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CCCIV

WRITING, REWRITING, AND OVERWRITING
IN THE BOOKS OF DEUTERONOMY
AND THE FORMER PROPHETS

ESSAYS IN HONOUR OF CYNTHIA EDENBURG

EDITED BY

IDO KOCH – THOMAS RÖMER – OMER SERGI

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IV. 1 SAM 1: ANFANG WOVON?

Wenn dem so ist, so sind wir mit 1 Sam 1 in doppeltem Sinne wieder auf die Frage des Anfangs geworfen. 1 Sam 9,1 mag einmal eine selbständige Saulüberlieferung eröffnet haben und 1 Sam 1,1 einen Samuel-Saul- oder auch Samuel-Saul-David-Kranz⁷⁴. Inwiefern aber kann davon gesprochen werden, 1 Sam 1 eröffne ein erstes „deuteronomistisches Geschichtswerk“? „Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists?“ Es sind die oben genannten, von Knauf und Pakkala angeführten Argumente fehlender deuteronomistischer Kohärenz zwischen Sam und Reg, die sich in der Tat nicht ohne weiteres entkräften lassen. Sollte man sich also auf das Knauf'sche Minimum einer deuteronomistischen Königerolle zurückziehen? „However, it is difficult to uncover a beginning point for this composition in the extant text“⁷⁵. Ein möglicher Ausweg aus dieser Zwickmühle wäre, in der Tradition Noths, die Annahme, es seien im Laufe der Redaktionsgeschichte womöglich Textpartien verlorengegangen – nur eben nicht der ursprüngliche Abschluß der Hexateucherzählung, sondern der erste Anfang des deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerks⁷⁶. Einen anderen Ausweg bildete die oben bereits mit Blick auf 1 Sam 1 ins Feld geführte Annahme, die ersten Deuteronomisten hätten schlicht keinen Grund gesehen, in der ihnen vorliegenden Erzählung über Saul, David und Salomo stärker redaktionell und theologisch bewertend einzugreifen⁷⁷. Auch diese mögliche Antwort vermag, zugegebenerweise, nicht wirklich zu befriedigen.

Welche dieser beiden Annahmen plausibler oder weniger unplausibel erscheint, sei dahingestellt – aus methodischen Gründen würde ich die zweite der ersten vorziehen. Eine vordeuteronomistische „wayēhî 'iš collection“ aber kann als Argument gegen 1 Sam 1 als Erzählanfänger nicht ins Feld geführt werden.

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74. Vgl. BEZZEL, *Saul* (Anm. 6), S. 193f.

75. MÜLLER, *1 Samuel 1* (Anm. 16), S. 220 Anm. 53.

76. Vgl. LEVIN, *Nach siebzig Jahren* (Anm. 14), S. 91.

77. vgl. oben S. 203.

KIRIATH-JEARIM, KIRIATH-BAAL/BAALAH, GIBEAH

A GEOGRAPHICAL-HISTORY CHALLENGE¹

Cynthia Edenburg has contributed in a decisive way to the questions of origin, composition, revision and rewriting of the so-called Deuteronomistic History books². It is our honor and pleasure to offer her these reflections on the riddle of the toponym Kiriath-jearim as a sign of our high esteem for her work as well as of our friendship.

I. KIRIATH-JEARIM AND RELATED TERMS IN THE HEBREW AND GREEK BIBLES

A place located in the vicinity of Jerusalem is mentioned in the Hebrew Bible under three names and their derivations: Kiriath-jearim (Kiriath ha-jearim, Kiriath 'arim); Kiriath-baal (Ba'alalah, Ba'aloth, possibly Ba'alath) and Gibeah (Gibeat Kiriath). The variants in the Greek Bible are indicated in parentheses.

a) Kiriath-jearim: Josh 9,17 (LXX: πόλις Ιαριν); 15,9; 15,60 (LXX in Joshua 15: πόλις Ιαριμ); 18,14 (LXX: Καριαθιαριν); 18,15 (LXX: Καριαθβααλ); Judg 18,12; 1 Sam 6,21; 7,1; 7,2; Neh 7,29; 1 Chr 2,50; 2,52 (LXX in all occurrences from Judges 18 to 2 Chr 2,52: Καριαθιαριμ); 2,53 (LXX: πόλις Ιαϊρ); 13,5 (LXX: πόλις Ιαριμ); 13,6 (LXX: πόλις Δαυιδ); 2 Chr 1,4 (Καριαθιαριμ).

1. This article stems from our work at the site of Kiriath-jearim. The Shmunis Family Foundation Excavations at Kiriath-jearim is a joint project of Tel Aviv University and the Collège de France, funded by Sana and Vlad Shmunis (USA). The project is directed by the two of us and Christophe Nicolle of the Collège de France.

2. C. EDENBURG, *Notes on the Origin of the Biblical Tradition Regarding Achish King of Gath*, in VT 61 (2011) 34-38; EAD., *Joshua 9 and Deuteronomy, an Intertextual Conundrum: The Chicken or the Egg?*, in K. SCHMID – R.F. PERSON (eds.), *Deuteronomy in the Pentateuch, Hexateuch, and the Deuteronomistic History* (FAT, II/56), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2012, 115-132; EAD., *II Sam 21,1-14 and II Sam 23,1-7 as Post-Chr Additions to the Samuel Scroll*, in U. BECKER – H. BEZZEL (eds.), *Rereading the relecture? The Question of (Post)chronistic Influence in the Latest Redactions of the Books of Samuel* (FAT, II/66), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2014, 167-182; EAD., *Dismembering the Whole: Composition and Purpose of Judges 19-21* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature, 24), Atlanta, GA, SBL Press, 2016; C. EDENBURG – J. PAKKALA (eds.), *Is Samuel among the Deuteronomists? Current Views on the Place of Samuel in a Deuteronomistic History* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature, 16), Atlanta, GA, Society of Biblical Literature, 2013.

- b) Kiriath ha-jearim: Jer 26,20 (LXX Jer 33,20: Καριαθιαριμ).
 c) Kiriath 'arim: Ezr 2,25 (LXX: Καριαθιαριμ³)⁴.
 d) Kiriath: Josh 18,28 or Gibeath Kiriath (LXX: Γαβαωθιαριμ [B, codex Vaticanus] or πόλις Ιαριμ [A, Codex Alexandrinus])⁵.
 e) Ba'alalah: Josh 15,9 (LXX in Josh 15,9-10: Βααλ); 15,10⁶; 2 Sam 6,2 (MT: בְּעֵלֵי יְהוּדָה, followed in the LXX: τῶν ἀρχόντων Ιουδα), 4 QSama has "Baalalah that is Kiria[th-jearim]"; 1 Chr 13,6 (LXX: πόλις Δαυιδ).
 f) Kiriath Ba'al (LXX has in both texts: Καριαθβααλ): Josh 15,60; 18,14.
 g) The fields of Jaar בְּשָׂדֵי יַעַר: Ps 132,6 (LXX Ps 131,6): ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τοῦ ὄρους, "in the plains of the forest"⁷.
 h) Gibeah: 1 Sam 7,1 (LXX: βουνός); 2 Sam 6,3-4⁸ (cf. Gibeath Kiriath in Josh 18,28).

The comparison between the Hebrew and the Greek names shows important fluctuations, which can in part be explained as a reflection of diverse translators⁹, but sometimes also by the assumption that the translators had a *Vorlage* that differed from the MT. This may be the case in Josh 18,14-15, where Kiriath-jearim is rendered in Greek as Kiriath-baal (in 18,14 the place is however identified [by a later redactor?] with Kiriath-jearim). The fact that in most of the LXX manuscripts of 1 Chr 13,6 Kiriath-jearim/Baalalah is rendered as "city of David" may be the result of a dit-tography¹⁰, of a confusion with Jerusalem, or even of the idea that the place should also be claimed as a "city of David".

3. The same name appears in the LXX (codex A) of Josh 3,16 without an equivalent in the MT. For discussion of the latter, see K. BIEBERSTEIN, *Josua-Jordan-Jericho: Archäologie, Geschichte und Theologie der Landnahmeerzählungen Josua 1-6* (OBO, 143), Freiburg/Schw., Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1995, pp. 154-157; A.G. AULD, *Joshua: Jesus Son of Nauē in Codex Vaticanus* (Septuagint Commentary Series), Leiden, Brill, 2005, pp. 109-110.

4. The Greek list in 1 Esd 5,19 has Καριαθιαριος.

5. There may be a text-critical problem in the MT: "jearim" may have been lost due to haplography because of the following עָרִים. But it is also possible that the MT conserves here an alternate name: "The hill of Kiriath".

6. Josh 15,10 mentions "Mount Jearim" (הַר יַעֲרִים), which is identified by the author of this verse or a later glossator with "Chesalon" (according to Num 34,21 Chislon is the name of a Benjaminites). For the discussion of this error and an alternative proposal (Kesla) see R.G. BOLING, *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (AB, 6), Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1982, pp. 369-370. LXX: πόλις Ιαριμ.

7. LXX (Ps 131,6): ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τοῦ ὄρους (in the plains of the forest).

8. The first part of 2 Sam 6,4 is missing in LXX, probably due to homoioteleuton.

9. For instance, some translators knew the meaning of "kiriath", "city" and translated accordingly (πόλις), whereas others understood the term as being part of a proper name.

10. G.N. KNOPPERS, *1 Chronicles 10-29* (AB, 12A), New York, Yale University Press, 2004, p. 580.

Scholars have discussed the possibility that the site of Kiriath-jearim appears in the Sheshonq I list (mid-to-late 10th century BCE). Toponym 25 in the list, which reads *q-d-t-m*, appears in relation to Aijalon (Toponym 26) Beth-horon (24) and Gibeon (23), and was therefore identified by Mazar and Aharoni with Kiriath-jearim¹¹. They argued that the Egyptian scribe confused the hieratic "r" with a "d", meaning that the original form would have been *q-r-t-m*. This interpretation, however, is not unanimously accepted¹².

II. KIRIATH-JEARIM AND DEIR EL-'AZAR

The identification of the site of Kiriath-jearim with Deir el-'Azar – a large mound above the village of Abu Gosh, 13 km west of the Old City of Jerusalem, is secure, based on the following arguments¹³.

- In the description of the border between the inheritances of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah (Josh 15,8-10; 18,14-16) Kiriath-jearim is located south of Beth-horon (Beit Ur et-Tahta), north (in biblical terms, in fact, northeast) of Chesalon (Kesla, G.R. 154 132) and east of the Waters of Nephtoah (Lifta or Qaluniya)¹⁴.
- According to Eusebius "there is a village Kiriathiareim on the way down to Diospolis, about 10 milestones from Ailia". In another entry he puts it "between Ailia and Diospolis, lying on the road 9 milestones from Ailia"¹⁵. Note that the Roman road from Jerusalem to Lod (Diospolis) passed immediately to the south of the hill¹⁶.

11. B. MAZAR, *The Campaign of Pharaoh Shishak to Palestine*, in *Volume du Congrès, Strasbourg 1956* (VT.S, 4), Leiden, Brill, 1957, 57-66; Y. AHARONI, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, trans. A.F. Rainey, Philadelphia, PA, Westminster, 1967, p. 326; supported by K.A. KITCHEN, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100-650 B.C.)*, Warminster, Aris & Phillips 1986, p. 435.

12. E.g., G. SCHMITT, *Gat, Gittai und Gitta*, in ID. – R. COHEN (eds.), *Drei Studien zur Archäologie und Topographie Altisraels* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients Reihe B, 44), Wiesbaden, Reichert, 1980, 77-138, pp. 132-133; N. NA'AMAN, *Shishak's Campaign to Palestine as Reflected by the Epigraphic, Biblical and Archaeological Evidence*, in *Zion* 63 (1998) 247-276, p. 254 (Hebrew) who identify this place [as *q-d-t-m*] with Gittaim, which should probably be located in the vicinity of Ramle/Valley of Aijalon; for a summary of this issue see E. JUNKKAALA, *Three Conquests of Canaan: A Comparative Study of Two Egyptian Military Campaigns and Joshua 10-12 in the Light of Recent Archaeological Evidence*, Åbo, Akademi University, 2006, pp. 212-213.

13. See also S. LAUFFS, *Zur Lage und Geschichte des Ortes Kirjath Jearim*, in *ZDPV* 38 (1915) 249-302.

14. I. FINKELSTEIN – Y. GADOT, *Mozah, Nephtoah and Royal Estates in the Jerusalem Highlands*, in *Semitica et Classica* 8 (2015) 227-234.

15. *Onomasticon* 48:24 and 114:23 respectively.

16. M. FISCHER – B. ISAAC – I. ROLL, *Roman Roads in Judaea II: The Jaffa – Jerusalem Roads* (BAR International Series, 628), Oxford, British Archaeological Reports, 1986.

- The Arabic name of the site, Deir el-‘Azar, seems to be a corruption of “The Monastery of Eleazar”, probably the name of the Byzantine monastery that commemorated the priest who was in charge of the Ark when it was kept at Kiriath-jearim (1 Sam 7,1).
- The name Kiriath is preserved in the name of the village at the foot of the hill – Qaryat el-‘Inab (currently known as Abu Gosh).

Deir el-‘Azar is the only sufficiently large Iron Age site in the highlands west of Jerusalem to fit these descriptions.

While all authorities agree with this identification of Kiriath-jearim at Deir el-‘Azar, some sought to locate Gibeah at a neighboring place¹⁷. Yet, no site in the vicinity produced relevant archaeological evidence. We are left, then, with three names and one site¹⁸.

Many of the biblical sources referred-to above constitute Deuteronomistic writings, most of which, especially the lists of towns and description of tribal boundaries in Joshua 15 and 18, date to the late 7th century BCE¹⁹. Other sources – in Ezra, Nehemiah and Chronicles – date to the Persian or Hellenistic periods. The earliest of the texts referring to Kiriath-jearim seems to be the Ark Narrative, which may have originated from the Northern Kingdom in the first half of the 8th century BCE. The original Ark narrative, which was revised by Judahite redactors in the 7th century and also in exilic and postexilic times²⁰, ended originally in 1 Sam 7,1 with the transfer of the Ark to Kiriath-jearim²¹. This ending clearly shows that the original narrative was the *hieros logos* of a shrine in Kiriath-jearim that hosted the Ark. According to the narrative logic, the Ark that was taken away from Shiloh should have been brought back to this place, but this did not happen; Kirjath-jearim takes over the role of Shiloh as the sanctuary of the Ark. According to the late redactional verse 1 Sam 7,2²²

17. Summary in P.M. ARNOLD, *Gibeah: The Search for a Biblical City* (JSOT.S, 79), Sheffield, JSOT, 1990, p. 22.

18. One of course argue that “Gibeah” only refers to a hill. But according to the logic of 1 Sam 7,1 this “hill” can only be Kiriath-jearim and Josh 18,28 also refers to a “specific” hill.

19. A. ALT, *Judas Gaue unter Josia*, in *Palästina-jahrbuch* 21 (1925) 100-116; N. NA’AMAN, *The Kingdom of Judah under Josiah*, in *Tel Aviv* 18 (1991) 3-71.

20. For redactional-critical analysis see, e.g., F. SCHICKLBERGER, *Die Ladeerzählungen des ersten Samuel-Buches: Eine literaturwissenschaftliche und theologiegeschichtliche Untersuchung* (FzB, 7), Würzburg, Echter, 1973.

21. See also C. SCHÄFER-LICHTENBERGER, *Beobachtungen zur Ladegeschichte und zur Komposition der Samuelbücher*, in C. HARDMEIER – R. KESSLER – A. RUWE (eds.), *Freiheit und Recht: FS F. Crüsemann*, Gütersloh, Kaiser, 1995, 323-338.

22. P. PORZIG, *Die Lade Jahwes im Alten Testament und in den Texten vom Toten Meer* (BZAW, 397), Berlin, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009, p. 151.

the Ark remained in Kiriath-jearim for only about 20 years²³. This is a signal that is meant to prepare for the transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem and so is the late insertion in 1 Sam 14,18²⁴, which suggests that the Ark was taken to war and “travelled” before it finally came to Jerusalem²⁵. It is more plausible that the Ark remained in Kiriath-jearim much longer before it was finally transferred to Jerusalem, probably in the days of Josiah²⁶.

The importance of Kirjath-jearim can be fostered by archaeological observations. The site of Deir el-‘Azar was inhabited, probably continuously, from the Early Bronze to the Early Islamic period, but according to two archaeological surveys, a salvage excavation and our own work there, the main periods of activity were in the Iron IIB-C and the late Hellenistic and early Roman periods²⁷.

The most illuminating finds related to the names of the site in the Hebrew Bible are from the Iron IIB-C. At that time the town covered an area of 4-4.5 hectares and was divided into two sectors: The first is the settlement on the slopes of the mound, with remains of domestic architecture and possibly a fortification in its lower part²⁸. The second is a large, monumental elevated platform, ca. 150 × 110 m in size, which formed a flat area on the summit of the mound. The platform was created by constructing massive, ca. 3 m wide stone support walls, which run in north-south and east-west orientation. Massive earth fills were then laid in the space between the sloping bedrock and the support walls. Optical Stimulated Luminescence dating, combined with considerations stemming from the site’s settlement history (prosperity not before the Iron IIB), indicate that the large, monumental elevated platform was constructed in the first half of the 8th century BCE. Considering this date, the fact that similar monumental platforms are known in the Northern Kingdom but do not

23. According to W. DIETRICH, *1 Samuel 1–12* (BK.AT, VIII/1), Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 2010, pp. 310-322, it was only the mention of 20 years that have been added by a late dtg redactor.

24. The Greek text speaks of an ephod and preserves probably the original wording.

25. PORZIG, *Die Lade* (n. 22), pp. 148-151; EDENBURG, *Dismembering the Whole* (n. 2), pp. 227-229.

26. One of us (TR) will deal with this question in another article.

27. I. FINKELSTEIN – T. RÖMER – C. NICOLLE – Z.C. DUNSETH – A. KLEIMAN – J. MAS – N. PORAT, *Excavations at Kiriath-jearim Near Jerusalem, 2017: Preliminary Report*, in *Semitica* 60 (2018) 31-83, p. 40; C. MCKINNY – O. SCHWARTZ – G. BARKAY – A. FANTALKIN – B. ZISSU, *Kiriath-jearim (Deir el-‘Azar): Archaeological Investigations of a Biblical Town in the Judaean Hill Country*, in *IEJ* 68 (2018) 30-49, for one of the surveys and the salvage dig.

28. Picture in FINKELSTEIN *et al.*, *Excavations* (n. 27), fig. 21.

exist in Judah²⁹, and given the Northern reality behind the Ark Narrative, we have recently suggested that the monumental platform at Kiriath-jearim was built in the days of Jeroboam II. It was probably constructed in order to accommodate a temple, perhaps the shrine of the Ark, as well as other buildings related to the domination of Israel over Judah at that time. Note the location of the site along one of the main ancient routes which connected Jerusalem with the coastal plain; it is therefore not surprising that it served similar purposes – to control the approach to Jerusalem – in the Roman period and probably in the 2nd century BCE as well³⁰.

The site continued to prosper after the takeover of the Northern Kingdom by Assyria and probably until 586 BCE. The Optical Stimulated Luminescence results seem to indicate reparation of the monumental walls of the elevated platform at that time.

An important factor in understanding the nature of the site in the Iron IIB-C (8th to early 6th centuries BCE) is its role in the biblical border-lists, where it appears between the territories of the tribes of Benjamin and Judah (Josh 15,9; 18,15). Benjamin was considered a Northern tribe and its territory – at least most of it – was probably in the hands of Israel until the middle of the 9th century. In the late 9th century BCE it may have switched hands to Judah, but immediately thereafter it returned to the hands of Israel, and later Assyria. Benjamin became part of Judah with the withdrawal of Assyria from the Levant and the expansion of the Southern Kingdom to the area of Bethel in the days of Josiah in the late 7th century BCE³¹.

That Benjamin came under Judahite control at least at the end of the 7th century is also attested in biblical texts. The book of Jeremiah contains several passages that mention the triad Jerusalem, Judah and Benjamin (Jer 17,26; 32,44; 33,13), an indication that Benjamin was then part of the Southern Kingdom's territory. The prophet Jeremiah, probably a Benjaminite, traveled to Benjamin in order to receive his share of an inherited property (37,12, cf. Jeremiah 32), also hinting that in his time Benjamin must have been part of Judah. After the destruction of Jerusalem the Babylonians transferred the residence of the Judahite governor to Mizpa in Benjamin, another indication that before their campaign Benjamin was already part of Judah.

29. E.g., I. FINKELSTEIN, *The Forgotten Kingdom: The Archaeology and History of Northern Israel*, Atlanta, GA, SBL, 2013, pp. 85-105.

30. On all this, see in detail, FINKELSTEIN *et al.*, *Excavations* (n. 27).

31. On the affiliation of Benjamin, see I. FINKELSTEIN, *Saul, Benjamin and the Emergence of "Biblical Israel": An Alternative View*, in *ZAW* 123 (2011) 348-367; contra N. NA'AMAN, *Saul, Benjamin and the Emergence of "Biblical Israel"*, in *ZAW* 121 (2009) 211-224; 335-349.

III. DIFFERENT NAMES FOR THE SAME PLACE?

Different names seem to be related to the mound of Deir el-'Azar in the Bible: Kiriath-jearim, Gibeat(jearim), Baalah. There are a few places in the Bible which are known by two names (e.g., Debir and Kiriath-sepher, Hebron and Kiriath Arba) but only one other with three: Bethel, Luz and Beth-aven (the latter clearly a polemic directed at the cult of the site³²). In what follows, we relate to the names associated with the site of Deir el-'Azar.

1. *Gibeah*

We suggest that in late monarchic Judah the town was called Kiriath-jearim (more below), while during North Israelite rule, and perhaps later too, the imposing compound on the summit was known as Gibeah or Gibeat-jearim. In the conclusion of the original Ark narrative Gibeah is specifically referred to as the location of the Ark, placed in the House of Abinadab, who is consecrated to become a priest (1 Sam 7,1). This verse, as mentioned above, concluded a probably Northern narrative. This name appears in the later list of Benjaminite towns as "Gibeat Kiriath-arim" (Gibeat Kiriath-jearim, Josh 18,28³³). One may therefore ask whether the original name of the shrine was just Gibeah, or whether this is a shortened form of a longer name.

2. *Gibeath-elohim*

The toponyms Gibeah/Geba (and Gibeon) are popular in the highlands of Benjamin, and opinions differ about the identification of these places³⁴. The place called Gibeath-elohim (Gibeat Ha-elohim) is an enigma; it is mentioned in the story of Saul's search for his father's asses: "After that you shall come to Gibeath-elohim, where there is a garrison (or a prefect) of the Philistines; and there, as you come to the city, you will meet a

32. This is clearly the case in the book of Hosea, where the name is an ironic reference to Bethel (Hos 4,15; 5,8; 10,5). In Josh 7,2; 18,12-13; 1 Sam 13,5 and 14,23 the name designates another site in a non-polemical way ("House of strength"? For possible meanings and identifications see K. KOENEN, *Bethel: Geschichte, Kult und Theologie* [OBO, 192], Freiburg/Schw., Universitätsverlag; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2003, pp. 14-20).

33. As indicated above there may also be a text-critical problem in this verse.

34. A. DEMSKY, *Geba, Gibeah, and Gibeon – An Historical-Geographic Riddle*, in *BASOR* 212 (1973) 26-31; J.M. MILLER, *Geba/Gibeah of Benjamin*, in *VT* 25 (1975) 145-166; P.M. ARNOLD, *Gibeath-elohim*, in *ABD* 2, New York, Doubleday, 1992, 1009.

band of prophets coming down from the high place [*bamah*] with harp, tambourine, flute, and lyre before them, prophesying..." (1 Sam 10,5). The story of Saul's search for Kish's asses seems to be part of the early Saul tradition, which originated from the Northern Kingdom and could have been composed in the 8th century BCE³⁵.

Most scholars have suggested that Gibeath-elohim was not a distinct site, but an alternate name associated with the well-known name Gibeah: "perhaps a special precinct"³⁶; "sanctuary located on the crest of the hill"³⁷; the "cult site [of Gibeah] that had a high place"³⁸; the "longer name of Gibeah"³⁹. Accordingly, Demsky identified it with the shrine at Gibeon⁴⁰, and others equated this Gibeah with a high place in the town of Gibeah/Geba⁴¹. The identification with Gibeah/Geba (or Gibeon) is based on the reference to a Philistine garrison or a prefect here and in 1 Sam 13,3, the latter referring to Geba⁴². There were other views, such as Albright's⁴³, who placed it in Burj Beitin next to Bethel, and Hertzberg's⁴⁴, who stated that the expression refers to an important sanctuary, perhaps Mizpah⁴⁵.

Our discovery of the monumental elevated compound at Kiriath-jearim and its possible cult association (based on 1 Sam 7,1) raises another possibility – to identify Gibeath-elohim at this place. In this case, the original name of the compound could have been Gibeath-el, similar to Beth-el, or Gibeath-baal (if we take *baal* as a title for a storm or warrior god). This identification may be supported by 1 Sam 10,2, which mentions Rachel's tomb *begvul Binyamin*; this can be translated "in the territory of Benjamin" (RSV), or, perhaps better in this case, "on the border of the territory of

35. DIETRICH, *1 Samuel* (n. 23), pp. 398-402.

36. P.M. ARNOLD, *Gibeah*, in *ABD* 2, New York, Doubleday, 1992, 1007-1009.

37. MILLER, *Geba/Gibeah* (n. 34), p. 165.

38. EDENBURG, *Dismembering the Whole* (n. 2), p. 91.

39. P.K. McCARTER, *1 Samuel* (AB, 8), Garden City, NY, Doubleday, 1980, p. 182; cf. also A. CAQUOT – P. DE ROBERT, *Les livres de Samuel* (Commentaire de l'Ancien Testament, 6), Genève, Labor et Fides, 1994, p. 128; DIETRICH, *1 Samuel* (n. 23), p. 427.

40. DEMSKY, *Geba, Gibeah* (n. 34); J. BLENKINSOPP, *Gibeon and Israel: The Role of Gibeon and the Gibeonites in the Political and Religious History of Early Israel*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1972, p. 59.

41. B. MAZAR, *Gibeath-elohim*, in *Encyclopedia Biblica* 2 (1954) 419 (Hebrew); MILLER, *Geba/Gibeah* (n. 34); ARNOLD, *Gibeath-elohim* (n. 34), p. 1009.

42. Cf. on this question and the difference between MT and LXX, DIETRICH, *1 Samuel* (n. 23), p. 387.

43. W.F. ALBRIGHT, *Excavations and Results at Tell el-Ful (Gibeah of Saul)*, in *AASOR* 4 (1924) 112.

44. H.W. HERTZBERG, *Mizpa*, in *ZAW* 47 (1929) 161-196, pp. 179-180; ID., *Die Samuelbücher* (ATD, 10), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1956, p. 63.

45. For a summary of yet other identifications, e.g., at Nebi Samuel, see MAZAR, *Gibeath-elohim* (n. 41), and H.-J. STOEBE, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (Kommentar zum Alten Testament, 8/1), Gütersloh, Mohn, 1973, p. 198.

Benjamin" (KJV). The name Zelzah that appears in this same verse is strange. It is not Semitic, and unknown elsewhere. Interestingly LXX¹ renders the name with Βακαλα(9), which is reminiscent of Baalah, another name for Kiriath-jearim in some versions of 2 Samuel 6. Accordingly, Tsevat suggested that the MT may be a corruption of an original Baalah⁴⁶. Could this idea be combined with the proposal that "the hill of God" in 1 Sam 10,5 may refer to the holy place of Kiriath-jearim?

Ostensibly, the reference to Philistine garrisons (plural) in 1 Sam 10,5 seems to make this identification difficult, because of the association of such a garrison with Geba in the area of Michmash in 1 Samuel 13. Yet, in 1 Sam 10,5 the garrison of the Philistines may be a late gloss⁴⁷; the original, early Northern source could have read: "After that you shall come to Gibeath-elohim; and there, as you come to the city, you will meet a band of prophets"⁴⁸. The gloss could have stemmed from a later redactor's misunderstanding of the confusing toponyms in this region.

3. Kiriath-ba'al/Ba'alah

There remains the question of the name Kiriath-ba'al/Ba'alah/Ba'ale-judah. There are two options to decipher this toponym. First, one could argue that the association with Ba'al is a Deuteronomistic polemic against the place, which was known to the Southern authors as a Northern temple at a site close to Jerusalem; at that time it belonged to Judah. Even if they were aware of the association of the cult of Kiriath-jearim with YHWH, being Northern, in their eyes it was no more than a Ba'al abomination. In this case, the Judahites refer to the entire town as Kiriath-ba'al. Yet, contrary to Beth-aven as a polemical name for Bethel in the book of Hosea, there is no clear indication of a Deuteronomistic despise of Kiriath-jearim. To the contrary, the book of Jeremiah, certainly reworked by "Deuteronomists" or redactors that took over the language and ideology⁴⁹,

46. M. TSEVAT, *Studies in the Book of Samuel II: Interpretation of 1 Sam. 10:2. Saul at Rachel's Tomb*, in *HUCA* 33 (1962) 107-118, pp. 111-113.

47. McCARTER, *1 Samuel* (n. 39), p. 182; H. BEZZEL, *Saul: Israels König in Tradition, Redaktion und früher Rezeption* (FAT, 97), Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck, 2015, pp. 168-169; 246.

48. Cf. A.A. FISCHER, *Die Saul-Überlieferung im deuteronomistischen Samuelbuch*, in M. WITTE – K. SCHMID – D. PRECHEL – J. Ch. GERTZ (eds.), *Die deuteronomistischen Geschichtswerke: Redaktions- und religionsgeschichtliche Perspektiven zur "Deuteronomismus"-Diskussion in Tora und Vorderen Propheten* (BZAW, 365), Berlin – New York, De Gruyter, 2006, 163-181, p. 167 n. 17.

49. T. RÖMER, *The 'Deuteronomistic' Character of the Book of Jeremiah: A Response to Christl M. Maier*, in H. NAJMAN – K. SCHMID (eds.), *Jeremiah's Scriptures: Production, Reception, Interaction and Transformation* (JSJ.S, 173), Leiden, Brill, 2017, 124-131.

mentions a prophet Uriah from Kiriath-jearim, who is presented as a colleague of Jeremiah and a true Yahwistic prophet who is persecuted by the people and its leaders: “There was another man prophesying in the name of Yhwh, Uriah son of Shemaiah from Kiriath-jearim. He prophesied against this city⁵⁰ and against this land in words exactly like those of Jeremiah” (Jer 26,20). This dtr text refers to Kiriath-jearim without any polemics⁵¹.

It is therefore possible that Kiriath-ba'al/Ba'alah was the original name of the town, or more precisely its Northern name, hinting that Yhwh was worshipped as “Baal”⁵². Only later “Baal” became a negative title associated with “foreign” (Phoenician or other) storm gods. Therefore, one should imagine that Kiriath-ba'al or Ba'alah⁵³ was the older name that was later eschewed because the term baal had become a symbol for non-Yahwistic worship⁵⁴.

We therefore suggest that Kiriath-ba'al or Ba'alah was the Northern, Benjaminite name of the town (while Gibeah was the appellation for the elevated compound), and that Kiriath-jearim was the 7th century Judahite name for the same place.

4. Baalath in 1 Kings 9

Of special interest in this connection is the list of King Solomon's building projects in 1 Kings 9: “And this is the account of the forced labor which King Solomon levied to build the house of the Lord and his own house and the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem and Hazor and Megiddo

50. “Against this city” is missing in the LXX.

51. One may speculate that the presence of this prophet in Jerusalem resulted from the recent transfer of the Ark from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem.

52. M. WEIPPERT, *Synkretismus und Monotheismus: Religionsinterne Konfliktbewältigung im alten Israel*, in J. ASSMANN – D. HARTH (eds.), *Kultur und Konflikt*, Frankfurt a.M., Suhrkamp, 1990, 143-179, pp. 157-163 (= *Jahwe und die anderen Götter* [FAT, 18], Tübingen, Mohr Siebeck 1997, 1-24); T. RÖMER, *L'invention de Dieu*, Paris, Seuil, 2014, pp. 154-161 [English: *The Invention of God*, Cambridge, MA – London, Harvard University Press, 2015, pp. 116-121].

53. Sometimes it is argued, that “Ba'alah” may refer to an unidentified goddess. Rather, the name is feminine because of *qiryā* (city, also feminine), so that the name is a short form of “city of baal”, cf. R.M. SHIPP, *Baalath*, in *EBR* 3, Berlin – Boston, MA, De Gruyter, 2011, col. 210-211, esp. 211.

54. McCARTER, *I Samuel* (n. 39), p. 137. Recently, I. Koch has argued that the toponym Bit-NIN.URTA from the Amarna tablets should be identified with Kiriath-jearim (I. KOCH, *Notes on Three Canaanite Sites in the el-Amarna Correspondence*, in *Tel Aviv* 43 [2016] 91-98, pp. 93-95). He also argues that the deity Ninurta could have had the functions of a Baal-deity. This would foster our claim of a reminiscence of the worship of a storm-deity, that at one point was identified with Yhwh.

and Gezer ... and Lower Beth-horon and Baalath and Tamar in the wilderness, in the land of Judah” (1 Kgs 9,15.17b-18)⁵⁵. The identification of two places in the list is not clear: Tamar in the wilderness, which is out of the scope of this article, and Baalath⁵⁶. A place named Baalath is mentioned one more time in the Bible – in the list of towns of the tribe of Dan, in a group together with Eltekeh and Gibbethon (Josh 19,44)⁵⁷. Eltekeh and Gibbethon are located on the coastal plain, in the area of modern Rehovot and Ramle⁵⁸, that is, to the west of Kiriath-ba'al/Ba'alah/Kiriath-jearim. Josh 15,11 mentions a “Mount Baalah”, probably meaning “hill country of Baalah”⁵⁹, or “hill of Baalah”, the name of which may have been taken from “Baalah” of the previous verse.

The description of the days of King Solomon in 1 Kings 3–10 seems to portray realities from two different periods: (1) Those which fit the days of King Manasseh of Judah, under Assyrian domination, in the first half of the 7th century BCE. Among them one can count the visit of the Queen of Sheba in Jerusalem and possibly the trade expeditions from Ezion-geber⁶⁰. (2) The Northern Kingdom in the first half of the 8th century BCE, probably in the days of Jeroboam II. Here the best examples are the reference to the building of Megiddo, Hazor and Gezer, the mention of horses and chariots and the references to Hiram king of Tyre⁶¹. Acknowledging the big construction operation at Kiriath-jearim, which we tend to associate with Jeroboam II, it is tempting to identify Baalath of 1 Kgs 9,18 with Kiriath-ba'al/Ba'alah/Kiriath-jearim⁶². Note that three of the places referred to as having been built by Solomon – Gezer, Beth-horon and Baalath (whether at Kiriath-ba'al/Kiriath-jearim or somewhere near Ramle)

55. Vv. 16-17a is a gloss, cf. M. NOTH, *1 Könige 1–16* (BK.AT, 9/1), Neukirchen-Vluyn, Neukirchener Verlag, 1968, p. 15; E. WÜNTHEIN, *Die Bücher der Könige: 1 Könige 1–16* (ATD, 11/1), Göttingen, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977, pp. 111-112.

56. Interestingly in the parallel account in 2 Chr 8,6 Baalath is mentioned alone without Tamar. The Chronicler seems to have had some ideas about Baalath, but no knowledge of Tamar.

57. Josh 19,8 mentions a “Baalath-beer” in the list of the territory of Simeon. Josh 15,24 speaks of a place “Bealoth”.

58. For the possible identifications see J.L. PETERSON, *Gibbethon*, in *ABD* 2, New York, Doubleday, 1992, 1006-1007.

59. J. GRAY, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL), London, SCM, 1977, p. 248.

60. T. RÖMER, *Salomon d'après les Deutéronomistes: Un roi ambigu*, in C. LICHTERT – D. NOCQUET (eds.), *Le Roi Salomon: Un héritage en question. Hommage à Jacques Vermeylen* (Le livre et le rouleau, 33), Bruxelles, Lessius, 2008, 98-130.

61. For all this see I. FINKELSTEIN – N.A. SILBERMAN, *David and Solomon: In Search of the Bible's Sacred Kings and the Roots of the Western Tradition*, New York, Free Press, 2006, pp. 151-177.

62. This possibility is also discussed in M. COGAN, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB, 10), New York, Doubleday, 2001, p. 302 and SHIPP, *Baalath* (n. 53), col. 210.

create a group on the border between Israel, Judah and Ashdod. An obvious difficulty in this identification is the listing of Baalath with Eltekeh and Gibbethon – both on the coastal plain – as a Danite town, while Kiriath-ba'al/Kiriath-jearim is a Benjaminite/Judahite town in the highlands. Yet (and regardless of the reality behind the list of Danite towns)⁶³, a link between the tribe of Dan and Kiriath-jearim is made by Judg 18,12. Also note the link between Kiriath-jearim and the Danite towns of Zorah and Eshtaol, located in the Shephelah, north of Beth-shemesh, in the genealogies of Judah (1 Chr 2,53). Zorah and Eshtaol appear in both the Danite and Judahite town lists (Josh 19,41; 15,33 respectively). If the Danite list is a late addition to the Josianic list of towns of Judah, its author could have added Baalath out of confusion.

IV. SUMMARY

Textual analysis and new archaeological results suggest that the site of Kiriath-jearim had at least two, if not three names. The term "Gibeah" referred to the elevated compound in the upper part of the hill, where one may suspect the existence of a shrine for the Ark built under Jeroboam II. It is possible that the full name of the hill was "Gibeat-elohim". Kiriath-Jearim was the Judahite name of the whole town, which had replaced the older Israelite name Baalah, because of the negative connotations that the term received in late-monarchic time. Originally, it was used to dedicate the place to a storm and warrior god, who could have well been Yhwh.

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63. Summary in NA'AMAN, *Judah under Josiah* (n. 19), pp. 6-7.

PRIESTLY(-LIKE) TEXTS IN SAMUEL AND KINGS

I. INTRODUCTION

After the breakdown of the classic documentary hypothesis in recent European research, current European models on the formation of the Pentateuch and the Former Prophets nevertheless reckon with two identifiable and distinct sources or compositional layers, namely D (Deuteronomistic History, Deuteronomistic texts) and P (Priestly composition, Priestly writings). However, according to those models, the distribution of the two layers in these two parts of the biblical canon is uneven. Deuteronomistic texts, which are predominantly at home in the Former Prophets and Deuteronomy, are also found in Exodus and Numbers; what is disputed is the amount and the extent of such inserted texts. Moreover, important treatments of the so-called "Yahwistic" texts in Genesis show that the latter have affinities with Deuteronomistic writings or are written in close relation with them¹. In contrast, according to most scholars, the Priestly texts are limited to the Pentateuch, to Genesis 1 – Leviticus 16, or even only to Genesis 1 – Exodus 40. Only a small minority of scholars assign a few texts in the book of Joshua to Pg (Pc)². For the other books in the Former Prophets, the possibility of Priestly additions is never discussed. Nevertheless, there are a few texts containing Priestly characteristics which, however, never attracted much attention in scholarship. Recently,

1. Recently, Cynthia Edenburg argued that the Non-Priestly primeval story was composed as an "interpretative key" for reading the Deuteronomistic narrative of Israel's loss of the land and leading up to the exile, see C. EDENBURG, *From Eden to Babylon: Reading Gen 2-4 as a Paradigmatic Narrative*, in T. DOZEMAN – T. RÖMER – K. SCHMID (eds.), *Pentateuch, Hexateuch, or Enneateuch: Identifying Literary Works in Genesis through 2 Kings* (Ancient Israel and Its Literature, 8), Atlanta, GA, Society of Biblical Literature, 2011, 155-167, quotation from p. 167. It is a pleasure for me to contribute the present article to Cynthia's Festschrift.

2. The Priestly composition would have ended either in Josh 18,1 with the erection of the tent of meeting in Shiloh (cf. E.A. KNAUF, *Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichten der Deuteronomisten*, in T. RÖMER [ed.], *The Future of Deuteronomistic History* [BETL, 147], Leuven, Peeters, 2000, 101-118; P. GUILLAUME, *Land and Calendar: The Priestly Document from Genesis 1 to Joshua 18*, New York, T&T Clark, 2009) or in Josh 19,51 with the summarizing statement concerning the distribution of the promised land (cf. N. LOHFINK, *Die Priesterschrift und die Geschichte*, in J.A. EMERTON [ed.], *Congress Volume Göttingen 1977* [VTS, 29], Leiden, Brill, 1978, 189-224, p. 198 n. 29).