SOURCE AND REVISION IN THE NARRATIVES OF DAVID'S TRANSFER OF THE ARK

Text, Language and Story

in 2 Samuel 6 and 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16

VOLUME II: APPENDICES AND BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX ONE

All Israel

1.1 Introduction

The concept of 'all Israel' in the book of Chronicles is well known. Japhet gives this summary:

> The Chronicler has a very special picture of the people of Israel in its ethnographic, geographical and political aspects. His dominant view is that of 'great Israel' in the broadest sense, applying to both its ethnographic definition and geographical expansion. The people of Israel are conceived of as a comprehensive, unified body comprised of tribes, which in turn are vital and active entities throughout the history of Israel. Not only in the introductory nine chapters, when 'Israel' is introduced, and in the reigns of David and Solomon when Israel achieved its ideal existence, but also after the defection of the northern tribes, there is a process of return to this original unity, which culminates in the days of Josiah. The Chronicler is not confined by the traditional concept of the 'twelve tribes'; rather, he strives at encompassing every element in Israel, including the 'sojourners' (*gērīm*) [,] the non-Israelite population of the land. According to the Chronicler's portrayal, there are no Gentiles in the land of Israel; all its dwellers are 'Israel', either through their affiliation with the tribes, or as the attached 'sojourners'. The same broad concept applies to the Chronicler's view of the land and to the relationship of 'land' and 'people'. ...[893]

The present writer does not contest the fact that 'all Israel' is a distinctive trait of the book of Chronicles. However, in many instances where the wording of Chronicles varies from the wording of Samuel–Kings, it is feared that the generalised application of this principle has resulted in the misjudgement of the 'original' or 'earlier' reading. In other words, not every case of 'all Israel' in Chronicles is secondary vis-à-vis a different reading in Samuel–Kings.[894] A comprehensive analysis of 'all Israel' and related terminology in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles is beyond the scope of this thesis.[895] Rather, this appendix

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[893] Japhet 1993: 46-47. Also see Braun 1986: xxxv-xxxvii; Howard 1993: 253-256; Japhet 1997: 270-278; M. D. Johnson 1969: 47-49; Williamson 1977: 102-110, 126-130; 1982: 24-26.

[894] Auld 2000b (esp. 146-148) takes a similar view.

[895] In addition, the theme 'all Israel' is evident beyond the use of certain vocabulary, e.g., in the genealogies.

gives various facets of the textual evidence and elaborates further on the instances of variation in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.

1.2 'All Israel' Constructions

The word ישראל is used in scores of different constructions and phrases. The following table gives overall statistics for a number of phrases which are significant for the present investigation.

Phrase			Total	Samuel	Kings	Chronicles
ישראל	–	–	2514	268	367	301
ישראל	בני	–	607	15	29	25
ישראל	בית	–	128	3	2	0
ישראל	איש	–	32	10	0	1
ישראל	שבטי	–	26	4	0	3
ישראל	אנשי	–	8	8	0	0
ישראל	–	כל	154	36	26	46
ישראל	1 noun[896]	כל	144	31	20	24
ישראל	בני	כל	29	2	3	2
ישראל	שבטי	כל	22	7	4	4
ישראל	בית	כל	19	4	0	0
ישראל	איש	כל	18	8	1	3
ישראל	קהל	כל	13	0	5	5
ישראל	גבול	כל	8	4	2	1
ישראל	עדה	כל	7	0	1	1
ישראל	אנשי	כל	1	1	0	0
ישראל	other noun[897]	כל	27	5	4	8
ישראל	2 nouns	כל	35	1	1	0

Observations:

- בני ישראל and כל־בני ישראל are used frequently, especially in Exodus–Judges, and often enough in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles.
- בית ישראל and כל־בית ישראל occur frequently in Jeremiah (20 times) and Ezekiel (83 times), but only ten times in the Former Prophets, and never in Chronicles. Samuel has these phrases seven times, and the distribution is interesting: כל־

[896] The only non-substantive items to occur in this slot are the adjective זקן and the verbs בחר and פקד as passive participles, but these are used in only a handful of cases.

[897] Sixteen other nouns are used in the כל ___ ישראל construction: זרע (4 times), שארית (3 times), שרים (3 times), ארץ (2 times), המון (2 times), מטות (2 times), מלכים (2 times), ארצות (once), הר (once), חמדה (once), קרן (once), מים (once), מנחה (once), משפחות (once), נשיאים (once), ערים (once).

בית ישראל appears twice in the first ark story (1 Sam. 7.2-3) and twice in the second (2 Sam. 6.5, 15), and בית ישראל occurs three times in connection with Saul, in 2 Sam. 1.12; 12.8; 16.3.

- Phrases with איש in the singular or plural and with or without כל appear infrequently outside Samuel (27 times) and Judges (19 times) which have nearly eighty percent of all occurrences.

- כל־שבטי ישראל and שבטי ישראל occur most often in Samuel (11 times), Judges (10 times), Ezekiel (7 times) and Chronicles (7 times).

- In comparison with Samuel, Kings and Chronicles have some instances of כל־עדת ישראל and כל־קהל ישראל.

- Chronicles' complete 'dislike' for בית-phrases is shared to some extent by Kings, and both books stand out against Samuel with respect to איש-phrases, which Samuel 'likes' very much.

1.3 Summary of 'All Israel' in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles

The phrase כל־ישראל is used outside Samuel, Kings and Chronicles in Joshua (17 times), Deuteronomy (14 times), and in seven other books (15 times). The usage of the phrase in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles is summarised in the following table:

	Samuel–Kings	Occurrences	Chronicles	Occurrences
Genealogies	–	–	1C 1–9	1
Samuel & Saul	1S 1–31	18	1C 10	0
David	2S 1–24	18	1C 11–29	21
Solomon	1K 1–11	10	2C 1–9	5
Division	1K 12	5	2C 10–11	6
Judah & Israel	1K 13–2K 17	11	2C 12–28	6
Judah	2K 18–25	0	2C 29–36	7
		62		46

After the division of the kingdom, from 1 Kings 13 and 2 Chronicles 12 onward, Kings and Chronicles share כל־ישראל only in 1 Kgs. 22.17 // 2 Chron. 18.16, in the story of the prophet Micaiah. In this same material, כל־ישראל refers to the northern kingdom alone ('Israel') in Kings and often in Chronicles[898], but refers to both kingdoms in 2 Chron. 30.5 and the southern kingdom alone in 2 Chron. 24.5. The extent of 'all Israel' is difficult to

[898] 2 Chron. 13.4, 15; 18.16; 28.23; 30.1, 6.

pinpoint in 2 Chron. 29.24; 31.1; 35.3. The usage of כל־ישראל in Chronicles *after the division of the kingdom* is certainly unique, but in other portions of Chronicles כל־ישראל is no more distinctive than this same phrase in Samuel, which uses כל־ישראל for the 'northern' kingdom alone in 2 Sam. 3.12, 21, 27; 4.1; 5.5 and for both kingdoms in 2 Sam. 8.15; 10.17; 11.1; 12.12; 14.25; 15.6; 16.21-22; 17.10-11, 13; 18.17; 19.12. Whereas the post-division use of כל־ישראל is distinctive in Chronicles, the בית- and איש-phrases are distinctive in Samuel. Two other points help to put כל־ישראל in perspective. First, the divine epithet יהוה אלהי ישראל occurs 119 times in the Bible, most often in Chronicles (30 times), followed by Kings (27 times), Joshua (14 times), Jeremiah (14 times), and Samuel (9 times), and elsewhere the phrase occurs 25 times. Japhet remarks that 'This epithet is used freely in Chronicles, unlinked to any particular context'.[899] Since יהוה אלהי ישראל is used somewhat indiscriminately in Chronicles, one should safeguard against routinely over-interpreting the significance of כל־ישראל. Second, the phrase כל־ישראל in MT Chronicles[900] frequently stands parallel to a phrase other than πᾶς Ισραηλ in LXX Chronicles. On one hand, when the LXX has πᾶς Ισραηλ, the MT always has כל־ישראל, but on the other, when the MT has כל־ישראל, the LXX has a different phrase in nearly twenty percent of cases.

[899] Japhet 1997: 19.

[900] This phrase occurs once each in forty verses and twice in 2 Chron. 1.2; 10.16; 29.24.

Synoptic:

- 1 Chron. 11.1 (?) – see below
- 1 Chron. 11.4 – see below
- 1 Chron. 21.4 – see below
- 2 Chron. 10.3 – see below
- 2 Chron. 11.3 – see below
- 2 Chron. 18.16 - τὸν Ισραηλ (cf. 1 Kgs. 22.17)

Non-synoptic:

- 1 Chron. 28.8 – πάσης ἐκκλησίας κυρίου (cf. LXX^{AN})
- 1 Chron. 29.26 – Ισραηλ (cf. LXX^{L})
- 2 Chron. 1.2 – πᾶσιν τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ἐναντίον Ισραηλ (cf. LXX^{L})
- 2 Chron. 13.15 – τὸν Ισραηλ

This evidence suggests that some instances of כל־ישראל may be revised readings in MT Chronicles vis-à-vis Samuel–Kings and LXX Chronicles.[901] *Each occurrence of* כל־ישראל *must be scrutinised* ***individually***. In addition, text-critical evidence is crucial to delineating the recension history of another three or four synoptic passages (see below): 2 Sam. 7.7 // 1 Chron. 17.6; 2 Sam. 24.2 // 1 Chron. 21.2; 1 Kgs. 12.18 // 2 Chron. 10.18; and perhaps 1 Kgs. 8.62 // 2 Chron. 7.5.

The following tables present all cases of כל־ישראל and ישראל X כל in synoptic material and all additional occurrences of these phrases in Chronicles.

[901] Ho 1994: 98-103 takes an initial step toward comparing the pan-Israel concern in MT and LXX of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. His two major points are (1) MT uses 'Israel' and 'all Israel' more frequently than LXX, and (2) scribes had a stronger tendency to add 'all' to 'Israel' in Chronicles than in Samuel–Kings. He concludes: 'Thus, when one detects a כל־ישׂראל in Chr with a כל plus but not in the same synoptic text of Sam-Kgs, it is as likely for the Chr to change its source as for the Massorete (or the scribe) to change Chr's. The same applies to Samuel-Kings. It is thus necessary to be cautious in relating Chr's pan-Israel concern to his use of כל־ישׂראל because MT has a much stronger tendency (17.1% plus) to use "all Israel" in Chr than in Samuel-Kings (10.5% plus)'.

כל־ישראל in Chronicles // כל־ישראל in Samuel–Kings	כל־ישראל in Chronicles // different phrase in Samuel–Kings	כל־ישראל in Chronicles no // in Samuel–Kings	כל־ישראל in Samuel–Kings // different phrase in Chronicles
2S 8.15 // 1C 18.14	2S 5.1 // 1C 11.1	1C 9.1	2S 11.1 // 1C 20.1
2S 10.17 // 1C 19.17	2S 5.6 // 1C 11.4	1C 11.10	1K 5.27 // 2C 2.16
1K 8.65 // 2C 7.8	2S 5.17 // 1C 14.8	1C 12.39	1K 8.62 // 2C 7.4
1K 11.42 // 2C 9.30	2S 6.1 // 1C 13.5	1C 15.3	1K 12.18 // 2C 10.18
1K 12.1 // 2C 10.1	2S 6.2 // 1C 13.6	1C 28.4	
1K 12.16 // 2C 10.16	2S 6.5 // 1C 13.8	1C 28.8	
1K 22.17 // 2C 18.16	2S 6.15 // 1C 15.28	1C 29.21	
	2S 7.7 // 1C 17.6	1C 29.23	
	2S 24.8 // 1C 21.4	1C 29.25	
	2S 24.9 // 1C 21.5	1C 29.26	
	1K 12.3 // 2C 10.3	2C 1.2	
	1K 12.16 // 2C 10.16	2C 1.2	
	1K 12.23 // 2C 11.3	2C 7.6	
		2C 11.13	
		2C 12.1	
		2C 13.4	
		2C 13.15	
		2C 24.5	
		2C 28.23	
		2C 29.24	
		2C 29.24	
		2C 30.1	
		2C 30.5	
		2C 30.6	
		2C 31.1	
		2C 35.3	
7 times	13 times	26 times	4 times

כל X ישראל in Chronicles // כל X ישראל in Samuel–Kings	כל X ישראל in Chronicles // כל Y ישראל in Samuel–Kings	כל X ישראל in Chronicles // different phrase in Samuel–Kings	כל X ישראל in Chronicles no // in Samuel–Kings	כל X ישראל in Samuel–Kings // כל־ישראל in Chronicles	כל X ישראל in Samuel–Kings // different phrase in Chronicles
2S 5.3 // 1C 11.3 1K 8.2 // 2C 5.3 1K 8.3 // 2C 5.4 1K 8.5 // 2C 5.6 1K 8.14 // 2C 6.3 1K 8.14 // 2C 6.3 1K 8.16 // 2C 6.5 1K 8.22 // 2C 6.12 1K 8.38 // 2C 6.29 2K 21.7 // 2C 33.7 2K 21.7 // 2C 33.7 cf. 2S 10.9 // 1C 19.10	2S 6.19 // 1C 16.3 2K 23.22 // 2C 35.18	1S 31.7 // 1C 10.7 2K 22.4 // 2C 34.9	1C 12.39 1C 13.2 1C 13.2 1C 21.12 1C 22.17 1C 23.2 1C 28.1 2C 6.13 2C 7.3 2C 11.16 2C 12.13 2C 31.1 2C 34.7	2S 5.1 // 1C 11.1 2S 6.5 // 1C 13.8 2S 6.15 // 1C 15.28 2S 7.7 // 1C 17.6 1K 12.3 // 2C 10.3 cf. 2S 6.1 // 1C 13.5	2S 24.2 // 1C 21.2 1K 8.63 // 2C 7.5
12 times	2 times	2 times	13 times	6 times	2 times

1.4 Commentary on Variation Related to 'All Israel' in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles

The phrases כל־ישראל and ישראל X כל are different in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles in 23 cases and in the following chapters of these books:

- 1 Samuel 31 // 1 Chronicles 10[902]
- 2 Samuel 5–7, 11, 24 // 1 Chronicles 11, 13–17, 20–21[903]
- 1 Kings 5, 8, 12, 22–23 // 2 Chronicles 2, 7, 10–11, 34–35[904]

In the remainder of this appendix brief observations will be made on 18 of these cases and a closer analysis will be made of variations in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.

1.4.1 כל־ישראל in Chronicles

2S 5.17	ישראל ___	כל־ישראל	1C 14.8

Japhet comments that some scholars believe כל was inadvertently lost from Samuel, but she herself argues:

> The wording in Chronicles merely clarifies the meaning: David had previously been king over Judah; it was his becoming king over all Israel that led the Philistines to attack. This meaning is indicated by the story in Samuel and is only made more obvious by the Chronicler's alteration.[905]

See below on 2 Sam. 5.1 // 1 Chron. 11.1 and 2 Sam. 5.6 // 1 Chron. 11.4.

2S 24.9	ישראל ___	כל־ישראל	1C 21.5

Most scholars think the Chronicler took the figure 1,300,000 for 'Israel' (800,000) and 'Judah' (500,000) together from Samuel and then subtracted 200,000 for Levi and

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[902] 1 Sam. 31.7 // 1 Chron. 10.7.

[903] 2 Sam. 5.1 // 1 Chron. 11.1; 2 Sam. 5.6 // 1 Chron. 11.4; 2 Sam. 5.17 // 1 Chron. 14.8; 2 Sam. 6.1 // 1 Chron. 13.5; 2 Sam. 6.2 // 1 Chron. 13.6; 2 Sam. 6.5 // 1 Chron. 13.8; 2 Sam. 6.15 // 1 Chron. 15.28; 2 Sam. 6.19 // 1 Chron. 16.3; 2 Sam. 7.7 // 1 Chron. 17.6; 2 Sam. 11.1 // 1 Chron. 20.1; 2 Sam. 24.2 // 1 Chron. 21.2; 2 Sam. 24.8 // 1 Chron. 21.4; 2 Sam. 24.9 // 1 Chron. 21.5.

[904] 1 Kgs. 5.27 // 2 Chron. 2.16; 1 Kgs. 8.62 // 2 Chron. 7.4; 1 Kgs. 8.63 // 2 Chron. 7.5; 1 Kgs. 12.3 // 2 Chron. 10.3; 1 Kgs. 12.16 // 2 Chron. 10.16; 1 Kgs. 12.18 // 2 Chron. 10.18; 1 Kgs. 12.23 // 2 Chron. 11.3; 2 Kgs. 22.4 // 2 Chron. 34.9; 2 Kgs. 23.22 // 2 Chron. 35.18.

[905] Japhet 1997: 272.

Benjamin (1 Chron. 21.6) thus giving 1,100,000 for 'all Israel'. In this scenario, the final clause regarding Judah in 1 Chron. 21.5 is a later gloss taken from Samuel.[906] This explanation is somewhat reasonable, but the supposed gloss of 470,000 for Judah seems awkward since Samuel has 500,000, and nobody has successfully explained the reason for the minus of 30,000.

1K 12.16	ישראל ___	כל־ישראל	2C 10.16

There is fluctuation in the use of terminology for the northern kingdom throughout 1 Kgs. 12.1-24 // 2 Chron. 10.1-11.4. 1 Kgs. 12.16 and 2 Chron. 10.16 have כל־ישראל at the start of this verse, ישראל in the middle, and then depart from one another at the end. The interchange seems to be a matter of style. It is impossible to know with certainty whether כל was dropped in Kings or added in Chronicles.[907]

2S 5.6	המלך ואנשיו	דויד וכל־ישראל	1C 11.4

Japhet remarks that all commentators emphasise the Chronicler's modification of his *Vorlage*: 'It is stressed that David was king over all Israel and acted on behalf of all the people in the conquest of Jerusalem'.[908] Williamson says:

> David's establishment of a neutral capital was, historically speaking, an important step in his uniting the tribes of Israel, and as such was probably a private undertaking by him and his personal mercenaries. ... The Chronicler's alteration presents a theological interpretation of this action, once more viewing history from the point of view of its outcome.[909]

However:

2 Sam. 5.6		1 Chron. 11.4	
Δαυιδ καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ	המלך ואנשיו	ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ	דויד וכל־ישראל

[906] See, e.g., Braun 1986: 217-218; Curtis and Madsen 1910: 250; Japhet 1993: 378; Williamson 1982: 145.

[907] For further discussion see Japhet 1993: 658; 1997: 273; Williamson 1977: 108-109.

[908] Japhet 1993: 239.

[909] Williamson 1982: 98; cf. 1977: 95-96.

LXX^{L} Samuel's ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ is a revision, and LXX^{MN} and many cursives also reflect πάντες. LXX^{L} Chronicles' ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυιδ καὶ πᾶς Ισραηλ is also a revision, and LXX^{AN} and many cursives have Ισραηλ rather than αὐτοῦ. Unless one accepts the dubious suggestion that Greek Chronicles' ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ is revised toward MT Samuel, one is forced to accept that MT Chronicles' 'all Israel' is editorial.

2S 24.8	כל־הארץ	כל־ישראל	1C 21.4

There is no aversion to 'the land' in Chronicles as can be observed in, e.g., 1 Chron. 21.12 (// 2 Sam. 24.13). Variations of כל־הארץ occur thirteen times in Chronicles. All the earth is Yahweh's possession (1 Chron. 16.14, 23, 30; 2 Chron. 16.9). The plural ארצות is used with the sense of 'lands, districts, regions' (1 Chron. 14.17; 22.5; 2 Chron. 9.28; 11.23; 34.33). More pertinent instances are כל־ארצות ישראל (1 Chron. 13.2); כל־ארץ ממשלתו (2 Chron. 8.6); כל־ארץ יהודה ובנימן (2 Chron. 15.8); כל־ארץ ישראל (2 Chron. 34.7). The noun ארץ appears 6 times in Samuel and 3 times in Chronicles in this passage:

2 Samuel 24		1 Chronicles 21	
v. 6	'the land of the Hittites'	–	verse minus
v. 8	'all the land'	v. 4	'all Israel'
v. 13	'your land'	v. 12	phrase minus
v. 13	'your land'	v. 12	'the land'
–	verse minus	v. 16	'the earth'
v. 20	'the ground'	v. 21	'the ground'
v. 25	'the land'	v. 26	phrase minus

One wonders whether 'the land' in 2 Sam. 24.25 was added in response to David's choice for 'pestilence in ... the land' in v. 13. Conversely, the text-critical evidence in Greek Chronicles is interesting. LXX^{B} has a short text due to homoioteleuton. Observe 'Israel' at the end of 1 Chron. 21.3 and 'Israel' just prior to LXX^{B} 1 Chron. 21.4. Other manuscripts have a text similar to the MT, with a significant exception: LXX^{L} has the expected ἐν

παντὶ Ισραηλ, but LXX^{AN} and most cursives have ἐν παντὶ ὁρίῳ Ισραηλ. It is not clear that כל־ישראל in 1 Chron. 21.4 is the original reading.

1K 12.23	כל־בית יהודה ובנימין ויתר העם	כל־ישראל ביהודה ובנימן	2C 11.3

Japhet and Williamson agree that the wording in Chronicles has the same meaning as in Kings. Japhet observes that Chronicles uses geographical rather than tribal labels, and Williamson suggests that the Chronicler drew כל־ישראל into association with the southern kingdom to show that the phrase could be used for either kingdom.[910] Once again, however, the textual evidence raises doubt regarding the reading in MT Chronicles. First, observe the start of this pericope:

1 Kgs. 12.21	2 Chron. 11.1
כל־בית יהודה ואת־שבט בנימן	בית יהודה ובנימן
τὴν συναγωγὴν Ιουδα καὶ σκῆπτρον Βενιαμιν	τὸν Ιουδαν καὶ Βενιαμιν

בית יהודה occurs in both these passages, and also elsewhere in Chronicles in 1 Chron. 28.4; 2 Chron. 19.11; 22.10. Second, LXX 2 Chron. 11.3 has simply πάντα Ιουδαν καὶ Βενιαμιν, which is revised in some cursives to include 'Israel'. Third, the statement in Chronicles, 'all Israel in [any region]' is awkward and without parallel in the Bible.

2S 5.1	כל־שבטי ישראל	כל ___ ישראל	1C 11.1

Similarly, 2 Sam. 24.2 has כל־שבטי ישראל but synoptic 1 Chron. 21.2 has ישראל only. See below. Samuel and Chronicles have כל־שבטי ישראל in 1 Sam. 2.28; 10.20; 2 Sam. 5.1; 15.10; 19.10; 20.14; 24.2; 2 Chron. 6.5; 11.16; 12.13; 33.7; and these books have שבטי ישראל without כל in 1 Sam 9.21; 15.17; 2 Sam. 7.7; 15.2; 1 Chron. 27.16, 22; 29.6. On one hand, Japhet points out that there is no reason to think that the Chronicler deliberately avoided referring to the tribes of Israel[911], but on the other hand, she suggests that the text was altered here for a particular reason:

[910] Japhet 1997: 273-274; 1993: 659; Williamson 1977: 87-88, 97-110; 1982: 239-240.
[911] Japhet 1997: 271 n. 22.

> By contrast, in Chronicles the anointing of David is a totally beginning, and there is a direct transition from the death of Saul (ch. 10) to the accession of David. There is no such thing, in Chronicles, as a partial kingship of David over Judah. The adjustment of the passage to its new context occasions several changes, most important of which is the change of 'all the tribes of Israel' to 'all Israel'.[912]

In other words, David is anointed king over Judah in 2 Sam. 2.4 and over Israel in 2 Sam. 5.3, but in Chronicles these two events are telescoped into a single event in which 'all Israel', including northerners and southerners, took part. However, '(all) the tribes of Israel' may convey this same totality in Chronicles as in Samuel (see the citations above), so that it is unclear how the terminology contributes to the perspective in Chronicles. 'Israel' appears as follows in 2 Samuel 5 // 1 Chron. 11.1-9 and 14.1-17.

2 Samuel		1 Chronicles	
5.1	'all the tribes of Israel'	'all Israel'	11.1
5.2	'Israel'	'Israel'	11.2
5.2	'my people Israel'	'my people Israel'	11.2
5.2	'Israel'	'my people Israel'	11.2
5.3	'all the elders of Israel'	'all the elders of Israel'	11.3
5.3	'Israel'	'Israel'	11.3
5.5	'all Israel'	–	–
5.6	'the king and his men'	'David and all Israel' [see above]	11.4
5.12	'Israel'	'Israel'	14.2
5.12	'his people Israel'	'his people Israel'	14.2
5.17	'Israel'	'all Israel' [see above]	14.8

The totality of Israel is in view in each book, as opposed to just Judah in 2 Sam. 2.1-7. Finally, LXX^{L} 1 Chron. 11.1 has πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ rather than πᾶς Ισραηλ, but here and in 1 Chron. 13.6, LXX^{L} probably has an expansion.

2S 7.7	כל־בני ישראל	כל ___ ישראל	1C 17.6

The phrase בני ישראל appears 15 times in Samuel and 28 times in Chronicles, and כל־בני ישראל is used twice in each book (1 Sam. 15.6; 2 Sam. 7.7; 2 Chron. 7.3; 31.1). Furthermore, LXX 2 Sam. 7.7 lacks υἱοί. Japhet says: 'Since "the children of Israel" appears quite frequently in Chronicles, it is unlikely that this change was deliberate – and

[912] Japhet 1993: 236.

"all Israel" does in fact appear in LXX to 2 Sam. 7:7'.[913] 'The sons of Israel' in MT/LXX 2 Sam. 7.6 but only 'Israel' in MT/LXX 1 Chron. 17.5 suggests that the phrase was inserted in Samuel in more than one editorial stage.

1K 12.3	כל־קהל ישראל	כל ___ ישראל	2C 10.3

Japhet says that 'in view of other texts, this substitution appears to be accidental'[914] whereas Williamson suggests that the Chronicler's omission lays stress on the unity and comprehensive nature of all Israel as opposed to just northerners.[915] However, כל־קהל ישראל and related phrases function in this capacity elsewhere in Chronicles.[916] The complicated recensional history of the story of the division of the kingdom in 1 Kings 12 // 2 Chronicles 10–11 is well-known.[917] Perhaps it is not surprising that LXX Chronicles has πᾶσα ἡ ἐκκλησία Ισραηλ whereas only LXX^{A} Kings reflects the MT's קהל. It is altogether more likely that קהל was inserted in MT 1 Kgs. 12.3.

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[913] Japhet 1997: 272.

[914] Japhet 1997: 272-273 n. 22.

[915] Williamson 1977: 103.

[916] The noun קהל occurs 6 times in Kings and 33 in Chronicles, in these phrases:
הקהל: 2 Chron. 1.5; 20.14; 29.23, 31, 32; 30.17, 23, 24 (twice)
כל־קהל: 2 Chron. 31.18
כל־הקהל: 1 Chron. 13.4; 29.1, 10, 20 (twice); 2 Chron. 1.3; 23.3; 28.14; 29.28; 30.4
קהל גדול: 1 Kgs. 8.65; 2 Chron. 7.8
קהל לרב מאד: 2 Chron. 30.13
קהל־יהוה: 1 Chron. 28.8
כל־קהל ישראל: 1 Kgs. 8.14 (twice), 22, 55; 12.3; 1 Chron. 13.2; 2 Chron. 6.3 (twice), 12, 13
הקהל לישראל: 2 Chron. 24.6
כל־הקהל הבאים מישראל: 2 Chron. 30.25
כל־קהל יהודה: 2 Chron. 30.25
כל־הקהל בירושלם: 2 Chron. 30.2
קהל יהודה וירושלם: 2 Chron. 20.5

[917] See, most recently, Schenker 2000. Longer treatments are Knoppers 1993; McKenzie 1991; Z. Talshir 1993; Trebolle Barrera 1980.

1.4.2 ישראל X כל in Chronicles

1S 31.7	אנשי ישראל ___	כל־איש ישראל	1C 10.7

MT Chronicles has איש־ישראל in 1 Chron. 10.1 and כל־איש ישראל here and twice more in 1 Chron. 16.3 and 2 Chron. 5.3. The book never uses אנשים in this construction. As observed above, Judges and Samuel have nearly eighty percent of all איש/אנשי (כל) ישראל phrases in the Bible. The following table gives the references to Saul's אנשים in 1 Samuel 31 // 1 Chronicles 10.

	1 Samuel 31	1 Chronicles 10
v. 1b	אנשי ישראל (οἱ) ἄνδρες Ισραηλ	איש־ישראל minus (implied ישראל); LXX^{L} and other cursives have ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ
v. 6	כל־אנשיו minus; LXX^{AL} have καὶ πάντες οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ	phrase minus phrase minus
v. 7a	אנשי־ישראל (οἱ) ἄνδρες Ισραηλ	כל־איש ישראל πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ
v. 7b	אנשי ישראל (οἱ) ἄνδρες Ισραηλ	minus Ισραηλ

This writer has no strong opinion on this series of disagreements.

1K 5.27	כל־ישראל	כל־האנשים הגירים אשר בארץ ישראל	2C 2.16

Chronicles has an expansion.[918]

2K 22.4	מאת העם	מיד מנשה ואפרים ומכל־שארית ישראל ומכל־יהודה ובנימן וישבי ירושלם	2C 34.9

Again, the Chronicler has expanded the story. 'Clearly he is aiming at as comprehensive a definition of the people of both north and south as possible'.[919]

2K 23.22	וכל־ימי מלכי ישראל ומלכי יהודה	כל־מלכי ישראל ...	2C 35.18

מלכי ישראל in 2 Chron. 35.18 is inclusive of (the one people of) Israel and Judah.[920]

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[918] For discussion see Japhet 1993: 546-547; 1997: 335-351; Williamson 1977: 123.

[919] Williamson 1982: 400; cf. 1977: 125-126.

[920] Japhet 1993: 1055; Williamson 1977: 128-129; 1982: 407.

1.4.3 ישראל or ישראל X in Chronicles

2S 24.2	כל־שבטי ישראל	ישראל	1C 21.2

See the discussions above of 2 Sam. 5.1 // 1 Chron. 11.1 and of 2 Sam. 24.8-9 // 1 Chron. 21.4-5. Japhet says:

> The view that the people of Israel is composed of tribal units is common and even characteristic of Chronicles, and therefore the omission here cannot be interpreted as deriving from a tendency to underplay the role of the tribes; rather, it was probably motivated by the wish to emphasize the unity of the people, in the light of the previous verse.[921]

However, as observed above, '(all) the tribes of Israel' may convey this same totality in Chronicles as in Samuel, so that it is unclear how the omission contributes to the perspective in Chronicles. At best the change is stylistic, related to the alternate phraseology of David's orders in Chronicles. However, an editor just as easily may have inserted the שבטים in Samuel. Remarkably, LXX^{L} Samuel has πάντα τὸν Ισραηλ. One could suggest that the phrase was truncated related to the focus on movement throughout the regions of Israel, but LXX^{L} 2 Sam. 15.10 and 20.14 throw doubt on this view. Additionally, φυλάς could not have fallen out of LXX^{L} due to haplography (πάσας φυλὰς Ισραηλ) since this version has πάντα τὸν Ισραηλ.

1K 12.18	כל־ישראל	בני ישראל	2C 10.18

Chronicles has בני ישראל (כל) nearly as frequently as Kings and much more often the Samuel. Williamson thinks the Chronicler does not wish to avoid using כל, but rather, he wished to use of the northern kingdom exactly the same phrase which is used of the southern kingdom in the previous verse. The inhabitants of both kingdoms are still equally 'sons of Israel'.[922] Once again, however, one must recall the complicated recension history of 1 Kings 12 // 2 Chronicles 10–11.[923] There is no attested variation for

[921] Japhet 1993: 376. Also see Williamson 1977: 123-124.

[922] Williamson 1977: 109-110.

[923] See the discussion of 1 Kgs. 12.3 // 2 Chron. 10.3.

בני ישראל in 2 Chron. 10.18, but this is not the case for כל־ישראל in 1 Kgs. 12.18. LXX^{B} lacks πᾶς Ισραηλ altogether; the subject is contained in ἐλιθοβόλησαν. LXX^{AN} are revised to include the phrase, as is LXX^{L}, in which πᾶς Ισραηλ is oddly placed at the very end of the clause: καὶ ἐλιθοβόλησαν αὐτὸν ἐν λίθοις πᾶς Ισραηλ. This is a clear instance of editorial revision. One must be cautious in suggesting that the Chronicler changed כל־ישראל to בני ישראל.

1.4.4 X כל in Chronicles

1K 8.62	כל־ישראל	כל־העם	2C 7.4

See the next entry.

1K 8.63	כל־בני ישראל	כל־העם	2C 7.5

Japhet thinks the 'interchange of phrases' in these passages is 'random' and 'merely stylistic'.[924] This is doubtful. 1 Kings 8 and 2 Chron. 5.2-7.10 have an unusually large number of terms for the general population of Israel. Both passages *share*, and occasionally use independently, ישראל, בני ישראל, כל־איש ישראל, כל־שבטי ישראל, כל־עדת ישראל, כל־קהל ישראל, קהל גדול (Chron. + מאד), עמX (X = pronoun), העם, ישראל עמX (X = pronoun), and לישראל עמו. In addition, each passage has one independent incidence of כל־בני ישראל (1 Kgs. 8.63; 2 Chron. 7.3), and each passage has one independent occurrence of כל־ישראל (1 Kgs. 8.62; 2 Chron. 7.8) in addition to one shared instance (1 Kgs. 8.65 // 1 Chron. 7.6). It is remarkable that these passages *share* all these, but they *do not share* כל־העם, the phrase which occurs twice in 1 Chron. 7.4-5, but not in 1 Kgs. 8.62-63. Kings does not use כל־העם in this passage. The freshness of Chronicles' כל־העם makes this phrase the *lectio difficilior*. It should also be pointed out that Chronicles' כל־העם is relatively generic compared with Kings' כל־ישראל and כל־בני ישראל, and this too suggests

[924] Japhet 1997: 272-273.

the phrase's originality. Furthermore, the divergence between Kings and Chronicle occurs at the beginning of the third and final section of the story in which Solomon and everybody else offer sacrifices as part of the temple dedication ceremony. Yet in Kings, *whenever* the people (העם) offer sacrifices (זבח) they do so illicitly at high places: 1 Kgs. 3.2; 22.44 (// 2 Chron. 20.31); 2 Kgs. 12.4; 14.4; 15.4, 35; cf. 2 Chron. 33.17.[925] It may be suggested, then, that the editors of Kings were unable to countenance כל־העם and therefore they adopted vocabulary *already present* in the conclusion of the story (1 Kgs. 8.62-66 // 2 Chron. 7.4-10). The phrase כל־העם is discussed further below. As a final note, LXX 1 Kgs. 8.62 has πάντες οἱ υἱοὶ Ισραηλ.

1.4.5 Minus in Chronicles

2S 11.1	כל־ישראל	minus	1C 20.1

Japhet's acknowledgment of the originality of the minus in 1 Chron. 20.1 requires no defence. She says:

> However, it seems that in this case it is the Chronicler who still preserves the original version of the story. ... It has been repeatedly demonstrated that the Chronicler tends to broaden the scope of the events he describes, and to redact his sources in this mood, ascribing an increasingly important role to 'all Israel'. It is therefore rather unlikely that he would, with no apparent reason, rework a story in the opposite direction.[926]

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[925] In the Bible, עם is the subject of זבח *only in* Exod. 8.4, 25; Deut. 18.3; 33.19; 1 Sam 2.13; 11.15; 15.15, 21; 1 Kgs. 3.2; 22.44; 2 Kgs. 12.4; 14.4; 15.4, 35; 2 Chron. 7.4-5; 33.17; Isa. 65.3; cf. Hos. 4.14. The Kings passages are:

1 Kgs. 3.2	רק העם מזבחים בבמות כי לא־נבנה בית לשם יהוה עד הימים ההם
1 Kgs. 22.44	אך הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
2 Kgs. 12.4	רק הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
2 Kgs. 14.4	רק הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
2 Kgs. 15.4	רק הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
2 Kgs. 15.35	רק הבמות לא־סרו עוד העם מזבחים ומקטרים בבמות
2 Chron. 33.17	אבל עוד העם זבחים בבמות רק ליהוה אלהיהם

Observe also that when the people sacrifice in 1 Sam. 11.15; 15.15, 21, in the context of the Saulide monarchy, their activity is also illicit.

[926] Japhet 1993: 363.

Summary: The foregoing analysis of eighteen cases of variation between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles has demonstrated that in at least half these cases Chronicles' reading is either original vis-à-vis Samuel–Kings or is an editorial adjustment in a later stage of development in the book of Chronicles, i.e., the change was not made by the Chronicler. In the remainder of this appendix detailed observations will be made on variations in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.

See	2 Sam. 6.1	את־כל־בחור בישראל //
3.1.3.1	1 Chron. 13.5	את־כל־ישראל

As stated in 3.1.3.1, most scholars think בחור was omitted in Chronicles thus producing an emphasis not found in the book's source. It is more probable, however, that כל־ישראל has undergone expansion in Samuel on the basis of the literary motivations described in 3.1.3.1. This is suggested in part by the Hebrew variant ב which results in grammatical incongruity in the geographic phrase following אסף. The assembly of persons 'in', 'of', 'to' or 'from' geographic regions using the verbs אסף, כנס, קבץ and קהל is not articulated in biblical Hebrew by means of the preposition ב.

The contention here is that את־כל־בחור בישראל following the G of אסף is a grammatical and stylistic incongruity which underscores the editorial developments in Samuel. What is the grammar of 'assembling/gathering' in the Hebrew Bible? The principal verbs for this topic are אסף (200 times), קבץ (127 times), קהל (39 times), and כנס (11 times). This discussion is limited to geographical phenomena.[927]

This investigation begins by distinguishing between two types of constructions. These are: (1) John gathered [*the children*] to/from the playground. (2) John gathered [*the children in the playground*]. In the first example, 'John gathered [*the children*] to/from the playground', 'to/from the playground' is movement-geographical or transfer-locational. To

[927] Thus, for example, constructions such as להלחם בישראל ... ויקבצו in 1 Sam. 28.1 are not part of this investigation.

simplify the idea, 'the playground' is more closely related to the action of the verb. The concept is *adverbial*. In the Bible, this concept is expressed with אל and מן, of which examples are legion. Another rare possibility is an adverbial accusative instead of אל, such as שכמה in Josh. 24.1 and אפקה in 1 Sam. 29.1.[928] Another option is to separate the 'gathering' from another geographically located activity such as 'encamping': ויקבצו פלשתים ויבאו ויחנו בשונם ויקבץ שאול את־ישראל ויחנו בגלבע (1 Sam. 28.4; cf. Judg. 6.33, 10.17; 1 Sam. 17.2). *This idea is never expressed with* ב.[929] In the second example, 'John gathered [*the children in the playground*]', 'the children in the playground' is location-geographical or static-locational. Again, to simplify, 'the playground' is more closely related to the place where the children are to be found. The concept is *adjectival*. In the Bible, this concept is almost always expressed with the construct state. The following table gives the regularly encountered phrases:

1	2	3	4
את (not always present)	כל (not always present)	איש, אלפי, אנשי, ארצות, בית, בני, הר, עדת, עם, סרני, מטות, ישבי, המון, זקני, שבטי, שרי, ראשי, קדשי, קהל, ערי (can occur in combination together)	הארץ, יהודה, ישראל

[928] An instance with the N form of the verb can be found in 2 Chron. 30.13.

[929] This restriction is probably due to the *Aktionsart* of 'assemble/gather'. Tense, aspect, and *Aktionsart* are frequently used interchangeably in the literature, but more recent approaches suggest that it is better to distinguish them. Tense, more specifically, absolute tense, relates an event to the time of an utterance which deals with that event. Aspect is a speaker's portrayal of a situation (loosely described: subjective and grammatical). *Aktionsart* is the procedural characteristics of the situation itself (loosely described: objective and lexical). The characteristic of a situation may be stative or active, and if active, it may be an activity, accomplishment, climax, or punctual. 'Assemble/gather' is active and either an activity (if unbounded/atelic, i.e., no limit or terminus) or an accomplishment (if bounded/telic, i.e., limit or terminus imposed). 'Assembling/gathering' entails bringing together into a group things or people that were formerly spread out or not in a group, i.e., movement or transfer. Therefore: 'John gathered the children to (אל) the playground from (מן) the classrooms'. On tense, aspect, and *Aktionsart* see Bache 1982, 1985; Brinton 1988; Comrie 1976, 1985; Fanning 1990; Kenny 1963; Lyons 1977; Mateos 1977; Mourelatos 1978; C. S. Smith 1983; Vendler 1957.

The location-geographical or static-locational idea is rarely expressed with מן.[930] *This idea is never expressed with* ב. Are there any other possibilities in biblical Hebrew for expressing the idea 'John gathered [*the children in the playground*]'? One uncommon option is a relative clause: אשר היו בארץ מצרים (Gen. 41.48); אשר נפצו בם (Ezek. 28.25); הנמצאים בשושן (Esth. 4.16); אשר בארץ ישראל (1 Chron. 22.2).[931] The phrases most similar to 2 Sam. 6.1 are these: עשרת אלפים איש בחור מכל־ישראל (Judg. 20.34); שלשת אלפים איש בחור מכל־ישראל (1 Sam. 24.3); שלשת־אלפים איש בחורי ישראל (1 Sam. 26.2). What are the possible exceptions to these conventions? First, on one occasion ב occurs with the N form of the verb (Esth. 9.2). The use of the N form of the verb distinguishes this case from 2 Sam. 6.1 which has the G form, and as such the semantics of this example are different. Jer. 26.9 is not a legitimate example since אל occurs prior to the ב phrase. Second, two *poetical* passages have a prepositional phrase introduced with ב (Isa. 40.11; Prov. 30.4). However, observe that both these examples involve bodily parts, not geographical locations, and אל would not properly suit gathering in(to) one's arms or hands. Third, in spite of its similarity in formal structure (and putting aside other difficulties), 2 Sam. 10.9 ויבחר מכל בחורי בישראל [Qere: ישראל] // 1 Chron. 19.10 ויבחר מכל־בחור ישראל is an illegitimate parallel since the verb implies static selection rather than locational change.

Based on normal translation technique, πάντα νεανίαν ἐξ Ισραηλ renders את־כל־בחור משראל. The phrases ἐξ Ισραηλ and ἐξ Ιουδα are always parallel to מישראל and מיהודה with five exceptions.[932] On the other hand, מישראל or מיהודה followed by a substantive are parallel to the following[933]: ἐκ in Gen. 49.10; Num. 24.17; Judg. 15.11; 2 Kgs. 10.28; ἀπό in Num. 25.4; Judg. 21.3; 21.17; Isa. 9.13; 2 Chron. 13.17; 17.6; ἐν in Neh. 13.3; 2

[930] Possible examples are Num. 11.16; 1 Chron. 13.5; 2 Chron. 15.9; 23.2. Several of these are best classified as movement-geographical or transfer-locational, i.e., adverbial.

[931] An instance with the N form of the verb can be found in Esth. 9.15.

[932] 1 Sam. 26.2; 2 Sam. 19.23; Isa. 48.1; Jer. 34.9 (LXX 41.9); 1 Chron. 19.10.

[933] 1 Sam. 4.21 is justifiably omitted from the present discussion due to its double reading. See Trebolle Barrera 1989a: 53.

Chron. 14.7; and an underlying Hebrew construct in 1 Sam. 4.22; Neh 1.2. Therefore, it is possible that πάντα νεανίαν ἐξ Ισραηλ renders את־כל־בחור ישראל, but this is less probable than את־כל־בחור מישראל. Therefore, the Old Greek *Vorlage* probably had מישראל. ישראל in 3-10 medieval Hebrew manuscripts (cf. the Peshitta and Targum) is either a scribal correction or reflects a stage of the text intermediate to the original and canonical forms, that is, with the insertion of בחור between כל and ישראל without a preposition. Text-critical junctures and sutures frequently exhibit variations of this type.[934]

See 3.1.3.3	2 Sam. 6.2 1 Chron. 13.6	וכל־העם אשר אתו // וכל־ישראל

The versional evidence is unexceptional. LXX^{L} Chronicles' πᾶς ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ is probably an expansion. See the discussion above of 2 Sam. 5.1 // 1 Chron. 11.1.

Accompaniment by implied copula is frequently expressed in biblical literature by means of the formula X + אשר + את/עם + X ('the warriors which [are/were] with him/David'). It is interesting that Samuel uses this construction more than any other book in the Bible (34 times), followed by Genesis (17 times), Judges (16 times), Jeremiah (nine times), Chronicles (seven times), Joshua (six times) and Kings (six times).[935] The formula occurs six times in synoptic material and is shared in 2 Sam. 10.13 // 1 Chron. 19.14, where both have והעם אשר עמו. Elsewhere, Chronicles has a variant phrase on three occasions and Kings and Chronicles each has a plus one time. As for usage, the construction functions most often to express accompaniment in battle situations, especially in Judges and Samuel.

The noun עם most often appears in an identical context and construction in synoptic material, but the phrase כל־העם occurs three times more frequently in Samuel

[934] Most emend MT accordingly. A. A. Anderson 1989: 97 suggests (citing Dahood 1970: 391-393) that the preposition ב here might mean 'from' but this suggestion lacks merit.

[935] This distribution in biblical literature could be coincidental due to the requirements of the stories in the books or because different constructions are used in other books. It is also noteworthy that Samuel has עם seven times and את 27 times but Chronicles only uses the preposition עם.

than in either Kings or Chronicles. The exact phrase כל־העם occurs 218 times in the Bible with an assortment of referents: 59 times in Samuel, 34 times in Jeremiah, 18 times in Kings, 17 times in Chronicles, 16 times in Exodus, 16 times in Deuteronomy, 14 times in Joshua, 11 times in Judges, 11 times in Nehemiah, and 22 times total in ten other books.

In synoptic material:

- Five times כל־העם appears identically: 2 Sam. 6.19 // 1 Chron. 16.43; 2 Sam. 12.31 // 1 Chron. 20.3; 1 Kgs. 9.20 // 2 Chron. 8.7; 1 Kgs. 12.12 // 2 Chron. 10.12; 2 Kgs. 23.2 // 2 Chron. 34.30.
- Once Chronicles has a minus: 2 Sam. 6.19 // 1 Chron. 16.3.
- Once Chronicles has a different phrase: 2 Sam. 6.2 // 1 Chron. 13.6.
- Four times Kings has a different phrase: 1 Kgs. 8.62 // 2 Chron. 7.4; 1 Kgs. 8.63 // 2 Chron. 7.4; 2 Kgs. 11.17 // 2 Chron. 23.16; 2 Kgs. 11.18 // 2 Chron. 23.17.

In the ark story, and in addition to the shared occurrence in 2 Sam. 6.19 // 1 Chron. 16.43, Chronicles uses the phrase independently in 1 Chron. 13.4; 16.36. The use of the noun עם in the formula עם + אשר + את/עם + X is most common in Judges and Samuel, and usually expresses accompaniment in battle situations.

X העם אשר את	Gen. 32.8; 33.15; Judg. 7.2; 9.32, 33, 35; 1 Sam. 14.17; 30.4, 21; 2 Sam. 17.29; 18.1
X כל־העם אשר את	Josh. 8.5; Judg. 4.13; 7.1; 9.48; 1 Sam. 13.22; 14.20; 2 Sam. 3.31; 6.2; 15.30; 16.14; 17.2, 16, 22; 20.15; Jer. 41.13
X העם אשר עם	Judg. 9.48; 1 Sam. 14.2; 2 Sam. 10.13 // 1 Chron. 19.14; 2 Chron. 14.12; 18.2
X כל־העם אשר עם	Gen. 35.6; Judg. 9.34

It is observed in 3.1.3.3 that the similarity between 1 Sam. 14.20 and 2 Sam. 6.2 is remarkable, especially in light of Saul's request for the ark immediately prior in MT 1 Sam. 14.18. The exact phrase כל־העם אשר אתו occurs in Judg. 14.13; 7.1; 9.48; 1 Sam. 14.20; 2 Sam. 3.31; 6.2; 15.30; 16.14; 17.2, 16, 22. This appears beyond coincidence.

See	2 Sam. 6.5	// ודוד וכל־בית ישראל
3.1.3.4	1 Chron. 13.8	ודויד וכל־ישראל

This difference between Samuel and Chronicles is discussed in 3.1.3.4. The full statement by Williamson is:

> This change is in line with the Chronicler's practice of avoiding terminology which might be confused with that used elsewhere in the Bible for the later political division. Paradoxically, even here where this very division is the subject of the narrative, the same considerations may apply. By dropping the word *byt*, the Chronicler maintains with slightly increased emphasis his view that the northern tribes too still remain Israel in a sense that goes beyond merely political terminology.[936]

In this writer's view, Williamson's generalised statement must be doubted for both textual and literary reasons, as discussed in 3.1.3.4.

See	2 Sam. 6.12	// וילך דוד ויעל את־ארון האלהים מבית עבד אדם עיר דוד
5.1.2.1	1 Chron. 15.25	ויהי דויד וזקני ישראל ושרי האלפים ההלכים להעלות
		את־ארון ברית־יהוה מן־בית עבד־אדם

It is observed in 5.1.2.1 that Chronicles expands the shared subject 'David' by incorporating both זקני ישראל and שרי האלפים, thus transforming the focus on David as the chief performer into an act carried out by him and many others. However, Samuel does not exclude the participation of others. The following comments are supplementary to the previous discussion. Johnstone thinks Chronicles' plus intends to expunge the failure of 1 Chronicles 13, but this emphasis is not absent from the previous story (cf. 1 Chron. 13.1-6, 8).[937] Brettler argues on the basis of verbal similarities that 1 Chron. 15.25 rewrites its 2 Sam. 6.12 *Vorlage* in line with 1 Kgs. 8.1. In his opinion, Chronicles' זקני ישראל is taken over from Kings' זקני ישראל, and Chronicles' שרי האלפים is an adaptation of Kings' כל־ראשי המטות נשיאי האבות לבני ישראל which is contemporised due to the Chronicler's aversion to the term מטות, which he uses only in 2 Chron. 5.2 (// 1 Kgs. 8.1).[938] But if it could be retained there, then why not here? This synoptic text is one of two which Japhet uses to illustrate

[936] Williamson 1977: 109. 1 Kgs. 12.21 has בית ישראל whereas 2 Chron. 11.1 has ישראל only.

[937] Johnstone 1997: I, 186.

[938] Brettler 1995: 33.

her discussion of 'the democratising trend in Chronicles'.[939] The other passage she gives is 2 Kgs. 8.21 // 2 Chron. 21.9[940], in which the place name Zair in MT Kings is paralleled in Chronicles by a description of those who accompanied the king. Japhet asserts that the Chronicler tendentiously altered עם־שריו צעירה, thus introducing Israelite שרים, but the versions cause one to doubt that the situation is straightforward, and as noted by many commentators, Kings ואת שרי הרכב (which is also in MT Chronicles) should probably be emended to refer to Israelite שרים.[941] This is a case where one must cautiously speak of *Tendenz*. This does not deny, however, that Chronicles has a special interest in שרים. שר is used 421 times in the Bible, most often in Chronicles (98 times), and twice as often as in Kings (50 times) and three times as often as in Samuel (32 times).[942] In addition, שר (ה)אלף(ים) occurs 22 times in the Bible: 7 times in the Pentateuch[943], 5 times in Samuel[944], and 10 times in Chronicles[945], but the phrase is never shared by Samuel and Chronicles. On the other hand, Chronicles has only one independent occurrence of זקנים by itself (1 Chron. 21.16), and זקני ישראל in this passage is Chronicles' only independent use of this phrase as well.[946] Finally, שר and זקן occur together only 7 times, and only here

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[939] Japhet 1997: 416-418.

[940] Also see Japhet 1993: 810.

[941] Following Kittel, many emend the text to ואתו שרי הרכב ('and the captains of the chariots were with him'). See Burney 1903: 295; Gray 1970: 533;

Hobbs 1985: 104; Jones 1984: II, 448; Montgomery and Gehman 1951: 395. In their words, the accusative is 'confusing', 'awkwardly introduced', 'very unsatisfactory', and 'unintelligible'.

[942] Elsewhere, Jeremiah (56 times), Ezra-Nehemiah (28 times), and Genesis (25 times) use the noun most frequently.

[943] Exod. 18.21, 25; Num. 31.14, 48, 52, 54; Deut. 1.15.

[944] 1 Sam. 8.12; 17.18; 18.13; 22.7; 2 Sam. 18.1.

[945] 1 Chron. 12.35; 13.1; 15.25; 26.26; 27.1; 28.1; 29.6; 2 Chron. 1.2; 17.14; 25.5.

[946] Exod. 3.16, 18; 12.21; 17.5, 6; 18.12; 24.1, 9; Lev. 9.1; Num. 11.16, 30; 16.25; Deut. 27.1; 31.9; Josh. 7.6; 8.10; 24.1; 1 Sam. 4.3; 8.4; 2 Sam. 3.17; 17.4, 15; Ezek. 14.1; 20.1, 3; 1 Chron. 15.25. The phrase is shared 3 times: 2 Sam. 5.3 // 1 Chron. 11.3; 1 Kgs. 8.1 // 2 Chron. 5.2; 1 Kgs. 8.3 // 2 Chron. 5.4. Eleven other similar constructions are: זקני בני ישראל (once; Exod. 4.29); זקני בית ישראל (once; Ezek. 8.11, 12); זקני יהודה (five times; 1 Sam. 30.26; 2 Sam. 19.12; 2 Kgs. 23.1; Ezek. 8.1; 2 Chron. 34.29); זקני ירושלם (twice; 2 Kgs. 23.1; 2 Chron. 34.29); זקני בת ציון (once; Lam. 2.10); זקני יביש (once; 1 Sam. 11.3); זקני גלעד (six times; Judg. 11.5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11); זקני מדין (once; Num. 22.4, 7); זקני מואב (once; Num. 22.7); זקני גבל (once; Ezek. 27.9); זקני ארץ מצרים (once; Gen 50.7).

in Chronicles.[947] In view of these observations, וזקני ישראל ושרי האלפים in Chronicles is clearly an expansion, but in order to avoid exaggerating Chronicles' interests one must contextualise the phraseology in the broader biblical framework.

See 5.1.2.2	2 Sam. 6.15 1 Chron. 15.28	ודוד וכל־בית ישראל מעלים את־ארון יהוה // וכל־ישראל מעלים את־ארון ברית־יהוה

It is unnecessary to make additional comments on the absence of בית in Chronicles beyond those given in 5.1.2.2.

See 5.1.3.9	2 Sam. 6.18 1 Chron. 16.2	ויברך את־העם בשם יהוה צבאות // ויברך את־העם בשם יהוה

Samuel and Chronicles agree on העם as the object of David's blessing. No further discussion is required.

See 5.1.3.8	2 Sam. 6.19 1 Chron. 16.3	ויחלק לכל־העם לכל־המון ישראל למאיש ועד־אשה לאיש חלת לחם אחת ואשפר אחד ואשישה אחת // ויחלק לכל־איש ישראל מאיש ועד־אשה לאיש ככר־לחם ואשפר ואשישה

The subsequent discussion supplies details to the presentation in 5.1.3.8. The versional evidence for the indirect objects in 2 Sam. 6.19 // 1 Chron. 16.3 are given in the following table.

[947] Judg. 8.14 (Succoth); 2 Kgs. 10.1 (Jezreel); Isa. 3.14 (Judah); Ps. 105.22 (Egypt); Lam. 5.12 (Judah); Ezra 10.8 (Judah); 1 Chron. 15.25 (Israel).

Samuel	1	2a	3	4a	2b	5	4b	6	7
MT	לכל־ העם		לכל־ המן ישראל			למאיש ועד־ אשה	לאיש		
Targum	לכל עמא		לכל המנא דישראל			למגבר ועד אנתא	לגבר		
Peshitta	ܠܟܠ ܥܡܐ		ܠܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܣܪܝܠ			ܡ ܥܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ			
Jacob	ܠܟܠ ܥܡܐ		ܠܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܣܪܝܠ		ܡ ܥ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܟܠ	ܡ ܥܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܕܟܪܐ	ܠܟܠ ܓܒ		
LXX^{A}	παντὶ τῷ λαῷ		εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ισραηλ		ἀπὸ Δαν ἕως Βηρσαβεε	ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἕως γυναικὸς			
LXX^{B}	παντὶ τῷ λαῷ		εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ισραηλ		ἀπὸ Δαν ἕως Βηρσαβεε	ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς ἕως γυναικὸς	ἑκάστῳ		
LXX^{L}	παντὶ τῷ λαῷ	ἀπὸ Δαν ἕως Βηρσαβεε	εἰς πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ Ισραηλ			ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἕως γυναικὸς	ἑκάστῳ		
Latin	*multitudini*		*universae* *Israhel*			*tam* *viro* *quam* *mulieri*	*singulis*		
Chronicles	1	2a	3	4a	2b	5	4b	6	7
MT			לכל־ איש ישראל			מאיש ועד־ אשה	לאיש		
Targum			לכל אנש ישראל			מגבר ועד אנתא	לכל חד		
Peshitta	ܠܟܠ ܥܡܐ		ܠܟܠ ܗܘ ܕܝܣܪܝܠ			ܡ ܥܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܓܒ			ܡ ܥܕ ܐܢܬܬܐ ܠܣܦ ܠܟܠ ܚܕ ܡ
LXX^{ABL}			παντὶ ἀνδρὶ Ισραηλ			ἀπὸ ἀνδρὸς καὶ ἕως γυναικὸς	τῷ ἀνδρὶ		
Latin			*universis*	*per* *singulos*		*a* *viro* *usque* *ad* *mulierem*			
Josephus	τὸν ὄχλον … πάντα					γυναιξὶ καὶ ἀνδράσι		νηπίοις	

Phrase #1: 'to all the people'. The use of כל־העם is discussed in 3.1.3.3 and 5.1.3.8 and also above in the treatment of 2 Sam. 6.2 // 1 Chron. 13.6. It is unnecessary to give additional details here.

Phrase #2: 'from Dan to Beersheba'. This material appears in LXX Samuel and Jacob Samuel. See columns 2a and 2b above. The occurrence in 2 Sam. 6.19 is the only occurrence of the phrase in the Greek version which is not reflected in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Elsewhere, the versions agree:

מדן ועד־באר שבע // ἀπὸ Δαν καὶ ἕως Βηρσαβεε
Judg. 20.1 (... למדן // ... εἶς ἀπὸ Δαν)
1 Sam. 3.20
2 Sam. 3.10 (no καί); 17.11; 24.2, 15
1 Kgs. 5.5 (LXX 3 Kingdoms 2.46γ)

מבאר שבע ועד־דן // ἀπὸ Βηρσαβεε καὶ ἕως Δαν
1 Chron. 21.2
2 Chron. 30.5 (no καί)

Caution is in order here. Some scholars dismiss the phrase in LXX 2 Sam. 6.19 as a late expansion.[948] Others are less certain, arguing that the phrase may reflect an alternate Hebrew *Vorlage*.[949] On one hand, Murray suggests that the phrase might have been added as an expected item in the context, under the influence of למאיש ועד־אשה. However, the phrases מאיש ועד־אשה and מדן ועד־באר שבע never occur together elsewhere. On the other hand, Murray thinks מדן ועד־באר שבע could have been lost by homoioarcton, the scribe skipping from the *mem* of מדן to the *mem* of מאיש without *lamed*. However, recall that MT Samuel has למאיש, so the proposed haplography would have to have occurred prior to the revision of מאיש to למאיש in MT Samuel.

[948] See, e.g., Dhorme 1910: 324; McCarter 1984: 167; Rehm 1937: 22.

[949] Jackson 1962: 106; Murray 1998: 64-65. The reconstruction in Fincke 2001: 157 assumes that the Greek version was following its Hebrew *Vorlage*. See especially Nysse 1984: 428, 431-432.

Phrase #3: 'to the whole multitude / entire army / every person / all (those of) the house of Israel'. Several scholars wish to excise this phrase as unoriginal.[950] The distribution and usage of המון in Samuel are given in 5.1.3.8. The discussion there concludes that it is altogether more likely that an original חיל or צבא was polemicised in MT Samuel to המון and generalised in MT Chronicles to איש than that המון was altered to איש in Chronicles. Chronicles has איש/אנשי ישראל (כל) only four times:

1 Sam. 31.1 // 1 Chron. 10.1	איש ישראל // אנשי ישראל
1 Sam. 31.7 // 1 Chron. 10.7	איש ישראל // אנשי ישראל
[2 Sam. 6.19] // 1 Chron. 16.3	כל־איש ישראל // כל־המון ישראל
1 Kgs. 8.2 // 2 Chron. 5.3	כל־איש ישראל // כל־איש ישראל

The choice of (כל־) איש ישראל in 1 Chron. 16.3 is probably related to the previous use of the phrase in 1 Samuel 31 // 1 Chronicles 10.

The versional evidence is problematic, attesting no less than four distinct readings:

'to the whole multitude of Israel'	MT, Targum, Peshitta, Jacob Samuel
'to the entire army of Israel'	LXX^{ABL} Samuel
'to every person of Israel'	MT, Targum, LXX^{ABL} Chronicles
'to all (those of) the house of Israel'	Peshitta Chronicles

LXX^{ABL}'s δύναμις certainly reflects either חיל or צבא.[951] This correspondence occurs nearly three-hundred times in the Bible, and is true for the book of Samuel on more than two dozen occasions with the sole exception of 2 Sam. 6.19.[952] From the reverse angle, the 83 occurrences of המון are translated most frequently by πλῆθος (26 times; 'horde, great number, multitude'), followed by ὄχλος (8 times; 'crowd, host, multitude'), ἦχος (7 times; 'noise, sound'), ἰσχύς (7 times; 'force, host, might, power, strength'), and πλοῦτος (7 times; 'riches, wealth'). The latter two terms are idiosyncratic to Ezekiel and Isaiah, respectively. Observe that the standard Greek equivalent for המון is a term related to 'multitude', whereas terms related to 'noise' are metonymies of cause (the crowd) for

[950] See, e.g., W. R. Arnold 1917: 42; Schlögl 1904: II, 36.
[951] Fincke 2001: 157 opts for צבא.
[952] Hatch and Redpath 1897: I, 350-353.

effect (their hustle and bustle, etc.). The Greek terms corresponding to המון are given in the following table.

Gen. 17.4	πλῆθος
Judg. 4.7	πλῆθος
2 Sam. 18.29	πλῆθος
2 Kgs. 7.13	πλῆθος
Isa. 5.13	πλῆθος
Isa. 17.12	πλῆθος
Isa. 31.4	πλῆθος
Isa. 63.15	πλῆθος
Jer. 10.13	πλῆθος
Jer. 49.32	πλῆθος
Ezek. 26.13	πλῆθος
Ezek. 30.10	πλῆθος
Ezek. 30.15	πλῆθος
Ezek. 31.2	πλῆθος
Ezek. 31.18	πλῆθος
Ezek. 32.32	πλῆθος
Ezek. 39.11	πλῆθος
Qoh. 5.9	πλῆθος
1 Chron. 29.16	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 11.23	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 13.8	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 14.10	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 20.2	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 20.12	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 20.24	πλῆθος
2 Chron. 31.10	πλῆθος
1 Kgs. 20.13	ὄχλος
Dan. 10.6	ὄχλος
Dan. 11.10	ὄχλος
Dan. 11.11	ὄχλος
Dan. 11.11	ὄχλος
Dan. 11.12	ὄχλος
Dan. 11.13	ὄχλος
2 Chron. 20.15	ὄχλος
1 Sam. 14.19	ἦχος
Jer. 47.3	ἦχος
Jer. 51.16	ἦχος
Jer. 51.42	ἦχος
Joel 4.14	ἦχος
Amos 5.23	ἦχος
Ps. 42.5	ἦχος
Ezek. 32.12	ἰσχύς
Ezek. 32.12	ἰσχύς
Ezek. 32.16	ἰσχύς

Ezek. 32.18	ἰσχύς
Ezek. 32.20	ἰσχύς
Ezek. 32.26	ἰσχύς
Ezek. 32.31	ἰσχύς
Isa. 16.14	πλοῦτος
Isa. 29.5	πλοῦτος
Isa. 29.7	πλοῦτος
Isa. 29.8	πλοῦτος
Isa. 32.14	πλοῦτος
Isa. 60.5	πλοῦτος
Ps. 37.16	πλοῦτος
2 Sam. 6.19	δύναμις
1 Kgs. 20.28	δύναμις
Jer. 3.23	δύναμις
Ezek. 32.24	δύναμις
Ezek. 23.42	ἁρμονία [953]
Ezek. 5.7	ἀφορμή (?)
1 Sam. 4.14	βοή
2 Chron. 32.7	ἔθνος
Isa. 13.4	ἔθνος + πολύς
Joel 4.14	ἐξηχέω
Ezek. 7.11	θόρυβος
Isa. 5.14	μέγας
1 Sam. 14.16	παρεμβολή (?)
Job 31.34	πολυοχλία
Job 39.7	πολυοχλία
Gen. 17.5	πολύς
1 Kgs. 18.41	πούς
2 Kgs. 25.11	στήριγμα (?)
Ps. 65.8	ταράσσω
Isa. 33.3	φόβος (?)
2 Kgs. 7.13	minus [954]
Isa. 29.5	minus
Ezek. 7.12	minus
Ezek. 7.13	minus
Ezek. 7.14	minus
Ezek. 29.19	minus
Ezek. 30.4	minus
Ezek. 32.25	minus

[953] Some of the following translation equivalents are uncertain.

[954] In most cases the minus in these passages is the reading in LXX^{B}. LXX^{A} often has a revised phrase representing המון.

Phrase #4: 'to each one'. This phrase is attested in all versions except for the Peshitta of both Samuel and Chronicles.[955] Allen and Nysse discuss the rendering of לאיש as ἑκάστῳ in Samuel and τῷ ἀνδρί in Chronicles.[956]

Phrase #5: 'both man and woman alike'. The following table gives the comprehensive evidence for all occurrences of למן in the Hebrew Bible. Adequate discussion is given in 5.1.3.8.

[955] See *JM* §147d, p. 547 for the Hebrew grammar.
[956] Allen 1974: I, 43; Nysse 1984: 149.

	Without a Subsequent and Complementary עד Clause	With a Subsequent and Complementary עד Clause (ועד *in all cases except* *)
Temporal	Deut. 4.32 (#1 of 2) 2 Sam. 7.11 2 Sam. 7.19 2 Kgs. 19.25 (twice) Isa. 7.17 Isa. 37.26 Mal. 3.7 Hag. 2.18 Dan. 1.18 1 Chron. 15.13 1 Chron. 17.10 1 Chron. 17.17 ('from, since time X' etc.)	Exod. 9.18 Deut. 9.7* Judg. 19.30* 2 Sam. 7.6 2 Sam. 19.25* Jer. 7.7 Jer. 7.25* Jer. 25.5 Jer. 32.31 ('from day A to day B' etc.)
Spatial	Num. 18.7 1 Kgs. 7.32 Job 36.3 Job 39.29 Ezra 3.13 1 Chron. 5.9 2 Chron. 26.15 ('behind, under, from afar' etc.)	Deut. 4.32 (#2 of 2) Judg. 20.1 Mic. 7.12 Zech. 14.10* ('from place A to place B')
Personal		Exod. 11.7 2 Sam. 6.19 2 Chron. 15.13 (#2 of 2) Jer. 51.62 ('both men and women' etc.)
Physical Age	1 Chron. 27.23 2 Chron. 25.5 ('from age X' etc.)	2 Chron. 15.13 (#1 of 2) ('from young to old')
Moral Status	2 Chron. 30.3 ('sufficiently' of priests' sanctification)	2 Sam. 13.22 ('neither good nor bad ')
Social Status		2 Kgs. 23.2 Jer. 31.34 Jer. 42.8 Esth. 1.5 Esth. 1.20 ('from the least to the greatest' etc.)

The merismus איש and אשה for 'people' is not common. When the idiom does occur, the nouns are usually singular, but may be plural, and they are regularly conjoined

by simple *waw* or או.[957] The idiom found here, 'from man to woman', occurs 8 times in the Bible. All passages have ועד, except 1 Sam. 15.3, which has עד.

Josh. 6.21	Joshua licitly destroys all the people of Jericho
Josh. 8.25	Joshua licitly destroys all the people of Ai
1 Sam. 15.3	Saul should but does not destroy all the people of Amalek
1 Sam. 22.19	Saul, the Israelite king, illicitly destroys all the people of Nob, an Israelite city (!)
2 Sam. 6.19 // 1 Chron. 16.3	David gives food to all the people of Israel
Neh. 8.2	Ezra reads the law to all the people of Israel
2 Chron. 15.13	Asa says all people who do not seek Yahweh should be put to death

In addition, focusing only on the book of Samuel, איש ואשה occurs in 1 Sam. 27.9, 11, where David destroys all people in the lands of the Geshurites, the Girzites, and the Amalekites. Scholars make several comments related to the literary usage of 'from man to woman' in 2 Sam. 6.19. Halpern believes the rare phrase reveals the extraordinary nature of the occasion.[958] Caquot and de Robert focus their comment on the notion of fertility found also in the references to Obed-edom in 2 Sam. 6.11-12.[959] Murray thinks 'all the people' is 'actualized' by 'from man to woman', but that the latter phrase is ironic in view of the Michal episode. 'Given further the text's sardonic twist to the role of the woman awaiting the victor's return with spoil (v. 16), that David has shared this "spoil" with "all the people … man and *woman* alike" but is baulked precisely by his queen Michal from doing so with his own household (v. 20), deepens the irony'.[960] In this writer's view, only Halpern's general comment merits much consideration. The issue is comprehensiveness, not fertility, and Michal is only one woman among many. One might wonder as well whether or not the reader is intended to contrast David's generosity to 'men and women' in

[957] All examples are: Exod. 21.28, 29; 35.22; 29; 36.6; Lev. 13.29, 38; Num. 5.6; 6.2; Deut. 17.2, 5; 29.17; 31.12; Josh. 6.21; 8.25; Judg. 9.49, 51; 16.27; 1 Sam. 15.3; 22.19; 27.9, 11; 2 Sam. 6.19; Jer. 6.11 (?); 40.7; 44.7; 51.22; Esth. 4.11; Ezra 10.1; Neh. 8.2, 3; 1 Chron. 16.3; 2 Chron. 15.13.

[958] Halpern 2001: 333.

[959] Caquot and de Robert 1994: 418.

[960] Murray 1998: 138 n. 84; cf. 138-139.

2 Samuel 6 and his licit killing of enemy 'men and women' in 1 Samuel 27, with Saul's disobedience in 1 Samuel 15 and his barbaric activity in 1 Samuel 22?

Phrase #6: Josephus. Fincke makes an erroneous attempt to reconstruct the Hebrew *Vorlage* of Josephus.[961] Begg discusses Josephus' inclusion of νηπίοις, which magnifies the king's largess.[962]

Phrase #7: Peshitta Chronicles. This writer has no comment on this obvious addition.

See 5.1.2.4	2 Sam. 6.19-20 1 Chron. 16.43	וילך כל־העם איש לביתו וישב דוד // וילכו כל־העם איש לביתו ויסב דויד

Samuel and Chronicles agree on the subject כל־העם. No further discussion is required.

[961] Fincke 2001: 157.

[962] Begg 1997: 26 n. 89; cf. 33.

APPENDIX TWO

Divine Epithets in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles
יהוה – אלהים – אדני – אל

2.1 Statistics and Observations

	Bible	Pentateuch	Former Prophets	Latter Prophets	Writings	Samuel	Kings	Chronicles
יהוה	6,828	1,820	1,406	2,117	1,485	473	534	559
אלהים	2,601	812	508	382	899	154	205	321
אדני	439	18	20	318	83	7	7	0
אל	235	48	10	37	140	6	0	0
Total	10,103	2,698	1,944	2,854	2,607	640	746	880

(1) יהוה occurs most often in: Jeremiah (726 times), Psalms (695 times), Chronicles (559 times), Deuteronomy (550 times), Kings (534 times), Samuel (473 times), Isaiah (450 times), Ezekiel (434 times), Exodus (398 times), Numbers (396 times) and Leviticus (311 times). Chronicles has 36% of all occurrences of יהוה in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles. All three books prefer יהוה over אלהים.

(2) יהוה does not occur in three books: Qoheleth, Song of Songs, Esther.

(3) אלהים occurs most often in: Deuteronomy (374 times), Psalms (365), Chronicles (321 times), Genesis (219 times), Kings (205 times), Samuel (154 times), Jeremiah (145 times) and Exodus (139 times). Chronicles has 47% of all occurrences of אלהים which appear in Samuel, Kings, and Chronicles.

(4) אלהים does not occur in four books: Obadiah, Song of Songs, Lamentations and Esther.

(5) אדני occurs most often in: Ezekiel (222 times), Psalms (54 times), Isaiah (48 times) and Amos (25 times). אדון is used 334 times in the Bible. It refers to the divine Lord/Master about 30 times according to Johnston.[963]

[963] G. H. Johnston 1997: 257.

(6) אדני does not occur in twelve books: Leviticus, Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Nahum, Haggai, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Qoheleth, Esther and Chronicles.

(7) אל occurs most often in: Psalms (76 times), Job (56 times), Isaiah (22 times), Genesis (18 times), Deuteronomy (13 times) and Numbers (10 times).

(8) אל does not occur in seventeen books: Leviticus, Judges, Kings, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, Proverbs, Ruth, Song of Songs, Qoheleth, Esther, Ezra and Chronicles.

	S // 1C		K // 2C		S–K // C	
Total Parallels	86		171		257	
Same Term	39	45%	119	70%	158	61%
יהוה in S–K // אלהים in C	16	19%	20	12%	36	14%
אלהים in S–K // יהוה in C	2	2%	1	1%	3	1%
Minus in S–K	6	7%	12	6%	18	7%
Minus in C	18	21%	19	11%	37	14%
Other Substitutions	5	6%	0	0%	5	2%

(9) In all (partially) parallel chapters in Samuel, Kings and Chronicles which contain the four divine epithets there are 1327 occurrences of יהוה, אלהים, אל and אדני. Within this material, there are 257 parallel occurrences of these four epithets. Two juxtaposed epithets are counted as a single compound epithet.

(10) Rose thinks biblical literature shows a gradual decrease in the use of the divine name Yahweh which he relates to developments in Israelite and Judaic religion. He says:

> What disappears in the course of time is the self-evidence of the appeal to the name of Yahweh. The loss of this obviousness of a living relationship with God is compensated by an explicit confession of faith. ... When for biblical faith other gods do not exist any longer, the necessity of a name disappears; it is no longer indispensable to have a 'distinguishing mark' in order to differentiate one's god from others. In postexilic texts the use of the divine name 'Yahweh' clearly diminishes (it does not appear at all in the following books, Esther, the Song of Songs, and Ecclesiastes). Yahweh is the only god; Yahweh and God ('Elohîm') became synonyms. The gradual reduction of the use of the divine name on the basis of its loss of function can lead to its complete removal; in this development

with Judaism, two mutually exclusive tendencies were manifest: a cosmopolitan attitude and a scrupulous outlook.[964]

(11) As far as *biblical literature* is concerned, Rose's perspective does not square with the data available in post-exilic Chronicles, and it fails to consider the effect which scribes had on the transmission of the divine epithets in the biblical texts. Williamson, speaking on לפני האלהים in 1 Chron. 13.8 says:

> [T]he first of several examples in this chapter of a change from 'the Lord' in 2 Sam. 6. This is taken by some, especially [Rothstein and Hänel] and von Rad ... as evidence of a 'transcendentalising' of the divine name; Yahweh is increasingly detached from contact with the human world. A more balanced assessment, however, is offered by Japhet ... who observes that (a) such a position takes no account of the fact that 'Yahweh' is used some 500 times in Chronicles; (b) in many contexts, 'Yahweh' and [אלהים] ('God') are clearly synonymous; and that (c) the textual evidence, particularly from LXX [Allen] ... suggests that this phenomenon is to be explained more on the basis of the practice of later scribes than the Chronicler himself. It may further be added that, as Lemke has shown, we can never be sure that such a slight change was not already present in the text of Sam.–Kg. that the Chronicler was using.[965]

(12) Japhet, speaking on ארון בריתיהוה in 1 Chron. 15.25 says:

> The following passage may serve as an example of this complex process of transmission: in 2 Sam 6:12, the ark is called 'the ark of God'; the parallel text in 1 Chr 15:25 has 'the ark of the covenant of the LORD'. LXX to Samuel reads 'the ark of the LORD' and to Chronicles, 'the ark of the covenant'. Thus, four different names for the ark have resulted from the interchange of divine epithets, and this interchange cannot be adequately explained by either method mentioned above. It can only be explained as the consequence of a lengthy history of transmission in the case of both MT and LXX, each on its own or in relation to the other.[966]

(13) Allen, speaking on κύριος in Greek Chronicles, says:

> There are nineteen places in Par where no equivalent appears for יהוה. ... At some stage in the history of the text a Gk copyist left gaps for somebody else to write יהוה. The second copyist was careless in his task and overlooked twenty three of the gaps. ... It is reasonable to conclude that behind κύριος lies ultimately יהוה in the *Vorlage* and that it is never the translator's loose equivalent for אלהים. In many places יהוה evidently stood in Par's Heb text in place of MT' אלהים(ה) and suffixed

[964] Rose 1992: 1002, 1010; cf. Amit 2001: 82-85; M. H. Segal 1955: 100. Parry 1997 approvingly cites the last.

[965] Williamson 1982: 115-116.

[966] Japhet 1997: 37 n. 87.

forms, and occasionally *vice versa*. … It is very probable that most of these cases are to be traced back to a divergent *Vorlage*.[967]

(14) Parry and Skehan have written important pieces on divine names in non-biblical and biblical literature, including the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Septuagint.[968]

(15) The sequential, unsorted, lists of the verses included in the following categorisations are omitted from this presentation. The highlighted texts fall within 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.

2.2 Summary of Synoptic Usage in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles

2.2.1 Same Term(s) in Parallel Texts

(1) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – 126 times

2 Sam. 5.3 - יהוה	1 Chron. 11.3 - יהוה
2 Sam. 5.12 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.2 - יהוה
2 Sam. 5.19 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.10 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.7 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.10 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.8 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.11 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.13 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.26 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.15 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.28 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.29 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.10 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.18 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.16 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.5 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.4 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.24 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.22 - יהוה
2 Sam. 8.6 - יהוה	1 Chron. 18.6 - יהוה
2 Sam. 8.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 18.11 - יהוה
2 Sam. 8.14 - יהוה	1 Chron. 18.13 - יהוה
2 Sam. 10.12 - יהוה	1 Chron. 19.13 - יהוה
2 Sam. 23.12 - יהוה	1 Chron. 11.14 - יהוה
2 Sam. 23.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 11.18 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.9 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.12 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.10 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.14 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.13 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.15 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.14 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.15 - יהוה

[967] Allen 1974: II, 58-59, 147.
[968] Parry 1996; Skehan 1980.

2 Sam. 24.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.15 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.18 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.18 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.19 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.19 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.21 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.22 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.25 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.26 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.25 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.26 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 6.1 - יהוה	2 Chron. 3.1 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 7.45 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.16 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 7.51 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.1 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.1 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.2 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.6 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.7 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.10 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.13 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.11 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.14 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.12 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.1 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.18 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.8 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.20 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.10 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.20 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.10 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.21 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.11 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.22 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.12 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.62 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.4 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.64 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.7 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 8.66 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.10 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 9.1 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.11 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 9.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.12 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 9.8 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.21 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 9.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 8.1 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 9.25 - יהוה	2 Chron. 8.12 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 10.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.4 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 10.12 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.11 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 12.24 - יהוה	2 Chron. 11.4 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 12.24 - יהוה	2 Chron. 11.4 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 14.26 - יהוה	2 Chron. 12.9 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 14.28 - יהוה	2 Chron. 12.11 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 15.18 - יהוה	2 Chron. 16.2 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.4 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.7 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.6 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.8 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.7 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.11 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.10 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.12 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.11 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.13 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.16 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.15 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.17 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.16 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.18 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.18 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.20 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.19 - יהוה

1 Kgs. 22.21 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.20 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.21 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.20 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.23 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.22 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.23 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.22 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.24 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.23 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.28 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.27 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 22.43 - יהוה	2 Chron. 20.32 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 8.18 - יהוה	2 Chron. 21.6 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 8.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 21.7 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 8.27 - יהוה	2 Chron. 22.4 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 11.7 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.5 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 11.13 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.12 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 11.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.14 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 11.17 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.16 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 11.18 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.18 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 11.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.20 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 12.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 24.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 12.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 24.8 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 12.12 - יהוה	2 Chron. 24.12 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 12.12 - יהוה	2 Chron. 24.12 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 12.13 - יהוה	2 Chron. 24.12 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 12.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 24.14 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 14.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 25.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 14.6 - יהוה	2 Chron. 25.4 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 15.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 26.4 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 15.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 26.20 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 15.34 - יהוה	2 Chron. 27.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 15.35 - יהוה	2 Chron. 27.3 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 16.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 28.3 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 18.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 29.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 19.35 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.21 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 20.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.24 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.4 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.4 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.5 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.6 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.6 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.9 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.10 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 21.20 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.22 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.10 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.10 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.8 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.15 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.13 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.21 - יהוה

2 Kgs. 22.13 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.21 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.16 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.24 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.18 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.26 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.27 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 23.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.30 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 23.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.30 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 23.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.31 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 23.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.31 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 24.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 36.9 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 24.13 - יהוה	2 Chron. 36.10 - יהוה

(2) יהוה אלהי in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהי in Chronicles – 2 times

1 Kgs. 5.19 - יהוה אלהי	2 Chron. 2.3 - יהוה אלהי
1 Kgs. 8.28 - יהוה אלהי	2 Chron. 6.19 - יהוה אלהי

(3) יהוה אלהי ישראל in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהי ישראל in Chronicles – 7 times

1 Kgs. 8.15 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 6.4 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
1 Kgs. 8.17 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 6.7 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
1 Kgs. 8.20 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 6.10 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
1 Kgs. 8.23 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 6.14 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
1 Kgs. 8.25 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 6.16 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
2 Kgs. 22.15 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 34.23 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
2 Kgs. 22.18 - יהוה אלהי ישראל	2 Chron. 34.26 - יהוה אלהי ישראל

(4) יהוה אלהינו in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהינו in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 18.22 - יהוה אלהינו	2 Chron. 32.11 - יהוה אלהינו

(5) יהוה אלהיך in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהיך in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 10.9 - יהוה אלהיך	2 Chron. 9.8 - יהוה אלהיך

(6) יהוה אלהיהם in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהי אבתיהם in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 9.9 - יהוה אלהיהם	2 Chron. 7.22 - יהוה אלהי אבתיהם

(7) יהוה צבאות in Samuel–Kings // יהוה צבאות in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 7.8 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 17.7 - יהוה צבאות

(8) אלהים in Samuel–Kings // אלהים in Chronicles – 6 times

2 Sam. 7.22 - אלהים	1 Chron. 17.20 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 3.11 - אלהים	2 Chron. 1.11 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 8.23 - אלהים	2 Chron. 6.14 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 8.27 - אלהים	2 Chron. 6.18 - אלהים

1 Kgs. 9.6 - אלהים	2 Chron. 7.19 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 9.9 - אלהים	2 Chron. 7.22 - אלהים

(9) האלהים in Samuel–Kings // האלהים in Chronicles – 4 times

2 Sam. 6.2 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.6 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.3 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.7 - האלהים
2 Sam. 7.28 - האלהים	1 Chron. 17.26 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 12.22 - האלהים	2 Chron. 11.2 - האלהים

(10) אלהים in Samuel–Kings // האלהים in Chronicles – 2 times

2 Sam. 7.23 - אלהים	1 Chron. 17.21 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 10.24 - אלהים	2 Chron. 9.23 - האלהים

(11) האלהים in Samuel–Kings // אלהים in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 6.7 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.10 - אלהים

(12) אלהי in Samuel–Kings // אלהי in Chronicles – twice

2 Kgs. 18.33 - אלהי	2 Chron. 32.13 - אלהי
2 Kgs. 18.35 - אלהי	2 Chron. 32.14 - אלהי

(13) אלהינו in Samuel–Kings // אלהינו in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 10.12 - אלהינו	1 Chron. 19.13 - אלהינו

(14) אלהיו in Samuel–Kings // אלהיו in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 19.37 - אלהיו	2 Chron. 32.21 - אלהיו

(15) לאלהים in Samuel–Kings // לאלהים in Chronicles – twice

2 Sam. 7.24 - לאלהים	1 Chron. 17.22 - לאלהים
2 Kgs. 22.17 - לאלהים	2 Chron. 34.25 - לאלהים

2.2.2 יהוה in Samuel–Kings // אלהים in Chronicles

(16) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // אלהים in Chronicles – 5 times

2 Sam. 7.4 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.3 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 3.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 1.7 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 21.7 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.7 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 22.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.9 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 22.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.27 - אלהים

(17) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // האלהים in Chronicles – 25 times

2 Sam. 5.20 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.11 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.24 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.15 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.25 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.16 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.5 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 7.3 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.2 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.17 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 6.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 3.3 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.40 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.11 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.48 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.19 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.51 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.1 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.11 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.14 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.63 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.5 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 12.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 10.15 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 15.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 15.18 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 22.6 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.5 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 22.12 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.3 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.9 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 14.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 25.24 - האלהים

(18) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // אלהי in Chronicles – twice

2 Sam. 23.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 11.19 - אלהי
1 Kgs. 22.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.13 - אלהי

(19) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // אלהיך in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 10.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.8 - אלהיך

(20) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // אלהיכם in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 18.35 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.14 - אלהיכם

(21) ביהוה in Samuel–Kings // באלהים in Chronicles – twice

2 Sam. 5.19 - ביהוה	1 Chron. 14.10 - באלהים
2 Sam. 5.23 - ביהוה	1 Chron. 14.14 - באלהים

2.2.3 אלהים in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles

(22) האלהים in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – 3 times

2 Sam. 6.12 - האלהים	1 Chron. 15.25 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.2 - האלהים	1 Chron. 17.1 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 12.22 - האלהים	2 Chron. 11.2 - יהוה

2.2.4 Minus in Chronicles

(23) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // minus in Chronicles – 18 times

2 Sam. 6.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.13 - minus
2 Sam. 6.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.29 - minus
2 Sam. 7.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.10 - minus
2 Sam. 24.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.8 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.5 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.44 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.34 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.63 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.5 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.64 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.7 - minus
1 Kgs. 9.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.12 - minus
1 Kgs. 9.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.22 - minus
1 Kgs. 9.25 - יהוה	2 Chron. 8.12 - minus
1 Kgs. 10.1 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.1 - minus
1 Kgs. 12.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 10.15 - minus
1 Kgs. 12.24 - יהוה	2 Chron. 11.4 - minus
1 Kgs. 15.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 15.17 - minus
1 Kgs. 22.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.14 - minus
2 Kgs. 11.17 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.16 - minus
2 Kgs. 19.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.20 - minus

(24) ליהוה in Samuel–Kings // minus in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 23.23 - ליהוה	2 Chron. 35.19 - minus

(25) ליהוה אלהיכם in Samuel–Kings // ליהוה in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 23.21 - ליהוה אלהיכם	2 Chron. 35.1 - ליהוה - minus

(26) יהוה אלהים in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 7.25 - יהוה אלהים	1 Chron. 17.23 - יהוה - minus

(27) יהוה אלהי in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 24.24 - יהוה אלהי	1 Chron. 21.24 - יהוה - minus

(28) יהוה אלהינו in Samuel–Kings // minus in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 8.65 - יהוה אלהינו	2 Chron. 7.8 - minus

(29) יהוה אלהיך in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 24.3 - יהוה אלהיך	1 Chron. 21.3 - יהוה - minus

(30) יהוה אלהיו in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 16.2 - יהוה אלהיו	2 Chron. 28.1 - יהוה - minus

(31) יהוה אלהי צבאות in Samuel–Kings // יהוה צבאות in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 5.10 - יהוה אלהי צבאות	1 Chron. 11.9 - יהוה צבאות - minus

(32) יהוה צבאות in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – twice

2 Sam. 6.2 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 13.6 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 6.18 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 16.2 - יהוה - minus

(33) יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל in Samuel–Kings // אלהי in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 7.27 - יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל	1 Chron. 17.25 - אלהי - minus

(34) אלהים in Samuel–Kings // minus in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 3.5 - אלהים	2 Chron. 1.7 - minus

(35) האלהים in Samuel–Kings // minus in Chronicles – twice

2 Sam. 6.6 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.9 - minus
2 Sam. 6.7 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.10 - minus

(36) אלהיו in Samuel–Kings // minus in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 7.23 - אלהיו	1 Chron. 17.21 - minus

(37) אדני יהוה in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – 4 times

2 Sam. 7.20 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.19 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.22 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.20 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.28 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.26 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.29 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.27 - יהוה - minus

2.2.5 Minus in Samuel–Kings

(38) minus in Samuel–Kings // יהוה in Chronicles – 3 times

2 Sam. 5.3 - minus	1 Chron. 11.3 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 12.15 - minus	2 Chron. 10.15 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.9 - minus	2 Chron. 34.17 - יהוה

(39) minus in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהי in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 24.17 - minus	1 Chron. 21.17 - יהוה אלהי

(40) minus in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהיך in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 10.9 - minus	2 Chron. 9.8 - יהוה אלהיך

(41) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהיך in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 5.2 - יהוה - minus	1 Chron. 11.2 - יהוה אלהיך

(42) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהיו in Chronicles – 4 times

1 Kgs. 15.11 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 14.1 - יהוה אלהיו
2 Kgs. 22.3 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 34.8 - יהוה אלהיו
2 Kgs. 23.37 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 36.5 - יהוה אלהיו
2 Kgs. 24.19 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 36.12 - יהוה אלהיו

(43) יהוה in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהי ישראל in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 5.21 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 2.11 - יהוה אלהי ישראל

(44) אלהי ישראל in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהי ישראל in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 8.26 - אלהי ישראל - minus	2 Chron. 6.17 - יהוה אלהי ישראל

(45) יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים in Samuel–Kings // יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים על־ישראל in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 7.26 - יהוה צבאות אלהים על־ישראל - minus	1 Chron. 17.24 - יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים

(46) minus in Samuel–Kings // האלהים in Chronicles – 3 times

2 Sam. 5.23 - minus	1 Chron. 14.14 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.16 - minus	1 Chron. 21.15 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 21.7 - minus	2 Chron. 33.7 - האלהים

(47) minus in Samuel–Kings // אלהיכם in Chronicles – once

2 Kgs. 12.6 - minus	2 Chron. 24.5 - אלהיכם

(48) minus in Samuel–Kings // לאלהים in Chronicles – once

1 Kgs. 3.6 - minus	2 Chron. 1.8 - לאלהים

2.2.6 Other Substitutions

(49) אדני יהוה in Samuel–Kings // יהוה אלהים in Chronicles – twice

2 Sam. 7.18 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.16 - יהוה אלהים
2 Sam. 7.19 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.17 - יהוה אלהים

(50) אדני יהוה in Samuel–Kings // אלהים in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 7.19 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.17 - אלהים

(51) עשתרות in Samuel–Kings // אלהיהם in Chronicles – once

1 Sam. 31.10 - עשתרות	1 Chron. 10.10 - אלהיהם

(52) עצביהם in Samuel–Kings // אלהיהם in Chronicles – once

2 Sam. 5.21 - עצביהם	1 Chron. 14.12 - אלהיהם

2.3 A Bird's Eye View of יהוה and אלהים 'Minuses' in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles

(1) יהוה 'minus' in Samuel–Kings – 9 times

2 Sam. 5.3 - minus	1 Chron. 11.3 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.12 - האלהים	1 Chron. 15.25 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.2 - האלהים	1 Chron. 17.1 - יהוה
2 Sam. 24.17 - minus	1 Chron. 21.17 - יהוה אלהי
1 Kgs. 8.26 - אלהי ישראל - minus	2 Chron. 6.17 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
1 Kgs. 10.9 - minus	2 Chron. 9.8 - יהוה אלהיך
1 Kgs. 12.15 - minus	2 Chron. 10.15 - יהוה
1 Kgs. 12.22 - האלהים	2 Chron. 11.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 22.9 - minus	2 Chron. 34.17 - יהוה

(2) אלהים 'minus' in Samuel–Kings – 55 times

1 Sam. 31.10 - עשתרות	1 Chron. 10.10 - אלהיהם
2 Sam. 5.2 - יהוה - minus	1 Chron. 11.2 - יהוה אלהיך
2 Sam. 5.19 - ביהוה	1 Chron. 14.10 - באלהים
2 Sam. 5.20 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.11 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.21 - עצביהם	1 Chron. 14.12 - אלהיהם
2 Sam. 5.23 - ביהוה	1 Chron. 14.14 - באלהים
2 Sam. 5.23 - minus	1 Chron. 14.14 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.24 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.15 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.25 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.16 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.5 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 7.3 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.2 - האלהים
2 Sam. 7.4 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.3 - אלהים
2 Sam. 7.18 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.16 - יהוה אלהים
2 Sam. 7.19 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.17 - יהוה אלהים
2 Sam. 7.19 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.17 - אלהים
2 Sam. 7.26 - יהוה צבאות אלהים על־ישראל - minus	1 Chron. 17.24 - יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל אלהים
2 Sam. 23.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 11.19 - אלהי
2 Sam. 24.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.17 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.17 - minus	1 Chron. 21.17 - יהוה אלהי
2 Sam. 24.16 - minus	1 Chron. 21.15 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 3.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 1.7 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 3.6 - minus	2 Chron. 1.8 - לאלהים
1 Kgs. 5.21 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 2.11 - יהוה אלהי ישראל
1 Kgs. 6.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 3.3 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.40 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.11 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.48 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.19 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.51 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.1 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.11 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.14 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.63 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.5 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 10.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.8 - אלהיך
1 Kgs. 10.9 - minus	2 Chron. 9.8 - יהוה אלהיך
1 Kgs. 12.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 10.15 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 15.11 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 14.1 - יהוה אלהיו
1 Kgs. 15.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 15.18 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 22.6 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.5 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 22.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.13 - אלהי
2 Kgs. 11.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 22.12 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.3 - האלהים

2 Kgs. 11.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.9 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 12.6 - minus	2 Chron. 24.5 - אלהיכם
2 Kgs. 14.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 25.24 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 18.35 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.14 - אלהיכם
2 Kgs. 21.7 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.7 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 21.7 - minus	2 Chron. 33.7 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 22.3 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 34.8 - יהוה אלהיו
2 Kgs. 22.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.9 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 22.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.27 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 23.37 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 36.5 - יהוה אלהיו
2 Kgs. 24.19 - יהוה - minus	2 Chron. 36.12 - יהוה אלהיו

(3) יהוה 'minus' in Chronicles – 58 times

2 Sam. 5.19 - ביהוה	1 Chron. 14.10 - באלהים
2 Sam. 5.20 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.11 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.23 - ביהוה	1 Chron. 14.14 - באלהים
2 Sam. 5.24 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.15 - האלהים
2 Sam. 5.25 - יהוה	1 Chron. 14.16 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.5 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.13 - minus
2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.29 - minus
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 7.3 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.2 - האלהים
2 Sam. 7.4 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.3 - אלהים
2 Sam. 7.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 17.10 - minus
2 Sam. 7.19 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.17 - אלהים
2 Sam. 7.27 - יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל	1 Chron. 17.25 - אלהי - minus
2 Sam. 23.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 11.19 - אלהי
2 Sam. 24.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.17 - האלהים
2 Sam. 24.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 21.8 - minus
1 Kgs. 3.5 - יהוה	2 Chron. 1.7 - אלהים
1 Kgs. 6.2 - יהוה	2 Chron. 3.3 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.40 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.11 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.48 - יהוה	2 Chron. 4.19 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 7.51 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.1 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.5 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.11 - יהוה	2 Chron. 5.14 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.44 - יהוה	2 Chron. 6.34 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.63 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.5 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 8.63 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.5 - minus

1 Kgs. 8.64 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.7 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.65 - יהוה אלהינו	2 Chron. 7.8 - minus
1 Kgs. 9.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.12 - minus
1 Kgs. 9.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 7.22 - minus
1 Kgs. 9.25 - יהוה	2 Chron. 8.12 - minus
1 Kgs. 10.1 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.1 - minus
1 Kgs. 10.9 - יהוה	2 Chron. 9.8 - אלהיך
1 Kgs. 12.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 10.15 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 12.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 10.15 - minus
1 Kgs. 12.24 - יהוה	2 Chron. 11.4 - minus
1 Kgs. 15.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 15.17 - minus
1 Kgs. 15.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 15.18 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 22.6 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.5 - האלהים
1 Kgs. 22.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.13 - אלהי
1 Kgs. 22.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 18.14 - minus
2 Kgs. 11.3 - יהוה	2 Chron. 22.12 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.3 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.10 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.9 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 11.17 - יהוה	2 Chron. 23.16 - minus
2 Kgs. 14.14 - יהוה	2 Chron. 25.24 - האלהים
2 Kgs. 18.35 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.14 - אלהיכם
2 Kgs. 19.15 - יהוה	2 Chron. 32.20 - minus
2 Kgs. 21.7 - יהוה	2 Chron. 33.7 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 22.4 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.9 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 22.19 - יהוה	2 Chron. 34.27 - אלהים
2 Kgs. 23.23 - ליהוה	2 Chron. 35.19 - minus

(4) אלהים 'minus' in Chronicles – 14 times

2 Sam. 5.10 - יהוה אלהי צבאות	1 Chron. 11.9 - יהוה צבאות - minus
2 Sam. 6.6 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.9 - minus
2 Sam. 6.7 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.10 - minus
2 Sam. 6.12 - האלהים	1 Chron. 15.25 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.2 - האלהים	1 Chron. 17.1 - יהוה
2 Sam. 7.23 - אלהיו	1 Chron. 17.21 - minus
2 Sam. 7.25 - יהוה אלהים	1 Chron. 17.23 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 24.3 - יהוה אלהיך	1 Chron. 21.3 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 24.24 - יהוה אלהי	1 Chron. 21.24 - יהוה - minus
1 Kgs. 3.5 - אלהים	2 Chron. 1.7 - minus
1 Kgs. 8.65 - יהוה אלהינו	2 Chron. 7.8 - minus
1 Kgs. 12.22 - האלהים	2 Chron. 11.2 - יהוה
2 Kgs. 16.2 - יהוה אלהיו	2 Chron. 28.1 - יהוה - minus
2 Kgs. 23.21 - ליהוה אלהיכם	2 Chron. 35.1 - ליהוה - minus

(5) אדני or צבאות 'minus' in Chronicles – 6 times

2 Sam. 6.2 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 13.6 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 6.18 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 16.2 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.20 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.19 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.22 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.20 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.28 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.26 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 7.29 - אדני יהוה	1 Chron. 17.27 - יהוה - minus

2.4 Commentary on Variation in Absolute Uses of יהוה and אלהים in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16

The variations in divine epithets in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16 may be placed into three groups: (1) absolute occurrences, (2) occurrences following לפני, and (3) occurrences modifying ארון.

(1) Absolute occurrences:

2 Sam. 6.7 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.10 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.7 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.10 - minus
2 Sam. 6.8 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.11 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.12 - יהוה	Non-synoptic
Non-synoptic	1 Chron. 15.26 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.18 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 16.2 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 6.21 - יהוה	Non-synoptic

(2) Occurrences following לפני:

2 Sam. 6.5 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.8 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.14 - יהוה	Non-synoptic
2 Sam. 6.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.29 - minus
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.21 - יהוה	Non-synoptic
2 Sam. 6.21 - יהוה	Non-synoptic

(3) Occurrences modifying ארון:

Non-synoptic	1 Chron. 13.5 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.2 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.6 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.2 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 13.6 - יהוה - minus
2 Sam. 6.3 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.7 - האלהים

2 Sam. 6.4 - האלהים	Non-synoptic
2 Sam. 6.6 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.9 - minus
2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.10 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.13 - minus
2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - האלהים
2 Sam. 6.12 - האלהים	Non-synoptic
2 Sam. 6.12 - האלהים	1 Chron. 15.25 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.13 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.26 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.15 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.28 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.16 - יהוה	1 Chron. 15.29 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.17 - יהוה	1 Chron. 16.1 - האלהים

In one synoptic text, Samuel is placed in group three and Chronicles in group two:

2 Sam. 6.7 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.10 - אלהים

The commentary in this section focuses on the texts in group one. The reader is referred to the main body of this thesis for details which are not addressed here.

2 Sam. 6.7 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.10 - יהוה

Yahweh is the subject of anger in both Samuel and Chronicles. אלהים alone is the subject of חרה only in Num. 22.22. No additional comment is required.

2 Sam. 6.8 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.11 - יהוה

Yahweh breaks forth against Uzzah in both Samuel and Chronicles. No additional comment is required.

2 Sam. 6.11 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.14 - יהוה
2 Sam. 6.12 - יהוה	Non-synoptic

Yahweh's act of blessing Obed-edom's בית, in the synoptic verse and again in Samuel's supplement, is addressed in 5.1.1.2 and 5.1.1.3. According to LXX^{AB} Chronicles, but not LXX^{L}, ὁ θεός rather than κύριος blesses Obed-edom. Usually Yahweh or Yahweh God blesses in the Bible, and only rarely is God the subject of blessing. The exceptions, where only 'God' blesses, are:

MT and LXX^{B}	LXX^{B} Alone
Gen. 1.22, 28; 2.3; 9.1; 25.11; 35.9	Gen. 28.3 (אל שדי)
	Exod 23.25 (יהוה אלהיכם)
	Josh 17.14 (יהוה)
Isa. 65.16	Isa 61.9 (יהוה); 65.23 (יהוה)
Pss. 44.3; 67.7, 8	
Prov. 22.8 (subject implied in MT)	
1 Chron. 26.5	1 Chron. 13.14 (יהוה)

The infrequency of the construction 'God blesses' may favour its originality in cases where the versions differ, suggesting that MT's Yahweh in each case may be a revision. In the case of 1 Chron. 13.14, however, Yahweh acts in 1 Chron. 13.10-11, 14, but the ark is associated with God (1 Chron. 13.3, 5-7, 12, 14)[969]. This too may provide a reason for the Old Greek reading in Chronicles.

2 Sam. 6.21 - יהוה	Non-synoptic

According to MT 2 Sam. 6.21 David's appointment as נגיד was על־עם יהוה על־ ישראל. However, the evidence for this phrase varies:

MT, Targum, Peshitta	over		Yahweh's	people	over	Israel
Vulgate	over		Yahweh's	people		Israel
Jacob, LXX^{A}, LXX^{B}, Aquila, Symmachus	over		his	people	over	Israel
LXX^{L}, Old Latin	over		his	people		Israel
Theodoret	over	all	his	people		Israel

It is argued in 6.1.1.3.3 that an earlier 'his people' (עמו) was intentionally altered to 'Yahweh's people' (עם יהוה) in order to avoid the misinterpretation of the Israelite people as formerly Saul's. It seems less plausible that translators or editors would intentionally remove a reference to 'Yahweh's' people, and especially in this context. In addition, nearly ninety percent of all עם-phrases occur identically in MT and LXX Samuel. A thorough review of עם in MT Samuel vis-à-vis LXX Samuel (Rahlfs)[970] shows that for 213

[969] יהוה in apposition to האלהים in 1 Chron. 13.6 is not original to the narrative. See 3.1.6.2. The ark is not associated with יהוה or his ברית until 1 Chronicles 15–16.

[970] This writer has not worked through the Greek manuscript evidence for each of these passages, although he is aware of additional text-critical evidence in some cases. It is not uncommon, for example, for LXX^{L} to read like the MT.

instances of עם in the MT there is complete agreement in 184 cases, and 29 cases of variation, which are:

	MT (*BHS*)	LXX (Rahlfs)
1 Sam. 2.23	העם אלה	τοῦ λαοῦ κυρίου
1 Sam. 2.24	עם־יהוה	λαὸν θεῷ
1 Sam. 2.29	לעמי	ἔμπροσθέν μου
1 Sam. 5.10	עמי	τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν
1 Sam. 5.11	עמי	τὸν λαὸν ἡμῶν
1 Sam. 6.19	בעם	ἐν αὐτοῖς
1 Sam. 9.2	העם	τὴν γῆν
1 Sam. 9.24	העם	minus
1 Sam. 10.24	העם	ὑμῖν
1 Sam. 10.25	העם	τὸν λαὸν Ισραηλ
1 Sam. 13.6	העם	minus
1 Sam. 13.8	העם	ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ
1 Sam. 14.2	העם	minus
1 Sam. 14.38	העם	τοῦ Ισραηλ
1 Sam. 15.1	עמו	minus
1 Sam. 15.9	העם	πᾶς ὁ λαός
1 Sam. 26.7	העם	ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ
1 Sam. 30.4	העם	οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ
1 Sam 31.9	העם	τῷ λαῷ αὐτῶν
2 Sam. 1.12	עם יהוה	τὸν λαὸν Ιουδα
2 Sam. 3.18	עמי ישראל	τὸν Ισραηλ
2 Sam. 3.36	כל־העם	τοῦ λαοῦ
2 Sam. 6.21	עם יהוה	τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ
2 Sam. 10.13	העם	ὁ λαὸς αὐτοῦ
2 Sam. 15.17	העם	οἱ παῖδες
2 Sam. 16.15	העם איש ישראל	ἀνὴρ Ισραηλ
2 Sam. 18.3	העם	minus
2 Sam. 18.6	העם	πᾶς ὁ λαός
2 Sam. 22.44	עמי	λαῶν

This same table, however, reveals some significant opposing evidence. In the only three cases where MT Samuel has the construct phrase 'people of Yahweh' (עם יהוה) LXX Samuel has 'God', 'Judah' and 'his'. Indeed, the possessive עם יהוה is rare in the Bible, occurring in the MT elsewhere only in Num. 11.29; 17.6; Judg. 5.11, 13; 2 Kgs. 9.6; Ezek. 36.20; Zeph. 2.10 (עם יהוה צבאות). Very often 'Yahweh's people' is implicit rather than explicit, and the notion may also be expressed by means of a circumlocution, such as

the use of the possessive ל or a possessive pronoun. One case among those just cited is particularly interesting. Compare:

2 Kgs. 9.6	משחתיך למלך אל־עם יהוה אל־ישראל
2 Sam. 6.21	לצות אתי נגיד על־עם יהוה על־ישראל

This writer has not yet reached a conclusion regarding the totality of the textual evidence. In his opinion a detailed study of terminology and expressions for Yahweh's 'people' and 'Israel' is required. However, LXX 1 Sam. 2.24 and LXX 2 Sam. 1.12 should probably not be used as leverage against LXX 2 Sam. 6.21. There are other difficulties with LXX 1 Sam. 2.24[971] and McCarter is probably correct regarding LXX 2 Sam. 1.12 that 'LXX substitutes "Judah" for "Yahweh" under the influence of the traditional pairing "Judah" and "Israel"'.[972] For now, then, this writer continues to suggest that in 2 Sam. 6.21 'his people' (עמו) was intentionally altered to 'Yahweh's people' (עם יהוה) in order to avoid the misinterpretation of the Israelite people as formerly Saul's.

Non-synoptic	1 Chron. 15.26 - האלהים

1 Chron. 15.26 says God helped the Levites. For discussion see 5.1.3.3. LXX^{AB} has ἐν τῷ κατισχῦσαι τὸν θεὸν τοὺς λευίτας but LXX^{L} says ἐν τῷ κατισχῦσαι κύριον τοὺς λευίτας, thus making Yahweh the subject. LXX^{L}'s reading is probably an assimilation to the epithet in the subsequent τὴν κιβωτὸν (τῆς) διαθήκης κυρίου. Further commentary on this non-synoptic material is not required.

2 Sam. 6.18 - יהוה צבאות	1 Chron. 16.2 - יהוה - minus

The use of יהוה (אלהים) צבאות in biblical literature is eye-catching. It is argued in 3.1.6.2 and 5.1.3.9 that צבאות is secondary in vv. 2 and 18 of 2 Samuel 6. Treatments of this epithet have given inadequate consideration to text-critical evidence. *There is excessive variation from the MT in other textual traditions, not least to mention Jeremiah,*

[971] See McCarter 1980a: 82.
[972] McCarter 1984: 57.

and 1 Sam. 4.4 is not irrelevant either. In this writer's view this fault has led to excessively confident assertions regarding the history and significance of יהוה (אלהים) צבאות. This is the subject of another study.

2 Sam. 6.9 - יהוה	1 Chron. 13.12 - האלהים

Samuel and Chronicles diverge over the object of David's fear: is it Yahweh or God? ירא is the most common verb in a large repertoire of terms (more than 30) designating 'be afraid, frighten, tremble, etc.' The Hebrew root ירא occurs 435 times, including 32 times in Samuel and 14 times in Chronicles. ירא (את) יהוה occurs 64 times, most frequently in Psalms, Kings, and Deuteronomy. The concept appears elsewhere in Samuel only in 1 Sam. 12.14, 24, where Samuel exhorts Israel to 'fear' and serve and obey Yahweh, and in Chronicles only in 2 Chron. 6.31, 33 (// 1 Kgs. 8.40, 43).[973] In addition: 'to fear the name of Yahweh' occurs in Deut. 28.58; Isa. 59.19; and Ps. 102.16; and 'to fear מפני/מן Yahweh' occurs in Exod. 9.30; Hag. 1.12; and Ps. 33.8. 'Fearing God' is a less common phenomenon. ירא (את) (ה)אלהים occurs 18 times, but only here in Chronicles, and never in Samuel.[974] In addition, 'to fear מלפני/מן God' occurs 7 times.[975] In four passages the fear of foreign gods is condemned (Judg. 6.10; 2 Kgs. 17.7, 35, 37, 38). ירא (את) יהוה in passages in Deuteronomy and the Former Prophets 'are uniform with reference both to

[973] Exodus (twice): 9.20; 14.31; Deuteronomy (13 times): 4.10 (pn); 5.29 (pn); 6.2, 13, 24; 8.6 (pn); 10.12, 20; 13.5 (pn); 14.23; 17.19; 31.12, 13; Joshua (3 times): 4.24; 22.25; 24.14; 1 Samuel (twice): 12.14, 24; 2 Samuel (once): 6.8; 1 Kings (four times): 8.40 (pn), 43 (pn); 18.3, 12; 2 Kings (9 times): 4.1; 17.25, 28, 32, 33, 34, 36 (pn), 39, 41; Isaiah (once): 50.10; Jeremiah (three times): 5.22, 24; 26.19; Jonah (once): 1.9; Hosea (once): 10.3; Malachi (twice): 3.5, 16; Psalms (16 times): 15.4; 22.24; 25.12, 14 (pn); 33.18 (pn); 34.8 (pn); 40.4; 103.13 (pn); 112.1; 115.11, 13; 118.4; 128.1, 4; 135.20; 147.11 (pn); Proverbs (4 times): 3.7; 14.2; 24.21; 31.30; 2 Chronicles (twice): 6.31 (pn), 33 (pn). The data given here and in the next two notes was gathered using Gramcord, and the writer may have missed some examples, notably where a pronominal referent is used with ירא at a distance from any occurrence of 'Yahweh' or 'God'. The writer has marked such occurrences 'pn'. Hopefully the secondary literature has prevented the writer from missing many, if any, examples.

[974] Genesis 22.12; 42.18; Deuteronomy 25.18; 2 Kings 17.41; Psalms 55.20; 66.16; 67.8 (pn); Job 1.1, 8, 9; 2.3; Qoheleth 5.6; 7.18; 8.12, 13; 12.13; Nehemiah 7.2; 1 Chronicles 13.12.

[975] Leviticus 19.14, 32; 25.17, 36, 43; Qoheleth 3.14 (pn); 8.12 (pn).

meaning and to linguistic form'.[976] The concept most often occurs in parallel with: 'to love', 'to cling to', 'to walk in his ways', 'to follow', 'to serve', 'to keep the commandments', 'to swear by his name', 'to listen to his voice', and 'to keep (commandments, etc.)'. The close relationship of fearing Yahweh and maintaining loyalty to the God of the covenant is noteworthy. 1 Sam. 12.14, 24 certainly fits this characterisation, and so does to some extent 1 Kgs. 8.40, 43 // 2 Chron. 6.31, 33. However, 2 Sam. 6.8 // 1 Chron. 13.12 does not fit the characterisation. For this reason, the discussions of ירא in the *Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament* and in the *Theological Lexicon of the Old Testament* omit 2 Sam. 6.8 from their complete list of 'Deuteronomistic' passages.[977] Furthermore, the discussion in the *New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology and Exegesis* speaks of three aspects of fear: terror, respect, and worship; and David's response to Yahweh's homicide of Uzzah is placed in the discussion of 'fear associated with terror'.[978] See 4.1.3.3. 2 Samuel 6 has none of the so-called 'Deuteronomistic' features usually associated with יהוה (את) ירא, but Chronicles' אלהים(ה) (את) ירא may hint that Samuel's יהוה was assimilated (in form but not meaning) to the standard wording.

2 Sam. 6.7 - האלהים	1 Chron. 13.10 - minus

The wording in Chronicles assumes that Yahweh executed Uzzah, but Samuel explicitly attributes this deed to God. It is argued in 4.1.2.2 that the addition of האלהים in Samuel is one of several secondary elements in 2 Sam. 6.6-7 which seek to emphasise Uzzah's responsibility for his own death. Additional discussion is unnecessary.

[976] Stähli 1997: 575.
[977] Fuhs 1990: 307; Stähli 1997: 575.
[978] Van Pelt and Kaiser 1997: 528-529.

2.5 In the Presence of the Deity

Explicit references to position (static) or activity (dynamic) in the presence of the deity are expressed using one or more prepositions, the construct פני, and the epithet of the deity, usually יהוה. The following table summarises the various constructions which are used.

		Bible	Pent.	Former Prophets	Latter Prophets	Writings	Sam.	Kgs.	Chron.
את־פני	יהוה	19	7	5	4	3	3[979]	2[980]	1[981]
לפני	יהוה	226	147	48	9	22	23[982]	13[983]	16[984]
מפני	יהוה	10	2	3	5	0	0	1[985]	0
מלפני	יהוה	15	7	1	3	4	1[986]	0	3[987]
Sub-Total		270	163	57	21	29	27	16	20
לפני	אלהים	8	1	0	0	7	0	0	1[988]
מלפני	אלהים	4	0	0	0	4	0	0	2[989]
לפני	האלהים	9	2	2	0	5	0	0	2[990]
Sub-Total		21	3	2	0	16	0	0	5
Total		291	166	59	21	45	27	16	25

Notes:

- The prepositional phrase את־פני does not occur with אלהים, האלהים, אל or אדני.
- The prepositional phrase לפני does not occur with אדני.
- The prepositional phrase מפני does not occur with האלהים or אל.
- The prepositional phrase מלפני does not occur with האלהים, אל or אדני.
- The phrase לפני אל occurs once, in Job 15.4.
- The phrase מפני אלהים occurs three times, in Ps. 68.3, 9 (twice).
- The phrase מפני אדני occurs once, in Zeph. 1.7.

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[979] 1 Sam. 1.22; 2.17-18.

[980] 1 Kgs. 13.6; 2 Kgs. 13.4.

[981] 2 Chron. 33.12.

[982] 1 Sam. 1.12, 15, 19; 6.20; 7.6; 10.19, 25; 11.15; 12.7; 15.33; 21.8; 23.18; 26.19; 2 Sam. 5.3; 6.5, 14, 16-17, 21; 7.18; 21.9.

[983] 1 Kgs. 2.45; 8.59, 62, 64-65; 9.25; 19.11; 22.21; 2 Kgs. 16.14; 19.14-15; 23.3.

[984] 1 Chron. 9.20; 11.3; 17.16; 22.18; 23.13, 31; 29.22; 2 Chron 1.6; 7.4; 14.12; 18.20; 20.13, 18; 27.6; 31.20; 34.31.

[985] 2 Kgs. 22.19.

[986] 1 Sam. 21.7.

[987] 1 Chron. 16.33; 2 Chron. 19.2; 33.23.

[988] 1 Chron. 13.10.

[989] 2 Chron. 33.12; 34.27.

[990] 1 Chron. 13.8; 16.1.

- The phrase מנגד פני יהוה occurs once, in 1 Sam. 26.20.
- The phrase מעם פני יהוה occurs once, in Job 1.12.
- The phrase נכח פני אדני occurs once, in Lam. 2.19.
- The phrase לפני יהוה is the most frequent by far, making up nearly 80% of all occurrences of the related constructions.
- לפני אלהים(מ) outside a construct (e.g., לפני אלהי השמים in Neh. 1.4) or suffix (e.g., לפני אלהיך in Dan. 10.12) construction occurs only in Ps. 56.14; 61.8; 68.3-4, 9 (twice); Qoh. 8.13; 1 Chron. 13.10; 2 Chron. 34.27.
- In biblical Hebrew there are nearly five-hundred instances of Yפניx, in which X is one of the prepositions mentioned here and Y is a singular pronominal suffix. *Many of these have the deity as their referent*, but only the cases in Samuel[991], Kings[992] and Chronicles[993] are included in the present investigation. In these books, Yahweh (never just 'God') is the immediate referent in all cases.

The meaning and usage of לפני יהוה is summarised by van der Woude and Simian Yofre.[994] The phrase is used once with a temporal sense, and all other instances are spatial (static or dynamic), and frequently occur in cultic contexts. The phrase לפני(מ) אלהים(ה) is uncommon, occurring in the following passages only:

[991] 1 Sam. 2.28, 30; 2 Sam. 7.16 (LXX); 7.26, 29.

[992] 1 Kgs. 2.4; 3.6; 8.23, 25 (twice), 28; 9.3, 4; 11.36; 17.1; 18.15; 21.29 (twice); 2 Kgs. 3.14; 5.16; 13.23; 17.18, 20, 23; 20.3; 22.19; 23.27; 24.3, 20.

[993] 1 Chron.16.27, 29-30; 17.24, 25, 27; 22.8; 29.12, 15; 2 Chron. 2.3, 5; 6.14, 16, 19, 24; 9.7; 20.9; 29.11; 34.27.

[994] Van der Woude 1997: 1011-1012; Simian Yofre 2001: 609-611.

Gen. 6.11	Genesis uses 'before Yahweh' 5 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 6.3, 5-8.[995]
Exod. 18.12	Exodus uses 'before Yahweh' 22 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 18.1, 8-11.
Num. 10.10[996]	Numbers uses 'before Yahweh' 40 times, including Num. 10.9. 'Yahweh' is used in 10.1, 9, 10 (!), 13, 29, 32-36.
Josh. 24.1	Joshua uses 'before Yahweh' 8 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 24.2, 7, 14-24, 26-27, 29, 31.
Judg. 21.2	Judges uses 'before Yahweh' 4 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 21.3, 5, 7-8, 15, 19.
Ps. 56.14	Psalms uses 'before Yahweh' 6 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 56.11.
Ps. 61.8	Psalms uses 'before Yahweh' 6 times. Yahweh is not used in this psalm.
Ps. 68.3-4, 9 (twice in v. 9)	Psalms uses 'before Yahweh' 6 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 68.17, 21, 27.
Qoh. 2.26	'Yahweh' is not used in Qoheleth.
Qoh. 5.1	'Yahweh' is not used in Qoheleth.
Qoh. 7.26	'Yahweh' is not used in Qoheleth.
Qoh. 8.13	'Yahweh' is not used in Qoheleth.
Dan. 10.12	'Yahweh' is used only in ch. 9 of Daniel.
Ezra 8.21	'Yahweh' is used in 8.28-29, 35.
Neh. 1.4	'Yahweh' is used in v. 5.
1 Chron. 13.8, 10	Chronicles uses 'before Yahweh' 19 times. 'Yahweh' is used in 13.2, 6, 10-11, 14.
1 Chron. 16.1	Chronicles uses 'before Yahweh' 19 times, including 16.33. 'Yahweh' is used in 16.2, 4, 7-8, 10-11, 14, 23, 25-26, 28, 29, 31, 33-34, 36-37, 39-41.
2 Chron. 33.12	Chronicles uses 'before Yahweh' 19 times, including 33.12 (!), 23. 'Yahweh' is used in 33.2, 4-6, 9-13, 15-18, 22-23.
2 Chron. 34.27	Chronicles uses 'before Yahweh' 19 times, including 34.31. 'Yahweh' is used in 34.2, 8, 10, 14-15, 17, 21, 23-24, 26-27, 30-31, 33.

In the vast majority of cases אלהים(ה) לפני(מ) is a stylistic variation which does not carry any additional significance. On occasion אלהים(ה) לפני(מ) is used due to other aspects of the wording of the passage. For example, 2 Chron. 33.12 says:

> וכהצר לו חלה את־פני יהוה אלהיו ויכנע מאד מלפני אלהי אבתיו
>
> 'While he was in distress he entreated the favor of the LORD his God and humbled himself greatly before the God of his ancestors' (NRSV). Incidentally, observe the preceding את־פני יהוה אלהיו.

[995] However, the variation in names in this chapter is one criterion used for the demarcation of supposed sources.

[996] The NRSV is the only modern English translation to supply יהוה following לפני in MT's לפני אלהיכם.

In 2 Chron. 34.27, מלפני אלהים is clearly secondary to the Septuagint's ἀπὸ προσώπου μου. This and other changes were made in MT to avoid possible confusion related to first person singular references since Yahweh's words are reported in direct discourse by the prophetess Huldah (cf. vv. 23-24). The other three occurrences of 'before God' in Chronicles are addressed below.

A number of important aspects of 'before Yahweh/God' are addressed in the main body of this thesis[997] and others are addressed below. Three points merit some general comments. First, the phrase X מעל פני (and some cases of X מפני) is the linguistic converse of the terminology for position or activity in the presence of the deity. In half of the occurrences of this phrase a pronoun referring to the deity is attached to the noun, and it is particularly interesting that the Exile is the focus in these passages.[998] The other half of the occurrences are in the phrase מעל פני האדמה, which is no less suggestive regarding *the Exile*, even in passages which on first thought do not seem to be about this topic.[999] The only other occurrence of X מעל פני in the Bible is מעל פני מתו in Gen. 23.3 ('Abraham rose from beside his dead'). It may be suggested that the nation's destiny in exile [יהוה] מעל פני is directly related to the failure of their leaders, according to Samuel and Kings, to behave properly לפני יהוה. In these books, *the only kingly figures* who act properly לפני יהוה are David, Solomon, Hezekiah (2 Kings 19) and Josiah (2 Kings 22–23). Second, some scholars observe that the theological adverbial (לפני יהוה) and the phrase 'before the ark' (... לפני [ה]ארון) may be synonymous. The latter occurs in the following places in the Bible:

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[997] See 3.1.4.1, 4.1.2.3, 5.1.3.5, 5.1.3.6, 6.1.1.1.3, 6.1.1.3.4.

[998] 1 Kgs. 9.7; 2 Kgs. 13.23; 17.18, 23; 23.27; 24.3, 20; 2 Chron. 7.20; Jer. 7.15; 15.1; 23.39; 32.31; 52.3.

[999] Gen. 4.14; 6.7; 7.4; 8.8; Exod. 32.12; Deut. 6.15; 1 Sam. 20.15; 1 Kgs. 9.7; 13.34; Jer. 28.16; Amos 9.8; Zeph. 1.2-3.

לפני הארון	Josh. 6.4; 2 Sam. 6.4; 1 Kgs. 8.5; 1 Chron. 16.37; 2 Chron. 5.6
לפני ארון יהוה	Josh. 6.6-7, 13; 7.6; 1 Sam. 5.3-4; 1 Chron. 16.4
לפני ארון יהוה אלהיכם	Josh. 4.5
מפני ארון ברית־יהוה	Josh. 4.7; 1 Chron. 16.37
לפני ארון ברית־אדני (!)	1 Kgs. 3.15
לפני ארון העדת	Exod. 40.5
לפני ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 15.24
לפני ארון ברית־האלהים	1 Chron. 16.6

Finally, Sheriffs and Wilson discuss the relationship of לפני יהוה to the concept of covenant in the Bible.[1000]

2.6 Commentary on Variation Related to לפני יהוה and לפני האלהים and Other Phrases in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16

First and foremost, it is absolutely essential to discuss the cases of variation in view of the broader usage.[1001] The majority of cases of 'before Yahweh' and related phrases are non-synoptic. These occurrences are:

[1000] Sheriffs 1979; Wilson 1995.

[1001] The statistical aspect of this investigation is based on the MT. The writer has not systematically checked each of the following passages in the Greek versions. The writer laments this (temporary) fault. The writer happened across one interesting Greek reading which he cites below.

1 Samuel
1 Sam. 1.12 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 1.15 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 1.19 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 1.22 (את־פני יהוה)
1 Sam. 2.17 (את־פני יהוה)
1 Sam. 2.18 (את־פני יהוה)
1 Sam. 2.28 (לפנַי)
1 Sam. 2.30 (לפנַי)
1 Sam. 6.20 (לפני יהוה האלהים הקדוש הזה)
1 Sam. 7.6 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 10.19 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 10.25 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 11.15 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 11.15 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 12.7 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 15.33 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 21.7 (מלפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 21.8 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 23.18 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 26.19 (לפני יהוה)
1 Sam. 26.20 (מנגד פני יהוה)
19 texts with Yahweh 2 texts with a pronoun

2 Samuel	1 Chronicles
2 Sam. 6.21 (לפני יהוה)	1 Chron.16.27 (לפניו)
2 Sam. 6.21 (לפני יהוה)	1 Chron. 16.29 (לפניו)
2 Sam. 21.9 (לפני יהוה)	1 Chron. 16.30 (מלפניו)
	1 Chron. 16.33 (מלפני יהוה)
	1 Chron. 22.8 (לפנַי)
	1 Chron. 22.18 (לפני יהוה)
	1 Chron. 23.13 (לפני יהוה)
	1 Chron. 23.31 (לפני יהוה)
	1 Chron. 29.12 (מלפניך)
	1 Chron. 29.15 (לפניך)
	1 Chron. 29.22 (לפני יהוה)
3 texts with Yahweh 0 texts with a pronoun	5 texts with Yahweh 6 texts with a pronoun

1–2 Kings	2 Chronicles
1 Kgs. 2.4 (לפנַי)	2 Chron. 1.6 (לפני יהוה)
1 Kgs. 2.45 (לפני יהוה)	2 Chron. 2.3 (לפניו)
1 Kgs. 8.59 (לפני יהוה)	2 Chron. 2.5 (לפניו)
1 Kgs. 11.36 (לפנַי)	2 Chron. 14.12 (לפני יהוה)
1 Kgs. 17.1 (לפניו)	2 Chron. 19.2 (מלפני יהוה)
1 Kgs. 18.15 (לפניו)	2 Chron. 20.9 (לפניך)
1 Kgs. 19.11 (לפני יהוה)	2 Chron. 20.13 (לפני יהוה)
1 Kgs. 19.11 (לפני יהוה)	2 Chron. 20.18 (לפני יהוה)
1 Kgs. 21.29 (מלפנַי)	2 Chron. 27.6 (לפני יהוה אלהיו)
1 Kgs. 21.29 (מפנַי)	2 Chron. 29.11 (לפניו)
2 Kgs. 3.14 (לפניו)	2 Chron. 31.20 (לפני יהוה)
2 Kgs. 5.16 (לפניו)	2 Chron. 33.12 (מלפני אלהי אבתיו)
2 Kgs. 13.23 (מעל־פניו)	
2 Kgs. 16.14 (לפני יהוה)	
2 Kgs. 17.18 (מעל־פניו)	
2 Kgs. 17.20 (מפניו)	
2 Kgs. 17.23 (מעל־פניו)	
2 Kgs. 19.14 (לפני יהוה)	
2 Kgs. 20.3 (לפניך)	
2 Kgs. 23.27 (מעל פנַי)	
2 Kgs. 24.3 (מעל פניו)	
2 Kgs. 24.20 (מעל פניו)	
6 texts with Yahweh 16 texts with a pronoun	7 texts with Yahweh 4 texts with a pronoun 1 other text (the last)

It should be observed that neither Samuel, nor Kings, *nor Chronicles*, has even a single instance of אלהים(ה) לפני(מ) in non-synoptic material. The three occurrences of 'God' (highlighted) in the texts cited above are obviously *not exceptions*.

Second, Samuel–Kings and Chronicles are in agreement in fourteen passages. These are:

2 Sam. 5.3 (לפני יהוה) // 1 Chron. 11.3 (לפני יהוה)
2 Sam. 7.18 (לפני יהוה) // 1 Chron. 17.16 (לפני יהוה)
2 Sam. 7.26 (לפניך) // 1 Chron. 17.24 (לפניך)
2 Sam. 7.29 (לפניך) // 1 Chron. 17.27 (לפניך)
1 Kgs. 8.28 (לפניך) // 2 Chron. 6.19 (לפניך)
1 Kgs. 8.23 (לפניך) // 2 Chron. 6.14 (לפניך)
1 Kgs. 8.25 (מלפני) // 2 Chron. 6.16 (מלפני)
1 Kgs. 8.25 (לפני) // 2 Chron. 6.16 (לפני)
1 Kgs. 8.62 (לפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 7.4 (לפני יהוה)
1 Kgs. 9.4 (לפני) // 2 Chron. 7.17 (לפני)
1 Kgs. 9.7 (מעל פני) // 2 Chron. 7.20 (מעל פני)
2 Kgs. 22.19 (לפני) // 2 Chron. 34.27 (לפני)
1 Kgs. 22.21 (לפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 18.20 (לפני יהוה)
2 Kgs. 23.3 (לפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 34.31 (לפני יהוה)
5 texts with Yahweh 9 texts with a pronoun

It *is pertinent* to include the cases with pronominal suffixes since it is clear the Chronicler did not seek to change an implicit reference to Yahweh into a specific instance of 'God'.

Third, Samuel–Kings and Chronicles are in disagreement in the following eighteen passages:

2 Sam. 6.5 (לפני יהוה) // 1 Chron. 13.8 (לפני האלהים)
2 Sam. 6.7 (עם ארון האלהים) // 1 Chron. 13.10 (לפני אלהים)
2 Sam. 6.14 (לפני יהוה) // 1 Chron. 15.27 (minus)
2 Sam. 6.16 (לפני יהוה) // 1 Chron. 15.29 (minus)
2 Sam. 6.17 (לפני יהוה) // 1 Chron. 16.1 (לפני האלהים)
2 Sam. 7.16 (LXX לפני) // 1 Chron. 17.14 (minus)
2 Sam. 7.27 (אליך) // 1 Chron. 17.25 (לפניך)
1 Kgs. 3.6 (לפניך) // 2 Chron. 1.8 (minus)
1 Kgs. 8.25 (לפני) // 2 Chron. 6.16 (בתורתי)
1 Kgs. 8.33 (אליך) // 2 Chron. 6.24 (לפניך)
1 Kgs. 8.64 (לפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 7.6 (minus)
1 Kgs. 8.65 (לפני יהוה אלהינו) // 2 Chron. 7.8 (minus)
1 Kgs. 9.3 (לפני) // 2 Chron. 7.12 (minus)
1 Kgs. 9.25 (לפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 8.12 (לפני האולם)
2 Kgs. 19.15 (לפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 32.20 (minus)
2 Kgs. 21.22 (minus) // 2 Chron. 33.23 (מלפני יהוה)
2 Kgs. 22.19 (מפני יהוה) // 2 Chron. 34.27 (מלפני אלהים)
2 Kgs. 22.19 (minus) // 2 Chron. 34.27 (לפני)

Ten of these passages involve a minus in Kings (twice) or Chronicles (8 times). However, in view of the previous tables, these absences indicate nothing regarding the Chronicler's

Tendenz. Furthermore, five of the eight minuses in Chronicles are in material in which Chronicles does in fact use לפני יהוה etc. (2 Samuel 7 // 1 Chronicles 17; 1 Kings 3, 8–9 // 2 Chronicles 1, 7). Two cases involve the interchange אליך // לפניך, one involves לפני // בתורתי, another involves לפני יהוה // לפני האולם, and another, 2 Kgs. 22.19 // 2 Chron. 34.27, was briefly discussed above. The other three passages, all in Samuel and Chronicles, are discussed shortly.

The following table gives all cases of 'before Yahweh' and 'before God' and their synoptic parallels in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16:

2 Samuel 6		1 Chronicles 13, 15–16	
6.5	לפני יהוה ἐνώπιον κυρίου	13.8	לפני האלהים ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ
6.7	עם ארון האלהים παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ	13.10	לפני אלהים ἀπέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ
6.14	לפני יהוה ἐνώπιον κυρίου	15.27	minus or non-parallel
6.16	לפני יהוה ἐνώπιον κυρίου	15.29	minus
6.17	לפני יהוה ἐνώπιον κυρίου	16.1	לפני האלהים ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ (LXX^{A} κυρίου)
–	–	16.27	לפניו κατὰ πρόσωπον (LXX^{L} ἐνώπιον) αὐτοῦ
–	–	16.29	לפניו κατὰ πρόσωπον (LXX^{L} ἐνώπιον) αὐτοῦ
–	–	16.30	מלפניו ἀπὸ πρόσωπου αὐτοῦ
–	–	16.33	לפני יהוה ἀπὸ προσώπου κυρίου
6.21	לפני יהוה ἐνώπιον κυρίου	–	–
6.21	לפני יהוה ἐνώπιον κυρίου (LXX^{A} minus)	–	–

The four non-shared instances of לפני יהוה in 2 Samuel 6 are adequately addressed in 5.1.3.6, 6.1.1.1.3, and 6.1.1.3.4. Likewise this writer has nothing to add to the discussion of 2 Sam. 6.5 // 1 Chron. 13.8 in 3.1.4.1. Thus the brief comments here supplement previous comments on the other two synoptic passages highlighted in the table above.

See	2 Sam. 6.7	וימת שם עם ארון האלהים //
4.1.2.3	1 Chron. 13.10	וימת שם לפני אלהים

The key to the interpretation of this parallel clause is twofold: (1) the reading in 4QSam[a][1002] and (2) the doublet in Greek Samuel.

4QSam[a]	וימות שם לפני אלוהים
LXX Chr	καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ ἀπέναντι τοῦ θεοῦ
LXX Sam	καὶ ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ

In 2 Sam. 6.7 // 1 Chron. 13.10, the second element of the doublet in LXX Samuel agrees with 4QSam[a] and Chronicles. Ulrich argues that the doublet in Greek Samuel is an instance of hebraising revision.[1003] Confirmation that this is a true doublet is offered by the fact that elsewhere, when κυρίος and θεός occur together in these constructions, the appositional structure is never split by the preposition. The only other comparable example is remotely similar since the preposition is repeated, and the substantive is the same after each preposition: ὅτι ἦρκεν χεῖρας ἐναντίον τοῦ κυρίου ἔναντι δὲ κυρίου παντοκράτορος ἐτραχηλίασεν (Job 15.25). When παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ was inserted in Greek Samuel on the basis of the received text, τοῦ θεοῦ was dissimilated from the following τοῦ θεοῦ, thus giving παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου. This was done to avoid the clumsy παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ. It is unlikely that an original יהוה was altered to האלהים in MT Samuel. The reading עם ארון האלהים in MT 2 Sam. 6.7 is the more specific, ironic and graphic representation of the locus of Uzzah's execution. See 3.1.4.2 and 4.1.2.3 for additional discussion.

[1002] Fincke 2001: 150; Herbert 1997b: 125.

[1003] Ulrich 1978: 197-202. However, after a review of ἐνώπιον and לפני in 2 Samuel 1–9, Nysse concludes that 'The unanimity of the Greek tradition leaves one with no demonstrable alternative to the conclusion that the OG Vorlage had the double or conflated readings. One cannot demonstrate post-OG revision to the MT if all the Greek witnesses have the same reading'. See Nysse 1984: 473; cf. 165-168.

See 5.1.3.5	2 Sam. 6.17 1 Chron. 16.1 2 Sam. 6.18 1 Chron. 16.2	ויעל דוד עלות לפני יהוה ושלמים // ויקריבו עלות ושלמים לפני האלהים ויכל דוד מהעלות העולה והשלמים // ויכל דויד מהעלות העלה והשלמים

In this verse, Samuel has 'before Yahweh' throughout; Chronicles has 'before God' with the exceptions of Targum Chronicles with 'before Yahweh' and Peshitta Chronicles with 'before the ark of Yahweh'[1004]; and Josephus lacks a reference to the deity. The concern here is simply to lay out the data for *lamed* or לפני preceding יהוה or (ה)אלהים and in context with the terminology of sacrifice.[1005]

- ליהוה is *extremely* common, so the writer will give the data for Joshua–Kings and Ezra–Chronicles only: Josh. 8.31; Judg. 2.5; 6.24; 11.31; 13.16, 19; 1 Sam. 1.3, 21; 6.14, 15, 17; 7.6, 9, 17; 14.35; 15.22; 16.2, 5; 2 Sam. 23.16; 24.18, 21, 25; 1 Kgs. 8.63; 9.25; 2 Kgs. 5.17; Ezra 3.3, 5, 6; 8.35; 1 Chron. 11.18; 16.40; 21.18, 22, 24, 26; 23.31; 29.21; 2 Chron. 8.12; 13.11; 15.11; 26.18; 29.32; 30.22; 35.12.

- ל(ה)אלהים referring to 'God' occurs in Gen. 46.1; Exod. 8.21; 18.12; Mic. 6.6; Ps. 50.4; Ezra 8.35; 2 Chron. 29.7.

- ל(ה)אלהים referring to 'a god' or 'gods' occurs in Exod. 22.19; 34.15; Deut. 12.31; 1 Kgs. 11.8; 2 Kgs. 5.17; 22.17; Jer. 1.16; 7.18; 19.4, 13; 32.29; 44.3, 5, 8, 15; 48.35; 2 Chron. 25.14; 28.23, 25; 34.25.

- ליהוה (ה)אלהים occurs in Exod. 3.18; 5.3; 8.22, 23, 24; 10.25; Deut. 13.17; 15.19, 21; 16.2, 10; 17.1; 27.5, 6; Josh. 8.30; Judg. 6.26; 1 Sam. 15.15, 21; 2 Sam. 24.24; Ezra 8.28; 2 Chron. 11.16; 33.17.

- לפני יהוה occurs in Exod. 29.11, 23, 24, 25, 26, 42; 30.8; Lev. 1.3, 5, 11; 3.1, 7, 12; 4.4, 6, 7, 15, 17, 18, 24; 5.26; 6.7, 18; 7.30; 8.26, 27, 29; 9.2, 4, 21, 24; 10.1, 2, 15, 17, 19; 12.7; 14.11, 12, 16, 18, 23, 24, 27, 29, 31; 15.14, 15, 30; 16.7, 10, 12, 13, 18, 30; 19.22; 23.11, 20, 28; Num. 3.4; 5.16, 18, 25; 6.16, 20; 7.3; 8.10, 11, 21; 15.25, 28; 16.7, 16, 17; 17.3, 5, 11; 18.19; 26.61; 31.50; Deut. 27.7; Judg. 20.26; 1 Sam. 7.6; 11.15; 2 Sam. 6.17; 1 Kgs. 8.62, 64; 9.25; 2 Kgs. 16.14; Ezek. 43.24; 1 Chron. 23.13, 31; 2 Chron. 1.6; 7.4, 7.

- לפני (ה)אלהים occurs in Exod. 18.12; Num. 10.10; 1 Chron. 16.1.

- לפני יהוה (ה)אלהים occurs in Lev. 23.28; Deut. 26.10, 13; 27.7.

[1004] The discussion of 1 Chron. 16.1 in Japhet 1997: 35 is flawed. She says 'the Septuagint' reads 'the LORD'. In fact, LXX^{A} alone has this reading.

[1005] One could extend this presentation by including occurrences of *lamed* or לפני with a pronominal suffix referential to the deity (e.g., Ezra 4.2). However, locating these examples would be a lengthy process, and in any case there are probably not many of them.

Looking at the data from an additional angle, 1 Chron. 16.1 has the only example of עלה, קרב, עֹלָה or שלם in context with לפני אלהים. One or more of these nouns or verbs occurs in context with לפני יהוה in Lev. 1.5; 3.1, 7, 12; 4.7, 18, 24; 6.7, 18; 9.2, 24; 10.1, 19; 12.7; 14.31; 15.15, 30; Num. 3.4; 5.25; 6.16; 7.3; 16.17; 17.3; 26.61; Deut. 27.7; Judg. 20.26; 1 Sam. 11.15; 2 Sam. 6.17; 1 Kgs. 8.64; Ezek. 43.24; 2 Chron. 1.6. Overall, the infrequency of the לפני constructions outside priestly texts is striking. Furthermore, Chronicles does not have לפני אלהים apart from 1 Chron. 16.1, preferring לפני יהוה in synoptic and non-synoptic texts.[1006]

The literary significance of לפני יהוה in Samuel is discussed at various points in the body of this thesis. 'Before Yahweh' occurs 28 times total in Samuel[1007], which includes 19 occurrences in 1 Samuel and nine in 2 Samuel. In 2 Samuel, six of the nine occurrences are in shared texts, all except for 2 Sam. 6.21 (twice) and 21.9. The first non-shared text is David's response to Michal's (Saul's daughter!) disapproval of David:

> David said to Michal, 'It was before Yahweh (לפני יהוה), who chose me in place of your father and all his household, to appoint me as prince over Israel, the people of Yahweh, that I have danced before Yahweh (לפני יהוה)' (2 Sam. 6.21).

The second non-shared text is the impalement of the seven sons of Saul by the Gibeonites:

> David said to the Gibeonites, 'What shall I do for you? How shall I make expiation, that you may bless the heritage of Yahweh?' The Gibeonites said to him, 'It is not a matter of silver or gold between us and Saul or his house; neither is it for us to put anyone to death in Israel.' He said, 'What do you say that I should do for you?' They said to the king, 'The man who consumed us and planned to destroy us, so that we should have no place in all the territory of Israel – let seven of his sons be handed over to us, and we will impale them before Yahweh at Gibeon on the mountain of Yahweh.' The king said, 'I will hand them over.' But the king spared Mephibosheth, the son of Saul's son Jonathan, because of the oath of Yahweh that was between them, between David and Jonathan son of Saul. The king took the two sons of Rizpah daughter of Aiah, whom she bore to Saul,

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[1006] As a side note, Murray 1998: 137 n. 83 observes that לפני יהוה with עלה עֹלָה is surprisingly rare, citing Judg. 20.26, 2 Sam. 6.17, 2 Chron. 1.6, and probably Jer. 33.18 (with מלפני). This writer would add 1 Kgs. 9.25, Ezek. 43.24, and 1 Chron. 23.31 to this list.

[1007] לפני יהוה (22 times); את־פני יהוה (3 times); מלפני יהוה (1 time); מנגד פני יהוה (1 time).

Armoni and Mephibosheth; and the five sons of Merab daughter of Saul, whom she bore to Adriel son of Barzillai the Meholathite; he gave them into the hands of the Gibeonites, and they impaled them on the mountain before Yahweh (לפני יהוה). The seven of them perished together. They were put to death in the first days of harvest, at the beginning of barley harvest (2 Sam. 21.3-9).

In 2 Samuel, David is portrayed as living and acting לפני יהוה (2 Sam. 5.3; 6.5, 14, 16, 17, 21; 7.18) at the expense of Saul and his sons (2 Sam. 6.21; 21.9). In 1 Samuel:

- Hannah (and Elkanah) prays and worships לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 1.12, 15, 19).
- Hannah promises to present Samuel את־פני יהוה ('in the presence of Yahweh') forever once he is weaned (1 Sam. 1.22).
- The sins of the sons of Eli את־פני יהוה ('in the presence of Yahweh') are contrasted with Samuel's service את־פני יהוה ('in the presence of Yahweh') (1 Sam. 2.17-18).
- Upon finally recovering the ark, the Israelites ask 'who can stand לפני יהוה?', and then sacrifice in repentance לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 6.20; 7.6).
- Samuel requires the Israelites to present themselves לפני יהוי האלהים הקדוש הזה (whom they have rejected), so that Samuel can choose a king for them, and then Samuel deposits the book of the regulations of kingship לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 10.19, 25).
- *The Israelites* confirm Saul as king לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 11.15 [twice]). Perhaps it is not by coincidence that לפני יהוה is used twice closely together only here and in 2 Sam. 6.21. Also, observe that *Saul himself* does not act לפני יהוה in 1 Sam. 11.15.
- In light of their request for a king, Samuel confronts Israel לפני יהוה, with all of Yahweh's righteous acts on their behalf (1 Sam. 12.7).
- In view of Saul's sin and his failure to fulfil *herem*, Samuel puts Agag to death לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 15.33).
- In flight from Saul, Ahimelech the priest gives David the sacred bread removed מלפני יהוה, and it just so happens that this is observed by Doeg the Edomite, one of Saul's servants, who is detained there that day לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 21.7-8).
- David and Jonathan, Saul's son, make a covenant לפני יהוה (1 Sam. 23.18).
- David says to Saul (1 Sam. 26.19a, 20a):

Now therefore let my lord the king hear the words of his servant. If it is Yahweh who has stirred you up against me, may he accept an offering; but if it is mortals, may they be cursed before Yahweh ...	ועתה ישמע־נא אדני המלך את דברי עבדו אם־יהוה הסיתך בי ירח מנחה ואם בני האדם ארורים הם לפני יהוה
Now therefore, do not let my blood fall to the ground, away from the presence of Yahweh ...	ועתה אל־יפל דמי ארצה מנגד פני יהוה

What is the 'answer' to David's circumlocutious statement in 26.19a? It should be obvious by the flow of the story alone—Saul ends up dead, and David becomes king! But perhaps, just perhaps, the answer is spelled out in full in childless Michal, and Saul's seven (other!) impaled sons; for it is David (not Saul and his descendants) who lives (!) and acts לפני יהוה!

2.7 The Epithets of the Ark

The noun ארון is used 195 times for Israel's sacred box. The distribution may be appreciated in the following table[1008]:

GEN	EXOD	LEV	NUM	DEUT	JOSH	JUDG	SAM	KGS	ISA	JER	EZEK	TWEL	PS	JOB	PROV	RUTH	CANT	QOH	LAM	ESTH	DAN	EZRA	NEH	CHR
0	26	1	6	8	30	1	61	12	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	48

The following tables, which by necessity require significant space, lay out all occurrences of ארון for Israel's sacred box. The data are presented first in canonical

[1008] See 1.2.1 for a summary. The biblical chapters are Exodus 25–26, 30-31, 35, 37, 39–40; Leviticus 16; Numbers 3–4, 7, 10, 14; Deuteronomy 10, 31; Joshua 3–4, 6–8; Judges 20; 1 Samuel 3–7, 14; 2 Samuel 6–7, 11, 15; 1 Kings 2–3, 6, 8; Jeremiah 3; Psalm 132; 1 Chronicles 6, 13, 15–17, 22, 28; 2 Chronicles 1, 5–6, 8, 35.

sequence, then by the first word following and defining ארון, and finally, according to the presence/absence of *divine* designations.[1009]

(1) The Instances of ארון Organised in Canonical Sequence:

001	Exod. 25.10	ארון עצי שטים
002	Exod. 25.14	הארן
003	Exod. 25.14	הארן
004	Exod. 25.15	הארן
005	Exod. 25.16	הארן
006	Exod. 25.21	הארן
007	Exod. 25.21	הארן
008	Exod. 25.22	ארן העדת
009	Exod. 26.33	ארון העדות
010	Exod. 26.34	ארן העדת
011	Exod. 30.6	ארן העדת
012	Exod. 30.26	ארון העדת
013	Exod. 31.7	הארן לעדת
014	Exod. 35.12	הארן
015	Exod. 37.1	הארן עצי שטים
016	Exod. 37.5	הארן
017	Exod. 37.5	הארן
018	Exod. 39.35	ארן העדת
019	Exod. 40.3	ארון העדות
020	Exod. 40.3	הארן
021	Exod. 40.5	ארון העדת
022	Exod. 40.20	הארן
023	Exod. 40.20	הארן
024	Exod. 40.20	הארן
025	Exod. 40.21	הארן
026	Exod. 40.21	ארון העדות
027	Lev. 16.2	הארן
028	Num. 3.31	הארן
029	Num. 4.5	ארן העדת
030	Num. 7.89	ארן העדת
031	Num. 10.33	ארון ברית־יהוה
032	Num. 10.35	הארן
033	Num. 14.44	ארון ברית־יהוה
034	Deut. 10.1	ארון עץ
035	Deut. 10.2	הארון
036	Deut. 10.3	ארון עצי שטים
037	Deut. 10.5	הארון
038	Deut. 10.8	ארון ברית־יהוה
039	Deut. 31.9	ארון ברית יהוה
040	Deut. 31.25	ארון ברית־יהוה
041	Deut. 31.26	ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם

[1009] When they occur, prefixed prepositions are removed from ארון.

042	Josh. 3.3	ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם
043	Josh. 3.6	ארון הברית
044	Josh. 3.6	ארון הברית
045	Josh. 3.8	ארון־הברית
046	Josh. 3.11	ארון הברית אדון כל־הארץ
047	Josh. 3.13	ארון יהוה אדון כל־הארץ
048	Josh. 3.14	הארון הברית
049	Josh. 3.15	הארון
050	Josh. 3.15	הארון
051	Josh. 3.17	הארון ברית־יהוה
052	Josh. 4.5	ארון יהוה אלהיכם
053	Josh. 4.7	ארון ברית־יהוה
054	Josh. 4.9	ארון הברית
055	Josh. 4.10	הארון
056	Josh. 4.11	ארון־יהוה
057	Josh. 4.16	ארון העדות
058	Josh. 4.18	ארון ברית־יהוה
059	Josh. 6.4	הארון
060	Josh. 6.6	ארון הברית
061	Josh. 6.6	ארון יהוה
062	Josh. 6.7	ארון יהוה
063	Josh. 6.8	ארון ברית יהוה
064	Josh. 6.9	הארון
065	Josh. 6.11	ארון־יהוה
066	Josh. 6.12	ארון יהוה
067	Josh. 6.13	ארון יהוה
068	Josh. 6.13	ארון יהוה
069	Josh. 7.6	ארון יהוה
070	Josh. 8.33	הארון
071	Josh. 8.33	ארון ברית־יהוה
072	Judg. 20.27	ארון ברית האלהים
073	1 Sam. 3.3	ארון אלהים
074	1 Sam. 4.3	ארון ברית יהוה
075	1 Sam. 4.4	ארון ברית־יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים
076	1 Sam. 4.4	ארון ברית האלהים
077	1 Sam. 4.5	ארון ברית־יהוה
078	1 Sam. 4.6	ארון יהוה
079	1 Sam. 4.11	ארון אלהים
080	1 Sam. 4.13	ארון האלהים
081	1 Sam. 4.17	ארון האלהים
082	1 Sam. 4.18	ארון האלהים
083	1 Sam. 4.19	ארון האלהים
084	1 Sam. 4.21	ארון האלהים
085	1 Sam. 4.22	ארון האלהים
086	1 Sam. 5.1	ארון האלהים
087	1 Sam. 5.2	ארון האלהים
088	1 Sam. 5.3	ארון יהוה
089	1 Sam. 5.4	ארון יהוה

090	1 Sam. 5.7	ארון אלהי ישראל
091	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
092	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
093	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
094	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון האלהים
095	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון האלהים
096	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון אלהי ישראל
097	1 Sam. 5.11	ארון אלהי ישראל
098	1 Sam. 6.1	ארון־יהוה
099	1 Sam. 6.2	ארון יהוה
100	1 Sam. 6.3	ארון אלהי ישראל
101	1 Sam. 6.8	ארון יהוה
102	1 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה
103	1 Sam. 6.13	הארון
104	1 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה
105	1 Sam. 6.18	ארון יהוה
106	1 Sam. 6.19	ארון יהוה
107	1 Sam. 6.21	ארון יהוה
108	1 Sam. 7.1	ארון יהוה
109	1 Sam. 7.1	ארון יהוה
110	1 Sam. 7.2	הארון
111	1 Sam. 14.18	ארון האלהים
112	1 Sam. 14.18	ארון האלהים
113	2 Sam. 6.2	ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו
114	2 Sam. 6.3	ארון האלהים
115	2 Sam. 6.4	ארון האלהים
116	2 Sam. 6.4	הארון
117	2 Sam. 6.6	ארון האלהים
118	2 Sam. 6.7	ארון האלהים
119	2 Sam. 6.9	ארון יהוה
120	2 Sam. 6.10	ארון יהוה
121	2 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה
122	2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים
123	2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים
124	2 Sam. 6.13	ארון־יהוה
125	2 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה
126	2 Sam. 6.16	ארון יהוה
127	2 Sam. 6.17	ארון יהוה
128	2 Sam. 7.2	ארון האלהים
129	2 Sam. 11.11	הארון
130	2 Sam. 15.24	ארון ברית האלהים
131	2 Sam. 15.24	ארון האלהים
132	2 Sam. 15.25	ארון האלהים
133	2 Sam. 15.29	ארון האלהים
134	1 Kgs. 2.26	ארון אדני יהוה
135	1 Kgs. 3.15	ארון ברית־אדני
136	1 Kgs. 6.19	ארון ברית יהוה
137	1 Kgs. 8.1	ארון ברית־יהוה

138	1 Kgs. 8.3	הארון
139	1 Kgs. 8.4	ארון יהוה
140	1 Kgs. 8.5	הארון
141	1 Kgs. 8.6	ארון ברית־יהוה
142	1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון
143	1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון
144	1 Kgs. 8.9	הארון
145	1 Kgs. 8.21	הארון
146	Jer. 3.16	ארון ברית־יהוה
147	Ps. 132.8	ארון עזך
148	1 Chron. 6.16	הארון
149	1 Chron. 13.3	ארון אלהינו
150	1 Chron. 13.5	ארון האלהים
151	1 Chron. 13.6	ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם
152	1 Chron. 13.7	ארון האלהים
153	1 Chron. 13.9	הארון
154	1 Chron. 13.10	הארון
155	1 Chron. 13.12	ארון האלהים
156	1 Chron. 13.13	הארון
157	1 Chron. 13.14	ארון האלהים
158	1 Chron. 15.1	ארון האלהים
159	1 Chron. 15.2	ארון האלהים
160	1 Chron. 15.2	ארון יהוה
161	1 Chron. 15.3	ארון יהוה
162	1 Chron. 15.12	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל
163	1 Chron. 15.14	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל
164	1 Chron. 15.15	ארון האלהים
165	1 Chron. 15.23	הארון
166	1 Chron. 15.24	ארון האלהים
167	1 Chron. 15.24	הארון
168	1 Chron. 15.25	ארון ברית־יהוה
169	1 Chron. 15.26	ארון ברית־יהוה
170	1 Chron. 15.27	הארון
171	1 Chron. 15.28	ארון ברית־יהוה
172	1 Chron. 15.29	ארון ברית יהוה
173	1 Chron. 16.1	ארון האלהים
174	1 Chron. 16.4	ארון יהוה
175	1 Chron. 16.6	ארון ברית־האלהים
176	1 Chron. 16.37	ארון ברית־יהוה
177	1 Chron. 16.37	הארון
178	1 Chron. 17.1	ארון ברית־יהוה
179	1 Chron. 22.19	ארון ברית־יהוה
180	1 Chron. 28.2	ארון ברית־יהוה
181	1 Chron. 28.18	ארון ברית־יהוה
182	2 Chron. 1.4	ארון האלהים
183	2 Chron. 5.2	ארון ברית־יהוה
184	2 Chron. 5.4	הארון
185	2 Chron. 5.5	הארון

186	2 Chron. 5.6	הארון
187	2 Chron. 5.7	ארון ברית־יהוה
188	2 Chron. 5.8	הארון
189	2 Chron. 5.8	הארון
190	2 Chron. 5.9	הארון
191	2 Chron. 5.10	הארון
192	2 Chron. 6.11	הארון
193	2 Chron. 6.41	ארון עזך
194	2 Chron. 8.11	ארון יהוה
195	2 Chron. 35.3	ארון־הקדש

(2) The Instances of ארון Organised by the First Word Following and Defining ארון:

ארון alone (51 times):

הארון (51 times)

002	Exod. 25.14	הארן
003	Exod. 25.14	הארן
004	Exod. 25.15	הארן
005	Exod. 25.16	הארן
006	Exod. 25.21	הארן
007	Exod. 25.21	הארן
014	Exod. 35.12	הארן
016	Exod. 37.5	הארן
017	Exod. 37.5	הארן
020	Exod. 40.3	הארן
022	Exod. 40.20	הארן
023	Exod. 40.20	הארן
024	Exod. 40.20	הארן
025	Exod. 40.21	הארן
027	Lev. 16.2	הארן
028	Num. 3.31	הארן
032	Num. 10.35	הארן
035	Deut. 10.2	הארון
037	Deut. 10.5	הארון
049	Josh. 3.15	הארון
050	Josh. 3.15	הארון
055	Josh. 4.10	הארון
059	Josh. 6.4	הארון
064	Josh. 6.9	הארון
070	Josh. 8.33	הארון
103	1 Sam. 6.13	הארון
110	1 Sam. 7.2	הארון
116	2 Sam. 6.4	הארון
129	2 Sam. 11.11	הארון
138	1 Kgs. 8.3	הארון
140	1 Kgs. 8.5	הארון

142	1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון
143	1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון
144	1 Kgs. 8.9	הארון
145	1 Kgs. 8.21	הארון
148	1 Chron. 6.16	הארון
153	1 Chron. 13.9	הארון
154	1 Chron. 13.10	הארון
156	1 Chron. 13.13	הארון
165	1 Chron. 15.23	הארון
167	1 Chron. 15.24	הארון
170	1 Chron. 15.27	הארון
177	1 Chron. 16.37	הארון
184	2 Chron. 5.4	הארון
185	2 Chron. 5.5	הארון
186	2 Chron. 5.6	הארון
188	2 Chron. 5.8	הארון
189	2 Chron. 5.8	הארון
190	2 Chron. 5.9	הארון
191	2 Chron. 5.10	הארון
192	2 Chron. 6.11	הארון

ארון followed immediately by אלהים (44 times):

ארון האלהים (32 times)

080	1 Sam. 4.13	ארון האלהים
081	1 Sam. 4.17	ארון האלהים
082	1 Sam. 4.18	ארון האלהים
083	1 Sam. 4.19	ארון האלהים
084	1 Sam. 4.21	ארון האלהים
085	1 Sam. 4.22	ארון האלהים
086	1 Sam. 5.1	ארון האלהים
087	1 Sam. 5.2	ארון האלהים
094	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון האלהים
095	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון האלהים
111	1 Sam. 14.18	ארון האלהים
112	1 Sam. 14.18	ארון האלהים
114	2 Sam. 6.3	ארון האלהים
115	2 Sam. 6.4	ארון האלהים
117	2 Sam. 6.6	ארון האלהים
118	2 Sam. 6.7	ארון האלהים
122	2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים
123	2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים
128	2 Sam. 7.2	ארון האלהים
131	2 Sam. 15.24	ארון האלהים
132	2 Sam. 15.25	ארון האלהים
133	2 Sam. 15.29	ארון האלהים
150	1 Chron. 13.5	ארון האלהים
152	1 Chron. 13.7	ארון האלהים

155	1 Chron. 13.12	ארון האלהים
157	1 Chron. 13.14	ארון האלהים
158	1 Chron. 15.1	ארון האלהים
159	1 Chron. 15.2	ארון האלהים
164	1 Chron. 15.15	ארון האלהים
166	1 Chron. 15.24	ארון האלהים
173	1 Chron. 16.1	ארון האלהים
182	2 Chron. 1.4	ארון האלהים

ארון אלהים (twice)

073	1 Sam. 3.3	ארון אלהים
079	1 Sam. 4.11	ארון אלהים

ארון אלהי ישראל (7 times)

090	1 Sam. 5.7	ארון אלהי ישראל
091	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
092	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
093	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
096	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון אלהי ישראל
097	1 Sam. 5.11	ארון אלהי ישראל
100	1 Sam. 6.3	ארון אלהי ישראל

ארון אלהינו (once)

149	1 Chron. 13.3	ארון אלהינו

ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם (once)

151	1 Chron. 13.6	ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם

ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו (once)

113	2 Sam. 6.2	ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו

ארון followed immediately by ברית (42 times):

ארון הברית (5 times)

043	Josh. 3.6	ארון הברית
044	Josh. 3.6	ארון הברית
054	Josh. 4.9	ארון הברית
060	Josh. 6.6	ארון הברית
045	Josh. 3.8	ארון־הברית

הארון הברית (once)

048	Josh. 3.14	הארון הברית

ארון ברית יהוה (26 times)

039	Deut. 31.9	ארון ברית יהוה
063	Josh. 6.8	ארון ברית יהוה
074	1 Sam. 4.3	ארון ברית יהוה
136	1 Kgs. 6.19	ארון ברית יהוה

172	1 Chron. 15.29	ארון ברית יהוה
031	Num. 10.33	ארון ברית־יהוה
033	Num. 14.44	ארון ברית־יהוה
038	Deut. 10.8	ארון ברית־יהוה
040	Deut. 31.25	ארון ברית־יהוה
053	Josh. 4.7	ארון ברית־יהוה
058	Josh. 4.18	ארון ברית־יהוה
071	Josh. 8.33	ארון ברית־יהוה
077	1 Sam. 4.5	ארון ברית־יהוה
137	1 Kgs. 8.1	ארון ברית־יהוה
141	1 Kgs. 8.6	ארון ברית־יהוה
146	Jer. 3.16	ארון ברית־יהוה
168	1 Chron. 15.25	ארון ברית־יהוה
169	1 Chron. 15.26	ארון ברית־יהוה
171	1 Chron. 15.28	ארון ברית־יהוה
176	1 Chron. 16.37	ארון ברית־יהוה
178	1 Chron. 17.1	ארון ברית־יהוה
179	1 Chron. 22.19	ארון ברית־יהוה
180	1 Chron. 28.2	ארון ברית־יהוה
181	1 Chron. 28.18	ארון ברית־יהוה
183	2 Chron. 5.2	ארון ברית־יהוה
187	2 Chron. 5.7	ארון ברית־יהוה

הארון ברית יהוה (once)

051	Josh. 3.17	הארון ברית־יהוה

ארון ברית יהוה אלהיכם (twice)

041	Deut. 31.26	ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם
042	Josh. 3.3	ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם

ארון ברית יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים (once)

075	1 Sam. 4.4	ארון ברית־יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים

ארון ברית האלהים (four times)

072	Judg. 20.27	ארון ברית האלהים
076	1 Sam. 4.4	ארון ברית האלהים
130	2 Sam. 15.24	ארון ברית האלהים
175	1 Chron. 16.6	ארון ברית־האלהים

ארון ברית אדני (once)

135	1 Kgs. 3.15	ארון ברית־אדני

ארון הברית אדון כל הארץ (once)

046	Josh. 3.11	ארון הברית אדון כל־הארץ

ארון followed immediately by יהוה (37 times):

ארון יהוה (33 times)

061	Josh. 6.6	ארון יהוה
062	Josh. 6.7	ארון יהוה
066	Josh. 6.12	ארון יהוה
067	Josh. 6.13	ארון יהוה
068	Josh. 6.13	ארון יהוה
069	Josh. 7.6	ארון יהוה
078	1 Sam. 4.6	ארון יהוה
088	1 Sam. 5.3	ארון יהוה
089	1 Sam. 5.4	ארון יהוה
099	1 Sam. 6.2	ארון יהוה
101	1 Sam. 6.8	ארון יהוה
102	1 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה
104	1 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה
105	1 Sam. 6.18	ארון יהוה
106	1 Sam. 6.19	ארון יהוה
107	1 Sam. 6.21	ארון יהוה
108	1 Sam. 7.1	ארון יהוה
109	1 Sam. 7.1	ארון יהוה
119	2 Sam. 6.9	ארון יהוה
120	2 Sam. 6.10	ארון יהוה
121	2 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה
125	2 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה
126	2 Sam. 6.16	ארון יהוה
127	2 Sam. 6.17	ארון יהוה
139	1 Kgs. 8.4	ארון יהוה
160	1 Chron. 15.2	ארון יהוה
161	1 Chron. 15.3	ארון יהוה
174	1 Chron. 16.4	ארון יהוה
194	2 Chron. 8.11	ארון יהוה
056	Josh. 4.11	ארון־יהוה
065	Josh. 6.11	ארון־יהוה
098	1 Sam. 6.1	ארון־יהוה
124	2 Sam. 6.13	ארון־יהוה

ארון יהוה אלהיכם (once)

052	Josh. 4.5	ארון יהוה אלהיכם

ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל (twice)

162	1 Chron. 15.12	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל
163	1 Chron. 15.14	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל

ארון יהוה אדון כל הארץ (once)

047	Josh. 3.13	ארון יהוה אדון כל־הארץ

ארון followed immediately by עדות (13 times):

ארון העדות (12 times)

008	Exod. 25.22	ארן העדת
010	Exod. 26.34	ארן העדת
011	Exod. 30.6	ארן העדת
018	Exod. 39.35	ארן העדת
029	Num. 4.5	ארן העדת
030	Num. 7.89	ארן העדת
012	Exod. 30.26	ארון העדת
021	Exod. 40.5	ארון העדת
009	Exod. 26.33	ארון העדות
019	Exod. 40.3	ארון העדות
026	Exod. 40.21	ארון העדות
057	Josh. 4.16	ארון העדות

הארון לעדות (once)

013	Exod. 31.7	הארן לעדת

ארון followed immediately by עץ (4 times):

ארון עץ (once)

034	Deut. 10.1	ארון עץ

ארון עצי שטים (twice)

001	Exod. 25.10	ארון עצי שטים
036	Deut. 10.3	ארון עצי שטים

הארון עצי שטים (once)

015	Exod. 37.1	הארן עצי שטים

ארון followed immediately by עז (twice):

ארון עזך (twice)

147	Ps. 132.8	ארון עזך
193	2 Chron. 6.41	ארון עזך

ארון followed immediately by אדון (once):

ארון אדני יהוה (once)

134	1 Kgs. 2.26	ארון אדני יהוה

ארון followed immediately by קדש (once):

ארון הקדש (once)

195	2 Chron. 35.3	ארון־הקדש

(3) The Instances of ארון Organised According to the Presence/Absence of *Divine* Epithets:

Total occurrences of ארון with a divine name (118 times):

ארון with אלהים only (46 times)

080	1 Sam. 4.13	ארון האלהים
081	1 Sam. 4.17	ארון האלהים
082	1 Sam. 4.18	ארון האלהים
083	1 Sam. 4.19	ארון האלהים
084	1 Sam. 4.21	ארון האלהים
085	1 Sam. 4.22	ארון האלהים
086	1 Sam. 5.1	ארון האלהים
087	1 Sam. 5.2	ארון האלהים
094	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון האלהים
095	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון האלהים
111	1 Sam. 14.18	ארון האלהים
112	1 Sam. 14.18	ארון האלהים
114	2 Sam. 6.3	ארון האלהים
115	2 Sam. 6.4	ארון האלהים
117	2 Sam. 6.6	ארון האלהים
118	2 Sam. 6.7	ארון האלהים
122	2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים
123	2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים
128	2 Sam. 7.2	ארון האלהים
131	2 Sam. 15.24	ארון האלהים
132	2 Sam. 15.25	ארון האלהים
133	2 Sam. 15.29	ארון האלהים
150	1 Chron. 13.5	ארון האלהים
152	1 Chron. 13.7	ארון האלהים
155	1 Chron. 13.12	ארון האלהים
157	1 Chron. 13.14	ארון האלהים
158	1 Chron. 15.1	ארון האלהים
159	1 Chron. 15.2	ארון האלהים
164	1 Chron. 15.15	ארון האלהים
166	1 Chron. 15.24	ארון האלהים
173	1 Chron. 16.1	ארון האלהים
182	2 Chron. 1.4	ארון האלהים
073	1 Sam. 3.3	ארון אלהים
079	1 Sam. 4.11	ארון אלהים
090	1 Sam. 5.7	ארון אלהי ישראל
091	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
092	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
093	1 Sam. 5.8	ארון אלהי ישראל
096	1 Sam. 5.10	ארון אלהי ישראל
097	1 Sam. 5.11	ארון אלהי ישראל
100	1 Sam. 6.3	ארון אלהי ישראל
149	1 Chron. 13.3	ארון אלהינו

072	Judg. 20.27	ארון ברית האלהים
076	1 Sam. 4.4	ארון ברית האלהים
130	2 Sam. 15.24	ארון ברית האלהים
175	1 Chron. 16.6	ארון ברית־האלהים

ארון with יהוה only (62 times)

061	Josh. 6.6	ארון יהוה
062	Josh. 6.7	ארון יהוה
066	Josh. 6.12	ארון יהוה
067	Josh. 6.13	ארון יהוה
068	Josh. 6.13	ארון יהוה
069	Josh. 7.6	ארון יהוה
078	1 Sam. 4.6	ארון יהוה
088	1 Sam. 5.3	ארון יהוה
089	1 Sam. 5.4	ארון יהוה
099	1 Sam. 6.2	ארון יהוה
101	1 Sam. 6.8	ארון יהוה
102	1 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה
104	1 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה
105	1 Sam. 6.18	ארון יהוה
106	1 Sam. 6.19	ארון יהוה
107	1 Sam. 6.21	ארון יהוה
108	1 Sam. 7.1	ארון יהוה
109	1 Sam. 7.1	ארון יהוה
119	2 Sam. 6.9	ארון יהוה
120	2 Sam. 6.10	ארון יהוה
121	2 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה
125	2 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה
126	2 Sam. 6.16	ארון יהוה
127	2 Sam. 6.17	ארון יהוה
139	1 Kgs. 8.4	ארון יהוה
160	1 Chron. 15.2	ארון יהוה
161	1 Chron. 15.3	ארון יהוה
174	1 Chron. 16.4	ארון יהוה
194	2 Chron. 8.11	ארון יהוה
056	Josh. 4.11	ארון־יהוה
065	Josh. 6.11	ארון־יהוה
098	1 Sam. 6.1	ארון־יהוה
124	2 Sam. 6.13	ארון־יהוה
039	Deut. 31.9	ארון ברית יהוה
063	Josh. 6.8	ארון ברית יהוה
074	1 Sam. 4.3	ארון ברית יהוה
136	1 Kgs. 6.19	ארון ברית יהוה
172	1 Chron. 15.29	ארון ברית יהוה
031	Num. 10.33	ארון ברית־יהוה
033	Num. 14.44	ארון ברית־יהוה
038	Deut. 10.8	ארון ברית־יהוה
040	Deut. 31.25	ארון ברית־יהוה

053	Josh. 4.7	ארון ברית־יהוה
058	Josh. 4.18	ארון ברית־יהוה
071	Josh. 8.33	ארון ברית־יהוה
077	1 Sam. 4.5	ארון ברית־יהוה
137	1 Kgs. 8.1	ארון ברית־יהוה
141	1 Kgs. 8.6	ארון ברית־יהוה
146	Jer. 3.16	ארון ברית־יהוה
168	1 Chron. 15.25	ארון ברית־יהוה
169	1 Chron. 15.26	ארון ברית־יהוה
171	1 Chron. 15.28	ארון ברית־יהוה
176	1 Chron. 16.37	ארון ברית־יהוה
178	1 Chron. 17.1	ארון ברית־יהוה
179	1 Chron. 22.19	ארון ברית־יהוה
180	1 Chron. 28.2	ארון ברית־יהוה
181	1 Chron. 28.18	ארון ברית־יהוה
183	2 Chron. 5.2	ארון ברית־יהוה
187	2 Chron. 5.7	ארון ברית־יהוה
051	Josh. 3.17	הארון ברית־יהוה
075	1 Sam. 4.4	ארון ברית־יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים
135	1 Kgs. 3.15	ארון ברית־אדני

ארון with אדון only (once)

046	Josh. 3.11	ארון הברית אדון כל־הארץ

ארון with אלהים and יהוה (7 times)

151	1 Chron. 13.6	ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם
113	2 Sam. 6.2	ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו
041	Deut. 31.26	ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם
042	Josh. 3.3	ארון ברית־יהוה אלהיכם
052	Josh. 4.5	ארון יהוה אלהיכם
162	1 Chron. 15.12	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל
163	1 Chron. 15.14	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל

ארון with יהוה and אדון (twice)

047	Josh. 3.13	ארון יהוה אדון כל־הארץ
134	1 Kgs. 2.26	ארון אדני יהוה

Total occurrences of ארון without a divine name (77 times):

ארון alone (51 times)

002	Exod. 25.14	הארן
003	Exod. 25.14	הארן
004	Exod. 25.15	הארן
005	Exod. 25.16	הארן
006	Exod. 25.21	הארן
007	Exod. 25.21	הארן
014	Exod. 35.12	הארן
016	Exod. 37.5	הארן

017	Exod. 37.5	הארן
020	Exod. 40.3	הארן
022	Exod. 40.20	הארן
023	Exod. 40.20	הארן
024	Exod. 40.20	הארן
025	Exod. 40.21	הארן
027	Lev. 16.2	הארן
028	Num. 3.31	הארן
032	Num. 10.35	הארן
035	Deut. 10.2	הארון
037	Deut. 10.5	הארון
049	Josh. 3.15	הארון
050	Josh. 3.15	הארון
055	Josh. 4.10	הארון
059	Josh. 6.4	הארון
064	Josh. 6.9	הארון
070	Josh. 8.33	הארון
103	1 Sam. 6.13	הארון
110	1 Sam. 7.2	הארון
116	2 Sam. 6.4	הארון
129	2 Sam. 11.11	הארון
138	1 Kgs. 8.3	הארון
140	1 Kgs. 8.5	הארון
142	1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון
143	1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון
144	1 Kgs. 8.9	הארון
145	1 Kgs. 8.21	הארון
148	1 Chron. 6.16	הארון
153	1 Chron. 13.9	הארון
154	1 Chron. 13.10	הארון
156	1 Chron. 13.13	הארון
165	1 Chron. 15.23	הארון
167	1 Chron. 15.24	הארון
170	1 Chron. 15.27	הארון
177	1 Chron. 16.37	הארון
184	2 Chron. 5.4	הארון
185	2 Chron. 5.5	הארון
186	2 Chron. 5.6	הארון
188	2 Chron. 5.8	הארון
189	2 Chron. 5.8	הארון
190	2 Chron. 5.9	הארון
191	2 Chron. 5.10	הארון
192	2 Chron. 6.11	הארון

ארון with ברית (6 times)

043	Josh. 3.6	ארון הברית
044	Josh. 3.6	ארון הברית
054	Josh. 4.9	ארון הברית

060	Josh. 6.6	ארון הברית
045	Josh. 3.8	ארון־הברית
048	Josh. 3.14	הארון הברית

ארון with עדות (13 times)

008	Exod. 25.22	ארן העדת
010	Exod. 26.34	ארן העדת
011	Exod. 30.6	ארן העדת
018	Exod. 39.35	ארן העדת
029	Num. 4.5	ארן העדת
030	Num. 7.89	ארן העדת
012	Exod. 30.26	ארון העדת
021	Exod. 40.5	ארון העדת
009	Exod. 26.33	ארון העדות
019	Exod. 40.3	ארון העדות
026	Exod. 40.21	ארון העדות
057	Josh. 4.16	ארון העדות
013	Exod. 31.7	הארן לעדת

ארון with עץ (4 times)

034	Deut. 10.1	ארון עץ
001	Exod. 25.10	ארון עצי שטים
036	Deut. 10.3	ארון עצי שטים
015	Exod. 37.1	הארן עצי שטים

ארון with עז (twice)

147	Ps. 132.8	ארון עזך
193	2 Chron. 6.41	ארון עזך

ארון with קדש (once)

195	2 Chron. 35.3	ארון־הקדש

Eleven words are used in the designations of the ark.[1010] The first group is made up of divine designations.

- יהוה defines the ark 70 times, more frequently than does any other designation. Consequently, the distinctive usage of this epithet is its absence in Exodus, its exceptional appearance in 1 Samuel 4–5, and its absence in 2 Samuel 15.

- אלהים defines the ark 53 times, but never in Genesis–Numbers or Kings and rarely in Deuteronomy–Joshua. The absence of ארון יהוה in 1 Samuel 4–5 and 2 Samuel 15 is matched by the use of ארון (ה)אלהים in these chapters. This designation alternates with יהוה in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16. Scholars have a tendency to think that ארון יהוה and ארון (ה)אלהים are used interchangeably.

[1010] A chart in the back of W. R. Arnold 1917 presents the various uses of ארון in the Bible.

- אדון defines the ark twice, in Josh. 3.11, 13.
- אדני defines the ark twice, in 1 Kgs. 2.26; 3.15.

The second group of words used for the ark can be characterised as non-divine designations, and the first four terms are abstract concepts.

- ברית defines the ark 42 times in eight books, but this designation is used repetitively only in Joshua (13 times) and Chronicles (12 times). Scholars often consider ברית the 'Deuteronomistic' epithet for the ark. This word does not occur in 'P' although the covenant is a particularly important concept in this material.
- עדות defines the ark 13 times, all in 'P' material in Exodus and Numbers[1011], and also in Josh. 4.16, which many think was influenced by 'P'.
- עז defines the ark twice, in Ps. 132.8; 2 Chron. 6.41.
- קדש defines the ark once, in 2 Chron. 35.3.
- ישראל defines the ark nine times, in 1 Sam. 5.7-8, 10-11; 6.3; 1 Chron. 15.12, 14.
- כרובים defines the ark three times, in 1 Sam. 4.4; 2 Sam. 6.2; 1 Chron. 13.6.
- צבאות defines the ark twice, in 1 Sam. 4.4; 2 Sam. 6.2.

It is impossible to discern different literary strata based on the ark's epithets, and with the possible exception of עדות in 'P', the evidence does not substantiate the view that particular designations for the ark can be limited to particular periods or traditions. The variations in the designations for the ark are stylistic or rhetorical rather than ideological.[1012]

The book of Samuel has ארון 61 times in eight distinct expressions. These are outlined in the following table:

[1011] Exod. 25.22; 26.33-34; 30.6, 26; 31.7; 39.35; 40.3, 5, 21; Num. 4.5; 7.89.
[1012] Fretheim 1967: 7-15; Seow 1992: 387.

	1 Samuel						2 Samuel				
Chapter:	3	4	5	6	7	14	6	7	11	15	
הארון				1	1		1		1		4
ארון יהוה		1	2	8	2		7				20
ארון (ה)אלהים	1	7	4			2	6	1		3	24
ארון ברית יהוה		2									2
ארון ברית האלהים		1								1	2
ארון אלהי ישראל			6	1							7
ארון ברית־יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים		1									1
ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו							1				1
	1	12	12	10	3	2	15	1	1	4	61

- What are the two most common designations? ארון (ה)אלהים and ארון יהוה.
- What designation occurs in the greatest number of chapters? ארון (ה)אלהים.
- What chapter has the greatest number of different designations? 1 Samuel 4.

The following observations apply to the ark's epithets in *MT* Samuel.

- The ark is הארון only three times (1 Sam. 6.13; 7.2; 2 Sam. 11.11.).

- The longest designations for the ark in Samuel, and in the Bible, are those in 1 Sam. 4.4 and 2 Sam. 6.2 (// 1 Chron. 13.6), and these passages also share צבאות (not Chronicles) and כרובים.

- The ark is never associated with Yahweh *outside the ark stories* in 1 Sam. 4.1b-7.2 and 2 Sam. 6.1-23. The ark is ארון (ה)אלהים in 1 Sam. 3.3; 14.18; 2 Sam. 7.2; 2 Sam. 15.24-25, 29; and once it is ארון ברית האלהים, in 2 Sam. 15.24. The ark is simply הארון in 2 Sam. 11.11.

- The ark is 'the ark of *the covenant* of *Yahweh*' up to the point of its entry into the battle against the Philistines (1 Sam. 4.3-5), and this designation is not used again in Samuel. Interestingly, the ark is also 'the ark of the covenant of God' in 1 Sam. 4.4, and this designation appears once more in Samuel, in 2 Sam. 15.24.

- The ark is 'the ark of the God *of Israel*' only on the lips of the Philistines and in the narrator's intertwined comments (1 Sam. 5.7-8, 10-11; 6.3).

The references in Samuel to the ark outside the two main stories about the ark are remarkable for a number of reasons.

- The ark is virtually absent and unused in the remainder of Samuel, and indeed in the Bible as a whole, with the exceptions of 1 Kings 8 and synoptic passages in Chronicles.

- As noted above, the ark is never associated with Yahweh in Samuel outside the ark narratives.

- The ark is placed in the היכל יהוה in 1 Sam. 3.3, whereas 2 Sam. 7.2, 6 use the words ירִיעה, אהל, and משכן.

- Scholars generally believe the ark is left untouched from 1 Sam. 7.2 to 2 Sam. 6.2, but Saul calls for the ark in MT 1 Sam. 14.18.

- The ark is associated with the Levites in 2 Sam. 15.24 (and in 1 Sam. 6.15), but these are blatantly absent in 2 Samuel 6.

The following sequence of ark epithets is discernible in *MT* 1 Sam. 4.1b-7.2[1013]: Prior to its capture, the ark is 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (4.3-5), once 'the ark of the covenant of God' (4.4), and once 'the ark of Yahweh' (4.6). 'The ark of the covenant of God' following immediately after 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (4.4) may be a stylistic variation, or perhaps the change in epithet relates to the mention of Hophni and Phinehas, who are associated only with 'the ark of God' (4.4, 11, 17). Upon its capture, the ark becomes 'the ark of God' (4.11, 13, 17, 18, 19, 21, 22; 5.1, 2, 10) or 'the ark of the God of Israel' (5.7-8, 10-11; 6.3). The exceptions are 'the ark of Yahweh' in 5.3-4, where the epithet stands out against the Philistine deity Dagon, and 'the ark of Yahweh' in 6.1-2, where the Philistines first enquire about how to rid permanently of the object. Following a last reference to 'the ark of the God of Israel' at the very beginning of the response of the priests and diviners (6.3), the ark becomes and remains 'the ark of Yahweh' throughout the rest of the story (6.8, 11, 15, 18-19, 21; 7.1).

[1013] The MT and the LXX (according to Rahlfs' edition) disagree on the epithet of the ark in nearly half its occurrences (17 of 37) in 1 Sam. 4.1b-7.2. This will not be addressed here, except to observe that the LXX lacks 'covenant' four times in 4.3-5 but has a plus of 'covenant' as many times in 5.4; 6.3, 18; 7.1. The variations are: 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of God' (LXX) in 4.3; 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of Yahweh' (LXX) in 4.4; 'the ark of the covenant of God' (MT) vs. 'the ark' (LXX) in 4.4; 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of Yahweh' (LXX) in 4.5; 'the ark of God' (MT) vs. 'the ark of Yahweh' (LXX) in 4.22; 'the ark of God' (MT) vs. 'the ark of Yahweh' (LXX) in 5.2; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of God' (LXX) in 5.3; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (LXX) in 5.4; 'the ark of the God of Israel' (MT) vs. 'the ark of God' (LXX) in 5.8; 'the ark of the God of Israel' (MT) vs. 'the ark of God' (LXX) in 5.8; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark' (LXX) in 6.1; 'the ark of the God of Israel' (MT) vs. 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh the God of Israel' (LXX) in 6.3; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark' (LXX) in 6.8; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark' (LXX) in 6.11; 'the ark' (MT) vs. 'the ark of Yahweh' (LXX) in 6.13; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (LXX) in 6.18; 'the ark of Yahweh' (MT) vs. 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' (LXX) in 7.1.

The book of Chronicles uses ארון with reference to Israel's sacred box 48 times in eleven distinct expressions. These are outlined in the following table:

	1 Chronicles							2 Chronicles					
Chapter:	6	13	15	16	17	22	28	1	5	6	8	35	
הארון	1	3	3	1					7	1			16
ארון יהוה			2	1							1		4
ארון האלהים		4	4	1				1					10
ארון אלהינו		1											1
ארון ברית יהוה			4	1	1	1	2		2				11
ארון ברית־האלהים				1									1
ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל			2										2
ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם		1											1
ארון עזך										1			1
ארון־הקדש												1	1
	1	9	15	5	1	1	2	1	9	2	1	1	48

- What are the two most common designations? הארון and ארון ברית יהוה.
- What designation occurs in the greatest number of chapters? הארון and ארון ברית יהוה.
- What chapter has the greatest number of different designations? 1 Chronicles 15 and 16.

There are twenty-three synoptic occurrences of ארון in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. Ten of these are shared by Kings and Chronicles:

1 Kgs. 8.1	ארון ברית־יהוה	ארון ברית־יהוה	2 Chron. 5.2
1 Kgs. 8.3	הארון	הארון	2 Chron. 5.4
1 Kgs. 8.4	ארון יהוה	הארון	2 Chron. 5.5
1 Kgs. 8.5	הארון	הארון	2 Chron. 5.6
1 Kgs. 8.6	ארון ברית־יהוה	ארון ברית־יהוה	2 Chron. 5.7
1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון	הארון	2 Chron. 5.8
1 Kgs. 8.7	הארון	הארון	2 Chron. 5.8
1 Kgs. 8.8	הקדש	הארון	2 Chron. 5.9
1 Kgs. 8.9	הארון	הארון	2 Chron. 5.10
1 Kgs. 8.21	הארון	הארון	2 Chron. 6.11

Kings and Chronicles agree in eight readings and disagree in two (1 Kgs. 8.4 // 2 Chron. 5.5; 1 Kgs. 8.8 // 2 Chron. 5.8), and the Greek version attests a different reading in these passages in 1 Kgs. 8.6 only (τὴν κιβωτόν). The situation in Samuel and Chronicles, which have thirteen parallel occurrences of ארון, is totally dissimilar: Samuel and Chronicles agree in one reading (2 Sam. 6.3 // 1 Chron. 13.7) and disagree in twelve, and

the Greek versions regularly vary from the Hebrew texts. The remainder of this appendix will focus on the ark's epithets in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.[1014]

2.8 Commentary on Variation Related to ארון יהוה and ארון האלהים and Other Phrases in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16

The following table gives all occurrences of ארון in the ark story. There are fifteen in Samuel and twenty-nine in Chronicles, and these books share twelve phrases (highlighted).

[1014] The only other synoptic occurrence in these books is 2 Sam. 7.2 (ארון האלהים) // 1 Chron. 17.1 (ארון בריתיהוה). This passage will not be discussed here.

–	–	ארון אלהינו	1 Chron. 13.3
–	–	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 13.5
2 Sam. 6.2	ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו	ארון האלהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם	1 Chron. 13.6
2 Sam. 6.3	ארון האלהים	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 13.7
2 Sam. 6.4	ארון האלהים	–	–
2 Sam. 6.4	הארון	–	–
2 Sam. 6.6	ארון האלהים	הארון	1 Chron. 13.9
–	–	הארון	1 Chron. 13.10
2 Sam. 6.7	עם ארון האלהים	לפני אלהים	1 Chron. 13.10
2 Sam. 6.9	ארון יהוה	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 13.12
2 Sam. 6.10	ארון יהוה	הארון	1 Chron. 13.13
2 Sam. 6.11	ארון יהוה	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 13.14
–	–	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 15.1
–	–	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 15.2
–	–	ארון יהוה	1 Chron. 15.2
–	–	ארון יהוה	1 Chron. 15.3
–	–	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל	1 Chron. 15.12
–	–	ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל	1 Chron. 15.14
–	–	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 15.15
–	–	הארון	1 Chron. 15.23
–	–	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 15.24
–	–	הארון	1 Chron. 15.24
2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים	–	–
2 Sam. 6.12	ארון האלהים	ארון ברית־יהוה	1 Chron. 15.25
2 Sam. 6.13	ארון־יהוה	ארון ברית־יהוה	1 Chron. 15.26
–	–	הארון	1 Chron. 15.27
2 Sam. 6.15	ארון יהוה	ארון ברית־יהוה	1 Chron. 15.28
2 Sam. 6.16	ארון יהוה	ארון ברית יהוה	1 Chron. 15.29
2 Sam. 6.17	ארון יהוה	ארון האלהים	1 Chron. 16.1
–	–	ארון יהוה	1 Chron. 16.4
–	–	ארון ברית־האלהים	1 Chron. 16.6
–	–	ארון ברית־יהוה	1 Chron. 16.37
–	–	הארון	1 Chron. 16.37

Observations:

- The ark is הארון, ארון האלהים and ארון יהוה in both stories, and Chronicles has the distinction of using ארון יהוה אלהי ישראל (twice) and ארון ברית־האלהים (once) in non-synoptic material and ארון ברית־יהוה in synoptic (four times) and non-synoptic (once) material.

- MT Samuel and MT Chronicles agree on ארון האלהים in 2 Sam. 6.3 // 1 Chron. 13.7 and they partially agree in 2 Sam. 6.2 // 1 Chron. 13.6, also having ארון האלהים, but the two books disagree on the wording of the other ten shared references to the ark in this story.

- MT Samuel and MT Chronicles agree on the predominance of the epithet האלהים in the first half of the narrative and יהוה in the second half. When not an

epithet for the ark, יהוה is recurrent throughout the ark narrative, but האלהים occurs alone only in 2 Sam. 6.7 and 1 Chron. 13.8, 10 (אלהים), 12; 15.26. In MT Samuel, ארון האלהים and ארון יהוה each occurs exactly seven times.

- The noun ארון is placed on the lips of the narrator throughout the story, except in the following cases when David is the speaker: 2 Sam. 6.9 // 1 Chron. 13.12; 2 Sam. 6.12; 1 Chron. 13.3; 15.12.

The different ark epithets in *MT* 2 Samuel 6 cannot be related satisfactorily to (supposed) literary strata in the story.[1015] However, it may be significant that 'the ark of God' becomes 'the ark of Yahweh' in 2 Sam. 6.9 (// 1 Chron. 13.12) when David speaks for the first time, saying 'How will Yahweh's ark come to me?' (איך יבוא אלי ארון יהוה).

David and Israel go to fetch God's ark which bears the name of Yahweh (v. 2).
They put God's ark on a new cart and begin its transport (vv. 3-4).
David and Israel dance before Yahweh (v. 5).
Uzzah reaches his hand toward God's ark (v. 6).
Yahweh is angry with Uzzah and God executes him (v. 7).
David is angry that Yahweh executed Uzzah (v. 8).
David fears Yahweh, rejecting (in his own words) his (Yahweh's) ark (v. 9).

The ark remains 'the ark of Yahweh' from this point onward in the story, with the exception of 2 Sam. 6.12. In this verse, the unknown messenger reports that Yahweh blessed Obed-edom because of 'the ark of God' and then the narrator summarises David's retrieval of 'the ark of God'. It is notable that 'the ark of God' becomes 'the ark of Yahweh' in David's speech and then briefly reverts back to 'the ark of God' in the messenger's speech, and in the summary statement which follows right after it.[1016] The reason for this distribution is not obvious.[1017] Fokkelman thinks that '[d]ifferent from the priests [David] has understood perfectly that the God of Israel has shown Himself in His uniqueness'.[1018] Murray thinks the transition in usage from 'the ark of God' to 'the ark of Yahweh' emphasises the serious strain in relations between David and Yahweh, by making the

[1015] For example, Campbell 2003: 303-305 discusses the possibility that 'the ark of God' and 'the ark of Yahweh' fall in two literary strata in 1 Sam. 4.1b-7.2 and 2 Samuel 6.

[1016] Is 'the ark of God' used in the summary statement for continuity?

[1017] However, the distribution seems to contradict the view of De Vries 1989: 147 (and others) who thinks the variation 'reflects simply the instability of terminology still prevalent in premonarchical Israel'.

[1018] Fokkelman 1990: 190; cf. 180.

reader aware that 'the ark's being Yahweh's ark is present to the mind of David as he ponders what to do'.[1019] This writer is not content with either explanation. The transition which occurs in 2 Sam. 6.9 is briefly invalidated in 2 Sam. 6.12, and if David experienced an 'enlightenment', then why does it vanish in 2 Sam. 7.2 and 2 Sam. 15.25, where David himself speaks of 'the ark of God'? Still, the reason for the *personalisation* of 'the ark of God' as Yahweh's, and on the lips of David, is unclear.

The ark does not become 'the ark of Yahweh' in *MT* 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16 at the same point in the story as in MT Samuel. In fact, except for the expansive epithet in 1 Chron. 13.6 (// 2 Sam. 6.2), ארון יהוה occurs in Chronicles only in non-synoptic material.[1020] In contrast with Samuel, the transition point in Chronicles is in 1 Chron. 15.25 (// 2 Sam. 6.12), where the ark is first associated with Yahweh's covenant.[1021] As far as this writer is aware, Eskenazi has given the most satisfactory explanation for this switch.[1022]

> I have looked at 1 Chronicles 13–16 by tracing several literary devices that Chronicles uses to articulate its interest. I have left one important detail in the ark narrative for last. A key to literary interpretation is *Leitwort*. Not surprisingly, the term 'ark' is the key word in the ark narrative. It recurs 28 times in chaps. 13–16 (and only 18 additional times in the rest of Chronicles). The ark is called occasionally 'ark of God' (e.g., 15:1), 'ark of YHWH' (e.g., 15:3), or simply 'the ark' (15:23). Textual considerations make it difficult to draw literary or theological conclusions from some of these alternations between God and YHWH. One peculiarity, however, deserves our full attention and holds the key, in my estimation, to the significance of the entire ark narrative in Chronicles. Until the

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[1019] Murray 1998: 235-236.

[1020] Statements such as the following one by Johnstone 1997: I, 169, make little sense to this writer. Speaking about 1 Chron. 13.3, he says: 'In this context, the stress is on the cosmic nature of the Deity; therefore the term "'God" is employed rather than the domestic Israelite, "the Lord" (cf. vv. 8, 12 [twice], 14, where C has changed the term from that in Samuel–Kings ...)'. In the passage at hand, in what sense does the Chronicler show a greater preference for this designation?

[1021] 'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh' occurs twelve times in Chronicles (1 Chron. 15.25, 26, 28, 29; 16.6 [... of God], 37; 17.1; 22.19; 28.2, 18; 2 Chron. 5.2, 7). Elsewhere, ברית is used seven times for human covenants (1 Chron. 11.3; 2 Chron. 15.12; 16.3 [twice]; 23.1, 3, 16) and eleven times for human-divine covenants (1 Chron. 16.15-17; 2 Chron. 6.11, 14; 13.5; 21.7; 29.10; 34.30, 31 [twice]).

[1022] Unfortunately, this writer has not seen van den Eynde 2001. There is little truth in views such as that of De Vries 1989: 147, who says 'ChrH reflects the effect of the ark's longtime domicile in the temple in his preference for a deuteronomistic locution, [ארון ברית יהוה], "ark of Yahweh's covenant" (four times), varied perhaps for style as [הארון] (once) or [ארון האלהים] (once)'.

Levites carry the ark, it is identified as the ark of God or ark of YHWH. Once the Levites are specifically appointed to carry the ark and actually do so, the terminology changes. Now, for the first time in Chronicles, the 'ark of the *covenant*' occurs. The transformation takes place in 15:25. Not only does the term 'ark of the covenant of YHWH' suddenly appear, but it also recurs with astonishing frequency: four times in the immediate four verses (15:25, 26, 28, 29). Indeed, of the twelve occurrences of the expression 'the ark of the covenant' in all of Chronicles, six are concentrated in our section, *after* the Levites carry the ark and bring it to Jerusalem.

What is the import of this rather dramatic transformation of the ark into the ark of the covenant? I suggest that at the surface level of the text, the Levites – not the ark itself – are perceived as the actual bearers of the covenant. Only when the two combine – when the Levites and the ark meet – does the ark constitute a covenantal symbol. Remaining strictly at a literary level and bracketing the complex historical issues concerning the Levites in Chronicles (issues sufficiently addressed by scholarly literature on Chronicles), it is inevitable that one recognize the Levites, not the ark alone, as the vehicle of God's covenant.

It is noteworthy that Chronicles rarely mentions the covenant of God. The most frequent appearance of the term takes place in conjunction with the ark, with half of the references confined (as noted above) to the section under discussion. Two additional references to God's own covenant occur in the psalm of 16:15, 17 (hence also in this story). As Japhet shows, other references to 'covenant' in Chronicles refer to covenant between king and people or to unilateral commitment to God, not a covenant between Israel and God. Japhet demonstrates clearly that in Chronicles, the covenant of God is not linked to a unique historical event such as Sinai (hence the striking omission of the references to the exodus). Instead, the covenant is with the people and has an eternal dimension in no way bound to a specific historical moment. 1 Chronicles 16:15-17 refers to an eternal, patriarchal covenant. What the present analysis adds to Japhet's is the conclusion that the ark narrative expresses this eternal covenant through the unique role of the Levites (cf. Deut 33:9; see also Mal 2:8: ברית הלוי), 'covenant of Levi'). On the one hand, we have before us the transfer of the ark to Jerusalem. On the other, we have a 'transfer' of the covenant to the ark.[1023]

The designations (and distribution) of ארון indicate the complex significance of ancient Israel's sacred box and the views which the transmitters of Scripture held about it. The textual and interpretative complexity of Israel's ark is illustrated by the discussion of individual occurrences in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.

See 3.1.6.2	2 Sam. 6.2 1 Chron. 13.6	את ארון האלהים אשר־נקרא שם שם יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים עליו // ארון האלוהים יהוה יושב הכרובים אשר־נקרא שם

It is argued in 3.1.6.2 that the present forms of these texts are expansions of the original shared phrase ארון האלהים which was originally followed by שם אשר נקרא meaning

[1023] Eskenazi 1995: 270-271.

'which happened to be there'. Each word in these texts could be scrutinised to bolster this reconstruction but the earlier discussion is adequate in this context. In any case, Samuel and Chronicles agree on the initial ארון האלהים.

See 3.1.6.1	1 Chron. 13.5	את־ארון האלהים
	2 Sam. 6.3	את־ארון האלהים //
	1 Chron. 13.7	את־ארון האלהים
	2 Sam. 6.4	עם ארון האלהים
	2 Sam. 6.4	הארון

No variation is attested for ארון האלהים within the expansion in 1 Chron. 13.5 nor for the final הארון in 2 Sam. 6.4. The opening object phrase in 2 Sam. 6.3 // 1 Chron. 13.7 is identical in MT Samuel, LXX^{L} Samuel, and all versions of Chronicles: את־ארון האלהים / τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. In contrast, LXX^{AB} Samuel have 'the ark of Yahweh', and so does 4QSam^{a} which cannot have the lengthier 'the ark of God' due to space considerations.[1024] McCarter and Ulrich think 'Yahweh' is the original reading in Samuel, and Ulrich adds that LXX^{L} Samuel's τοῦ θεοῦ is revised toward the MT.[1025] Fokkelman argues on narrative grounds for reading 'God' in MT Samuel.[1026] However, the best reading from a literary perspective is not necessarily the original reading from a text-critical standpoint. Fokkelman's arguments just as easily supply reasons for an adjustment in MT Samuel! In 2 Sam. 6.4, MT and LXX^{L} Samuel agree on 'the ark of God' whereas LXX^{AB} have simply 'the ark'. 4QSam^{a} has a lacuna here. Herbert thinks the manuscript once contained ארון האלוהים[1027] whereas Fincke argues for (the highly unlikely) ארון הכהנים.[1028] The deletion of 'God' seems unlikely.

[1024] Herbert 1997b: 121, 123; Ulrich 1978: 83, 202. Fincke 2001: 148 reconstructs 4QSam^{a} with הארון only.

[1025] McCarter 1984: 163; Ulrich 1978: 83.

[1026] Fokkelman 1990: 180-181.

[1027] Herbert 1997b: 121.

[1028] Fincke 2001: 148-149.

See 4.1.1.2	2 Sam. 6.6 1 Chron. 13.9	וישלח עזא אל־ארון האלהים ויאחז בו // וישלח עזא את־ידו לאחז את־הארון

In 4.1.1.2 the writer argues that Samuel's *wayyiqtol* construction is secondary vis-à-vis Chronicles' infinitive phrase. There is no apparent reason for a deletion of האלהים in Chronicles.

See 4.1.2.2	2 Sam. 6.7 1 Chron. 13.10	ויכהו שם האלהים על־השל // ויכהו על אשר־שלח ידו על־הארון

The writer argues in 4.1.2.2 that על־השל and על אשר־שלח ידו על־הארון are independent expansions of the original story which failed to supply an explanation for Yahweh's behaviour. In particular, 1 Chron. 13.10 actualises through logical deduction the intention of 1 Chron. 13.9. Both verses in Chronicles have הארון.

See 4.1.2.3	2 Sam. 6.7 1 Chron. 13.10	וימת שם עם ארון האלהים // וימת שם לפני אלהים

The variation here is adequately addressed in 4.1.2.3. In any case, both Samuel and Chronicles have אלהים(ה).

See 4.1.3.4	2 Sam. 6.9 1 Chron. 13.12	ויאמר איך יבוא אלי ארון יהוה // לאמר היך אביא אלי את ארון האלהים

LXX^{L} Samuel and perhaps 4QSam^{a} have the additional clause καὶ ἦλθεν ἡ κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου / ויבוא ארון יהוה. See 4.1.3.4. LXX^{L} Samuel's 'the ark *of God*' in the previous clause, in contrast with 'the ark of Yahweh' in MT and LXX^{AB} Samuel, is probably a dissimilation from the phrase in the additional clause. Otherwise, all witnesses to Samuel have 'the ark of Yahweh' and all witnesses to Chronicles have 'the ark of God'. Braun thinks the reading in Chronicles is a tendentious change[1029] and Nysse finds the agreement between LXX^{L} Samuel and Chronicles 'interesting'.[1030] No solid evidence supports the originality of either reading, although the distribution in MT Samuel and the change form 'God' to 'Yahweh' precisely here in David's words is suggestive (see above).

[1029] Braun 1986: 173.

[1030] Nysse 1984: 283.

See	2 Sam. 6.10	ולא־אבה דוד להסיר אליו את־ארון יהוה על־עיר דוד //
4.1.3.5	1 Chron. 13.13	ולא־הסיר דויד את־הארון אליו אל־עיר דויד

MT Samuel has 'the ark of Yahweh', Greek Samuel has 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh', and Chronicles has 'the ark' with the exception of LXX^L Chronicles with 'the ark of God'. MT Chronicles does not have an aversion to ארון יהוה, thus there is no apparent reason for a deletion of יהוה. The distribution of 'the ark of God' and 'the ark of Yahweh' in MT Samuel may suggest the purposeful introduction of יהוה (see above). However, Greek Samuel's 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' complicates the situation. MT 2 Sam. 15.24 has ארון ברית האלהים and the Greek version has τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου, but elsewhere ברית/διαθήκη is either a minus (1 Sam. 4.3, 4, 5) or plus (1 Sam. 5.4; 6.3, 18; 7.1; 2 Sam. 6.10) in LXX Samuel. This writer is unable to explain the textual variation in the passage at hand.

See	2 Sam. 6.11	וישב ארון יהוה בית עבד אדם הגתי שלשה חדשים //
5.1.1.1	1 Chron. 13.14	וישב ארון האלהים עם־בית עבד אדם בביתו שלשה חדשים

No variation is attested for either ark epithet. The writer has no additional thoughts to offer.

See	2 Sam. 6.12	ויגד למלך דוד לאמר ברך יהוה את־בית עבד אדם ואת־כל־אשר־לו
5.1.1.3		בעבור ארון האלהים

The return to ארון האלהים in the messenger's report to David is briefly discussed above. The writer has no additional thoughts to offer.

See	2 Sam. 6.12	וילך דוד ויעל את־ארון האלהים מבית עבד אדם עיר דוד //
5.1.2.1	1 Chron. 15.25	ויהי דויד וזקני ישראל ושרי האלפים ההלכים להעלות
		את־ארון ברית־יהוה מן־בית עבד־אדם

It is suggested in 5.1.2.1 that ארון האלהים in 2 Sam. 6.12 and ארון ברית־יהוה in 1 Chron. 15.25 are probably secondary to an earlier ארון יהוה. MT Samuel has 'the ark of God', LXX Samuel (and also the Peshitta and Targum) has 'the ark of Yahweh', and

Chronicles has 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh'.[1031] This passage is one of only three in which Samuel has האלהים and Chronicles has יהוה.[1032] This fact in and of itself suggests that Chronicles יהוה may be primary. Japhet's comment, cited at the beginning of this appendix, is repeated here:

> The following passage may serve as an example of this complex process of transmission: in 2 Sam 6:12, the ark is called 'the ark of God'; the parallel text in 1 Chr 15:25 has 'the ark of the covenant of the LORD'. LXX to Samuel reads 'the ark of the LORD' and to Chronicles, 'the ark of the covenant'.[1033] Thus, four different names for the ark have resulted from the interchange of divine epithets, and this interchange cannot be adequately explained by either method mentioned above. It can only be explained as the consequence of a lengthy history of transmission in the case of both MT and LXX, each on its own or in relation to the other.[1034]

Dhorme and McCarter emend MT Samuel to 'the ark of Yahweh' primarily on the basis of Greek Samuel.[1035] Jackson reasonably suggests that the Greek cursives 19 (b'), 245 (v), and 707 (a), and Cyril of Alexandria, have back-assimilations to the received text.[1036] According to Curtis and Madsen, the change in Chronicles is 'a touch of the school of the Chronicler'[1037], and since '[the Chronicler] belonged ... to the same school of writers as the author or authors of the Priestly element of the Pentateuch ...'[1038], Chronicles' ארון ברית יהוה reflects priestly editing. However, this is false, since in fact the distinctive designation of the ark in so-called 'P' material is ארון העדות. According to Allen, the change in the ark name was 'formally triggered by Deut 10:8, cited earlier [in 1 Chron. 15.15]'.[1039] Allen appropriately picks up on the connection between Deut. 10.8 and 1

[1031] LXX^{B} Chronicles lacks 'Yahweh'. Allen 1974: II, 58-59, 147 argues that a second copyist failed to write יהוה in the gap left by a first copyist. His explanation is quoted at the start of this appendix.

[1032] The other passages are 2 Sam. 7.2 // 1 Chron. 17.1 and 1 Kgs. 12.22 // 2 Chron. 11.2.

[1033] This latter remark is erroneous. See the note above regarding the absence of 'Yahweh' in LXX^{B} Chronicles.

[1034] Japhet 1997: 37 n. 87.

[1035] Dhorme 1910: 323 ('C'est que précisément nous attendions יהוה אֲרוֹן dans le texts'); McCarter 1984: 166 (MT Samuel's reading means 'the holy ark').

[1036] Jackson 1962: 103.

[1037] Curtis and Madsen 1910: 218.

[1038] Curtis and Madsen 1910: 16; cf. 6-17 *passim*.

[1039] Allen 1999: 395.

Chron. 15.15 (regardless of the direction of influence), but he fails to observe that whereas the former passage has ארון ברית יהוה, the latter has ארון האלהים. Allen would have us believe that 1 Chron. 15.15 made use of Deut. 10.8, but altered the ark epithet, and then further along in 1 Chron. 15.25 was prompted to make use of the epithet (from Deut. 10.8) which he had just discarded (in his earlier reference to Deut. 10.8)! In this writer's view, ארון יהוה is the original reading. The insertion of ברית in Chronicles at this point in the narrative is adequately explained by Eskenazi (see above).

See	2 Sam. 6.13	ויהי כי צעדו נשאי ארון־יהוה ששה צעדים //
5.1.3.3	1 Chron. 15.26	ויהי בעזר האלהים את־הלוים נשאי ארון ברית־יהוה

'The ark of the covenant of Yahweh' is attested uniformly in Chronicles. The evidence for Samuel is:

- ארון/τὴν κιβωτόν: LXX^{AB}, 121 (y), 247 (x), 376 (c), 501 (a_2), 707 (a), Armenian.
- ארון יהוה/τὴν κιβωτὸν (τοῦ) κυρίου: MT, LXX^{LMN}, 372 (u), Old Latin, Vulgate, Peshitta, Syro-Hexapla, Targum, Coptic, Ethiopic, Jacob, Theodoret.[1040] The reading in LXX^{LMN} is the result of hexaplaric revision.

It is suggested in 5.1.3.3 that Greek Samuel's 'the ark' is original, and that MT Samuel's 'the ark of Yahweh' and Chronicles' 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' are secondary developments.[1041]

See	2 Sam. 6.14	ודוד מכרכר בכל־עז לפני יהוה //
5.1.3.6	1 Chron. 15.27	ודויד מכרבל במעיל בוץ וכל־הלוים הנשאים את־הארון והמשררים וכנניה השר המשא המשררים

Chronicles' expansion has הארון.

See	2 Sam. 6.15	ודוד וכל־בית ישראל מעלים את־ארון יהוה //
5.1.2.2	1 Chron. 15.28	וכל־ישראל מעלים את־ארון ברית־יהוה

'The ark of Yahweh', attested uniformly in Samuel[1042], is supplemented with 'the covenant' in Chronicles.

[1040] 4QSam^{a} has a lacuna here. Herbert 1997b: 126-127 has ארון יהוה in his reconstruction.

[1041] Nysse 1984: 366-367, 474; cf. Budde 1890: 230; Jackson 1962: 104.

See	2 Sam. 6.16	והיה ארון יהוה בא עיר דוד
6.1.1.1.1	1 Chron. 15.29	ויהי ארון ברית יהוה בא עד־עיר דויד

See 6.1.1.1.1. An original 'the ark' is independently expanded to 'the ark of Yahweh' and 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh'.

See	2 Sam. 6.17	ויבאו את־ארון יהוה ויצגו אתו במקומו בתוך האהל אשר נטה־לו דוד //
5.1.2.3	1 Chron. 16.1	ויביאו את־ארון האלהים ויציגו אתו בתוך האהל אשר נטה־לו דויד

Samuel has 'the ark of Yahweh' and Chronicles has 'the ark of God' except for the Targum and Peshitta of Chronicles which have 'the ark of Yahweh'.[1043] See the discussions above of 2 Sam. 6.9 // 1 Chron. 13.12 and 2 Sam. 6.11 // 1 Chron. 13.14. No solid evidence supports the priority of either reading.

2.9 Conclusion

The results of this survey support Auld's arguments that 'God' rather than 'Yahweh' is routinely the earlier reading in synoptic stories in 2 Samuel // 1 Chronicles.[1044] His and this writer's arguments suggest that these are 'the facts of the matter'.

[1042] The exceptions are ברית in two medieval Hebrew manuscripts and *testamenti* in the Old Latin and Vulgate.

[1043] Josephus has simply τὴν κιβωτόν.

[1044] Auld 2000b. He suggests, however, that 'Yahweh' rather than 'God' was associated in the earliest text with 'breaking out' on Uzzah (2 Sam. 6.7-8 // 1 Chron. 13.10-11) and 'blessing' Obed-edom (2 Sam. 6.11 // 1 Chron. 13.14).

APPENDIX THREE

Historical Hebrew Grammar

3.1 Introduction

The purpose of this appendix is to comment on various issues in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16 which raise questions regarding chronological developments in biblical Hebrew.

3.2 Features Discussed Elsewhere

The writer has discussed elsewhere nine related historical grammar issues and will not repeat those discussions or add details here.[1045]

3.3 Agreement

See 6.1.1.3.7	2 Sam. 6.22	ועם־האמהות אשר אמרת עמם אכבדה

The relative clause, 'about whom you spoke', is uncomplicated, but the following word is not. The suffix in עמם is 3mp whereas its referent האמהות is 3fp. As expected, the Targum has בעיניהון and the Peshitta and Jacob have ܥܡܗܘܢ. Commentators frequently address the function of עמם within its clause as well as the repetition of עם in this verse, but only a few point out the discrepancy in gender[1046], and this silence is remarkable since many (but not all[1047]) scholars consider the replacement of second and third person plural

[1045] Rezetko 2003: 224 ('noun afformative וֹת-'); 225-226 ('first person personal pronouns אני and אנכי'); 226 ('preposition ב + 3rd masculine plural suffix'); 226-227 ('theophoric names ending with יה– and יהו–'); 227-228 ('paragogic *he* [ָה]'); 231 ('אין negating the infinitive'); 231 ('collective nouns construed as plurals'); 231-233 ('the *quivis* construction and the double plural construct-chain formation').

[1046] E.g., W. R. Arnold 1917: 67.

[1047] E.g., Hurvitz 1982: 168-169; Rendsburg 1980: 69-70.

feminine suffixes by their masculine equivalents a feature of late biblical Hebrew.[1048] The classic illustration, of course, is בהן in 1 Sam. 31.7 and בהם in 1 Chron. 10.7. *GKC* suggests that the phenomenon in that passage and elsewhere may be related to 'a weakening in the distinction of gender ... which passed from the colloquial language into that of literature'.[1049] However, this writer questions whether colloquial interference of this type can be defined chronologically. In addition, it is precisely small details of this type which are susceptible to alteration during the process of scribal transmission. Finally, it is argued in 6.1.1.3.7 and 6.1.1.4.1 that the LXX and Vulgate attest a minus of MT's עמם, and the latter is a significant rhetorical revision.

3.4 Word Order

See 5.1.1.1	2 Sam. 6.11 1 Chron. 13.14	וישב ארון יהוה בית עבד אדם הגתי שלשה חדשים // וישב ארון האלהים עם־בית עבד אדם בביתו שלשה חדשים

The MT of Samuel and Chronicles agree on the word order שלשה חדשים / τρεῖς μῆνας. In contrast, LXX Samuel and LXX^{L} Chronicles have μῆνας τρεῖς. This reading is significant since many scholars think post-nominal syntax for numbers is a late feature of biblical Hebrew.[1050] Consequently, if μῆνας τρεῖς reflects the original word order in Samuel then this book formerly had the supposedly later form of expression. It would require significant time to work up typologies of Hebrew and Greek correspondences in the expression of numerical phrases in general and time phrases in particular. Complicating factors are the variety of ways in which each language is able to express time (word order, absolute and construct states, different prepositions, etc.); the various 'types' of time (point of time at which, time during which, period of time); and the

[1048] E.g., Kropat 1909: §22, pp. 61-62; cf. vi, 74; Polzin 1976: 52-54, 99, 103-104; Rooker 1990: 78-81; Sáenz Badillos 1993: 119.

[1049] *GKC* §135o, p. 440.

[1050] For discussion see Rezetko 2003: 228-229.

different units of time (day, week, month, year). Therefore, the writer has limited his research to Greek word order in expressing *extent of time* with the noun μήν.[1051] חדש occurs 283 times and μήν occurs 306 times, but only 47 times in the accusative case.[1052] About twenty times μήν occurs in the accusative case accompanied by a numerical adjective for the purpose of expressing extent of time:

- μῆνας + numerical adjective: 8 times total; once in Samuel (2 Sam. 6.11), never in Chronicles
- numerical adjective + μῆνας: 12 times total; five times in Samuel (1 Sam. 6.1; 27.7; 2 Sam. 2.11; 5.5; 24.13), twice in Chronicles (1 Chron. 13.14; 21.12)

Unfortunately, very little can be concluded from this evidence concerning the rarer word order 'μῆνας + numerical adjective', which occurs in LXX^B Samuel and Chronicles only in 2 Sam. 6.11. The writer has not attempted to gather statistical data for LXX^L, and therefore he is unable to comment on its agreement in word order with LXX^B Samuel for Samuel and Chronicles. The commentary here is exploratory. Additional investigation is a desideratum. Is it possible to detect updates in word order in numerical expressions in the MT by means of the non-Hebrew versions? What are the implications of this possibility for views regarding diachronic developments in biblical Hebrew?

See 5.1.1.3	2 Sam. 6.12	ויגד למלך דוד לאמר ברך יהוה את־בית עבד אדם ואת־כל־אשר־לו בעבור ארון האלהים

Several scholars correctly observe that the appositional phrase 'המלך X', instead of the phrase 'X המלך', represents the dominant Aramaic syntax (e.g., דריוש מלכא), but is it really 'late' Hebrew as they suggest?[1053] The following table summarises the biblical evidence:

[1051] One should recall that the computer programs use Rahlfs' edition of the Septuagint.

[1052] Other cases: nominative = 11 times; genitive = 150 times; dative = 98 times.

[1053] E.g., *GKC* §131g, p. 425; *JM* §131k, p. 480; Kropat 1909: 74; D. Talshir 1992: 280. This discussion expands on Rezetko 2003: 229-230.

All Occurrences of 'המלך X' and 'X המלך' in the Bible		
Person	המלך X ('late')	X המלך ('early')
Adonijah		1 Kgs. 1.25
Ahaz		2 Kgs. 16.10 (twice); 2 Kgs. 16.11 (twice); 2 Kgs. 16.15; 2 Kgs. 16.16; 2 Kgs. 16.17; [2 Kgs. 16.7: 'Ahaz' //] 2 Chron. 28.16; 2 Chron. 28.22; 2 Chron. 29.19
Amon		2 Kgs. 21.24 // 2 Chron. 33.25
Araunah	2 Sam. 24.23	
Asa	2 Chron. 15.16 2 Chron. 16.6 //	1 Kgs. 15.18 (twice); 1 Kgs. 15.20 // 2 Chron. 16.4 1 Kgs. 15.22 (twice)
David	2 Sam. 13.39 (cf. text-variant); [1 Kgs. 5.21: 'David' //] 2 Chron. 2.11; 1 Chron. 24.31; 1 Chron. 26.26; 1 Chron. 26.32; 1 Chron. 28.2; 1 Chron. 29.1; 1 Chron. 29.9; 1 Chron. 29.29; 2 Chron. 7.6	2 Sam. 3.31; 2 Sam. 5.3 (cf. text-variant [// 1 Chron. 11.3: 'David']; 2 Sam. 6.12 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 6.16 (cf. text-variant // 1 Chron. 15.29; 2 Sam. 7.18 (cf. text-variant // 1 Chron. 17.16; 2 Sam. 8.8 (cf. text-variant [// 1 Chron. 18.8: 'David']; 2 Sam. 8.10 (cf. text-variant // 1 Chron. 18.10; 2 Sam. 8.11 (cf. text-variant // 1 Chron. 18.11; 2 Sam. 9.5 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 13.21 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 16.5 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 16.6 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 17.17 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 17.21 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 19.12 (cf. text-variant); 2 Sam. 19.17 (cf. text-variant); [2 Sam. 24.24: 'the king'] // 1 Chron. 21.24; 1 Kgs. 1.1; 1 Kgs. 1.13; 1 Kgs. 1.28; 1 Kgs. 1.31; 1 Kgs. 1.32; 1 Kgs. 1.37; 1 Kgs. 1.38; 1 Kgs. 1.43; 1 Kgs. 1.47; 2 Kgs. 11.10 // 2 Chron. 23.9; 1 Chron. 27.24; 1 Chron. 27.31; 1 Chron. 29.24
Hezekiah	[2 Kgs. 19.15: 'Hezekiah' //] 2 Chron. 32.20; 2 Chron. 29.18; 2 Chron. 29.20; 2 Chron. 29.30; 2 Chron. 31.13	2 Kgs. 18.9; 2 Kgs. 18.13; 2 Kgs. 18.17 [// 2 Chron. 32.9: 'Hezekiah king of Judah']; 2 Kgs. 19.1; 2 Kgs. 19.5; 2 Kgs. 20.14
Jehoash		2 Kgs. 12.7; 2 Kgs. 12.8 [// 2 Chron. 24.6: 'the king']
Jehoram		2 Kgs. 3.6; 2 Chron. 22.11
Jehoshaphat		2 Chron. 19.2; 2 Chron. 20.15
Jeroboam		1 Kgs. 15.1 // 2 Chron. 13.1
Joash	2 Chron. 24.22	

Joram	2 Kgs. 8.29 [// 2 Chron. 22.6: 'he']; 2 Kgs. 9.15	2 Kgs. 11.2 [// 2 Chron. 22.11: 'the king']
Josiah		2 Kgs. 22.3 [// 2 Chron. 34.8: 'his reign']; 2 Kgs. 23.23 [// 2 Chron. 35.19: 'the reign of Josiah']; 2 Kgs. 23.29 [// 2 Chron. 35.20: 'Josiah']; 2 Chron. 35.16; 2 Chron. 35.23
Nebuchadnezzar		2 Kgs. 25.8; 2 Chron. 36.10 [// 2 Kgs. 24.10: 'Nebuchadnezzar king of Babylon']; 2 Chron. 36.13 [// 2 Kgs. 24.20: 'the king of Babylon']
Rehoboam		1 Kgs. 12.6 // 2 Chron. 10.6; [1 Kgs. 12.14: 'he' //] 2 Chron. 10.13; 1 Kgs. 12.18 (twice) // 2 Chron. 10.18 (twice); 1 Kgs. 14.25 // 2 Chron. 12.2; 1 Kgs. 14.27 // 2 Chron. 12.10; 1 Kgs. 15.1 // 2 Chron. 13.1; 2 Chron. 12.13
Saul	1 Sam. 18.6	
Solomon	1 Kgs. 2.17; 1 Chron. 29.24 2 Chron. 10.2 //	1 Kgs. 1.34; 1 Kgs. 1.39; 1 Kgs. 1.51 (twice); 1 Kgs. 1.53 (twice); 1 Kgs. 2.19; 1 Kgs. 2.22; 1 Kgs. 2.23; 1 Kgs. 2.25; 1 Kgs. 2.29; 1 Kgs. 2.45; 1 Kgs. 4.1; 1 Kgs. 5.7 (twice); 1 Kgs. 5.27; 1 Kgs. 6.2 [// 2 Chron. 3.3: 'Solomon']; 1 Kgs. 7.13 [? // 2 Chron. 2.13]; 1 Kgs. 7.14; 1 Kgs. 7.40 // 2 Chron. 4.11; 1 Kgs. 7.45 // 2 Chron. 4.16; 1 Kgs. 7.51 [// 2 Chron. 5.1: 'Solomon']; 1 Kgs. 8.1 [// 2 Chron. 5.2: minus]; 1 Kgs. 8.2 [// 2 Chron. 5.3: 'the king']; 1 Kgs. 8.5 // 2 Chron. 5.6; [1 Kgs. 8.63: 'Solomon //] 2 Chron. 7.5; 1 Kgs. 9.11 [// 2 Chron. 8.1: minus]; 1 Kgs. 9.15; [1 Kgs. 9.23: 'Solomon //] 2 Chron. 8.10; 1 Kgs. 9.26 [// 2 Chron. 8.17: 'Solomon']; 1 Kgs. 9.28 // 2 Chron. 8.18; 1 Kgs. 10.10 // 2 Chron. 9.9; 1 Kgs. 10.13 // 2 Chron. 9.12; 1 Kgs. 10.16 // 2 Chron. 9.15; 1 Kgs. 10.21 // 2 Chron. 9.20; 1 Kgs. 10.23 // 2 Chron. 9.22; 1 Kgs. 11.27; 1 Kgs. 12.2[1054]; 1 Kgs. 11.1
Uzziah	[2 Kgs. 15.5: 'the king'/'he' //] 2 Chron. 26.21; 2 Chron. 26.18	
Zedekiah		2 Kgs. 25.2
	11 times elsewhere. Jer. 3.6; Jer. 29.2; Hag. 1.1; Hag. 1.15; Zech. 7.1; Dan.	55 times elsewhere. Isa. 6.1; Isa. 14.28; Isa. 36.1; Isa. 36.2; Isa. 37.1; Isa. 37.5; Isa. 39.3; Jer. 21.1; Jer. 26.21; Jer.

[1054] *GKC* §131g, p. 425 is in error.

	1.21; Dan. 8.1; Ezra 7.7; Ezra 8.1; Neh. 2.1; Neh. 5.14	26.22; Jer. 26.23; Jer. 34.8; Jer. 37.3; Jer. 37.17; Jer. 37.18; Jer. 37.21; Jer. 38.5; Jer. 38.14; Jer. 38.16; Jer. 38.19; Jer. 41.9; Jer. 52.5; Jer. 52.12; Jer. 52.20; Ezek 1.2; Cant 3.9; Cant 3.11; Esth. 1.2; Esth. 1.9; Esth. 1.10; Esth. 1.15; Esth. 1.16; Esth. 1.17; Esth. 1.19; Esth. 2.1; Esth. 2.12; Esth. 2.16; Esth. 2.21; Esth. 3.1; Esth. 3.7; Esth. 3.8; Esth. 3.12; Esth. 6.2; Esth. 7.5; Esth. 8.1; Esth. 8.7; Esth. 8.10; Esth. 8.12; Esth. 9.2; Esth. 9.20; Esth. 10.1; Esth. 10.3; Ezra 1.7; Ezra 4.3; Ezra 7.11

The following observations are noteworthy: (1) The ratio of instances of the 'early' phrase to the 'late' phrase outside Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, that is, in Isaiah–Ezekiel, Haggai–Zechariah, Song of Songs, Esther–Nehemiah, is five to one. (2) The Hebrew portions of Ezra have the 'late' phrase twice and the 'early' phrase three times, although the standard Aramaic syntax is used in the Aramaic sections of the book (4.8-6.18; 7.12-26). (3) Song of Songs uses the 'early' phrase twice and does not have the 'late' phrase. (4) Esther uses the 'early' phrase 25 times and does not have the 'late' phrase. (5) The 'early' phrase prevails in Samuel and Kings, occurring on 16 of 19 occasions in the former and on 83 of 86 in the latter. The exceptions are 1 Sam. 18.6; 2 Sam. 13.39; 24.23; 1 Kgs. 2.17; 2 Kgs. 8.29; 9.15. (6) Chronicles has a nearly equal number of both expressions in non-synoptic texts: the 'early' phrase appears 41 times, including 18 times in non-synoptic texts, and the 'late' phrase appears 21 times, including 19 times in non-synoptic texts. Synoptic texts share the 'early' phrase in 23 of 25 cases, and twice the book of Chronicles has the 'late' phrase where Kings has the 'early' one (1 Kgs. 11.1 // 2 Chron. 10.2; 1 Kgs. 15.22 // 2 Chron. 16.6). (7) Other designations show remarkable consistency in all supposed strata of biblical literature: 'מלכה X', 18 times vs. 'X מלכה', twice (Esth. 1.12, 15); 'נביא X', 91 times vs. 'נביא X', once (2 Chron. 13.22 [// 1 Kgs. 15.7]); 'נביאה X' four

times; 'כהן X' 140 times; 'ספר X' 29 times; 'שר X' 10 times; etc. This evidence brings the diachronic hypothesis into question.

The versions create uncertainty regarding 2 Sam. 6.12's למלך דוד. מלך (= βασιλεῖ) is absent from mss 29 (b_2) and 554^{txt} (z^{txt}), and from the Armenian and Sahidic Coptic versions, and דוד (= δαυιδ) is placed in the margin of ms 144, and is absent from mss 93 (e_2) and 130* (s*), and from the Ethiopic and Bohairic Coptic versions. In fact, in fifteen of sixteen cases of דוד המלך (all except the first) in Samuel, and in the single case of דוד המלך in Samuel, some Greek and/or other versional evidence lacks one or both of the components.[1055] Additional investigation is required. In fact, 'King David' is surprisingly uncommon in Samuel. The name 'David' appears 291 times in 1 Samuel and 285 times in 2 Samuel, but 'King David' occurs only 17 times (all in 2 Samuel, of course). In addition, 'the king' is used with reference to David 257 times in 2 Samuel.[1056]

The following remarks augment the discussion in 5.1.1.3 of the literary significance of 'King David' and '[King] Saul'. It is evident in the table above that David

[1055] See 'cf. text-variant' in the above table.

[1056] The absence of 'David' from synoptic texts is attested about equally in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. In these passages, however, when Chronicles has 'David', Samuel–Kings may have 'the king', but when Samuel–Kings have 'David', Chronicles never has 'the king'.

the king	2 Sam. 5.6	1 Chron. 11.4	David
the king	2 Sam. 7.1	1 Chron. 17.1	David
the king	2 Sam. 7.2	1 Chron. 17.1	David
the king	2 Sam. 7.3	1 Chron. 17.2	David
the king	2 Sam. 24.2	1 Chron. 21.2	David
the king	2 Sam. 24.9	1 Chron. 21.5	David
the king	2 Sam. 24.20	1 Chron. 21.21	David
the king	2 Sam. 24.20	1 Chron. 21.21	David

Variation between 'King David', and 'David' or 'the king', is uncommon in synoptic passages:

King David	2 Sam. 5.3	1 Chron. 11.3	David
King David	2 Sam. 8.8	1 Chron. 18.8	David
the king	2 Sam. 24.24	1 Chron. 21.24	King David
David	1 Kgs. 5.21	2 Chron. 2.11	King David

For additional discussion of these interchanges see Auld 2000b (esp. pp. 145-146).

is 'King David' in 2 Sam. 3.31; 5.3; 6.12, 16; 7.18; 8.8, 10, 11; 9.5; 13.21, 39 ('late' phrase); 16.5, 6; 17.17, 21; 19.12, 17; and Saul is 'King Saul' in 1 Sam. 18.6. The following data may be added:

David	Saul
דוד מלך David was king 2 Sam. 2.11	שאול מלך Saul was king 2 Sam. 5.2; 1 Chron. 11.2
דוד מלך David will be king Ezek. 37.24	ø
דוד למלך David as king 2 Sam. 2.4; 3.17; 5.3, 17; 1 Chron. 11.3; 14.8	שאול למלך Saul as king 1 Sam. 15.11
דוד מלכם David, their king Jer. 30.9; Hos. 3.5	ø
דוד מלך בירושלם David, the king in Jerusalem Qoh. 1.1	ø
דוד מלך ישראל David, the king of Israel Prov. 1.1; Ezra 3.10; 2 Chron. 8.11; 29.27; 30.26; 35.3; 35.4	שאול מלך ישראל Saul, the king of Israel 1 Sam. 29.3
דוד מלך הארץ David, the king of the land 1 Sam. 21.12	ø

According to the book of Samuel, as soon as Saul's kingship begins (1 Sam. 15.1; ... שאול למלך), his disobedience (vv. 2-9) causes Yahweh to regret the decision to make him ruler (vv. 10-11; שאול למלך). The first occurrence of the phrase שאול המלך occurs when the women of Israel come out to meet 'King Saul' (18.6) while paradoxically singing the pro-David refrain 'Saul has killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands' (v. 7). In fact, שאול המלך comes in a MT plus, in the form of the so-called late phrase 'המלך X' and is the only time in the Bible that Saul is called 'King Saul'. Ironically, the first reference to David's kingship (דוד מלך הארץ) is connected with the repetition of the same pro-David refrain in 1 Sam. 21.12. Elsewhere in the book of Samuel, '(the) king' is used with reference to Saul, but the final reference to Saul's kingship comes in 1 Sam. 29.3 (שאול מלך־ישראל), which once again is connected with the repetition of the same pro-

David refrain (v. 5).[1057] Throughout the book of Samuel, Saul's 'kingship' is slighted in favour of David's, and in the present context, and again in v. 16, המלך דוד may implicitly say what Michal, the daughter of Saul, is soon to explicitly recognise herself (v. 20).

This is the first time 'king' has been used as a title for David since 2 Sam. 5.17, and the designation appears twice more in 2 Samuel 6: 'King David' in v. 16 and 'the king of Israel' in v. 20. Elsewhere, 'David' is used seventeen times and the 'city of David' three times (vv. 10, 12, 16) in 2 Samuel 6.

v. 1 - 'David'
v. 2 - 'David'
v. 5 - 'David'
v. 8 - 'David'
v. 9 - 'David'
v. 10 - 'David' (twice); also 'city of David'
v. 12 - 'King David' and 'David'; also 'city of David'
v. 14 - 'David' (twice)
v. 15 - 'David'
v. 16 - 'King David'; also 'city of David'
v. 17 - 'David' (twice)
v. 18 - 'David'
v. 20 - 'David' (twice) and 'the king of Israel'
v. 21 - 'David'

Chronicles' story of the ark has the word 'king' for David only in 1 Chron. 15.29 (// 2 Sam. 6.16).[1058] Murray says 'Thus it is pointedly in his persona as *melek* that David responds to the news of the blessing brought by the ark to the household of Obed Edom'.[1059] Campbell says 'It is a pointer which already in this introduction to the second expedition augurs well for its success'.[1060] Should the designation 'king' be construed as a commentary on David's person, as a foreshadowing of the outcome of the ark's transfer, both or neither? 'King' here and twice in the Michal material is undoubtedly significant. It may be suggested that a shared reference to David's kingship in 2 Sam. 6.16 // 1 Chron.

[1057] It is remarkable that in the first account the women alone sang 'Saul has killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands' (1 Sam. 18.6-7), but in the subsequent reports (1 Sam. 21.12; 29.5) the verb is 'they sang' (יענו), which blurs the gender and extent of the group of singers.

[1058] A generic reference to 'kings' appears in 1 Chron. 16.21.

[1059] Murray 1998: 132 n. 67.

[1060] Campbell 1975: 137.

15.29 is extended into Samuel's pluses in 2 Sam. 6.12, 20, and that the triple reference to David's kingship highlights his status vis-à-vis Saul, who is both the father of Michal and the former 'king'.

At a later date I shall argue on the bases of textual variation and the discernible literary polemic, which advocates 'King David' over '[King] Saul', that the phrase המלך דוד was standardised in a later version of the book of Samuel, thus levelling what was a *mixed* state of affairs in an earlier version of this book. In sum, the evidence adduced here suggests that the issue of 'early' 'X המלך' versus 'late' 'המלך X' is not historical–grammatical but rather it is related to free variation and editorial activity.

3.5 Conjunction

See 4.1.3.1	2 Sam. 6.8 1 Chron. 13.11	ויחר לדוד על אשר פרץ יהוה פרץ בעזה // ויחר לדויד כי פרץ יהוה פרץ בעזא

Samuel and Chronicles differ regarding the preposition introducing the causal clause: על אשר in Samuel and כי in Chronicles. Barker remarks that Chronicles' use of כי rather than על אשר is a 'a stylistic difference, probably reflecting a [diachronic] leveling or simplifying of the language'.[1061] The conjunction כי, *without concern for function*[1062], occurs 4,486 times in the Bible, whereas על אשר is used *as a causal conjunction* only 27 times, including six times in Samuel and four times in Chronicles.[1063] Barker's second assertion is supported by neither the distribution of causal על אשר[1064] nor the instances in the shared text:

[1061] Barker 1984: 111-112.

[1062] Of course, the causal function is extremely common.

[1063] על אשר is not used as a causal conjunction in Gen. 47.6; Exod. 16.5; 1 Sam. 30.14; 2 Sam. 15.20; 1 Kgs. 18.12; Isa. 29.12; Ezek. 1.20; Hag. 1.11; Ps. 119.49 (?).

[1064] Exod. 32.35; Num. 20.24; Deut. 29.24; 32.51; 1 Sam. 24.6; 2 Sam. 3.30; 6.8; 8.10; 12.6; 21.1; 1 Kgs. 9.9; 16.7; 2 Kgs. 18.12; 22.13; Jer. 15.4; 16.11; 22.9; Ezek. 23.30; 35.15; 39.23; Job 32.3; Esth. 1.15; 8.7; 1 Chron. 13.10; 18.10; 2 Chron. 7.22; 34.21.

2 Sam. 6.7 (על־השל) // 1 Chron. 13.10 (על אשר)
2 Sam. 6.8 (על אשר) // 1 Chron. 13.11 (כי)
2 Sam. 8.10 (על אשר) // 1 Chron. 18.10 (על אשר)
1 Kgs. 9.9 (על אשר) // 2 Chron. 7.22 (על אשר)
2 Kgs. 22.13 (על אשר) // 2 Chron. 34.21 (על אשר)

Rather, Barker's initial assertion is correct: the variation is 'stylistic'. In all probability, an original על אשר has been altered to כי in 1 Chron. 13.11, perhaps for differentiation from על אשר in 1 Chron. 13.10. On the other hand, it is noteworthy that in 1 Sam. 24.6 the Greek version has ὅτι in place of MT Samuel's על אשר. Could this be evidence for editorial activity there and here in MT Samuel, the book in which על אשר occurs most often in the Bible? In any case, Barker's insinuation on historical chronology is false.

3.6 Preposition

See 3.1.2.3	2 Sam. 6.3 2 Sam. 6.3, 4 1 Chron. 13.7	וירכבו ... אל־עגלה חדשה ... וישאהו מבית אבינדב אשר בגבעה וירכיבו ... על־עגלה חדשה מבית אבינדב

See the remarks following the next entry.

See 4.1.3.5	2 Sam. 6.10 1 Chron. 13.13	ולא־אבה דוד להסיר אליו את־ארון יהוה על־עיר דוד // ולא־הסיר דויד את־הארון אליו אל־עיר דויד

Rooker, who cites scholars holding and opposing his view, argues that Aramaic influence caused the preposition על to become more prominent in 'late' biblical Hebrew at the expense of the preposition אל.[1065] However, many instances of indiscriminate usage and textual variation indicate that the interchange is scribal.[1066] A comprehensive investigation of אל and על does not exist, due to the frequency of these prepositions in the Bible.[1067] Until this research is undertaken, generalisations regarding diachronic

[1065] Rooker 1990: 127-131. Of course, in biblical Aramaic ל is more frequent than על for expressing the direct object.

[1066] *BDB* 41 n. 2; Ehrensvärd 2003: 184 n. 79; Sperber 1966: §77, p. 288; §106-107, pp. 631-633; I. Young 2003b: 285-286, 296. Ehrensvärd (and Rooker) cite scholars in favour of this interpretation of the evidence.

[1067] אל is used 5,516 times and על is used 5,873 times.

developments are hazardous, in spite of the total usage ratios of אל and על in Samuel and Chronicles[1068]. It is necessary to investigate the uses and interchanges of אל and על in all portions of biblical literature with a close eye on the versional evidence.

The random interchange of אל and על in Samuel is apparent on a number of occasions within a single verse[1069], and on other occasions in similar phrases in nearby verses[1070]. The following remarks on אל and על in synoptic portions of Samuel and Chronicles represent merely the first step in resolving this issue.[1071] The evidence is[1072]:

אל in Samuel אל in Chronicles	על in Samuel על in Chronicles	אל in Samuel על in Chronicles	על in Samuel אל in Chronicles
28 times 44.4% of 63 passages	22 times 34.9% of 63 passages	12 times 19.0% of 63 passages	1 time 1.6% of 63 passages
2 Sam. 5.1 // 1 Chron. 11.1	1 Sam. 31.4 // 1 Chron. 10.4	1 Sam. 31.3 // 1 Chron. 10.3	2 Sam. 6.10 // 1 Chron. 13.13[1074]
2 Sam. 5.3 // 1 Chron. 11.3	1 Sam. 31.5 // 1 Chron. 10.5	2 Sam. 5.19 // 1 Chron. 14.10	
2 Sam. 5.11 // 1 Chron. 14.1	2 Sam. 5.2 // 1 Chron. 11.2	2 Sam. 6.3 // 1 Chron. 13.7	
2 Sam. 6.9 // 1 Chron. 13.12	2 Sam. 5.3 // 1 Chron. 11.3	2 Sam. 7.19 // 1 Chron. 17.17	
2 Sam. 6.10 // 1 Chron. 13.13	2 Sam. 5.12 // 1 Chron. 14.2	2 Sam. 7.28 // 1 Chron. 17.26	
2 Sam. 7.2 // 1 Chron. 17.1	2 Sam. 5.17 // 1 Chron. 14.8	2 Sam. 8.7 // 1 Chron. 18.7	
2 Sam. 7.3 // 1 Chron. 17.2	2 Sam. 5.20 // 1 Chron. 14.11	2 Sam. 10.2 // 1 Chron. 19.2	
2 Sam. 7.4 // 1 Chron. 17.3	2 Sam. 6.7 // 1 Chron. 13.10	2 Sam. 23.13 // 1 Chron. 11.15	
2 Sam. 7.5 // 1 Chron. 17.4	2 Sam. 7.8 // 1 Chron. 17.7	2 Sam. 23.23 // 1 Chron. 11.25[1073]	
2 Sam. 7.17 // 1 Chron. 17.15	2 Sam. 7.11 // 1 Chron. 17.10	2 Sam. 24.3 // 1 Chron. 21.3	
2 Sam. 7.20 // 1 Chron. 17.18	2 Sam. 7.25 // 1 Chron. 17.23	2 Sam. 24.4 // 1 Chron. 21.4	
2 Sam. 8.10 // 1 Chron. 18.10	2 Sam. 7.25 // 1 Chron. 17.23	2 Sam. 24.16 // 1 Chron. 21.15	
2 Sam. 10.3 // 1 Chron. 19.3	2 Sam. 7.27 // 1 Chron. 17.25		
2 Sam. 10.9 // 1 Chron. 19.10	2 Sam. 8.10 // 1 Chron. 18.10		
2 Sam. 23.13 // 1 Chron. 11.15	2 Sam. 8.15 // 1 Chron. 18.14		
2 Sam. 23.13 // 1 Chron. 11.15	2 Sam. 8.16 // 1 Chron. 18.15		
2 Sam. 23.16 // 1 Chron. 11.18	2 Sam. 12.30 // 1 Chron. 20.2		
2 Sam. 23.21 // 1 Chron. 11.23	2 Sam. 12.30 // 1 Chron. 20.2		
2 Sam. 23.23 // 1 Chron. 11.25	2 Sam. 23.8 // 1 Chron. 11.11		
2 Sam. 24.2 // 1 Chron. 21.2	2 Sam. 23.18 // 1 Chron. 11.20		
2 Sam. 24.9 // 1 Chron. 21.5	2 Sam. 24.12 // 1 Chron. 21.10		
2 Sam. 24.10 // 1 Chron. 21.8	2 Sam. 24.21 // 1 Chron. 21.22		
2 Sam. 24.11 // 1 Chron. 21.9			
2 Sam. 24.12 // 1 Chron. 21.10			
2 Sam. 24.13 // 1 Chron. 21.11			
2 Sam. 24.14 // 1 Chron. 21.13			
2 Sam. 24.18 // 1 Chron. 21.18			
2 Sam. 24.22 // 1 Chron. 21.23			

[1068] אל is used 669 times in Samuel and 230 times in Chronicles; על is used 373 times in Samuel and 491 times in Chronicles.

[1069] 1 Sam. 15.35; 16.1; 20.25; 24.23; 25.17, 25; 27.10; 2 Sam. 2.9; 3.29; 6.10; 24.4.

[1070] E.g., vv. 1 and 4, 10 and 12, 33 and 34 in 1 Samuel 14; vv. 8 and 13 in 1 Samuel 22; vv. 15 and 16 in 1 Samuel 26; vv. 25 and 28 in 2 Samuel 7.

[1071] This survey does not consider pluses/minuses (e.g., 1 Sam. 31.11 [אל] // 1 Chron. 31.11 [minus]) or 'substitutions' involving *lamed* (e.g., 1 Sam. 31.4 [ל] // 1 Chron. 10.4 [אל]; 2 Sam. 24.24 [אל] // 1 Chron. 21.24 [ל]). In addition, the exact forms and functions of אל and על are not addressed here.

[1072] Rooker 1990: 127 n. 4 erroneously cites 2 Sam. 20.23 and 1 Chron. 18.15 as synoptic passages.

[1073] Rooker 1990: 127 n. 4 accidentally cites this passage twice.

[1074] Rooker 1990: 127 n. 4 erroneously cites this passage in support of his view.

First, Samuel and Chronicles agree in eighty percent of synoptic cases of אל and על. Second, scholars regularly neglect to mention על in 2 Sam. 6.10 versus אל in 1 Chron. 13.13. Third, אל and על correspond to many different words in the Greek version; however, ἐπί, περί and ὑπέρ in Samuel in seven passages in which this book has אל and Chronicles has על[1075], and εἰς in Chronicles in one passage in which this book has על and Samuel has אל[1076], *could* point to secondary readings in these books. A comprehensive analysis of translation technique is obviously a desideratum. Fourth, a close look at the usage of אל in the passages in which Samuel has this preposition in contrast with Chronicles' על often suggests that Samuel's אל is unoriginal, as the text-critical evidence also suggests. Fifth, the writer argues in 3.1.2.3 and 4.1.3.5 that אל and על are unoriginal in 2 Sam. 6.3, 10, respectively.

See 4.1.1.2	2 Sam. 6.6 1 Chron. 13.9	וישלח עזא אל־ארון האלהים ויאחז בו // וישלח עזא את־ידו לאחז את־הארון

These comments elaborate on the remarks in 4.1.1.2. MT 2 Sam. 6.6 has אל whereas the Greek version has ἐπί. The awkwardness of the non-geographic place object after אל in the MT is further highlighted by the Greek evidence. Elsewhere, ἐκτείνω τὴν χεῖρα ἐπί generally reflects the verb נטה and the preposition על.[1077] The five exceptions are:

Dan. 11.42	שלח יד ב	ב is common in the hostility formula.
Josh. 8.18	נטה יד אל	אל can be a variation on the hostility formula.
Ezek. 13.9	היה יד אל	אל can be a variation on the hostility formula.
1 Kgs. 13.4	שלח יד על	על as expected.
1 Chron. 13.10	שלח יד על	על as expected.

[1075] 1 Sam. 31.3 // 1 Chron. 10.3; 2 Sam. 6.3 // 1 Chron. 13.7; 2 Sam. 7.19 // 1 Chron. 17.17; 2 Sam. 7.28 // 1 Chron. 17.26; 2 Sam. 8.7 // 1 Chron. 18.7; 2 Sam. 10.2 // 1 Chron. 19.2; 2 Sam. 24.16 // 1 Chron. 21.15.

[1076] 2 Sam. 23.13 // 1 Chron. 11.15.

[1077] Exod. 7.5, 19; 8.1, 2; 10.12; 14.16, 21, 26, 27, 30; Jer. 6.12; 28.25; Ezek. 6.14; 14.9, 13; 25.7, 13, 16, 35.3; Zeph. 1.4, 2.13.

Therefore, it is likely that על has been altered to אל in MT 2 Sam. 6.6[1078], and the writer suggests that LXX^{L}'s πρός is a still later revision toward MT אל.

See 3.1.5.2	2 Sam. 6.3 1 Chron. 13.7 2 Sam. 6.4 2 Sam. 6.7 1 Chron. 13.10	ועזא ואחיו נהגים את־העגלה חדשה // ועזא ואחיו נהגים בעגלה ואחיו הלך לפני הארון עם ארון האלהים // לפני אלהים

The verb נהג occurs 30 times in the Bible. It is used in the D and G stems, and construed with a divine ('Yahweh') or human subject, and with a human, animal, or inanimate object. The object may occur as a simple accusative (13 times), with the object marker את (12 times), or with the preposition ב (3 times). The distribution is as follows:

1) D stem (10 times): direct object (8); את (2), ב (0); ø (0):

   i) Divine subject (9):

      (a) Human object (6): Deut. 4.27 (את); 28.37; Isa. 49.10; 63.14; Ps. 48.15; 78.52.
      (b) Animal object (0).
      (c) Inanimate object (3): Exod. 10.13; 14.25; Ps. 78.26.

   ii) Human subject (1):

      (a) Human object (0).
      (b) Animal object (1): Gen. 31.18 (את).
      (c) Inanimate object (0).

2) G stem (20 times): direct object (5); את (10); ב (3); ø (2):

   i) Divine subject (2):

      (a) Human object (2): Ps. 80.2; Lam. 3.2 (את).
      (b) Animal object (0).
      (c) Inanimate object (0).

   ii) Human subject (18):

      (a) Human object (7): Gen. 31.26 (את); 1 Sam. 30.2, 22 (את); Isa. 20.4 (את); Cant. 8.2; 1 Chron. 20.1 (את); 2 Chron. 25.11 (את).
      (b) Animal object (6): Exod. 3.1 (את); 1 Sam. 23.5 (את); 30.20 (את); 2 Kgs. 4.24; Isa. 11.6 (ב); Job 24.3.

[1078] Accordingly, McCarter 1984: 164, for example, emends MT Samuel.

(c) Inanimate object (3): 2 Sam. 6.3 (את); Qoh. 2.3 (ב); 1 Chron. 13.7 (ב).
(d) Unexpressed object (2): 2 Kgs. 9.20; Isa. 60.11.

The present passage is the only synoptic one. It could be argued that נהג with the object introduced by ב (Isa. 11.6; Qoh. 2.3; 1 Chron. 13.7; Sirach 38.25) is a later form of expression. Attention has frequently focused on Qoh. 2.3 which reflects the rabbinic nuance of 'behave'[1079] and following Lohfink could be rendered 'while my mind led my knowledge to pasture'.[1080] Only in Qoh. 2.3 does the LXX render ב with ἐν. For both Samuel and Chronicles the LXX has τὴν ἅμαξαν, and this may render it more likely that Chronicles' ב is a later scribal alteration instead of an original element of the composition. However, the meaning of 1 Chron. 13.7 is unlike Qoh. 2.3.

See 5.1.1.1	2 Sam. 6.11 1 Chron. 13.14	וישב ארון יהוה בית עבד אדם הגתי שלשה חדשים // וישב ארון האלהים עם־בית עבד אדם בביתו שלשה חדשים

Chronicles has עם־בית עבד אדם whereas Samuel has simply בית עבד אדם without the preceding preposition. The broader text-critical and literary issues are discussed in 5.1.1.1. The absence of a preposition in MT Samuel has elicited one of two responses: either ב was lost through haplography or בית is an adverbial accusative. *JM* points out that 'In Aramaic [בית] is often used in the local accusative'.[1081] However, an adverbial accusative is used for 'place at which' or 'local determination' in all strata of biblical Hebrew. Consequently, there is *no linguistic basis* for designating Samuel's בית עבד אדם as late. However, once again, see 5.1.1.1.

[1079] G. A. Barton 1908: 89; Crenshaw 1987: 78; Murphy 1992: 16.
[1080] Gross 1998: 257.
[1081] *JM* §126h, p. 458.

See 5.1.2.1	2 Sam. 6.12 1 Chron. 15.25	וילך דוד ויעל את־ארון האלהים מבית עבד אדם עיר דוד // ויהי דויד וזקני ישראל ושרי האלפים ההלכים להעלות את־ארון ברית־יהוה מן־בית עבד־אדם

The writer has summarised elsewhere his view on the assimilated and non-assimilated use of the *min* preposition.[1082] The material here simply provides some of the data under-girding that summary. The following table gives a full count for the Bible, and separate figures for a representative sample of books (Joshua–Kings, Esther, Ezra–Chronicles). Since the noun is the part of speech that follows מן ± the article most often, in about 70% of all cases, the writer will focus his observations on מן ± the article + a noun.

[1082] Rezetko 2003: 230-231.

מן + adjective (261)		
מן + adverb (416)		
מן + conjunction (3)		
מן + direct object (8)		
מן + preposition (845)		
מן + pronoun (13)		
מן + relative (23)		
מן + suffix (594)		
מן + verb (264)		
מן + article (± noun) (736) *(includes מן + article + noun listed separately below)*	מן as part of same word (100) Joshua (8) Judges (6) Samuel (35) Kings (9) Esther (0) Ezra–Nehemiah (5) Chronicles (8)	
	מן as separate word without *maqqef* (3)	
	מן as separate word with *maqqef* (633) Joshua (32) Judges (32) Samuel (38) Kings (51) Esther (1) Ezra–Nehemiah (32) Chronicles (55)	
מן + noun (4561)	מן as part of same word (4379) Joshua (207) Judges (175) Samuel (305) Kings (277) Esther (29) Ezra–Nehemiah (142) Chronicles (272)	מבית (102) Joshua (2) Judges (5) Samuel (11) Kings (11) Esther (2) Ezra–Nehemiah (3) Chronicles (4)
	מן as separate word without *maqqef* (9)	
	מן as separate word with *maqqef* (173) Joshua (3) Judges (6) Samuel (3) Kings (5) Esther (0) Ezra–Nehemiah (13) Chronicles (54)	מן־בית (4) Joshua (0) Judges (0) Samuel (0) Kings (0) Esther (1) Ezra–Nehemiah (3) Chronicles (1)
מן + article + noun (701)	מן as part of same word (92) Joshua (7) Judges (5) Samuel (34) Kings (9) Esther (0) Ezra–Nehemiah (5) Chronicles (8)	מהבית (5) Joshua (0) Judges (0) Samuel (0) Kings (1) Esther (0) Ezra–Nehemiah (0) Chronicles (0)
	מן as separate word without *maqqef* (3)	
	מן as separate word with *maqqef* (606) Joshua (32) Judges (31) Samuel (35) Kings (26) Esther (1) Ezra–Nehemiah (30) Chronicles (51)	מן־הבית (6) Joshua (0) Judges (0) Samuel (0) Kings (0) Esther (0) Ezra–Nehemiah (0) Chronicles (0)

(1) *מן + article + noun*. This construction occurs 701 times in the Bible. The *nun* is assimilated 92 times (13%) and unassimilated 606 times (87%). *WO* overstates the

matter, saying the *nun* is assimilated 'only irregularly'.[1083] Bauer and Leander stray even farther from the truth: 'Ausnahmen sind selten'; and they give three examples![1084] Sperber conveniently gives a list of 57 nouns (not occurrences, of which there are 92) which occur as a single unit (e.g., Josh. 8.7, מהאורב).[1085] The present writer has not undertaken a case by case examination, but he is struck by the 16 cases of assimilation and 40 of non-assimilation in Ezekiel, and especially the nearly equal 34 and 35 cases respectively in Samuel.[1086]

(2) מן + *noun*. This construction occurs 4,561 times in the Bible. The *nun* is assimilated 4,379 times (96%) and unassimilated 173 times (4%). The statistics for the entire Bible follow:

[1083] *WO* §11.2.11a, p. 212.

[1084] Bauer and Leander 1922: §81p', p. 642; cf. §15k, p. 198; §81p'-y', pp. 642-644.

[1085] Sperber 1966: §6, pp. 3-5.

[1086] Both the assimilated and non-assimilated types occur in 2 Sam. 24.15: מן־העם ... מהבקר. In the מן + article + noun construction in the Bible, the מן is assimilated in three of four cases with בקר but only in two of twenty-five cases with עם. This suggests that nouns do not randomly occur according to one format or the other. See the discussion of Chronicles in Rezetko 2003: 230-231.

Book	Assimilated מן	Unassimilated מן ([1087])
Genesis	225	0
Exodus	208	1
Leviticus	215	2
Numbers	260	1
Deuteronomy	220	0
Joshua	207	3
Judges	175	6
Samuel	305	3
Kings	277	5
Isaiah	303	5
Jeremiah	320	4
Ezekiel	269	0
Joel	12	1
Amos	27	0
Obadiah	5	0
Jonah	13	0
Micah	29	0
Nahum	10	0
Habakkuk	15	0
Zephaniah	7	0
Haggai	4	0
Zechariah	37	0
Malachi	12	0
Psalms	351	9
Job	148	15
Proverbs	111	1
Ruth	15	0
Song of Songs	23	1
Qoheleth	31	0
Lamentations	32	1
Esther	29	0
Daniel	28 (Hebrew)	3 (Hebrew), 45 (Aramaic)
Ezra	73 (Hebrew)	0 (Hebrew), 12 (Aramaic)
Nehemiah	66	1
Chronicles	272	54
Total	*4379*	*173*

With the exceptions of the book of Chronicles and the Aramaic portions of Daniel and Ezra there is a remarkable preference for the *nun* to assimilate in the מן + noun construction, and this is a fatal blow to the traditional view that the construction without assimilation characterises late biblical Hebrew. The writer has summarised the

[1087] König 1881: I, 287-294 gives several detailed lists of examples. For the unassimilated מן + noun construction he gives 8 examples for Samuel–Kings and 45 for Chronicles (he missed 9!).

significance of this scenario elsewhere.[1088] Finally, I. Young recently wrote: 'However, in the study of LBH it is often the details that make all the difference, such as whether מן ('from') is attached to or separate from a following noun without the definite article ... These are the very details which are found to change in scribal transmission ...'[1089]

See	2 Sam. 6.16	והיה ארון יהוה בא עיר דוד
6.1.1.1.1	1 Chron. 15.29	ויהי ארון ברית יהוה בא עד־עיר דויד

Chronicles' preposition עד or a variant (e.g., ל) is reflected in all witnesses to Chronicles[1090] and Samuel *except for MT Samuel.*[1091] Commentators offer contradictory appraisals of the discrepancy, but Jackson and Stoebe are certainly incorrect to claim that the 'addition' of the preposition in Chronicles represents 'later' or 'younger' speech.[1092] Nysse concludes that the agreement between Chronicles and non-MT Samuel points to a period of common history.[1093]

A common or proper noun designating a place may follow a verb and indicate *where* activity occurs (locative) or *to where* movement arrives (directive or terminative). The principal difference between these two types is the presence of a verb of motion in the latter. Most often in biblical Hebrew these notions are expressed by means of a prepositional phrase using אל, ב, ל, עד and על. Although the appearance of a preposition is generally considered standard, the designation of place may be expressed by a bare noun phrase used as an adverbial accusative of place. (A third way to express these notions is with *he* locale or directive *he* [ה,].) The writer has not found statements in the standard reference grammars to the effect that the construction without the preposition is more

[1088] Rezetko 2003: 230-231.

[1089] I. Young 2003b: 310; cf. 289, 295. See further I. Young 2001: 122-123.

[1090] *BHS* observes, however, that many (more than twenty) medieval Hebrew manuscripts of Chronicles do not have the preposition עד, and most of these are listed by De Rossi 1785: IV, 180.

[1091] Fincke 2001: 156, and Herbert 1997b: 127 in one of his suggested reconstructions, read עד in 4QSam[a].

[1092] Jackson 1962: 186; Stoebe 1994: 196.

[1093] Nysse 1984: 437, 440.

antiquated than the one with it, and Jackson and Stoebe do not offer any evidence in support of their assertion. Furthermore, the writer can offer the following pieces of evidence which cast doubt on the assertion.[1094] First, the construction בוא + עד + common/proper designation of place occurs more often in Samuel than in Chronicles: 1 Sam. 10.3; 15.5; 17.52; 19.22; 20.37; 27.8; 30.9; 2 Sam. 2.24; 4.6; 6.6; 15.32; 16.5; 19.16; 1 Chron. 12.17; 13.9; 15.29; 2 Chron. 12.4; 14.8. Second, the G of בוא is used with a common or proper designation of place in 1 Samuel as follows[1095]:

With Preposition	אל	ב	בתוך	ל	עד
	1.19; 4.3, 5, 6, 7; 6.14; 14.26; 20.19, 29; 21.16; 23.10; 24.4 (?); 26.4 (?), 5; 30.3, 26	2.14 (?); 7.13; 9.5; 14.25; 19.23; 23.7	9.14; 11.11	9.12	10.3; 15.5; 17.52; 19.22; 20.37; 27.8; 30.9
Without Preposition	4.12; 5.5, 10; 9.13; 10.5 (twice), 10 (*he*), 13; 11.4; 12.8; 13.8; 15.7, 12 (*he*); 16.4; 17.20 (*he*), 52; 19.18 (*he*); 21.1, 2 (*he*), 5 (twice), 9 (*he*); 23.7; 26.1 (*he*), 3 (*he*); 27.8 (*he*); 30.1, 12 (*he*)				

Third, the G of בוא is used with a common or proper designation of place in Chronicles as follows[1096]:

With Preposition	אל	ב	בתוך	ל	לפנימה	עד	על
	I.19.2; II.7.2; 23.7, 15; 24.3; 26.16; 27.2	II.9.1 (?); 32.1; 33.14; 35.22 (?)	II.23.20	I.12.1; 24.19; II.20.22; 22.1; 28.9; 29.17; 30.1, 8, 11, 27; 31.16	II.29.16	I.12.17; 13.9; 15.29; II.12.4; 14.8	II.20.24
Without Preposition	I.5.9 (*he*); 11.3 (*he*); 12.24 (*he*), 39 (*he*); 19.15 (twice; once with *he*); 21.4; II.1.13; 8.18 (*he*); 10.1; 11.1, 16; 12.11; 18.24; 20.28; 23.2, 6, 12, 17; 24.3; 26.8; 32.21						

A significant difference in usage in 1 Samuel and Chronicles is not apparent. Therefore, this *preliminary review* does not favour the chronological assertion made by Jackson and Stoebe. The writer believes an exhaustive analysis of the evidence will show that the alternative constructions are actually synchronic variants in all supposed eras of biblical Hebrew.

[1094] This is an issue which the writer will investigate in detail at a later date.

[1095] The writer has excluded the few cases where the adverbs הנה, פה or שם alone are used for the designation of place. A more precise presentation would sort this evidence according to the type of construction used and the use of a common or proper noun. However, the investigation thus far suggests that this additional step does not affect the interpretation of the evidence.

[1096] See the previous note.

See 6.1.1.1.4	2 Sam. 6.16 1 Chron. 15.29	ותבז לו בלבה

A number of related issues are discussed in 6.1.1.1.4. In that discussion, it is stated that the introduction of the direct object by ל in both 2 Sam. 6.16 and 1 Chron. 15.29 is remarkable since many assert that this construction is a late feature of biblical Hebrew which is due to Aramaic influence. However, to begin, van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze remark that in biblical Hebrew the prepositions ל, אל and ב can mark the direct object, the so-called 'prepositional object'.[1097] Williams wishes to label the usage here the *lamed* 'of specification, meaning "with respect to," ... [which] sometimes ... takes the place of the accusative of specification ... leading to the use of לְ with a substantive as a variant of the accusative of the direct object of a verb (as regularly in Aramaic) ...'[1098]

Ewald says:

> Verbs signifying good-will or contempt, which at other times may, by a brief construction, govern their noun directly [in the accusative], also readily attach to themselves an object of some importance by means of a preposition of motion, as אָהֵב לְ *to have love for* a person, Lev. xix. 18, 34; בָּזָה לְ or בּוּז, and לָעַג לְ or הִלְעִיג *to mock* and *despise*; also נָדָה *to abominate*, 2 Sam. vi. 16, Prov. xvii. 5, Ps. xxii. 8, Amos vi. 3, or even with עַל, Neh. ii.19.[1099]

These reserved comments, however, are exceptional to those suggesting that the use of ל for the expression of the direct object is a *late feature of biblical Hebrew and is probably due to Aramaic influence*. This view is expressed in lexica[1100], grammars on Hebrew[1101]

[1097] Van der Merwe, Naudé and Kroeze 1999: §32.2, p. 240; §39.1, p. 275.

[1098] Williams 1976: §273, p. 49.

[1099] Ewald 1881: 61; cf. 60-61 (43-71 = 'The Verb with the Accusative or with Prepositions').

[1100] E.g., *BDB* 511-512: 'with other [non-H] vbs., sporadically early (if the text be sound), but mostly late, in conseq. of Aramaic influence (in Aramaic the accus. being constantly denoted by ל) ...'

[1101] *GKC* §117n, p. 366: 'Another solecism of the later period is finally the introduction of the object by the preposition לְ (prop. *in relation to, in the direction of*), as sometimes in Ethiopic and very commonly in Aramaic"; *JM* §125k, pp. 447-448: 'ל as indicator of the accusative of the direct object. In the later language in particular, ל is quite often used as indicator of the accusative of the determinate direct object noun. ... And in the Chronicles, only in the case of persons (Kropat, *Syntax*, p. 35). The use of ל as indicator of the determinate object is, to a great extent, probably due to Aramaic influence; but some Hebrew uses of ל tended towards the same result ...'; *WO* §11.2.10g, pp. 210-211: 'The use of *l* with the direct object may reflect Aramaic influence, and such influence can be seen in some late Akkadian uses of *ana*; see von Soden, *Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik*, §114e / p. 164) ...' (p. 210, n. 85); A. B. Davidson 1901:

and Semitic[1102], specialised studies on 'late' Hebrew[1103], and monographs on the preposition ל.[1104] Nevertheless, a critical look at the evidence has caused some scholars to deny that the phenomenon in the Bible is related to lateness or Aramaic. For example:

> [ל] expresses an accusative, mostly personal, like Arm. (Gesenius-K. §117n; Brockelmann *Heb. Syn.* §95, already in OHeb. Rudolph *Hos.* 38; Jean-H. *Dictionnaire* 131 para. 4; Mnd. Drower-M. *Dictionary* 226a).[1105]

> Obleich das direkte Objekt ... in der Regel im Akk. steht, so ist doch der auflockernde Gebrauch von לְ „zu" schon ugar. wahrscheinlich, dürfte also auch für das Hebr. nicht erst einer späteren Sprachstufe zuzuweisen sein.[1106]

> Its earliest attestations [in West Semitic] are found in Biblical Hebrew ... Authors often assume an Aramaic influence since most Hebrew occurrences are roughly contemporaneous with the Aramaic texts of the Achaemenian period when this construction is attested for the first time in Aramaic ... As a matter of fact, no such examples with *l-* are known from earlier times, neither in Aramaic inscriptions nor in cuneiform texts ... This new function of the particles *ana* and *l-* is just an extension of their syntagmatic use with various verbs ...[1107]

The use of *lamed* for the introduction of the direct object is attested in biblical, Qumran and Mishnaic Hebrew, biblical and post-biblical Aramaic, Classical and Neo-Arabic,

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§73, p. 107, Rem. 7: 'In later style ל is used in all the senses of את, *e.g.* (*a*) direct obj. I Chr. 16. 37; 25. I; 29. 22, Ezr. 8. 16, 24. (*b*) resumptive (or appos.) I Chr. 5. 26, 2 Chr. 2. 12; 23. I, Ps. 136. 19, 20. (*c*) giving prominence to preposed subj.'.

[1102] Brockelmann 1908: II, §211, pp. 315-319: 'In den jüngeren semit. Sprachen, deren Kasusflexion bereits reduziert oder ganz geschwunden ist, macht sich oft das Bedürfnis geltend, einen schärferen Ausdruck für das Objekt zu schaffen, als ihn die gewöhnliche Stellung hinter dem Verbum bietet. Das erste Mittel zu diesem Zweck war die Einführung der Präposition *li*, die ebenso auf das Ziel des Verbums hinweist, wie es die Akk.-Endung ursprünglich getan hatte' (315-316).

[1103] Kropat 1909: 35: 'In einer Reihe von Fällen wird das Objekt durch *l* bezeichnet, jedoch nur in Fällen, in denen es Personen bezeichnet. Das entspricht ganz dem Sprachgebrauch des Aramäischen: Für das B.-A ist das von Kautzsch zwar nicht hervorgehoben, doch handelt es sich in den p. 127 zitierten Beispielen für Einführung des Objekts durch ל stets um persönl. Objekt. ...'; Polzin 1976: 64-66 ('l^e is used very often as mark of the accusative'): He believes that as far as frequency is concerned this is a late feature: 'Thus the precedent for expressing the direct object with l^e is deeply rooted in Hebrew itself and it is not impossible that we could have in this feature a non-Aramaic development, although as we have said, the frequency of this feature is probably influenced by Aramaic'. Rendsburg 1980: 72-73, also takes this view. In fact, Rendsburg accepts only four of Polzin's features as 'LBH', one of which is 'l^e is used very often as mark of the accusative' which is 'certainly characteristic of LBH'.

[1104] Jenni 2000: 130-133: 'Es steht zweifellos fest, daß die Präposition ל im späten biblischen Hebräisch bisweilen das direkte Objekt bezeichnen kann' (130).

[1105] *HALOT* II, 509-510 (underlining added).

[1106] Meyer 1992: part 3, §107, p. 79 [p. 421].

[1107] Lipinski 1997: §52.11, p. 508; cf. 507-508.

Ethiopic, Syriac, Punic and Ugaritic.[1108] It may be true that this feature occurs most frequently within biblical Hebrew in the Writings and especially in Chronicles. However, the writer has not yet undertaken a thorough study of this issue. One cannot merely assume that the attested distribution is related to linguistic chronology. Finally, this construction occurs in Samuel in at least five passages (1 Sam. 22.7; 23.10; 2 Sam. 3.30; 6.16; 8.5), and Polzin deceives us by citing the 'late' occurrences in 1 Chron. 15.29 and 18.5 while failing to point out the occurrences in the 'early' parallel passages in Samuel, 2 Sam. 6.16 and 8.5, respectively![1109]

3.7 Verb

See 5.1.2.1	2 Sam. 6.12 1 Chron. 15.25	וילך דוד ויעל את־ארון האלהים מבית עבד אדם עיר דוד // ויהי דויד וזקני ישראל ושרי האלפים ההלכים להעלות את־ארון ברית־יהוה מן־בית עבד־אדם

See below.

See 5.1.3.3	2 Sam. 6.13 1 Chron. 15.26	ויהי כי צעדו נשאי ארון־יהוה ששה צעדים // ויהי בעזר האלהים את־הלוים נשאי ארון ברית־יהוה

See below.

See 6.1.1.1.1	2 Sam. 6.16 1 Chron. 15.29	והיה ארון יהוה בא עיר דוד ויהי ארון ברית יהוה בא עד־עיר דויד

The present writer has written three unpublished essays dealing with *wayyiqtol*, *weqatal*, predicative *qotel*, and temporal sequences with and without the syntagm ויהי.

- 'Synchronic and Diachronic Perspectives on *Waw* + the Suffix Conjugation in Past Time Contexts in the Hebrew Bible: A Test Case for Current Methodology in the Study of Historical Hebrew Grammar'.

[1108] In addition to the works mentioned in the previous notes see the following: on biblical Aramaic see Bauer and Leander 1927: §100q-z, pp. 339-342; on post-biblical Aramaic see Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: I, 555 (#6 = 'used as the so-called *l objecti*'); on Punic, according to Polzin 1976: 83, see Friedrich and Röllig 1970: 127; on Ugaritic, see Meyer 1992: part 3, §107, p. 79 [p. 421]. With respect to Ugaritic, the writer observes that Watson 1972 does not mention this feature in the discussion of prepositions and particles (199-202).

[1109] E.g., Polzin 1976: 65.

- 'A Diachronic Perspective on the Active Participle as Predicate in Biblical Hebrew'.
- 'Historical Grammar and Biblical Hebrew Temporal Sequences'.

The combined length of these three studies exceeds the length of the present thesis! It is pointless to reproduce here a few comments from these extensive studies. The writer has published his conclusions on two issues[1110], and Ehrensvärd recently offered some brief remarks on the third one (the predicative *qotel*).[1111] In any case, MT 1 Chron. 15.25-26, 29 has 'CBH' ויהי three times.

3.8 Spelling

See 3.1.1.2	2 Sam. 6.1 1 Chron. 13.5	ויסף עוד דוד ויקהל דויד

See below.

See 5.1.3.5	2 Sam. 6.17 1 Chron. 16.1 2 Sam. 6.18 1 Chron. 16.2	ויעל דוד עלות לפני יהוה ושלמים // ויקריבו עלות ושלמים לפני האלהים ויכל דוד מהעלות העולה והשלמים // ויכל דויד מהעלות העלה והשלמים

This writer has addressed the spelling of 'David' and 'Jerusalem' elsewhere.[1112] Observe the plene spelling עלות in 2 Sam. 6.17 // 1 Chron. 16.1 and the plene spelling העולה in 2 Sam. 6.18 but the defective spelling העלה in 1 Chron. 16.2. It is unnecessary to address other similar cases in this passage, such as עבד־אדום in 2 Sam. 6.10 but עבד־אדם in 1 Chron. 13.13. The following comment by Andersen and Forbes merits citation:

> The Former Prophets, while generally more conservative than the Latter Prophets and Writings (although not as conservative as the Pentateuch), are far from homogeneous. The two parts of Samuel are quite similar, as are the two parts of Kings. In other words, these are single books each of whose parts shared the same transmission history. But the transmission history of the two books was quite different, to judge from the spelling. Joshua and Judges are different again, although they have a lot in common against the rest of the Former Prophets; and

[1110] Rezetko 2003: 233-237.
[1111] Ehrensvärd 2003: 169.
[1112] See Rezetko 2003: 223.

they have more modern spellings than Samuel or Kings. In many matters Kings is almost as conservative as the Pentateuch. ... Samuel is a mixture. It combines some quite conservative features, such as the spelling of 'David,' with advanced ones, such as the spelling of הֶלוֹא. ... Within the Writings, the two parts of the book of Chronicles are similar, as befits a single scroll. In contrast to Ezra-Nehemiah, Chronicles is remarkably conservative in its orthography, with some notable exceptions, such as the spelling of 'David.' This is not what we would have expected, given the usual views about its provenance. In passages that are parallel to Samuel and Kings, it often displays systematic updating of the spelling of selected words; but in other matters it is as conservative as Kings, and more so than Samuel.[1113]

See 5.1.2.4	2 Sam. 6.19-20 1 Chron. 16.43	וילך כל־העם איש לביתו וישב דוד // וילכו כל־העם איש לביתו ויסב דויד

As stated in 5.1.2.4, the difference between Chronicles' ויסב in comparison with Samuel's וישב is unrelated to 'late' Hebrew. The different verb in MT Samuel (וישב) and MT Chronicles (ויסב) is explained by Japhet as a case of phonetic confusion, and she concludes that it is not clear which text is the original.[1114] An analysis of translation equivalents in the Septuagint does not permit a decision regarding the Hebrew *Vorlagen* in 2 Sam. 6.20 and 1 Chron. 16.43. Nevertheless, the entirety of the evidence suggests that one would expect the verb שוב rather than סבב in the phrase 'David ___ to bless his house'. According to Muraoka the verbs שוב ('turn back, return') and סבב ('go/turn about/around') are translated by very many Greek terms.[1115] The G stem of שוב is usually represented by ἐπιστρέφω, about half as often by ἀποστρέφω, and then by ἀναστρέφω. The G stem of סבב is rendered about twice as often by κυκλόω as it is by ἐπιστρέφω. ἐπιστρέφω translates סבב in the following passages[1116]:

- G stem of סבב: 1 Sam. 15.12, 27; 17.30; 22.18 (twice); 2 Sam. 14.24; 18.30 (twice); 2 Kgs. 9.18, 19; Ezek. 42.19; Ps. 71.21; Qoh. 2.20; 1 Chron. 16.43.

[1113] Andersen and Forbes 1986: 314-316. Also see the comments in I. Young 2003b: 308-309.

[1114] Japhet 1987: 41. She says: 'Both verbs are common in BH. The LXX uses the same Greek verb in translating both readings, but this verb is used in other cases as well as the equivalent of both שוב and סבב. The error stems from the phonetic confusion of ש and ס, but it is not clear which text is the original'. In n. 105 on this page she adds: 'ἐπιστρέφω translates סבב in 1 Sam. 15.12, 27; 17.30; 2 Sam. 14.24; and more. It translates שוב in Gen. 8.12; 26.32; and many others'.

[1115] Muraoka 1998: 102, 147.

[1116] Hatch and Redpath 1897: I, 531-533.

- N stem of סבב: Ezek. 1.9, 12, 17; 10.11, 16; 26.2.
- H stem of סבב: Judg. 18.23; 2 Sam. 3.12; 1 Kgs. 18.37; 2 Kgs. 16.18; 20.2; 23.34; Ezra 6.22; 1 Chron. 10.14; 12.24; 2 Chron. 6.3

Based on frequency and semantics one would expect the verb שוב rather than סבב in the phrase 'David ___ to bless his house'. These factors probably favour וישב rather than ויסב as the original reading. However, the frequency of the correspondence סבב = ἐπιστρέφω in Samuel rules out certainty.

3.9 Vocabulary

The writer has written a lengthy study entitled 'Common Nouns in the Book of Chronicles not Shared with the "Primary History" (Genesis-Kings)'. In a recent publication he has summarised the vocabulary of Chronicles and has challenged a fundamental basis of the chronological method by arguing that that it is methodologically proper to concentrate on grammar (morphology and syntax) rather than lexicography in investigations of diachronic developments in biblical Hebrew.[1117] Following a few general remarks on Aramaic and Persian loanwords the writer will make brief remarks on thirteen lexicographical items in 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16.

The book of Chronicles has approximately 35,000 total words[1118], 24,000 total graphic units[1119], and 2,300 unique lexemes. In light of sizeable figures such as these one cannot attribute much significance to a very small number of potentially 'late' loanwords in Chronicles. Recently, Eskhult has stressed the absence of Persian loanwords in the Pentateuch in contrast with some books in the Writings (e.g., Chronicles).[1120] However,

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[1117] Rezetko 2003: 237-238, 245-249.

[1118] וְלַמֶּלֶךְ is four 'words': the conjunction *waw*, the preposition *lamed*, the determinative *he*, the noun *melek*.

[1119] וְלַמֶּלֶךְ is one 'word'. 'Graphic units' refers to words separated by spaces or *maqqef*.

[1120] Eskhult 2003.

the present writer remains unconvinced, for the reasons given in the publication mentioned above. The following quotes by I. Young summarise the case against heavily weighing the absence or presence of 'Aramaisms' and 'Persianisms' in biblical literature.

Aramaisms

> In 1968 Avi Hurvitz wrote a stimulating paper called 'The Chronological Significance of Aramaisms in Biblical Hebrew' (Hurvitz 1968). In view of our extended discussion of the question of Late Biblical Hebrew in the next chapter, the question which we wish to consider here is if the presence of Aramaisms in a text is of any *independent* worth as testimony to the date of its composition. In view of the preceding discussion we can see that the answer must be no. Firstly, we cannot with confidence say that a word is an 'Aramaism', that is, a loan from Aramaic into Hebrew. The two languages share too many isoglosses at various levels to be readily distinguishable. We can point to forms of words which are *more usual* in Aramaic; for example *sĕtāw* 'winter' is an Aramaic form of word, but if a loan from Aramaic, what is the Hebrew equivalent (Driver 1953a:36)? Secondly, both so-called Aramaic elements and Aramaic influence were available long before the 'late' period, as is evidenced by Archaic Biblical Hebrew and the Aramaizing Wisdom literature. The presence of Aramaisms in a text therefore has no bearing on the date of that text in so far as the significant point is that they are *Aramaisms*. Hurvitz came to the same conclusion, although he expressed it much more positively. Aramaisms can only serve as evidence for late language when a 'linguistic opposition' can be observed – the replacement of a native Hebrew element by an Aramaic element in unquestionably late strata of the language (Hurvitz 1968:239). Again, the issue is not that the new element is Aramaic, but that we see a linguistic opposition between early and late Biblical Hebrew. The same result would be reached whether the new term was Aramaic or not. We can detect that the Aramaizing strata in Hebrew surface strongly into the literary dialect in Late Biblical Hebrew, evidenced by the appearance of neologisms which have been seen as reflecting Aramaic influence. We cannot classify Aramaic well enough apart from Hebrew, however, to use Aramaisms as an independent criterion for late language. In fact, as Hurvitz points out, an apparent linguistic opposition involving an Aramaic term may not be valid. We must also take into account such distinctions as genre (eg Wisdom) and dialect (eg Song of Songs) (Hurvitz 1968:240). Thus the replacement of a Standard Biblical Hebrew term may not reflect chronological difference, but rather that in, say the Wisdom literature, an Aramaic equivalent was the correct usage.[1121]

Persianisms

> Although the classification of a Persian loanword is sometimes difficult (I. Young 1993: 69-71), it is indisputable that a concentration of suspected Persian loanwords is found in works which deal explicitly with the Persian period such as Esther. However, not all LBH works have a concentration of suspected Persian words. In regard to the large book of Chronicles, for example, it has recently been

[1121] I. Young 1999: 63; cf. Honeyman 1951: 278.

noted that 'there are very few Persian words in the entire work' (Peltonen 2001: 239). There are, moreover, no Persian words in the post-exilic books of Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi (Seow 1996: 649). Persian words are not an inevitability in Persian period texts therefore. More surprisingly, Persian loanwords can be suggested in SBH texts, such as פרורים ('precincts [?]') in 2 Kgs 23.11 (Ellenbogen 1962: 137-38; KB, III: 962), or פלדות ('steel') in Nah. 2.4 (KB, III: 929). One wonders if more might be suggested if it was not presupposed that EBH is pre-Persian era? Note the attitude expressed in Driver's comment on Deut. 33.2: 'But דת "law" is a *Persian* word ... it is next to impossible that it can have been used in Heb[rew] when this Blessing was written' (S.R. Driver 1895: 393 [emphasis in original]). The appearance of Persian loanwords in a text has usually been taken as strong evidence for dating that text. On the basis of the Persian words in Kings and Nahum, therefore, one could argue that the linguistic evidence points to a date of composition for the Primary History and (at least some of) the 'pre-exilic' Latter Prophets in the Persian period. However, it seems more sensible at present to stress that even granting that all the suggested Persian words are indeed Persian, this does not lead inevitably to the conclusion that the works containing them were thus first composed in the Persian period. First of all, the language of the biblical texts has been updated during scribal transmission. At the very least, individual late words might have been introduced by later scribes (cf. I. Young 2001b: 130). Second, the idea that Persian words could only have come into Hebrew in the Persian or later periods is questionable. Assyrian deportations had quite likely settled Iranians in the vicinity of the kingdom of Judah by the late eighth century BCE, for example in Ashdod (Na'aman and Zadok 1988; Na'aman 1993: 108-10; cf. I. Young 2001b: 130 n. 50). Is this the origin of the use of 'Ashdodite' as a term for 'foreign language' in Neh. 13.24? Interaction with Iranians would explain how a few Persian loanwords can be found even in supposedly pre-exilic texts like Kings, Nahum (and, perhaps, Qoheleth; cf. Young 1993: 140-57). A heavy concentration of Persian words would be a feature of those works which deal intimately with Persian affairs, above all Esther. Other books, including post-exilic books like Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi, avoided using them completely. Thus the failure to find Persian words in the inscriptions does not link them exclusively to SBH works of supposed pre-exilic origin.[1122]

Scholars often emphasise the presence of Persian loanwords in 'late' books of the Bible. However, it is remarkable how few are found in the (Persian era!) book of Chronicles. As far as this writer is aware, nine of 2,300 unique lexemes are potential Persian loanwords in Chronicles, and the total number of occurrences of these words constitutes a dozen of the 35,000 total words in the book. The words are[1123]:

[1122] I. Young 2003b: 284-285.

[1123] For brief commentary see Eskhult 2003: 12-14; Seow 1996: 646-650.

1) Four direct Persian loanwords:

   i) אדרכן: 'daric'; twice total, once in Chronicles: Ezra 8.27; 1 Chron. 29.7.

   ii) גנזך: 'treasury'; cf. אוצר; once, in 1 Chron. 28.11.

   iii) כרמיל: 'crimson, scarlet'; cf. שני, תולעה; three times, in 2 Chron. 2.6, 13; 3.14.

   iv) נדן: 'sheath'; cf. תער; once, in 1 Chron. 21.27.

2) One Persian loanword through Akkadian:

   i) אגרת: 'letter, letter-missive'; Akkadian *egirtu*; cf. ספר, מכתב, נשתון; ten times total, twice in Chronicles: Esth. 9.26, 29; Neh. 2.7, 8, 9; 6.5, 17, 19; 2 Chron. 30.1, 6.

3) Two Persian loanwords through Aramaic:

   i) זן: 'kind, sort'; cf. מין; three times total (in Hebrew), once in Chronicles: Ps. 144.13 (twice); 2 Chron. 16.14.

   ii) מכרבל: 'be-mantle'; *perhaps* a Hittite loanword (see below); cf. לבש, כסה; once, in 1 Chron. 15.27.

4) One Persian proper name:

   i) אחשתרי: 'Haahashtari'; once, in 1 Chron. 4.6.

5) One very uncertain word:

   i) פרבר: meaning uncertain; origin uncertain, perhaps from Persian *frabar*; twice, in 2 Kgs. 23.11 // 1 Chron. 26.18.

Several observations: (1) As observed above, these words occur a dozen times total in Chronicles. (2) Not one of these words occurs repeatedly in Chronicles or outside a single passage. (3) Not one of these words directly 'replaces' another word in synoptic material. (4) Chronicles uses 'earlier' words corresponding to three of these 'later' Persian words: גנזך, but also אוצר[1124]; אגרת, but also ספר and מכתב[1125]; מכרבל, but also כסה and לבש.[1126]

[1124] Chronicles uses the 'earlier' אוצר 23 times, in 1 Chron. 9.26; 26.20, 22, 24, 26; 27.25, 27, 28; 28.12 (!); 29.8; 2 Chron. 5.1; 8.15; 11.11; 12.9; 16.2; 25.24; 32.27; 36.18.

[1125] Chronicles uses the 'earlier' ספר 24 times: 1 Chron. 9.1; 2 Chron. 16.11; 17.9; 20.34; 24.27; 25.4, 26; 27; 7; 28.26; 32.17, 32; 34.14, 15,16, 18, 21, 24, 30, 31; 35;12, 27; 36.8. Chronicles uses the 'earlier' מכתב 3 times: 2 Chron. 21.12; 35.4; 36.22.

See	2 Sam. 6.1	ויסף עוד דוד
3.1.1.2	1 Chron. 13.5	ויקהל דויד

Important aspects of the usage of אסף and קהל are discussed in 3.1.1.2. It is frequently noted that the verb קהל and the cognate noun קהל occur most often in 'Priestly' contexts. This is correct assuming the typical list of passages assigned to 'P'.[1127] However, while it might be argued that the noun קהל replaces עדה in LBH[1128], this is not true for the verb קהל in relation to אסף since they do not have a clearly defined distribution pattern.[1129] In fact, both verbs occur side-by-side in 1 Chron. 15.3-4 and in Ezek. 38.12-13. Within synoptic material, only here does Chronicles 'alter' אסף or קבץ in the *Vorlage*.[1130]

[1126] Chronicles uses the 'earlier' לבש 8 times: 1 Chron. 12.19; 2 Chron. 5.12; 6.41; 18.9, 29; 24.20; 28.15. Chronicles uses the 'earlier' כסה 4 times: 1 Chron. 21.16; 2 Chron. 4.12, 13; 5.8.

[1127] For example, based on the lists of 'P' texts cited by Campbell and O'Brien 1993: 260; Driver 1897: 159; and Knohl 1995: 104-106, אסף occurs 52 times in Genesis–Joshua with 18 (35%) of these in 'P' texts, whereas קהל occurs 18 times in Genesis–Joshua, with 13 (70%) of these in 'P' texts. The noun קהל occurs a total of 123 times. In Genesis–Numbers 21 of 23 occurrences are in passages attributed to 'P' (all except Num. 16.33; 22.4). Elsewhere the term occurs as follows: 26 times in 2 Chronicles; 15 times in Ezekiel; 11 times in Deuteronomy; 9 times in Psalms; 7 times in 1 Chronicles (13.2, 4; 28.8; 29.1, 10, 20); 6 times in 1 Kings (8.14, 22, 55, 65; 12.3); 5 times each in Ezra and Nehemiah; 4 times in Jeremiah; 3 times each in Judges, Proverbs; once each in Joshua, 1 Samuel (17.47), Joel, Micah, Job and Lamentations. Other cognates of the verb and noun קהל occur much less frequently. קהלה ('assembly, congregation') occurs in Deut. 33.4; Neh. 5.7. מקהל ('assembly [for worship]') occurs in Ps. 26.12; 68.27. קהלת occurs only in Qoheleth. The proper nouns קהלתה and מקהלת occur in Num. 33.22-23 and 33.25-26 respectively. The Kings' passages are frequently considered to have undergone considerable interpolation by post-exilic hands under the influence of 'P'. See, e.g., Burney 1903: 104-105, 173; De Vries 1985: 121-124, 126-127, 155; Jones 1984: I, 191-193, 254-255; Knoppers 1993: I, 98; McKenzie 1986: 27-28; Montgomery and Gehman 1951: 185-187.

[1128] The noun קהל (123 times) occurs 34 times in Genesis–Deuteronomy (23 times in 'P'; see above note) and 43 times in Esther–Chronicles. עדה (147 times) occurs 108 times in Genesis–Deuteronomy, but only once in Esther–Chronicles, in 2 Chron. 5.6 (// 1 Kgs. 8.5). For further discussion see Rooker 1990: 143-146.

[1129] קהל occurs 16 times in Genesis–Deuteronomy and 12 times in Esther–Chronicles. אסף occurs 50 times in Genesis–Deuteronomy and 25 times in Esther–Chronicles. קהל occurs in the following non-'P' texts: Exod. 32.1; Num. 1.18; Deut. 4.10; 31.12, 28; Judg. 20.1; 2 Sam. 20.14; 1 Kgs. 8.1, 2; 12.21; Job 11.10; Jer. 26.9. Interestingly, the Kethib in 2 Sam. 20.14 is ויקלהו (H) from the infrequent root קלה ('dishonour, treat with contempt'; a by-form of קלל), while the Qere is ויקהלו (N). Most modern commentators prefer ויקהלו. It has been argued, in fact, that כנס replaces אסף/קבץ in LBH (e.g., Rooker 1990: 156-158) but on this see most recently I. Young 2003b: 293. A more nuanced examination of the use of the 'gathering' verbs in Chronicles is warranted: אסף (200 times, 18 in Chronicles); קבץ (127 times, 14 in Chronicles); קהל (39 times, 7 in Chronicles); כנס (11 times, once in Chronicles).

[1130] אסף is used in 2 Sam. 10.17 // 1 Chron. 19.17; 2 Sam. 23.11 // 1 Chron. 11.13; 1 Kgs. 10.26 // 2 Chron. 1.14; 2 Kgs. 22.4 // 2 Chron. 34.9; 2 Kgs. 22.20 (twice) // 2 Chron. 34.28 (twice); 2 Kgs. 23.1 // 2 Chron. 34.29. קבץ is used in 1 Kgs. 22.6 // 2 Chron. 18.5.

See 3.1.5.2	2 Sam. 6.3 1 Chron. 13.7 2 Sam. 6.4 2 Sam. 6.7 1 Chron. 13.10	ועזא ואחיו נהגים את־העגלה חדשה // לעמת ועזא ואחיו נהגים בעגלה ואחיו הלך לפני הארון עם ארון האלהים // לפני אלהים

It is argued in 3.1.5.2 that ἐκ πλαγίων in LXX^{L} 2 Sam. 6.4's double reading reflects לעמת in Samuel.[1131] The noun עמה, 'juxtaposition', occurs independently only in Qoh. 5.15, and it occurs 31 times elsewhere as the compound preposition לעמת (ל + the construct form of עמה), 'near, close by, close to, side by side with, parallel to'. The term occurs predominantly in priestly and cultic contexts: Exod. 25.27; 28.27; 37.14; 38.18; 39.20; Lev. 3.9; 2 Sam. 16.13; 1 Kgs. 7.20; Ezek. 1.20, 21; 3.8, 13; 10.19; 11.22; 40.18; 42.7; 45.6, 7; 48.13, 18, 21; Qoh. 7.14; Neh. 12.24; 1 Chron. 24.31; 25.8; 26.12; 26.16. *DBHE* says the term is '[r]aro en textos antiguos'.[1132] In any case, LXX^{L}'s reading reflects לעמת in Samuel.

See 3.1.4.1	2 Sam. 6.5 1 Chron. 13.8	משחקים לפני יהוה // משחקים לפני האלהים

Samuel and Chronicles agree on משחקים. Brenner says the root צחק is earlier than the by-form שחק: צחק is etymologically, semantically, and diachronically primary.[1133]

- צחק occurs in Genesis, Exodus and Judg. 16.25.
- שחק occurs in Judg. 16.25, 27, Samuel, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, Zechariah, Psalms, Job, Proverbs, Qoheleth, Lamentations and Chronicles. שחק predominates in postexilic and Mishnaic Hebrew.

Her perspective on chronological priority within biblical literature is mistaken, but in any case, both Samuel and Chronicles use the 'late' form.

[1131] καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύοντο ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων τῆς κιβωτοῦ. ἔμπροσθεν stands for לפני and ἐκ πλαγίων corresponds to לעמת.

[1132] *DBHE* 575.

[1133] Brenner 1990: 46-48.

See	2 Sam. 6.5	ובכנרות ובנבלים ובתפים ובמנענעים ובצלצלים //
3.1.4.3	1 Chron. 13.8	ובכנרות ובנבלים ובתפים ובמצלתים ובחצצרות

BDB says מצלתים is 'appar. later equiv. of' צלצלים[1134], and Polzin also takes this view.[1135] However, the second millennium BCE occurrence in Ugaritic (*mṣltm*) stands out against the later occurrence in Palestinian Jewish Aramaic (מצלצלא), and this certainly disproves a *late origin* for Chronicles' מצלתים.[1136] Dialect more than chronology may have more to do with the reading in Chronicles, and in the case of 2 Sam. 6.5 // 1 Chron. 13.8, much more than simple substitution is involved. Furthermore, Samuel's צלצלים occurs elsewhere twice in 'late' Ps. 150.5. This doxology at the end of the Psalter is generally considered post-exilic.[1137]

See	2 Sam. 6.7	ויכהו שם האלהים על־השל //
4.1.2.2	1 Chron. 13.10	ויכהו על אשר־שלח ידו על־הארון

The writer cited the biblical and cognate evidence for Samuel's של and cited the opinion of Driver in 4.1.2.2. Additional discussion is unnecessary.

See	2 Sam. 6.9	ויאמר איך יבוא אלי ארון יהוה //
4.1.3.4	1 Chron. 13.12	לאמר היך אביא אלי את ארון האלהים

It is related in 4.1.3.4 that איך and היך are two of five interrogative adverbs for manner in the Bible. The others are איכה, איככה and מה, the latter sometimes in combination with other elements, as in במה. Chronicles' היך is usually considered 'late' Hebrew due to its occurrence in the Bible only in Dan. 10.17 and 1 Chron. 13.12, and it is also the normal spelling in post-biblical Hebrew. However, the divergence in the present text is balanced out by איך in both 1 Kgs. 12.6 // 2 Chron. 10.6. In addition, איך and איכה are the predominant terms in other 'late' compositions. Polzin summarises:

[1134] *BDB* 853.

[1135] Polzin 1976: 144.

[1136] See Gevirtz 1986: 25-26 n. 7.

[1137] From the commentaries: 'postexilic' (Kraus 1993: 570); 'The date of the psalm is post-Exilic' (A. A. Anderson 1972: II, 955). Interestingly, Kraus 1993: 571 relates 'late' מן ('string' of harp) in Ps. 150.4 (cf. 45.9; 68.24) to Ugaritic *mnm*, but this writer has not been able to corroborate this.

If KBL[3] is correct, this spelling is influenced by BA *hē' k^{e}dî* (Dn 2.43). However, one need not resort to an Aramaic source here since in another Hebrew dialect, viz. mhe[1], there is a common interchange of beginning *aleph* and *hē*: e.g., *hêkān/'ēkān*, *'êlāk/hêlāk*, etc. Another possibility is that we have here a secondary hyper-correction by which the Aramaic-looking, initial *aleph* was 'hebraicized' back into initial *hē*. In any case, this spelling is not necessarily representative of the Chronicler's language, but may only have been original to the source from which he worked. He does not use the word at all.[1138]

See	2 Sam. 6.13	ויהי כי צעדו נשאי ארון־יהוה ששה צעדים //
5.1.3.3	1 Chron. 15.26	ויהי בעזר האלהים את־הלוים נשאי ארון ברית־יהוה

The verb עזר occurs 81 times in the Bible and 25 of these occurrences are in Chronicles whereas only four are in Samuel. The related common nouns עזר and עזרה do not appear in Samuel, and the latter is found only once in Chronicles. Most often the root עזר is used in contexts describing human or divine aid against enemies (especially in narrative texts) or in times of distress (especially in poetic texts). In these texts the focus is on cooperation, rather than on the nature or duration of the action, which could be either punctiliar or durative. Israel's deity is the subject or provider of עזר in about half of the verses in which the verb and nouns occur.[1139]

It is frequently and accurately pointed out that divine עזר is concentrated in Psalms and then in Deutero-Isaiah and Chronicles. This distribution is usually (1) related to the decreased frequency in 'later' literature of certain other lexical items in the semantic domain 'help, support, sustenance, deliverance' (see below), and (2) explained as the manifestation of a 'transcendentalising' of the deity in later Israelite religion: 'life is

[1138] Polzin 1976: 134-135. Barker 1984: 112 prefers the explanation related to Aramaic influence.

[1139] Gen. 49.25; Exod. 18.4; Deut. 33.7, 26, 29; 1 Sam. 7.12; 2 Kgs. 14.26 (implied?); Isa. 41.10, 13-14; 44.2; 49.8; 50.7, 9; Hos. 13.9; Ps. 20.3; 22.12, 20; 27.9; 28.7; 30.11; 33.20; 35.2; 37.40; 38.23; 40.14, 18; 44.27; 46.2, 6; 54.6; 60.13; 63.8; 70.2, 6; 71.12; 72.12; 79.9; 86.17; 89.20; 94.17; 107.12; 108.13; 109.26; 115.9-11; 118.7, 13; 119.86, 173, 175; 121.1-2; 124.8; 146.5; 1 Chron. 12.19; 15.26; 2 Chron. 14.10; 18.31; 25.8; 26.7; 32.8.

increasingly shaped by conventional and formal piety, but God is fundamentally remote'.[1140] The following issues are significant for judging these views.

First, Israel's deity is the subject or provider of עזר in the Blessings of Jacob (Gen. 49.25) and the Blessing of Moses (Deut. 33.7, 26, 29) and his עזר-activity is the justification for the name of Moses' son Eliezer (Exod. 18.4) and the name of the Israelite cult site Ebenezer (1 Sam. 7.12). Regarding the latter passage it is interesting to note that Yahweh helps the Levites transport the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chron. 15.26) after David and Israel defeat the Philistines (1 Chron. 14.8-17), and Yahweh helps Samuel and Israel defeat the Philistines (1 Sam. 7.12 [cf. Ebenezer ('Stone of Help')]; cf. vv. 3-14) after the ark is transported to the house of Abinadab into the custody of his son Eleazar ('God has Helped') (1 Sam. 7.1-2).

Second, 21 names of people and places in the Bible incorporate the root עזר: 15 of these occur in Chronicles, and 17 occur in Ezra–Chronicles, and this is significant; but it is also significant that the theophoric name(s) אל(י)עזר is given to several pivotal figures in Genesis–Samuel.

[1140] Bergmann 1997: 873: 'Two reasons may be forwarded for this noteworthy concentration in later usage (Psa, Deutero-Isa, Chron), in which the more general meanings "to help" and "help" dominate: (a) the generically conditioned uniqueness of the Psa that generates formal language and concentrations of terms, in this case esp. in petitions and confessions of confidence (cf. e.g., Psa 38:23; 79:9; 86:17); this setting apparently influenced the use of the word in Deutero-Isa (where *ʿzr* occurs esp. in the salvation oracles), and (b) the theology of 1/2 Chron, according to which life is increasingly shaped by conventional and formal piety, but God is fundamentally remote. Relatedly, Chron's increased use of *ʿzr* with a divine subj. juxtaposes a decreased use of *yš*ʿ hi. (only 2 Chron 20:9; 32:22, alone, and 1 Chron 11:14, in contrast to the *Vorlage*) and *nṣl* hi. (2 Chron 25:15 alone, 1 Chron 16:35; 2 Chron 32:11, 17, supplementing the *Vorlage*). In this regard, Chron's language coincides with contemporary liturgical usage in which a simple "help" also constitutes one of the most common terms for God's beneficial activity (cf. the prayer formulation "help . . . !" or the affirmation "with God's help"). This usage and the underlying theology do not correspond to the general tenor of OT terminology. Elsewhere the difference between God's delivering activity (verbs of deliverance) and God's blessing activity (terms of blessing, presence, facilitation) is clearly distinguished; by contrast, *ʿzr* with a divine subj. occurs rarely'.

	Genesis	Exodus	Leviticus	Numbers	Deuteronomy	Joshua	Judges	Samuel	Kings	Isaiah	Jeremiah	Ezekiel	Daniel	Ezra	Nehemiah	Chronicles
Abiezer (אביעזר)						17.2	6.34	II.23.27								I.7.18; 11.28; 27.12
Abiezrite (אבי העזרי)							6.11, 24; 8.32									
Ahiezer (אחיעזר)				1.12; 2.25; 7.66, 71; 10.25												I.12.3
Azarel (עזראל)														10.41	11.13; 12.36	I.12.7; 25.18; 27.22
Azariah (עזריה)									2 Kgs. 14.21; 15.1, 7, 17, 23, 27		43.2		1.6, 7, 11, 19	7.1, 3	3.23, 24; 7.7; 8.7; 10.3; 12.33	I.2.8, 38, 39; 3.12; 5.35, 36, 37, 39, 40; 6.21; 9.11 II.21.2
Azariah (עזריהו)									1 Kgs. 14.2, 5 2 Kgs. 15.6, 8							II.15.1; 21.2; 22.6; 23.1; 26.17, 20; 28.12; 29.12; 31.10, 13
Azriel (עזריאל)											36.26					I.5.25; 27.19
Azrikam (עזריקם)															11.15	I.3.23; 8.38; 9.14, 44 II.28.7
Azzur (עזר)											28.1	11.1			10.18	
Ebenezer (אבן העזר)								I. 4.1; 5.1; 7.12								
Eleazer (אלעזר)		6.23, 25; 28.1	10.6, 12, 16	3.2, 4, 32; 4.16; 17.2, 4; 19.3, 4; 20.25, 26, 28; 25.7, 11; 26.1, 3, 60, 63; 27.2, 19, 21, 22; 31.6, 12, 13, 21, 26, 29, 31, 41, 51, 54; 32.2, 28; 34.17	10.6	14.1; 17.4; 19.51; 21.1; 22.13, 31, 32, 33	20.28	I. 7.1 II.23.9						7.5; 8.33; 10.25	12.42	I.5.29, 30; 6.35; 9.20; 11.12; 23.21, 22; 24.1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 28
Eliezer (אליעזר)	15.2	18.4												8.16; 10.18, 23, 31		I.7.8; 15.24; 23.15, 17; 26.25; 27.16 II.20.37
Ezer (עזר)															3.19; 12.42	I.4.4; 7.21; 12.10

	Genesis	Exodus	Leviticus	Numbers	Deuteronomy	Joshua	Judges	Samuel	Kings	Isaiah	Jeremiah	Ezekiel	Daniel	Ezra	Nehemiah	Chronicles
Ezra (עזרא)														7.1, 6, 10, 11, 12, 21, 25; 10.1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 16	8.1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 9, 13; 12.1, 13, 26, 33, 36	
Ezrah (עזרה)																I.4.17
Ezri (עזרי)																I.27.26
Hadadezer (הדדעזר)								II.8.3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12; 10.16, 19	1 Kgs. 11.23							I.18.3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10; 19.16, 19
Iezer (אישזר)				26.30												
Iezerites (איעזרי)				26.30												
Jazer (יעזר)				21.32; 32.1, 3, 35		13.25; 21.39		II.24.5		16.8, 9	48.32					I.6.66; 26.31
Romamti-ezer (רממתי עזר)																I.25.4, 31
Names	1	2	1	5	1	3	3	5	3	1	4	1	1	5	7	15

Third, עזר is used in parallel with or in proximity to some other lexical items in the semantic domain 'help, support, sustenance, deliverance' in 'later' literature.[1141]

- עזר / גאל ('redeem'): Isa. 49.7-8
- עזר / ישע ('save'): Ps. 28.7, 9; 86.16-17; 107.12-13; 109.26; Job 26.2; cf. Josh. 10.6; 2 Kgs. 14.26-27
- עזר / מלט ('deliver'): Job 29.12
- עזר / נצל ('deliver'): Ps. 72.12; 79.9
- עזר / סמך ('support'): Ps. 54.6
- עזר / פלט ('deliver'): Ps. 37.40

Fourth, related to the previous point, and with reference to the claim that עזר increases in 'later' literature at the expense of ישע and נצל[1142], the following may be said: (a) the verb ישע occurs 205 times in 198 verses in the Bible, including 57 times in Psalms, 21 times in Deutero-Isaiah, and 8 times in Chronicles[1143]; (b) the verb נצל occurs 216 times in 197 verses in the Bible, including 45 times in Psalms, 7 times in Deutero-Isaiah, and 12 times in Chronicles.[1144] The total number of occurrences of ישע and נצל, and the number of instances in which the deity is the subject, equal or exceed the figures for עזר in these books.

[1141] Also see עזר / לחם ('fight') in 2 Chron. 32.8; עזר / נגף ('smite') in 1 Sam. 7.10, 12; 2 Chron. 14.10-11; and עזר / סות ('allure') in 2 Chron. 18.31.

[1142] E.g., Bergmann 1997: 873; Harman 1997: 378.

[1143] 57 times in Psalms; 29 times in Isaiah (21 times in Isaiah 43–64); 26 times in Samuel; 21 times in Judges; 19 times in Jeremiah; 8 times in Kings (all in 2 Kings); 8 times in Chronicles; 6 times in Zechariah; 5 times in Deuteronomy; 5 times in Hosea; 4 times in Job; 3 times in Ezekiel; twice in Exodus; twice in Joshua; twice in Zephaniah; twice in Proverbs; twice in Nehemiah; once in Numbers; once in Obadiah; once in Habakkuk; once in Lamentations.

[1144] 45 times in Psalms; 26 times in Samuel; 22 times in Isaiah (7 times in Isa 42-57); 17 times in Ezekiel; 14 times in Exodus; 13 times in Kings (all in 2 Kings 17-19); 12 times in Proverbs; 12 times in Chronicles; 10 times in Jeremiah; 6 times in Genesis; 6 times in Judges; 5 times in Daniel; 4 times in Deuteronomy; 4 times in Joshua; 3 times in Hosea; 3 times in Amos; 3 times in Micah; 3 times in Job; twice in Zechariah; once in Numbers; once in Jonah; once in Habakkuk; once in Zephaniah; once in Ezra; once in Nehemiah.

Fifth, the non-synoptic material in Chronicles gives this scenario: the verb and common nouns related to עזר occur 26 times in Chronicles, and 2 Sam. 8.5 // 1 Chron. 18.5 is the only shared passage:

Samuel (4 times)	Kings (3 times)	Chronicles (26 times)
1 Sam. 7.12 (no //)	1 Kgs. 1.7 (no //)	1 Chron. 5.20 (no //)
2 Sam. 8.5 (// 1 Chron. 18.5)	1 Kgs. 20.16 (no //)	1 Chron. 12.1 (no //)
2 Sam. 18.3 (no //)	2 Kgs. 14.26 (no //)	1 Chron. 12.18 (no //)
2 Sam. 21.17 (no //)	(by implication?)	1 Chron. 12.19 (no //)
		1 Chron. 12.20 (no //)
		1 Chron. 12.22 (no //)
		1 Chron. 12.23 (no //)
		1 Chron. 15.26 (// – 2 Sam. 6.13)
		1 Chron. 18.5 (// 2 Sam. 8.5)
		1 Chron. 22.17 (no //)
		2 Chron. 14.10 (no //)
		2 Chron. 18.31 (// – 1 Kgs. 22.32)
		2 Chron. 19.2 (no //)
		2 Chron. 20.23 (no //)
		2 Chron. 25.8 (no //)
		2 Chron. 26.7 (no //)
		2 Chron. 26.13 (no //)
		2 Chron. 26.15 (no //)
		2 Chron. 28.16 (// – 2 Kgs. 16.7)
		2 Chron. 28.21 (no //)
		2 Chron. 28.23 (no //)
		2 Chron. 32.3 (no //)
		2 Chron. 32.8 (no //)

Highlight = deity as subject.

In seven non-synoptic passages the deity is the subject or provider of עזר and in five or six passages the deity is the subject of the verbs ישע and נצל[1145]:

- 2 Chron. 20.9 – ותושיע
- 2 Chron. 25.15 – הצילו (by implication?)
- 2 Chron. 32.11 – יצילנו
- 2 Chron. 32.15 – יצילו, להציל
- 2 Chron. 32.17 – יציל, הצילו
- 2 Chron. 32.22 – ויושע

[1145] In Chronicles' non-synoptic material the deity is not the subject of these verbs in 2 Chron. 20.25 only.

In view of these five points the writer is cautious to accept the claims that divine עזר in Psalms, Deutero-Isaiah, and Chronicles is related to a diachronic decrease in frequency of ישע and נצל and that divine עזר in these books reflects a 'transcendentalising' of the deity in later Israelite religion.[1146]

The deity is the subject of עזר only twice in 1 Chronicles. In the first passage, 1 Chron. 12.19, Amasai declares to David:

'We are yours, O David;	... לך דויד
and with you, O son of Jesse!	ועמך בן־ישי
Peace,	שלום
peace to you,	שלום לך
and peace to the one who helps you!	ושלום לעזרך
For your God is the one who helps you'.	כי עזרך אלהיך ...

In 1 Chron. 12.1, 18, 22-23 'help' also refers to the support given by military forces to David against Saul. In the present passage the deity's 'help' is the collective experience of the Levites, and this is the only passage in the Bible where they are the object of divine עזר. The writer finds it difficult to relate עזר in 1 Chron. 15.26 to the immediately preceding description of the Levites' preparations for the ark transfer (1 Chron. 15.1-24) or to the deity's and others 'helpfulness' to David in 1 Chronicles 12. In general the deity's עזר *is* significant for the Chronicler, but the interpreter should be careful not to overstate the use and meaning of the root in terms of *Tendenz*. Perhaps Payne is correct that God 'helped' the Levites in the sense that 'they were not struck down, as Uzzah had been (13.10)'.[1147]

[1146] A more exhaustive treatment of this subject would need to include many other lexical items in the semantic domain 'help, support, sustenance, deliverance', such verbs and common and proper nouns related to the roots אמן, אל, גאל, דלה, זעק, זקף, חלץ, חפף, חשך, יעל, ישע, מוש, מלט, נצל, נצר, סמך, סעד, עדר, עוש, פדע, פטר, פלט, צעק, רפק, שמר, שען, שרה. It would also need to include the H-stem uses of a number of other verbs such as קום. For example, the verb עדר ('help') occurs with human subjects in 1 Chron. 12.34, 39, but also in the theophoric name עדריאל ('Adriel') in 1 Sam. 18.19 and 2 Sam. 21.8.

[1147] Payne 1988: 388. Thus, God's help is his favourable disposition.

See	2 Sam. 6.14	ודוד מכרכר בכל־עז לפני יהוה //
5.1.3.6	1 Chron. 15.27	ודויד מכרבל במעיל בוץ וכל־הלוים הנשאים את־הארון והמשררים וכנניה השר המשא המשררים

The complicated editorial history of 2 Sam. 6.14 // 1 Chron. 15.27 is addressed in 5.1.3.6. Chronicles' מכרבל ('clothe, be-mantle, bind/wrap around'[1148]) is a quadriliteral[1149] Dp (pual) participle, generally considered either (1) a denominative form from כרבלא ('cap, helmet, head-dress'[1150]), a noun which may have entered Aramaic from Akkadian *karballatu* through Persian, and which occurs in Dan. 3.21, and also in post-biblical Aramaic and Hebrew[1151]; or (2) a dissimilated form with inserted ר from the verb כבל ('tie, bind, fetter'), which occurs in post-biblical Aramaic and Hebrew, and is related to כבל ('bond, shackle, fetter'), a noun which is usually considered late in Ps. 105.18; 149.8, and also occurs in post-biblical Aramaic and Hebrew. Ružižka, however, believes the verb is a dissimilated form of כרבר from the root כבר ('braid'), which verb means 'multiply' in Job 35.16; 36.31.[1152] Rabin, lastly, argues that the verb is not a dissimilated form from the verb כבל, but rather should be traced to Hittite *kariya* ('cover, wrap' and

[1148] *BDB* 499-500; *DCH* IV, 458; *HALOT* II, 496; Archer 1980: 454; Greenspahn 1984: 130; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: II, 534; Kautzsch 1902: 43; Wagner 1966: 76.

[1149] There are very few quadriliteral verbs in Hebrew, which are secondary formations. The writer is only aware of חצצר ('blow the trumpet'; 1 Chron. 15.24; 2 Chron. 5.12, 13; 7.6; 13.14; 29.28); חספס ('crackle'; Exod. 16.14); טאטא ('sweep away'; Isa. 14.23); כרבל (1 Chron. 15.27); כרסם ('eat away'; Ps. 80.14), להלה ('behave like a madman'; Prov. 26.18); פרשז ('spread out'; Job 26.9); רטפש ('grow fresh'; Job 33.25); תרגם ('translate'; Ezra 4.7). However, the formation of several of these is disputed. Quadriliteral noun and verb formations frequently involve the insertion of the liquid consonants ל or ר between the first and second radicals. For discussion see *GKC* §30p-r, pp. 102-103; §56, pp. 153-154; §85w, p. 239; *JM* §60, p. 170; Bergsträsser 1918: II, §20e, p. 110; Meyer 1992: part 2, §72, pp. 126-127 [pp. 246-247]; part 2, §79, p. 146 [p. 266]; part 2, §80, p. 152 [p. 272].

[1150] *BDB* 1097; *HALOT* V, 1901-1902.

[1151] Most recently, Eskhult 2003: 13 says: 'Finally, the Chronicler in 1 Chron. 15.27 uses מכרבל ("clothed"), in the phrase מכרבל במעיל בוץ, playing on an trans-Aramaic Persian word for "a part of Persian dress" (Rosenthal 1961: 63 [*sic*], on כרבלא in Dan. 3.21), when he "corrects" the account in 2 Sam. 6.14 (עז ודוד מכרכר בכל, "David danced with all his might"). The change seems to be made on purpose and with the intention of keeping the rhythm of the *Vorlage*'. Rosenthal 1961: 59 (!) says: 'כרבלתהון "their hats" (< Akk. *karballatu*, probably neither a Persian nor an Akkadian word, but a part of Persian dress)'.

[1152] Ružižka 1909: 20, 120. This summary is from Greenspahn 1984: 130.

thence *kariulli* ('hood').[1153] It is *not clear* that 'The verb כרבל is a clear sign of Aramaic influence'.[1154]

See 5.1.3.6	2 Sam. 6.14 1 Chron. 15.27	ודוד מכרכר בכל־עז לפני יהוה // ודויד מכרבל במעיל בוץ וכל־הלוים הנשאים את־הארון והמשררים וכנניה השר המשא המשררים

The adjective בוץ ('byssus') modifying מעיל is characterised as a late synonym of שש, based primarily on their distribution in biblical Hebrew, and on the fact that בוץ occurs in Targumic Aramaic and Mishnaic Hebrew whereas שש is absent.[1155] שש occurs 38 times in the Bible: Gen. 41.42; 33 times in Exodus[1156]; Ezek. 16.10, 13; 27.7; Prov. 31.22; whereas בוץ occurs only 8 times: Ezek. 27.16; Esth. 1.6; 8.15; 1 Chron. 4.21; 15.27; 2 Chron. 2.13; 3.14; 5.12. Both nouns may be Egyptian loanwords, שש probably being related to *šs* or *sšr* and בוץ perhaps to *hbos*. בוץ is used in post-exilic Aramaic and Hebrew, and has (loan-) parallels in Akkadian (Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian) *būṣu*, Arabic *bazz* or *bisat* (?), Aramaic בו(ו)ץ/בוצא, Armenian *behez*, Ethiopic *bīsōs*, Greek βύσσος, Old South Arabian *bwṣ*, Phoenician ב(ו)ץ and Syriac ܒܘܨ. Hurvitz has argued that שש should be associated with a southern provenance (cf. Gen. 41.42; Ezek. 27.7) and בוץ with a northern and north-eastern provenance (cf. Esth. 8.15; Ezek. 27.16):

> ... the distribution of *šēš* and *bûṣ* in the Bible should be explained in both *chronological* (pre-exilic/post-exilic) and *geographical* (Egypt/Mesopotamia-Syria) terms. Our example, therefore, can serve as an illustration of the change in Israel's life, caused by the destruction and Exile. The shift from *šēš* to *bûṣ* seems to reflect the increased post-exilic contact with the Northeast (and the Aramaic language spoken there).[1157]

[1153] Rabin 1963: 123-124; cf. Yannay 1974: 91-92. This summary is from Greenspahn 1984: 130.

[1154] Japhet 1987: 12. Interestingly, the writer notes that according to Keil and Delitzsch 1872: 207, Böttcher opined that 'the Chaldaizing מכרבל can scarcely have been written by the chronicler, because it is not at all like his pure Hebrew style' and that consequently a *later editor* must have made the correction.

[1155] *CAD* II, 350; *BDB* 101, 1058; *DCH* II, 128; *HALOT* I, 115-116; IV, 1663; Austel 1980b: 959; Hoffmeier 1997: 711-712; Hoftijzer and Jongeling 1995: I, 185; Hurvitz 1967; Martens 1980: 97; Polzin 1976: 130; Rooker 1990: 159-161.

[1156] Exod. 25.4; 26.1, 31, 36; 27.9, 16, 18; 28.5, 6, 8, 15, 39; 35.6, 23, 25, 35; 36.8, 35, 37; 38.9, 16, 18, 23; 39.2, 3, 5, 8, 27, 28, 29.

[1157] Hurvitz 1967: 120.

Rooker has argued that the presence of both nouns in Ezekiel serves as an indicator of the transitional nature of the Hebrew language in that book. However, Hurvitz sidesteps, and Rooker entirely neglects, the fact that Aramaic בץ appears in the ninth century BCE Old Aramaic Kilamuwa inscription from Zinjirli, Syria:

> (*KAI* 24:12/13) ומי בל חז כתן למנערי ובימי כסי בץ
>
> 'He who had not (even) seen linen since his youth, in my days he was covered with byssus' (*ANET* 654-655).

This occurrence seems to counter Hurvitz' and Rooker's assertion on chronology. Rather, the usage is probably related primarily to geography, and dialect and scribal practice (in Torah vs. Writings). Finally, in the words of I. Young:

> Hurvitz discounts the significance of non-Hebrew evidence when it appears to contradict the chronological development in Hebrew. ... Rooker presents 37 linguistic terms (20 grammatical and 17 lexical) as characteristic of LBH. Of these, only two (lexical) cases arguably represent the situation where the SBH form X is totally replaced by form Y in LBH. One of these is the replacement of SBH שש by LBH בוץ for 'fine linen'. Hesitation is caused in this case by the appearance of the SBH form in the poem about the good wife in Prov. 31.22, which is often considered 'late' on other grounds (cf. Wolters 1985: 585-86), and the appearance of the LBH form in the Phoenician Kilamuwa inscription (l. 12/13), securely dated to the ninth century BCE (Hawkins 1982: 395-98).[1158]

See 5.1.3.2	2 Sam. 6.15 1 Chron. 15.28	בתרועה ובקול שופר // בתרועה ובקול שופר ובחצרות ובמצלתים משמעים בנבלים וכנרות

The curved goat's or ram's horn (i.e., it is non-metallic) as a wind instrument is typically designated by שפר, but also by יובל alone in Exod. 19.13; קרן alone in Ps. 148.14; קרן היובל in Josh. 6.5; and שפר היובל in Josh. 6.4, 6, 8, 13.[1159] In addition, in Leviticus and once in Numbers, יובל is a designation of the 50th year, the year of remission, marked by the blowing of horns.[1160] The verb משך is used twice[1161], and the verb תקע is used 44

[1158] I. Young 2003b: 277 n. 3, 283.

[1159] Observe that שופרות (הי)יובלים in Josh. 6.4, 6, 8, 13 reflects the 'late' pluralising tendency. See Rezetko 2003: 231-233.

[1160] Lev. 25.10-13, 15, 28, 30-31, 33, 40, 50, 52, 54; 27.17-18, 21, 23-24; Num. 36.4.

[1161] Exod. 19.13; Josh. 6.5.

times[1162], for the blowing of a horn. The noun שפר appears 72 times in the Bible, including 20 times in the form קול (ה)שפר.[1163] Whereas the noun's origin is obscure, its function is clear: to proclaim, remind, inspire or summon in civil, military or liturgical contexts.[1164] The שפר is part of an ensemble only in Ps. 98.6 and 150.3, and in Chronicles' supplement to 1 Chron. 15.28.[1165] (The standard musical instruments in ensembles were idiophones and chordophones.) The noun occurs predominately in battle and more rarely in cultic contexts.

- Horns are blown by priests in Josh. 6.4-6, 8-9, 13, 16, 20; 1 Kgs. 1.34, 39, 41.
- Horns proclaim religious occasions in Lev. 25.9; Ps. 81.4; 2 Chron. 15.14.
- Horns proclaim Israel's wrongdoings in Isa. 58.1; Hos. 8.1 (cf. Hos. 5.8).
- Horns proclaim theophanies of Yahweh in Exod. 19.16, 19; 20.18; Isa. 27.13; Joel 2.1, 15; Zeph. 1.16; Zech. 9.14.
- Horns proclaim movements of Yahweh('s ark) in 2 Sam. 6.15 // 1 Chron. 15.28; Ps. 47.6.

'Such cultic uses may relate to the religious significance of the שׁוֹפָר as an awe-inducing instrument'.[1166] McCarter and Robinson correctly relate the mention of the שפר to the proclamation of the ark's (and its deity's) ascent and arrival.[1167] *BDB* says regarding שפר: '*horn*, mostly as used in war, rarely, and chiefly late, as sacred instr'.[1168] Their 'chiefly' apparently considers 2 Sam. 6.15 an exception.

[1162] Num. 10.3-8, 10; Josh. 6.4, 8-9, 13, 16, 20; Judg. 3.27; 6.34; 7.18-20, 22; 1 Sam. 13.3; 2 Sam. 2.28; 18.16; 20.1, 22; 1 Kgs. 1.34, 39; 2 Kgs. 9.13; 11.14; Isa. 18.3; 27.13; Jer. 4.5; 6.1; 51.27; Ezek. 7.14; 33.3, 6; Hos. 5.8; Joel 2.1, 15; Amos 3.6; Zech. 9.14; Ps. 81.4; Neh. 4.12; 2 Chron. 23.13.

[1163] Exod. 19.16, 19; 20.18; Josh. 6.5, 20; 2 Sam. 6.15; 15.10; 1 Kgs. 1.41; Jer. 4.19, 21; 6.17; 42.14; Ezek. 33.4, 5; Amos 2.2; Ps. 47.6; 98.6; Job 39.24; Neh. 4.14; 1 Chron. 15.28.

[1164] *BDB* 1051; *DBHE* 754; *HALOT* IV, 1447-1448; Austel 1980a: 951-952; O'Connell 1997: 68-69.

[1165] Contra O'Connell 1997: 68 ('it is never mentioned as being part of an ensemble').

[1166] O'Connell 1997: 68.

[1167] McCarter 1984: 172; Robinson 1993: 183.

[1168] *BDB* 1051.

See	2 Sam. 6.15	// בתרועה ובקול שופר
5.1.3.2	1 Chron. 15.28	בתרועה ובקול שופר **ובחצרות** ובמצלתים משמעים בנבלים וכנרות

The חצרה in Chronicles is the priests' instrument *par excellence*. According to BDB, the חצרה is 'mostly P and late'.[1169] The noun is used 29 times with this distribution: 16 times in Chronicles, 5 times in Numbers, three times in Kings, twice in Nehemiah, and once in each of Hosea, Psalms and Ezra. In addition, the denominative verb חצר is used 6 times in Chronicles. The noun is shared in 2 Kgs. 11.14 // 2 Chron. 23.13 and it is a plus *in Kings* in 2 Kgs. 12.14 // 2 Chron. 24.24.

See	2 Sam. 6.16	**ותבז** לו בלבה
6.1.1.1.4	1 Chron. 15.29	

It is stated in 6.1.1.1.4 that the verbs בזה and בוז are synonymous in meaning[1170], the Greek translators render both verbs with ἐξουδ/θενέ/όω (among other verbs), and neither Hebrew verb is 'earlier' or 'later', so that neither usage nor translation technique nor the chronology of biblical Hebrew can enlighten the history of the Hebrew texts. Palache suggests that בזה is the earlier verb and בוז is the later verb[1171] but the distribution of the verbs does not support this view. In addition, neither form is necessarily secondary to the other.[1172] בוז occurs 14 times in the G stem only and בזה occurs 42 times in the G (32 times), N (9 times) and H (once) stems. The verbs occur predominantly in the Latter Prophets and Writings, and most occurrences elsewhere are in the book of Samuel:

[1169] *BDB* 348.

[1170] Both are rendered as 'belittle, contemn, deride, despise, disdain, dishonour, loathe, repudiate, scorn, spurn, think lightly of, hold as insignificant, look down on, show despite toward, be contemptible toward, show/hold in/regard with contempt'.

[1171] Palache 1959: 14.

[1172] Bergsträsser 1918: II, §31c, pp. 170-171; cf. Görg 1975: 61; Grisanti 1997: 628.

	בוז	בזה
Genesis		25.34
Numbers		15.31
Samuel		I. 2.30; 10.27; 17.42; II. 6.16; 12.9, 10
Kings	19.21	
Isaiah	37.22	49.7; 53.3 (twice)
Jeremiah		22.28; 49.15
Ezekiel		16.59; 17.16, 18, 19; 22.8
Obadiah		1.2
Zechariah	4.10	
Malachi		1.6 (twice), 7, 12; 2.9
Psalms		15.4; 22.7, 25; 51.19; 69.34; 73.20; 102.18; 119.141
Proverbs	1.7; 6.30; 11.12; 13.13; 14.21; 23.9, 22; 30.17	14.2; 15.20; 19.16
Song of Songs	8.1, 7 (twice)	
Qoheleth		9.16
Esther		1.17; 3.6
Daniel		11.21
Nehemiah		2.19
Chronicles		I. 15.29; II. 36.16
	Cf. cognates בוז ('contempt') in Gen. 38.23; Ps. 31.19; 107.40; 119.22; 123.3, 4; Job 12.5, 21; 31.34; Prov. 12.8; 18.3) and בוזה ('contempt') in Neh. 3.36.	Cf. cognate בזיון ('contempt') in Esth. 1.18.

See 5.1.3.8	2 Sam. 6.19 1 Chron. 16.3	ויחלק לכל־העם לכל־המון ישראל למאיש ועד־אשה לאיש חלת לחם אחת ואשפר אחד ואשישה אחת // ויחלק לכל־איש ישראל מאיש ועד־אשה לאיש ככר־לחם ואשפר ואשישה

Scholars sometimes suggest that the 'substitution' of the synonymous term ככר for חלת in Chronicles reflects the late historical milieu of the Chronicler.[1173] However, the latter point is contradicted by the distribution of ככר לחם in the Bible (see 5.1.3.8) as well as the noun's attestation in Ugaritic (*kkr*), Akkadian (*kakkaru*), and Hittite (*kakkari*).[1174] Also, note Exod. 29.23: ... וככר לחם אחת והלת לחם שמן אחת. The Chronicler may have made the substitution, but the modification is neither an indication nor a result of chronological changes in biblical Hebrew.

[1173] On this point see especially Milgrom 1991: 184; Milgrom 1992: 1148 (in his discussion of 'Technical Terms' in the section 'The Antiquity of Priestly Materials').

[1174] *CAD* VIII, 49-50; del Olmo Lete and Sanmartín 1996: I, 213; Puhvel 1997: 15-17.

3.10 Conclusion

This appendix shows that very many beliefs which scholars hold on chronological developments in biblical Hebrew on the basis of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles are false at worst and questionable or insignificant at best. Scholars' misjudgements often result from their *presupposition* that a particular text-feature in Chronicles must be a rewriting of a different text-feature in Samuel–Kings. Following P. R. Davies, R. F. Person, D. Talshir and I. Young, the writer suggests that future scholarship should consider the possibility that 'LBH' is connected with the eastern disapora, and that Chronicles represents the eastern version of the history in Samuel–Kings.

APPENDIX FOUR

Table of Similarities and Differences in 1 Samuel 4.1b-7.2 and 2 Samuel 5.17-6.23

There are many thematic, structural and terminological links between the two ark stories, and also notable differences, such as the place and personal names and the Levites' absence from 2 Samuel 6. In the main body of the thesis the writer points out features which these stories share exclusively in Samuel. Features which are secondary in the MT of either or both stories are also pointed out. The following table builds on others' observations.[1175] The order of the presentation follows 2 Samuel 5–6.

1 Samuel 4.1b-7.2	2 Samuel 5.17-6.23
The Israelites fight two battles with the Philistines and experience two defeats (4.1-2, 10-11).	The Israelites fight two battles with the Philistines and experience two victories (5.17-21, 22-25).
The story does not report consultation with the deity before the battles (4.1-2, 10-11).	The deity is consulted before the battles (5.19, 23).
The deity's role in the battles is not stated (4.1-2, 10-11).	The deity's role in the battles is explicit (5.20, 24-25).
The Philistines capture the ark, the Israelite 'symbol' (4.11, 5.1). The Philistine god Dagon is beaten (5.2-5, 7).	The Philistines abandon their idols ('symbols') and the Israelites capture them (5.21).
The ark is lost to the Philistines (4.11).	The ark is successfully retrieved (6.1-20a).
A Benjaminite man has a messenger role (4.11) and the ark is associated with Benjaminite (?)[1176] Kiriath-jearim (7.1-2).	The ark is associated with Benjaminite Gibeah/Geba (5.25; 6.3-4).
The ark is taken in 'triumphal procession' to Beth-shemesh (6.12-14).	David and the Israelites bring the ark to Jerusalem in triumphal procession (6.12b-20a).
The ark is 'the ark', 'the ark of God' and 'the ark of Yahweh', *and also* 'the ark of the covenant of Yahweh' and 'the ark of the God of Israel'.	The ark is 'the ark', 'the ark of God' and 'the ark of Yahweh'.
30,000 Israelites die in battle at the hands of the Philistines and the ark is lost (4.10).	30,000 Israelites go with David to retrieve the ark (6.1).

[1175] Blenkinsopp 1972: 71-74; Polzin 1989: 55-71; 1993: 60-71; Steussy 1999: 59; Tur-Sinai 1951.

[1176] See, e.g., Langston 1998: 37-39, 156-158, 177.

1 Samuel 4.1b-7.1	2 Samuel 5.17-6.23
The verb עלה is used as a technical term for the procession of the ark up to its place (6.21; 7.1).	The verb עלה is used as a technical term for the procession of the ark up to its place (6.2, 12, 15).
The epithet ארון ברית־יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים is used for the ark (4.4).	The epithet יהוה צבאות ישב הכרבים is used for the ark (6.2).
The ark travels on a new cart drawn by milch cows (6.7-8, 10-12, 14).	The ark travels on a new cart drawn by oxen (6.3, 6).
The ark is taken to the בית אבינדב בגבעה (7.1).	The ark is removed from the בית אבינדב אשר בגבעה (6.3-4).
The two sons of the priest Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, accompany the ark, and both are killed in battle (4.4, 11, 17, 19), and Eli dies too (4.18). Later, the son of Abinadab, Eleazar, is responsible for the ark while it is at the בית אבינדב (7.1).	Two sons of the priest (?) Abinadab, Uzzah and Ahio (בני אבינדב), accompany the ark from the בית אבינדב (6.3-4), and later Uzzah is executed (6.6-8).
The transport of the ark is described with the verb נשא, and then as נשא מן with spatial significance (4.4).	The transport of the ark is described with the verb נשא, and then as נשא מן with spatial significance (6.3-4; cf. 13).
Reference is made to the כל־בית ישראל (7.2-3).	Reference is made to the כל־בית ישראל (6.5, 15).
The draught animals miraculously behave out of character (6.12).	Uzzah acts instinctively (?) yet imprudently (6.6).
The Israelites, the Egyptians, the Philistines and the descendants of Jeconiah are struck down by the deity. The root נכה is used: נכה (4.2, 8 [cf. v. 13]; 5.6, 9, 12; 6.19); מכה (4.8, 10; 6.19). Yahweh unexpectedly strikes down the descendants of Jeconiah (6.19). In the MT, the wording of the reason for the execution is secondary ('exculpatory theologising') (6.19).	Yahweh unexpectedly strikes down Uzzah (6.7-8). The root נכה is used: נכון (6.6), נכה (6.7). In the MT, the reason for the execution is inserted secondarily ('exculpatory theologising') (6.7).
The people mourn because Yahweh makes a 'great slaughter' among the people (6.19).	David (?) names Uzzah's execution spot 'Perez-uzzah' (6.8).
The Philistines ask 'To whom will it[1177] go?' (6.9). The people of Beth-shemesh ask the questions: 'Who is able to stand before Yahweh, this holy God? And to whom shall he go up from us?' (6.20).	David, no less prudent than the people of Beth-shemesh, asks the rhetorical question: 'How can Yahweh's ark come to me?' (6.9).
The ark is in 'exile' with the Philistines for seven months (6.1). The ark is in storage at Kiriath-jearim for twenty years and the house of Israel laments after Yahweh (7.2).	David sends the ark into 'exile' to the Gittite Obed-edom's בית for three months (6.10-12).
The Philistines wish for the ark to return to (שוב + ל = καθίζω + εἰς) its own place (5.11).	The ark remains at (LXX^{AB} καθίζω + εἰς = ישב + ל [?]) the Gittite Obed-edom's בית (6.11).

[1177] Polzin 1989: 71.

1 Samuel 4.1b-7.1	2 Samuel 5.17-6.23
The ark wreaks havoc among Philistines (5.3-12) and the descendants of Jeconiah are struck down by the deity (6.19).	Yahweh unexpectedly blesses the Gittite Obed-edom and his בית (6.11-12), after striking down the Philistines (5.17-25) and unexpectedly executing Uzzah (6.7-8). 'As the presence of the ark was first harmful to Philistines but then mysteriously noxious to Israelites themselves in 1 Samuel 4-6, so here in 2 Samuel 5-6 the LORD first bursts forth against the Philistines but then mysteriously erupts against an Israelite'.[1178]
The Philistines fear and 'lament' (אוי לנו) the ark's presence in the camp of Israel (4.7-8). Eli's daughter-in-law 'laments' the ark's loss (4.19-22). The Philistines 'lament' the ark's presence among them (5.7-11; 6.2). The people of Beth-shemesh rejoice (שמח) when the ark returns (6.13), but the descendants of Jeconiah do not (LXX 6.19). The Israelites mourn (אבל) Yahweh's slaughter of the descendants of Jeconiah (6.19-20). The ark is in storage at Kiriath-jearim for twenty years and the house of Israel 'laments' (נהה) after Yahweh (7.2).	David and Israel retrieve the ark with rejoicing (שמחה) (6.12). 'Mourning' in 1 Samuel 4–7 becomes 'joy' in 2 Samuel 6.
Shouting (רוע, תרועה) accompanies the entrance of the ark into the camp of Israel (4.5-6).	Shouting (תרועה) accompanies the ark's approach to Jerusalem (6.15).
The Philistines bring the ark into the house of Dagon and set (יצג) it beside Dagon (5.2). Dagon is put back in his place (למקומו) (5.3) and the ark is returned to its place (למק[ו]מו) (5.11; 6.2).	David sets (יצג) the ark in its place (במקומו) (6.17).
The Philistines return a guilt offering (אשם) with the ark (6.3-4, 8, 17). The people of Beth-shemesh offer burnt-offerings (העלה, עלה, עלות) and make sacrifices (זבח, זבחים) (4.14-15) to Yahweh.	David makes sacrifices (זבח, שור, מריא) (6.13) and burnt- and peace-offerings (העלה, עלות, עלה, שלמים) (6.17-18).
Eli hears 'the noise of the outcry' (קול הצעקה) and asks 'What is the noise of this commotion?' (קול ההמון) (4.14).	The Israelite multitude (המון) is blessed (6.19).
The Philistines do not return the ark empty (ריקם) (6.3).	Michal compares David to רקים (6.20b).

[1178] Polzin 1993: 63-64.

1 Samuel 4.1b-7.1	2 Samuel 5.17-6.23
Eli is a heavy man (כבד) (4.18). Eli's daughter-in-law names her son Ichabod (אי־כבוד) because the glory (כבוד) departed Israel (4.21-22). The hand of the Lord is heavy (כבד) upon the Philistines (5.6, 11). The Philistines need to give glory (כבוד) to Yahweh (6.5). The Philistines harden (כבד) their hearts like the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened (כבד) their heart (6.6).	Reference is made to David's 'honour' (נכבד) (6.20b) and David says he will get himself honour (אכבדה) (6.22).
Eli's daughter-in-law gives birth and dies (4.19-22).	Saul's daughter Michal bears no children until the day of her death (6.23).
The Levites handle the ark (6.15).	The Levites are absent.
The two stories contain a very similar narrative sequence (NRSV): 6.19 The descendants of Jeconiah did not rejoice with the people of Beth-shemesh when they greeted the ark of Yahweh; and he killed seventy men of them. The people mourned because Yahweh had made a great slaughter among the people. 6.20 Then the people of Beth-shemesh said, 'Who is able to stand before Yahweh, this holy God? To whom shall he go so that we may be rid of him?' 6.21 So they sent messengers to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim, saying, 'The Philistines have returned the ark of Yahweh. Come down and take it up to you.' 7.1 And the people of Kiriath-jearim came and took up the ark of Yahweh, and brought it to the house of Abinadab on the hill. They consecrated his son, Eleazar, to have charge of the ark of Yahweh.	The two stories contain a very similar narrative sequence (NRSV): 6.6 When they came to the threshing floor of Nacon, Uzzah reached out his hand to the ark of God and took hold of it, for the oxen shook it. 6.7 The anger of the LORD was kindled against Uzzah; and God struck him there because he reached out his hand to the ark [NRSV!]; and he died there beside the ark of God. 6.8 David was angry because the LORD had burst forth with an outburst upon Uzzah; so that place is called Perez-uzzah, to this day. 6.9 David was afraid of the LORD that day; he said, 'How can the ark of the LORD come into my care?' 6.10 So David was unwilling to take the ark of the LORD into his care in the city of David; instead David took it to the house of Obed-edom the Gittite. 6.11 The ark of the LORD remained in the house of Obed-edom the Gittite three months; and the LORD blessed Obed-edom and all his household.

APPENDIX FIVE

Additional Discussion of Saul in a Biblical Context

4.1 Saul and Absalom, in 1 Samuel 16–31 and 2 Samuel 13–20

Surprisingly few scholars have commented on the literary links between the stories of David and Saul and the stories of David and Absalom. The links between 2 Samuel 2–4 and 2 Samuel 9–20 are developed by Gunn, McKenzie and Van Seters, among others.[1179] However, the connections which these observe at the peripheries of the HDR and SN/CH actually lie closer to their centres. The following links are additional to the thematic, stylistic, linguistic, and wisdom affinities recognised by Ho.[1180]

(1) The use of הגיד in Samuel provides one general link between the stories of Saul and Absalom. The verb frequently serves for the reporting of information by a messenger, often in the context of a reconnaissance mission or military operation, and especially in material dealing with Saul versus David (26 times in 1 Samuel 19–20, 22–25, 27; 2 Samuel 1) and Absalom versus David (17 times in 2 Samuel 14–15, 17–19). See further 5.1.1.3.

(2) The use of בקש in Samuel relates an interesting tale of 'seeker' and 'sought'. Both Saul and Absalom seek to destroy David. See further 3.1.3.1.

(3) Eight women (and Job's daughters)[1181] and eleven men in the Bible are described as 'beautiful/handsome', but only Saul (1 Sam. 9.2) and Absalom (2 Sam. 14.25-26) are described as the most handsome *in all Israel* (Saul: אין איש מבני ישראל טוב

[1179] Gunn 1978: 65-84; McKenzie 2000; Van Seters 1983: 281-285; 2000.

[1180] Ho 1994: 24-28, 131-188.

[1181] Sarai (Gen. 12.11, 14), Rachel (Gen. 29.17), Abigail (1 Sam. 25.3), Tamar (2 Sam. 13.1), Tamar (2 Sam. 14.27), Abishag (1 Kgs. 1.3, 4), Esther (Esth. 2.2, 3, 7), Job's daughters (Job 42.15), the Shulammite (Cant. 1.5, 15, 16; 4.1, 7; 6.4).

ממנו; Absalom: לא־היה איש־יפה בכל־ישראל).[1182] Furthermore, the descriptions of both explicitly focus (not surprisingly) on their shoulders upward (Saul: משכמו ומעלה; Absalom: ועד קדקדו; את־ראשו; etc.). The grammar of 2 Sam. 14.25-26 emphasises the significance of Absalom's appearance, perhaps foreshadowing his manner of death (2 Sam. 18.9), and the passage itself does not occur at the start of Absalom's story in 2 Samuel 13, but immediately prior to the beginning of his difficulties with David, after which he begins to seek the kingship (2 Sam. 15.4; cf. v. 6), and moves to Hebron (2 Sam. 15.7-10), where David himself was crowned king (2 Sam. 2.1-4; 5.1-3).

(4) The G passive participle of קרא occurs five times in the Former Prophets: 1 Sam. 9.13, 22; 2 Sam. 15.11; 1 Kgs. 1.41, 49. Auld remarks:

> Quite an entourage accompanied Absalom, from Jerusalem (15:11) and elsewhere. These "invited guests" are also part of a pattern. The term is used only in 1 Sam 9:13, 22; 1 Kgs 1:41, 49; and here ... [A]ll three celebrations are associated with the designation of a king who will not last: Saul, Absalom, and Adonijah. The point is made explicit here (15:11), but it seems true of the other two parties also, that the invitees are simple "extras," unaware of what is to happen.[1183]

(5) Gilgal is the backdrop for the rejection of both Saul (1 Samuel 11, 13, 15) and Absalom (2 Samuel 19), aborted 'kings' on each side of King David. The place appears elsewhere in Samuel only in 1 Sam. 7.16; 10.8. McCarter speaks of a 'coronation day amnesty' in 1 Sam. 11.13 (לא־יומת איש ביום הזה) and 2 Sam. 19.23 (היום יומת איש בישראל).[1184]

(6) Very few build a monument (יד) to themselves in the Bible: Saul (1 Sam. 15.12), Absalom (2 Sam. 18.18) and King Hadadezer of Zobah (1 Chron. 18.3). For this use of יד see further Isa. 56.5; Ezek. 21.24.

[1182] The others are Joseph (Gen. 39.6), Moses (Exod. 2.2), David (1 Sam. 16.12; 17.42; cf. 16.6-7), the Egyptian (2 Sam. 23.21), Adonijah (1 Kgs. 1.6), and Daniel, Hananiah, Mishael and Azariah (Dan. 1.4).

[1183] Auld 2003: 238.

[1184] McCarter 1984: 421.

(7) David flees into the wilderness (מדבר) from both Saul (1 Sam. 23.14, 15, 24, 25; 24.2; 25.1, 4, 14, 21; 26.2, 3) and Absalom (2 Sam. 15.23, 28; 16.2; 17.16, 29). Elsewhere מדבר occurs in Samuel only in 1 Sam. 4.8; 13.18; 17.28; 2 Sam. 2.24.

(8) 'Glad tidings' (verb בשר; noun בשרה) are used for the deaths of both Saul (1 Sam. 31.9; 2 Sam. 1.20; 4.10) and Absalom (2 Sam. 18.19, 20, 22, 25, 26, 27, 31), but ironically, in neither case are the 'glad tidings' good news for David (or are they?). The same irony appears in the loss of the ark in 1 Sam. 4.17, and this terminology occurs elsewhere in the Former Prophets only in 1 Kgs. 1.42 and 2 Kgs. 7.9.

(9) The verb קרא II ('meet, encounter') generally occurs as the infinitive לקראת, but the finite form occurs in 2 Sam. 1.6 and 18.9 (and also 20.1). Auld remarks:

> Apart from his appointment of three commanders, David's only reported order-of-the-day concerned Absalom, who should be gently treated. David's men are often called "the people" in Hebrew, largely foreign mercenaries though they may have been. This makes 18:6 read rather strangely: "And the people went out into the field against Israel." The wording becomes even more curious if we are right to suppose that "the people" of whom "the forest consumed more than the sword" (v. 8), were Absalom's forces, not David's. Certainly the loss of Absalom himself to a tree was the most notable casualty. Absalom may have "chanced" to meet David's men (v. 9); however, it is no accident that the last case of "chance" we encountered was in 2 Sam 1:6, where one of his men "happened on" Saul just before his death.[1185]

(10) David laments/mourns the death of three people only: Saul (2 Sam. 1.12 [verb ספד], 17 [verb קין; noun קינה]; cf. 'fast' in 1.12), Abner (2 Sam. 3.31 [verb ספד], 33 [verb קין]) and Absalom (2 Sam. 13.37 [verb אבל]; 19.2 [verb אבל], 3 [noun אבל]; cf. 14.2 [verb אבל; noun אבל]).[1186] (Was David *really* uninvolved in their deaths?)

(11) Additional vocabulary which occurs in Samuel only in 1 Samuel 16–31 and 2 Samuel 13–20 is: דב ('bear'): 1 Sam. 17.34, 36, 37; 2 Sam. 17.8; קשר ('conspire, be bound'): 1 Sam. 18.1; 22.8, 13; 2 Sam. 15.31; שיר ('sing'): 1 Sam. 18.6; 2 Sam. 19.36; שמנים ('eighty'): 1 Sam. 22.18; 2 Sam. 19.33, 36; שטן ('adversary'): 1 Sam. 29.4; 2 Sam.

[1185] Auld 2003: 240.

[1186] David fasted for his baby *prior* to its death (2 Sam. 12.16, 17, 20, 21, 22, 23).

19.23; סקל ('stone, stone to death'): 1 Sam. 30.6; 2 Sam. 16.6, 13; עדר ('be lacking'): 1 Sam. 30.19; 2 Sam. 17.22.

(12) There are many links between the story of David and Abigail (1 Samuel 25) and 2 Samuel 13–20. The following vocabulary is concentrated in these blocks of material: גזז ('shear [sheep]'): 1 Sam. 25.2, 4, 7, 11; 2 Sam. 13.23-24; יפה ('beautiful'): 1 Sam. 25.3; 2 Sam. 13.1; 14.25, 27; elsewhere: 1 Sam. 16.12; 17.42; קלי ('parched grain'): 1 Sam. 25.18; 2 Sam. 17.28; elsewhere: 1 Sam. 17.17 (MT plus); צמוקים ('bunch of raisins'): 1 Sam. 25.18; 2 Sam. 16.1; elsewhere: 1 Sam. 30.12; מהרה ('hastily, speedily') and מהר ('hasten'): 1 Sam. 25.18, 23, 34, 42; 2 Sam. 15.14; 17.16, 18, 21; 19.17; elsewhere: 1 Sam. 4.14; 9.12; 17.48; 20.38; 23.27; 28.20, 24; נבלה ('folly, senselessness'): 1 Sam. 25.25; 2 Sam. 13.12; מנע ('withhold'): 1 Sam. 25.26, 34; 2 Sam. 13.13; חשך ('withhold'): 1 Sam. 25.39; 2 Sam. 18.16. The episodes of Amnon and Tamar (2 Samuel 13) and of David and Abigail (1 Samuel 25), although completely dissimilar in atmosphere, comprehend the same gamut of circumstances: an irregular sexual union and a man done to death on the occasion of merry-making at a sheep-shearing festival. Also, compare משתה, לב נבל טוב עליו and יין in 1 Sam. 25.36-38 with the LXX plus πότον κατά τόν πότον τοῦ βασιλέως and כטוב לב־אמנון ביין in 2 Sam. 13.27-28. The verb טוב and the noun לב *occur together* elsewhere in the Former Prophets in Judg. 16.25 only.[1187] The deaths of Nabal (1 Samuel 25) and Absalom (2 Samuel 18) are somewhat similar. In both stories, David relies on Yahweh (and is restrained by him), not taking matters into his own hands. David's relationship to these characters (enemies) never leads to *his* violence. In each passage the text seems intent to prove David's non-involvement and consequently his innocence. David avoids any action that would jeopardise the integrity of his rule. More specifically, observe the following similarities:

[1187] The roots are closely related elsewhere in 1 Kgs. 8.66 // 2 Chron. 7.10; Isa. 65.14; Jer. 32.39; Ps. 45.2; 125.4; Prov. 15.15; Qoh. 7.26; 9.7; Esth. 1.10; 5.9.

> 1 Sam. 25.26, 29: 'Now then, my lord, as the Lord lives, and as you yourself live, since the Lord has restrained you from bloodguilt and from taking vengeance with your own hand, now let your enemies and those who seek to do evil to my lord be like Nabal. ... If anyone should rise up to pursue you and to seek your life, the life of my lord shall be bound in the bundle of the living under the care of the Lord your God; but the lives of your enemies he shall sling out as from the hollow of a sling'.
>
> 2 Sam.18.32: '... The king said to the Cushite, "Is it well with the young man Absalom?" The Cushite answered, "May the enemies of my lord the king, and all who rise up to do you harm, be like that young man"'.

In summary, it is suggested that Saul, Nabal and Absalom are types of one another, each opposed to David. Absalom is a second Saul. Thus both are pitted against David, as external and internal threats to his throne. They are 'negatives' of David.

4.2 Saul and Samson, in 1 Samuel 16–31 and Judges 13–16

To begin, observe that MT and LXX 1 Sam. 12.11 speak of Jerubaal, Bedan (MT)/Barak (LXX), Jephthah and Samuel. In spite of 'Samson' rather than 'Samuel' in the NRSV[1188], Samson is never mentioned outside the book of Judges. Brooks argues that these stories are intimately related.[1189] In particular, she argues that Saul's birth story is incorporated into that of Samuel (see above). When the image of Samuel is put to one side, it becomes clear that Saul's image closely parallels that of Samson in that they share not only a similar Nazirite birth, but also their heroic characters. In Brooks' opinion, the *pro-Saul* author could not openly write the true story of Saul; instead he camouflaged it behind the heroic image of Samson. The following points are from and in addition to those mentioned by Brooks.

(1) Birth story. Compare Judg. 13.2 ('and there was a certain man of Zorah'), 1 Sam. 1.1 ('and there was a certain man of Ramathaim-Zophim'), and 1 Sam. 9.1 ('and

[1188] This translation is presumably based on the reading in the Greek cursives 19 (b'), 29 (b_2) and 376 (c).

[1189] Brooks 1996.

there was a man of Benjamin'). In fact, ויהי איש occurs only nine times in the Bible, six of these in the Former Prophets: Judg. 13.2; 17.1; 19.1; 1 Sam. 1.1; 9.1; 2 Sam. 21.20. Many have noted the word play on שאל in 1 Samuel 1.[1190] Was 'Saul' edited into or out of 'Samuel's' birth story? Is the wordplay on שאל in 1 Samuel 1 also present in Judg. 13.6, 18? Is it part of the 'riddle' of Samson? The themes of the barren wife and the nazirite are also shared between these passages.

(2) Military role. Both Samson and Saul emerge as a result of similar political circumstances, and their role is to liberate the Israelites from Philistine oppression. Compare the statements in Judg. 13.1, 5 and 1 Sam. 9.16.

(3) Divine spirit. Both Samson and Saul are empowered by the divine spirit to perform heroic wonders. Compare Judg. 13.25; 14.6, 19; 15.14, and 1 Sam. 10.6, 19; 11.6. Interestingly, contrast 'Spirit of Yahweh' in the Samson and David (1 Sam. 16.13) stories, but 'Spirit of God' in the latter two of the three Saul passages. See further below.

(4) Burning anger. Both Samson and Saul become enraged, and their anger serves as inspiration to perform heroic wonders. Compare Judg. 14.19 and 1 Sam. 11.6. Samson and Saul share a 'form' of anger (Y חרה אף; 'anger of Y burns'; object *only* implied) which occurs only three times in the Former Prophets: Judg. 9.30; 14.19; 1 Sam. 11.6. See 4.1.2.1.

(5) Defeat under pressure. Both Samson and Saul give in under pressure. Compare Judg. 14.16-17 (wife from Timnah) and 16.16-17 (Delilah); and 1 Samuel 13 (illicit sacrifice) and 15 (retention of spoil).

(6) Divine desertion. Yahweh abandons Samson (Judg. 16.20). Yahweh's spirit departs from Saul, and an evil spirit from Yahweh/God overtakes him (1 Sam. 16.14-16, 23; 18.10; 19.9, 20, 23).

[1190] See Hertzberg 1964: 25-26; McCarter 1980a: 62-66; and the comments above.

(7) Tragic end by suicide. Both Samson and Saul experience a tragic end, not while fulfilling their role of delivering Israel from the Philistines, but for personal reasons: Samson, as revenge for his blindness and enslavement; Saul, in pursuit of David. See the discussion of 'seeker' and 'sought' in 3.1.3.1. In addition, both Samson and Saul die by suicide. Compare Judg. 16.28-31 and 1 Sam. 31.1-13. The only other cases of suicide in the Bible are Abimelech (Judg. 9.52-54), Ahithophel (1 Sam. 17.23), Saul's armour bearer (1 Sam. 31.5), and Zimri (1 Kgs 16.18-19).

Is Brooks correct that by accepting the Samson–Saul parallel one should also accept the comparison between Delilah and David? The following points may indicate that this is at least partly so:

(1) Samson's undoing came through Delilah, and Saul's through David. Delilah was (pretended to be?) Samson's lover, but acted for the Philistines. Although David was certainly capable militarily, he was also successful through gallantry and cunning. David used the conflict with the Philistines as a platform for his own political ambition, for by aiding the Philistines his aim was achieved: Saul died, and thus David's way to the throne was cleared.

(2) Very few Philistines are given names in the Bible, and then mostly in the book of Samuel, and in each case they function in the narrative to authenticate David's political, social, and military achievements: patronage under Achish, loyalty and service from Ittai and Obed-edom, and victory (by David or his soldiers) over the Philistine giants Goliath, Ishbi-benob, Lahmi, and Saph. Is it significant that the only other named Philistine in the Bible is Delilah?

(3) The sequence of names and their initial sounds may be more than coincidental: Samson and Saul, Delilah and David. There are thirty-four persons in the Former

Prophets whose names begin with a sibilant[1191], but the only 'significant' figures are Sihon, Sisera, Samson, Samuel, Saul, Shimei, and Solomon. And of these, only Samson, Samuel, Saul, and Shimei begin with *shin*. Ironically, Shimei is also an איש ... ממשפחת בית־שאול. On the other hand, there are only eight persons in the Former Prophets whose names begin with *daleth*[1192], and of these, only Deborah, Delilah, and David are 'noteworthy'.

[1191] They are:

Samson - Judg. 13–16; 1 Sam. 12:11
Samuel - 1 Sam. 1–4, 7–13, 15–16, 19, 25, 28
Saph - 2 Sam. 21:18
Saul - 1 Sam. 9–11, 13–29, 31; 2 Sam. 1–7, 9, 12, 16, 19, 21–22
Segub - 1 Kgs. 16:34
Sennacherib - 2 Kgs. 18:13; 19:16, 20, 36
Seraiah - 2 Sam. 8:17; 2 Kgs. 25:18, 23
Shaalbon - 2 Sam. 23:32
Shallum - 2 Kgs. 15:10, 13-15; 22:14
Shalmaneser - 2 Kgs. 17:3; 18:9
Shamgar - Judg. 3:31; 5:6
Shammah - 1 Sam. 16:9; 17:13; 2 Sam. 23:11, 25, 33
Shammua - 2 Sam. 5:14
Shaphan - 2 Kgs. 22:3, 8-10, 12, 14; 2 Kgs. 25:22
Shaphat - 1 Kgs. 19:16, 19; 2 Kgs. 3:11; 6:31
Sharar - 2 Sam. 23:33
Sharezer - 2 Kgs. 19:37
Shebnah - 2 Kgs. 18:18, 26
Shemaiah - 1 Kgs. 12:22
Shephatiah - 2 Sam. 3:4
Shimeah - 2 Sam. 13:3, 32
Shimeath - 2 Kgs. 12:21
Shimei - 2 Sam. 16:5, 7, 13; 19:16, 18, 21, 23; 21:21; 1 Kgs. 1:8; 2:8, 36, 38-42, 44; 4:18
Shisha - 1 Kgs. 4:3
Shishak - 1 Kgs. 11:40; 14:25
Shobab - 2 Sam. 5:14
Shobach - 2 Sam. 10:16, 18
Shobi - 2 Sam. 17:27
Shomer - 2 Kgs. 12:21
Sibbecai - 2 Sam. 21:18
Sihon - Josh. 2:10; 9:10; 12:2, 5; 13:10, 21, 27; 11:19, 20, 21; 1 Kgs. 4:19
Simeon - Josh. 19:1, 8-9; 21:4, 9; Judg. 1:3, 17
Sisera - Judg. 4:2, 7, 9, 12-18, 22; 5:20, 26, 28, 30; 1 Sam. 12:9
Solomon - 2 Sam. 5:14; 12:24; 1 Kgs. 1–12; 14:21, 26; 2 Kgs. 21:7; 23:13; 24:13; 25:16

[1192] They are:

Dan - Josh. 19:47; Judg. 5:17 (NOT city, region, or tribe)
Darda - 1 Kgs. 4:31
David - 1 Sam. 16–30; 2 Sam. 1–13; 15–24; 1 Kgs. 1–3, 5–9, 11–15, 22; 2 Kgs. 8–9, 11–12, 14–22.
Debir - Josh. 10:3; 12:3 (NOT city)
Deborah - Judg. 4:4-5, 9-10, 14; 5:1, 7, 12, 15

(4) The theme of כח is not prevalent in Judges–Samuel. Except for two isolated passages, Judg. 6.14 and 1 Sam. 2.9, all occurrences relate to Samson (Judg. 16.5-6, 9, 15, 17, 19, 30) or Saul (1 Sam. 28.20, 22; 30.4). In Judges, Samson's כח is in his unshaven head, a unique phenomenon in the Bible, and in the end it is shaved by the Philistines through the intervention of Delilah (Judg. 16.17-22). In Samuel, Saul loses his כח when he hears Samuel's words concerning his impending death, and once he is gone, it is David who 'loses כח' (not explicit) through his weeping for Saul. Interestingly, only three heads are cut off in the Bible: Goliath's, by David (1 Sam. 17.51); Saul's, by the Philistines (1 Sam. 31.9); and Sheba's (son of Bichri, a Benjaminite), by the people of Abel of Beth-maacah, on behalf of Joab and David (2 Sam. 20.1-22). Ironically, then, David does not attempt to 'regain his master's favour by taking the heads of the Philistines' (1 Sam. 29.4), but rather, the Philistines take the head of David's master (through David's intervention?).

(5) The פלשתים occur nearly 300 times in the Bible, including 34 times in Judges and 182 times in Samuel, but the סרני פלשתים appear infrequently: 'the five rulers of the Philistines', in Gaza, Ashdod, Ashkelon, Gath, and Ekron (Josh. 13.3; Judg. 3.3); the story of Delilah and the Philistines versus Samson (Judg. 16.5, 8, 18, 23, 27, [30]); the first ark story, and immediately afterward (1 Sam. 5.8, 11; 6.4, 12, 16, [18]; 7.7); the story of David and the Philistines versus Saul and the Israelites (1 Sam. 29.2, [6], 7; 1 Chron. 12.20).

These conceptual and linguistic elements suggest that Brooks' association of Saul with Samson merits further consideration. It is possible and perhaps better, however, to read the Samson story as anti- rather than pro-Saul.

Delilah - Judg. 16:4, 6, 10, 12-14, 18
Dodo - Judg. 10:1; 2 Sam. 23:9, 24
Doeg - 1 Sam. 21:7, 9, 18, 22

APPENDIX SIX

Synoptic Versions of 2 Samuel 6 // 1 Chronicles 13, 15–16

(1) Talstra and Verheij discuss synopticity.[1193] The alignment of parallel texts entails the interpretation of each feature such that subjectivity cannot be eliminated. (2) The highlighted words in the 4QSam[a] columns are words which are partly or wholly visible according to Herbert and Fincke. Consequently, the readings of the manuscript are fairly certain.

[1193] Talstra and Verheij 1988; Verheij 1990: 16-19.

2S6.1 MT^{BHS}	*2S6.1 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*2S6.1 LXX^{A}*	*2S6.1 LXX^{B}*	*2S6.1 LXX^{L}*	*2S6.1 4QSam^{a} Herbert*	*2S6.1 4QSam^{a} Fincke*	*1C13.5 MT^{BHS}*	*1C13.5 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*1C13.5 LXX^{A}*	*1C13.5 LXX^{B}*	*1C13.5 LXX^{L}*
וַיֹּסֶף	και συνήγαγεν ἔτι	και συνήγαγεν ἔτι	και συνήγαγεν ἔτι	και συνήγαγεν ἔτι	not extant	not extant	וַיְקַהֵל	και ἐξεκκλησίασεν	και ἐξεκκλησίασεν	και ἐκκλησίασεν	και ἐξεκκλησίασε
עוֹד											
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ			דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
אֶת־							אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
כָּל־	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα			כָּל־	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα
בָּחוּר	νεανίαν	νεανίαν	νεανίαν^{ab} (νεαν*)	νεανίαν							
בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל	ἐξ Ισραηλ ὡς	ἐξ Ισραηλ ὡς	ἐξ Ισραηλ ὡς	ἐξ Ισραηλ			יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ
שְׁלֹשִׁים אָלֶף	ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας	ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας	ἑβδομήκοντα χειλιάδας	ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδας							
							מִן־	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ
							שִׁיחוֹר	ὁρίων	ὁρίων	ὁρίων	ὁρίων
							מִצְרַיִם	Αιγυπτου	Αιγυπτου	Αιγυπτου	Αιγυπτου
							וְעַד־	και ἕως	και ἕως	και ἕως	και ἕως
							לְבוֹא	εἰσόδου		εἰσόδου	εἰσόδου
							חֲמָת	Ημαθ	Ημαθ	Ημαθ	Αιμαθ
							לְהָבִיא	τοῦ εἰσενέγκαι	τοῦ εἰσενέγκαι	τοῦ εἰσενέγκαι	τοῦ ἐνεγκεῖν
							אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
							אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
							הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ
							מִקִּרְיַת	ἐκ πόλεως	ἐκ πόλεως	ἐκ πόλεως	ἐκ πόλεως
							יְעָרִים	Ιαριμ	Ιαρειμ	Ιαρειμ	Ιαρειμ

2S6.2 MT^{BHS}	2S6.2 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.2 LXX^{A}	2S6.2 LXX^{B}	2S6.2 LXX^{L}	2S6.2 $4QSam^{a}$ Herbert	2S6.2 $4QSam^{a}$ Fincke	1C13.6 MT^{BHS}	1C13.6 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C13.6 LXX^{A}	1C13.6 LXX^{B}	1C13.6 LXX^{L}
וַיָּקָם ו	καὶ ἀνέστη	καὶ ἀνέστη	καὶ ἀνέστη	καὶ ἀνέστη	not extant	not extant	וַיַּעַל	καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὴν	καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὴν	καὶ ἀνήγαγεν αὐτὴν	καὶ ἀνέβη
וַיֵּלֶךְ	καὶ ἐπορεύθη		καὶ ἐπορεύθη	καὶ ἐπορεύθη							
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ καὶ ἐπορεύθη	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ			דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
וְכָל־	καὶ πᾶς	καὶ πᾶς	καὶ πᾶς	καὶ πᾶς			וְכָל־	καὶ πᾶς	καὶ πᾶς	καὶ πᾶς	καὶ πᾶς
הָעָם	ὁ λαὸς	ὁ λαὸς	ὁ λαὸς	ὁ λαὸς		העם					ἀνὴρ
							יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ
אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ	ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ	μετ' αὐτοῦ	ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ	ὁ μετ' αὐτοῦ	אתו	אשר אתו					
מִבַּעֲלֵי	ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων	ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων	ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων	ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων	בעלה	בעלה	בַּעֲלָתָה	ἀνέβη	ἀνέβη	ἀνέβη	
					היא	היא					
							אֶל־	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς
					קריה	קריה	קִרְיַת	πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν	Καριαθιαριμ
					יערים	בעל	יְעָרִים				
								Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	
					אשר	אשר	אֲשֶׁר	ἣ ἦν τοῦ	ἣ ἦν τοῦ	ἣ ἦν τοῦ	ἣ ἐστι τοῦ
יְהוּדָה	Ιουδα ἐν ἀναβάσει	Ιουδα ἐν ἀναβάσει	Ιουδα ἐν ἀναβάσει	Ιουδα ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει τοῦ βουνοῦ	ליהודה	ליהודה	לִיהוּדָה	Ιουδα	Ιουδα	Ιουδα	Ιουδα

לְהַעֲלוֹת	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν	τοῦ ἀναγεῖν	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν	להעלות	להעלות	לְהַעֲלוֹת	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν	τοῦ ἀναγαγεῖν
מִשָּׁם	ἐκεῖθεν	ἐκεῖθεν	ἐκεῖθεν	ἐκεῖθεν	משם	משם	מִשָּׁם	ἐκεῖθεν	ἐκεῖθεν	ἐκεῖθεν	ἐκεῖθεν
אֶת	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את	אֶת	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	ארון	ארון	אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	האלהים	האלהים	הָאֱלֹהִים ו	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ
							יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου
							יוֹשֵׁב	καθημένου ἐπὶ	καθημένου ἐπὶ	καθημένου ἐπὶ	καθημένου ἐπὶ
							הַכְּרוּבִים	χερουβὶν	χερουβεὶν	χερουβεὶν	χερουβὶμ
					את	את					
אֲשֶׁר־	ἐφ’ ἧν	ἐφ’ ἧν	ἐφ’ ἧν	ἐφ’ ἧν	אשר	אשר	אֲשֶׁר־				
נִקְרָא	ἐπεκλήθη τὸ	ἐπεκλήθη τὸ	ἐπεκλήθη τὸ	ἐπεκέκλητο τὸ	נקרא	נקרא	נִקְרָא	οὗ ἐπεκλήθη	οὗ ἐπεκλήθη	οὗ ἐπεκλήθη	οὗ ἐπεκλήθη τὸ
שֵׁם	ὄνομα	ὄνομα	ὄνομα	ὄνομα	שם	שם	שֵׁם	ὄνομα	ὄνομα	ὄνομα	ὄνομα
שָׁם					שם						
		τοῦ									
יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	יהוה	יהוה					
								αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν								
צְבָאוֹת	δυνάμεων	δυνάμαιων	δυνάμεων	Σαβαωθ	צבאות						
יֹשֵׁב	καθημένου ἐπὶ	καθημένου ἐπὶ	καθημένῳ ἐπὶ	καθημένου ἐπὶ	ושב	ישב					
הַכְּרֻבִים	τῶν χερουβὶν	τῶν χερουβειν	τῶν χερουβεὶν	χερουβὶμ	הכרובים	הכרובים					
											ἐκεῖ
עָלָיו	ἐπ’ αὐτῆς	ἐπ’ αὐτῆς	ἐπ’ αὐτῆς	ἐπ’ αὐτήν	עליו	עליו					

2S6.3-4 MT^{BHS}	2S6.3-4 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.3-4 LXX^{A}	2S6.3-4 LXX^{B}	2S6.3-4 LXX^{L}	2S6.3-4 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.3-4 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C13.7 MT^{BHS}	1C13.7 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C13.7 LXX^{A}	1C13.7 LXX^{B}	1C13.7 LXX^{L}
וַיִּרְכְּבוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וירכיבו	וירכבו	וַיַּרְכִּיבוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐπεβίβασεν	ἐπεβίβασεν	ἐπεβίβασεν	ἐπεβίβασαν				ἐπέθηκαν	ἐπέθηκαν	ἐπέθηκαν	ἐπέθηκαν
אֵת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את	אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	ארון	הארון	אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
הָאֱלֹהִים				τοῦ	יהוה		הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	θεοῦ				θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ
אֶל־	ἐφ’	ἐπ’	ἐπ’	ἐπὶ	על	על	עַל־	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ
עֲגָלָה	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	עגלה	עגלה	עֲגָלָה	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν
חֲדָשָׁה	κεινὴν	κενὴν	καινὴν	καινήν	חדשה	חדשה	חֲדָשָׁה	καινὴν	καινὴν	καινὴν	καινὴν
וַיִּשָּׂאֻהוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וישאוהו	וישאוהו					
	ἦρεν	ἦρεν	ἦρεν	ἦρεν							
	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν							
מִבֵּית	ἐξ	εἰς	εἰς	ἐξ	מבית	מבית	מִבֵּית	ἐξ	ἐξ	ἐξ	ἐξ
	οἴκου	οἴκον	οἴκον	οἴκου				οἴκου	οἴκου	οἴκου	οἴκου
אֲבִינָדָב	Αμιναδαβ	Αμιναδαβ	Αμειναδαβ	Αμιναδαβ	אבינדב	אבינדב	אֲבִינָדָב	Αμιναδαβ	Αμειναδαβ	Αμειναδαβ	Αβιναδαβ
אֲשֶׁר	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	אשר	אשר					
בַּגִּבְעָה	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	בגבעה	בגבעה					
	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ							
	βουνῷ	βουνῷ	βουνῷ	βουνῷ							
וְעֻזָּא	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ועזא	ועזא	וְעַזְיָא	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	Οζα	Αζα	Οζα	Οζα				Οζα	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα
וְאַחְיוֹ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ואחיו	ואחיו	וְאַחְיוֹ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ				οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ
	ἀδελφοὶ	ἀδελφοὶ	ἀδελφοὶ	ἀδελφοὶ				ἀδελφοὶ	ἀδελφοὶ	ἀδελφοὶ	ἀδελφοὶ
	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ				αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
בְּנֵי	υἱοὶ	υἱοὶ	υἱοὶ	υἱοὶ	בני	בני					
אֲבִינָדָב	Αμιναδαβ	Αμιναδαβ	Αμειναδαβ	Αμιναδαβ	אבינדב	אבינדב					
נֹהֲגִים	ἦγον	ἦγον	ἦγαν	ἦγον	נהגים	נהגים	נֹהֲגִים	ἦγον	ἦγον	ἦγον	ἦγον
אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את		τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
הָעֲגָלָה	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	העגלה	העגלה	בָּעֲגָלָה	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν	ἅμαξαν
חֲדָשָׁה		τὴν				חדשה					
		καινὴν									
וַיִּשָּׂאֻהוּ		καὶ				וישאוה					
		ἦραν									

מִבֵּית אֲבִינָדָב אֲשֶׁר בַּגִּבְעָה עִם אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים וְאַחְיוֹ הֹלֵךְ לִפְנֵי הָאָרוֹן	 σὺν τῇ κιβωτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύοντο ἔμπροσθεν τῆς κιβωτοῦ	αὐτὴν ἀπὸ οἴκου Αμιναδαβ ἐν βουνῷ σὺν τῇ κιβωτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ 	 σὺν τῇ κιβωτῷ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύοντο ἔμπροσθεν τῆς κιβωτοῦ	 σὺν τῇ κιβωτῷ τοῦ θεου καὶ Οζα καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπορεύοντο ἔμπροσθεν καὶ ἐκ πλαγίων τῆς κιβωτοῦ	 עם ארון האלהים ואחיו הולך לפני הארון	 עם ארון הכהנים על העגלה ועזא ואחיו הלכים לפני הארון מצד				

2S6.5 *MT*^{BHS}	*2S6.5* *LXX*^{Rahlfs}	*2S6.5* *LXX*^{A}	*2S6.5* *LXX*^{B}	*2S6.5* *LXX*^{L}	*2S6.5* *4QSam*^{a} *Herbert*	*2S6.5* *4QSam*^{a} *Fincke*	*1C13.8* *MT*^{BHS}	*1C13.8* *LXX*^{Rahlfs}	*1C13.8* *LXX*^{A}	*1C13.8* *LXX*^{B}	*1C13.8* *LXX*^{L}
וְדָוִד ו	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ודויד	ודויד	וְדָוִד	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ				Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
וְכָל־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וכול	וכל	וְכָל־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
				πάντες				πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς
	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ							
בֵּית	υἱοὶ	υἱοὶ	υἱοὶ	υἱοὶ	בני	בני					
יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	ישראל	ישראל	יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ
מְשַׂחֲקִים	παίζοντες	παίζοντες	παίζοντες	παίζοντες	משחקים	משחקים	מְשַׂחֲקִים	παίζοντες	παίζοντες	παίζοντες	παίζοντες
לִפְנֵי	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	לפני	לפני	לִפְנֵי	ἐναντίον	ἐναντίον	ἐναντίον	ἐναντίον
								τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	יהוה	יהוה	הָאֱלֹהִים	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ
		καὶ									
בְּכָל	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	בכול	בכל	בְּכָל־	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
								πάσῃ	πάσῃ	πάσῃ	πάσῃ
עֻזִּי	ὀργάνοις	ὀργάνοις	ὀργάνοις	ὀργάνοις	עז	עז	עֻז	δυνάμει	δυνάμει	δυνάμει	δυνάμει
בְּרוֹשִׁים	ἡρμοσμένοις	ἡρμοσμένοις	ἡρμοσμένοις	ἡρμοσμένοις							
		καὶ									
	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν							
	ἰσχύι	ἰσχύι	ἰσχύι	ἰσχύι							
	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ובשירים	בשירים	וּבְשִׁירִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν				ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	ᾠδαῖς	ᾠδαῖς	ᾠδαῖς	ᾠδαῖς				ψαλτῳδοῖς	ψαλτῳδοῖς	ψαλτῳδοῖς	ᾠδαῖς
וּבְכִנֹּרוֹת	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ובכנרות	ובכנרות	וּבְכִנֹּרוֹת	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν				ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	κινύραις	κινύρα	κινύραις	κινύραις				κινύραις	κινύραις	κινύραις	κινύραις
וּבִנְבָלִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ובנבלים	ובנבלים	וּבִנְבָלִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν				ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	νάβλαις	νάβλαις	νάβλαις	νάβλαις				νάβλαις	νάβλαις	νάβλαις	νάβλαις
וּבְתֻפִּים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ובתפים	ובתפים	וּבְתֻפִּים		καὶ		καὶ
	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν				ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	τυμπάνοις	τυμπάνοις	τυμπάνοις	τυμπάνοις				τυμπάνοις	τυμπάνοις	τυμπάνοις	τυμπάνοις
וּבְמָעֲנָעִים					ובמענעים						
וּבְצֶלְצְלִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ובצלצלים	ובמצלתים	וּבִמְצִלְתַּיִם	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν				ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν

	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν αὐλοῖς	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν αὐλοῖς	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν αὐλοῖς	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν αὐλοῖς		וּבִמְנַעֲנְעִים	וּבַחֲצֹצְרוֹת	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν σάλπιγξιν	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν σάλπιγξιν	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν σάλπιγξιν	κυμβάλοις καὶ ἐν σάλπιγξιν

2S6.6 MT^{BHS}	*2S6.6 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*2S6.6 LXX^{A}*	*2S6.6 LXX^{B}*	*2S6.6 LXX^{L}*	*2S6.6 4QSam^{a} Herbert*	*2S6.6 4QSam^{a} Fincke*	*1C13.9 MT^{BHS}*	*1C13.9 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*1C13.9 LXX^{A}*	*1C13.9 LXX^{B}*	*1C13.9 LXX^{L}*
וַיָּבֹאוּ	καὶ		καὶ	καὶ	ויבאו	ויבאו	וַיָּבֹאוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	παραγίνονται	παραγίνονται	παραγίνονται	παραγίνονται				ἤλθοσαν	ἤλθοσαν	ἤλθοσαν	ἦλθον
עַד־	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	עד	עד	עַד־	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως
				τῆς				τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς
גֹּרֶן	ἅλω	ἀλωμονός	ἅλω	ἅλω	גרן	גרן	גֹּרֶן	ἄλωνος	ἄλωνος	ἄλωνος	ἄλωνος
נָכוֹן	Νωδαβ	Ναχων	Νωδαβ	Ορνα	נורן	כידן	כִּידֹן		Χειλων		Χεδων
				τοῦ							
				Ιεβουσαιου							
וַיִּשְׁלַח	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וישלח	וישלח	וַיִּשְׁלַח	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐξέτεινεν	ἐξέτεινεν	ἐξέτεινεν	ἐξέτεινεν				ἐξέτεινεν	ἐξέτεινεν	ἐξέτεινεν	ἐξέτεινεν
עֻזָּא	Οζα	Αζζα	Οζα	Οζα	עוא	עזא	עֻזָּא	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα
	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את	אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
	χεῖρα	χεῖρα	χεῖρα	χεῖρα	ידו	ידו	יָדוֹ	χεῖρα	χεῖρα	χεῖρα	χεῖρα
	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ				αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
אֶל־	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	πρὸς	אל	אל					
	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν							
אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	ארון	ארון					
הָאֱלֹהִים׃	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	האלוהים	האלוהים					
	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ							
							לְאָחְיוֹ׃	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	κατασχεῖν	κατασχεῖν	κατασχεῖν	κατασχεῖν				κατασχεῖν	κατασχεῖν	κατασχῖν	κατασχεῖν
	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν							
							אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
							הָאָרֹן	κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν
וַיֹּאחֶז	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויאחז	ויאחז					
	ἐκράτησεν	ἐκράτησεν	ἐκράτησεν	ἐκραταίωσεν							
בּוֹ	αὐτήν	αὐτήν	αὐτόν	αὐτήν	בו						
כִּי	ὅτι	ὅτι	ὅτι	ὅτι	כי	כי	כִּי	ὅτι	ὅτι		ὅτι
										καὶ	
שָׁמַט	περιέσπασεν	περιέσπασεν	περιέσπασεν	περιέσπασεν	שמטו	שמטו	שָׁמְטוּ	ἐξέκλινεν	ἐξέκλινεν	ἐξέκλειναν	ἐξέκλινεν
	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὴν				αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν
הַבָּקָר	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	הבקר	הבקר	הַבָּקָר	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ

	μόσχος τοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν	μόσχος τοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν	μόσχος τοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν	μόσχος				μόσχος	μόσχος	μόσχος	μόσχος

2S6.7 MT^{BHS}	2S6.7 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.7 LXX^{A}	2S6.7 LXX^{B}	2S6.7 LXX^{L}	2S6.7 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.7 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C13.10 MT^{BHS}	1C13.10 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C13.10 LXX^{A}	1C13.10 LXX^{B}	1C13.10 LXX^{L}
וַיִּֽחַר־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויחר	ויחר	וַיִּֽחַר־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐθυμώθη	ἐθυμώθη	ἐθυμώθη	ἐθυμώθη				ἐθυμώθη	ἐθυμώθη	ἐθυμώθη	ἐθυμώθη
אַף				ὀργῇ	אף	אף	אַף	ὀργῇ			ὀργῇ
יְהוָה	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος	יהוה	יהוה	יְהוָה	κύριος	κύριος ὀργῇ	κύριος	κύριος
בְּעֻזָּה				ἐν	בעזא	בעזא	בְּעֻזָּא	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ
	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ							
	Οζα	Αζζαν	Οζα	Οζα				Οζα	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα
וַיַּכֵּהוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויכהו	ויכהו	וַיַּכֵּהוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἔπαισεν	ἔπαισεν	ἔπαισεν	ἐπάταξεν				ἐπάταξεν	ἐπάταξεν	ἐπάταξεν	ἐπάταξεν
	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν				αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν
שָׁם	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	שם	שם		ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ
הָאֱלֹהִים	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	האלוהים	האלוהים					
	θεός	θεός	θεός	θεός							
עַל־		ἐπὶ		ἐπὶ		על					
הַשֵּׁל				־ῇ		השל					
		προπετείᾳ		προπετείᾳ							
					על	כיא	עַל	διὰ	διὰ	διὰ	διὰ
					אשר		אֲשֶׁר־				
					שלח	שלח	שָׁלַח	τὸ	τὸ	τὸ	τὸ
								ἐκτεῖναι	ἐκτεῖναι	ἐκτεῖναι	ἐκτεῖναι
					ידו	ידו	יָדוֹ	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
								χεῖρα	χεῖρα	χεῖρα	χεῖρα
								αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
					אל	אל	עַל־	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ
					הארון	הארון	הָאָרֹן	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
								κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν	κιβωτόν
וַיָּמָת	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וימות	וימות	וַיָּמָת	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἀπέθανεν	ἀπέθανεν	ἀπέθανεν	ἀπέθανεν				ἀπέθανεν	ἀπέθανεν	ἀπέθανεν	ἀπέθανεν
שָׁם	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	שם	שם	שָׁם	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ	ἐκεῖ
עִם	παρὰ	παρὰ	παρὰ	παρὰ	לפני	לפני	לִפְנֵי	ἀπέναντι	ἀπέναντι	ἀπέναντι	ἀπέναντι
אֲרוֹן	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν							
	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν							
	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ							

הָאֱלֹהִים	κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ	κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ	κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ	κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ	אלוהים	אלוהים	אֱלֹהִים	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ	τοῦ θεοῦ

2S6.8 MT^{BHS}	*2S6.8 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*2S6.8 LXX^{A}*	*2S6.8 LXX^{B}*	*2S6.8 LXX^{L}*	*2S6.8 4QSam^{a} Herbert*	*2S6.8 4QSam^{a} Fincke*	*1C13.11 MT^{BHS}*	*1C13.11 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*1C13.11 LXX^{A}*	*1C13.11 LXX^{B}*	*1C13.11 LXX^{L}*
וַיַּ֣חַר	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויחר	ויחר	וַיַּ֣חַר	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἠθύμησεν	ἠθύμωσεν	ἠθύμησεν	ἠθύμησε				ἠθύμησεν	ἠθύμησεν	ἠθύμησεν	ἠθύμησε
לְדָוִ֔ד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	לדוד	לדויד	לְדָוִ֔ד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
עַל	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	על	כי	כִּי־	ὅτι	ὅτι	ὅτι	ὅτι
אֲשֶׁר	οὗ	οὗ	οὗ	οὗ	אשר						
פָּ֥רַץ	διέκοψεν	διέκοψεν	διέκοψεν	διέκοψε	פרץ	פרץ	פָּ֥רַץ	διέκοψεν	διέκοψεν	διέκοψεν	διέκοψε
יְהוָ֖ה	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος	יהוה	יהוה	יְהוָ֖ה	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος
פֶּ֣רֶץ	διακοπὴν	διακοπὴν	διακοπὴν	διακοπὴν	פרץ	פרץ	פֶּ֣רֶץ	διακοπὴν	διακοπὴν	διακοπὴν	διακοπὴν
בְּעֻזָּ֑ה	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	בעזא	בעזא	בְּעֻזָּ֑א	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ							
	Οζα	Αζζα	Οζα	Οζα				Οζα	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα
וַיִּקְרָ֣א	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויקרא	ויקרא	וַיִּקְרָ֣א	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐκλήθη	ἐκλήθη	ἐκλήθη	ἐκλήθη				ἐκάλεσεν	ἐκάλεσεν	ἐκάλεσεν	ἐκάλεσε
לַמָּקוֹם	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	למקום	למקום	לַמָּקוֹם	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
	τόπος	τόπος	τόπος	τόπος				τόπον	τόπον	τόπον	τόπον
הַה֤וּא	ἐκεῖνος	ἐκεῖνος	ἐκεῖνος	ἐκεῖνος	ההוא	ההוא	הַה֤וּא	ἐκεῖνον	ἐκεῖνον	ἐκεῖνον	ἐκεῖνον
פֶּ֣רֶץ	Διακοπὴ	Διακοπὴ	Διακοπὴ	Διακοπὴ	פרץ	פרץ	פֶּ֣רֶץ	Διακοπὴ	Διακοπὴ	Διακοπὴ	διακοπὴν
עֻזָּ֔ה	Οζα	Αζζα	Οζα	Οζα	עזא	עזא	עֻזָּ֔א	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα	Οζα
עַ֖ד	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	עד	עד	עַ֖ד	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως
		σήμερον									
הַיּ֥וֹם	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	היום	היום	הַיּ֥וֹם	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς
	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας				ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας
הַזֶּֽה	ταύτης	ταύτης	ταύτης	ταύτης	הזה		הַזֶּֽה	ταύτης	ταύτης	ταύτης	ταύτης

2S6.9 MT^{BHS}	2S6.9 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.9 LXX^{A}	2S6.9 LXX^{B}	2S6.9 LXX^{L}	2S6.9 4QSam[a] Herbert	2S6.9 4QSam[a] Fincke	1C13.12 MT^{BHS}	1C13.12 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C13.12 LXX^{A}	1C13.12 LXX^{B}	1C13.12 LXX^{L}
וַיֵּרָא	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וירא	וירא	וַיִּירָא	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐφοβήθη	ἐφοβήθη	ἐφοβήθη	ἐφοβήθη				ἐφοβήθη	ἐφοβήθη	ἐφοβήθη	ἐφοβήθη
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	דוד	דויד	דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	את	את	אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
יְהוָה	κύριον	κύριον	κύριον	κύριον	יהוה	האלוהים	הָאֱלֹהִים	θεὸν	θεὸν	θεὸν	θεὸν
בַּיּוֹם	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ביום	ביום	בַּיּוֹם	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ				τῇ	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ
	ἡμέρᾳ	ἡμέρᾳ	ἡμέρᾳ	ἡμέρᾳ				ἡμέρᾳ	ἡμέρᾳ	ἡμέρᾳ	ἡμέρᾳ
הַהוּא	ἐκείνῃ	ἐκείνῃ	ἐκείνῃ	ἐκείνῃ	ההוא	ההוא	הַהוּא	ἐκείνῃ	ἐκείνῃ	ἐκείνῃ	ἐκείνῃ
וַיֹּאמֶר	λέγων	λέγων	λέγων	λέγων	לאמור	לאמור	לֵאמֹר	λέγων	λέγων	λέγων	λέγων
אֵיךְ	πῶς	πῶς	πῶς	πῶς	איך	היך	הֵיךְ	πῶς	πῶς	πῶς	πῶς
יָבוֹא	εἰσελεύσεται	εἰσελεύσεται	εἰσελεύσεται	εἰσελεύσεται	יבוא	אביא	אָבִיא	εἰσοίσω	εἰσοίσω	εἰσοίσω	εἰσοίσω
אֵלַי	πρός	πρός	πρός	πρός	אלי	אלי	אֵלַי	πρὸς	πρὸς		πρὸς
	με	με	μὲ	μὲ				ἐμαυτὸν	ἐμαυτὸν		ἐμαυτὸν
						יהוה					
	ἡ	ἡ	ἡ	ἡ		את	אֶת	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸς	κιβωτὸς	κιβωτὸς	κιβωτὸς	ארון	ארון	אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
יְהוָה		τοῦ		τοῦ	יהוה	יהוה	הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	θεοῦ				θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ
										πρὸς	
										ἐμαυτὸν	
				καὶ	ויבוא						
				ἦλθεν							
				ἡ	ארון						
				κιβωτὸς							
				τοῦ	יהוה						
				κυρίου							

2S6.10 MT^{BHS}	2S6.10 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.10 LXX^{A}	2S6.10 LXX^{B}	2S6.10 LXX^{L}	2S6.10 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.10 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C13.13 MT^{BHS}	1C13.13 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C13.13 LXX^{A}	1C13.13 LXX^{B}	1C13.13 LXX^{L}
וְלֹא־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ולוא	ולא	וְלֹא־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	οὐκ	οὐκ	οὐκ	οὐκ				οὐκ	οὐκ	οὐκ	οὐκ
אָבָה	ἐβούλετο	ἐβούλετο	ἐβούλετο	ἐβούλετο	אבה						
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	דויד						
לְהָסִיר	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	להסיר	הסיר	הֲסִיר				
	ἐκκλῖναι	ἐκκλεῖναι	ἐκκλεῖναι	ἐκκλῖναι				ἀπέστρεψεν	ἀπέστρεψεν	ἀπέστρεψεν	ἐξέκλινε
						דויד	דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
אֵלָיו	πρὸς	πρὸς	πρὸς	πρὸς	אליו						
	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν							
אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את	אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	ארון	הארון	הָאָרֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης							
					not						τοῦ
יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	extant						θεοῦ
						אליו	אֵלָיו	πρὸς	πρὸς	πρὸς	πρὸς
								ἑαυτὸν	ἑαυτὸν	ἑαυτὸν	ἑαυτὸν
עַל־	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς		אל	אֶל־	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς
עִיר	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν		עיר	עִיר		τὴν		τὴν
	πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν				πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ		דויד	דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
וַיַּטֵּהוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		ויטהו	וַיַּטֵּהוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἀπέκλινεν	ἀπέκλινεν	ἀπέκλειναν	ἐξέκλινεν				ἐξέκλινεν	ἐξέκλινεν	ἐξέκλειναν	ἐξέκλινεν
	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν				αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ							
	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς			אֶל־	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς
בֵּית	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον		בית	בֵּית	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον
עֹבֵד־	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαδαν		עבד	עֹבֵד־	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαδαν
אֱדֹם						אדם	אֱדֹם				
הַגִּתִּי	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ		הגתי	הַגִּתִּי	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	Γεθθαιου	Γεθθαιου	Γεθθαιου	Γεθθαιου				Γεθθαιου	Χετταιου	Γεθθαιου	Γεθθαιου
				μῆνας							
				τρεῖς							

2S6.11 MT^{BHS}	2S6.11 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.11 LXX^{A}	2S6.11 LXX^{B}	2S6.11 LXX^{L}	2S6.11 $4QSam^{a}$ Herbert	2S6.11 $4QSam^{a}$ Fincke	1C13.14 MT^{BHS}	1C13.14 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C13.14 LXX^{A}	1C13.14 LXX^{B}	1C13.14 LXX^{L}
וַיֵּשֶׁב	καὶ ἐκάθισεν	καὶ ἐκάθισεν ἐκεῖ	καὶ ἐκάθισεν	καὶ ἐκάθισεν	not extant	וישב	וַיֵּשֶׁב	καὶ ἐκάθισεν	καὶ ἐκάθισεν	καὶ ἐκάθισεν	καὶ ἐκάθισεν
	ἡ		ἡ	ἡ				ἡ	ἡ	ἡ	ἡ
אֲרֹון יְהוָה	κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου	γλωσσόκομον κυρίου	κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου	κιβωτὸς τοῦ κυρίου		ארון יהוה	אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים	κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ	κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ	κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ	κιβωτὸς τοῦ θεοῦ
	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	ἐν			עִם־	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν τῷ
בֵּית עֹבֵד אֱדֹם	οἶκον Αβεδδαρα	οἶκον Αβεδδαδομ	οἶκον Αβεδδαρα	οἴκῳ Αβεδδαδαν		בית עבד אדם	בֵּית עֹבֵד אֱדֹם בְּבֵיתוֹ	οἴκῳ Αβεδδαρα	οἴκῳ Αβεδδαρα	οἴκῳ Αβεδδαρα	οἴκῳ Αβεδδαδαν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ
הַגִּתִּי	τοῦ Γεθθαιου	τοῦ Γεθθαιου	τοῦ Γεθθαιου	τοῦ Γεθθαιου		הגתי					
שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים	μῆνας τρεῖς	μῆνας τρεῖς	μῆνας τρεῖς	μῆνας τρεῖς		שלשה חדשים	שְׁלֹשָׁה חֳדָשִׁים	τρεῖς μῆνας	τρῖς ἡμέρας	τρεῖς μῆνας	μῆνας τρεῖς
וַיְבָרֶךְ יְהוָה	καὶ εὐλόγησεν κύριος	καὶ εὐλόγησεν κύριος	καὶ εὐλόγησεν κύριος	καὶ εὐλόγησε κύριος		ויברך יהוה	וַיְבָרֶךְ יְהוָה	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς	καὶ εὐλόγησεν ὁ θεὸς	καὶ εὐλόγησε κύριος
	ὅλον		ὅλον								
אֶת־ עֹבֵד אֱדֹם	τὸν οἶκον Αβεδδαρα	τὸν Αβεδδαρα	τὸν οἶκον Αβεδδαρα	τὸν οἶκον Αβεδδαδαν		את עבד אדם	אֶת־ בֵּית עֹבֵד־ אֱדֹם	Αβεδδαραμ	τὸν Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαραμ	τὸν οἶκον Αβεδδαδαν
וְאֶת־ כָּל־ בֵּיתוֹ	καὶ πάντα	καὶ ὅλον τὸν	καὶ πάντα	καὶ πάντα		ואת כל ביתו	וְאֶת־ כָּל־	καὶ πάντα	καὶ πάντα	καὶ πάντα	καὶ πάντα

	τὰ αὐτοῦ	οἶκον	τὰ αὐτοῦ	τὰ αὐτοῦ			אֲשֶׁר־ לוֹ	τὰ αὐτοῦ	τὰ αὐτοῦ	τὰ αὐτοῦ	τὰ αὐτοῦ

2S6.12 MT^{BHS}	2S6.12 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.12 LXX^{A}	2S6.12 LXX^{B}	2S6.12 LXX^{L}	2S6.12 $4QSam^{a}$ Herbert	2S6.12 $4QSam^{a}$ Fincke	1C15.25 MT^{BHS}	1C15.25 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C15.25 LXX^{A}	1C15.25 LXX^{B}	1C15.25 LXX^{L}
וַיַּגֶּד	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	not	ויגד					
	ἀπηγγέλη	ἀπηγγέλη	ἀπηγγέλη	ἀπήγγειλαν	extant						
לַמֶּלֶךְ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ		למלך					
	βασιλεῖ	βασιλεῖ	βασιλεῖ	βασιλεῖ							
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ		דויד					
לֵאמֹר	λέγοντες	λέγοντες	λέγοντες	λέγοντες		לאמור					
בֵּרַךְ	ηὐλόγησεν	ηὐλόγησεν	ηὐλόγησεν	ηὐλόγησε		ברך					
יְהוָה	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος	κύριος		יהוה					
אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν		את					
בֵּית	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον		בית					
עֹבֵד	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαδαν		עבד					
אֱדֹם						אדם					
וְאֶת־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		ואת					
כָּל־	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα		כול					
אֲשֶׁר־	τὰ	τὰ	τὰ	τὰ		אשר					
לוֹ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ		לו					
בַּעֲבוּר	ἕνεκεν	ἕνεκεν	ἕνεκεν	ἕνεκεν		בעבור					
אֲרוֹן	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς		ארון					
	κιβωτοῦ	κιβωτοῦ	κιβωτοῦ	κιβωτοῦ							
הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ		האלוהים					
	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ							
				καὶ							
				εἶπε							
				Δαυιδ							
				ἐπιστρέψω							
				τὴν							
				εὐλογίαν							
				εἰς							
				τὸν							
				οἰκόν							
				μου							
						ויהי	וַיְהִי	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								ἦν	ἦν	ἦν	ἦν
						דויד	דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ

						וזקני	וְזִקְנֵי	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								οἱ	οἱ		οἱ
								πρεσβύτεροι	πρεσβύτεροι	πρεσβύτεροι	πρεσβύτεροι
						ישראל	יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ
						ושרי	וְשָׂרֵי	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
						האלפים	הָאֲלָפִים	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ
								χιλίαρχοι	χιλίαρχοι	χειλίαρχοι	χιλίαρχοι
וַיֵּלֶךְ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		ההלכים	הַהֹלְכִים	οἱ		οἱ	οἱ
	ἐπορεύθη	ἐπορεύθη	ἐπορεύθη	ἐπορεύθη				πορευόμενοι	πορευόμενοι	πορευόμενοι	πορευόμενοι
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ							
וַיַּעַל	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		להעלות	לְהַעֲלוֹת	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	ἀνήγαγεν	ἀνήγαγεν	ἀνήγαγεν	ἀνήγαγε				ἀναγαγεῖν	ἀναγαγεῖν	ἀναγαγεῖν	ἀνενεγκεῖν
אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν		את	אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν		ארון	אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
						הברית	בְּרִית־	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς
								διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης
הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ			יְהוָה				
	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου				κυρίου	κυρίου		κυρίου
מִבֵּית	ἐκ	ἐκ	ἐκ	ἐκ		מן	מִן־	ἐξ	ἐξ	ἐξ	ἐξ
	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ							
	οἴκου	οἴκου	οἴκου	οἴκου		בית	בֵּית	οἴκου	οἴκου	οἴκου	οἴκου
עֹבֵד	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαρα	Αβεδδαδαν	עבד	עבד	עֹבֵד־	Αβδεδομ	Αβδεδομ	Αβδοδομ	Αβεδαδδαν
אֱדֹם					אדם	אדם	אֱדֹם				
	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς							
עִיר	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν		עיר	עיר					
	πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν	πόλιν							
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	דויד	דויד					
בְּשִׂמְחָה	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	בשמחה	בשמחה	בְּשִׂמְחָה	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	εὐφροσύνῃ	εὐφροσύνῃ	εὐφροσύνῃ	εὐφροσύνῃ				εὐφροσύνῃ	εὐφροσύνῃ	εὐφροσύνῃ	εὐφροσύνῃ

2S6.13 MT^{BHS}	2S6.13 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.13 LXX^{A}	2S6.13 LXX^{B}	2S6.13 LXX^{L}	2S6.13 $4QSam^{a}$ Herbert	2S6.13 $4QSam^{a}$ Fincke	1C15.26 MT^{BHS}	1C15.26 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C15.26 LXX^{A}	1C15.26 LXX^{B}	1C15.26 LXX^{L}
וַיְהִי	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	והיה	והיה	וַיְהִי	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἦσαν	ἦσαν	ἦσαν	ἦσαν				ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο
כִּי					כי	כי					
צָעֲדוּ					צעדו	צעדו					
	μετ’	μετ’	μετ’	μετ’							
	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν	αὐτῶν							
							בְּעָוֹר	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
								τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ
								κατισχῦσαι	κατισχῦσαι	κατισχῦσαι	κατισχῦσαι
							הָאֱלֹהִים	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	
								θεὸν	θεὸν	θεὸν	κύριον
							אֶת־	τοὺς	τοὺς	τοὺς	τοὺς
							הַלְוִיִּם	λευίτας	λευίτας	λευείτας	λευίτας
				οἱ							
נֹשְׂאֵי	αἴροντες	αἴροντες	αἴροντες	αἴροντες	נושאי	נשאי	נֹשְׂאֵי	αἴροντας	αἴροντας	αἴροντας	αἴρουσι
אֲרוֹן־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	ארון	ארון	אֲרֹן	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν				κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
							בְּרִית־	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	
								διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης
יְהוָה				κυρίου	יהוה	יהוה	יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου
שֵׁשָׁה	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ששה	ששה					
צְעָדִים	χοροὶ	χοροὶ	χοροὶ	χοροὶ	צעדים	צעדים					
וַיִּזְבַּח	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויזבח	ויזבח	וַיִּזְבְּחוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	θῦμα	θῦμα	θῦμα	θῦμα				ἔθυσαν	ἔθυσαν	ἔθυσαν	ἔθυσαν
										ἀν’	
					שבעה	שבעה	שִׁבְעָה־	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ
שׁוֹר	μόσχος	μόσχος	μόσχος	μόσχου	פרים	פרים	פָּרִים	μόσχους	μόσχους	μόσχους	μόσχους
	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ושבעה	ושבעה	וְשִׁבְעָה	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
										ἀν’	
								ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ	ἑπτὰ
וּמְרִיא	ἄρνα	ἄρνα	ἄρνα	ἀρνός	אילים	אילים	אֵילִים	κριούς	κριούς	κρειούς	κριούς

2S6.14 MT^{BHS}	2S6.14 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.14 LXX^{A}	2S6.14 LXX^{B}	2S6.14 LXX^{L}	2S6.14 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.14 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C15.27 MT^{BHS}	1C15.27 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C15.27 LXX^{A}	1C15.27 LXX^{B}	1C15.27 LXX^{L}
וְדָוִד	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ודויד	ודויד	וְדָוִיד	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ				Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
מְכַרְכֵּר	ἀνεκρούετο	ἀνεκρούετο	ἀνεκρούετο	ἀνεκρούετο	מכרכר	מכרכר					
בְּכָל־	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	בכול	בכל					
עֹז	ὀργάνοις	ὀργάνοις	ὀργάνοις	ὀργάνοις	עז	עז					
	ἡρμοσμένοις	ἡρμοσμένοις	ἡρμοσμένοις	ἡρμοσμένοις							
לִפְנֵי	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	לפני	לפני					
יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	יהוה	יהוה					
							מְכֻרְבָּל ו	περιεζωσμένος	περιεζωσμένος	περιεζωσμένος	περιεζωσμένος
							בְּמְעִיל	ἐν		ἐν	ἐν
								στολῇ	στολῇ	στολῇ	στολῇ
							בּוּץ	βυσσίνῃ	βυσσίνῃ	βυσσίνῃ	βυσσίνῃ
							וְכָל־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								πάντες	πάντες	πάντες	πάντες
							הַלְוִיִּם	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ
								λευῖται	λευῖται	λευεῖται	λευῖται
											καὶ
											πάντες
							הַנֹּשְׂאִים	αἴροντες	αἴροντες	αἴροντες	οἱ
											αἴροντες
							אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
							הָאָרֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
								διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης
								κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου
							וְהַמְשֹׁרְרִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								οἱ	οἱ	οἱ	οἱ
								ψαλτῳδοὶ	ψαλτῳδοὶ	ψαλτῳδοὶ	ψαλτῳδοὶ
							וּכְנַנְיָה	καὶ	καὶ		καὶ
								Χωνενιας	Χενενιας	Ιεχονιας	Χονενιας
							הַשָּׂר	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ
								ἄρχων	ἄρχων	ἄρχων	ἄρχων
							הַמַּשָּׂא	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν
								ᾠδῶν	ᾠδῶν	ᾠδῶν	ᾠδῶν
							הַמְשֹׁרְרִים	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν

								ᾀδόντων	ᾀδόντων	ᾀδόντων	ᾀδόντων
								καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
							וְעַל־	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ
וְדָוִד	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ודויד	ודויד	דָּוִיד				
	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ								
	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ					Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
				αὐτός							
חָגוּר	ἐνδεδυκὼς	ἐνδεδυκὼς	ἐνδεδυκὼς	ἐνδεδυμένος	חגור	חגור					
אֵפוֹד	στολὴν	στολὴν	στολὴν	στολὴν	אפוד	אפוד	אֵפוֹד	στολὴ	στολὴ	στολὴ	ἐφοὺδ
בָּד	ἕξαλλον	ἕξαλλον	ἕξαλλον	ἕξαλλον	בד	בד	בָּד	βυσσίνη	βυσσίνη	βυσσίνη	μόνον

2S6.15 MT^{BHS}	2S6.15 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.15 LXX^{A}	2S6.15 LXX^{B}	2S6.15 LXX^{L}	2S6.15 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.15 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C15.28 MT^{BHS}	1C15.28 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C15.28 LXX^{A}	1C15.28 LXX^{B}	1C15.28 LXX^{L}
וְדָוִד	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ודויד	ודויד					
	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ							
וְכָל־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	וכול	וכל	וְכָל־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς				πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς
בֵּית	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ								
	οἶκος	οἶκος	οἶκος		בית	בית					
יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	ישראל	ישראל	יִשְׂרָאֵל	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ
מַעֲלִים	ἀνήγαγον	ἀνήγαγεν	ἀνήγαγον	ἀνήγαγον	מעלים	מעלים	מַעֲלִים	ἀνάγοντες	ἀνάγοντες	ἀνάγοντες	ἀνάγοντες
אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את	אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	ארון	ארון	אֲרֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
							בְּרִית־	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης	διαθήκης
יְהוָה				τοῦ	יהוה	יהוה	יְהוָה				
	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου				κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου
בִּתְרוּעָה	μετὰ	μετὰ	μετὰ	μετὰ	בתרועה	בתרועה	בִּתְרוּעָה	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	κραυγῆς	κραυγῆς	κραυγῆς	κραυγῆς				σημασίᾳ	σημασίᾳ	σημασίᾳ	σημασίᾳ
וּבְקוֹל	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ובקול	ובקול	וּבְקוֹל	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	μετὰ	μετὰ	μετὰ					ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	φωνῆς	φωνῆς	φωνῆς	φωνῆς				φωνῇ	φωνῇ	φωνῇ	φωνῇ
שׁוֹפָר	σάλπιγγος	σάλπιγγος	σάλπιγγος	σάλπιγγος	שופר	שופר	שׁוֹפָר	σωφερ	σωφερ	σωφὲρ	σωφὰρ
							וּבַחֲצֹצְרוֹת	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
								σάλπιγξιν	σάλπιγξιν	σάλπιγξιν	σάλπιγξι
							וּבְמְצִלְתָּיִם	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
								κυμβάλοις	κυμβάλοις	κυμβάλοις	κυμβάλοις
							מַשְׁמִעִים	ἀναφωνοῦνταις	ἀναφωνοῦντες	ἀναφωνοῦντες	ἀναφωνοῦντες
							בִּנְבָלִים				ἐν
								νάβλαις	νάβλαις	νάβλαις	νάβλαις
							וְכִנֹּרוֹת	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
								κινύραις	κινύραις	κινύραις	κινύραις

2S6.17 MT^{BHS}	2S6.17 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.17 LXX^{A}	2S6.17 LXX^{B}	2S6.17 LXX^{L}	2S6.17 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.17 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C16.1 MT^{BHS}	1C16.1 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C16.1 LXX^{A}	1C16.1 LXX^{B}	1C16.1 LXX^{L}
וַיָּבֹאוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויביאו	ויביאו	וַיְבִיאוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	φέρουσιν	φέρουσιν	φέρουσιν	εἰσφέρουσι				εἰσήνεγκαν	εἰσήνεγκαν	εἰσήνεγκαν	εἰσήνεγκαν
אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	את	את	אֶת־	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν
אֲרֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	ארון	ארון	אֲרוֹן	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν	κιβωτὸν
יְהוָה	τοῦ		τοῦ	τοῦ	יהוה	יהוה	הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου				θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ	θεοῦ
וַיַּצִּגוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויצגו	ויצגו	וַיַּצִּיגוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἀνέθηκαν	ἀνέθηκαν	ἀνέθηκαν	τιθέασιν				ἀπηρείσαντο	ἀπηρείσαντο	ἀπηρείσαντο	ἀπηρείσαντο
אֹתוֹ	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	אותו	אתו	אֹתוֹ	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν	αὐτὴν
בְּמְקוֹמוֹ	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	במקומו						
	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν							
	τόπον	τόπον	τόπον	τόπον							
	αὐτῆς	ἑαυτῆς	αὐτῆς	αὐτῆς							
בְּתוֹךְ	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	ἐν	בתוך	בתוך	בְּתוֹךְ	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	μέσον	μέσον	μέσον	μέσῳ				μέσῳ	μέσῳ	μέσῳ	μέσῳ
הָאֹהֶל	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	האהל	האוהל	הָאֹהֶל	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς
	σκηνῆς	σκηνῆς	σκηνῆς	σκηνῆς				σκηνῆς	σκηνῆς	σκηνῆς	σκηνῆς
אֲשֶׁר	ἧς	ἧς	ἧς	ἧς	אשר	אשר	אֲשֶׁר	ἧς	ἧς	ἧς	ἧς
נָטָה־	ἔπηξεν	ἔπηξεν	ἔπηξεν	ἔπηξεν	נטה	נטה	נָטָה־	ἔπηξεν	ἔπηξεν	ἔπηξεν	ἔπηξεν
לוֹ	αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ	לו	לו	לוֹ	αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ	αὐτῇ
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	דויד	דויד	דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
וַיַּעַל	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויעל	ויעל	וַיַּקְרִיבוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἀνήνεγκεν	ἀνήγαγεν	ἀνήνεγκεν	ἀνήνεγκε				προσήνεγκαν	προσήνεγκαν	προσήνεγκαν	προσήνεγκαν
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ		Δαυιδ	דויד	דויד					
			αὐτῇ								
עֹלוֹת	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	עולות	עלות	עֹלוֹת	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα καὶ εἰρηνικὰς
						ושלמים	וּשְׁלָמִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								σωτηρίου	σωτηρίου	σωτηρίου	σωτηρίου
לִפְנֵי	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	לפני	לפני	לִפְנֵי	ἐναντίον	ἐναντίον	ἐναντίον	ἐναντίον
יְהוָה					יהוה	יהוה	הָאֱלֹהִים	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου				θεοῦ	κυρίου	θεοῦ	θεοῦ
וּשְׁלָמִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ושלמים						

	εἰρηνικάς	εἰρηνικάς	εἰρηνικάς	εἰρηνικάς							

2S6.18 MT^{BHS}	*2S6.18 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*2S6.18 LXX^{A}*	*2S6.18 LXX^{B}*	*2S6.18 LXX^{L}*	*2S6.18 4QSam^{a} Herbert*	*2S6.18 4QSam^{a} Fincke*	*1C16.2 MT^{BHS}*	*1C16.2 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*1C16.2 LXX^{A}*	*1C16.2 LXX^{B}*	*1C16.2 LXX^{L}*
וַיְכַל	καὶ συνετέλεσεν	καὶ συνετέλεσεν	καὶ συνετέλεσεν	καὶ συνετέλεσε	ויכל	ויכל	וַיְכַל	καὶ συνετέλεσεν	καὶ συνετέλεσεν	καὶ συνετέλεσεν	καὶ συνετέλεσε
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	דויד	דויד	דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
מַהַעֲלוֹת	συναναφέρων	συναναφέρων	συναναφέρων	ἀναφέρων	מהעלות	מהעלות	מַהַעֲלוֹת	ἀναφέρων	ἀναφέρων	ἀναφέρων	ἀναφέρων
הָעוֹלָה	τὰς	τὰς	τὰς	τὰς	העולה	העלה	הָעֹלָה				τὰ
	ὁλοκαυτώσεις	ὁλοκαυτώσεις	ὁλοκαυτώσεις	ὁλοκαυτώσεις				ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα	ὁλοκαυτώματα
וְהַשְּׁלָמִים	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	והשלמים		וְהַשְּׁלָמִים				καὶ
	τὰς	τὰς	τὰς	τὰς							τὰς
	εἰρηνικὰς	εἰρηνικὰς	εἰρηνικὰς	εἰρηνικὰς							εἰρηνικὰς
								καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
								σωτηρίου	σωτηρίου	σωτηρίου	σωτηρίου
וַיְבָרֶךְ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ויברך	ויברך	וַיְבָרֶךְ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησε				εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησε
אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	את	את	אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
הָעָם	λαὸν	λαὸν	λαὸν	λαὸν	העם	העם	הָעָם	λαὸν	λαὸν	λαὸν	λαὸν
בְּשֵׁם	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν		בשם	בְּשֵׁם	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	ὀνόματι	ὀνόματι	ὀνόματι	ὀνόματι	not			ὀνόματι	ὀνόματι	ὀνόματι	ὀνόματι
יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	extant	יהוה	יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου
צְבָאוֹת	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν								
	δυνάμεων	δυνάμεων	δυνάμεων	Σαβαωθ							

2S6.19a MT^{BHS}	2S6.19a LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.19a LXX^{A}	2S6.19a LXX^{B}	2S6.19a LXX^{L}	2S6.19a 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.19a 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C16.3 MT^{BHS}	1C16.3 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C16.3 LXX^{A}	1C16.3 LXX^{B}	1C16.3 LXX^{L}
וַיְחַלֵּק	καὶ διεμέρισεν	καὶ διεμέρισεν	καὶ διεμέρισεν	καὶ ἐμέρισε	not extant	ויחלק	וַיְחַלֵּק	καὶ διεμέρισεν	καὶ διεμέρισεν	καὶ διεμέρισεν	καὶ διεμέρισε Δαυιδ
לְכָל־	παντὶ	παντὶ	παντὶ	παντὶ		לכל	לְכָל־	παντὶ	παντὶ	παντὶ	παντὶ
הָעָם	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ		איש	אִישׁ				
	λαῷ	λαῷ	λαῷ	λαῷ ἀπὸ Δαν ἕως Βηρσαβεε				ἀνδρὶ	ἀνδρὶ	ἀνδρὶ	ἀνδρὶ
לְכָל־	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς							
	πᾶσαν	πᾶσαν	πᾶσαν	πᾶσαν							
הֲמוֹן	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν	τὴν							
	δύναμιν	δύναμιν	δύναμιν	δύναμιν							
יִשְׂרָאֵל	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ		ישראל	יִשְׂרָאֵל				
	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ				Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ
	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ								
	Δαν	Δαν	Δαν								
	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως								
	Βηρσαβεε	Βηρσαβεε	Βηρσαβεε								
לְמֵאִישׁ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ		מאיש	מֵאִישׁ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ	ἀπὸ
	ἀνδρὸς	ἀνδρὸς	ἀνδρὸς	ἀνδρὸς				ἀνδρὸς	ἀνδρὸς	ἀνδρὸς	ἀνδρὸς
וְעַד־				καὶ		ועד	וְעַד־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως				ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως
אִשָּׁה	γυναικὸς	γυναικὸς	γυναικὸς	γυναικὸς		אשה	אִשָּׁה	γυναικὸς	γυναικὸς	γυναικὸς	γυναικὸς
לְאִישׁ						לאיש	לְאִישׁ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ	τῷ
	ἑκάστῳ		ἑκάστῳ	ἑκάστῳ				ἀνδρὶ	ἀνδρὶ	ἀνδρὶ	ἀνδρὶ
חַלַּת	κολλυρίδα	κολλυρίδα	κολλυρίδα	κολλυρίδα		ככר	כִּכַּר־				χελχὰρ
לֶחֶם	ἄρτου	ἄρτου	ἄρτου	ἄρτου		לחם	לֶחֶם	ἄρτον	ἄρτον	ἄρτον	ἄρτου
אַחַת								ἕνα ἀρτοκοπικὸν	ἕνα ἀρτοκοπικὸν	ἕνα ἀρτοκοπικὸν	
וְאִשָּׁפָר	καὶ ἐσχαρίτην	καὶ ἐσχαρίτην	καὶ ἐσχαρίτην	καὶ ἐσχαρίτην		ואשפר	וְאִשָּׁפָר				
אֶחָד											

וַאֲשִׁישָׁה אֶתָּה	καὶ λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου	καὶ λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου	καὶ λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου	καὶ λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου		ואשישה	וַאֲשִׁישָׁה	καὶ ἀμορίτην	καὶ ἀμορίτην	καὶ ἀμορείτην	καὶ λάγανον τηγάνου καὶ κολλυρίτην

2S6:19b-20a MT^{BHS}	2S6:19b-20a LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6.19b-20a LXX^{A}	2S6:19b-20a LXX^{B}	2S6:19b-20a LXX^{L}	2S6:19b-20a 4QSam^{a} Herbert	2S6.19b-20a 4QSam^{a} Fincke	1C16:43 MT^{BHS}	1C16:43 LXX^{Rahlfs}	1C16.43 LXX^{A}	1C16:43 LXX^{B}	1C16:43 LXX^{L}
וַיֵּלֶךְ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	not	not	וַיֵּלְכוּ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἀπῆλθεν	ἀπῆλθεν	ἀπῆλθεν	ἀπῆλθε	extant	part of		ἐπορεύθη	ἐπορεύθη	ἐπορεύθη	ἐπορεύθη
כָּל־	πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς	πᾶς		4QSam^{a}	כָּל־	ἅπας	πᾶς	ἅπας	πᾶς
הָעָם	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ			הָעָם	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ
	λαὸς	λαὸς	λαὸς	λαὸς				λαὸς	λαὸς	λαὸς	λαὸς
אִישׁ	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος			אִישׁ	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος	ἕκαστος
לְבֵיתוֹ	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς			לְבֵיתוֹ	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς
	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν				τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον				οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον
	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ				αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ
וַיָּשָׁב	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ			וַיָּסֹב	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐπέστρεψεν	ἐπέστρεψεν	ἐπέστρεψεν	ἀπέστρεψε				ἐπέστρεψεν	ἐπέστρεψεν	ἐπέστρεψεν	ἐπέστρεψε
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ			דָּוִיד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
לְבָרֵךְ							לְבָרֵךְ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ
	εὐλογῆσαι	εὐλογῆσαι	εὐλογῆσαι	εὐλογῆσαι				εὐλογῆσαι	εὐλογῆσαι	εὐλογῆσαι	εὐλογῆσαι
אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν			אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
בֵּיתוֹ	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον			בֵּיתוֹ	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον
	αὐτου	αὐτου	αὐτου	αὐτου				αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ

2S6.16 MT^{BHS}	*2S6.16 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*2S6.16 LXX^{A}*	*2S6.16 LXX^{B}*	*2S6.16 LXX^{L}*	*2S6.16 4QSam^{a} Herbert*	*2S6.16 4QSam^{a} Fincke*	*1C15.29 MT^{BHS}*	*1C15.29 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*1C15.29 LXX^{A}*	*1C15.29 LXX^{B}*	*1C15.29 LXX^{L}*
וְהָיָה׀	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο	ויהי	ויהי	וַיְהִי	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο	καὶ ἐγένετο καὶ ἦλθεν
אֲרוֹן	τῆς κιβωτοῦ	τῆς κιβωτοῦ	τῆς κιβωτοῦ	τῆς κιβωτοῦ	ארון	ארון	אֲרוֹן בְּרִית	κιβωτὸς	κιβωτὸς τῆς	κιβωτὸς	ἡ κιβωτὸς
יְהוָה		κυρίου		κυρίου	יהוה	יהוה	יְהוָה	διαθήκης κυρίου	διαθήκης κυρίου	διαθήκης κυρίου	διαθήκης κυρίου
בָּא	παραγινομένης	παραγινομένης	παραγεινομένης	παραγενομένης	בא	בא	בָּא	καὶ ἦλθεν	καὶ καθέν	καὶ ἦλθεν	
עִיר	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως τῆς	עיר	עד עיר	עַד־ עִיר	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως
דָּוִד	πόλεως Δαυιδ	πόλεως Δαυιδ	πόλεως Δαυειδ	πόλεως Δαυιδ	דויד	דויד	דָּוִיד	πόλεως Δαυιδ	πόλεως Δαυειδ	πόλεως Δαυειδ	πόλεως Δαυιδ
וּמִיכַל	καὶ Μελχολ	καὶ Μελχολ	καὶ Μελχολ	καὶ Μελχολ	ומיכל	ומיכל	וּמִיכַל	καὶ Μελχολ	καὶ Μελχολ	καὶ Μελχολ	καὶ Μελχολ
בַּת־	ἡ θυγάτηρ	ἡ θυγάτηρ	ἡ θυγάτηρ	θυγάτηρ	בת		בַּת־	θυγάτηρ	ἡ θυγάτηρ	θυγάτηρ	ἡ θυγάτηρ
שָׁאוּל	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	שאול		שָׁאוּל	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ
נִשְׁקְפָה ו	διέκυπτεν	διέκυπτεν	διέκυπτεν	διέκυπτε	נשקפה	נשקפת	נִשְׁקְפָה ו	παρέκυψεν	παρέκυψεν	παρέκυψεν	παρέκυψε
בְּעַד	διὰ	διὰ	διὰ	διὰ	בעד	בעד	בְּעַד	διὰ	διὰ	διὰ	διὰ
הַחַלּוֹן	τῆς θυρίδος	τῆς θυρίδος	τῆς θυρίδος	τῆς θυρίδος	החלון	החלון	הַחַלּוֹן	τῆς θυρίδος	τῆς θυρίδος	τῆς θυρίδος	τῆς θυρίδος
וַתֵּרֶא	καὶ εἶδεν	καὶ εἶδεν	καὶ εἶδεν	καὶ εἶδε	ותרא	ותרא	וַתֵּרֶא	καὶ εἶδεν	καὶ ἴδεν	καὶ εἶδεν	καὶ εἶδε
אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	את	את	אֶת־	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν
הַמֶּלֶךְ	βασιλέα	βασιλέα	βασιλέα	βασιλέα	המלך	המלך	הַמֶּלֶךְ	βασιλέα	βασιλέα	βασιλέα	βασιλέα
דָּוִד׀	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ	דויד	דויד	דָּוִיד׀	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ
מְפַזֵּז					מפזז	מפזז					
וּמְכַרְכֵּר׀		ἀνακρουόμενον		παίζοντα	ומכרכר						

	ὀρχούμενον	καὶ ὀρχούμενον	ὀρχούμενον	καὶ ὀρχούμενον		ומרקד	מְרַקֵּד	ὀρχούμενον καὶ παίζοντα	ὀρχούμενον καὶ παίζοντα	ὀρχούμενον καὶ παίζοντα	ὀρχούμενον καὶ παίζοντα
						ומשחק	וּמְשַׂחֵק				
	καὶ ἀνακρουόμενον		καὶ ἀνακρουόμενον	καὶ ἀνακρουόμενον		ומכרכר					
לִפְנֵי	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	לפני	לפני					
יְהוָֹה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	יהוה	יהוה					
וַתִּבֶז	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	ותבז	ותבז	וַתִּבֶז	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ
	ἐξουδένωσεν	ἐξουδένωσεν	ἐξουδένωσεν	ἐξουδένωσεν				ἐξουδένωσεν	ἐξουδένωσεν	ἐξουδένωσεν	ἐξουθένωσεν
לְוֹ	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	לו	לו	לְוֹ	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν
בְּלִבָּהּ	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	בלבה	בלבה	בְּלִבָּהּ	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν
	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ				τῇ	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ
	καρδίᾳ	καρδίᾳ	καρδίᾳ	καρδίᾳ				ψυχῇ	ψυχῇ	ψυχῇ	ψυχῇ
	αὐτῆς	αὐτῆς	ἑαυτῆς	αὐτῆς				αὐτῆς	αὐτῆς	αὐτῆς	αὐτῆς

2S6:20b *MT*^{BHS}	*2S6:20b* *LXX*^{Rahlfs}	*2S6:20b* *LXX*^{A}	*2S6:20b* *LXX*^{B}	*2S6:20b* *LXX*^{L}	*2S6.20b* *4QSam*^{a} *Herbert*	*2S6.20b* *4QSam*^{a} *Fincke*
וַתֵּצֵא	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	not	ותצא
	ἐξῆλθεν	ἐξῆλθεν	ἐξῆλθεν	ἐξῆλθε	extant	
מִיכַל	Μελχολ	Μελχολ	Μελχολ	Μελχολ		מיכל
בַּת־	ἡ	ἡ	ἡ	ἡ		בת
	θυγάτηρ	θυγάτηρ	θυγάτηρ	θυγάτηρ		
שָׁאוּל	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ		שאול
לִקְרָאת	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς		לקראת
	ἀπάντησιν	ἀπάντησιν	ἀπάντησιν	ἀπάντησιν		
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ		דויד
	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		ותברכהו
	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν	εὐλόγησεν		
	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν	αὐτὸν		
וַתֹּאמֶר	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		ותאמר
	εἶπεν	εἶπεν	εἶπεν	εἶπεν		
מַה־	τί	τί	τί	τί		מה
נִּכְבַּד	δεδόξασται	δεδόξασται	δεδόξασται	δεδόξασται		נכבד
הַיּוֹם	σήμερον	σήμερον	σήμερον	σήμερον		היום
מֶלֶךְ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ	ὁ		מלך
	βασιλεὺς	βασιλεὺς	βασιλεὺς	βασιλεὺς		
יִשְׂרָאֵל				τοῦ		ישראל
	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ	Ισραηλ		
אֲשֶׁר	ὃς	ὃς	ὃς	ὃς		אשר
נִגְלָה	ἀπεκαλύφθη	ἀπεκαλύφθη	ἀπεκαλύφθη	ἀπεκαλύφθη		נגלה
הַיּוֹם	σήμερον	σήμερον	σήμερον	σήμερον		היום
לְעֵינֵי	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν	ἐν		לעיני
	ὀφθαλμοῖς	ὀφθαλμοῖς	ὀφθαλμοῖς	ὀφθαλμοῖς		
אַמְהוֹת	παιδισκῶν	παιδισκῶν	παιδισκῶν	παιδισκῶν		אמהות
עֲבָדָיו	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν	τῶν		עבדיו
	δούλων	δούλων	δούλων	δούλων		
	ἑαυτοῦ	ἑαυτοῦ	ἑαυτοῦ	αὐτοῦ		
כְּהִנָּלוֹת	καθὼς	καθὼς	καθὼς	καθὼς		כהגלות
	ἀποκαλύπτεται	ἀποκαλύπτεται	ἀποκαλύπτεται	ἀποκαλύπτεται		
נִגְלוֹת	ἀποκαλυφθεὶς	ἀποκαλυφθεὶς	ἀποκαλυφθεὶς			נגלות
אַחַד	εἷς	εἷς	εἷς	εἷς		אחד

הרקדים		τῶν ὀρχουμένων ἀποκαλυφθεὶς	τῶν ὀρχουμένων	τῶν ὀρχουμένων	τῶν ὀρχουμένων	הָרֹקְדִים

2S6:21 MT^{BHS}	2S6:21 LXX^{Rahlfs}	2S6:21 LXX^{A}	2S6:21 LXX^{B}	2S6:21 LXX^{L}	2S6.21 $4QSam^{a}$ Herbert	2S6.21 $4QSam^{a}$ Fincke
וַיֹּאמֶר	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	not	ויאמר
	εἶπεν	εἶπεν	εἶπεν	εἶπε	extant	
דָּוִד	Δαυιδ	Δαυιδ	Δαυειδ	Δαυιδ		דויד
אֶל־	πρὸς	πρὸς	πρὸς	πρὸς		אל
מִיכַל	Μελχολ	Μελχολ	Μελχολ	Μελχολ		מיכל
לִפְנֵי	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον	ἐνώπιον		לפני
יְהוָה	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου	κυρίου		יהוה
	ὀρχήσομαι		ὀρχήσομαι	ὀρχήσομαι		רקדתי
	εὐλογητὸς		εὐλογητὸς	ζῇ		ברוך
	κύριος		κύριος	κύριος		יהוה
אֲשֶׁר	ὃς	ὃς	ὃς	ὃς		אשר
בָּחַר־	ἐξελέξατό	ἐξελέξατό	ἐξελέξατό	ἐξελέξατό		בחר
בִּי	με	με	με	με		בי
מֵאָבִיךָ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ		מאביך
	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν		
	πατέρα	πατέρα	πατέρα	πατέρα		
	σου	σου	σου	σου		
וּמִכָּל־	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ		ומכול
	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ	ὑπὲρ		
	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα	πάντα		
בֵּיתוֹ	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν		ביתו
	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον	οἶκον		
	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ		
לְצַוֹּת	τοῦ	τοῦ		τοῦ		לצוות
	καταστῆσαί	καταστῆσαί	καταστῆσαί	καταστῆσαί		
אֹתִי	με	με	με	με		אותי
נָגִיד	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς	εἰς		לנגיד
	ἡγούμενον	ἡγούμενον	ἡγούμενον	ἡγούμενον		
עַל־	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ		על
עַם	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν		עם
	λαὸν	λαὸν	λαὸν	λαὸν		
יְהוָה	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ	αὐτοῦ		יהוה
עַל־	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ	ἐπὶ			על
יִשְׂרָאֵל	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν	τὸν		ישראל

וְשִׂחַקְתִּי	Ισραηλ καὶ παίξομαι καὶ ὀρχήσομαι ἐνώπιον κυρίου	Ισραηλ καὶ παίξομαι καὶ ὀρχήσομαι	Ισραηλ καὶ παίξομαι καὶ ὀρχήσομαι ἐνώπιον κυρίου	Ισραηλ καὶ παίξομαι καὶ ὀρχήσομαι ἐνώπιον κυρίου		ושחקתי ורקדתי לפני יהוה
לִפְנֵי יְהוָה						

2S6:22 MT^{BHS}	*2S6:22 LXX^{Rahlfs}*	*2S6:22 LXX^{A}*	*2S6:22 LXX^{B}*	*2S6:22 LXX^{L}*	*2S6.22 4QSam^{a} Herbert*	*2S6.22 4QSam^{a} Fincke*
וְנִקַּלֹּתִי	καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσομαι		καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσομαι	καὶ ἀποκαλυφθήσομαι	not extant	ונגליתי
עוֹד׀	ἔτι	ἔτι	ἔτι	ἔτι		עוד
מִזֹּאת	οὕτως	οὕτως	οὕτως	οὕτως		מזאת
וְהָיִיתִי	καὶ ἔσομαι	καὶ ἔσομαι	καὶ ἔσομαι	καὶ ἔσομαι		והיתי
שָׁפָל	ἀχρεῖος	ἀχρεῖος	ἀχρεῖος	ἀχρεῖος		שפל
בְּעֵינָי	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου		בעינך
וְעִם־	καὶ μετὰ	καὶ μετὰ	καὶ μετὰ	καὶ μετὰ		ועם
הָאֲמָהוֹת׀	τῶν παιδισκῶν	τῶν παιδισκῶν	τῶν παιδισκῶν	τῶν παιδισκῶν		האמהות
אֲשֶׁר	ὧν	ὧν	ὧν	ὧν		אשר
אָמַרְתָּ	εἶπάς	εἶπάς	εἶπάς	εἶπάς		אמרת
עִמָּם	με	με	με	με		עמם
אִכָּבֵדָה	δοξασθῆναι	δοξασθῆναι	δοξασθῆναι	δοξασθῆναι		אכבדה

2S6:23 *MT*^{BHS}	*2S6:23* *LXX*^{Rahlfs}	*2S6:23* *LXX*^{A}	*2S6:23* *LXX*^{B}	*2S6:23* *LXX*^{L}	*2S6.23* *4QSam*^{a} *Herbert*	*2S6.23* *4QSam*^{a} *Fincke*
וּלְמִיכַל	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	καὶ	not	ולמיכל
	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ	τῇ	extant	
	Μελχολ	Μελχολ	Μελχολ	Μελχολ		
בַּת־	θυγατρὶ	θυγατρὶ	θυγατρὶ	θυγατρὶ		בת
שָׁאוּל	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ	Σαουλ		שאול
לְא־	οὐκ	οὐκ	οὐκ	οὐκ		לא
הָיָה	ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο	ἐγένετο		היה
לָהּ						לה
יֶלֶד	παιδίον	παιδίον	παιδίον	παιδίον		ילד
עַד	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως	ἕως		עד
יוֹם	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς	τῆς		יום
	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας	ἡμέρας		
מוֹתָהּ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ	τοῦ		מותה
	ἀποθανεῖν	ἀποθανεῖν	ἀποθανεῖν	ἀποθανεῖν		
	αὐτήν	αὐτήν	αὐτήν	αὐτήν		

APPENDIX SEVEN

Historical Grammar Essay

The following essay by the present writer is published in Ian Young (ed.), *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series, 369; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press): 215-250. Many items cited in this published essay are not listed in the bibliography to this thesis. Please see the book for this information (pp. 318-366; 49 pages).

Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel–Kings and Chronicles*

Robert Rezetko

The consensus regarding the main sources employed by the author(s) of the book of Chronicles is that they were the canonical books of Samuel and Kings, but that the text-forms of these books, especially of Samuel, were not identical to the Masoretic version.[1] A.G. Auld, however, has recently re-argued the view that the books of Samuel and Kings on the one hand, and the book of Chronicles on the other, each represents a substantial revision of a common source,[2] which he entitles 'The Book of Two

* I thank Graeme Auld, Joe Fantin, Alan Lenzi, Tim Lim, David Reimer, Rick Taylor and Ian Young for their corrections and suggestions. Any errors and opinions are mine alone.

1. Brief summaries of issues related to the sources underlying the book of Chronicles are Japhet 1993: 14-23, 28-30; R.W. Klein 1992: 995-97; Williamson 1982: 17-23. A lengthier overview of these and other related issues is Peltonen 1996, II: 742-95 ('"Not a Closed Case": Caveats of the Consensus'). For detailed discussion and up-to-date bibliography also see Graham and McKenzie 1999.

2. This thesis, of course, is not original to Auld. Eichhorn (1780) argued for a common source underlying the synoptic stories in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, and in so doing he was upholding what was already the standard view. Several decades later, de Wette (1806; 1817) argued that Samuel–Kings was the *Vorlage* upon which Chronicles was based. Torrey is perhaps the most influential figure to oppose the view that the Chronicler had *any source* other than the canonical books of the Bible. For example, he says, 'It is time that scholars were done with this phantom "source," of which the internal evidence is absolutely lacking, and the external evidence is limited to the Chronicler's transparent parading of "authorities;" while the evidence against it is overwhelming' (1909: 195). Dissenting voices have been few and far between. Keil (1878: 38, cf. 28-38) was an early nonconformist: 'But our canonical books of Samuel and Kings are by no means to be reckoned among the sources possibly used besides the writings which are quoted. It cannot well be denied that the author of the Chronicle knew these books; but that he has used them as authorities, as de Wette, Movers, Ewald, and others think, we must, with Bertheau [1854] and Dillmann [1878], deny.' Also see Keil 1833 and 1859. More recently, the following scholars argue, or at least

Houses', and which itself does not originate prior to the period of the exile.[3] His thesis has elicited a range of reactions, including statements concerning the relationship of the date and language of Samuel–Kings to those of Chronicles. Thus, on the one hand, Barr (2000: 86-87) cautiously endorses Auld's thesis, saying,

> it means that Chronicles and Samuel/Kings can be closer to one another—in type, in procedure, and possibly in date—than previous assessments would have suggested. This leaves open the date when the Shared Text was composed, of course; but it certainly damages the impression that Samuel/Kings comes directly from some near-contemporary source. Or, in other words, if Chronicles is still thought of as 'a late book', it provides a kind of parallel in general genre for the idea that Samuel/Kings was 'a late book' too, at least in some degree.

On the other hand, Z. Talshir (2000: 248 n. 31) rejects Auld's thesis, claiming he 'discards, with no tenable explanation, the proof from the diachronic nature of the language of the Old Testament, Chronicles being an obvious witness of late Biblical Hebrew'. She also maintains that 'In the eyes of a philologist, the relationship between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, no matter how one looks at it, is of a diachronical nature...' (Z. Talshir 1999: 248, cf. 248-51).[4] Auld has not yet given a detailed reply

are sympathetic toward the view, that the composers of Samuel and Kings on the one hand, and those of Chronicles on the other, relied in part or in whole upon a common source: Edelman 2000; Friedman 1987: 211-13; Halpern 1981; Harrison 1969: 1159-63; Ho 1994; 1995; Macy 1975; Rainey 1997; Rothstein and Hänel 1927; van den Bussche 1948; E.J. Young 1960: 415-17; Zawiszewski 1968.

3. See Auld 1994, although Auld does not call the common source 'The Book of Two Houses' in this book. Auld's view first surfaced in Auld 1983, and shortly before the publication of his monograph examples of his argumentation appeared in Auld 1992; 1993. Auld has since responded to his critics and advanced his thesis in Auld 1995; 1996; 1998a; 1999a; 1999b; 1999c; 2000a; 2000b; 2000c; 2000d; 2000e; 2001; 2002a; 2002b; 2002c; forthcoming. Also see Auld and Ho 1992.

4. Knoppers (1995) raises a similar concern, but other reviews of Auld's work do not mention this issue, focusing rather on methodological, socio-historical and literary matters. Scholars mainly disagree with Auld over (1) the motivation for the author(s)/redactor(s) of Kings, working in the context of the exilic or post-exilic period, to include so much material about the northern kingdom (e.g. the Elijah and Elisha stories); (2) the awareness the author(s)/redactor(s) of Chronicles may show for supplemental material in Samuel and Kings, which was not part of the common source used by these books (e.g. the Succession Narrative/Court History); and (3) the suitability of a shared story beginning with the death of Saul (1 Sam. 31//1 Chron. 10). It is unfeasible to address these issues in this essay.

to this criticism (cf. Auld 1994: 9-10), but I hope to show that more work must be done on the language of these books before scholars can confidently affirm Talshir's evaluation. To accomplish this I shall (1) set the study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles in the context of contemporary debates on the language and composition of the Hebrew Bible; (2) highlight some 'late' BH features for which the conventional diachronic explanation is inadequate; and (3) appeal for the recognition of frequently overlooked presuppositions and for the application of more rigorous methodology in the study of the language of these books.

1. *Framework*

The debate over the 'Tenth Century', concerning the history and historicity of Davidic and Solomonic monarchies, and the debate over the dates of origin of biblical literature, whether of the Iron Age onward or of predominately or even exclusively the Persian and/or Hellenistic periods,[5] have included surprisingly few first-hand treatments of the linguistic issues. One noteworthy exception is the related stream of publications on the Siloam and Tel Dan inscriptions, but by and large most discussions simply make reference to the well-known Hebrew reference grammars and to the relatively few monographs on the history of BH, and then to the more recent contributions made by Knauf (1990), P.R. Davies (1995: 97-101 [section entitled 'Biblical Hebrew']) and Cryer (1994), and to the responses by Ehrensvärd (1997)[6] and Hurvitz.[7] I could now proceed to document the names and opinions of scholars who range from 'maximalists' to 'mini-

5. For recent discussion and bibliography see Dever 2001, Finkelstein and Silberman 2001, and the three published volumes of the 'European Seminar in Historical Methodology' (Grabbe 1997; 1998; 2001). The history and historicity of biblical persons and events and the dates of origin of biblical literature should not necessarily receive treatment together. It seems to me that scholars frequently confuse the *realia* of ancient Israel with their historiographic portrayal in the Bible, and wrongly assert that the closer a text is to the events it relates the more credible it is (cf. Danto 1965: 149-51).

6. However, Ehrensvärd no longer holds the view that he expressed in this essay, which is the first chapter of his doctoral project (2000). Ehrensvärd 1999 is the third chapter of this work. In his fourth chapter, 'Taking the "Late" out of Late Biblical Hebrew' (2000: 59-68), Ehrensvärd argues that there is not necessarily a difference in time between the BH linguistic layers. See also Ehrensvärd's contribution to this volume.

7. Scholars frequently cite his earlier monographs, especially Hurvitz 1972a and 1982, but see most recently Hurvitz 1997a; 1999; 2000a.

malists' and from 'early daters' to 'late daters', but in the end this would not change the fact that relatively few of these have published first-hand studies of the linguistic issues. Instead, I prefer to draw attention to some scattered statements of doubt concerning the linguistic datability of biblical literature, that are made by scholars who are not entangled in the current debates. For example, Murphy (1992: 150) on the book of Song of Songs:

> By the same token the date of the work cannot be ascertained. Dates before and after the Exile have been proposed, but none has established itself. As M. Pope [1977: 27] has remarked, 'The dating game as played with biblical books like Job and the Song of Songs, as well as with many of the Psalms, remains imprecise and the score is difficult to compute. There are grounds for both the oldest and the youngest estimates'. The tendency of modern scholarship has been to assign a postexilic date. But the arguments, based primarily on language, are fragile.

J. M. ~~V.~~ Sasson (1979: 244) on the book of Ruth:

> Thus, it is our opinion that, despite an enormous literature on the subject, dating a Hebrew text on literary and linguistic bases will continue to be a most unreliable approach as long as our extra-biblical corpus of Hebrew vocabulary remains as sparse as it is presently.

Rosenberg (1986: 101-102) on Samuel's Succession Narrative/Court History:

> We should note that such studies often rely heavily on linguistic and lexical criteria. Yet to affirm the linguistic datability of sources may create more problems than it solves. Linguistic history itself, for better or for worse, is partly based on accepted views of literary history and is sharply circumscribed by the sparseness of the texts themselves. We simply know too little about biblical Hebrew to use linguistic criteria with any confidence.

Edelman (2000: 67) on the books of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles:

> Since neither narrative can be dated with any type of precision, chronological order is not a possible criterion upon which to base a choice. There seems to be a general acceptance that Chronicles is written later than Samuel and Kings and that its Hebrew reflects a later stage of development, but this impression is not supportable by clear documentation. There are not enough extrabiblical writing samples currently available to allow the dating of changes in the Hebrew language with confidence. An argument that the two could have been roughly contemporaneous in their composition does not seem impossible, based on our current, limited knowledge.

Ólafsson (1992: 140 [emphasis in original]) in general and on the books of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles:

> But as you might have guessed already, the key-word in all these studies is not 'Late Biblical Hebrew', 'the evolution of Hebrew' or the like, but *dating*! Now I would be the last person to suggest that dating is unimportant. But it seems a little premature to use linguistic typology or linguistic arguments in general for the date of composition of an Old Testament book or a part of a book, when the ground on which they stand is itself insecure. The differences in language between two books in the Old Testament may be due to other than chronological factors... Simply to assume, that Chronicles is the best representative of Late Biblical Hebrew in its 'purest' form, seems to me too easy; *the differences between Chronicles and its sources must first be explained, and if they prove to be chronological, then, and only then, can Chronicles be said to be written in, or affected by, a clearly defined state of the Hebrew language called 'Late Biblical Hebrew'*.[8]

Garbini (1988: xv [emphasis in original]), a pre-eminent expert in Northwest Semitic languages and epigraphy, in general:

> The order in which the various chapters follow one another does, however, show how such a history could have been written: David before Abraham and Moses, Joshua after Darius, Ezra after Simon the Just; whereas it is no coincidence that only for the period before the exile can one talk of historical problems in the strict (or, if you like, traditional) sense. It is obvious that the dating of the biblical texts followed here is later than what one generally finds: sometimes it is discussed explicitly; at other times it is presupposed. It would not be inappropriate to remind anyone who is surprised at this that so far there is *no evidence* to provide a basis for the usual datings (those which can be found in the textbooks); they are only chronological hypotheses, when they are not merely wishful thinking.

The significance of these statements of doubt concerning the linguistic datability of biblical literature is amplified by the diverse opinions that scholars hold on particular portions and books of the Bible. Unfortunately, however, this diversity is frequently eclipsed by scholars' confident assertions of this or that view, and it is often 'overlooked' even in authoritative treatments of the history of BH.[9] Again, I could multiply examples and deal with the 'Priestly Code' (P) and Jonah and the Song of Songs and Qoheleth and other portions and books of the Bible, but the following examples will suffice. According to Sáenz-Badillos (1993: 125) 'a number of factors' support a late date for the book of Ruth, although scholars'

8. Ólafsson (1992: 142-46) believes 'Late Biblical Hebrew' must be defined and described more strictly, and he gives some suggestions about how to proceed.

9. See, e.g., the third and fifth chapters of the significant contribution by Sáenz-Badillos (1993).

allotments of dates ranging from the tenth to the second century reflect broad disagreement. For example, the book is pre-exilic according to Campbell, Driver, Gerleman, Hubbard, Nielsen and Weinfeld, and post-exilic according to Bush, Gordis, Joüon, Lacocque and Wellhausen. Again, according to Sáenz-Badillos (1993: 125-26) the book of Esther is 'one of the latest biblical writings', but scholars' assessments of the character and date of this book also diverge widely. The book's language has been viewed as imitative of CBH (Driver, Polzin), LBH, that is, not archaistic (Moore), and proximate to MH (Bergey, Rabin), and the dates assigned to the book range from the early Persian (Friedberg, Talmon, Yamauchi) to the late Persian (Bergey, Berlin, Levenson, Moore—most contemporary scholars) to the Hellenistic (Striedl—most earlier scholars) periods.

Turning to the Former Prophets, it is remarkable that there is clear disagreement over foundational issues in spite of wide consensus since Noth's *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (1943) over the concept of a Deuteronomistic History.[10] Was the History first composed in the pre-exilic period (Boling, Cross, Friedman, Knoppers, Levenson, Mayes, Nelson, O'Brien, Provan, Weippert—especially the 'Harvard school') or in the exilic period (Dietrich, Hoffmann, Klein, McKenzie, Noth, Peckham, Smend, Van Seters, Veijola, Würthwein—especially the 'Göttingen school')? And what are the scope and character of the (pre-Deuteronomistic) sources and of the (Deuteronomistic and post-Deuteronomistic) supplements to the original composition? For example, the extent and intention of the so-called Succession Narrative/Court History (2 Sam. 9–20; 1 Kgs 1–2) are hotly debated issues.[11] In addition, most scholars on the one hand give a pre-exilic date to this pre-Deuteronomistic source (Blum, Brueggemann, Dietrich, Eissfeldt, Gunn, Kaiser, Keys, Naumann, Noth, Rost, Seiler, von Rad, Whybray), although there is considerable disagreement between these scholars concerning the century to which it belongs; but on the other hand, Auld, McKenzie and Van Seters give an exilic or post-exilic date to this composition.[12]

10. This disagreement is helpfully documented in (and by the titles[!] of a few of) a number of recently published collections of essays: McKenzie and Graham 1994; de Pury, Römer and Macchi 1996; 2000; Schearing and McKenzie 1999; de Moor and van Rooy 2000; Knoppers and McConville 2000; Römer 2000.

11. See the essays by Blum, Dietrich, Kaiser, McKenzie, Naumann and Van Seters in de Pury and Römer 2000. Also see Frolov 2002.

12. Also note Linville 1998 which offers a Persian-period reading of Kings.

Most scholars in previous generations, and some scholars still today, assign the book of Chronicles to the Hellenistic era (333–175 BCE: e.g. Albertz, Benzinger, Bertheau, Curtis and Madsen, Driver, Michaeli, Noth, Peltonen, Wellhausen, de Wette, Willi), but today most assign it to a late Persian setting (400–333 BCE: e.g. Ackroyd, Albright, de Vaux, Japhet, Kalimi, Kittel, Klein, Kleinig, Myers, Rudolph, Williamson), although many also give the book an early Persian date (550–400 BCE: e.g. Braun, Craigie, Cross, Freedman, Halpern, Keil/Delitzsch, McKenzie, Newsome, Polzin, Rendsburg). Relative to the Former Prophets I note that 2 Kings closes with the thirty-seventh year of the exile, in the year Evil-Merodach became king of Babylon, 562 BCE (2 Kgs 25.27), and 2 Chronicles concludes with the first year of the rule of Cyrus of Persia, 539 BCE (2 Chron. 36.22), and thus slightly more than two decades separate the literary/historical 'ends' of Kings and Chronicles. I also note that the common source which Auld has discerned concludes with 2 Kgs 24.20//2 Chron. 36.13, that is, with Zedekiah's rebellion against the king of Babylon, c. 589–588 BCE. Therefore, the *terminus a quo* for Auld's shared source is the early exilic period, and in theory it was supplemented by individuals or groups with very different agendas over the following decades and centuries. Further along I shall return to the evidence that scholars typically cite for dating the composition of the book of Chronicles.

2. *Examples*

There are clear differences in language between the books of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, and of course the language of Chronicles is also different from that used in other books of the Bible. The distinctive linguistic features of Chronicles and other 'late' BH compositions are highlighted in BDB, KB and GKC (e.g. §2 l-v), catalogued in commentaries (e.g. Curtis and Madsen 1910: 28-36), introductions (e.g. Davidson 1862, II: 85-86; S.R. Driver 1913a: 535-40;[13] T. Parker 1843, II: 266-67, 445-47[14]) and dictionary articles (Brown 1898), and discussed in monographs such as those by Gesenius (1815), Kropat (1909), Polzin (1976), Kutscher (1982) and Sáenz-Badillos (1993). It is noteworthy that these contributions characterize the differences between 'early' and 'late' BH as

13. Also see S.R. Driver 1913a: 448-50 (Song of Songs), 454-56 (Ruth), 473-76 (Qoheleth), 484-85 (Esther), 501-508 (Daniel), 545 and 553 (Ezra–Nehemiah).

14. Unfortunately, I have not yet seen de Wette 1817.

primarily lexicographical (e.g. Aramaisms, Mishnaisms, word replac ments, semantic developments), then orthographical (e.g. *plene* spellin and morphological (e.g. noun patterns), but rarely syntactical (e.g. ve syntax). It may also be added that Chronicles' differences in syntax most relate to matters of accusative, possessive, relative and infinitive expre sion.[15]

In contrast to the publications just given, I hold the view that mar distinctive linguistic features of Chronicles and other 'late' BH compos tions are stylistic idiosyncrasies devoid of any diachronic value or a explicable by (strictly speaking) non-chronological factors such as dialec diglossia, and editorial and scribal activity. I shall return to these and oth significant methodological issues in the third section of this essay. At th point I wish to highlight 16 features of 'late' BH for which the conve tional diachronic explanation is inadequate.[16] The data related to the features are abundant and complex, and their representation in biblical ar non-biblical texts written in Hebrew and cognate languages should b examined in terms of distribution ([non-]occurrence and frequency) ar function, and in view of 'replacement' in synoptic biblical passages ar 'modernization' in later versions of the Bible (e.g. Samaritan Pentateuc Aramaic Targums). Consequently, I shall make available elsewhere th full extent of the data and thorough treatments of these issues, but m comments in this context are necessarily brief, restricted to the biblic phenomena, and mostly related to distribution.[17] In a few cases I shall on cite one or more significant publications by other scholars, and at th outset I wish to make special mention of the perceptive third chapter R.D. Wilson's *A Scientific Investigation of the Old Testament* (1926), ar of Rendsburg's (1980a) review of Polzin's *Late Biblical Hebrew* (1976 in which Rendsburg accepts only four of Polzin's 19 features as 'LBH'.

15. In contrast, JM (§3a, citing Kropat, Polzin and Hurvitz) says 'The variations syntax are in general the least significant. Nevertheless, the differences appear qu noticeable when one compares texts separated by a long period of time. Thus t syntax of the post-exilic historical books such as Ezra, Nehemiah, and Chronicles *d fers appreciably* from that of Samuel and Kings' (my emphasis). I believe the eviden opposes this view.

16. In another context I plan to discuss the predicative participle construction.

17. I am well aware of the frequently cited comment in S.R. Driver 1882: 203, 'th number words instead of weighing them', but I cannot give a thorough presentation my research in this context.

18. He accepts Polzin's A1 ('radically reduced use of *ʾet* with pronominal suffix A5 ('the Chronicler exhibits a preference for plural forms of words and phrases whi

a. *Defective and* Plene *Spelling*

Barr has shown that variety of spelling is everywhere in the Bible, in every book, passage, and source, and concludes that defective and *plene* spellings do not attest the date or provenance of biblical works.[19] Similarly, Young has argued that the language of biblical texts, including orthography, bears the marks of scribal intervention in its transmission.[20] Sometimes this scribal intervention results in astonishing uniformity. For example, Kutscher (1982: 81) says 'Spelling in the later books of the Bible tends to be more *plene* than in SBH' and he cites as evidence the cases of the very common proper names 'David' and 'Jerusalem'.[21] These two test-cases merit a number of observations, but I restrict my comments to the few that follow. On the one hand, it may not be surprising that the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings have the defective spellings of these names almost exclusively (806 times, with three exceptions: דויד in 1 Kgs 3.14; 11.4, 36), but it is also interesting that the same is true for First and Second Isaiah, Jeremiah and Ezekiel (210 times, with two exceptions: ירושלים in Jer. 26.18; דויד in Ezek. 34.23). On the other hand, whereas Ezra (three times), Nehemiah (eight times) and Chronicles (261 times) have דויד only, Ezra (48 times) and Nehemiah (38 times) have ירושלם only, and Chronicles has ירושלם almost exclusively (148 times, with three exceptions: ירושלים in 1 Chron. 3.5; 2 Chron. 25.1; 32.9). The conflicting trends in the spellings of 'David' and 'Jerusalem' in these three books, and the trends hold true for both the synoptic and non-synoptic portions of Chronicles, are difficult to explain in terms of historical development.[22]

the earlier language uses in the singular'), B2 ('*l*^{e} is used very often as mark of the accusative') and B3 ('*Min*: "from": the *nun* is often not assimilated before a noun without an article').

19. Barr 1985: esp. 29-33; 1988: esp. 125; 1989: e.g. 199. Barr's view contrasts with that of Kutscher 1982: 81; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 116; Andersen and Forbes 1986, and so on.

20. I. Young 1993: 86-87; and especially I. Young 1992b; 1998b; 1999; 2001a; 2001b, 2001c.

21. Similarly, see GKC: §2v, and n. 1; Freedman 1983; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 116. These two proper names rank third and seventh in the Bible in number of occurrences: ירושלם, מצרים, משה, יהודה, דוד, ישראל, יהוה.

22. Likewise, Barr 1989: 161, 165-66, and note his comment on p. 158, 'That Chronicles, in particular, was capable of a strong standardization, and one strikingly contrary to the use of other books, is made plain also by the case of the personal name "David"'. Rooker (1996) uses the spelling of 'David' as one of four examples to argue that Second Isaiah is a pre-exilic composition. Also see Rooker 1990a: 68-71. Halpern

b. *Noun Affformative* ות–

According to Kutscher (1982: 43, cf. 81, 84) 'Scholars have not yet drawn a clear historical picture of the development of the different nominal types, but the history of the nominal type built with the derivational suffix [-u:t], e.g. מַלְכוּת "kingdom", seems to be clear enough. It is rare in ABH and SBH, but becomes more common in LBH (Chronicles, Daniel, etc.)'.[23] The comparative evidence for this abstract formation merits additional discussion, but again I must limit my observations to the following points. I am aware of 71 unique common nouns of this type in the Bible with a total of 380 occurrences. All but a third of these nouns occur only once in the Bible and very few can be contrasted with a non-ות noun having a comparable meaning. The number of unique nouns of this formation is highest in Psalms (17), Jeremiah (16), Isaiah (15), Ezekiel (9), Proverbs (9) and Qoheleth (7), whereas, for example, the number is less for Samuel (5), Kings (4), Chronicles (4), Nehemiah (3) and Ezra (2). This distribution seems contrary to what is normally held to be true, and I suggest that topic and genre, and perhaps to some extent also dialect, are more significant than chronology for explaining it. Furthermore, the four nouns of this type that occur in Chronicles are מלכות (28 times), עדות (four times), דמות (once) and חפשות (once), and I think scholars' focus on מלכות—the most frequent noun of this type in the Bible with 91 occurrences—over against ממלכה (and ממלכות is a third related noun) is mostly to blame for the misjudgment of the situation in the Bible. A detailed look at *all* occurrences of these three nouns in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles is most instructive, and I emphasize the nearly equal number of occurrences of מלכות and ממלכה in non-synoptic portions of Chronicles, but I shall take up this study elsewhere.

(2001: 59-64, cf. 57-72) argues in the chapter 'Dating 2 Samuel' in his recent monograph that most of David's story was written during Solomon's reign, and his linguistic evidence is limited to orthography, although he does call for a full-scale investigation of the 'syntax and grammar' of the book.

23. Similarly, see GKC: §86k, 95t; Qimron 1986: 66; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 116-17. Rooker (1990a: 56-57), uses the distribution of the terms מלכות/ממלכה as a 'classic illustration' of the methodological 'controls for demonstrating a diachronic shift'. In contrast to these scholars, a corrective statement is given in JM: §88Mj. Martin (1965: 28) and Cohen (1978: 80) also offer helpful comments related to עדות.

c. *First Person Personal Pronouns* אנכי *and* אני

According to Kutscher (1982: 30; cf. 81, 82):

> One of the most striking features of BH is the use of two forms for the first person sing.: אֲנִי and אָנֹכִי. They are not used side by side in all the strata of BH. The early and poetical sections of BH prefer אָנֹכִי, while in later BH אֲנִי has displaced אָנֹכִי almost entirely. The trend is especially conspicuous in Chronicles which includes a large amount of material that parallels the Second Book of Samuel and both Books of Kings which were apparently among its sources. Wherever the writer of Chronicles finds אָנֹכִי in these sources, he substitutes אֲנִי; compare, for example, I Chron. 21, 10, 17 with II Sam. 24, 12, 17.[24]

The percentages of 'early' אנכי forms and 'late' אני forms may be characterized this way: אנכי predominates in Amos, Deuteronomy, Ruth, Joshua (69% to 31%), Judges (59% to 41%) and Genesis; אנכי and אני occur an equal number of times in Samuel and almost equally in Hosea; and אני dominates in Kings (84% to 16%), in the remaining books of the Pentateuch (especially in the portions considered 'P') and the Latter Prophets, and in the Writings (except for Ruth—but almost exclusively in Song of Songs through to Chronicles). Both forms have an equal claim to antiquity (del Olmo Lete 1999: 104-107), and although the preference for אני in the Writings, and then also in post-BH, give the impression that chronology is the dominant factor, I am not persuaded that the situation is so straightforward for biblical literature. Consideration should be given to explanations related to literary (genre, rhythm, emphasis, character status), linguistic (dialect, diglossia) and scribal (standardization) factors.[25] Furthermore, it is misleading to claim that אנכי in Samuel and Kings is 'systematically' replaced by אני in Chronicles 'wherever' the former is found. In fact, if one considers synoptic passages, אנכי occurs in both Samuel and Chronicles on a single occasion;[26] אני occurs in both Samuel–Kings and Chronicles on eight occasions;[27] אנכי occurs in Samuel–Kings

24. Similarly, see GKC: §32c; JM: §39a; Kropat 1909: 75; Polzin 1976: 126-27; Rooker 1990a: 72-74; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 123, 125; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §16.3 ('אָנֹכִי [in Samuel and Kings]...is systematically replaced by אֲנִי [in Chronicles]').

25. Helpful treatments of biblical usage are S.R. Driver 1882: 222-27; Revell 1995; Rosén 1984; Schoors 1989: 71-72.

26. 2 Sam. 7.2//1 Chron. 17.1.

27. 2 Sam. 7.8//1 Chron. 17.7; 2 Sam. 7.14//1 Chron. 17.13; 1 Kgs 12.11//2 Chron. 10.11; 1 Kgs 12.14//2 Chron. 10.14; 1 Kgs 22.8//2 Chron. 18.7; 1 Kgs 22.16//2 Chron. 18.15; 1 Kgs 22.21//2 Chron. 18.20; 2 Kgs 22.20//2 Chron. 34.28.

and אנכי occurs in Chronicles on *only four* occasions.[28] Interestingly, all three situations appear in 2 Samuel 7//1 Chronicles 17. Finally, in the Bible as a whole I am aware of 14 occasions on which both forms occur side by side in the same verse.[29]

d. *Preposition* ב *+ 3rd Masculine Plural Suffix*

JM (§103f) says 'בָּהֶם is appreciably more common in LBH than בָּם. In MH the former far outnumbers the latter.'[30] Is there a clear trajectory *within* biblical literature? Looking broadly, and citing only books with ten or more occurrences for the sake of brevity: Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and Isaiah prefer the 'earlier' בם; Samuel (11 vs. 3), Nehemiah and Exodus prefer the 'later' בהם; and nearly equivalent instances of בם and בהם occur in Judges, Psalms, Ezekiel, Kings (6 vs. 7, respectively), Numbers, Leviticus and Chronicles (8 vs. 11, respectively). The book of Chronicles does not have a clear preference for either form. Furthermore, in synoptic passages, Kings and Chronicles share בם once (1 Kgs 8.46//2 Chron. 6.36), and once Kings has בם and Chronicles has בהם (1 Kgs 15.22// 2 Chron. 16.6).[31] Finally, both forms are used side by side in seven verses.[32] It is not obvious that a clear development in usage occurs within the books of the Bible, and I cannot see how a consideration of literary layers within books would affect this conclusion.

e. *Theophoric Names Ending with* יה– *and* יהו–

According to Japhet (1968: 338-41) the long ending יהו– is pre-exilic and the short ending יה– is post-exilic, the result of Aramaic influence.[33] How-

28. 2 Sam. 7.18//1 Chron. 17.16; 2 Sam. 24.12//1 Chron. 21.10; 2 Sam. 24.17// 1 Chron. 21.17; 2 Kgs 22.19//2 Chron. 34.27. Van den Bussche (1948: 374 n. 39) concludes that Chronicles' אני in 1 Chron. 17.16 is authentic, and that Samuel's אנכי in 2 Sam. 7.18 is an archaism.

29. Exod. 7.17; Judg. 19.18; 1 Sam. 4.16; 2 Sam. 3.13; 20.17; Isa. 43.12; 45.12; Jer. 24.7; 25.29; Hos. 5.14; Jon. 1.9; Job 13.2; 33.9; Neh. 1.6. Of course, this phenomenon is even more frequent within a single discourse or passage.

30. Also see GKC: §103g.

31. The correspondence of בהן in 1 Sam. 31.7 and בהם in 1 Chron. 10.7 is an interesting case which I cannot take up here. For now see GKC: §135o; Kropat 1909: vi, 61-62, 74; Polzin 1976: 52-54, 99, 103-104; Rooker 1990a: 78-81; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 119. However, contrast the view of Hurvitz 1982: 168-69.

32. Exod. 29.29; Lev. 11.43; 22.25; Qoh. 10.9; Neh. 9.29; 2 Chron. 4.6; 24.19.

33. Similarly, see G.R. Driver 1928; Kutscher 1974: 104; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 121; Torczyner 1938: 24-25. The evidence for dialectal variation cannot be taken up here.

ever, Ezra and Nehemiah unequivocally have יה–, whereas Chronicles generally has יהו–, in independent material and in synoptic parallels where Kings has יה–. Japhet is forced to assert that יהו– in Chronicles is an archaism, but I agree with Watson (1972: 191) that her conclusion is tenuous.

f. *Paragogic He (ה֫)*

This afformative may appear on masculine singular *qtol* forms of non-ל״ה verbs without suffix, and on 1st sg. and plur. *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* forms of non-ל״ה verbs without suffix. Some confusion persists concerning the distribution and significance of these verb forms in spite of many discussions.[34] A frequent error is the failure to distinguish between the three types, but in this context the lengthened *wayyiqtol* form or ואקטלה should be the main object of debate. Scholars generally consider this verb form to be 'late' BH based on its occurrences in Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah, its nearly exclusive usage instead of ואקטל in QH, and its frequent appearance in the Samaritan Pentateuch. In the Bible the phenomenon occurs erratically on about 100 occasions, in 4% of all possible instances in the Pentateuch,[35] 20% in the Former Prophets,[36] 5% in the Latter Prophets,[37] and 62% in the books of Qoheleth, Psalms, Job, Daniel, Ezra and Nehemiah in the Writings.[38] The absence of the form from Chronicles has

34. GKC: §48c, d, i, 49e; JM: §45a, 47d, 48d; Bergsträsser 1918, II: 22-23; Blau 1971: 133-34; DeCaen 2001; S.R. Driver 1892: 74-75; Finley 1981: 243, 260; Japhet 1968: 337-38; Kropat 1909: 75; Kutscher 1974: 326-27; 1982: 81; McFall 1982: 211-14; Morag 1988: 154-55; Polzin 1976: 54-55; Qimron 1986: 44-47; 1986-87: 161; Revell 1988; 1991; Rendsburg 2002b: 32; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 121; Schoors 1992: 87-88; Sperber 1939: 228-33; Throntveit 1982: 202, 204; Verheij 1990: 85-86, 100-103; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §33.1.1c, 34.5.3b ('pseudo-cohortative'); Wright 1998: 9, 34-40 (cf. his comments regarding ואקטלה and spoken language).

35. Four times in total: Gen. 32.6; 41.11 (1st c. plur.); 43.21 (1st c. plur.); Num. 8.19.

36. Thirteen times in total: Josh. 24.8; Judg. 6.9, 10; 10.12; 12.3 (twice); 1 Sam. 2.28; 28.15(?) (cf. GKC: §48d); 2 Sam. 4.10; 7.9; 12.8 (twice); 22.24.

37. Seven times in total: Jer. 11.18; 32.9; Ezek. 3.3; 9.8; 16.11; 23.20 (3rd fem. sg.!?); Zech. 11.13.

38. Seventy-seven times in total: Qoh. 1.17; Pss. 3.6; 7.5; 69.12, 21; 73.16; 90.10; 119.55, 59, 131, 147, 158; Job 1.15, 16, 17, 19; 19.20; 29.17; 30.26; Dan. 8.13, 15, 17; 9.3, 4 (twice); 10.16 (twice), 19; 12.8; Ezra 7.28; 8.15, 16, 17 (twice), 23 (twice, 1st c. plur.), 24, 25, 26, 28, 31 (1st c. plur.); 9.3 (twice), 5 (twice), 6; Neh. 1.4; 2.1, 6, 9, 13; 5.7 (twice), 8, 13; 6.3, 8, 11, 12; 7.5; 12.31; 13.7, 8, 9 (twice), 10, 11 (twice), 13, 17 (twice), 19 (twice), 21 (twice), 22, 30.

figured often in discussions of the (common?) authorship of Ezra–Nehemiah and Chronicles, and scholars have also debated which of these books reflects the 'real' linguistic situation (i.e.: Is the absence of the form from Chronicles an archaism?). It is rarely pointed out that the lengthened *wayyiqtol* form occurs in 1 of 15 possible instances in Joshua; 5 of 12 in Judges; 7 of 19 in Samuel; 0 of 14 in Kings;[39] and 0 of 7 in Chronicles. It is often overlooked as well that the form occurs in 2 Sam. 7.9 (ואכרתה) but not in the parallel 1 Chron. 17.8 (ואכרית). I concur with Schoors (1992: 87) that 'The total absence of this feature from Chr[onicles] is astonishing...'

g. *Syntax of Numerals*

Weitzman argued convincingly that postnominal syntax is a free variant rather than a diachronic shift from prenominal syntax.[40] Nevertheless, on the basis of 'substitutions' Weitzman (1996: 180) says 'Chronicles does indeed exhibit an inclination to place the numeral after the noun', but he misunderstands the actual situation in Chronicles. He says Herner notes 'several passages' where the Chronicler has switched the position of the numeral, and then on the next page he says the Chronicler 'frequently' changes the word order (Weitzman 1996: 178-79). In fact, Herner (1893: 69-70) cites less than a dozen synoptic verses, including Josh. 21.33// 1 Chron. 6.47, and the remainder are all in 1 Kgs 5.25–7.38//2 Chron. 2.9–4.6.[41] The material in Joshua 21//1 Chronicles 6 is fraught with textual and literary difficulties, and Joshua is almost certainly the later edition.[42] Indeed, Josh. 21.33 (שלש עשרה עיר) is secondary in this context (cf. Josh. 21.6//1 Chron. 6.47—both with ערים שלש עשרה), and significantly LXX Josh. 21.33 has πόλεις δέκα τρεῖς, and the Greek version's consistent translation technique throughout this chapter underscores MT Josh. 21.33's tendentious reading. I must pass by additional comments on this passage to highlight briefly the concentration of the remaining occurrences

39. The preceding numbers differ slightly from those given by Revell and Verheij, which appear wrong on both the total occurrences and the total possible occurrences.

40. Weitzman 1996. For the standard view see GKC: §134; JM: §142d; Kropat 1909: vi, 50-53; Polzin 1976: 58-60, 94-95, 97, 105-109; Qimron 1986: 85-86; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §15.2.2b. 'P' uses the 'later' postnominal syntax, like Chronicles, thus Hurvitz (1982: 167-68) assents to a non-chronological interpretation.

41. Herner (1893: 135-39) also discusses other differences in parallel material.

42. See the essays on these chapters, and on the relationship between Joshua and Chronicles, in Auld 1998b.

in the description of Solomon's temple construction project[43]—a very suspicious concentration of Chronicles' so-called tendency to alter the *Vorlage* from prenominal to postnominal syntax. I suspect that a careful textual and literary analysis of the usage in this material will show that Chronicles' 'mixed' usage is antecedent to revision in Kings.[44]

h. *ZYX* המלך *vs.* המלך *ZYX*

GKC (§131g) and JM (§131k) correctly note that the appositional phrase 'המלך ZYX', rather than 'ZYX המלך', represents the dominant Aramaic syntax (e.g. דריוש מלכא), but is it really 'late' BH as they suggest?[45] The ratio of instances of 'ZYX המלך' to 'המלך ZYX' outside Samuel–Kings and Chronicles[46] is five to one, and noteworthy among many relevant observations are Song of Songs' use of the 'early' phrase twice and Esther's use of it 25 times, but neither book has the 'late' phrase. The phrase 'ZYX המלך' prevails in Samuel and Kings, occurring on 16 of 19 occasions in the former and on 83 of 86 in the latter.[47] Chronicles has a nearly equal number of both expressions in non-synoptic texts: 'המלך ZYX' appears 41 times, including 18 times in non-synoptic texts, and 'המלך ZYX' appears 21 times, including 19 times in non-synoptic texts. Synoptic texts share 'ZYX המלך' in 23 of 25 cases, and twice the book of Chronicles has 'המלך ZYX' where Kings has 'ZYX המלך' (1 Kgs 11.1//2 Chron. 10.2; 1 Kgs 15.22//2 Chron. 16.6). In another context I shall argue on the bases of textual variation and a discernible literary polemic, which advocates 'King David' over '[King] Saul', that the phrase המלך דוד was standardised in a later version of the book of Samuel, thus

43. 1 Kgs 5.25//2 Chron. 2.9 (two cases); 1 Kgs 6.2//2 Chron. 3.3 (two cases); 1 Kgs 6.3//2 Chron. 3.4; 1 Kgs 6.20//2 Chron. 3.8 (two cases); 1 Kgs 6.23//2 Chron. 3.10; 1 Kgs 6.24//2 Chron. 3.11 (two cases); 1 Kgs 7.15-16//2 Chron. 3.15 (three cases); 1 Kgs 7.26//2 Chron. 4.5; 1 Kgs 7.38//2 Chron. 4.6.

44. Note, for example, the prenominal syntax in 2 Chron. 2.1 (two cases); 1 Kgs 5.29-30//2 Chron. 2.17 (three cases); 2 Chron. 3.9; 2 Chron. 4.1 (three cases); 1 Kgs 7.24//2 Chron. 4.3.

45. Also see Kropat 1909: 74. Other designations show remarkable consistency in all supposed strata of biblical literature: 'מלכה ZYX' (18 times) vs. 'ZYX מלכה' (twice, Esth. 1.12, 15); 'נביא ZYX' (91 times) vs. 'ZYX נביא' (once, 2 Chron. 13.22 [//1 Kgs 15.7]); 'נביאה ZYX' (four times); 'כהן ZYX' (140 times); 'ספר ZYX' (29 times); 'שר ZYX' (ten times), etc.

46. Isaiah–Ezekiel, Haggai, Zechariah, Song of Songs, Esther–Nehemiah.

47. The exceptions are 1 Sam. 18.6; 2 Sam. 13.39; 24.23; 1 Kgs 2.17; 2 Kgs 8.29; 9.15.

levelling what was a *mixed* state of affairs in an earlier version of this book.

i. *Assimilation and Non-Assimilation of Nun in* מִן

Among many scholars both Polzin (1976: 66) and Qimron (1986: 30-31) consider the non-assimilation of *nun* as in מִן־בֵּית to be a LBH variant of מִבֵּית, and they relate the 'later' phenomenon to Aramaic influence.[48] The preposition מִן occurs c. 7700 times in the Bible,[49] which number includes both Hebrew and Aramaic portions, as well as the long variants מִנִּי and –מִמֶּנּוּ. Before the article, this preposition regularly has its full form מִן, and is assimilated much less frequently, but in the absence of the article, the *nun* normally assimilates to the following consonant, thus resulting in –מִ and –מֵ with *dagesh forte* or 'virtual doubling' in the following consonant. I shall restrict my observations to the following points concerning מִן preceding an anarthrous noun. (1) *Nun* is assimilated in more than 95% of all occurrences of this construction in the Hebrew portions of the Bible, and contrary to what may be expected, only the 'early' assimilated construction is used in Ezekiel, Jonah, Haggai–Malachi, Ruth, Qoheleth and Esther, for example, and the 'early' assimilated construction with a single exception in each book is used in Proverbs, Song of Songs and Nehemiah, for example. In other words, there are more than 600 instances of the 'early' assimilated construction in these books but only several instances of the 'late' unassimilated construction. (2) Daniel and Ezra prefer the 'early' assimilated construction, and Ezra does so exclusively, in spite of nearly 60 examples of the 'late' unassimilated form in their Aramaic sections. (3) 60% of Chronicles' assimilated *nun* constructions are in non-synoptic texts. Also, this unassimilated construction in Chronicles is parallel to the assimilated construction in Samuel and Kings on only four occasions,[50]

48. Additionally, see BDB: 577; GKC: §102a-b; JM: §103d; Bauer and Leander 1922: 198, 642-44; Bergsträsser 1918, I: 108; König 1881: Part 1 of vol. II, 287-94; Kutscher 1974: 214; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 119; Sperber 1966: 3-5, 284; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §11.2.11.

49. *Bible Windows* 7.0 (Cedar Hills, TX: Silver Mountain Software, 2002) finds 7717; DCH, V: 337, gives 7717; *GRAMCORD for Windows* 2.4 (Vancouver, WA: The GRAMCORD Institute, 1999) finds 7688, 7569 in Hebrew and 119 in Aramaic portions of the Bible; *BibleWorks for Windows* 5.0 (Norfolk, VA: Bible Works, 2001) finds 7563 in Hebrew; *TLOT*, III: 1436, gives 7550 for the Hebrew portions of the Bible.

50. 2 Sam. 6.12//1 Chron. 15.25; 2 Sam. 23.20//1 Chron. 11.22; 1 Kgs 9.22// 2 Chron. 8.9; 2 Kgs 15.2//2 Chron. 26.3.

whereas the opposite phenomenon appears in 2 Kgs 14.2 (מן־ירושלם)// 2 Chron. 25.1 (מירושלים). In addition, Chronicles has both constructions side by side in two non-synoptic texts (1 Chron. 13.5; 19.6). Finally, Chronicles has the assimilated construction on 272 occasions and the unassimilated construction on 54 occasions, which is far more frequent than in any other portion of the *Hebrew* Bible, but is it (phonologically?) significant that מן precedes בני in 38 of the 54 instances, בנימן in two, בנות in one, and a word beginning with א/ה/ח/ר in eight?[51] To conclude, Polzin (1976: 83 n. 110) says in an endnote(!) that 'Roughly one-third of its occurrences are in pre-exilic or chronologically questionable texts', and Sperber (1966: 284, cf. 3-5) wishes to relate the different constructions to two diverse dialects of Hebrew. Polzin's confession and Sperber's explanation call for additional reflection, but I suggest that the factor of standardization (and phonology?) has received insufficient consideration in the analysis of this feature.

j. אין *Negating the Infinitive*

Ehrensvärd (1999) recently argued that the frequency and usage of this construction do not uphold the common view that it is a trait of LBH.[52]

k. *Collective Nouns Construed as Plurals*

The construal of collective nouns as plurals is frequently considered a 'late' feature of BH,[53] but Young (1999; 2001a) has investigated עם, עדה and קהל, concluding that collective nouns should not be treated as an undifferentiated group, and that current patterns of grammatical concord may be due to non-chronological factors.

l and m. *The Quivis Construction and the Double Plural Construct-Chain Formation*

Gevirtz (1986: 29) has shown that 'neither is peculiar to the idiom of LBH, but each finds precise counterparts in "Old Canaanite" dialects. The evidence furthermore suggests...that each of these features constitutes no

51. The situation is similar in about half of the other occurrences of the unassimilated construction in the *Hebrew* Bible, but mostly preceding a word beginning with א/ה/ח/ר.

52. For the standard view see e.g. Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §36.2.1g.

53. GKC: §145b-g, 146c; JM: §150e, p; Kropat 1909: 28-30, 72, 74; Kutscher 1974: 399; Polzin 1976: 40-42, 94-95, 103; Qimron 1986: 83; Rooker 1990a: 94-96; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 118, 126.

more than a free variant of what has come to be regarded as the standard syntactical construction'.[54] Some books, however, do display a general pluralizing tendency, of which the assimilation of a singular *nomen rectum* to a plural *nomen regens* is an example.[55] A case that scholars often cite, which is also one of the most recurrent cases in the Bible, is [ה]חיל[ים] ('able, capable, efficient, strong') as the second member in a construct formation. For the present discussion I leave aside the cases in which both the *nomen regens* and *nomen rectum* are singular, as well as the cases in which the *nomen regens* is שרי or פקודי, since in these latter instances the following [ה]חיל[ים] is best understood as 'army' or 'armies'. The relevant possibilities are:

[ה]חיל	אנשי	Gen. 47.6; Exod. 18.21, 25; Judg. 20.44, 46; 2 Sam. 11.16; 2 Kgs 24.16; Isa. 5.22; Jer. 48.14; Nah. 2.4; Ps. 76.6; Qoh. 12.3; Neh. 11.6.
[ה]חילים	אנשי	—
[ה]חיל	גבורי	Josh. 1.14; 6.2; 8.3; 10.7; 2 Kgs 15.20; 24.14; Dan. 3.20 (Aramaic); Neh. 11.14; 1 Chron. 5.24; 7.2, 9; 8.40; 9.13; 12.9, 22, 26, 31; 26.6, 31; 2 Chron. 14.7; 17.13, 14; 26.12.
[ה]חילים	גבורי	1 Chron. 7.5, 7, 11, 40; 11.26 ('armies'?).
[ה]חיל	בני	Deut. 3.18; Judg. 18.2; 21.10; 2 Sam. 2.7; 13.28; 17.10; 2 Kgs 2.16; 1 Chron. 5.18; 26.7, 9, 30, 32; 2 Chron. 26.17; 28.6.
[ה]חילים	בני	—

The preponderance of the unassimilated construction in Chronicles, and its exclusive occurrence elsewhere, are facts that seem in disagreement with the standard view concerning the chronology of the construction, as Gevirtz also argues. In addition, the alternation between the singular and plural forms of the *nomen rectum* in 1 Chronicles 7, as well as, for example, אנשי שמות alongside גבורי חיל in both 1 Chron. 5.24 and 12.31, or ערי מסכנות in 2 Chron. 17.12 immediately prior to גבורי חיל in 2 Chron. 17.13, 14, or אבני קלעים in 2 Chron. 26.14 just after גבורי חיל in 2 Chron. 26.12, are facts that suggest that the attraction of a singular

54. On the *quivis* construction see GKC: §123c; JM: §136d; Kropat 1909: 13; Kutscher 1982: 82; Polzin 1976: 47-51, 94-95, 98-99, 103, 112; Qimron 1986: 81-82; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 118.

55. For the standard diachronic view see GKC: §124q; JM: §136o; Kropat 1909: 8-11; Kutscher 1982: 82; Polzin 1976: 42-43, 112; Rooker 1990a: 75-77; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 117-18, 124.

nomen rectum to a plural *nomen regens* in BH should be explained as free variation rather than chronological development. I shall offer a detailed study of these matters elsewhere.

n. Wayyiqtol *and Past-*W^{e}qatal

Scholars frequently affirm the gradual 'breakdown' of the 'Classical' verb system in 'late' BH narrative which 'heralds the future Mishnaic Hebrew'. In a lengthy investigation of this topic I have catalogued more than 30 recent statements describing (1) an increased *frequency* of past-*w^{e}qatal* and a decrease of *wayyiqtol* forms; (2) a *routine replacement* of *wayyiqtol* by past-*w^{e}qatal* (and also Ø-*qatal*) forms in synoptic passages; and (3) an elimination/reduction of the iterative/durative *function* of past-*w^{e}qatal* forms.[56] I shall briefly respond to these statements in reverse order.[57] The third issue is beyond the scope of this essay, but even if one grants that such a function should be assigned to the verb form itself, rather than to the compositional situation as a whole, the occurrence of past-*w^{e}qatal* as a component of an iterative/durative situation is equally apparent among the 65 examples of past-*w^{e}qatal* in the Hebrew portions of Esther–Chronicles as it is among the 246 examples in the Former Prophets.[58] The second point is shown to be false in passages shared by Samuel–Kings and Chronicles.[59] On 658 occasions Samuel–Kings and Chronicles each has a *wayyiqtol* form. On 17 occasions Samuel–Kings has a *wayyiqtol* form and Chronicles has a Ø-*qatal* form, and similarly on 17 occasions Chronicles has a *wayyiqtol* form and Samuel–Kings has a Ø-*qatal* form. On only two occasions does Chronicles have a past-*w^{e}qatal* form that is parallel to a

56. See, e.g., Kropat 1909: 17-23; Kutscher 1982: 44-45, 75; Rooker 1990a: 100-102; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 120, 129.

57. For brief statements supportive of one or more of my responses see Dempster 1985: 266; Eskhult 1990: 110-12, 119; 2000: 84-85, 92; Goldfajn 1998: 136; Guenther 1977: 53, 196; Hughes 1970: 14, 23; Li 1999: 221; Loretz 1961; van Keulen 1996: 162-67; Van Peursen 1999: 137; Verheij 1990: 92-120. The important contributions of Rudolf Meyer are cited throughout these works.

58. Actually, a significant problem with many publications on past-*weqatal* is their focus on usage in 1 Samuel, where the situation in which the verb form occurs could be construed as iterative/durative in about 41 of 51 cases. However, the state of affairs is very different in, for example, Judges and 2 Samuel, where only about half of the past-*weqatal* forms in each book occurs in a situation that could possibly be construed as iterative/durative (8 of 16, and 13 of 27, respectively).

59. For a diagram showing the numbers of all parallel verb forms in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles see Verheij 1990: 41.

wayyiqtol form in Samuel–Kings,[60] but on six occasions Samuel–Kings has a past-*w*^{e}*qatal* form that is parallel to a *wayyiqtol* form in Chronicles![61] The following points are a digested response to the first statement concerning frequency. (1) The total number of past-*w*^{e}*qatal* forms is greatest in Joshua (91), Samuel (78), Kings (61), Ezekiel (37), Jeremiah (36), Exodus (33) and Chronicles (32).[62] (2) The total number of *wayyiqtol* forms is greatest in Samuel (2372), Kings (2254), Genesis (2103) and Chronicles (1453).[63] (3) As the following table shows,[64] approximately seven to eight of every ten finite verbs in narrative in Samuel are *wayyiqtol* forms, and approximately six to seven of every ten finite verbs in narrative in Kings and Chronicles are *wayyiqtol* forms, and the difference in number is hardly significant. In discourse, however, Chronicles has a slightly greater percentage of *wayyiqtol* forms than either Samuel or Kings, but again the difference is insignificant. Finally, I shall argue elsewhere that the synchronic factor of diglossia, especially the associated notion of 'code switching', accounts best for the sporadic emergence and functions of the past-*w*^{e}*qatal* form in the Bible.

60. 2 Kgs 12.11//2 Chron. 24.11; 2 Kgs 23.6//2 Chron. 34.4.

61. 2 Sam. 6.16//1 Chron. 15.29; 2 Sam. 7.11//1 Chron. 17.10; 1 Kgs 3.11//2 Chron. 1.11; 2 Kgs 12.12//2 Chron. 24.12; 2 Kgs 18.4//2 Chron. 31.1 (twice).

62. I have located 610 past-*weqatal* forms in the Hebrew Bible, which make up approximately 2% of all finite verb forms used for past time reference.

63. The smaller number of *wayyiqtol* forms in Chronicles is accounted for by (1) the significant amount of lists/genealogies in 1 Chron. 1–9, 23–27, and (2) the fewer number of finite verbs in 1 Chron. 10–22, 28–29; 2 Chron. 1–36. See Driver's comment on 'heavy combined sentences' (S.R. Driver 1913a: 539) and Verheij's discussion of Chronicles' greater average number of words per clause (Verheij 1990: 33-37, 42, 119).

64. My presentation corrects two flaws in Verheij's otherwise helpful monograph. I give *wayyiqtol* forms as a percentage of all suffix, prefix and preterite verb forms, rather than as a percentage of all finite *and non-finite* verb forms, and I distinguish between narration (1 Chron. 10–22, 28–29; 2 Chron. 1–36) and lists/genealogies (1 Chron. 1–9, 23–27) in the narrative portions of Chronicles. (I have counted the entirety of 1 Chron. 1–9, 23–27 as narrative, although 12 verses in these 14 chapters contain discourse: 4.9-10; 23.4-6, 25-26, 28-32. Also, note that in all of Samuel–Kings, only 1 Kgs 4 has list material comparable to the 14 chapters of this nature in Chronicles, but this chapter is 'verbally' insignificant since it has only five finite verb forms altogether.) Indeed, Verheij warns that 'the lists will therefore probably distort the picture of the use of verbs in general in Chronicles', but unfortunately he does not appear to have considered this factor in the chapter of his book on the issues discussed here. See Verheij 1990: 16, and note the absence of his sigla 1C* and C* in Chapter 8. I shall take up these and other related issues in another context.

Table 1. *The Proportion of* Wayyiqtol *Verb Forms in Narrative and Discourse Settings*

Samuel			
	Wayyiqtol *Forms*	*All Finite Forms*	Wayyiqtol *Forms as a Percentage of All Finite Forms*
Narrative	2204	2795	78.9
Discourse	168	1851	9.1
Total	2372	4646	51.1
Kings			
	Wayyiqtol *Forms*	*All Finite Forms*	Wayyiqtol *Forms as a Percentage of All Finite Forms*
Narrative	2139	3026	70.7
Discourse	115	1488	7.7
Total	2254	4514	49.9
Chronicles			
	Wayyiqtol *Forms*	*All Finite Forms*	Wayyiqtol *Forms as a Percentage of All Finite Forms*
Narrative Synoptic List	25	56	44.6
Narrative Synoptic Non-List	630	911	69.2
Narrative Non-Synoptic List	97	269	36.1
Narrative Non-Synoptic Non-List	624	950	65.7
Discourse Synoptic	46	462	10.0
Discourse Non-Synoptic	31	316	9.8
Total	1453	2964	49.0

o. ויהי *and Temporal Sequences*

Scholars believe that in 'late' BH ויהי declined in frequency as part of a decreasing use of *wayyiqtol*, and that consequently the syntagm's role as an introductory or preparatory formula preceding temporal constructions expressed by ב/כ + infinitive construct was diminished. The evidence cited for this view is generally threefold:[65] (1) ויהי's frequent appearance

65. See, e.g., S.R. Driver 1892: 89-90, 156-57, 187; Eskhult 2000: 91-93; Hurvitz 1974a: 28-30; Kropat 1909: 22-23, 73-75; Polzin 1976: 3, 45-46, 56-58, 60-61, 94-97, 104-105; Rooker 1990a: 103-105; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 119; Wright 1998: 66-72.

in certain 'earlier' books of the Bible is contrasted with its decreased frequency, or complete absence, in certain 'later' books of the Bible; (2) ויהי איש in the 'earlier' language (Judg. 13.2; 17.1; 19.1; 1 Sam. 1.1; 9.1; 2 Sam. 21.20 [//1 Chron. 20.6]) is contrasted with איש היה in the 'later' language (Job 1.1; Esth. 2.5); and (3) ויהי's presence in temporal sequences in the 'earlier' language is contrasted with its absence in parallel passages written in the 'later' language (1 Kgs 8.54//2 Chron. 7.1; 2 Kgs 12.11// 2 Chron. 24.11; 2 Kgs 22.3//2 Chron. 34.8). I shall briefly respond to several facets of these statements in reverse order.

(1) A close look at the three synoptic passages *routinely* cited in the literature and at a fourth synoptic passage that is neglected shows that a trend of 'replacement' does not occur in Chronicles.

1 Kgs 8.54: ויהי ... בכלות
2 Chron. 7.1: וכבלות

2 Kgs 12.11: ויהי ... בראותם
2 Chron. 24.11: ויהי בעת יביא את־הארון אל־פקדת המלך ביד הלוים וכראותם

Chronicles' reading lies within an expansion that in fact *does begin* with ויהי.

2 Kgs 22.3: ויהי בשמנה עשרה שנה למלך יאשיהו
2 Chron. 34.8: ובשנת שמונה עשרה למלכו

Ironically, the construction with ב + שנה + numeral (not exclusively in this order) but without the verb, as in Chronicles' passage, dominates in the book of Kings 27 to 10(!).

2 Kgs 10.13: ויהוא ... מצא
2 Chron. 22.8: ויהי כהשפט יהוא עם־בית אחאב וימצא

This counter example to the supposed 'trend' seems virtually unknown.

This is the full extent of the synoptic 'evidence' for variation between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles regarding ויהי in temporal sequences.

(2) On the one hand, it is impossible to address fully ויהי איש in Judges and Samuel without looking at textual variation, the typology and stylization of biblical book beginnings, the relationships and divisions between biblical books, and the linguistic and literary relationships between biblical stories. On the other hand, ויהי is used in the immediate context of Job 1.1 and Esth. 2.5,[66] and a compelling case can be made that the (disjunctive) wording in each passage is related to the rhetoric of the

66. Job 1.3, 5, 6, 13; 2.1; 30.31; 42.7, 12, 13; Esth. 1.1; 2.7, 8; 3.4; 5.1, 2.

introductions of Job and Mordecai, and this has absolutely nothing to do with historical grammar.[67]

(3) I shall make available elsewhere a lengthy study that I have prepared on וַיְהִי and on temporal sequences with and without this syntagm. In that study I have thoroughly documented issues related to statistics, semantics, stylistics, literary genre, first vs. third person perspective, discourse vs. narrative, synoptic vs. non-synoptic usage, translation technique, textual variation, editorial activity, other expressions of temporality in the Bible, and the evidence provided by extra-BH of the First and Second Temple Periods and by other Northwest Semitic languages. The results of my analysis are that (a) there is strong evidence for vernacular versus literary expressions of temporality in ancient Hebrew, and this variation is uniquely reflected in different portions of the Bible, and that (b) 'late' composers and editors ably created Hebrew texts using וַיְהִי, and also in temporal constructions that were supposedly not in the repertoire of post-exilic Hebrew writers. For the moment I can confirm the gist of Rendsburg's (1980a: 70) critique of Polzin: 'The figures presented by Polzin do not show a tremendous decrease in the use of *wayhî*... That Chronicles uses *wayhî* less than Kings is still correct, but the difference is not as great as Polzin's statistics suggest.'

p. *Chronicles' Vocabulary*

I recently completed a preliminary study of common nouns[68] in the book of Chronicles for the purpose of judging the methodological reasonableness of certain lexicographical research procedures, especially the notions of distribution and opposition/contrast, as advocated by Hurvitz and others. The relevant issues are numerous, calling for extensive commentary, but the following brief remarks must suffice in this context. The book of Chronicles makes up about 8% of the Bible and uses about 18% of the

67. On Esth. 2.5 see Anderson and Lichtenberger 1954: 840; Baldwin 1984: 65; Clines 1984: 286-87; Crawford 1999: 886; M.J. Fox 1991: 29, 185-86; Levenson 1997: 55-57; Moore 1971: 19-20; Paton 1992: 166-68. On Job 1.1 see Alden 1993: 43; Andersen 1976: 78; Clines 1989: 9-10; Driver and Gray 1921: Part 2 ('Philological Notes'), 1; Habel 1985: 71, 85-86; Hartley 1988: 65; König 1897: 511; McCarter 1980: 51; Pope 1965: 3; Rowley 1978: 28; M. Weiss 1983: 17-20.

68. Nouns represent the largest class of words in Chronicles, as one expects, and consequently they are most valuable for statistical and comparative analysis. There are approximately 1850 noun lexemes, 400 verb lexemes, and 100 adjective lexemes (including numerals) in the book of Chronicles. The noun lexemes include approximately 1180 proper nouns and 670 common nouns.

Bible's common noun lexemes. Ninety of Chronicles' 670 common noun lexemes do not occur in the books of Genesis–Kings.[69] The most frequent of these are מצלתים ('cymbal', 11 times), מערב ('west', seven times), כפור ('bowl', six times), מצורה ('rampart', six times), בוץ ('byssus', five times), ערמה ('heap', five times), בירה ('castle', four times) and שאר ('rest', four times). Of the remaining 82, seven occur on three occasions, 14 on two occasions, and 61 only once. Regarding the entire group of 90: about one-third are labelled 'late' or 'later' in BDB, but the basis for these labels is seemingly their occurrence in Chronicles as opposed to Genesis–Kings; about one-quarter may meet the criterion of opposition/contrast with respect to another common noun lexeme in Genesis–Kings; about one-third may have entered Hebrew from or through Aramaic; at least a dozen are attested in Ugaritic; and not surprisingly, the usage domains are mostly the legal-administrative sphere and cultic-religious sphere. In the majority of cases it is uncertain what other term a writer of 'Classical' BH would have chosen to use if the need had presented itself. Thus far my exploration of Chronicles' common noun lexemes has persuaded me that lexicographical data must be used with much caution in investigations and delimitations of diachronic strata in BH, and I shall deal with this issue in the final section of this essay, to which I turn now.

3. *Method*

In the final part of this essay I wish to address five issues related to research on the history of biblical language, and in particular on the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. My principal concerns are the recognition of frequently overlooked presuppositions and the application of more rigorous methodology.

(1) The study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles *should involve a comprehensive and unbiased investigation of features* within these books as well as throughout the Hebrew Bible. It is commonplace to point out a single or several cases of 'replacement' in Chronicles vis-à-vis Samuel–Kings and to develop from this observation a *generalized impression or statement* concerning the historical development of a particular linguistic feature of BH. In actual fact, however, the distribution and usage

69. In contrast, less than 30 of Chronicles' verb and adjective lexemes do not occur in Genesis–Kings. The choice of Genesis–Kings may seem arbitrary, but it is a fact that most scholars consider the majority of the material in these books to be pre-exilic. Of course, opinions vary concerning 'P'.

of this or that feature throughout the entire Bible very often does not sustain the view concerning chronological development that they are held to substantiate. In addition, the investigation of the language of these books should take account of both discontinuities and continuities. Discussions of the history of BH routinely take their point of departure from the 'Classical' compositions. At the outset, forms and functions in these materials are classified, and then a move is made to *contrast* the corresponding 'non-Classical' features. This procedure usually results in lists of 'departures' from the 'Classical' norm, many of which are then labelled pejoratively as 'non-Classical', 'degenerate', 'uncouth', 'peculiarities', and so on.[70] In my view, this process is unsound, and in the end it prejudices further investigation and exaggerates the differences between the two corpora under investigation.

(2) The study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles *should be liberated from assumptions concerning the literary composition and development of these books*, which assumptions also underlie most published studies of diachronic strata in BH. Very many views regarding developments in BH are based on the assumptions that Chronicles *post-dates* (by a substantial lapse in time), *utilized* and *changed* Samuel–Kings. It is necessary to draw attention to four related issues. (a) This approach is rooted more deeply in the appraisal of Chronicles' ideology and historical reliability than of the book's language. In fact, Gesenius (1815) provided the detailed philological support for the conclusions concerning the book of Chronicles and the history of Israelite religion which de Wette (1806) had argued a decade earlier.[71] (b) Kropat's 'pioneering' and 'landmark' *Syntax* (1909) is a cornerstone for the modern study of historical Hebrew grammar,[72] and is routinely cited by Hebraists and biblicists, but Kropat's assumption was that the Chronicler used a proto-Masoretic text of Samuel–Kings, and consequently his *modus operandi* was to contrast the linguistic features of synoptic passages. (c) I noted earlier that most scholars in previous generations, and some scholars still today, assign the book of Chronicles to the Hellenistic era (333–175 BCE), but today most assign it to a late Persian setting (400–333 BCE), although many also give the book

70. For examples see the works that I cited at the beginning of the second section this essay.

71. For de Wette's views on Chronicles see Graham 1990: 9-34 (34-36 on Gesenius); Peltonen 1996, I: 69-82 (83 on Gesenius); Rogerson 1985: 29-33 (52 on Gesenius); 1992: 55-57.

72. Japhet 1993: 41; Rooker 1988b: 207; 1990a: 28-29; 1990b: 134; 1994: 136.

an early Persian date (550–400 BCE). Hence the stretch from the earliest to the latest dates suggested for the composition of the book covers a period of nearly 400 years. More than four decades ago Freedman (1961: 436) rightly declared concerning Chronicles that 'The scope, purpose, date, and historical value of this work are all subject to violent debate...bordering on chaos'. I would add that scholarly evaluations of the book's date are based primarily on historical, ideological and literary issues rather than on language.[73] (d) I agree with Hurvitz that language should be given primary consideration for the dating of biblical texts, but I do not share his confidence that the dating enterprise has in fact been carried out effectively on this basis owing to literary-linguistic circularity. Hurvitz correctly asserts that certain books of the Bible were written during the (exilic or) post-exilic period (e.g. Chronicles), but he *assumes* that others *were not* written then (e.g. Samuel). Or to rephrase this, he correctly asserts that certain books of the Bible are 'non-chronologically problematic texts' (e.g. Chronicles *is not* pre-exilic), but he *assumes* as well that other books *are also* 'non-chronologically problematic texts' (e.g. Samuel *is* pre-exilic). I hope to document Hurvitz' reasoning elsewhere,[74] but the fact that other scholars have arrived at a similar conclusion concerning literary-linguistic circularity reassures me that I have not misconstrued the issue.[75]

73. This is a significant issue which I shall document elsewhere. The prevailing factors in most discussions are the literary relationship of Chronicles to Samuel–Kings, and the literary unity of the book of Chronicles, especially the discernment of primary and secondary literary features, with respect to 1 Chron. 1–9; 23–27; 29.7; 2 Chron. 8.3-4; 16.9; 26.15; 36.22-23—that is, 14 non-synoptic chapters in 1 Chronicles, and the words and/or contents of seven other verses. The evidence that is usually cited for the date of the book can be arranged according to tradition and canon; citation and documentation; history and ideology; composition; and language. The linguistic issues are the absence of Greek words; אדרכנים in 1 Chron. 29.7; חשבנות in 2 Chron. 26.15; and generalizations concerning orthographical, morphological, syntactical, and lexicographical features, especially so-called Aramaic and Mishnaic elements, and most frequently with reference to the lists of features given in the contributions cited at the beginning of the second section of this essay. For detailed discussions of opinions concerning the dating of the book of Chronicles see Kalimi 1993; Peltonen 2001; Steins 1995: 52-59, 491-99.

74. A start can be made by a careful reading of Hurvitz 1973: 74-76; 1974b: 25; 1983a: 93; 1995: 3-4; 2000a: 144-48.

75. See the words of Edelman, Garbini, Ólafsson and Rosenberg, which are cited at the beginning of this essay, and also Auld 1994: 9-10; Blenkinsopp 1996: 509-10; Cryer 1994: 198; P.R. Davies 1995: 101; Ehrensvärd 2000: 61; Verheij 1990: 5-6; Wesselius 1999: 341.

(3) The study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles *should make more space for the socio-linguistic factors of dialect and diglossia*, both of which at times have proven to account for linguistic diversity more adequately than does the notion of chronological stratification.[76] A handful of scholars have called attention to northern and/or colloquial elements in Chronicles and in other compositions traditionally identified as 'late'. Gordon (1955a; 1955b) pointed out Ugaritic parallels to the Bible that are limited to post-exilic prose, and argued that the language of (northern) Israel influenced the Hebrew of post-exilic books such as Qoheleth, Esther and Chronicles. Watson (1972) developed Gordon's brief remarks into a 14-page list of close parallels in vocabulary, grammar and style between the language of the book of Chronicles and Northwest Semitic texts, notably those from Ras Shamra. Hurvitz (1967) concluded that the 'shift' from שׁשׁ to בוץ in Chronicles reflects increased post-exilic contact with the Northeast and the Aramaic language spoken there. Rabin (1958: 152) said Chronicles' deviations from the SBH of its *Vorlage* are 'evidence of changed stylistic taste' towards Imperial Aramaic. Adams (1987: 22) suggested that the linguistic differences between Samuel–Kings and Chronicles could represent diverse synchronic dialects of Hebrew, and Sperber (1966: 229-34, 501-503) actually argued this view. P.R. Davies (2001b) recently suggested that the difference in 'the two kinds of biblical Hebrew' is related to the diverse socio-linguistic situations of Palestinian and Babylonian scribes. Finally, Verheij (1990: 29) discarded the consideration of dialectal differences and other paradigms in his monograph on the frequency of verb forms in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles, but in a subsequent reply to Cryer he admitted that historical development does not necessarily follow from his conclusions, and that he adopted this position because it emerged as a rather obvious one from the scholarly discussion (Verheij 1997: 42). I noted above that at least a dozen of Chronicles' 90 'unique' noun lexemes are attested in Ugaritic, including מצלתים, which is the most frequent of these, and which according to BDB and Polzin is a

76. For bibliography and summaries of work on dialect see Chen 2000; Rendsburg 2002a; D.K. Wilson 1996; Yoo 1999. On diglossia see Rendsburg 2002a; I. Young 1993. In several recent articles Fredericks (1996) and I. Young (1995; 1997) have convincingly argued on the bases of distribution and function that a number of linguistic features heretofore considered regional/dialectal variations must rather be attributed to colloquial language varieties. Fredericks' (1996: 20) suggestion that 'What *is* northern about North Israelite texts is perhaps an attitude toward colloquialisms in transcribing that literature which is not matched by Judean scribal peers' merits considerable attention.

'later' equivalent of צלצלים. I also suggested earlier in this essay, and shall argue in detail elsewhere, that the factor of diglossia best explains the distribution and function of past-*w^{e}qatal* and temporal sequences without ויהי in these books and elsewhere.

(4) The study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles *should consistently consider explanations related to editorial and scribal practices*[77] for similarities and differences between these books, and this is especially true for synoptic material. My doctoral project is a textual, stylistic and literary analysis of portions of (mainly) the Hebrew and Greek versions of Samuel and Chronicles, in which I employ a textual-exegetical methodology for explaining the relationships and redactional developments of the accounts.[78] As the project has advanced I have come to doubt more and more that the elucidation of chronological developments in BH can be undertaken apart from the consideration of 'higher critical' issues, and that it can be based exclusively on the MT.[79] I concur with W. Chomsky (1957: 30) that 'The literary control on linguistic change is particularly marked when, as in the case of the Hebrew language, the common literature is integrated with the religious traditions and experiences of the people'.[80] Archaism, modernization, and especially uniformatization

77. See especially I. Young 1992b; 1998b; 1999; 2001a; 2001b; 2001c. Also see Auld 1994: 9-10.

78. The twentieth-century breakdown of the 'textual-exegetical' endeavour is chronicled by Goshen-Gottstein (1983), but has undergone a resurgence in recent decades in the writings of a few scholars, most notably J.C. Trebolle Barrera (1980; 1984b; 1989; and 1982; 1984a for briefer studies in English). I discuss the work of other scholars in my doctoral project.

79. Hurvitz (1973: 74) is predictably cited in support of both these views. In another context I shall address Hurvitz' methodology in conjunction with his analysis of 1 Sam. 2.1-10//Ps. 113.5-9, in which he argues (*contra* Freedman 1978) that the former is the 'original' and the latter is an 'imitation' (Hurvitz 1985). My question for Hurvitz is this: In what sense is the 'text' or 'composition' of MT 1 Sam. 2.1-10 'pre-exilic' or 'original' in view of the clear evidence of the late stage of development in the MT Samuel version of the Song of Hannah? Among many publications on the Song, see especially Tov 1997.

80. His words resonate in the writings of many scholars, e.g., Bauer and Leander 1922: 25-26; Bergsträsser 1918, I: 11; Waltke and O'Connor 1990: §1.4.1. Ullendorff's comments concerning biblical Hebrew as a 'linguistic fragment' are pertinent (Ullendorff 1977). It would be helpful to review scholars' depictions of BH as relatively uniform or diverse, and to discuss the notions of *Mischsprache* and *Bildungssprache*. I think contradictory appraisals, or at least very different emphases, are related to the extent that a particular scholar interprets the data either through diachronic lenses or with a view to dialect, diglossia, and editorial and scribal factors.

('levelling, smoothing, standardizing') are significant issues. In addition, specialized ('standard, formal, high') literary language would have stimulated linguistic uniformity, the 'Classical' norm, whereas sporadic or sustained recourse to colloquial or dialectal language varieties related to genre or rhetoric would have given rise to linguistic diversity, or divergence from the 'Classical' form.[81] I wish to highlight three significant related issues. (a) I am not certain that Chronicles' principal *Vorlage* was Samuel–Kings, but given that this is the scholarly consensus, it is necessary to keep in mind that Chronicles' *Vorlage* was not the proto-MT of Samuel–Kings. Earlier scholars, and some scholars still today, assumed that the Chronicler used a text much like that reflected in MT Samuel–Kings, and attributed the differences between the two to the composer's rewriting. A dramatic change in thought has come about in the past half century. Many recent commentaries on Chronicles acknowledge that the *Vorlage* of Chronicles was not identical to the text of MT Samuel–Kings. This view was forcefully championed from the early 1950s by Cross on the heels of the Qumran discoveries,[82] and three subsequent Harvard dissertations on Chronicles (Lemke 1964; R.W. Klein 1966; McKenzie 1984) and two on Samuel (Ulrich 1979; Nysse 1984) have supported his thesis. In recent years others have offered corroborative evidence, and the cumulative result of these studies is that it is unacceptable to 'discredit' the Chronicler with many tendentious deviations from his *Vorlage*. (b) I argue in my doctoral project that many details related to the content and shape of MT Samuel, and especially that version's distinctive readings in synoptic passages shared with Chronicles, are late editorial developments that constitute a literary layer with a specific revisionary target. This conclusion should not necessarily come as a surprise since the book of Chronicles has held an inferior position in the annals of Jewish and Christian scholarly activity from the earliest times to the present day (Ben Zvi 1988; Japhet 1999; Kalimi 1998).[83] This marginalized doublet was/is considered a contradictory repetition and/or supplement marked by less importance, reliability and authority, and worthy of less attention and use, than its counterparts in the Former Prophets. The evidence indicates that the book

81. Linguistic diversity related to rhetoric is mentioned or discussed in Baumgartner 1959: 228; Clendenen 1987: 405-408; Gianto 1996; Hurvitz 1983b; Kaufman 1988: 54-56; Rendsburg 1991b: 92-97; 1996; 1998; 2002b; I. Young 1992a; 1995.

82. See, for example, his reprinted articles in Cross and Talmon 1975. Of course, on the basis of the versions (esp. Greek) some scholars had suggested that this was the case more than a century before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls.

83. Also see Trebolle Barrera 2000.

was studied, revised, transmitted, and copied differently and less frequently than the books of Samuel and Kings. Consequently, the textual fluidity and multiformity that are evident in the early versions of Samuel and Kings are not characteristic of the early versions of Chronicles. The effect of all this is that many details in synoptic passages are more primitive textually in Chronicles but are (ironically) more 'Classical' linguistically in Samuel–Kings.[84] (c) The risk involved in 'blindly' comparing details in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles for the purpose of elucidating historical developments in the language of BH is amplified by several other limitations.[85] (i) A common view is that the post-exilic corpus of biblical writings is mostly comprised of the books of Jonah, Haggai–Malachi, Ruth–Qoheleth and Esther–Chronicles,[86] yet altogether these books make up less than one-fifth of the Bible, and Chronicles represents nearly one-half of the corpus.[87] In my view these facts make it somewhat precarious to speak with absolute confidence about the stages of BH.

84. This is a fascinating topic that should be addressed along with the issues of mixed language and 'archaisms' in Chronicles, on which see the dissimilar views of Polzin 1976: 10, 159; Hurvitz 1982: 26-27 (and nn. 11-13), 80-81 (and n. 83), 108, and more recently 2000c: 185-88 ('The Methodological Aspect: The Merger of Old and New in LBH'). In an essay largely dealing with the views of Gerleman (1948), Talmon (1951: 146) says the book of Chronicles 'has long been recognised as embodying a systematised text. In this very book, more than in others, including Sam.–Kings, scholars have discovered emendations of late editors who intended to produce a linguistically and exegetically straightforward text'. On the contrary, in some ways MT Samuel–Kings are more 'polished' whereas MT Chronicles is more 'erratic', and this situation is probably due to later revisers' interest in the former books but not the latter, as Gerleman also argues.

85. Hurvitz' comments regarding synoptic material are also germane, although I do not think he would wish to apply them to the parallel passages in Samuel–Kings and Chronicles. In any case, he addresses the problems of a possible common source, difficulty in deciding direction of influence, and late editorial activity which could archaise or use material from earlier sources (Hurvitz 1982: 13-18). Polzin objects to the comparison of synoptic material, although curiously he sometimes uses differences in parallel texts for specifying late language (Polzin 1976: 41, 46, 53, 58, 62). Some other scholars agree with Polzin in excluding duplicate passages, e.g., Rendsburg 1980a: 66; Throntveit 1982: 207.

86. Of course, the debate over some of these books, and also over 'P' and certain (portions of) other books in the Latter Prophets and Writings, is well known.

87. The problem is complicated further by the fact that Haggai–Malachi and Ruth show no clear signs of lateness: 'if the language of these texts can be post-exilic, it follows that all texts of this group can be post-exilic too, including Gen–2Kgs' (Ehrensvärd 2000: 67; cf. 65-67).

(ii) The synoptic material makes up about 40% of the book of Chronicles, but only about 5% of Samuel and 15% of Kings (Polzin 1976: 27-28; Verheij 1990: 31). The comparison of this synoptic material is a standard *modus operandi* for defining the content and shape of LBH, since 'from a methodological perspective, it is easier to begin by using Kropat's technique' (Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 116 n. 11). However, in my view the methodological 'ease' is outweighed by the limited scope of the material, as well as by the other complexities I have discussed.

(5) The study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles *should concentrate on grammar (morphology and syntax) rather than lexicography*, and this focus is methodologically proper for investigating diachronic developments in BH in general.[88] The balance of Hurvitz' evidence for LBH, and to a lesser extent the evidence adduced by Bergey and Rooker,[89] is lexicographical. As far as I am aware, only Rooker (1990a: 58-59, cf. 31-32) has sought to defend this methodology against criticisms, saying,

> Indeed, no such hierarchical bifurcation of criteria exists in linguistic literature... Since this distinction is without foundation we believe lexicographical change should be recognized as being on equal footing with grammatical-syntactical developments in attempts to describe language change.

Rooker's remarks are unfounded. Research should focus on grammar for the following reasons. (a) Rooker's denial of a 'hierarchical bifurcation of criteria' is contradicted by general linguistic theory, and more specifically, by the concepts of complexity in language and synchronic variation in language. Language is complex (Crystal 1997: 83, 95), and consequently it is customary to study it using models of language structure which may vary in their number of levels. The four-level model is among the most widely used: phonetics, phonology, grammar (morphology and syntax) and semantics (lexicon and discourse). On the one hand, these linguistic levels are interrelated, and therefore to some extent their demarcation is

88. Biblical scholars have effectively neglected the study of grammar, especially syntax, in diachronic investigations of BH. I shall not list the major exceptions here. For statements advocating the need to develop *and focus* on this area of research see Adams 1987: 7-8, 14; Blenkinsopp 1996: 506, 509-12; W. Chomsky 1957: 160; Cryer 1994: 198; Eskhult 1990: 14-15, 199; Fredericks 1988: 27-28, 256; A.E. Hill 1981: 45, 84-86; Isaksson 1987: 192-93; Levine 1981: 70; Nicholson 1998: 220; Polzin 1976: 2, 5-7, 15-18, 123-24, 159-60; Qimron 1992: 353 n. 10; Rendsburg 1980a: 80; Schoors 1992: 41, 221; Throntveit 1982: 208; Verheij 1990: 3; Zevit 1982: 494.

89. Bergey's (1983) and Rooker's (1988a) doctoral projects were completed under the influence of Hurvitz.

artificial, but on the other hand, the notion of levels seems to have empirical validity in psychological and neurological contexts. The widely used five-rank hierarchy of syntactic investigation is equally illustrative: morpheme, word, phrase, clause and sentence, with the morpheme at the lower limit and the sentence at the upper limit of grammatical enquiry; and beyond this the investigation focuses on discourse. Finally, language complexity may also be illustrated by discussions of child language acquisition, second language acquisition, and studies in aphasia. Turning to synchronic variation,[90] it is simple to illustrate the orderliness of language in the realm of grammar as opposed to variability in the lexicon. For example, consider Noam Chomsky's 'Colorless green ideas sleep furiously', or a simple sentence such as 'I went to the home' with 'house' or 'residence' or 'dwelling' etc. instead of 'home', but not as *'Me goed to the home', and so on. The bottom line is this: grammar is more complex and invariable than the occurrence or non-occurrence of particular words. (b) Rooker's denial of a 'hierarchical bifurcation of criteria' is contradicted by the perspectives and procedures followed by scholars in the field of historical linguistics:[91]

> Vocabulary items tend to be added, replaced, or changed in meaning more rapidly than any other aspect of language. (Aitchison 1994: 16)
>
> Words can be taken very freely from one language into another, with very little, if any, effect on the rest of the grammar or lexicon of the borrowing language. The vocabulary or lexicon is the most unstable part of any language, and words may be picked up or discarded as a given community feels the need. (Arlotto 1981: 184)[92]
>
> Change in the lexicon can be largely accounted for by simple addition of items and relationships, or, less frequently, by the desuetude and loss of particular words: by hypothesis no examples of loss should spring to mind, but words like *skylon*, *frut* or teenage slang of the 30s might be candidates. The issue is not so clear-cut, however, with syntactic or morphological change. (Smith and Wilson 1980: 209)

90. See, e.g, Bloomfield 1933: 207; Hopper and Traugott 1993: 1-2; Trask 1999: 53-54.

91. In addition to the material cited here, further statements and illustrations are available in Bynon 1996: 216, 231; Crystal 1997: 330; Hock and Joseph 1996: 215-16; Lehman 1962: 212; Liles 1975: 286, 293; Trask 1994: 72; 1996: 17, 309.

92. Common nouns are by far the most frequently borrowed class of words (Arlotto 1981: 187).

> It is often said that there is less resistance to change in the semantics than in other areas of the grammar...so that meaning changes relatively quickly and easily. Most native speakers will thus be aware of semantic changes which have taken place within their lifetime: for instance, the English word *gay* meant 'bright, cheerful' before the 1960s, and now generally means 'homosexual', while ongoing changes in English might include the movement of the sense of *flaunt* towards that of *flout*, as in recent press allegations that businessmen have *flaunted* the laws on share dealing... According to Winter...'no component of a natural language is totally immune to change under the impression of outside languages. However, not all components appear to be equally susceptible to such changes'. In general, the lexicon is more easily and radically affected, followed by the phonology, morphology and finally the syntax. (McMahon 1994: 174-75, 209)

These statements affirm and illustrate historical linguists' view about stability in grammar vs. flexibility in lexicon. Languages are very tolerant of synchronic and diachronic change in the realm of the lexicon, and consequently historical linguists greatly prefer to deal with the more 'orderly' structure of language. (c) The lexical stock of the Bible is very restricted such that the approximately 8000 lexemes it contains must represent a somewhat limited portion of the vocabulary in regular use in spoken and written ancient Hebrew.[93] This is also indicated to some extent by the absence, or the occurrence with a different meaning, in BH of lexical items which occur in Hebrew inscriptions[94] or which are shared by Ugaritic and 'late' or post-BH.[95] In contrast, the grammatical stock of the Bible does not suffer this limitation. (d) The vocabulary of 'late' BH is not markedly different to that of the rest of the Bible, as indicated already in my brief comments on common noun lexemes in Chronicles and Genesis–Kings. Elwolde investigated developments in Hebrew vocabulary between Bible and Mishnah and concluded:

> This leads us into the issue of 'LBH' ('Late Biblical Hebrew'). As before, if 'LBH' is nothing more than a terminological convenience for the Hebrew of the books written in the post-exilic period, it is innocuous. And if it simply stands for the 'three percent' of new words in those writings, it is both innocuous and trivial (unless of course the proportion of new words to old is much greater than one in thirty-three, which I doubt). But if it stands

93. Barr 1968: 224-27; Burney 1918: 171; North 1999: 204-207; Sáenz-Badillos 1993: 74-75; Ullendorff 1977: 9; I. Young 1993: 170-71. Figures for each part of speech in the Bible are given in, e.g., *TLOT*, III: 1447.

94. For some examples see Sarfatti 1982: 73-80.

95. For detailed discussion of several examples see Levine 1962.

> for a discrete phase of the Hebrew language that is significantly different from preceding and succeeding phases, then, from a lexical perspective, it is unsound... (Elwolde 1997: 51-52, cf. 48-55)[96]

(e) Changeability or unevenness in the lexicon of a language may be explained by many factors. Where do new words come from? Borrowing (i.e. language contact), creation, and modification (i.e. semantic change). What factors may account for the presence and absence of lexical items? Exact synonymy; gain or loss of objects, concepts and activities; social prestige or luxury loans; negative evaluation (i.e. to be derogatory); taboo, and so on. Consideration must also be given to a writer's level of learning; desire to archaize or innovate; aesthetic preference; style of writing; purpose in writing; subject matter; literary genre; and environment, including geographic location and association with a particular group or profession. Another significant factor is randomness of attestation.[97] Dialect and diglossia may also explain variation in terminology. More specifically, northern (Israelian) and southern (Judean) dialects of Hebrew were unquestionably distinctive throughout the first millennium BCE due to *regional* necessities and influences and perhaps also to *ideological* differences and traditions. The notion of diglossia opens the door to viewing certain lexical items as characteristic of either the colloquial or literary realm of ancient Hebrew, and perhaps related to official vs. non-official communication, lower vs. upper class speech patterns, or Aramaized vs. non-Aramaized linguistic strata.[98] In addition, the notion of diglossia also

96. Van Peursen's (1999: 356-57) analysis of the verb system in Ben Sira supports Elwolde's conclusion that Ben Sira is one of four 'Classical' Hebrew corpora, the other three being the Hebrew Bible, the Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew epigraphic material: the verb system of Ben Sira 'conforms to a large extent to the verbal system of CH'.

97. This is true even for a language as well known as Akkadian: 'It is important to emphasize that these chronological and geographical categories cannot reflect the real distribution of each word's usage, only its *attestations*. The periods listed refer only to the texts from which the word is known to us, not to the periods in which the word may really have been used. In the course of preparing the CDA one of the commonest changes from AHw [Wolfram von Soden's *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch*] has been the addition of new period attestations, and we can be confident that as new texts are found many of our words will turn up outside their presently known range of dialect and time' (Black, George and Postgate 2000: xiii [emphasis in original]). I thank Alan Lenzi for bringing this quote to my attention.

98. On difficulties in dealing with Aramaisms in BH, both identifying and dating them, see I. Young 1993: 54-63, 66-72, 73-96 (esp. 85-86, 93). Views on a number of

opens the door to explaining some occurrences as intentional code switches for the purpose of emphasis, focus and the like. Finally, editorial and scribal practices may account for variation in terminology. The books of the Bible were formed and collected over a substantial period of time. Hence it is important to recognize that vocabulary is salient (i.e. prominent, as on the surface of a text), and as a result can be readily changed by later hands. The Bible is neither a unitary nor uniform composition, thus the process of formation of the biblical canon, stylizing and standardizing trends, urges to assimilate and dissimilate, and inner-biblical exegesis and polemic, may each have a part to play in explaining occurrences and non-occurrences of particular lexical items. Therefore, the study of the language of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles should concentrate on grammatical features, which provide a more reliable and efficient basis for chronological analysis than do lexicographical features.[99]

4. *Conclusion*

One aim of this essay is to prompt scholars to (re-)ask certain questions: Is it possible to date biblical texts apart from historical and literary assumptions? Can biblical texts be dated on the basis of linguistic criteria? Should the language of Chronicles be considered the benchmark of LBH? Is there a linguistic basis for a chronological distinction between the language of Chronicles and the language of Samuel–Kings? The answers offered for these questions now appear inadequate in view of more thorough descriptions of the evidence and more frequent recourse to non-chronological explanations such as dialect, diglossia, and editorial and scribal activities. Another aim of this essay is to encourage a re-evaluation of the methods and conclusions of de Wette and Kropat, the two most pivotal figures for the literary and linguistic study of the book of Chronicles. Auld's thesis has caused some scholars to look again at some questions and answers regarding the language and composition of Samuel–Kings and Chronicles.

lexical items are reviewed in Walker 1986. Hurvitz 1968 is a very important contribution.

99. Polzin 1976: 123-24. Other topics which I would like to discuss are semantic change in addition to lexical replacement; the definition, rate and mechanisms of language change; the inter-relationship of changes in different linguistic levels; transitional language with reference to Rooker's (1990a) analysis of Ezekiel; and mixed language and 'archaisms' with reference to Polzin's and Hurvitz' views, mentioned above. See Naudé (2000c) for a helpful critique of Rooker's book.

I believe the best starting point for comprehending the relationship(s) between these books is a *meticulous, comprehensive and dispassionate* textual, stylistic and literary analysis of their content and shape. I also believe it will remain unsafe to label the book of Chronicles 'an obvious witness of late Biblical Hebrew' until such an analysis has been completed.

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