especially since Nob and Scopus have much the same meaning.⁶ As to the precise site, various suggestions have been made: Raš el-Meshārif, one and a half miles south west of Anathoth, Raš Umm et-Tala⁶ on the eastern slope of Scopus, Qu⁶meh a hill about one mile north of Scopus.⁷ The "summit where God was worshipped" passed by David and his followers as they left Jerusalem may well refer to the same place.⁸ At all events, a location near Anathoth and Jerusalem has the advantage of placing Nob near Saul's city of Gibeah (see 1 Sam. 22,6f) identified with tell el-fūl.⁹

A view which has been advanced intermittently during the last century is that the Nob of the above-mentioned texts was a new sanctuary built after the holy place visited by David had been destroyed, as is reported in 1 Sam. 22,19. Earlier authors such as Peels, Schlatter and Bruhn identified the new "Nob" with the Gibeonite high place either on the assumption

6. נוב > ח'לל, ἑκκλῆσις > ἑκκλῆσις, See J. Simons, op.cit. p.319.

7. On the site of Nob see E.E. Voigt, 'The Site of Nob', JPOS 3(1923)pp.79ff; Alt, PJB 21(1925)pp.12f; Albright, op.cit. p.104; de Vaux, op.cit. p.110; Simons, op.cit. p.319.

8. de Vaux, op.cit. p.207.

9. On this identification see Albright, 'Excavations and Results at Tell el-Fūl (Gibeah of Saul)', AASOR 4(1922/3)pp.1ff; 'A New Campaign of Excavations at Gibeah of Saul', BASOR 52 (1933)pp.6ff; L.A. Sinclair, 'An Archaeological Study of Gibeah', BA 27(1964)pp.52ff; P.W. Lapp, 'Tell el-Fūl', BA 28(1965)pp.1ff.

that נ , rather than a place-name, is a descriptive topographical term referring to Gibeon of^r that the action of Saul against the Gibeonites (2 Sam. 21,1ff) refers to the massacre of the priests of Nob. Hertzberg ingeniously but unconvincingly defends the same view on the grounds that the tent in which David placed the armour of Goliath (1 Sam. 17,54) must be the Nob sanctuary where, as we read later (21,9), the sword of Goliath was kept behind the epohod, and that this tent is the Tent-sanctuary which the Chronicler locates at Gibeon.¹⁰

This thesis, that the Nob of 1 Sam. 21-22 is identical with the Gibeonite high place, would certainly provide some kind of explanation for Gibeonite opposition to Saul evidenced in 2 Sam. 21,1ff. Another possible argument in its favour, not advanced by any of the scholars mentioned, is the function of the Edomite Doeg at the sanctuary, analogous in some way to that of the Gibeonites in Jos. 9,21ff.¹¹ It would also be consistent with the suggestion, referred to earlier, that Saul attempted to make, or did in fact make, Gibeon his capital since in this case the descriptive term "Nob" would ideally suit neighbouring nebi samwil. On the other hand, however, the proponents of this thesis have not disposed of some rather formidable difficulties. The most notable of these is that the action of Saul against the Gibeonites which led to the execution of seven of his descendants was inspired by his "zeal for the

10. H-W Hertzberg, Die Samuelbücher, pp.144f; ZAW n.F.6(1929)pp.177ff.

11. See above pp.99f.

people of Israel and Judah" (2 Sam. 21,2) and consisted in an attempt to eliminate them as a non-Israelite enclave (v.5). This is not really consistent with the massacre of 1 Sam. 22, 18ff. Another point which has been overlooked is that, in the tradition, the Nob priesthood is associated with Shiloh not Gibeon. Finally, it can hardly be a coincidence that the Nob mentioned in Is. 21,22 and Neh. 11,32 is barely two miles from Gibeah of Saul (tell el-fûl) which was his capital for a good part of the reign. If Nob was an Ark-sanctuary, the most natural interpretation of the course of events would be that after the Philistines had evacuated the Gibeonite region Saul brought the Ark from the city where it had been left to a sanctuary near his own capital. The manner in which he conducted the campaign of 1 Sam. 14 and the indirect evidence of 2 Sam. 21, 2 and 1 Sam. 28,3 indicate that this was the high period of his Yahwist enthusiasm; nothing, therefore, would be more natural that that, after the victory which he ascribed to Yahweh, he should wish to dissociate himself and the cultic institutions which he had inherited from the suspect Gibeonites.

Let us say once again, however, that these arguments cannot claim to settle the question or dispose finally of the view identifying the Nob sanctuary of 1 Sam. 21-22 with the Gibeonite high place.¹² Our purpose was to emphasize some aspects of the problem neglected by the proponents of this view and to put the discussion on a broader basis. The possibility alluded to earlier

12. On the hypothesis of Gibeon as Ark-sanctuary, it would be natural that the Ark-priesthood of Shiloh, or such of them as had survived, should find a place there; and 2 Sam. 21,2 could include a Nob-Gibeonite priesthood.

that Saul attempted to make Gibeon the centre of his small kingdom and authenticate his rule by means of the Ark-sanctuary established there, is not intrinsically impossible, and would provide a precedent for David one of whose first actions was to found a new capital and legitimize his rule by establishing the Ark in it. Before we can take this discussion any further we have to consider the relation between Gibeon and Kiriath-jearim where, according to 1 Sam. 7,2, the Ark remained before being taken to Jerusalem. In what follows we shall first review the various hypotheses which have been advanced to fill the lacuna in the Old Testament tradition on the Ark and Gibeon at this time. This will be followed by a new hypothesis based on a literary analysis of the relevant texts, especially those dealing with the movements of the Ark prior to its establishment in Jerusalem.

Various forms of the hypothesis of Gibeon as a
central sanctuary during the reign of Saul

The view of Wellhausen,¹³ still widely accepted, that centrality of cult was not an ancient institution in Israel, seems to be borne out by the occurrence of several geographically distinct centres of worship in the traditions covering this period:

13. Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, Berlin, 1905⁶, pp.17ff. A more recent, modified view in A. Besters, ETL 41(1965)pp.20ff; W.H. Irwin, 'Le Sanctuaire Central israelite avant l'établissement de la Monarchie', RB 72(1965)pp.161ff.

Gilgal (1 Sam. 10,8; 11,15), Mizpah (10,17), Ramah (8,4; 15,34; 19,18ff), Beersheba (8,2), Bethel (10,3), Gibeah or "the hill" (10,5.10), Nob (21-22). Yet, as pointed out in different ways by Alt and Noth,¹⁴ the existence of a central sanctuary does not rule out local cults and cult-centres, and we have good reason to believe that the basic cultic ordinance of the Deuteronomists (Dt. 12,5) was an attempt to revive an ancient institution which had fallen into desuetude through the flourishing of local sanctuaries. We have equally good reason to accept the Deuteronomic understanding of the Ark as the central tribal cult-object in the pre-monarchic period even if we cannot be sure at which sanctuaries it was located before Shiloh.¹⁵ This involves rejecting extreme positions such as that of Arnold¹⁶ that there were many arks or of Maier¹⁷ that the ark was of no great importance before the time of David. We may add that the view of Dus¹⁸ that the Ark-sanctuary changed every seven years and that the narrative of the Philistines' dismissal of

14. Alt, 'Der Gott der Väter', Kl.Schr. I pp.1ff; also II pp.7ff; Noth, Das System der Zwölf Stämme Israels, pp.86ff; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp.302ff.

15. For the Ark as the central cult-object in the pre-monarchic period see von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, pp.17ff; Noth, The History of Israel, pp.90ff; H-J Kraus, Worship in Israel, Oxford, 1966, pp.126f.

16. W.R. Arnold, Ephod and Ark, Cambridge Mass., 1917; a similar view is defended by H.G. May, 'The Ark a Miniature Temple', AJSL 52(1935/6) pp.215ff.

17. J. Maier, Das Altisraelitische Ladeheiligtum, Berlin, 1965, pp.57.69.

18. J. Dus, 'Der Brauch der Ladewanderung im alten Israel', Tk TZ 17 (1961) pp.1ff; VT 13(1963) pp.126ff.

the Ark (1 Sam. 6,7ff) reflects the way in which the new sanctuary was chosen, ~~is not~~ while not impossible, is too subjective to be convincing.

In this question of a central sanctuary a new and decisive element entered into play with the advent of the monarchy. Even with such a rudimentary political organization as that of Saul a central sanctuary was demanded. The abortive attempt of Abimelech to found a dynasty began with a move from Ophrah to the ancient cult-centre of Shechem. David lost no time in founding a new capital and transporting thither the Ark as the principal religious symbol of the tribal federation. Shortly before the time of Saul the central sanctuary was Shiloh where, according to late tradition, the division of tribal territory was carried out (Jos. 18,1.51). Saul was made king at the ancient Benjaminite sanctuary of Gilgal (1 Sam. 11,15), though the charismatic endowment authenticating his status as מלך took place when he encountered a band of ecstasies at ha-Gib'ah (= "the hill", "the hill of God" cf. 1 Sam. 10,5). According to the later tradition found in 1 Sam. 10,24 he is acclaimed king at Mizpah. We have to ask what part Gibeon and its religious sanctuary played in the events of this period.

Gibeon was an important religious centre at the time of Saul and remained so down into the reign of Solomon. We have defended the view that the Gibeonite high place was situated at nebi samwil and that this was the central sanctuary of the Gibeonite cities and the whole Gibeonite region. Even though, as we have seen, Gibeon is not mentioned in 1 Sam., the possibility

that it played a significant part in the religious history of the period cannot be discounted.

The thesis of the Gibeonite high place as the religious centre of the Gibeonite region as a whole is supported by the analogous situation obtaining in Shechem and Hebron in both of which areas there existed a hybrid population with a strong Hurrian element (see above pp.67.120).

The same conclusion is supported by the obvious fact of the ~~sam^h~~ small distances involved; of the four cities only Beeroth is more than five miles from nebi samwil. While, therefore, each of the four cities may have had its own place of cult, we have good reason to suppose that they shared in a common cult at a central sanctuary. That this non-Israelite group was situated at the very centre of the territory of his own tribe, and therefore at the centre of his kingdom, would imply that Saul would very soon have had to take account of it.¹⁹

In view of the obvious importance of Gibeon and its high place, precisely in the period when Gibeon is not mentioned in the historical traditions of the Old Testament, we are not surprised to find that scholarly hypotheses have been multiplied

19. L.H.Vincent, 'Nebi Samwil', RB 31(1922)pp.365f, stresses the attraction which this central sacntuary must have exercised on the Israelites.

about Gibeon and its place in the history of the period. Much depends on the historical value we give to the post-exilic information about Gibeon as a great cult-centre. Sellin, for example, accepts its substantial historicity and concludes from it that Gibeon was a Tent-sanctuary even before Shiloh.²⁰ Another²¹ factor is the identification of the "place" (Jos. 9,23.27) where some Gibeonites were condemned to serve as "hewers of wood and drawers of water". For the Deuteronomist editor "the place which he should choose" is clearly Jerusalem and its Temple (cf. Dt. 12,5) which is in accord with Jewish tradition associating the nethinim of the Temple with the Gibeonites. Evidently, however, Jerusalem could not have been the first place. Assuming the historicity of this aspect of the treaty, "the place" would most naturally be the Gibeonite sanctuary, especially in view of its cultic associations with Jerusalem in later tradition.²¹ This would suggest the possibility that Gibeon was for a time an Israelite religious centre before Jerusalem. Auerbach²² goes so far as to hold that it was the first Israelite sanctuary to be established in Canaan.

This brings us back to the basic issue which is that of unity and centrality of worship in the pre-monarchic period and

20. E.Sellin, Gilgal, pp.45.91; Das Zelt Jahwes, Leipzig, 1913, p.187.

21. Defended by Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel I, pp.430ff; H.Gressmann, Die Anfänge Israels, Göttingen, 1922², p.152; Hertzberg, ZAW n.F.6(1929)pp.176f; Pritchard, VTS 7(1960)p.3; M.Haran, 'The Gibeonites, The Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon's Servants', VT 11(1961)p.161, et al.

22. Wüste und gelobtes Land, Berlin, 1932, I pp.90ff.

the reign of Saul. Wellhausen's thesis was soon challenged by a number of scholars. SCHLATTER²³ set out from the premiss that nebi samwil, which appears to be the most favoured site for a great religious centre in Benjamin, is never mentioned in the tradition while many of the surrounding localities are. His solution was that Gibeon, Mizpah, Gibeah of God and Nob are all terms, roughly synonymous, descriptive of the one central Benjaminite sanctuary at nebi samwil. This thesis is reproduced in LEPSIUS' work Reich Christi published a decade later.²⁴ VAN HOONAKER's contention that centrality of cult goes back beyond the time of Deuteronomy²⁵ was no doubt influenced by the need felt at that time by Roman Catholic scholars to defend the Mosaic authenticity of the Pentateuch against this most recent attack. He argued, in fact, that centrality of cult was ordained by Moses and that the prevalence of the high places was due to a falling away from the primitive ideal. This thesis was developed by his pupil POELS²⁶ with respect to the historical traditions contained in 1 Sam. Poels defended his thesis by the drastic expedient of assuming that ha-Gilgal, ha-Gib'ah, ha-Mizpah and Nob were not proper names but different descriptive titles for the

23. A. Schlatter, Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas, Stuttgart, 1893, pp. 246ff.

24. Reich Christi, 1903, pp. 103ff (I owe this reference to Albright, AASOR 4(1922/3)p. 40 but have been unable to consult the work).

25. A. van Hoonaker, Le Lieu de Culte dans la Législation rituelle des Hébreux, Ghent, 1894.

26. A. Poels, Le Sanctuaire de Kirjath-Jearim. Etude sur le lieu de culte chez les Israélites au Temps de Samuel, Louvain, 1894; Examen critique de l'Histoire du sanctuaire de l'arche, Louvain, 1897.

one central sanctuary at the time of Saul which was situated at nebi samwil. יְיָ לְנֶבִי of 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,3, though apparently situated at Kiriath-jearim, refers to the same place since the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim and Gibeon shared the one sanctuary which was situated between the two cities. A cardinal element in his thesis was the contention that the sanctuary of Nob (1 Sam. 21-22) was in reality identical with the Gibeonite high place and was an Ark-sanctuary.

As may be imagined, the radical solution of Poels did not win the agreement of scholarly opinion at that time - nor has it since.²⁷ The chief defects of his study were his cavalier treatment of the topography of Palestine - which he had never visited - and his failure to test his theory against a careful study of the history of the traditions in 1 Sam.

We find this "paradoxe topographique"²⁸ reappearing in a somewhat modified form in a work of BRUNO,²⁹ whose study was also vitiated by an arbitrary identification of Mizpah, the Gibeah of 1 Sam. 10,5.10, Gibeah of Saul and Nob with nebi samwil understood as the central sanctuary at the time of Saul. He adds the suggestion that the hostile action of Saul

27. See reviews in RB 4(1895)pp.97ff (J-P van Kasteren); RB 6 (1897)pp.630ff (M-J Lagrange); Theol.Tijdschrift 30(1896) pp.200ff (W.H.Kosters) and critical remarks by L.H. Vincent, RB 31(1922)p.374; A.Besters, art.cit.pp.21f.

28. Vincent, art.cit.p.374.

29. A.Bruno, Gibeon, Leipzig, 1923.

against the Gibeonites was the slaughter of the Nob priesthood, against which view we outlined some difficulties at the beginning of the chapter.³⁰ The same tendency towards topographical assimilation appears in the study of HERTZBERG³¹ who, while criticizing Bruno,³² reproduces a number of his conclusions. He equates Mizpah of Benjamin and Nob with Gibeon (nebi samwil) and reads Gen. 22 as the hieros logos of this central sanctuary at the time of the early monarchy, a view which he may have taken from Schlatter.³³ As we saw earlier, he uses 1 Sam. 17,54b to prove that Nob, identified with the Gibeonite sanctuary, was an early Tent-shrine. In this he agrees with Sellin.

One important aspect of the difficulty which these authors were trying in different ways to solve is why the Ark should have been left at Kiriath-jearim rather than at the central sanctuary of the Gibeonites less than five miles distant. The Dutch scholar KOSTERS³⁴ proposed a solution which presumed that Kiriath-jearim was chosen as a convenient place to leave the Ark for the brief period between David's victory and the

30. See above pp.216f.

31. H-W Hertzberg, 'Mizpa', ZAW n.F.6(1929)pp.161ff.

32. Die Samuelbücher, p.315n.2 where he described Bruno's work correctly as containing "viel Phantastisches".

33. op.cit.pp.246ff.

34. W.H.Kosters, 'De Verhalen over de ark in Samuel', Theol. Tijdschrift, 1893, pp.361ff.

capture of Jerusalem. He takes the whole of the account in 1 Sam. 6 to be fictitious. In reality, the Philistines kept the Ark at their own city of Gath where it remained until their ^e defeat recorded in 2 Sam. 5,22-25. This solution is unacceptable not only on account of the gratuitous assumption that 1 Sam. 6 is unhistorical but also because of the failure to realize that at Kiriath-jearim the Ark was not (at least according to the tradition) at the free disposal of the Israelites. It is also quite clear that the city of Obed-edom the Gittite is not the same as Philistine Gath. BRINKER³⁵ proposed instead that Kiriath-jearim and Gibeon shared the same sanctuary, namely, nebi samwil, which lay between them. He did not, however, take the further logical step of identifying nebi samwil as the sanctuary of all the Gibeonite cities. He took Nob to be the section of this religious centre reserved for the priests. We should mention finally VAN DEN BORN's interpretation of the Gibeah of Jg.19-20 as an indirect reference to Gibeon and the narrative as reflecting unfavourably on Saul's attempts to destroy the Gibeonites.³⁶

If we are not to end in a morass of hypotheses and indiscriminate textual emendation it is clear that we must reject this tendency

35. R.Brinker, The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel, Manchester,1946,p.160.

36. A. van den Born, 'Haggib'ah', OS 10(1954)pp.201ff.

towards wholesale topographical assimilation found in the studies of Schlatter, Poels, Bruno and Hertzberg. Besides, several of their conclusions have been eliminated by archaeological excavations carried out in the last half century. The principal source of uncertainty, to which we referred at the beginning of this study, is the confusion between Gibeon and Gibeah. As Kennedy pointed out many years ago: "this part of Palestine was full of Gebas, Gibeahs and Gibeons".³⁷ Before passing on to an analysis of the texts relevant to the movements of the Ark in this period, we should summarize the conclusions reached so far on the topographical question. These will have to be borne in mind in what follows.

- i) "Gibeon" must be read in 2 Sam. 5,25 and 21,6.
- ii) 1 Sam. 10,5.10 and 13,3 (LXX) may ^{refer} be to a topographical feature ("the hill", "the hill of God") rather than to a place-name, Gibeah, distinct from Gibeon.
- iii) 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,3.4, referring to the place where the Ark was left, may likewise be translated "on the hill".
- iv) Gibeah, Saul's city (1 Sam. 11,4 etc), is certainly distinct from Gibeon.
- v) Mizpah of Jg. 20-21 and 1 Sam. occurs in later narrative strata as a great religious centre well known in the post-exilic period. It is to be identified with nebi samwil.

37. A.R.S.Kennedy, 1 and 2 Samuel (The Century Bible), Edinburgh, 1905, p.217.

vi) Nob is probably to be situated about two miles from Gibeah (tell el-ful[^]), but the possibility that the events recorded in 1 Sam. 21-22 as taking place there actually took place at^{the} Gibeonite sanctuary cannot be excluded.

Analysis of Texts dealing with the movements of the Ark

In what follows we shall consider: first, the two long passages 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 and 2 Sam. 6 which provide almost exclusively our knowledge of the movements of the Ark during this obscure period; second, 1 Sam. 6,19-7,1, the crucially important conclusion of the first of these two passages; third, 1 Sam. 7,2-17, the later source dealing with the convocation of Mizpah and defeat of the Philistines by Samuel; fourth and finally, 2 Sam. 5,17-6,4, the description of what immediately preceded the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem. In the light of this analysis we shall then draw some conclusions about the role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in this account of the vicissitudes of the Ark.

1. THE RELATION BETWEEN 1 SAM. 4,1b-7,1 AND 2 SAM. 6.

Both of these passages deal for the most part with the fortunes of the Ark between the defeat of the Israelites at Aphek and its final establishment by David in Jerusalem. In particular, 1 Sam. 6,19-7,1 describes where it was left after being handed over by the Philistines and 2 Sam. 6,1-3 the taking of the Ark from the same place preparatory to the processional journey up to Jerusalem. Evidently there is some continuity, at least extrinsic, between the two passages; the second takes up where the first leaves off.

To begin with 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1. Whereas 1 Sam. 1-3 deals for the most part with Samuel, and the Ark is mentioned only incidentally (3,3), 4,1bff has the vicissitudes of the Ark as its central theme and Samuel is not mentioned again until 7,3. This already suggests the conclusion that the latter passage was originally a separate source attached redactionally to the former, and this view has been commonly held since the time of Wellhausen.³⁸ The difference in

38. Bleek-Wellhausen, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, Berlin, 1878⁴, pp.208ff; J.Wellhausen, Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments, Berlin, 1889, p.240; Threnius-Löhr, Die Bücher Samuelis, Leipzig, 1893³, ad loc; W.Nowack, Richter, Ruth und Bücher Samuelis, Göttingen, 1902, xvii.xx.xxxiff; K.Budde, Die Bücher Samuel, Tübingen, 1902, p.32; A.Schulz, Die Bücher Samuelis, Münster, 1919/20, p.326; E.Sellin, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, 1902³, p.74.

style can be felt throughout, but especially when one passes from 4,1a to v.1b.³⁹ Earlier commentators were inclined to assign sources in 1 Sam. to J and E as in the Pentateuch; in particular, passages dealing with the Ark were often allotted to E.⁴⁰ Confidence in this method declined sharply after the appearance of Rost's important work on the Davidic Succession History,⁴¹ and this rigid application of a documentary theory is no longer practised today. We may add that source-division within 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 on the basis of the Ark-title used, (ארון יהוה, ארון אלהים), is not a safe criterion either, in view of the long and complicated history of the traditions behind these narratives.⁴² For our purposes in this study, the question whether the passage is composite or not is important only insofar as a two-strata theory has occasionally been invoked to explain the different terminology found in 1 Sam. 7,1 (the end of the first passage) and 2 Sam. 6,1f (The beginning of the second) where there is certainly overlap.⁴³

Rost's main contention was the existence of a separate Ark-source distinct from and introductory to the Davidic

39. See above pp.184f.

40. e.g. Budde, op.cit.p.32; Nowack, op.cit.p.xvii; C.H.Cornill, Zur Quellenkritik der Bücher Samuel, Königsberg, 1887, pp. 25ff.

41. L.Rost, Die Überlieferung von der Thronfolge Davids, Stuttgart, 1926.

42. On the division according to Ark-titles see Budde, op.cit.p.226. ארון אלהים has generally been understood as the most ancient title of the Ark. See Maier, op.cit.45.

43. Budde, op.cit.pp.32f; E.Dhorme, Les Livres de Samuel, Paris, 1910, p.52; Sellin, op.cit.p.74.

history, one which he claimed was extant in the Old Testament in 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 and 2 Sam.6.⁴⁴ This source, isolated by means of literary and stylistic criticism, dealt with: the loss of the Ark, its sojourn among the Philistines, its return and establishment in Jerusalem. The origins of this Ark-source are to be sought in the worship of the Jerusalem Temple. Rost describes it as the hieros logos of the Jerusalem sanctuary. It formed part of the theological process necessary for justifying and authenticating the new dynasty. An early date of composition may be assumed by reason of its genuinely archaic character and the reference to Kiriath-jearim belonging to Judah. He further suggested that it may have formed part of a continuous narrative only a part of which has survived, but ^{did} does not discuss the important problems which this hypothesis would raise with regard to the possible omission of a part dealing with the period when the Ark was stationed in a Gibeonite city (corresponding to the period between 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,1).

Difficulties have been raised against this theory of a continuous Ark-source from different directions. For some, 1 Sam. 4,1bff was more legend than history and 2 Sam. 6 seemed to belong more obviously to the David narrative cycle.⁴⁵ Others

44. Rost, op.cit. pp.4ff. His exact demarkation of the Ark-history is: 1 Sam. 4,1b-18a.19-21; 5,1-11b.12; 6,1-3b.10-14.16.19-7,1 + 2 Sam. 6,1-15.17-20a.

45. Kesters, art.cit. pp.36lff; Th.C.Vriezen, 'De Compositie van de Samuel-boeken', OrientNeer 1948, pp.174.188; H-U Nübel, David's Aufstieg in der Frühe der israelitischen Geschichts-schreibung, Bonn, 1959, pp.76ff; Schunck, op.cit. pp.97f.

found his arguments from style and vocabulary less than convincing.⁴⁶

The most obvious difficulty, however, was the difference in terminology at the point where the two narrative-blocks appear to overlap: 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,1-3. The correspondents are quite different:

<u>1 Sam. 7,1</u>	<u>2 Sam. 6,1-3</u>
Kiriath-jearim	Baale-jehudah
the Ark of Yahweh	the Ark of God
Eleazar	Uzzah and Ahio

This last consideration led Wellhausen to deny any unity at all between the two narratives and a good number of scholars have, to a greater or lesser extent, followed his example.⁴⁷

While prescind from the wider question of the existence of anything that can properly be called an Ark-source, certain literary characteristics and aspects of the two narratives can be indicated which have been often neglected by Rost's critics. The first is their thematic structure. The stations of the Ark in Philistine territory end with the Ark in the house of Abinadab and 2 Sam. 6 begins at this point. Moreover, while five Philistine cities are mentioned in the first narrative (1 Sam. 6,17) only three are Ark-stages: Ashdod (5,1-7), Gath

46. See most recently Scunck, op.cit. p.97.

47. Bleek-Wellhausen, op.cit. pp.208f; Wellhausen, Die Composition p.254; M.Dibelius, Die Lade Jahves, Göttingen, 1906, pp.20f; W.Caspari, Die Samuelbücher, Leipzig, 1926, p.460; Nowack, op.cit. xxxiff (1 Sam.4-7 is E, 2 Sam. 6 is S, continued in 9-20); de Vaux, op.cit. p.167;

(5,8-9), Ekron (5,10.12). If we complete the history of the Ark's movements ^{with} from 2 Sam. 6 a certain symmetry emerges of a kind met with elsewhere in the Old Testament:

Shiloh ("the house of Yahweh", 3,7)

1. Ashdod ("the house of Dagon", 5,2)

2. Gath

3. Ekron

1. Beth-shemesh (= "the house of Shemesh")

2. Kiriath-jearim ("the house of Abinadab", 7,1)

3. Gittaim ("the house of Obed-edom", 2 Sam. 6,10)

Jerusalem ("the house", 2 Sam. 7,5 etc)

This may certainly suggest, though of course not prove, a consciously structured narrative planned throughout by one composer. In addition, we find certain situations and turns of phrase ^{running} parallel in the two narrative-sections which have not been given the attention they deserve in this discussion. In both narratives the Ark is placed in a new cart drawn, respectively, by two cows and the two sons of the priest (1 Sam. 6,7; 2 Sam. 6,3). The Perez-uzzah episode of 2 Sam. 6,6ff is paralleled by the cultic sin and chastisement of the Beth-shemeshites in 1 Sam. 6,19; in both cases the place-name is referred to with lusus verborum.⁴⁸ The question of David (2 Sam. 6,9) is markedly similar to that of the men of Beth-

48. N.H.Tur-Sinai, 'The Ark of God at Beth-Shemesh and Peres 'Uzza', VT 1(1951)pp.275ff.

shemesh (1 Sam. 6,20). Rejoicing accompanies the presence of the Ark in both cases (1 Sam. 6,13; 2 Sam. 6,12) and the proceedings are crowned with a sacrifice in both narratives (1 Sam. 6,4; 2 Sam. 6,13). The time of the Ark's "exile" is noted in 1 Sam. 6,1 (seven months with the Philistines) and 2 Sam. 6,11 (three months in the house of Obed-edom). Finally, the bringing up of the Ark to Jerusalem as the result of a victory (evident from the opening verse, 2 Sam. 6,1 following 5,25) is balanced by its loss as the result of a defeat.

We may readily agree that the narratives betray differences in style and genre but cannot accept that this is a difference between legend and history. Legendary elements may have crept equally into both sections. More important, we have reason to believe that the processional journey of the Ark to Jerusalem was represented in the worship of the Temple. Clear indications of this can be found in Ps. 132 and 24.⁴⁹ The possibility that 2 Sam. 6 has been transmitted as a cultic recital or, at least, has been influenced in its transmission by elements of Temple worship, is supported by indications in the narrative itself: the solemn proemium

49. S.Mowinckel, Psalmenstudien II, Kristiana, 1932, pp.81ff.109f; I.Engnell, 'Samuelsboekerna', in Svenskt Bibliskt Uppslagsverk II, col.869; A.Bentzen, 'The Cultic Use of the Story of the Ark', JBL 67(1948)pp.37ff; J.R.Porter, 'The Interpretation of 2 Sam 6 and Ps 132', JTS 5(1954)pp.161ff; H-J Kraus, Die Psalmen, Neukirchen, 1961², p.882; Gottesdienst in Israel, Munich, 1962², pp.215ff.

(v.2), the exalted title of the Ark (v.2b) cf. Ps. 24, 10, the question of David which is answered in the liturgy of Ps. 24 (vv. 4f), the liturgical joy, musical instruments and dancing (vv. 5.12) and the accompanying sacrifices (v. 13). It is probable that only the last stage of the Ark's journey would be of interest for the Jerusalem liturgy - from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem (cfr. Ps. 132, 6), - and this fact alone would go far to explain the differences noted as between the two passages.

The argument that 2 Sam. 6 would fit in better with a "David source" than an "Ark-source" (these terms are evidently too artificial) is double-edged since the existence of one David-source is just as hypothetical as that of one Ark-source. In addition, some of the arguments adduced to demonstrate stylistic continuity between 2 Sam. 5, 17-25 and 6, 1-19 - in the sense that they are considered to form one piece of writing - are far from convincing. The opening עָזָא (6, 1) does not correspond to the opening phrase in 5, 22 since the latter must be emended with LXX to עָזָא, and עָזָא is not in itself stylistically significant. Following on the introductory formula in 5, 22 it has been used by an editor to introduce 2 Sam. 6, 1ff linking it with the preceding narrative and making it clear that he thought of the Ark's return as a final episode in a series of victories. The Baal-perazim incident in 2 Sam. 5, 20 is not parallel to Perez-uzzah which, as we have just seen, comes much closer to the chastisement of the Beth-shemeshites in the first narrative. In any case, this

play on the word $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ is found elsewhere in the Old Testament.⁵⁰
Even less convincing is the simple recurrence of $\gamma\eta\varsigma$ in
5,24 and 6,13.⁵¹

The main difficulty felt by those who deny any continuity between the two narrative-blocks is the difference in terminology and nomenclature as between 1 Sam. 7,1 and 2 Sam. 6,1-3. An elucidation of this requires a careful examination of the two passages in question, and to this we shall turn in a later section. The main point at issue is, we repeat, whether the two passages belong together in any way and, if so, how. On the basis of the parallels adduced we would conclude that there is a connexion between them. They do not, however, by themselves, lead necessarily to the conclusion that these two passages have been taken from an Ark-narrative and edited into the continuous narrative of 1-2 Sam., but they would be consistent with such a hypothesis.⁵² If we adopt this hypothesis ~~xxxxxx~~ the question will necessarily arise whether such a source said anything about the period on which the Old Testament is silent - from the surrender of the Ark by the Philistines to the procession led by David, when it was

50. Gen.38,29 cf. Ex. 19,22.24 used in a cultic sense.

51. R.A.Carlson,David, The Chosen King, Stockholm,1964,pp.58ff, makes much of these stylistic points.

52. Accepted by Rost,op.cit.pp.11f; C.Steuernagel,Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament,Göttingen,1912,pp.332ff; H.Gressmann,op.cit.pp.11ff.233ff.

in the keeping of Gibeonites. But even if we do not accept it the problem of the gap in the tradition remains.

2. 1 SAM. 6,19-7,1. THE END OF THE FIRST PASSAGE.

We have seen that of the five cities of the Philistine pentapolis only three occur as stages in the Ark's return from Philistine territory. Of these three only the last, Ekron, concerns us here. The plan for sending the Ark away is presumably made here. It is possible that a new source, beginning at 1 Sam. 6,1, has been attached secondarily to the preceding narrative since there is no mention up to 5,12 of a plague of mice (see 6,4.18) and the five cities, corresponding to which are the five tumours and mice (6,4.17), have no part in the preceding narrative. In addition, beginning with 6,1 the decision concerns not just the Ekronites but the whole land of Philistia.

After seven months in Philistine territory (6,1) the decision is taken at the highest level to send the Ark back to its own place (5,11; 6,2). Beth-shemesh is evidently considered to be the nearest point on the Israelite border (1 Sam. 6,2.9) however we translate בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ.⁵³ This city occurs in the list of boundary-points of Judah together with Ekron and Kiriath-jearim (Jos. 15,10) and is found again with Ekron in the Dan city-list (Jos. 19,41).⁵⁴ Earlier in this

53. either "territory" or "boundary".

54. On the probable assumption that Beth-shemesh is identical with Ir-shemesh. Cf. the city-list in 1 Kings 4,9 (Beth-shemesh) and Jos. 19,41 (Ir-shemesh). See Alt, Kl.Schr. II p.282n.5; Abel, Geographie II p.282.343; Aharoni, The Land of the Bible pp.214.287.

study we took the view that the boundary-lists in Jos. were redacted during the period of the Early Monarchy but rely on pre-monarchic tradition.⁵⁵ Beth-shemesh, together with other Danite cities, formed the second administrative district of Solomon (1 Kings 4,9) and this is in conformity with the Danite list in Jos. 19 which should also be attributed to the period of the Early Monarchy rather than to the time of Josiah.⁵⁶ This is further confirmed by the appearance of Beth-shemesh among the levitical cities assigned to "the sons of the priest Aaron" (Jos.21,16 cf. 1 Chr. 6,44 MT), since we may also, with good probability, trace these lists back to the time of the Early Monarchy.⁵⁷

Jg. 1,34f gives us valuable because genuinely ancient information on the strong non-Israelite (i.e. Amorite) element in the territory of Dan at the time of the Early Monarchy. The final outcome of the failure of this tribe to absorb or eliminate this element caused it to migrate to the north, though of course Philistine pressure also played its part. Unfortunately we cannot be certain when this migration occurred

55. See above pp.27ff. Among recent contributions see Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, pp.123f (from the time of David); Aharoni, op.cit. pp.227ff (from Solomon); Y.Kaufmann, The Biblical Account of the Conquest of Palestine, Jerusalem, 1960 (2nd.ed.), pp.15ff; Kallai-Kleinmann, The Northern Boundaries of Judah (Hebrew), Jerusalem, 1960, pp.9f.

56. As defended by Alt, 'Judas Gaue unter Josia', Kl.Schr. II pp.276ff; Noth, Das Buch Josua p.93. On the Early Monarchy origins of the Danite list see Aharoni, op.cit. pp.265f; PEQ 90(1958) pp.27ff; Kallai-Kleinmann, 'Note on the Town-Lists of Judah, Simeon, Benjamin and Dan', VT 11(1961) pp.223f; H.Tadmer, IEJ 11(1961) pp.143ff; B.Mazar, IEJ 10(1960) pp.65ff.

57. See S.Klein, 'Cities of the Priests and Levites', JPLS 1935, pp. 81ff (Hebrew); Albright, 'The List of Levitical Cities', in Louis Ginzberg Volume, New York, 1945, pp.49ff; Aharoni, op.cit. pp.269ff; H.Cazelles, PEQ 1955, 171.

It would probably have taken place after the Samson episodes (though this is questioned by Alt⁵⁸) and before the battle of Ta'anak described in Jg. 4-5 (see 5,17). Gen. 49,16f and Dt. 33,22 are generally taken to imply that Dan had already moved. The account of the setting up of the apostate Danite cult (Jg. 18,30f) seems to imply that the migration took place before the sojourn of the Ark in a Gibeonite city, and for our purpose this is the most relevant point.⁵⁹ The existence of an Amorite element in Beth-shemesh at this time would be ~~with~~ beyond doubt if, with Abel, Alt and others, we identify the Har-heres of Jg. 1,35, in which "the Amorites persisted in dwelling", with Beth-shemesh.

The three Danite cities in Jg. 1,35 are Har-heres, Aijalon and Shaalbim. The last two occur in 1 Kings 4,9 together with Beth-shemesh and two others. This, admittedly, does not establish identity: "mountain of the sun" is not identical with "house (temple) of the sun", though there is in the ancient Near East a symbolic association between mountain and temple. The different forms could be due to an original non-Hebrew name which has been handed down under two different Hebrew forms. The identification has been accepted by Alt, Kl.Schr. II p.86, Aharoni, op.cit. pp.216.287, Abel, Géographie II pp.282.343. Mazar, IEJ 2(1960)p.67, rejects it but gives no reason.

58. Kl.Schr. I p.161.

59. See the different interpretation of Jg. 5,17 in Albright, BASOR 62(1936)pp.27.29.

We can conclude from these considerations that, although Beth-shemesh is considered as Israelite in 1 Sam. 6,2ff, a situation existed there parallel to that in Gibeon and Benjamin. In fact, in both cases "Amorite" is used of the non-Israelite element in the population (Jg. 1,35; 2 Sam. 21,2 cf. 1 Sam. 7,14)⁶⁰ and the two tribes are contiguous.

The ethnic situation in Beth-shemesh and the Gibeonite cities would provide a good explanation why the Philistines, then in complete military control, were willing to allow the potentially dangerous war palladium to remain there. This would be all the more evident if this Amorite element was dominant. Beth-shemesh may then be considered a definite Ark-stage, of unknown duration, parallel to that which followed in a Gibeonite city. Before going on to look more closely at the account of the transference of the Ark from Beth-shemesh to Kiriath-jearim, we should state briefly the parallels between the Amorites in Beth-shemesh (Dan) and those in the Gibeonite cities (Benjamin):

- i) Both tribes disappeared as the result of pressure from within and without, though the population remaining in the respective regions continued to think of themselves as Danites and Benjaminites respectively.⁶¹ Similarly, Ekron was absorbed into Israel politically but at the time of Elijah its non-Israelite ethnic

60. See Additional Note on Ekron and Beth-shemesh, pp. 264ff.

61. Samson's father is a Danite (Jg. 13,2) and Benjaminites are named long after this tribe lost its independence.

character was recognized (2 Kings 1,2).

ii) Religious ideas and practices, suspect from the Israelite point of view, were to be found among the mixed populations of both. Evidence for Dan comes from the account of the idol in the house of Micah which became the Danite cult-object (Jg.17-18). Indirect evidence may also be found in the Samson cycle of stories. In view of the place-names formed with ŠMŠ in Dan, the name of the fabulous hero of that tribe can hardly be dissociated from a sun-deity. For Benjamin, and the Gibeonites in particular, we have 2 Sam. 21,1-14, the $\square^{\prime}b\bar{b}\lambda$ of Jg. 3,19 and other indirect indications.⁶²

iii) The Danite sanctuary is served by a priesthood which is represented as descended from Levi through Gershom son of Moses (Jg. 18,30f).⁶³ We noted earlier that the names of persons in the service of the Ark during its stay at Kiriath-jearim have strong levitical associations. Eleazar is son of Aaron as Gershom is son of Moses Aaron's brother. Both Gibeon and Beth-shemesh are levitical cities (the latter is

62. For the religious implications of 2 Sam. 21,1-14 see below pp.287ff. J. Duš, 'Der Beitrag des benjaminitischen Heidentums zur Religion Israels', CommViat 6(1963)pp.61ff, makes some good points but mixed with much that is speculative.

63. On the Danite sanctuary see G.W.Ahlström, Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion, Lund, 1963, pp.25ff; A. Fernández, 'El Santuario de Dan', Bib 15(1934)pp.237ff; C. Hauret, 'Aux Origines du sacerdoce danite', Mélanges A. Robert, Paris, 1957, pp.105ff.

given to "the sons of Aaron the priest" (Jos.21,13).
 Pinhas son of Aaron is in the service of the Ark
 at Bethel (Jg. 20,28) and of the Tent (1 Chr. 9,20)
 which the Chronicler places at Gibeon (1 Chr. 16,39).
 Abindadab and Uzzah are also levitical names.
 We should note that the old cultic traditions in
 both Benjamin and Dan have been worked over by a
 Judahite hand.⁶⁴

iv) Jg. 18,30f states that the Danite sanctuary remained
 "as long as the house of God was at Shiloh" and that
 the Danite priesthood was in being "until the day of
 the captivity of the land". This phrase:

עַד יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ

is somewhat incongruous; we read of Israel (2 Kings
 17,23), Judah (id., 25,21; Jer.52,27), Jerusalem (Jer.
 3,1) and Gilgal (Am. 5,5) being exiled from the land
 but never, apart from this text, of the land itself
 being exiled. In view of v.31 referring to Shiloh
 and the reference to the Ark (paraphrased as גִּבְעֹן)
 being exiled in 1 Sam. 4,21f, we may suggest
 emending עַד יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ to עַד יוֹם גְּלוֹת הָאָרֶץ; the alteration is
 minimal. This seems to imply that the setting up
 of the Danite sanctuary constituted a kind of
 apostasy from the one legitimate Ark-centre of
 that time. It would also give added weight to the

64. See Jg. 17,7ff (especially v.13) and 1 Sam. 6,15. For the
 redactional history of Jg.17-18 see A. Murtonen, VT 1(1951)pp.
 223f (the most recent of the three stands has the purpose of
 legitimizing the sanctuary by introducing levites); E. Taubler,
Die Epoche der Richter, Tübingen, 1958, pp.45ff.

importance attributed to the Ark during the reigns of Saul and David.

- v) According to Jg. 18,2 the Danites camped at Kiriath-jearim, a site later known as "the camp of Dan", on their migration northwards. We may see here another indication of a very early association between elements of the population in Dan and Benjamin. Indirect support of this is found in a "genealogy" of the Chronicler according to which Zora and Eshta'ol, cities which play a special part in the migration (Jg. 18,2.11), are descended from Kiriath-jearim (1 Chr. 4,2; 2,53).

The relevance of these parallels will be seen more clearly after we have examined the narrative of the transference of the Ark from Beth-shemesh to Kiriath-jearim, and to this we now turn.

As all the commentators agree, 1 Sam. 6,18b-19 is very corrupt and any attempt to reconstruct the original text must be to some extent conjectural. v.18b (MT) reads:

... and to the great stone upon which they
laid the Ark of Yahweh is to this day in
the field of Joshua the Beth-shemeshite

or, if we read לִי instead of לִי :

the great stone ... is a witness to this
day in the field of Joshua the Beth -
shemeshite.⁶⁵

65. With the Sam.Targum accepted by de Vaux, op.cit.p.45.

In this latter case it is not clear from the text to what the stone is meant to witness since no pact or treaty has been recorded. The best solution seems to be to trace the corruption to an unsuccessful conflation of two accounts:

i) An aetiological narrative referring to a place-name

Abel-ha-gedolah. This may be read as follows:

(ו'בא) ו עד אכל הגדולה אשר הנחו
את ארון יהוה (שם)

A similar narrative is found in Gen. 50,10f:

They came to (ו'בא ו עד) the threshing-
there
floor of Atad ... they lamented with a
very great and sorrowful lamentation ...
when the inhabitants of the land, the
Canaanites, saw the mourning on the
threshing-floor of Atad they said, 'this
is a grievous mourning for the Egyptians'.
Therefore the place was called Abel-
Mizraim, it is beyond the Jordan.⁶⁶

This reading is confirmed by the use of ׀׀׀ as a
technical Ark-term (cf. Num. 10,36), and the ׀׀׀׀׀
of the Ark is not an object such as a stone but a
place, a sanctuary. This would suggest that ׀׀׀
has been added. In the locality known as Abel ha-
gedolah some catastrophe took place which was
interpreted as a visitation of the Ark-god but
which has not been recorded. The number 50,000
(casualties) which follows inexplicably on "seventy
men" in the present text would have belonged to
this narrative. The result is described in v.19b:

66¹ See Tur-Sinai, VT 1(1951)pp.275ff.

וַיִּתְּאֲבָלוּ הָעָם כִּי הָכָה יְהוָה בָּעָם מִכָּה גְדוֹלָה

- ii) The second is no longer recoverable on a reading of MT alone. We are left with:

And he slew some of the men of Beth-shemesh because they looked at (or, into) the Ark of Yahweh, and he slew of the people seventy men ... and the men of Beth-shemesh said ...

The difficulty of accepting this as the original read is felt by almost all the commentators, especially in view of the repeated 7' and the reason alleged for the slaying which would make good sense only if the Ark is taken in the Deuteronomic sense of a container (Dt. 10,1 etc).

But it clearly is not thought of as such in these narratives. Threnius-Lohr⁶⁷ interpret it as

culpable curiosity but there seems no justification for this in the text. LXX^B has:

καὶ οὐκ ἠσμενίσαν οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰεχονίου ἐν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν βαλθσαμὺς οὐκ εἶδαν κιβώτον κυρίου. καὶ ἐπατάξεν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐβδομηκοντὰ ἀνδρας ...

which presupposes:

וְלֹא חָדַן בְּנֵי יִכְנִיָּה בְּאִנְשֵׁי בֵּית שְׁחָשׁ כִּי רָאוּ
(ב) אֶרֶוֹן יְהוָה וַיַּךְ בָּהֶם שְׁבַעִים אִישׁ ...

This explains the punishment as due to hostility

towards, or at least lack of enthusiasm for, the Ark.⁶⁸

67. Die Bücher Samuelis, Leipzig, 1898³, p.34.

68. See Wellhausen, Der Text der Bücher Samuelis, Göttingen, 1893, p.66; Klostermann, *op.cit.* p.21; Nowack, *op.cit.* p.30; Dhorme, p.62; Smith, p.48.

For 1777 אב corresponding to οὐκ η̄με̄νισᾱν
one could also read 1777 אב . Others,
following Wellhausen, read 1777 אב. He
translates: "Sie kamen nicht gut davon",
op.cit.65. J.Bewer, JBL 57(1938)89ff, turns
it round the other way and reads: 1777 אב
1777 אב, i.e. "the
men of Beth-shemesh rejoiced but Yahweh did
not rejoice in them", which seems forced and
does not take account of LXX. Tur-Sinai,
art.cit.pp.275f, reads: "and no one went
unpunished in Yahweh's smiting" (1777 אב
1777 אב, i.e. "the
He traces the textual confusion to the
occurrence of the rare 1777 which he finds
also in 2 Sam. 6,6, in what was thought to
be a proper name, Nacon (cf. 1 Chr. 13,9,
"Kidon" meaning "ruin").

We are not told who "the sons of Jechoniah" are, but names similar in type to Jechoniah can be found in levitical lists and the suggestion has been made that he was a levite.⁶⁹ An even closer parallelism would thus be established between the situation in Beth-shemesh and in the Gibeonite cities. Uzzah ben-Abinadab also has a levitical name and the circumstances of his death provide an aetiological explanation of a place-name in 2 Sam. 6,6-8.⁷⁰ We see emerging more

69. Klostermann, op.cit.p.21. Chenaniah, in charge of the transport of the Ark according to 1 Chr. 15,27 and Chonaniah, another levitical name, are very close in form to Jechoniah.

70. For levitical names in uzz- see above p.123. We cannot, however, accept Tur-Sinai's conclusion, art.cit. p.282, that his death is a double of that recorded in 1 Sam. ~~16~~ 6, 19.

more clearly a situation parallel to that in Benjamin where a non-Israelite group created a state of tension by their religious attitudes and practices. We have good grounds, on this reading of the text, for supposing that a similar group existed in Bethshemesh. We may also regard the period of the Ark's stay at Beth-shemesh as a definite stage in the movement of the Ark which was to end in Jerusalem, though one of unknown duration.

The rhetorical question of the Beth-shemeshites in v.20a epitomizes the numinous awe in which the Ark was held (cf. 4,8; 6,6; 2 Sam. 6,9) and may reflect a liturgical form of words (cf. Ps.24,8.10). Here, as in 1 Sam. 4,7, the Ark is quite simply equated with "Yahweh, this holy God". As with the Philistines, it became imperative to send it out of their territory. It is not here a question of sending it from one Israelite city to another, as the Philistines had sent it from Ashdod to Gath and from Gath to Ekron. Although Beth-shemesh is listed as a Judahite city, the evidence suggests, as we have seen, that it was at this time an independent city-state. In view of the fact that Kiriath-jearim is the nearest city to Beth-shemesh in the Judah border-list (Jos. 15,9f) - the distance is about eight miles - the decision to send the Ark there is perfectly understandable. The connexion between the two cities would emerge even more strikingly on the assumption that the biblical Rabbah (r b t in the Thutmoses III list) is identical with Beth-

shemesh since Kiriath-jearim and Rabbah together form one unit in the Judah city-list (Jos. 15,60).⁷¹ This would be added confirmation of the close ties between the two cities.

The people of Kiriath-jearim took the Ark from the Beth-shemeshites, and of its new location we are told in this source (ending in 7,1) only two particulars which are repeated at the beginning of the second narrative (2 Sam. 6,1). They brought it:

i) to the house of Abinadab (which was⁷²)

ii) on the hill (הַלְלָה).

We are not told in this ~~earlier~~ source that the Ark was placed in Kiriath-jearim; this information occurs only in the narrative-source which begins in 7,2. As far as 1 Sam. 4,1b-7,1 is concerned, the location of the house of Abinadab and "the hill" is an open question.

In all probability "the house" refers not to a private dwelling but to a temple of some kind. The "house" of Micah (Jg. 17,5), in which the graven and molten image was kept, almost certainly is the same as his הֵיכָל מִיכָאֵל (cf. Beth-el) in v.6 which could not have been a private house.

71. See above p.39 and for the identification of Rabbah with Beth-shemesh, Aharoni, op.cit. pp.286f.

72. With LXX, Syr. and Targumim. Vulg. has "in domum Abinadab in Gabaa". See Budde, op.cit. p.47; Schulz, op.cit. p.110.

He too, like Abinadab, appointed his son as the resident priest. The term "the house of God", standard for the Jerusalem Temple, was already in use for the Shiloh sanctuary (Jg. 18,31; 1 Sam. 3,7). The first stage of the Ark's journey is the "house" of Dagon, which was certainly a temple, and the penultimate the "house" of Obed-edom. We may well have here one aspect of the religious history of the period naturally not over-emphasized by later editors, namely, the association of the Ark with syncretic and suspect forms of religious thinking and practice. Some find confirmation of this in the nature of the religious ceremony which accompanied the Ark's final removal to Jerusalem.⁷³ The ritual execution of the Saulites provides a further case of suspect religious practice associated with the Gibeonites, significant even though, almost certainly, the Ark was no longer in Gibeonite territory.

The location of the Ark $\overline{\text{ל}}\overline{\text{ב}}\overline{\text{ב}}\overline{\text{ב}}$ (1 Sam. 7,1) brings us once more up against the obscurity surrounding the use of this word in Jg. and 1-2 Sam. In this case it clearly is not

73. See A.Bentzen, JBL 67(1948)pp.37ff; J.R.Porter, JTS N.S.5(1954) pp.161ff.

a proper name. If we take "the hill" (LXX^B ἐν τῷ βουνῷ)
to refer to the sanctuary or high place of Kiriath-jearim⁷⁴
we may ask why the more usual term אֶרֶץ was not used as,
for example, in the reference to the high place of Ramah in
1 Sam. 9,12ff. The occurrence of אֶרֶץ-בֵּית-לֶחֶם in the
Benjaminite city-list may at first sight appear to provide
a good explanation of אֶרֶץ in 1 Sam. 7,1. In an earlier
section, however, we saw good reason to question this
interpretation of MT. Further discussion must be postponed
until we come to the final section of this chapter when a
solution will be proposed.

3. 1 SAM. 7,2-17. THE LATER SOURCE

Here we find recorded the passing of twenty years during the
absence of the Ark, after which Samuel convoked a plenary
gathering of the tribes, similar to that of Joshua at Shechem
in Jos.24. At this meeting they abjured the apostasy of the
years just passed and promised fidelity for the future.

This meeting in its turn provoked a Philistine attack which
was defeated by means of a miraculous intervention of Yahweh,
as a result of which the Philistines were subdued and did not
enter the territory of Israel for the rest of Samuel's
ministry (vv16f).

As we saw earlier, the number of years - a later addition

74. With Budde p.46; Klostermann p.22; Schulz p.111; de Vaux p.
45; Porter, art.cit.p.169, translates "in the hill",
representing Yahweh imprisoned like Baal or Marduk in the
mountain.

to v.2, awkwardly and parenthetically interposed between the subordinate and main clauses - follows the pattern of the Deuteronomic editor of Judges. This would lead us to believe^e that the homily and the battle took place after the twenty years since in Judges the duration of the period of affliction is usually given, followed by the Israelite revanche.⁷⁵ The homily is clearly Deuteronomic in style and theme;⁷⁶ indeed, the whole episode is in line with the pragmatic theological thinking of the Deuteronomists. The situation of the meeting, at Mizpah, recalls the most recent narrative - strand in Jg. 20-21 and looks forward to 1 Sam. 10,17-27 and 12; all of these passages bear clear marks of Deuteronomic editing.⁷⁷ This is confirmed by the occurrence of בְּמִצְפָּה in vv. 6.7.8 since this designation is also found in the Mizpah-strand of Jg. 20-21.

As has long been recognized, the presentation of Samuel as judge and the course of the Philistine war as presented in this passage do not agree with older traditional material in 1 Sam. It cannot therefore be used with any confidence in reconstructing the actual course of events during the interim-period.⁷⁸ Nor

75. Jg.3,8 (8 years); 6,1 (7 years); 10,8 (18 years); 13,1 (40 years). This last gives the duration of Philistine oppression, but Samson's judgeship lasted 20 years (Jg.15,20;16,31) and Eli's 40 (20 in 1 Sam. 4,18 LXX).

76. Cf. especially Jg.6,6-10; 10,10-16. In view of the attribution of the Deuteronomic homily to levites, who have charge of the Deuteronomic Ark, the placing of this homily at this point of the Ark's history is particularly appropriate.

77. Caspari, op.cit. p.81, speaks of a Mizpah-narrator in 1 Sam.7,2ff.

78. See Wellhausen, Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, 1927⁶, pp. 258f; Nowack, op.cit. pp.31f; Kennedy, op.cit. p.68; Little, op.cit. p.915; C.A.Simpson, JSS 4(1959)p.108; Weiser, ZTK 56(1959)p.270.

can we accept as a historical statement the twenty - year duration of the Ark's sojourn at Kiriath-jearim.⁷⁹ Above all, the Philistines certainly were not subdued during the rest of Samuel's lifetime (v.13,cf. 9,16; 10,5; 13-14). Saul not Samuel was responsible for the temporary discomforting of the enemy. All of this may be part of the anti-Saulite polemic to which we referred earlier. Without going so far as to characterize the passage as legendary, as Wellhausen does,⁸⁰ its unreliable character as a historical source must influence our judgement on what we find in it and this, per se, would be true of the statement near the beginning that the Ark was at Kiriath-jearim during this long period of the Philistine war.

Can we discern beneath the level of the Deuteronomic redaction any indications of sources nearer to the actual course of events? Dhorme sees such indications in the water-libation (v.6), the milk-lamb (v.9) and the thunder of Yahweh (v.10), and his instinct seems sound.⁸¹ Other authors have readily granted the possibility that the later editors, though writing theologically and even tendentiously, may have used earlier sources.⁸² The kernel of the passage is the description

79. See above pp.181ff.

80. Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments, Berlin, 1899³, p.242.

81. E.Dhorme, op.cit. p.69.

82. Wellhausen, Der Text der Bücher Samuelis, p.67; Little, op.cit. p. 913; Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, p.60n2, posits a pre-Deuteronomic Mizpah tradition which was particularly interested in Samuel.

of the Philistine attack and the miraculous intervention of Yahweh (vv.7-13a). This has, to a great extent, survived subsequent editing, as is seen in the introductory

וישמעו פלשתים כי... ויעלו (v.7)

with which compare Jg. 20,3:

וישמעו פלשתים כי עלו בני-ישראל

and 2 Sam. 5,17 which is even closer:

וישמעו פלשתים כי... ויעלו

This last is only one of several similarities between 1 Sam. 7,7-13a and 2 Sam. 5,17-25., which comes immediately before the resumption of the history of the Ark. In both cases we find the miraculous and theophanous assistance of Yahweh, a conclusion with a popular etymology of aetiological in character and, as it seems, an almost identical topographical situation.⁸³ In v.13 and 2 Sam. 5,22 (cf.6,1) we find the same construction:

(1 Sam. 7,13) ויכנעו הפלשתים ולא יספו עוד
(2 Sam. 5,22) ויכנעו עוד פלשתים לבוא...
(2 Sam. 6,1) ויסיף עוד דוד לעלות

The opening and closing phrases of the passage suggest that it stands here as a summary of the time when "Israel lamented after the LORD" (see vv.2.15-17).⁸⁴ With the

83. See above pp.173ff.

84. The verb used, **לָלַח**, means "to lament for the dead", cf. Ezek. 32,18; Mic. 2,4, both of which speak of a ritual lamentation. This is best interpreted as a lament for the absent Ark (cf. 1 Sam. 4,21f). This, of course, implies that the Ark was not neglected during this time but was inaccessible to Israel.

exception of the battle just alluded to, the information is vague and the tone moralizing. The reference to the foreign gods (v.3) could well apply to the suspect religious practices of the Gibeonites among whom the Ark had remained during the preceding period, just as "the foreign gods" of Gen. 35,2 and Jos. 24,23 would refer to the deities worshipped at Shechem. As is clear from Dt. 7,1-6 and Jg. 2,1-5,⁸⁵ the Deuteronomists were decisively opposed to such alliances as the one described in Jos.9. The parallelism between the convocation of Joshua at Shechem (Jos. 24) and that of Samuel at Mizpah is particularly relevant in view of the fact that, for the Deuteronomists who have edited both passages, the Ark was certainly at Shechem (see Jos. 8,33). This would be an added indication of the close link between the Deuteronomists and the Mizpah-source in 1 Sam. and would at the same time support the view that the late editors of 1 Sam. probably thought of the Ark as present at the Mizpah convocation and that therefore it took place after the period of "twenty years" (v.2).

One last point ought to be made.⁸⁶ In v.14b we are told that there was also peace at the end of the twenty years between Israel and the Amorites. In view of the fact that this

85. If the "angel of Yahweh" in Jg. 2,1 is an indirect reference to the Ark we may have here another Deuteronomist-edited account of a transfer of the Ark from one place to another. With the weeping at Bethel (Jg.2,1 "Bochim", Gen.35,8,"the oak of weeping") compare the lamenting at Mizpah.

86. See p.69.

term is used only once in 1-2 Sam. apart from this text, in 2 Sam. 21,2 where it applies to the Gibeonites, we may reasonably suggest that we have here an implicit reference to the struggle between Saul and the Gibeonites which we know took place during this interim period.

4. 2 SAM. 5,17-6,4. THE EVENTS LEADING TO THE TRANSFERENCE OF THE ARK TO JERUSALEM.

The commentators have difficulty in understanding how the two military episodes described in 5,17-25 fit into the overall history of David's reign. Wellhausen pointed out long ago that these verses would fit in more naturally after 5,3, the anointing of David as king, since it was this which precipitated Philistine counter-action.⁸⁷ In addition, the capture of Jerusalem would more naturally be thought to follow rather than precede such victories. Literary and stylistic analysis suggests that the two military episodes form part of a loosely connected cycle of Philistine war stories; in particular, the similarity between these two and 2 Sam. 21,15-17; 23,8-17 is very noticeable.⁸⁸ They may therefore have been selected from such a cycle and inserted into the Davidic history at this point. The transition from 5,16 to 5,17 resembles that from 1 Sam. 4,1a to 1b and from Jg. 13,25 to 14,1.⁸⁹ Their purpose,

87. J. Wellhausen, Die Composition (see n.80), p.256; cf. Threnius-Löhr, op.cit.p.137; C.H. Cornill, op.cit.p.55.

88. For stylistic and rhythmic analysis of these Philistine war episodes see J. Blenkinsopp, JBL 82(1963)pp.65ff; CBQ 26(1964)427ff.
 89. K. Budde, op.cit.p.224; Hertzberg, op.cit.p.224.

as is clear from the top^ographical allusion in 5,25 ("from Gibeon to Gezer"), is to prepare for the return of the Ark and its transfer to Jerusalem. We see no good reason for considering the two battle-narratives as parallel accounts of the same event.⁹⁰

2 Sam. 5,17-25 belongs to a Davidic history beginning in 1 Sam. 16. The account of his military ascendancy takes up most of the space and is carried over from 2 Sam. 5,25 to 8,1ff, suggesting strongly that 6-7 found their place in the history at a definite and important stage of redaction. We should note further that only in 5,17-25 do we find the miraculous and theophanous element, and this occurs at the point immediately preceding the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem. It occurs neither in 8,1-14 nor in the episodic series in 21,15-21; 23,8-12. It is parallel in this respect ^{to} with 1 Sam. 7,2ff, as we saw in an earlier section. In view of the theophanies and miracles associated with the Ark elsewhere,⁹¹ this would suggest that in the mind of the writer or editor there was an association between the way in which the victory is won and the presence of the Ark, especially since in this case the victory made the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem possible.

90. E.Dhorme, op.cit. pp.313.316.

91. Jos. 10,10-15; Jg. 20,14-48; 1 Sam. 4,5.

The most obvious link between 5,25 and 6,1ff is topographical. In the account of the two campaigns four topographical references occur: the stronghold (ן 7150) to which David went down (v.17), the valley of Rephaim (vv. 18.22), Baal-perazim where the first incident took place (v.20) and the line of the Philistine retreat "from Gibeon (LXX) to Gezer" (v.25). The identification of the first is not relevant to our study,⁹² and that of Baal-perazim is unknown. According to Jos. 15,8 the valley of Rephaim is on the Judahite boundary (as are Ekron, Beth-shemesh and Kiriath-jearim) and in Jos. 18,16 on that of Benjamin. In 2 Sam. 23,13 (= 1 Chr. 11,15) another Philistine encounter takes place there but the description of the action gives us no help in identifying it. Vincent placed it north of Jerusalem but more widely accepted is a situation to the south-west, in the b a q a ' .⁹³ The occurrence of Perazim and "the valley of Gibeon" together in Is. 28,21 strongly suggests that "the valley of Gibeon" is

92. If Jerusalem had already been taken it could be the citadel of that city, see Budde, op.cit. p.224. More widely accepted is the Cave of Adullam, 1 Sam. 22,1; 2 Sam. 23,13. More recently Masada has been suggested.

93. L.H. Vincent, Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament, Paris, 1954-6, p.118. In favour of the second alternative are G.A. Smith, The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, London, 1931²⁵, p.218; Alt, Kl. Schr. I p. 200; II p.248; de Vaux, op.cit. p.166; Aharoni, op.cit. p.260. The only difficulty with this view (and it is not insuperable) is the distance between the baqa' and Gibeon from which ~~later~~ the pursuit begins.

identical with the valley of Rephaim since the Isaian text almost certainly refers to the same event. We may therefore identify it with the depression south-west of Jerusalem continuing along wadi surar near which the three cities in which the Ark stayed are situated.⁹⁴ This would be the most natural access- and escape-route for the Philistines (cf. 1 Sam. 7,11; 14,23.31).

The military activity of the Philistines in this area must have been occasioned by David's growing military and political ascendancy. Unfortunately we have no information on what part the strong Canaanite - Hurrian element in this area played in the struggle for military and political control. It could have been of decisive influence in shaping the policies of both Israelites and Philistines.

We have seen how, in view of the parallel 1 Chr. 14,16, LXX^{BA} and the reference to the same event in Is. 28,21, יַדְּלָן of v.25 (MT) must be emended to יַדְּלָן.⁹⁵ This implies that the Philistines were driven out of the territory of Benjamin and Dan as far as Gezer, thus leaving the region of the

94. See Aharoni, 'The Northern Border of Judah', PEQ 90(1958)pp. 27ff. The frontier here follows the natural contours of the valley along which the railway now runs.

95. See p.4. Accepted by Wellhausen, Der Text der Bücher Samuelis, p.166; Threnius-Löhr, op.cit.p.138; Caspari, op.cit.p.459; Budde, p.226; Schulz, p.64; Hertzberg, p.227; de Vaux, p.167 et al. S.R.Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Books of Samuel, p.265, retains MT on the grounds that the valley of Rephaim is too far from Gibeon. See also H.P.Smith, op.cit.p.291.

the Gibeonite cities free of their presence and allowing David to have access to the Ark. This is the real connexion between 5,25 and 6,1ff.

The account of the transference of the Ark to Jerusalem appears to be introduced twice, in v.1 and v.2. V.1 presupposes a military campaign: the numbers involved (30,000), the term לָחָם , the introductory formula וַיֵּלֶךְ designed to fit what follows into a series of military campaigns continued from the previous chapter, comparable to the series in 2 Sam. 21,15ff.⁹⁶ The difficulty is, of course, that what follows is not a military campaign at all; it comes much closer to being a liturgy, some indications of which we saw earlier.⁹⁷ Since we cannot accept the conjecture of Budde and S.R.Driver that this introductory verse belongs elsewhere,⁹⁸ nor that of Kusters that the original account of the campaign leading to the rescue of the Ark is to be found in 2 Sam. 21,20f,⁹⁹ we can only

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96. Introductory וַיֵּלֶךְ appears in vv.15.18.19.20. For the most part, these events take place in the same locality. vv.18.19 (MT) read "Gob" (cf. 1 Chr. 20,4 "Gezer", LXX "Gath") which is unidentified/unless an abbreviation of Gibbeton (de Vaux) or a corruption of Gebah, Gibeah or Gibeon. The region is the border-country between Israelites and Philistines.
97. See above pp.228f., and Rost, op.cit. pp.226f 36f.
98. Budde, op.cit. pp.226f, holds that 5,12 is the introduction to 6,2ff; 6,1 has been put in by a later hand. Driver, op.cit. p.265, puts 6,1 before 5,6ff.
99. W.H.Kusters, art.cit. pp.361ff.

conclude that v.1 was introduced at a later stage in order to link the account of the transfer of the Ark to that of the two campaigns. This was done by a redactor who saw the rescue of the Ark as brought about by a genuine military campaign which he placed here in series with the others.

Quite apart from the question whether 2 Sam. 6 is part of an Ark-history, it has its place here to show how David, as soon as the situation permitted, brought the tribal palladium to his new capital to give religious authentication to his claim to rule over all Israel. This also implies that it was meant to prove that the Ark which was brought to Jerusalem was the same one which had escaped the destruction of Shiloh about half a century earlier.¹⁰⁰

We now turn to the interpretation of the crucial v.2 which we take to be the original introduction to the narrative.

We find here three principal difficulties:

- i) the meaning of מִבְּעַלְיָהוּדָה
- ii) to what אֲשֶׁר refers
- iii) the double אֲשֶׁר in the title of the Ark.

100. "Es scheint Absicht des Erzählers und Späterer zu versichern die von David angeeignete Lade sei die richtige", Caspari, op. cit. p. 462.

1) We can either follow LXX^B and Vulg. which read:¹⁰¹

And David rose and went with all the people
who were with him of the rulers of Judah ...

which requires no textual emendation, or take ^{יְהוּדָה} as
a corrupt reference to the alternative form of the place-name
Kiriath-jearim (cf. Jos. 15,9; 10,60; 18,14), as does the
parallel 1 Chr. 13,6. In either case some awkwardness results
showing that the text has undergone alteration. All other
things being equal, a reading which is better supported by the
versions, requires less emendation and produces acceptable sense
ought to be followed. We take the view that this is true of the
former of the two alternatives. The phrase "the people who were
with him of the ~~pamp~~ lords of Judah" is certainly awkward, and
the awkwardness may well be due to unsuccessful editing; but
the term ^{יְהוּדָה} is of a type which is found elsewhere
in the Old Testament.¹⁰² None of the commentators who retain
the place-name here has successfully accounted for the
preposition in ^{יְהוּדָה}. Hertzberg¹⁰³ explains it by recourse

101. LXX^B has: καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων

Ιουδα ; Aqu. and Symm: εχόντων i.e. burghers,
rate-payers. Luc. is the same as LXX^B, and then goes on:

ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει (πῶς) τοῦ βουνοῦ.

102. "the lords of Shechem" (Jg. 9,2.3.7.18.20.23 etc), "the lords
of Jabesh Gilead" (2 Sam. 21,12), "the lords of the heights
of Arnon" (Num. 21,28).

103. op.cit.p.225.

to haplography and reads:

And David rose and went to Baalath-jehudah;
and David went and all the people who were
with him of the lords of Judah ...

- but it seems forced to suppose that both יהודה בלעזר and

יהודה בלעזר were in the original text side by side.

In any case, the conjectured place-name Baale-jehudah is not easy to accept in itself, as we shall go on to see.

ii) בבל is really the basic difficulty since it seems to demand an antecedent place-name. If, however, v.1 was added by a later editor as a link-verse, בבל could refer back to 5,25, the region cleared of the Philistines, and especially Gibeon which is explicitly mentioned. If 2 Sam. 6,2ff is considered as part of a continuous Ark-narrative which has been edited into 1-2 Sam. (we have seen this is possible but by no means certain) it could even refer back to the point where the first narrative broke off, namely, 1 Sam. 7,1 which speaks of "the house of Abinadab on the hill" where the Ark was left.

iii) If, with some LXX MSS we read $\epsilon\nu\tau\omega\beta\omicron\upsilon\rho\omega$, the place where the Ark-title was in use or the name invoked would be determined *just mentioned*, by the reference of the *previous* יהושפט . On the interpretation suggested above, this would be the Ark-sanctuary among the Gibeonites, that is, the house of Abinadab upon the hill. The writer seems to have regarded ארון אללה as the

original Ark-title. If we take the invocation of the name over an object as establishing a claim to ownership,¹⁰⁴ we could read this as the expression of a proprietary claim of Yahweh to the Ark and the cult which goes with it. But of course this claim was made before the Ark was taken to Jerusalem.

The bringing out of the Ark from "the house of Abinadab (which was) on the hill" raises once again the question of the identity of the הֵיכָל mentioned here. Since there is no reason to suppose that it is a place-name, it results that no source outside of the late and untrustworthy 1 Sam. 7,2ff, the post-exilic 1 Chr. 13,6 and the indirect reference in Ps. 132,6 locates "the hill" at Kiriath-jearim. 1 Chr. 13,5f. reads:

So David assembled all Israel from the Shihor of Egypt to the entrance of Hamath, to bring the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim.

And David and all Israel went up to Baalah (that is to Kiriath-jearim which belongs to Judah) to bring up from there the ark of God which is called by the name of Yahweh who sits enthroned above the cherubim.

This repetition of the proemium to the procession is itself of interest. Since Kiriath-jearim is not mentioned at all in 2 Sam. 6,1ff he is evidently relying, in the first introduction, on the tradition represented by 1 Sam. 7,1f. "Baalah, that is, Kiriath-jearim which belongs to Judah", in the second start to

104. K.Galling, 'Die Ausrufung des Namens als Rechtsakt in Israel', TLZ 81(1956) cols.69ff.

the narrative, is an interesting conflation of the references to the city in the boundary-lists of Judah and Benjamin. The former reads: "Baalah, that is, Kiriath-jearim" (Jos. 15,9b) and the latter: "Kiriath-baal, that is, Kiriath-jearim, a city belonging to the tribe of Judah".(Jos. 18,14). It seems reasonably clear, therefore, that the Chronicler had no independent authority of his own for asserting that the Ark was taken from Kiriath-jearim.

Since we do not know the date of Ps. 132 it is difficult to determine what the writer understood by "the fields of Ja'ar" (v.6). The parallelism with "Ephrathah" would suggest Bethlehem (cf. the name Ja'ar, a Bethlehemite, father of Elhanan in 2 Sam. 21,19). We cannot even be certain that the psalm commemorates the first taking up of the Ark to Jerusalem since it contains no other reference, either direct or indirect, to the event recorded in 2 Sam. 6.

In view of the fact that the Gibeonite cities form an ethnic and sociological unit, very probably with their own sanctuary, it must seem strange that the Ark should have been located at a place of lesser importance ^{than this sanctuary}. The suspicion that, despite the late Kiriath-jearim tradition, the Ark may have been left at the Gibeonite central sanctuary is confirmed in several converging if indirect ways. Gibeon is listed as a levitical city and Kiriath-jearim is not, and levit~~ies~~es are not only habitually associated with the Ark in the Deuteronomic history but levitical names occur in connexion with the Ark-narratives

in Sam.¹⁰⁵ We discussed earlier the indications of some association between Gibeon and the theophanous language used in narrating some Holy War episodes, especially 1 Sam. 7,10, immediately after the transfer of the Ark from Beth-shemesh, and 2 Sam. 5,20ff, immediately before its transfer to Jerusalem.¹⁰⁶ Perhaps most important, however, is the fact alluded to that the tradition is silent on both Gibeon and the Ark at the same time. In view of the evidence adduced earlier for polemical attitudes which have gone into the editing of the traditions dealing with Gibeon, this silence about the Ark would be fully intelligible on the supposition that Gibeon was the Ark-sanctuary during the greater part of the reign of Saul. This is especially striking in view of the close connexions existing in the pre-monarchic period and during the early monarchy between Gibeon and Jerusalem,¹⁰⁷ supported by the cultic parallelism between the two religious centres in the work of the Chronicler. This would be at once intelligible if, in view of its prestige and the attraction it must have exercised on the Israelites after the Settlement, the Gibeonite high place (nebi samwil) had been chosen as the Ark-sanctuary after the Beth-shemesh episode,

105. See pp.71ff. Chiefly Abinadab, Eleazar, Uzzah, Jechoniah.

106. See pp.172ff.

107. See pp.54.68.106ff.

and could thus be regarded as a serious rival to the newly-founded cult-centre of Jerusalem.

This hypothesis is confirmed by our examination of the relevant passages in 1-2 Sam. and, in particular, the account of the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem. The Philistines were driven back and defeated "from Gibeon to Gezer" (2 Sam. 5,25) and, immediately afterwards, the Ark is taken out of the "house" of Abinadab which was הַיְצִלָּה. While, on the principles we laid down in the first chapter, we are not justified in emending הַיְצִלָּה to הַיְצִלָּה, the הַיְצִלָּה referred to here and in 1 Sam. 7,1 may be an indirect reference to the Gibeonite high place which would eminently merit that name. Worthy of note is the fact that this phrase is hapax legomenon in the Old Testament. Leaving aside the phrase recurrent in a homiletic context in the Deuteronomist corpus, "on every green hill (הַיְצִלָּה)", this word occurs only four times in early historical narratives in the Old Testament: Ex. 17,9 (cf. Is. 30,17); Jos. 5,3; Jg. 7,1; 2 Sam. 2,24f.

Ex.17,9, which occurs in the account of Moses' victory over the Amalekites, has some interesting points of resemblance to Gibeon, with special reference to the battle described in Jos. 10,10-14 (see Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, London, 1962, pp.141f): the magical or quasi-magical action, the insertion of a poetic fragment, the role of Joshua and Hur (cf. 2 Chr. 1,5), the completion of the victory before the setting of the sun

(17,12 , שׁוּשַׁן אֲבִי-גִי cf. Jos.10,13b אֲבִי שׁוּשַׁן הַגִּיּוֹן
 אֲבִי שׁוּשַׁן הַגִּיּוֹן) which is only achieved
 in both cases by miraculous means. If the
 obscure v.16 contains a reference to the throne
 of Yahweh (and therefore the Ark) the similarity
 will be even closer. Jos.5,3 describes the site
 of the strange circumcision ceremony as אֶלְיָצָבָה
 אֶלְיָצָבָה; we referred earlier (pp.123f) to
 a possible connexion between this incident and
 the Gibeonite treaty. We do not know where "the
 hill of Moreh" mentioned in Jg. 7,1 was located.
 Finally, "the hill of Ammah" in 2 Sam. 2,24 is
 described in MT as being "on the way to the
 wilderness of Gibeon".

The fact that this phrase occurs so rarely may imply that in
 1 Sam. 7,2 and 2 Sam. 6,3 a special and well-known "hill" is
 alluded to. This would be supported by the reference to
 "the mountain (of Yahweh)", 2 Sam. 21,6.9. The phrase "the
 mountain of Yahweh" (אֶלְיָצָבָה) is also rare occurring only
 here and in Num.10,33, dealing with the Ark, and Gen. 22,14,
 which some scholars have understood to have referred originally
 to the execution of the Saulites.¹⁰⁸ With the passing of
 time, and aided by the polemical ~~attitudes~~ editing of the
 historical traditions dealing with this period of the religious
 history of Israel, the role of Gibeon would have fallen into
 the background. By the time of the composition or redaction of
 1 Sam. 7,2-17 nebi samwil was known as Mizpah, celebrated in

108. See p.219.

the post-exilic period as having been "a place of prayer ... for Israel" (1 Macc. 3,46). By this time the memory of Samuel rather than Saul had become attached to this important religious centre, as the Arabic name also witnesses.

If the central sanctuary of the Gibeonite cities harboured the Ark for most of the time from the destruction of Shiloh to the capture of Jerusalem by David how did the Kiriath-jearim tradition, attested in 1 Sam. 7,2, arise?

The close proximity of Beth-shemesh and Kiriath-jearim on the Judah boundary, the evidence we have studied for close relations between these two cities and the fact that Kiriath-jearim was the nodal point on the intersection of the frontiers of Judah, Benjamin and Dan strongly support the historicity of 1 Sam. 6,21-7,1 describing the handing over of the Ark to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim by the Beth-shemeshites. This could easily have led to the belief that the Ark was actually kept at Kiriath-jearim rather than placed in their central sanctuary near Gibeon. In view of the fact that the Ark and its traditions had an important place in the Jerusalem cultus, the historical role of Kiriath-jearim would naturally be emphasized rather than that of Gibeon, ^{for} ~~in view of the~~ ^{was suspect} ~~suspect~~ reputation of the latter, ~~and, the fact that it~~ ^{in addition, it} constituted the greatest rival to Jerusalem in the period which followed the building of the Temple. The reference to the finding of the Ark in "the fields of Ja'ar" (Ps. 132,6) may indicate that the people of Kiriath-jearim also played a

part in consigning the Ark to David as they had in taking it from the men of Beth-shemesh. We may significantly note that Kiriath-jearim is the only Gibeonite city which is attributed to Judah in the city-lists (Jos.15,60) and formed part of the Jerusalem province in the administrative division of the kingdom made by Solomon (1 Kings 4,7-19). The association between this city and Bethlehem in the "genealogical" tradition of the Chronicler (1 Chr. 2,50b), supported by "Ephrathah" in parallelism with "the fields of Ja'ar" in Ps.132,6, suggests that Kiriath-jearim had stronger ethnic links with Judah than any of the other Gibeonite cities. This in itself would provide sufficient explanation of how this later tradition could have arisen, making the task of reconstructing the course of events during Saul's reign even more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON EKRON AND BETH-SHEMESH

Ekron, identified with khirbet el-mukanna¹, was, as recent excavation has shown, the largest and most important of the Philistine cities and one founded by them.¹ It comprised a site of some forty acres and would no doubt have had its dependencies in the surrounding region. Mentioned in Assyrian annals of the late eighth and early seventh centuries as an independent kingdom,² it must have been such even much earlier. In 2 Kings 1,2 Ahaziah is sent to consult the god Ba'al-zebub (Ba'al-z^ebul) of Ekron, and Elijah expostulates: "Is it because there is no god in Israel that you are going to enquire of Ba'al-zebub the god of Ekron?".

According to the city-lists it belonged to Judah (Jos. 15,45), though it is also in the Danite list (19,43). This led Alt to see it as later comprising one of the provinces of the Kingdom of Judah.³ More recent studies, however, prefer to

1. Ekron is also mentioned in Jos. 15,45 and Jg. 1,18. For the identification of the site see Robinson, op.cit. I pp.227f; G.A.Smith, op.cit.p.193 (summarizing earlier attempts); J.Naveh, 'Khirbet al-Muqanna' - Ekron', IEJ 8(1958)pp.87ff; 165ff; BIES 21(1957)pp.178ff; RB 65(1958)pp.410f; B.Mazar, 'The Cities of the Territory of Dan', IEJ 10(1960)pp.65ff; Aharoni, op.cit.pp.250ff. The name has been preserved in the nearby village - name 'Aqir, see de Vaux, op.cit.p.42; Noth, The History of Israel, p.239.

2. ANET pp.287.291ff; Noth, op.cit.p.267. The Assyrian name is a m k a r r u n a.

3. 'Judas Gaue unter Josia', Kl.Schr. II p.287.

date these lists from the reign of Solomon or even earlier.⁴ Ekron has in common with Kiriath-jearim an appearance in two city-lists and a place on the northern border of Judah (Jos. 15,9.11). We saw that the mention in this list of the three stages of the Ark's progress (in inverse order) may well be significant.

It is particularly unfortunate that archaeological research has not given us any help towards knowing when and under what circumstances Ekron became an Israelite (Judahite) city. According to Jg. 1,18 Judah failed to take it. In the Mizpah-narrative (1 Sam. 7,2-17) we are told that it was re-taken as a result of Samuel's victory (v.14) but this is hardly possible and good reason exists for doubting the historicity of the information which this narrative-source contains. David must have established control over the Philistine area, though what we have seen suggests that the Philistine cities retained a certain autonomy for long after David's reign. Even as late as Jeremiah Ekron had a king of its own (Jer. 25,20).

Beth-shemesh, identified with tell er-rumeileh (near Ain Shems), was excavated first by Duncan Mackenzie in 1909

4. See above pp.31ff. and Mazar, IEJ 10(1960)p.69.

and then by Elihu Grant from 1928 onwards.⁵ These excavations revealed that Beth-shemesh was a large city first settled in Early Bronze III or IV, about the turn of the second millenium, and was continually inhabited until its destruction by the *Babylonians shortly after* ~~Assyrians~~ ca. 600 B.C. A certain Yetep-ilu of Beth-shemesh is mentioned in the Execration Texts from the late nineteenth or early eighteenth century.⁶ That it was occupied ^{for a time} by the Philistines from ca. 1150 B.C. is rendered probable by the evidence of a severe burning about that time and the presence of the characteristic Philistine pottery.

Lying as it did on the direct route to the Central Highlands, it must have been in Philistine control for the first part of Saul's reign. A second destruction, which has been dated ca. 1000 B.C. or shortly after, could be explained by its re-occupation by the Philistines after the battle of Gilboa or, ^o _h possibly, by Israelite occupation during the early part of David's reign. Several archaeologists, including G.E.Wright and Aharoni,⁷ believe that the Judaeon city (stratum IIa) was added at the beginning of David's reign; others would date it a little

5. E.Grant and G.E.Wright, Ain Shems Excavations, Haverford, 1931-9; F.Moore Cross and G.E.Wright, 'The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah', JBL 75(1956)pp.215f; W.F.Albright, AASOR 21/22(1943)pp.5f; G.E.Wright, BA 18(1955)p.57.

6. ANET pp.328f.

7. Wright, in Ain Shems Excavations, V p.15; F.M.Cross and G.E.Wright, art.cit.pp.215ff; Aharoni, 'The Province List of Judah', VT 9(1959)pp.244ff.

later.⁸ This implies that it was non-Israelite, an independent city-state until it fell under Philistine control, during the reign of Saul. The information contained in Jg. 1,34f, coming from an early and trustworthy source, makes us wonder whether the city was ever effectively incorporated by the Danites. It must, at any rate, have ceased to be Danite in any real sense after the migration and have therefore been independent at the time of the events referred to in 1 Sam.⁹ This is the most important point for us in this study.

It became Judahite at the time of David at the earliest, is listed among the levitical cities in Jos. 21,16 (and these, as we have seen, were probably instituted by David) and is fully incorporated by the time of Amaziah (2 Kings 14,11-13), a fortiori by the time of Ahaz (2 Chr. 28,18).

Since at the time of Saul it was ~~an independent city-state~~, *independent of Israel and under Philistine control*, inhabited mostly by Amorites, it could well have been selected by the Philistines as a suitably neutral host for ~~the~~ Israelite war-palladium and therefore can be seen as a definite ~~(Ark)~~ stage in the progress of the Ark as described in 1-2 Sam. This is the view defended at length in the preceding chapter.

8. Mazar, art. cit. p. 70n.13. See J.A. Emerton, in *Archaeology and Old Testament Study*,

9. This is the opinion of Alt, Kl. Schr. II p. 86n.1. pp. 202f.

CHAPTER NINE

GIBEON UNDER DAVID AND SOLOMON

In the present chapter we shall continue the survey down to the reign of Solomon. Biblical tradition records two fateful meetings at or near Gibeon: that of Abner and Joab in 2 Sam. 2,12-17 (referred to again in 3,30 as "the battle of Gibeon") and the other in 20,8-10a which resulted in the assassination of Amasa "at the great stone which is at Gibeon". The last reference to Gibeon before the Exile is the account of the inaugural dream-vision of Solomon at the Gibeonite high place (1 Kings 3,4f; 2 Chr. 1,3ff). But the narrative which is the most significant and informative for the history of Gibeon at this time is undoubtedly that in 2 Sam. 21,1-14, the ritual execution of the descendants of Saul. For reasons which will become apparent later, we begin with this.

In view of the fact that 2 Sam. 21-24 interrupt the continuous narrative of the succession struggle which, according to scholarly consensus, begins in 2 Sam. 9 and ends in 1 Kings 2,46, these four chapters have generally been understood as a series of appendices to 1-2 Sam.¹ This will evidently have to

1. J. Wellhausen, Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments, pp. 260ff; Noth, Überlieferungs-
-geschichtliche Studien, p. 62; Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, pp. 323f.

be taken into account in attempting to determine the date at which the events recorded took place. These appendices fall into a certain dual formation: 21,1-14 and 24 (three years' famine, three days' pestilence), 21,15-22 and 23,8-39 (both dealing with military feats of David's warriors), 22 and 23,1-7 (verse compositions attributed to or dealing with David).

This issues in a certain chiastic order:

1 - 6

2 - 5

3 - 4

strengthening the hypothesis that these literary units were assembled at the end of 1-2 Sam. at a definite redactional stage. The close parallelism between 21,1-14 and 24 does not, however, justify us in attributing these passages to the Elohist and Jahwist writers respectively.²

Despite the fact that the liquidation of the seven Saulites has been written up as part of an apologia for David and his policies - seen especially in his respect for the oath made to Jonathan (21,7) - it is omitted from the Chronicler's history and was almost certainly absent from the Deuteronomist History, whether or not the Deuteronomists knew of it.³ We have reason to believe that this account originally found a

2. See Additional Note below pp. 296ff.

3. See Noth, op.cit. p.62; Eissfeldt, op.cit. p.324; Budde, Die Bücher Samuel pp.304.313ff.

place in the Davidic history before 2 Sam. 9. David's treatment of the seven Saulites provides the necessary basis for understanding his attitude to Mephiba'al, especially in view of the question which he asks (9,1). The operative word here is נִשְׁלַח , "is left".⁴ The deaths of Saul, Jonathan and Ishba'al are not sufficient to make this question fully intelligible since it would have presumably been well known that there were still seven left.⁵ We may add that וַיִּשְׁלַח at the end of the narrative (21,14) is surprising since in Sam. this temporal phrase is generally the incipit for narrative incidents put in a series; if 2 Sam. 21,1-14 originally stood before 9,1 וַיִּשְׁלַח would be the natural link-formula introducing this latter.⁶ In this case, 21,1-14 would fall into place as one in a series of incidents describing how David progressively eliminated opposition from the descendants of Saul, all to a greater or lesser extent potential dangers to his rather shaky claim to the throne.

We would then have the following order: 1 Sam.31-2 Sam.1, death of Saul and three of his sons; 2 Sam. 3,26-39, death of

4. See Budde, op.cit. pp.244ff.

5. M.H.Segal, 'Studies in the Books of Samuel', JQR 9(1918/9) pp.54f, takes a different view.

6. Other examples of the link-formula: 2 Sam. 2,1; 8,1; 9,1; 10,1; 13,1; 15,1; 21,18. See J.Schildenberger, 'Zur Einleitung in die Samuelbücher', Studia Anselmiana 27/28(1951) pp.14ff; J.Blenkinsopp, VTS 15(1965) pp.46f.

Abner; 4,5-12, death of Ishba'al; 21,1-14, death of the seven descendants of Saul; 9,1-13, measures taken to neutralize the influence of Mephiba'al son of Jonathan. These could be understood as a chain of Novellen, a genre very common throughout 1-2 Sam.⁷

Various reasons may be suggested why this particular incident should have been misplaced in the eventual order of Sam. The suggestion of Eissfeldt⁸ that it may have been placed after the Absalom history to show how David was punished for his adultery is not satisfactory since the punishment for this sin was the death of the child and the subsequent misfortunes suffered during the rebellion (see especially 2 Sam. 12,10-14). A more probable explanation would be the religious ambiguity of such an act - ritual human sacrifice - carried out "before Yahweh" (21,9) at Gibeon, the great rival of Jerusalem in the eyes of the later historians of the cult.

From the point of view of its historical character, Eissfeldt characterizes this narrative as "sagenhaft".⁹ The incident is, however, so deeply rooted in the history of David

7. This genre has been studied by Gressmann and Sellin among others. A similar view is taken by R. Pfeiffer, Introduction to the Old Testament, New York, 1948, p. 353 who reads 21,1-14 as a series of political acts of David carried out in the name of piety.

8. op.cit. p. 334.

9. op.cit. 338.

that "saga" does not seem to be an adequate designation, except possibly ~~the~~ for the last part of the narrative which describes the lonely vigil of Rizpah. Nearer the mark would be the designation of Novelle though this should not be taken to prejudice the historical character of the narrative. The fact that, as we shall see later, it has several elements reminiscent ~~ix~~ of the Canaanite fertility-myth concerning Ba'al and Mot might tempt one to read it as a fictitious dramatization of this myth.¹⁰ Against this we should note the reference to events in Saul's reign for which we have independent if indirect evidence, the consonance with what we know from other sources of David's policy towards the native populations, the naming of specific individuals¹¹ and the burial-place of Saul's family (21,14) which fits in very well with the evidence for Saul's origins which we discussed in an earlier chapter. Nothing therefore prevents us from concluding that we have here a nucleus of genuine historical tradition and testing this against what other evidence is available.

If, as we have just seen, the execution of the seven Saulites originally stood before 21,9 it will have taken place

10. This appears to be the view of J.Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, Leiden, 1965², p.126n.1.

11. See above p.93 for the possible Hurrian derivation of Aiah and Rizpah.

towards the beginning of the reign. We should first outline the course of events. David is made king by the southern tribes settled around Hebron and its sanctuary at Mamre (2 Sam. 2,4). Later he becomes king and nagid over all Israel (5,1-3) and between these two events a period of seven and a half years elapses (5,5). During this period the main issue was clearly David's claim to succeed Saul. Ishba'al, the legitimate successor, has meanwhile been made king of all Israel (i.e. the territories ruled over by Saul with the exception of Judah, 2,9). This took place at Mahanaim across the Jordan, as far away as possible from the centre of Philistine power.

At this point there took place the encounter between Abner's and Joab's forces at Gibeon, which resulted in the outbreak of war which must have continued for most of the Hebron period (2,12-3,1). That Abner and Ishba'al were prepared from the outset to do battle with Joab is suggested by the verb לָחָם (2,12). Eissfeldt points out¹² that in the context their action should be interpreted as an attempt to assert Ishba'al's claim to kingship over the whole kingdom including Judah. What appears to be the most probable explanation of the "playing" (MT לָחָם) of the young men is that both sides agreed to

12. 'Ein gescheiterter Versuch der Wiedervereinigung Israels', Nouvelle Clio 3(1951)pp.110ff and Kl.Schr. III, Tübingen, 1966, p.134ff. It was certainly more than a raid, which is how Hertzberg, Die Samuelbücher, p.205, understands it.

parley (they sat down on either side of the pool) and that as a result of their negotiations they decided to settle the issue by a trial of arms between twelve warriors chosen from each side.¹³ The issue being undecided - all twenty four were killed - no alternative seemed to remain but all-out war.

This incident provides valuable evidence of the importance of Gibeon at this time since here, and possibly also in 2 Sam. 20,8ff, it is chosen as a place suitable for a political summit meeting.¹⁴ The statement that Abner and the servants of Ishba'al went out from Mahanaim to Gibeon seems to preclude the possibility that this was a chance encounter. The reason for the choice of Gibeon may have been the prestige of the sanctuary and the important political role of the city during the reign of Saul. After its incorporation into Benjamin as a result of the treaty Gibeon must have quickly become one of the most important political centres in Benjamin and indeed in Israel, and so it is described in the tradition (Jos. 10,2; 1 Kings 3,4). According to one tradition, the families of both Abner and Saul are connected with Gibeon.¹⁵ If the hypothesis discussed above, that Saul attempted to make, or did in fact make Gibeon his capital for a time, can be sustained, the reason for the choice of Gibeon as a meeting place will be at once clear. It would be very appropriate that

14. We discounted the possibility earlier, p.49, that the meeting between Johanan and Ishmael (Jer.41,12) "at the great waters which are in Gibeon" was planned.

15. See above pp.83ff.

the dynastic issue should be settled at such a place. Hebron, where David had been made king of Judah and where he was later to be made the official successor of Saul by "all the tribes of Israel" (5,1), was too far to the south. Because of its central situation and elevated position, its strong fortifications and abundant water supply, perhaps most important because of the prestige of its sanctuary, Gibeon must have appeared an ideal site for a capital. As events had already proved, however, there was no great affection for David in Benjamin, and it is worthy of note that all twelve contestants from Abner's armies were Benjaminites (2,15) and that a little later Abner conferred separately with the Benjaminites about the possibility of their accepting the inevitable and handing over power to David (3,19).

A question of some importance for the interpretation of this meeting is where exactly it took place. It was suggested earlier that Gibeon, which had fallen under Saul's control after his earlier successes, must have come once again within the Philistine sphere of influence after the decisive battle of Gilboa. This cannot be invalidated by the lack of archaeological evidence at el ġib for a destruction about this time. The order of events in 2 Sam. implies that the city had not yet been recaptured by David (this does not happen until 5,25). No doubt the political situation was rather fluid at this time; the Philistines would ~~no-doubt~~ have welcomed the struggle between David and the Saulites and been content for the moment to let events take their own course.

We are explicitly told that they only moved when they heard that David had been made king over Israel (5,17).¹⁶ We cannot necessarily conclude from this that Gibeon was physically occupied by the Philistines at this time, particularly on account of the distinct possibility that they were considered to be, and were in fact, neutral in the Philistine-Israelite struggle. The account of the meeting unfortunately throws no light on this question. It is reported to have taken place "at the pool (חַבְרַת) of Gibeon" (2,13). If we follow Pritchard and identify this with the great cylindrical cistern cleared in the course of excavations in 1956-7 we would have to conclude that the meeting took place in the city.¹⁷ The difficulty here is that the place of combat was later known as חֶלְקָה הַצִּיר which strongly suggests a site outside the city limits. This would certainly be understandable if the Philistines had established a garrison there after the defeat and death of Saul.¹⁸

According to the order of events in 2 Sam., the capture of Jerusalem preceded the liberation of Benjaminite, and therefore also Gibeonite, territory. The two accounts of the setting up

16. For Israelite-Philistine relations at this time see Noth, The History of Israel, pp.182ff; Eissfeldt, The Hebrew Kingdom, CAH vol.II ch.xxxiv, Cambridge, 1965 (fascicle ed.), pp.42ff.

17. See above pp.18f.

18. On the possibility that the Philistine חֶלְקָה (garrison or garrison commander) was at Gibeon not Gibeah see p.84n.75.

of the first Israelite sanctuary in Jerusalem (6,17; 24,18-25) and the renewed relevance of the Saulite claim with the final ^e defeat of the Philistines (5,17-25; 8,1a) would suggest that it was at this time, towards the beginning of David's rule over all Israel, that we have to situate the parallel narratives in 2 Sam. 21,1-14 and 24.¹⁹ A protracted famine right at the beginning of a reign the legitimacy of which was widely questioned could easily have been interpreted as a sign of the divine displeasure. We know how solicitous David was to secure the necessary religious authenticity for his claim to succeed Saul, especially by bringing the Ark to his new capital. We may therefore see a close connexion between the recent liberation of Gibeon (5,25), the establishment of a new religious centre in Jerusalem (6-7) and David's treatment of the remaining Saulites.

We pass now to examine more closely the contribution which 21,1-14 makes to our knowledge of Gibeonite history at this time. This will be studied with reference to i) an event in the reign of Saul ii) David and his policy towards the Gibeonites iii) the status of the Gibeonites at this time.

19. 21,1-14 probably comes before 9,1ff and 24 after it. See Eissfeldt, Die Composition der Samuelbücher, Leipzig, 1931, p.53; H. Gressmann, Die älteste Geschichtsschreibung und Prophetie Israels, Göttingen, 1921², pp.141ff.

i) The oracle requested by David revealed that the famine was due to a hostile action of Saul against the Gibeonites. This consisted in an unsuccessful attempt to exterminate them in defiance of the treaty. The motive alleged was "zeal for the people of Israel and Judah" (v.2) and Saul's refusal to accept their legal incorporation into Israel (v.5). We have no direct information on such an action and, in the absence of information, various hypotheses have been advanced, some of which we have already considered. Van den Born²⁰ argued that the military action of the tribes against Gibeah of Benjamin (Jg. 19-20) is a thinly veiled satire of Saul's action against Gibeon. This is possible but no more. Bruno, Hertzberg and others have argued that the incident referred to is the massacre of the priests of Nob (1 Sam. 22,11ff).²¹ Against this it can be urged that the complaint of the Gibeonites in 21,5 cannot easily be explained with reference to this action and that the blessing requested by David (21,3) refers to the undoing of the curse brought on by Saul's treaty-violation. If, as we argued earlier,²² Saul set up an Ark-sanctuary at Nob near Gibeah after the defeat of the Philistines recorded in 1 Sam.14, priests or other cultic persons from Gibeon could have served at Nob; but the genealogy of Ahijah (= Ahimelech) in 1 Sam. 14,3 and 21,2 makes it clear that the Nob priesthood descended

20. A. van den Born, OS 10(1954)pp.213ff.

21. See above p.210.

22. See above pp.205ff.

from the priesthood of Shiloh.²³ Kennedy suggested that Saul's "zeal" may refer to his attempt to recover the Ark held by the Philistines;²⁴ while Saul almost certainly did this, his zeal is "for the people of Israel (and Judah)" and this, taken with the Gibeonite allegation (v.5), suggests much more strongly an attempt to eliminate non-Israelite enclaves even at the cost of breaking treaty-obligations.

We are on much safer ground in reading the account of the flight of the Beerothites to Gittaim (2 Sam. 4,3) as the outcome of Saul's action since they too were Gibeonites.²⁵ It is clear that all of the Gibeonites, not just the inhabitants of the city of Gibeon, were involved in the expiation since the covenant broken by Saul had been made with all of them (Jos. 9,17). This indicates that Saul followed a policy towards the native populations which was the opposite of that of David who sought a compromise and a modus vivendi. The situation would have been aggravated for Saul by the circumstance alluded to earlier, that the Gibeonite cities cut across the centre of his small kingdom.

- ii) A good part of the historical traditions in 2 Sam. has been written up as an apologia for David and his claim to the throne. We have seen that 21,1-14, together with 9,1ff, fits

23. See de Vaux, Les Livres de Samuel pp.72.110.

24. A.R.S.Kennedy, 1 and 2 Samuel, Edinburgh, 1905, p.325.

25. See above pp.24ff.

into a series of narratives in which this purpose is manifest.²⁶ What is emphasized in the former is that David kept his treaty-obligation towards Jonathan (v.7) and undid the evil caused by the treaty-violation of Saul. Some have seen the execution of the Saulites as an unscrupulous political move on David's part, only thinly disguised, which was made all the worse in that "he used their sacrality to destroy them".²⁷ This is an unjustifiably extreme view. David was a political realist and did in fact profit by the timely assassinations of Abner and Ishba'al. He also stood ~~by~~ to gain by the liquidation of the remaining members of Saul's family, with the exception of Meriba'al. At the same time, he was deeply religious and genuinely concerned to build his claim on religious foundations. The three-year famine towards the beginning of the reign would have made this of pressing importance and would in itself have provided, in the context of religious thinking at that time, sufficient justification for accepting the solution proposed by the Gibeonites.

Though it appears from the order of events in 2 Sam.

26. According to Rost, op.cit. pp. 82ff, 2 Sam. 9 is the beginning of the Thronfolgegeschichte, but in fact the history up to and including this chapter deals rather with David's own claim than with the succession question. See my observations in VTS 6(1966) pp. 46ff.

27. A. Kapelrud in ZAW n.F. 26(1955) p. 204. See also in the same sense S. Mowinckel, Det Gamle Testament II, 1935, pp. 261ff; R.H. Pfeiffer, op.cit. p. 353.

that Gibeon was occupied by David only after the capture of Jerusalem and the subsequent attempt of the Philistines to suppress the movement of independence (5,25 LXX), its importance was not lost sight of as can be seen from the ~~important but~~ abortive meeting held there between the rival claimants (2 Sam. 2,12ff). If, as we have argued, 21,1-14 comes before 9,1ff, the execution of the Saulites would have taken place not long after the defeat of the Philistines "from Gibeon to Gezer" (5,25). We do not know whether the Ark had by this time been taken to Jerusalem or still remained "in the house of Abinadab on the hill". On the hypothesis, defended in the last chapter, that Gibeon had been the Ark-sanctuary for some time, a fortiori if it had also been his capital,²⁸ the importance which it continued to enjoy would be easy to explain. We do not know whether David's choice of Jerusalem rather than Gibeon as capital was due to the historical accident that Jerusalem was occupied by him before Gibeon;²⁹ it is certainly true that Gibeon and Jerusalem continued into the next reign as rivals - this can be seen even in the post-exilic statements about Gibeon in the Chronicler's work.

The sympathetic hearing which David gave the Gibeonites illustrates one aspect of his policy in which he succeeded

28. Suggested by Schunck, op.cit. pp.132f and hinted at by Hylander, Der literarische Samuel-Saul Komplex, Uppsala, 1932, p.262n.4.

29. Schunck, op.cit. p.133n.124.

brilliantly where Saul had failed. By the end of his reign the non-Israelite elements in his kingdom had been assimilated without the use of force. In Jg. 1,21.27-33 we find a list of cities and territories which remained at least partially independent after the Settlement, and these were probably first assimilated under David.³⁰ They include the Jebusites of the Hill Country, Beth-shemesh and other places such as Aijalon in close proximity to Gibeon. That other areas of Hurrian concentration were included within David's frontiers can be deduced from 2 Sam. 24,5-8, the description of the frontiers of his kingdom (v.7, "all the cities of the Hivites and Canaanites"). We may suppose that once David had defeated the Philistines and broken their hold on Palestine, these centres would have lost their independent or quasi-independent status and have been absorbed into his kingdom, for the most part without force being used.³¹

David's treatment of the non-Israelite (Jebusite) population of Jerusalem is a good example of his masterly policy towards ethnic groups such as the Gibeonites. According to 2 Sam. 24,18ff,

30. See Noth, *op.cit.* p.192; Eissfeldt, The Hebrew Kingdom, p.48; Bright, A History of Israel, p.180.

31. Eissfeldt, *op.cit.* p.48; Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p.120; Alt, 'Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palästina', Kl.Schr. II pp.50-2.

the first cult-centre set up in Jerusalem by David was on the threshing-floor of the Jebusite Arauna whose name, as we have seen, is almost certainly Hurrian.³² This indicates that David was willing to adopt non-Israelite holy places, institutions and the like to his own use. The suspicion that Zadok and other cultic officials of David belonged to the pre-Israelite sanctuary in Jerusalem may be justified,³³ and some elements in the Temple worship of the pre-exilic period could well reflect pre-Israelite religious practice.³⁴ This is of interest here chiefly with regard to the close affinities between Gibeon and Jerusalem, Gibeonites and Jebusites, some of which we have commented on in earlier chapters. It is noteworthy that the tradition preserved in the Chronicler (~~if so it is~~) associates Zadok not with Jebusite Jerusalem but with Gibeon.³⁵

The evidence available suggests that David was willing to adopt a good deal from the native religion and culture of Canaan, apart from the fact that the type of monarchy which he represented owed a considerable amount to the Canaanite idea

32. As surmised long ago by scholars like Landersdorfer, Brögelmann and Sayce. See the latter's note in JTS 22(1921)pp.267f. More recently W. Feiler, ZA 45(1939)pp.222f; H.B. Rosen, VT 5(1955)pp.319f.

33. On the origins of Zadok, a subject of growing interest in the last two decades, we refer to H.H. Rowley, JBL 58(1939)pp.113ff; Festschrift Bertholet, Tübingen, 1950, pp.461ff.

34. For a moderate assessment see de Vaux, Ancient Israel, pp.309ff. Ahlstrom, *op.cit.* pp.34ff, goes much further.

35. 1 Chr. 16,39f.

of kingship.³⁶ With regard specifically to the Gibeonites, we see that he respected the terms under which they, as a distinct ethnic group, had been incorporated into Israel. This would have facilitated the eventual insertion of the Gibeonite cities into the eleventh administrative district of Solomon (1 Kings 4,18), at which point they cease to have importance as a distinct group. He continued to show regard for the Gibeonite sanctuary: we have seen that the oracle referred to in 2 Sam. 21,1 was probably sought at Gibeon and it was there that the expiation was carried out. It is owing to David's tolerant policy that this sanctuary was still held in the highest honour at the beginning of Solomon's reign (1 Kings 3,4). Gibeonites served in David's armies. 1 Chr. 12,4 refers to Ishmaiah the Gibeonite also described as $\gamma\lambda\gamma$ (cf. Jos. 10,2), Naharai of Beeroth occurs in 2 Sam. 24,37, and possibly others described in these lists as "Hittites" were of Hurrian race. Gibeon is the first of the four Benjaminite levitical cities (Jos. 21,17). If, as Albright and other scholars maintain,³⁷ the institution of these cities goes back to David, they may be interpreted as another step towards the assimilation

36. For Canaanite influence on Hebrew monarchy in general see J.Gray, op.cit. pp.218ff, and for David in particular Kapelrud, art.cit., pp.200f; B.Maisler, BJPES 13(1948)pp.105ff; S.Yeivin, VT 3(1953)pp.149ff.

37. Albright, 'The List of Levitical Cities', Louis Ginzberg Vol., pp.49ff; Aharoni, The Land of the Bible, pp.269ff.

of the regions of densest Canaanite (or Hurrian) population.

It is noticeable that these cities are in fact situated in the most canaanized parts of the kingdom.³⁸

iii) We turn now to the question of the political status of the Gibeonites at the time of David. The gloss in 2 Sam. 21,2b states that they were not "of the people of Israel", $\text{לֹא מִן הָעָם יִשְׂרָאֵל}$. This, together with their answer to David's query, shows that they regarded themselves as politically integrated into Israel but ethnically distinct. They ceased to exist as an identifiable and distinct ethnic minority only in the reign of Solomon. The exact nature of their political incorporation into Israel following on the treaty (Jos. 10,1, בְּקֶרְבָּם) is not entirely clear. The Gibeonites certainly represented the action of Saul as an attempt to annul this incorporation (21,5) and the use of the verb

$\text{לָקַח$ suggests a juridically guaranteed status. That this political incorporation was at the time of David real but incomplete is suggested by the form of retribution which they exacted. They first refused monetary compensation and the exaction of blood-vengeance according to the age-old lex talionis.³⁹ Although the expiatory act is to be carried

38. Cazelles, PEQ, 1955, pp.171f.

39. See Ex. 21,24; Dt. 19,21b; Num. 35,33; Gen. 9,5f. On the Gibeonites' demand in the context of the blood-vengeance practised in Israel see E.Merz, Die Blutrache bei den Israeliten, 1916, p.24; J.Pedersen, Israel I-II, ~~Cambridge~~ Oxford, 1940, pp.384f; J. van der Ploeg, CBQ 13(1951)p.301, but against these authors we note that the Gibeonites explicitly reject the exaction of blood-vengeance in the Israelite manner.

cultically, "before Yahweh", the god of the tribal federation (v.6), they clearly envisaged it as a different kind of expiation from that commonly practised in Israel. Whether the form it took was dictated by the retribution clause found in Hittite treaties of a century or two earlier or by religious thinking which they brought with them into Israel we shall only be able to determine after a more careful study of the narrative. For the moment, the distinction which they made between acceptable and unacceptable forms of retribution has to be borne in mind in assessing their political and religious consciousness at that time.

Two conclusions may be drawn from the above. The first is that the Gibeonites still evinced a strong sense of corporate identity, especially in their answer to David (vv.5f). This can hardly have been so strong as it was after the Settlement and during the previous reign, though it may have been strengthened by the hostility of Saul. Haran has pointed out how complete assimilation came only during the reign of Solomon with his comprehensive administrative reforms and use of non-Israelite populations as labour gangs for his many building projects.⁴⁰ To these we must of course add the downgrading of the Gibeonite sanctuary after the building of

40. M.Haran, 'The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon's Servants', VT 11(1961)p.161.

the Temple. The second is that their political incorporation, while real and meaningful, did not give them equal rights with other Israelites. In Dt. "hewers of wood and drawers of water" are classed as gerim.⁴¹ This was already apparent in the account of the treaty and is confirmed by the extraordinary form which the expiation took.

The Religious Significance of the Execution

The absence of this episode in the Davidic history from both the Chronicler's historical work and the Deuteronomist History suggests disapproval of the action carried out by the Gibeonites with the acquiescence of David. The note or gloss in 2 Sam. 21,2b, emphasizing that the Gibeonites were not Israelites, seems by implication to carry the same note of disapproval. The few recorded cases of human sacrifice perpetrated by Israelites invariably carry this note of disapproval or condemnation, and it has been suggested, as we saw earlier, that the account of the near-sacrifice of Isaac (Gen.22) contains a veiled reference to a religiously authenticated human sacrifice of the kind carried out by the Gibeonites.⁴²

41. Dt. 19,10. See above p. 130f.

42. See above p.189f. R.Brinker,The Influence of Sanctuaries in Early Israel,p.158, reads the textually uncertain Gen.22,2 as the result of an attempt to play down the importance of Gibeon in favour of Jerusalem.We may add to the parallels given on p.190 the prohibitory role of the angel in Gen.22,11f reminding us of 1 Chr.21,15f and 21,30 where David is prevented from worshipping at Gibeon by the angel of Yahweh.

At the same time, the action was certainly thought to have succeeded in its purpose since "God heeded supplication for the land" (v.14) - by sending rain.⁴³

The execution is clearly a religious and cultic act. It takes place "before Yahweh" (vv.6.9) and therefore in a Yahwist sanctuary. According to MT this is located "at Gibeah of Saul the chosen of Yahweh" (v.6) and "on the mountain" (v.9). We saw earlier⁴⁴ how LXX has preserved correctly the reference to the sanctuary of Gibeon. It would therefore be natural to conclude that the narrative derives from a Gibeonite tradition preserved at the central sanctuary of the Gibeonites,⁴⁵ and that here as elsewhere we have to do with non-Israelite religious attitudes and practices thinly veneered with Yahwism.

If the action of the Gibeonites could be interpreted simply as the exaction of blood-vengeance according to Israelite custom, we should have to conclude that it was considered reprehensible either for having been carried out at a suspect sanctuary such as Gibeon was or on account of the manner of execution. There are, however, some circumstances^h accompanying the ritual execution which suggest that the Gibeonites exacted

43. 2 Kings 3,27 provides a comparison: the king of Moab sacrifices his son on the wall of besieged Kir-hareseth with the result that "great wrath" came upon the Israelite army which was forced to retire.

44. See p.6f.

45. Proposed by Scunck, op.cit. p.107n.170.

retribution in their own way, with the purpose of bringing to an end the drought which plagued the land.

For some time now, commentators have noted some elements in the narrative strongly reminiscent of the cultic re-enactment of the fertility myth widespread in Canaan. Most important of these is the information that the killing took place "in the first days of harvest, at the beginning of the barley harvest" (v.9). According to the Ugaritic Ba'al and 'Anath myth Mot is killed by 'Anath between the harvest and the autumn rains and the barley harvest is the crucial point in the seasonal drama.⁴⁶ The functional element in the myth is the need for rainfall to ripen the harvest, the failure of the late rains (in October-November) being disastrous for the agrarian economy of Syria and Palestine.⁴⁷

This would provide the general context for a new understanding of the religious significance of the narrative,

46. See J.Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, Leiden, 1965², pp.20ff and p. 126n.1; T.Worden, 'The Literary Influence of the Ugaritic Fertility Myth on the Old Testament', VT 3(1953)pp.292f; U.Cassuto, 'Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts', IEJ 12(1962) pp. 77ff. For the fertility myth associations of 2 Sam.21,1-14 in particular see H.Cazelles, art.cit.pp.165ff; Kapelrud, 'King and Fertility. A Discussion of 2 Sam. 21,1-14', Norsk TT 56(1955)pp.113ff; 'König David und die Söhne des Saul', ZAW n.F.26(1955)pp.198ff and Suppl.Numén, Leiden, IV, 1959, pp.294ff; J.Prado, 'El Exterminio de la Familia de Saul', Sefarad 14(1954) pp.43ff; R.Dussaud, Les Origines canaanéennes du sacrifice israelite, Paris, 1941², pp.287ff.

47. Hertzberg, op.cit.p.384, supposes v.10 to refer to early rainfall met with occasionally in late spring or early summer, but on the hypothesis advanced here, the bodies would be exposed until the autumn.

in the light of which, it is argued, various details can be better explained. Perhaps the most significant of these is the use of the verb $\text{ʔp}^{\text{h}}\text{ʔ}$ on the meaning of which in this context neither comparative linguistics nor the versions throw much light. The proponents of the fertility-myth view have noted that the execution involved the exposure of the corpses in the open until the late rains came, which is consonant with the structure of the myth as it is found in fragmentary form in the Ugaritic texts.⁴⁸ Here we find a detailed description of the dismembering and exposing of the body of Mot.⁴⁹

We noted earlier that LXX $\epsilon\zeta\eta\lambda\alpha\sigma\omega\mu\epsilon\nu$ has been taken to refer to a solar deity as playing a part in the ritual drama.⁵⁰ In the Ugaritic form of the myth ŠMŠ plays a prominent part since he "burns for Mot", that is, he ripens the corn and thus contributes to the death of Ba'al. The sackcloth worn by Rizpah is also reminiscent of sackcloth worn in mourning the death of Ba'al in the myth.⁵¹ We have seen that ~~the~~^{some} Hurrians had taken over the Semitic gods Dagan and ŠMŠ;⁵² there would therefore be nothing strange in the canaanized Hurrians of Gibeon applying

48. For this verb see p.170 ; we might note that the exposure of the bodies of treaty-violators is also attested for this time, see Fensham, BA 27(1964)pp.99f.

49. See texts in Cazelles, art.cit.pp.167f.

50. See p.171.

51. For details of texts see Ginsberg-Maisler, JPOS 14(1934)p.247; Worden, art.cit.pp.283.287.

52. See pp.167f.

such a remedy to the situation. Nor need we suppose that it would have been entirely out of keeping with religious sentiment among Israelites at that time. The association between the shedding of innocent blood and infertility was deeply embedded in the Semitic Near East and is reflected elsewhere in the Old Testament.⁵³ The strong Canaanite influence on the early monarchy and the evidence for syncretic practice associated with early Yahwism must also influence our view of David's attitude to such a solution.⁵⁴ As Vincent pointed out many years ago,⁵⁵ this is just one of many instances of Yahwism concealing different forms of ba'alism. We conclude, therefore, that while it would be hazardous to press the resemblance too far, this ~~mm~~ reading of the text can provide us with additional and valuable insight into the kind of syncretism in currency among the Gibeonites at this time⁵⁶ and thus help to explain the evident difficulties involved in their incorporation into Israel and the consequent diffidence felt towards the great sanctuary of Gibeon.

53. E.g. Gen.4,11f. See Pedersen, op.cit. pp.384f; R.Patai, 'The "Control of Rain" in Ancient Palestine', HUCA 14(1939) pp.267f.

54. Hence it is not necessary to reject this cult-mythical interpretation as inconsistent with David's Yahwism, as H. does Bardtke, TLZ 85(1958) col.106

55. RB 31(1922) pp.367f. Other examples: Num.25,4; Jg. 21,19-23; 1 Sam. 15,33.

56. We may add that over fifty fertility figurines were discovered at el 'Gib. See Pritchard, Gibeon Where the Sun Stood Still, p.120.

The Visit of Solomon to the Great High Place

1 Kings 3,4-15a records that Solomon used to go to the Gibeonite sanctuary to offer sacrifice and gives an account of a specific visit during which he received in a dream a revelation from Yahweh evidently considered of key importance for the rest of his reign. The narrative is introduced in the Deuteronomic fashion⁵⁷ and, characteristically of the Deuteronomists, a muted note of reproof is detectable: "Solomon loved Yahweh ... only (p 7) he sacrificed and burnt incense at the high places" (v.3).⁵⁸ This is stated with reference to Gibeon described in the following verse as "the great high place" and an excuse is offered in that before the building of the Temple all the people were sacrificing at the high places (v.2). The parallel passage in 2 Chr. 1,3ff says nothing of an habitual frequentation of Gibeon by Solomon and justifies his inaugural visit by the fact that the Tent and the bronze altar made by Bezalel at the command of Moses were there.⁵⁹

The description of the Gibeonite sanctuary as "the great high place" at the time of Solomon (and earlier) and the information that Solomon went there frequently in the first part

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57. For the literary analysis of the passage see the commentaries. W.Staerk, 'Zum alttestamentlichen Erwählungsglauben', ZAW 55(1937) pp.29f, derives it not from D but a genuinely ancient tradition which was not convinced of the legitimacy of Jerusalem.
58. See Cazelles, VTS 3(1955)pp.26ff; J.A.Soggin, ZAW 78(1966)pp.189f;
59. This is generally taken to be unhistorical. See E.L.Curtis and A.A.Madsen, The Books of Chronicles, Edinburgh, 1910(1965), pp.315f.

of his reign emphasizes the importance of Gibeon during the previous two reigns and increases the probability that it was frequented by David and had a part to play in the religious history of his predecessor. That Solomon should have gone to Gibeon for the inaugural revelation of his reign makes it probable that "the great high place" was a royal sanctuary. The parallels between this inaugural visit to a sanctuary, ^{with} the request for an oracle and the bestowal of virtues necessary for a successful monarch, and contemporary Egyptian royal protocol have often been noted.⁶⁰ We have a particularly close parallel in the so-called "Sphinx stele" of Thutmoses IV⁶¹ to whom a god reveals himself in a dream just before his accession to the throne and promises him the kingdom and great riches. This is only one of many points of contact between Egypt and Israel at this time and the excavations have provided proof that Gibeon also was in the cultural debt of Egypt.⁶² There can be no

60. See especially von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, p.41; S. Hermann, 'Die Königsnovelle in Ägypten und Israel', Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der K.Marx-Univ. Leipzig, I 3(1953/4)pp.51ff; A.Malamat, 'The Kingdom of David ^{and Solomon} in its Contacts with Egypt and Aram-Naharaim', BA 21(1958)pp.96ff; Alt, VT 1(1951)pp.21f.

61. ANET p.449.

62. J.B.Pritchard, The Bronze Age Cemetery at Gibeon, Philadelphia, 1963, pp.32.156. For Israelite-Egyptian relations see Alt, 'Israel und Ägypten', BWAT 6(1909)pp.11ff; de Vaux, 'Titres et fonctionnaires égyptiens à la cour de David et Solomon', RB 46(1939)pp.394f.

doubt that, despite the presence of the Ark in Jerusalem, Gibeon was considered the most suitable place for such an inaugural revelation.

According to 1 Kings 3,5 the giver of the revelation is Yahweh and we have no reason to doubt that by this time the Gibeonite sanctuary was Yahwist at least in name. In view, however, of the evidence we have seen for the persistence of non-Israelite religious practice - especially in 2 Sam. 21,1-14, - the possibility of syncretism cannot be ruled out here. Dreams play a large part in Canaanite religion and El is represented in the Ugaritic texts as the giver of wisdom.⁶³ Eissfeldt and others have explored the possibility that a symbiosis between Yahweh and El was effected after the establishment of the national capital in Jerusalem,⁶⁴ and Yeivin goes so far as to speculate that a Wisdom-deity may have been worshipped at Gibeon, thus explaining the request of Solomon.⁶⁵ Comparison with Canaanite practice has further suggested to some scholars that this was a case of ritual incubatio;⁶⁶ all we are told in the text,

63. See, for example, in KRT A (i) 31ff, ANET, p.143.

64. 'El and Yahweh', JSS 1(1956)pp.26ff; Ahlström, Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion, pp.27ff; H.H.Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, London, 1967, 74ff (the most recent review of the question).

65. S.Yeivin, 'The High Place at Gibeon', Revue d'Hist.Juive en Eg. 1(1947)pp.143ff.

66. A.B.Ehrlich (referred to in J.Lindblom, HUCA 32(1961)p.104); J.Gray, The Legacy of Canaan, p.210, et al.

however, is that Yahweh appeared to him in a dream by night (~~Ps. 89,19, a vision~~). Revelation through a dream does not necessarily involve incubatio, as is clear from the many dream-revelations recorded in the religious literature of the ancient Near East.⁶⁷

The Chronicler's account of the incident (2 Chr. 1,3ff) will be further discussed in the last chapter of this study.

After the building of the Temple "Yahweh appeared to Solomon a second time, as he had appeared to him at Gibeon" (1 Kings 9,2). By this time the Gibeonite sanctuary had been eclipsed by its more powerful rival and we hear no more of Gibeon until the exilic period. As we have seen, the Gibeonite cities would have been incorporated into the eleventh administrative district of Solomon (that under Shimei ben-Ela in Benjamin, 1 Kings 4,18) and with this their existence as a distinct political and ethnic reality came to an end.⁶⁸

67. Incubatio is attested chiefly in Canaan and Phoenicia, and the closest parallels to Solomon's dream come from Egypt. See n.61 and ANET pp.32.246.

68. Albright, 'The Administrative Division of Israel and Judah', JPOS 5(1925)pp.16ff; Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, p.141; Alt, Israels Gaue unter Salomo, Kl.Schr. II pp.76ff.

ADDITIONAL NOTE ON AFFINITIES BETWEEN THE ELOHIST

AND THE GIBEON NARRATIVES IN JOS. AND SAM.

The attempt to trace the hand of the Elohist beyond the Pentateuch into the historical books, 1-2 Sam. in particular, was first undertaken in a methodical way by Cornill and Budde and thereafter followed up by a great number of scholars.¹ Wellhausen took up a cautious approach to this question, proposing J,E and P down to the logical conclusion of the primitive narrative-complex with the occupation of the land in Jg. 2,5, followed by less clear indications in the remainder of Jg. and in Sam.² In allocating in detail

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1. C.H.Cornill,Zur Quellenkritik der Bücher Samuelis, I, Königsberg, 1889, pp.25ff; 'Ein elohistischer Bericht über die Entstehung des israelitischen Königtums in I Samuelis 1-15 aufgezeigt', ZKWK 6(1885)pp.113ff; K.Budde,Die Bücher Richter und Samuel, Ihre Quellen und ihre Aufbau, 1890, pp.167ff; H.P.Smith, op.cit. xxii, finds two sources but questions their identity with J and E; S.R.Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1913⁹, pp.104ff; R.Smend, 'JE in den geschichtlichen Büchern des Alten Testaments', ZAW 39(1921)pp.181ff; J.Benzinger, 'Jahwist und Elohist in den Königsbüchern', BWAT 2, Berlin, 1921.
 2. J.Wellhausen, Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Büchern des Alten Testaments, Berlin, 1899³, pp.116ff.

the contents of 1-2 Sam. to the various source-strands not all have imitated his caution.³ This inevitably led to a reaction among those who, like Gressmann and von Rad, accepted Wellhausen's Hexateuch hypothesis. The tendency was to turn away from a detailed source-analysis to a new examination of the saga-material in Jos. with special reference to its aetiological character. Here noteworthy insights were gained as a result of the work of Noth, Möhlenbrink and Alt.⁴ Noth's hypothesis of a Deuteronomistic History, implying that the older pentateuchal sources ended with Num., also helped to undermine the old approach to source-criticism in the historical books.⁵

Having said this, we must add that the problem of affinities between J and E in the Pentateuch (Hexateuch) on the one hand and certain parts of the historical books on the other is not thereby solved. In what follows we shall bring together several points of thematic or stylistic affinity between the Elohist and the Gibeon narratives in Jos. and Sam. and suggest a tentative explanation.

3. For a survey of research after Wellhausen along this line see H-J Kraus, Geschichte der historisch-kritischen Erforschung des Alten Testaments, ~~Berlin~~ 1899 Neukirchen, 1956, pp. 411-16.

4. Noth, Das Buch Josua, pp. 11ff; K. Möhlenbrink, ZAW 56 (1938) pp. 238ff; Alt, 'Josua', Kl. Schr. I, Munich, 1959, pp. 176ff.

5. Noth, Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien, pp. 40ff; Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuchs, Tübingen, 1948, p. 19.

1. The affinities between the account of the treaty⁶ making in Jos.9 and Dt. raise the question whether this is simply due to Deuteronomic editing of Jos. or the existence of a special Elohist-type source with special affinity to Dt.⁶ We may at least reasonably suppose that the Deuteronomists worked with earlier sources preserved at local sanctuaries, and the material in this chapter would most naturally be supposed to derive from either Gilgal or Gibeon. Parallelism with the Shechem covenant occurring immediately before (Jos. 8,30-35) brings this out more clearly.

2. The view that the narrative of the battle in Jos. 10, 6-14 occurs in an Elohist context has been widely held. Moreover, we find several passages in the Pentateuch usually attributed to E which speak of the miraculous intervention of God, and the quotation from The Book of Yashar may, as Mowinckel states, suggest an E context.⁷

In view of the arguments adduced earlier⁸ for Ark-themes and Ark-terminology in the battle-narrative, we should add that the earliest texts about the Ark in the Pentateuch occur, according to the majority of scholars,

6. See above pp.128ff. G.Hölscher, Die Anfänge der hebräischen Geschichtsschreibung, Heidelberg, 1942, identifies E in Jos.9 as follows: vv.6a + 8 + 11 + parts of 15f.17-21 + parts of 22f.24-27.

7. S.Mowinckel, ZAW 53(1935)pp.130ff.

8. pp. 172ff.

in E passages. Num. 14,44 presents no great difficulty though some have questioned the attribution of Num. 10,33-36 to E.⁹ The main arguments in favour of this may be briefly stated as follows: the occurrence of נלל and ללללל which are frequently found in other E and D passages; association with the Kadesh tradition found elsewhere in E passages; the phrase לללללללללללל cf. Dt. 33,2 and Num. 14,44, is also^s linked with Kadesh and has a thematic affinity with the Holy War elsewhere closely associated with the Northern tribes. Indirect confirmation may be found in the thematic resemblance between the miraculous intervention in Jos. 10,10ff and 1 Sam. 7,10 (cf. 12,18), since the latter clearly derives from a Mizpah source edited by Deuteronomists.

3. The Elohist has a marked predilection for dreams, thereby reflecting the more immediate impact of Canaanite religion in the north.¹⁰ The inaugural revelation granted to Solomon at Gibeon comes to him in a dream (1 Kings 3,5) The context and the thematic resemblance between 2 Sam. 7 and 1 Kings 3,4-15 (cf. 9,1-9) strongly suggest that Nathan also received the dynastic oracle at Gibeon. According to

9. G.B.Gray, Numbers, New York, 1920, p.93; J.Maier, op.cit. pp.5ff.

10. See Gen. 20,3; 26,24; 28,11f and cf. Dt. 13,2.4.6. For dreams in the Ugaritic texts see above p.294. For Solomon's dream see J.A.Montgomery, The Books of Kings, Edinburgh, 1951, pp.104ff; P.Reymond, 'Le Rêve de Salomon', Maqqel Shâqêdh, Montpellier, 1960, pp.210ff; E.L.Ehrlich, Der Traum im Alten Testament, 1953, pp.19ff.

Ps. 89,20 it came to him in a dream . In view of the strongly canaanized character of the Gibeonites, we should not be surprised to find the giving of dream-oracles at their central sanctuary.

4. As has long been noted, the accounts of the famine and pestilence (2 Sam. 21,1-14 and 24,1-25) run parallel, associated with cultic acts at Gibeon and Jerusalem respectively, the former at the barley harvest (21,9), the latter at the wheat-harvest (24,15). Both are successful in winning the divine favour. The concluding phrases are also parallel:

וַיַּעֲתֶר אֱלֹהִים לְאָרֶץ (21,14)

וַיַּעֲתֶר יְהוָה לְאָרֶץ (24,25)

After the conclusion of the "Succession History" (1 Kings 2,46) which these chapters interrupt, there occurs at once the revelation of Yahweh to Solomon at Gibeon (1 Kings 3,4ff) and, after the building of the Temple, a parallel revelation at Jerusalem (9,1-9). We have therefore a close parallelism between Gibeon and Jerusalem, later continued by the Chronicler, signified even by the alternative use of divine titles. This is pre-Deuteronomic, especially in view of the probability that 2 Sam. 21-24 were absent from the Deuteronomic history.¹¹ Can we link this in any way with J and E in the Pentateuch?

11. Or at least 21,1-14 and 24 as argued by Budde, Die Bücher Samuel, pp.xi.304; Eissfeldt, Einleitung, pp.333ff; Pfeiffer, op.cit.p.367.

In answer, we should say that a good part of the traditions in Sam. derive from religious sanctuaries: Mizpah, Gilgal, Gibeon, Shiloh. In particular, the Gibeon narratives very probably originated in either Gilgal or Gibeon itself. As we have argued earlier, the Mizpah narrative-strand is probably the most recent and the nearest to the time of the Deuteronomist historians in the exilic or post-exilic period. In view of the identity between the Mizpah of Jug. and Sam. and the central Gibeonite sanctuary (argued above) this Mizpah strand may well be associated with the Gibeon of the early monarchic period. This Gibeon-Mizpah tradition may, finally, have played an important part in the evolution of the Elohist strand in the Pentateuch and may also help to explain some aspects of the relationship between this latter and the Deuteronomic corpus.¹²

12. The close stylistic and thematic similarities we have seen between ~~Isaiah~~ 2 Sam. 21,1-14 and Num.25,1-5 (p.170f) and Gen.22 (pp.130f.287) supports this, since the accounts of the ritual execution at Ba'al-peor and the sacrifice of Isaac are generally attributed to the E writer.

CHAPTER TEN

THE CULTIC ASPECT OF GIBEON AND THE GIBEONITES IN

POST-EXILIC SOURCES

A final aspect of the present study is the reference to Gibeon and Gibeonites in post-exilic writings¹ especially the work of the Chronicler, with regard to the place they are given in the cultic history of Israel. This concerns especially: Gibeon as a great religious centre before the building of the Temple; the relation between Gibeonites and nethinim, the lowest order of Temple personnel.

With the possible exception of a P redactional stratum in the account of the treaty (Jos 9)¹, to which we shall return, we find no mention of Gibeon and Gibeonites in the Priestly corpus. In view of the fact that the Chronicler presupposes the Priestly cultic legislation and is familiar with their reconstruction of the cultic history of Israel, we should first examine what we find in the Priestly writing with respect to the Ark and the Tent during the period in question.

The construction of the Ark is entrusted by Moses to Bezalel (Ex. 25,10ff; 37,1ff). This is of interest since the

1. See above p.133.

Chronicler independently affirms that the bronze altar made by Bezalel was at Gibeon (2 Chr. 1,5). According to P the Ark was in the Tent. It appears in certain narratives dealing with the desert period and the Conquest (Jos. 3-6) and is then found in the Temple of Solomon.

For the Priestly writers the Tent is clearly of much greater importance. Built according to divine prescription, under the direction of Moses (Ex. 24,8f; 26,1ff; 36,8ff), it stood in the centre of the camp during the desert period as the locus of Yahweh's self-manifestation. After the Conquest it was situated at Shiloh, as is clear from Jos. 18,1 and 19,51 and possibly the gloss in 1 Sam. 3,22.² No further mention of the Tent occurs in any passage which we may suspect derives from P until we find it in the Temple, and it is clear that the description of the Tent as an early Israelite sanctuary derives from the Temple as known to the Priestly writers of a later date.³ Here we find the explanation of

2. On the probable supposition that 2,22 is a late gloss depending on Ex. 38,8 (P). See H.P.Smith, op.cit.p.20; following Wellhausen, Driver, Budde et al.

3. See, most recently, H.H.Rowley, Worship in Ancient Israel, pp. 50f and for P's cultic concepts in general, von Rad, Die Priesterschrift im Hexateuch, BWANT IV.13.1934; 'Zelt und Lade', in Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament, Munich, 1958, pp.109ff; Old Testament Theology, I, New York, 1962, pp.232ff; K.Koch, Die Priesterschrift von Ex.25 bis Lev.16, Göttingen, 1959.

the preponderance of the Tent over the Ark in the Priestly writer. The Tent, together with the Ark, is conceived of as a permanent sanctuary; the Temple itself is often referred to as $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{k}$,⁴ and in fact the basic meaning of $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{l}$ is "dwelling-place" not specifically "tent", as results from comparative Semitics and the frequent use of $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{w}^{\text{n}}$ in Hebrew and $\text{m}^{\text{s}}\text{k}^{\text{n}}\text{t}$ in Ugaritic in apposition to it.⁵ This would go some way towards explaining why later cultic tradition locates the Tent at Shiloh despite the clear attestation of early sources that the Shiloh sanctuary was a permanent temple.⁶ A later rabbinical tradition has attempted to combine both by supposing that the walls were of stone and the roof of tent-cloth.⁷ Since, therefore, we have no

4. Ps.15,1; 27,5; 61,4; Is.33,20; Jer,10,20; Lam.2,4; Ezek.41,1.

5. Arab. $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{l}$, "to be inhabited" with the natural transition to $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{l}$, "family, group or unit of people", cf. Eth. $\text{q}^{\text{a}}\text{l}$ and Acc. $\text{a}^{\text{h}}\text{l}^{\text{u}}$, "settlement", "place". This may provide a semantic basis for the natural connexion between sanctuary and social or political unit, as, for example, in Ps.78,67f:

He rejected the tent of Joseph,
He did not choose the tribe of Ephraim;
But he chose the tribe of Judah,
Mount Zion which he loves.

For the parallelism between $\text{b}^{\text{h}}\text{l}$ and $\text{m}^{\text{s}}\text{k}^{\text{n}}\text{t}$ in Ugaritic see 3 Krt III 18f and 2 Aqht V 32.

6. See 1 Sam. 1,7.9.24; 3,3.

7. M.Zeb.14,6. See Ahlström, Aspects of Syncretism in Israelite Religion, p.29.

conclusive evidence of a tent of the Priestly type after the Settlement, it would not be unreasonable to conclude that the Priestly concept is a retrojection from the Jerusalemite Temple combined with the Tent of Meeting found in the earlier pentateuchal sources.⁸

When we turn to the Chronicler, we find much in common with the Priestly writer and also some significant divergences and additions, most important for our purpose the notice that the Mosaic Tent was at Gibeon before the building of the Temple (1 Chr. 16,39; 21,29; 2 Chr. 1,3ff). The entire work of the Chronicler is centred on the Temple worship, perhaps with a view to the religious and political determination of the Jewish community to the exclusion of the Samaritans.⁹ The building of the Temple is for the Chronicler the ^mcl_λiact_λic event in Israel's history. It was prepared for by David who is presented principally as the founder of the Jerusalem cult and its personnel, particularly the levites.¹⁰ The information which he provides about the cultic history of Israel before the building of the Temple is

8. See Rowley, *op.cit.* pp.51.79 and further references in n.2.

9. See von Rad, Old Testament Theology I, p.348 n.3.

10. 1 Chr. 13-17. See von Rad, *op.cit.* pp.350ff. This, of course, is unhistorical but David did, in all probability, institute the levitical cities. See above p.284.

incomplete and sometimes vague and contradictory. The Ark to which, following 1-2 Sam., he gives greater importance than *P does,* ~~to the Tent,~~ lay neglected at Kiriath-jearim during the reign of Saul (1 Chr. 13,3),¹¹ was brought by David to Jerusalem from that city and placed first in the house of Obed-edom (1 Chr. 13,1-14), then in the first Jerusalem sanctuary (15,3ff).¹² Thence, in due course, Solomon brought it to the newly-built Temple (2 Chr. 5,2). Here the Chronicler follows quite closely the history in 1-2 Sam., the main divergences being the location of the Uzzah episode - at the threshing-floor of Chidon (1 Chr. 13,9) - and the reason alleged for the delay in bringing it finally to Jerusalem which was, typically, an infringement of a ritual regulation - the ark had not been borne by levites (1 Chr. 15,2).¹³

We find here some inconsistency in the Chronicler's account of this turning-point in the cultic history of Israel. Perhaps the principal difficulty is his statement that the Tent was at

11. The Chronicler here relies on 1 Sam. 7,1f.

12. Rowley, op.cit. p.74, holds that in reality this was the sanctuary of the Jebusite priest Zadok.

13. This is typical of the causal thinking of the Chronicler. See Curtis and Madsen, op.cit. p.211.

Gibeon at the time of the transfer of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem, a statement which is surprising in view of ~~ixxx~~ his otherwise close dependence on the Priestly reconstruction of the history of the cult. Most have seen this as a pure fabrication, having perhaps the purpose of legitimizing Solomon's inaugural visit to Gibeon (2 Chr. 1,3ff).¹⁴ This view appears to be confirmed by the evident difficulty which the Chronicler experienced in allocating cult personnel to the two shrines. In 1 Chr. 6,31f the levites are all without distinction in the service of the Ark and Tent; later, (1 Chr. 16,37ff), Asaphites and others minister to the Ark while Zadokites are in charge of the Tent at Gibeon. He was clearly just as uncertain as we are today on the origins and historical role of the founder of the Zadokite priesthood.¹⁵ An added indication ~~of this~~ is the statement in 2 Chr. 5,2-5 that Solomon brought both Ark and Tent from Mount Zion . This seems to betray confusion between the Tent located at Gibeon

14. Curtis and Madsen, op.cit. pp.315f; A.C.Welch, The Work of the Chronicler, London, 1939, pp.31ff; W.A.L.Elmsie, Interpreter's Bible, III, Abingdon, 1954, pp.403f; von Rad, Old Testament Theology, I p.238 n.114.

15. The most significant contributions to the literature on Zadok are: A.Bentzen, 'Zur Geschichte der Sadokiden', ZAW 51(1933)pp.173ff; K.Budde, 'Die Herkunft Sadoks', ZAW 52 (1934)p.49; H.H.Rowley, 'Zadok and Nehushtan', JBL 58(1939) pp.113ff; 'Melchisedek and Zadok', Bertholet Festschrift, Tübingen, 1950, pp.461ff; Worship in Ancient Israel, pp. 73f; H.G.Judge, 'Aaron, Zadok and Abiathar', JTS 7(1956)pp.70ff; Ahlström, op.cit. pp.123ff; C.E.Hauer, 'Who was Zadok?', JBL 82(1963)pp.89ff.

and the temporary shelter erected by David for the Ark (1 Chr. 16,1). The Chronicler evidently felt the difficulty that David should have brought the Ark to Jerusalem and yet left the Tent at Gibeon, and ~~he~~ offers the explanation that he was prevented from going to Gibeon by the angel of Yahweh (1 Chr. 21,29f), though this did not prevent Solomon from going there to seek an oracle and to sacrifice (2 Chr. 1,3ff). All of this clearly increases the difficulty of accepting that the Mosaic Tent was at Gibeon at this time.

Before passing on to a more adequate historical evaluation of the data offered by the Chronicler on the cultic importance of Gibeon, we should note that later Jewish tradition contained in the Babylonian Talmud has combined the data of the Priestly writer and Chronicles to form a more or less consistent picture of the history of the cult before the building of the Temple. Here too the Tent not the Ark is in the forefront, and for the same reasons. The course of cultic history before the building of the Temple is summarized in a tractate of the Talmud:

It was taught: when Eli the priest died,
Shiloh was destroyed and they repaired
to Nob ... Nob was destroyed and they
went to Gibeon.¹⁶

16. Zeb.118b. All quotation are from The Babylonian Talmud, ed. Rabbi I. Epstein, London, 1935 (henceforth referred to as BT). Abbreviations are the ones used there.

According to this talmudic tradition the Tent remained at Shiloh 370 years and at Nob and Gibeon combined 57 years while, in accordance with 1 Sam. 7,2, the Ark was at Kiriath-jearim for 20 years but was never at Nob or Gibeon.¹⁷ What is interesting here is not the chronological sequence, which has no independent value for history, but the fact of three "divine residences" before the building of the Temple, "the permanent house", and the close historical connexion presumed to exist between Shiloh and Nob on the one hand and Nob and Gibeon on the other.¹⁸ Following the Priestly writer and the Chronicler, the rabbis also suppose that these three Tent-sanctuaries were places of sacrifice with an altar. In Zeb. 61b we read:

Rabbi Hisda said: 'the altar at Shiloh was of stones. For it was taught, Rabbi Eleazar ben-Jacob said: "why is stones stated three times? One refers to that of Shiloh, another to that of Nob and Gibeon, and the third to that of the Eternal House"'.

17. Zeb. 118a-119a,

18. Shiloh - Nob - Gibeon is the usual order in BT, but we also find Nob - Gibeon - Shiloh (Yoma 67b), Gibeon - Shiloh (Meg. 9b, Soṭah 16a), Gilgal - Nob/Gibeon - Shiloh (Zeb. 118a). For the historical connexion between the three see above pp. 206, 209ff.

This clearly follows the Priestly concept of Shiloh as tent - temple and 1 Chr. 16,39f + 2 Chr. 1,5 with regard to Gibeon, with a possible reference also to "the great stone which is at Gibeon" (2 Sam. 20,8), understood as an altar.¹⁹

This survey of post-exilic material on the role of Gibeon in the history of worship in Israel can hardly lead us to modify conclusions reached earlier since most of it is secondary and dependent on a particular interpretation of the biblical data we have examined. But even in making unverifiable assertions about Gibeon and its high place - that it was the site of the Mosaic Tent and altar and even of a synagogue²⁰ - it at least confirms the impression gained from an examination of the earlier sources of the cultic importance of Gibeon during the early period. If the hypothesis advanced above - that Mizpah of Jg. and 1 Sam. is identical with nebi samwil - is accepted,²¹ we would have further confirmation since there was a ~~temple~~ "place of prayer for Israel in former days" at Mizpah according to 1 Macc. 3,46. On this hypothesis, 1 Macc. 3,46 could be seen as a link in the tradition about the early Gibeon sanctuary. What the Chronicler

19. See above p.19.

20. Chr.Targum on 1 Chr. 16,39. See Rowley, op.cit. p.213.

21. See above pp. 52f.

says about Gibeon gives the impression that he thought of it as a very ancient sanctuary, older even than Shiloh, and some scholars have accepted this view,²² though in fact we have no early information about Gibeon as a religious sanctuary before the time of Saul.

That the Chronicler makes Zadok officiate as priest at Gibeon is equally surprising and unsubstantiated by any other evidence available, though here again there are scholars willing to accept this as historical.²³ If we accept the evidence which has been offered throughout this study of close ties between Gibeon and Jerusalem in the pre-monarchic period and that of the Early Monarchy, this view would have as much in its favour as the hypothesis advanced by Mowinckel, Bentzen, Rowley and others that he belonged to the pre-Israelite Jebusite priesthood of Jerusalem.²⁴ We may add, finally, that The Lives of the Prophets²⁵ states that Gibeon was the native city and last resting place of Nathan, though here again we have no means of substantiating this.

22. E.Auerbach, Wüste und gelobtes Land, pp.90f; H-W Hertzberg, ZAW n.F.6(1929)p.176; E.Sellin, Gilgal, pp.45.91; M.Haran, Judah and Jerusalem (Heb.), Jerusalem, 1957, pp.38f.

23. For documentation and discussion see Rowley, op.cit.p.74 n.4.

24. S.Mowinckel, Esra den Skriftlärde, Oslo, 1916, p.109; A.Bentzen, ZAW 51(1933)pp.173ff; Rowley, JBL 58(1939)pp.113ff; op.cit. pp.73f where further references are given.

25. C.C.Torrey (ed.), The Lives of the Prophets, Greek Text and Translation, (JBL Monograph Series, vol.I), Philadelphia, 1946, p.30.

We turn now to the question of the nethinim and their relation to the Gibeonites. The genealogical lists in 1 Chr. 1-9 end with four categories into which the whole community is divided: Israel (that is, the laity), the priests, the levites and the nethinim or temple-servants.²⁶ This listing is practically identical with Neh. 11,3-21 and appears to be based on it. The only difference is that the latter adds "the sons of Solomon's servants", a class closely connected with the nethinim as is seen in Neh. 7,46-59 = Ezra 2,43-57. We may with good reason deduce that 1 Chr. 9,2 is a later version of Neh. 11,3 made at a time when "the sons of Solomon's servants" had ceased to exist independently of the nethinim.²⁷ The fact that the Chronicler repeats the Gibeonite list, first given in 1 Chr. 8,29-40, immediately after the nethinim (9,35-44), at once suggests a connexion between the two. As we shall see, this is taken for granted in later Jewish tradition.

This lowest class of Temple personnel is mentioned only in post-exilic writings.²⁸ In Ezra 2,43 = Neh. 7,46 they are numbered among those who returned from captivity. According

26. Priests - 1 Chr. 9,20-13, levites - vv.14-16, gatekeepers - vv.17-27, in charge of sacred utensils - vv.28-32, levitical singers - vv.33-34.

27. See Curtis and Madsen, op.cit. p.169.

28. Apart from 1 Chr. 9,2 only in Ezra 2,43.58.70; 7.7; 8,17.20; Neh. 3,26.31; 7,46.60.73; 10,28 (MT 29); 11,3.21.

to Ezra 2,70 they settled "in their towns" as opposed to priests and levites who lived in Jerusalem, but in the parallel Neh. 7,73 all classes lived "in their towns" and according to Neh. 3,26 and 11,21 there were nethinim living on Ophel, having a house opposite the Ham-miphkad Gate (3,31). If they were constituted as a class only after the Exile,²⁹ we are still left with the task of explaining how the identification of Gibeonites and nethinim in later Jewish tradition came about. According to Ezra 8,20, they were instituted by David, the founder of the Temple cult, to attend on the levites, but this claim is evidently open to suspicion. That they are bracketed with "the sons of Solomon's servants" in Neh. 11,3 and 7,46.57 (= Ezra 2,58) suggests a more likely explanation of the connexion. In 1 Kings 9,20f we are told that Solomon put the remnant of the native, non-Israelite populations including Amorites and Hivites³⁰ - to forced labour, לְעֹלָם עֲבָדָם.³¹ We may reasonably suppose that some of these were used for the many menial tasks involved in the complicated sacrificial

29. As stated by I. Mendelsohn, 'State Slavery in Ancient Palestine', BASOR 85(1942)p.14.

30. It will be recalled that these terms are used of the Gibeonites in Jos. 9,7 and 2 Sam. 21,2.

31. On forced labour as practised in Israel see Mendelsohn, art. cit. pp.14ff; 'On Corvée Labor in Ancient Canaan and Israel', BASOR 167(1962)pp.31ff; Slavery in the Ancient East, New York, 1949, pp.92ff; A. Biram, 'לְעֹלָם עֲבָדָם', Tarbiz 23(1952)pp.137ff; M. Haran, 'The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon's Servants', VT 11(1961)pp.159ff. B. A. Levine, 'The Netînîm', JBL 82(1963)pp.207ff, traces them back to Solomon but as a cultic guild not slaves. "The sons of Solomon's servants" were merchants not forced-labourers.

system of the Temple. At the time of Ezekiel, there were foreigners, נְתִינִים , serving in the sanctuary,³² information which provides a useful link with the nethinim of the immediate post-exilic period. By this time these temple-servants were clearly distinguished from those groups of gerim engaged in various forms of forced labour, including the building (or rebuilding) of the Temple (2 Chr. 2,17f; 8,7f; 1 Chr. 20,3). In Neh. 10,28 (MT 29) we even find the people, including the nethinim, engaged in a covenant to keep the law with regard to separation from "the peoples of the land".

The main evidence for the Gibeonite - nethinim association is of course the account of the Gibeonite-Israelite treaty in Jos. 9. In dealing with this chapter we saw that the last redactional stratum dealt with the fate of the Gibeonites as "²hwers of wood and drawers of water";³³ they are given over by Joshua to the service of "the house of my god" (Jos. 9,23) and "the altar of Yahweh" (v.27), and so they remained up to the time of writing ("to this day", v.27). "This day" may well be the immediate post-exilic period in view of the way the nethinim are presented in the Ezra-Neh.- Chr. complex. We may seek additional support for this in some fairly close stylistic similarities between this redactional stratum and the post-exilic sources.³⁴ We may therefore state the following as a

32. Ezek. 44,6f. Rowley, op.cit. p.100, takes these foreigners to be the temple-guards.

33. See above pp. 133ff.

34. Jos. 9,17.18.26 refers to "the people of Israel" in a context suggesting that this phrase refers to the laity (cf. Ezra 2,2b). Jos. 9,18.19.21 has "all the אֲנָשִׁים ", Ezra 2,64 "all the בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל ".

probable hypothesis of the origin of the nethinim and their association (in Jewish tradition) with Gibeonites:

One result of the treaty in Jos. 9 was that some Gibeonites served in a menial capacity in the sanctuary of Gibeon after it had been taken over by Israelites.³⁵ After the building of the Temple by Solomon, the Gibeonite high place was superseded and its inferior cultic personnel (and possibly also some others more highly placed³⁶) transferred to Jerusalem. These were later joined by other ethnically non-Israelite groups as can be seen in Ezek. 44,6f, and this situation continued down to the Exile and into the post-exilic period. By this time the connexion between Gibeonites and nethinim was firmly established, as is clear from the positioning of the Gibeonite list in 1 Chr. 9,35ff and possibly also a comparison between Neh. 3,7 and 3,26. According to the former text Melatiah the Gibeonite³⁷ and the men of Mizpah and Gibeon repaired the part of the wall near the Old Gate; according to the latter, the nethinim of Mount Ophel repaired a part opposite the Water Gate.

35. Rather than Gilgal as suggested by Noth, Das Buch Josua, p.53.

For Gibeon as the original sanctuary where they served see G.Kittel, Geschichte des Volkes Israel, I, pp.430ff; H.Gressmann, Die Anfänge Israels, p.152; Hertberg, ZAW n.F.6(1929)pp.176f; Pritchard, VTS 7(1960)p.3; M.Haran, VT 11(1961)p.161.

36. Zadok and the Zadokites (1 Chr. 16,29). See above pp.307.

37. For this Gibeonite name see above p. 76

In ~~the~~ BT "Gibeonite" is generally equated with nathin.³⁸ Various reasons are given for their inferior status vis-à-vis Israelites properly so called: they were vengeful in exacting a tribute of blood,³⁹ their circumcision was not valid,⁴⁰ they had been forbidden intermarriage with Israelites either by Moses or David.⁴¹ It is safe to conclude that all these are deductions from the biblical texts and not dependent on traditions other than biblical, though the reference to their circumcision is interesting in view of the possible relevance of Jos. 5,2-9 for the Gibeonite question.⁴² In one text they are put in the same category as the "bastards" of Dt. 23,2 who were forbidden entry into the assembly of Yahweh.⁴³ All told, therefore, this post-exilic tradition, carried on into the Gemara period, is ~~strongg~~ enough to bear the supposition that Gibeonites were transferred as menial temple-servants to Jerusalem as early as the reign of Solomon and that their ethnic individuality continued to be recognized.

Yeb

38. Yeb.71a.78b-79a; Hor.4b; Mak.13a.

39. Yeb.79a.

40. Abod.Zar.27a.

41. Yeb.79a; Hor.4b.

42. See above pp.123f.

43. Bek.45b.

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PRINCIPAL ABBREVIATIONS

AASOR	=	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.
AJSL	=	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, Chicago.
ANET	=	<u>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</u> , ed. J. B. Pritchard, Princeton, 1955 ² .
An.Or.	=	Analecta Orientalia, Rome.
Arch.Orient.	=	Archiv Orientální, Prague.
ATD	=	Das Alte Testament Deutsch, Göttingen.
BA	=	Biblical Archaeologist, Baltimore New Haven.
BASOR	=	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research, New Haven.
BDB	=	<u>Hebrew Lexicon</u> , Brown, Driver, Briggs, Oxford,
Bib	=	Biblica, Rome.
BibVel	=	Biblical Volume
BIES	=	Bulletin of the Israel Exploration Society, Jerusalem.
BJPES	=	Bulletin of the Jewish Palestine Exploration Society, Jerusalem.
BZAW	=	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
BWANT	=	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament, Stuttgart.
CAH	=	<u>Cambridge Ancient History</u> , Cambridge, 1963 ² (vols. I-II in fascicle).
CBQ	=	Catholic Biblical Quarterly, Washington.
CommViat	=	Communie Viatorum, Prague.
DBS	=	Dictionnaire de la Bible, Supplement, Paris.
ETL	=	Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses, Louvain.
HUCA	=	Hebrew Union College Annual, Cincinnati.
ICC	=	International Critical Commentary, Edinburgh.

- IDB = The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible, New York and Nashville.
- IEJ = Israel Exploration Journal, Jerusalem.
- JCS = Journal of Cuneiform Studies, New Haven.
- JNES = Journal of Near Eastern Studies, Chicago.
- JPES = Journal of the Palestine Exploration Society, Jerusalem.
- JPOS = Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society, Jerusalem.
- JQR = Jewish Quarterly Review, Philadelphia.
- JSS = Journal of Semitical Studies, Manchester.
- JTS = Journal of Theological Studies, Oxford.
- Kl.Schr. = Kleine Schriften.
- MT = Massoretic Text.
- Norsk TT = Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift, Oslo.
- OLZ = Orientalistische Literaturzeitung, Berlin.
- OS = Oudtestamentische Studiën, Leiden.
- Peake = Peake Scripture Commentary, London, 1963².
- PEQ = Palestine Exploration Quarterly, London.
- PJB = Palästinajahrbuch, Berlin.
- Rass = Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale, Paris.
- RB = Revue Biblique, Jerusalem. (Paris).
- RES = Revue des Etudes Semitiques, Paris.
- RevBibl = Revista Biblica, Madrid.
- RGG = Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart, Tübingen.
- RHA = Revue Hittite et Asianique, Paris.
- RHR = Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, Paris.
- RSV = Revised Standard Version, American Bible Society, New York.
- SAT = Die Schriften des Alten Testaments, Göttingen.

StTh Lund	= Studia Theologica, Lund.
Symm.	= Symmachus.
Syr.	= versio Syriaca.
TLZ	= Theologische Literaturzeitung, Leipzig, Berlin.
TZ	= Theologische Zeitschrift, Basle.
VD	= Verbum Domini, Rome.
VT	= Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
VTs	= Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, Leiden.
ZA	= Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, Berlin.
ZAW	= Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, Berlin.
ZAWB	= Beihülfe zur ZAW, Berlin.
ZDMG	= Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft, Wiesbaden.
ZDPV	= Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins, Wiesbaden.
ZTK	= Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche, Tübingen.
ZKWKL	= Zeitschrift für Kirchliche Wissenschaft und Kirchliches Leben, Leipzig.

