

1 CHRONICLES 8:28–32; 9:35–38:
COMPLEMENTARY OR CONTRASTING GENEALOGIES?

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ABSTRACT

This paper investigates whether the genealogies of 1 Chr 8:28–32 and 9:35–38 are complementary or not. A doublet appears in 1 Chr 8:32 and 9:38 that has led scholars to debate which was its primary location. On each occasion it is preceded by a genealogy of the Benjaminites of Gibeon and followed by a genealogy of Saul. Nevertheless, 1 Chr 9:35–37 make some small changes to the genealogy of the Benjaminites which serve to relate the Benjaminites of Gibeon to Mikloth and Shimeah, who appear in the doublet, and to Saul's line. An exploration of whether such relationships were implicit in 1 Chr 8:28–31 leads to the conclusion that they were not. On contextual grounds, 1 Chr 8:28–32 are judged to be earlier than 1 Chr 9:35–38. A textual fault is discerned in the present text of 1 Chr 8:32 and must have been present in 1 Chr 8:32 when it was copied by the author of 1 Chr 9:38 as the fault allows the latter to tie Mikloth and Shimeah to the Benjaminites of Gibeon and to Saul.

IT USED TO BE THOUGHT THAT THE GENEALOGIES OF 1 CHRONICLES 1–9 WERE secondary.¹ However, the modern tendency is to see them as part of the original work as they evidence a number of similarities to the later chapters.² Nevertheless, as Braun points out, doublets have suggested to several scholars that

¹ M. Noth, *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien* (Wiesbaden-Biebrich: Becker, 1943; reprinted Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1957) 112–22; W. Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT, 21; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1955) 1–2; J. M. Myers, *1 Chronicles: Introduction, Translation and Notes* (Anchor Bible; Garden City, NY: Doubleday and Company Inc., 1965) lxi; F. M. Cross, "A Reconstruction of the Judaean Restoration," *JBL* 94 (1975) 1–18.

² E.g. H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Book of Chronicles* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977) 71–82; T-S. Im, *Das Davidbild in den Chronikbüchern: David als Idealbild des theokratischen Messianismus für den Chronisten* (Europäische Hochschulschriften XXIII/263; Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985) 14–16.

the hand of more than one author can be detected. One doublet appears in 1 Chr 8:32; 9:38.³ It reads,

And Mikloth begat Shimeah and moreover they
(were) over against their kinsmen (נָגַד אֶחָיוּדָם),
and they lived in Jerusalem with (עִם) their kinsmen (אֶחָיוּדָם).

In both cases it is followed by a genealogy of Saul and preceded by a genealogy of the Benjaminites of Gibeon. There are, however, small changes to the genealogy of the Benjaminites of Gibeon in 1 Chronicles 9 when it is compared to the one in 1 Chronicles 8. These have the effect of relating the Benjaminites of Gibeon to Mikloth, Shimeah and Saul's line. Such a relationship may be present implicitly in 1 Chronicles 8 but, if it is, it hinges upon the rather obscure phrase נָגַד אֶחָיוּדָם translated above as "over against their kinsmen." In order to investigate whether 1 Chr 8:28–32 and 9:35–38 are complementary or contrasting genealogies, the question of which is primary must be addressed and consideration given to the function of each part of the genealogies in their present contexts as well as to the differences between them.

WHICH VERSION OF THE GENEALOGY OF BENJAMINITES IN GIBEON IS PRIMARY?

Japhet sees 1 Chr 8:29–32 as integral to Chapter 8.⁴ While she implies that she has little sympathy with any quest to find the primary placement of the passage, she thinks that 1 Chr 9:35–38 "may have been introduced by the author for the sake of completeness, or inserted secondarily under the influence of chapter 8." Ultimately, though, she thinks that both passages are authentic, both deriving from the Chronicler but used to suit varying purposes. Other scholars⁵ think that the version of the genealogy in 1 Chr 9:36–37 is the primary one as its position there immediately precedes the narrative account of Saul's death and because it supplies details which are missing in 1 Chr 8:29–31. However, an expansion for the sake of clarity is much more likely, suggesting that 1 Chr 8:29–31 is the primary version. In addition, after each ver-

³ R. Braun, "1 Chronicles 1–9 and the Reconstruction of the History of Israel: Thoughts on the Use of Genealogical Data in Chronicles in the Reconstruction of the History of Israel," in *The Chronicler as Historian* (eds M. P. Graham, K. G. Hoglund and S. L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 238; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 99.

⁴ S. Japhet, *I and II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993) 205.

⁵ E.g. A. Demsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon (I Chronicles 9:35–44): Biblical and Epigraphic Considerations," *BASOR* 202 (1971) 16; R. Braun, *1 Chronicles*, Word Biblical Commentary (Vol. 14; Waco: Word Books, 1986) 122.

sion Mikloth and Shimeah/Shimeam are said to live in Jerusalem “with their brethren” (1 Chr 8:32; 9:38). The antecedents to “brethren” in 1 Chr 9:34 are Levites, whereas in 1 Chr 8:28 they are Benjaminites, as noted by Williamson.⁶ This gives further support to the primacy of 1 Chr 8:29–31.

THE BENJAMINITE GENEALOGY OF 1 CHRONICLES 8

The genealogy of Benjamin in 1 Chronicles 8 is neither a true segmented nor a true linear one, although aspects of both kinds appear in different portions of it.⁷ At the beginning of the genealogy five sons of Benjamin are listed, followed by the sons of the first born (segmented). However there is no stated connection between Benjamin’s grandsons and the next listed members of the tribe.⁸ Further disruptions in the genealogy occur where individuals are mentioned who are not explicitly linked with those who precede them: Naaman, Ahijah and Gera in v. 7; Shaharaim in v. 8. The line of Shaharaim which continues until 8:28 is segmented. Then the father of Gibeon, who is not stated to be connected to those who have gone before him, appears in v. 29. His genealogy is segmented. Mikloth and Shimeah in v. 32 are another example of a family who are not explicitly connected to previous Benjaminites. Ner, whose line begins in v. 33, is not explicitly linked with either Mikloth and Shimeah or any other Benjaminites in the genealogy. However, his line, which includes Saul, continues to Saul’s grandson, Micah, and is a lineal genealogy. It then becomes segmented, but this breaks down in 8:39 with the introduction of Eshek, who, although he is said to be Azel’s brother, does not appear in his family tree and has no stated connection to those previously mentioned. The

⁶ H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (New Century Bible Commentary; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982) 91.

⁷ In his seminal work on ancient Near Eastern genealogies and their applicability to Biblical genealogies, R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (Yale Near Eastern Researches 7; New Haven and London: 1977), stresses that oral genealogies were susceptible to change depending upon the social/religious/political situation and that the place of individuals could vary from one version of a genealogy to another. Further, individuals or communities could be grafted on. Such lineages were often segmented, i.e., they included members of the extended “family.” Once oral genealogies were put in writing they tended to become frozen, although there are cases where Mesopotamian kingly lines evidence some changes. Kingly genealogies were normally linear, i.e., father to son to son. Both segmented and linear genealogies can evidence “telescoping,” i.e., some generations can be missing. In such cases, the ultimate ancestor and the last descendant are important. Genealogies did not have as their primary aim the communication of information about the past, although in delineating a social/religious/political reality they could thereby provide historical data.

⁸ “These are the sons of Ehud” occurs next. Ehud is not listed as a grandson of Benjamin, nor are his own sons listed as 1 Chronicles leads us to expect. For ways in which scholars and translators have attempted to overcome these problems cf. Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* 190–91.

governing factors in the genealogy appear to be the distribution of chiefs of the Benjaminites by place and the line of Saul.

The Distribution of Chiefs of the Benjaminites by Place

The places concerned are Geba (8:6), Aijalon (8:13), Jerusalem (8:28) and Gibeon (8:29). The disruption of the genealogy with the introduction of individuals with no stated connection to those who precede them occurs when the Benjaminite line is established in each of these places, with the exception that those who establish communities in Aijalon and Jerusalem are said to descend from Shaharaim (1 Chr 8:8). The genealogy is not then a complete genealogy of Benjamin. Rather it gives a brief segmented genealogy of Benjamin, his sons and some of his grandsons. It then turns to a delineation of the establishment of Benjamin in four cities, citing the heads of fathers' houses. Brief mention of Benjaminites in Manahem, Ono and Lod is also made. It is possible that the genealogy, which has no parallel in its complete form, in other Biblical works, was culled from a source, now lost, which the Chronicler had at his disposal.⁹ Indeed 1 Chr 9:1 reads as a summary of the foregoing genealogies:

So all Israel were reckoned by genealogies.
Behold, they are written
in the book of the Kings of Israel.

It may well be that the genealogy of Benjamin by place was taken by the Chronicler from that work. If this is the case, the context of the Benjaminite genealogy in the Book of the Kings of Israel has been lost but, given the emphasis upon places, it is likely to have been compiled originally for socio-political purposes, perhaps as part of a census.¹⁰ In the context of 1 Chronicles 8, Japhet thinks that the Benjaminite genealogy refers to the expansion of the tribe beyond its original territory and in this she is likely to be correct.¹¹

Was the Genealogy of Saul Originally Connected to the Genealogy of Benjaminite Places?

It has to be questioned whether the genealogy of Saul (8:33–38), which follows on from the Benjaminite genealogy at Gibeon, was originally connected

⁹ Most commentators indicate where individual figures and places appear in other Biblical genealogies and/or narratives. Not all figures in the present genealogy can be accounted for in other Biblical texts.

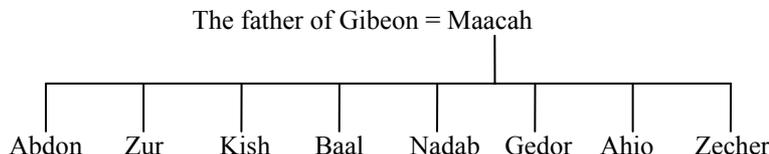
¹⁰ Similarly the genealogy of Benjamin which appears in 1 Chr 7:6–12 (but differs in the names it includes from the one in 1 Chronicles 8) is likely to have had its original *Sitz-im-Leben* in a list of those who were eligible to be warriors. The chiefs and their houses, whose members are numbered, are described as “mighty men of valour” (7:7, 9, 11) “who were able to go forth in the host for war” (7:11).

¹¹ Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* 193.

to the genealogy of Benjaminite places. The Benjaminite genealogy at Gibeon (8:29–31) is as follows:

And in Gibeon lived the father of Gibeon whose wife’s name was Maacah. His firstborn son was Abdon and Zur and Kish and Baal and Nadab and Gedor and Ahio and Zecher.

This can be represented as:



Then verse 32 states:

And Mikloth begat Shimeah and moreover they (were) over against their kinsmen (אֶת־אֶחָיו), and they lived in Jerusalem with (עִם) their kinsmen (אֶת־אֶחָיו).

No connection in terms of a genealogical link is made here between Mikloth and Shimeah and the preceding individuals. It is possible that the difference in place of residence from those listed in the previous verses is the reason for this, as a similar phenomenon happens elsewhere in 1 Chronicles 8. However, whether there was any close family link between Mikloth and Shimeah and the Benjaminites in Gibeon depends upon the interpretation placed upon אֶת־אֶחָיו (translated above as “over against their brethren”). This will be discussed below.

Verses 33–38 delineate Saul’s line.¹² The only verse of interest for the present work is v. 33:

And Ner begat Kish and Kish begat Saul ...

This can be represented as follows:



¹² J. W. Flanagan, “Genealogy and Dynasty in the Early Monarchy of Israel and Judah,” in *Proceedings of the Eighth World Congress of Jewish Studies: Division A: The Period of the Bible* (Jerusalem: World Union of Jewish Studies, 1982) 23–28, followed by M. Z. Brettler, *The Creation of History in Ancient Israel* (London and New York: Routledge, 1995) 110; see the inclusion of the Saulide genealogy in 1 Chronicles as evidence of the prominence of a pro-Saulide group, most likely Saul’s descendants, in the post-exilic period. Brettler suggests that the genealogy was preserved by this group.

Kish

|

Saul

This verse has no overt link to the Gibeon Benjaminite genealogy of 8:29–31 or to Mikloth and Shimeah in 8:32. The name Kish, however, appears in both the Gibeon Benjaminite genealogy and as the name of Saul's father. Further, as Japhet points out, other names in the Saulide line suggest a family affinity with the Gibeon Benjaminites: Eshbaal and Meribaal (1 Chr 8:33–34) with Baal (1 Chr 8:30); Adinadab (1 Chr 8:33) with Nadab (1 Chr 8:30).¹³ Whether these similarities between the two genealogies reflect a true historical link between the Gibeon Benjaminites and Saul's line is not known.

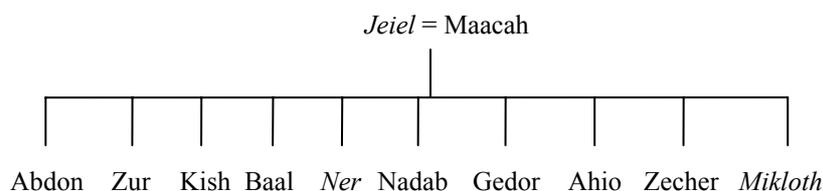
THE GENEALOGIES OF 1 CHRONICLES 9

1 Chronicles 9 gives a brief mention of the tribes of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh who lived in Jerusalem after the Exile, denoting some of the prominent families from Judah and Benjamin. It then gives a longer genealogy of the Priests and Levites who lived there. In vv. 35–37 the genealogy of the Benjaminite line from Gibeon parallels that of 1 Chr 8:29–31, although there are some discrepancies. 1 Chr 9:39–44 gives the genealogy of the Saulide line, although in shorter form than its counterpart in 1 Chr 8:33–40.

The Saulide genealogy in 1 Chr 9:36–37 supplies answers to the questions raised in a reading of 1 Chr 8:29–33 about the relationship of:

- a) Mikloth and Shimeah to the Gibeon Benjaminites;
- b) Saul's line to both Mikloth and Shimeah and the Gibeon Benjaminites.

1 Chr 9:36–37 repeats the genealogy of the Gibeon Benjaminites of 1 Chr 8:29–31 but posits that Ner and Mikloth were both sons of the father of Gibeon, who is now named as Jeiel. The new genealogy is drawn below, with the additions to the version in 1 Chronicles 8 in italics.



¹³ Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* 196. She includes Ner as a further instance of a similar family name but this is illegitimate as Ner is not listed among the Gibeon Benjaminites in 1 Chronicles 8, although he is later in 1 Chr 9:36.

The effect of the additions is:

- a) Kish and Ner are now brothers;
- b) Saul and his line are from Gibeon;
- c) Mikloth and Shimeah (Shimeam in 1 Chr 9:38) are now Saul's uncle and cousin who came originally from Gibeon but went to live in Jerusalem.

These additions beg the question of whether the Chronicler or a later redactor made the connections between what, in 1 Chronicles 8, are disjointed genealogies or whether 1 Chronicles 9 is clarifying what was implicit previously. It has been seen that in 1 Chr 8:32 Mikloth and Shimeah lived in Jerusalem "with their brethren" thus linking them with the Benjaminites cited in 1 Chr 8:28 as living in Jerusalem. Further, "against their brethren" in 1 Chr 8:32 may suggest derivation from, or opposition to, those of their tribe who lived in Gibeon. The link between Saul's line and the Benjaminites in Gibeon is circumstantial, being occasioned by the appearance of Kish in both genealogies and by the similarity in names between the offspring of the father of Gibeon and some of Saul's line.

(i) *Kish and Ner as Brothers*

It is noteworthy that the MT of 1 Sam 14:51 also represents Ner and Kish as brothers. However, it is debatable whether this is the source of the Chronicler's assertion in 1 Chr 9:36 or whether the Chronicler influenced 1 Sam 14:51. A perusal of the genealogical material in 1 Samuel pertaining to Saul will clearly illustrate this statement.

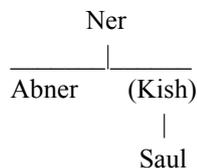
Saul's genealogy in 1 Sam 9:1 is as follows:

A man from bin Jamin
|
Aphirah
|
Becorath
|
Zeror
|
Abiel
|
Kish
|
Saul

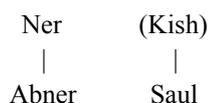
It can be seen here that Kish is the father of Saul as in 1 Chr 8:33. Ner does not appear at all. He is first mentioned in 1 Sam 14:50, which reads in the MT:

... and the name of the captain of his host was Abner, the son of Ner, Saul's uncle.

Does "Saul's uncle" apply to Abner or to Ner? In other words the genealogy can be represented in one of two ways. Either as



where the unwritten assumption is that Abner and Kish are brothers, or as



with Abner and Saul as cousins, with the unwritten assumption that Ner and Kish are brothers.

1 Sam 14:51 sorts out the confusion, for it reads:

And Kish was the father of Saul and Ner the father of Abner was the son of Abiel.

However, this is likely to be a rationalisation, for the LXX differs.¹⁴ The LXX of 1 Sam 14:50 says that Ner was "a son of the house of Saul," leaving vague the exact degree of kinship. The LXX of 1 Sam 14:51 is more precise, saying that "Kis was the father of Saul and Ner, the father of Abner, son of Jamin, son of Abiel." It is noteworthy that the LXX introduces Jamin (cf. 1 Sam 9:1) and makes Abner, Saul's second cousin and a generation later than Saul! Such contradictions between the MT and LXX of 1 Sam 14:50–51 suggest that neither can be relied upon as a secure source of historical information. Nevertheless, both have in common the notion that Abner, and more importantly Ner, were related to Saul. However, because the tradition was still fluid when the LXX came into being, the possibility exists that the MT of 1 Sam 14:51 culled from 1 Chr 9:36 the more precise information that Kish and Ner were brothers rather than the process having been the other way round. If so, the author of 1 Chr 9:36 created the brotherly link between Kish of Gibeon (1 Chr 8:29) and Ner, drawing on one of the two possible interpretations of 1 Sam 14:50 and did so in order to tie in the originally disparate genealogies of 1

¹⁴ The DSS appear to agree with the MT, for although a portion of 1 Sam 14:51 is missing, the extant part implies that both Ner and Kish were sons of Abiel.

Chr 8:29–31 and 1 Chr 8:33.¹⁵ By contrast, 1 Chr 8:33 which asserted that Ner was the grandfather of Saul, drew upon the other possible interpretation of 1 Sam 14:50.

(ii) *Saul from Gibeon*

Saul's ancestors are said in 1 Chr 9:35 to be from Gibeon (גִּבְעוֹן) rather than Gibeah (גִּבְעָה), which is associated with Saul in Samuel (1 Sam 10:26; 11:4 etc.). Gibeon was originally non-Israelite, according to Josh 9:17; 11:19, 2 Sam 21:2, so it has to be questioned why Gibeon appears here. It has been suggested that an earlier version of the text may have had Gibeah, but the majority of modern commentators accept that Gibeon is the original reading.¹⁶ Johnstone thinks that the Chronicler deliberately cites Gibeon, rather than Gibeah, as Saul's place of origin "to stress Saul's lowliest status within the community."¹⁷ In other words, as a Gibeonite, his line is non-Israelite. Further, Johnstone points out, the Gibeonites are assigned the lowly task in Josh 9:23 of being hewers of wood and drawers of water for the sanctuary. However, contra Johnstone, the text does not say that Saul and his line are Gibeonites, rather they are Benjaminites who are living in Gibeon.¹⁸ It is possible that the Chronicler highlighted particular places of early Benjaminite settlement because they were important centres of Benjaminite habitation in his own day.¹⁹ Nevertheless, Gibeon appears as an important Benjaminite/Saulide centre in other texts too. It was at the pool of Gibeon that twelve of David's men fought twelve Benjaminites at the beginning of Ishbosheth's reign (2 Sam 2:12–13) and it was to Gibeon that Sheba the Benjaminite fled after the failure of his rebellion against David (2 Sam 20:8). Gibeon was a cultic centre for the Israelites in the time of Saul, a state of affairs which continued into Solomon's time

¹⁵ It is likely also that Gibeon as the residence of Ner in late monarchical and probably post-exilic times influenced the author of 1 Chr 9:36 to make the connection between Kish of Gibeon and Ner. For details of the link between Ner and Gibeon, uncovered by archaeology, compare the following section. J. W. Flanagan, "Chiefs in Israel," *JSOT* 20 (1981) 59, thinks that Ner was elevated above Kish and Saul, "probably because his importance had already been deeply implanted in the consciousness of the community." However, Flanagan makes no attempt to explain why Ner was so well known.

¹⁶ E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, *A Critical And Exegetical Commentary on The Books of Chronicles* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1910) 164.

¹⁷ W. Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles: Vol. 1. 1 Chronicles–2 Chronicles 9: Israel's Place among the Nations* (JSOTSup 253; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997) 115–16.

¹⁸ This is not to deny the possibility that native Gibeonites were grafted onto the tribe of Benjamin, in line with Wilson's study of Ancient Near Eastern genealogies.

¹⁹ Cf. Braun, *1 Chronicles* 123.

(1 Kgs 3:4).²⁰ Some scholars even think that Gibeon was Saul's capital.²¹ Demsky suggests that Gibeath Haelohim, where the Philistines had a garrison (1 Sam 10:5), should be identified with Gibeon.²² Blenkinsopp comes to the same conclusion.²³ If this is so, Saul's reported attack on the Gibeonites (2 Sam 21:1) makes some sense: either the Gibeonites were collaborating with the Philistines or were perceived as collaborating with them by Saul. The tradition of Benjaminite association with Gibeon then in Samuel and 1 Kings is strong. It is possible, therefore, that 1 Chr 9:36 simply supplies an explicit link between Saul's line and Gibeon which was seen as implicit in 1 Chr 8:28–33 and other Biblical texts. However the writer's motivation for doing so is likely to have derived from contemporary concerns rather than from a desire to accurately portray the past.

Demsky draws attention to sixth century B.C.E. epigraphic evidence demonstrating that some Benjaminites, including the clan of Ner, inhabited the Gibeon region at that particular time.²⁴ It is possible that the clan of Ner continued undisturbed in the same location in post-exilic times. No evidence of the destruction of Gibeon by the Babylonians has been found,²⁵ nor is there any record in Ezra or Nehemiah of the clan Ner being returnees from the Babylonian Exile. By projecting their habitation in Gibeon into pre-monarchical times, the author of 1 Chr 9:36 is enhancing the status of the clan of Ner. Nevertheless, it is likely that the genealogy of Benjaminites in Gibeon

²⁰ The altar Saul set up to YHWH (1 Sam 14:33) was probably at Gibeon (cf. J. Blenkinsopp, "Did Saul Make Gibeon His Capital?" *VT* XXIV/1 (1974) 4).

²¹ Cf. K-D. Schunck, *Benjamin* (Berlin: Alfred Töpelmann, 1963) 132–38; Blenkinsopp, "Did Saul Make Gibeon his Capital?" 4–7; D. Edelman, "Saul ben Kish in History and Tradition," in *The Origins of the Israelite State* (eds V. Fritz and P. R. Davies; JSOTSup 228; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996) 154–56; A. Demsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon (I Chronicles 9:35–44): Biblical and Epigraphic Considerations," *BASOR* 202 (1971) 18 n.10; A. Demsky, "Geba, Gibeah and Gibeon—An Historico-Geographic Riddle," *BASOR* 212 (1973) 27, hypothesises that Saul's ancestors went to live in Gibeon, following the destruction of Gibeah of Benjamin in the civil war (Judg 21:23).

²² Demsky, "Geba, Gibeah and Gibeon" 27–28.

²³ Blenkinsopp, "Did Saul Make Gibeon His Capital?" 5.

²⁴ Demsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon" 20–23. S. Shalom Brooks, *Saul and the Monarchy: A New Look* (Society for Old Testament Monographs; Aldershot, UK/Burlington, USA: Ashgate, 2005) 93–94, points to the epigraphic evidence cited by Demsky to support her argument that Saul was from Gibeon. However, the evidence is from the sixth century, about five hundred years later than the time of Saul.

²⁵ Edelman, "Saul ben Kish" 155 n.16, notes that there is no archaeological evidence of destruction by fire in Iron II in Gibeon. C. E. Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud in the Persian Period: A Social and Demographic Study* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999) 122, says that Gibeon was occupied in the Neo-Babylonian period and possibly even the early Persian period. It should be noted though that the consensus view that Benjamin suffered less disruption than Judah during the Neo-Babylonian attack of 587/6 B.C.E. has now been questioned by Carter, *The Emergence of Yehud* 237–38.

that the Chronicler used to hang Saul's line on originally had its setting in the socio-political sphere rather than being a kingly line of descent.

(iii) *Mikloth and Shimeam*

Mikloth and his son, Shimeam, are connected to the Saulide/Benjaminites in Gibeon line in 1 Chr 9:37–38. They are not explicitly stated to be so in 1 Chr 8:32. However, 1 Chr 8:32, which is repeated in 9:38, has some strange features which may have been understood as having the intention of tying it to the Benjaminites in Gibeon genealogy. The verse reads,

And Mikloth begat Shimeah and moreover they
(were) over against their kinsmen (אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו),
and they lived in Jerusalem with (עִם) their kinsmen (אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו).

Two groups of kinsmen are clearly in view in this verse as it stands. The second group, indicated by אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו עִם (with their kinsmen), refers back to other inhabitants of Jerusalem. Jerusalem appears as the dwelling place in 1 Chr 8:28 of the heads of Benjaminite families throughout their generations. Who are indicated by the other group of kinsmen in the phrase אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו? Considerable stress is placed upon it for it is preceded by אֲנִי־הַגַּדְתִּי (“moreover they”). The only close antecedent group to Mikloth and Shimeah in 1 Chronicles 8 are the Benjaminites in Gibeon. As such, 1 Chr 8:32 appears to indicate that Mikloth emerged from that group. What does the phrase אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו mean? Commentators say it could mean “in the presence of their kinsmen” or “in the sight of their kinsmen” or “over against their kinsmen.” Later in the verse it is asserted that “they dwelt with (עִם) their kinsmen in Jerusalem.” It is unlikely, therefore, that אֶת־בְּרֹתָיו means “in the presence of their kinsmen” for then it would merely be repeating “with their kinsmen.”²⁶ “In the sight of” is also unlikely for:

- a) it would be redundant to specify this if “kinsmen” refers to those in Jerusalem when it is said in the same verse that they lived with them;
- b) and if the kinsmen in Gibeon are those intended, Mikloth and Shimeah would not have been in their sight as they were in Jerusalem.²⁷

The only apparent option left is “over against their kinsmen.” This implies that Mikloth and Shimeah had separated themselves from their family in

²⁶ Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* 196, appears to assume that it means “in the presence of their brethren,” although she does note that the phrase appears repetitious.

²⁷ Gibeon is usually identified with El-Jib, about thirteen kilometers northwest of Jerusalem

Gibeon. This option is preferred by Curtis and Madsen²⁸ and Braun²⁹ although the latter notes that it parallels “with their kinsmen.” However there is another possibility—the phrase **נְגִידֵי אֶחָיוֹתָם** is not correct. Mikloth appears elsewhere only in 1 Chr 27:4 where, along with Dodai the Ahorite, he is the ruler of the second month. Vaticanus omits any mention of Mikloth and because of this Braun queries his inclusion.³⁰ Johnstone, however, accepts his presence, linking him with the Mikloth of 1 Chr 8:32.³¹ The duties of the leaders of the various months under King David are not specified in 1 Chronicles 27 but there is general scholarly agreement that it involved maintaining the royal court. If the Mikloth mentioned in 1 Chr 27:4 is indeed the same person as the one in 8:32; 9:37, his presence in Jerusalem is explained, i.e., he was called upon by David to perform civic duties which required him to live in the capital. Mikloth is described as **נְגִיד** (“ruler”) in 1 Chr 27:4. The phrase **נְגִידֵי אֶחָיוֹתָם** (in the presence of/in the sight of/over against their kinsmen) in 1 Chr 8:32; 9:38, whose meaning has caused so many problems for commentators, should clearly be emended to **נְגִידֵי אֶחָיוֹתָם** (“rulers of their kinsmen”). As such, the stress placed upon this phrase with the preceding **וְעַתָּה** (“moreover they”) is understandable. Mikloth’s line is highlighted because it was one that performed an important official function. Such an emendation alters the perception of Mikloth’s relationship to the Benjaminites of Gibeon. None is required now, except in so far as Mikloth is from the same tribe. This leads to the notion that Mikloth was cited after the genealogy of Benjaminites by place because of his status as an important member of the tribe.³² If this is so, it reinforces the decision made earlier that the genealogy of Saul was separate from the genealogy of the Benjaminites in Gibeon in 1 Chronicles 8. Mikloth and Saul’s line are cited there because they are outstanding members of the Benjaminite tribe!

CONCLUSIONS ABOUT THE RELATIONSHIP OF 1 CHR 9:36–38 TO 1 CHR 8:29–32

The discussion about the additions in 1 Chr 9:36–37 to the genealogy of 1 Chr 8:29–31 is now complete. The conclusions that can be drawn are as follows:

- It is unlikely that Chronicles 9 is relating historical fact when it makes Kish and Ner brothers. Ner’s closer integration into the ge-

²⁸ Curtis and Madsen, *A Critical And Exegetical Commentary* 164–65.

²⁹ Braun, *I Chronicles* 121.

³⁰ Braun, *I Chronicles* 256–57.

³¹ Johnstone, *I and II Chronicles* 267.

³² Shimeah/Shimeam, son of Mikloth’s in 1 Chr 8:32; 9:37, does not appear elsewhere in the Bible, suggesting that the Chronicler drew the information about him from another source.

nealogy probably reflects his clan's increased importance in the post-exilic period.³³

- It is unlikely that 1 Chronicles 9 is relating historical fact when it connects some Benjaminites, specifically Saul's line, with Gibeon prior to the time of Saul.³⁴ Elsewhere in the Bible Saul is said to be from Gibeah (1 Sam 10:26; 11:4; 2 Sam 21:6), usually identified with Tell el-Fûl, five kilometres north of Jerusalem. Further, Saul is said in 2 Sam 21:14 to have been buried "in the sepulchre of Kish his father" in Zela which Arnold asserts was only about three kilometers from Jerusalem and thus accords with Gibeah as Saul's hometown.³⁵ Gibeon, by contrast, is about thirteen kilometers northwest of Jerusalem, if the usual scholarly identification of it with el-Jib is correct. However, Gibeon is linked with the tribe of Benjamin in a number of Biblical texts outside Chronicles, prior to David's reign. This probably led the author of 1 Chr 9:36–37 to tie Saul's line to Gibeon, particularly as Gibeon was a prominent place of Benjaminite habitation at a later time.
- Mikloth was in Jerusalem during David's reign. There is no evidence that he was there prior to that, although, as names in ancient Israel often recur within families, it is possible that an earlier Mikloth than the one in David's reign is being referred to. Even if there was not an earlier Mikloth and 1 Chr 8:32 is talking about the one in David's reign, he is said to be joining other Benjaminites who were already there. Whether there is any truth in this statement is difficult to ascertain. 1 Chronicles 8, which draws attention to cities of Benjaminite settlement, is similar in nature to earlier chapters in 1 Chronicles. There the settlement of other tribes is delineated, none of whom are said to have gained a foothold in Jerusalem. This suggests then that the Chronicler is, to a large extent, repeating received tradition, probably in the form of census lists taken from the Book of the Kings of Israel or of Judah. It should be noted that there is

³³ Demsky, "The Genealogy of Gibeon" 16–23, thinks that the differing positions of Kish in the genealogy reflect the increased importance of Kish over time. However, Kish, as the father of Saul, was important from the time of Saul onwards. It is Ner who is more fully integrated in the genealogy in a later period and this reflects the greater prominence of Ner. This is evidenced by the sixth century epigraphical data concerning Ner in the region of Gibeon, which Demsky himself cites.

³⁴ This runs counter to the argument of Shalom Brooks, *Saul and the Monarchy* 93–93, that Saul was from Gibeon. As seen above, the places of Benjaminite habitation in 1 Chronicles 8 are likely to be the places to which they expanded beyond their original territory.

³⁵ P. M. Arnold, *Gibeah: The Search for a Biblical City* (JSOTSup 79; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990) 93.

nothing inherently impossible about Benjaminites living in the other cities mentioned in 1 Chronicles 8 prior to David's reign and thus it may be the same with Jerusalem.³⁶ As 1 Chronicles 8 seems to reflect the expansion of Benjaminites beyond their earlier places of settlement, both Gibeon and Jerusalem may have been places to which they fled in the face of the Philistine advance, or where they grouped to make a stand against such a formidable enemy.³⁷ At the same time, the highlighting of Geba, Aijalon, Gibeon and Jerusalem as places of Benjaminite settlement undoubtedly reflects their status as important Benjaminite cities in the Chronicler's own day. A different situation pertains in 1 Chronicles 9 for the Chronicler is either reporting the state of affairs in the post-exilic period or propounding his own ideology of an inclusive Jerusalem.³⁸ Some of the tribe of Judah, Benjamin, Ephraim and Manasseh lived in Jerusalem (1 Chr 9:3–9) as well as Priests and Levites (1 Chr 9:10–34).

- Clearly someone made changes to 1 Chr 8:28–32 in 1 Chr 9:35–38. Was this the Chronicler? Or, to express it another way, did the same person write 1 Chr 8:28–32 and 1 Chr 9:35–38? As גִּבְעָה, attested in 1 Chr 27:4, had been corrupted to גִּבְעָה in 1 Chr 8:32 the implication is that a different person to the author of 1 Chr 8:28–32 wrote 1 Chr 9:35–38. The latter's intention was to provide the Benjaminites of the Gibeon in his own time with an impressive and antique pedigree—they were descended from Saul and a Benjaminite from Gibeon, Mikloth (Saul's uncle), had inhabited Jerusalem at a very early time.

EXCURSUS: BENJAMINITE HABITATIONS

The first named place in 1 Chronicles 8 for the Benjaminites occurs in v. 6. It is Geba (גִּבְעָה). Josh 18:24 assigns this city to Benjamin but in Josh 21:17 it is given to the children of Aaron. Geba occurs twice in Judges in the narrative of the aftermath of the atrocity at Gibeah (Judg 20:10, 33). 1 Sam 13:3 says that Jonathan smote the Philistine garrison that was in Geba. 1 Sam 13:16 says that Saul, Jonathan and others were in Geba. There are two major Biblical clues to

³⁶ An excursus giving detailed support to this statement appears at the end of this paper.

³⁷ In my forthcoming monograph, *Jerusalem, Jerusalem: Did David Take It or Just the Credit?* the argument is presented that Benjamin had, at the very least, infiltrated Jerusalem prior to David.

³⁸ Myers, *1 Chronicles* 61, thinks the Chronicler is reporting the state of affairs after the Division of the Kingdom. It is more likely to be a reference to the post-exilic period though as Judah's captivity in Babylon is mentioned in 1 Chr 9:1 (cf. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* 87).

the location of Geba. In 1 Samuel 14 Jonathan wished to go to the Philistine garrison. In order to do so, he has to pass between two rocky crags. Verse 5 states, “one crag rose up in the north in front of Michmash and the other on the south in front of Geba.” Geba then is south of Michmash. This is confirmed by Isa 10:29 where the southward advance of the Assyrian army is from Michmash to Geba and beyond. It is generally accepted that Geba was the ancient name for the village of Jeba, and I. Finkelstein and Y. Magen, *Archaeological Survey in the Hill Country of Benjamin* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 1993) 35, say that two percent of the sherds found there during the recent survey of Benjamin were from Iron I. It is probable then that Geba was settled at that time. Aijalon, said in 1 Chronicles 8 to be the second major place of Benjaminite habitation, is linked with the tribe of Dan in Josh 19:42; 21:24, although the latter text asserts that it was given to the Levites. 1 Chr 6:54 (ET v. 69) also says it was given to the Levites, but links it with Ephraim, rather than Benjamin. Judg 1:35 likewise preserves the tradition that Ephraim possessed Aijalon, taking it from the Amorites who had driven Dan into the hills. The only early link between Benjamin and Aijalon appears in 1 Sam 14:31 when Saul and Jonathan smote the Philistines “from Michmash to Aijalon.” In 2 Chr 11:10, during the reign of Rehoboam, Aijalon is associated with Benjamin. Archaeologists have not been able to identify the site of ancient Aijalon, but its existence at an early time is not in dispute, as it is mentioned in the Amarna Letters (EA 287). The third major place of Benjaminite habitation in 1 Chronicles 8 is Gibeon. Josh 9:3,17; 11:19 tell us that the Gibeonites tricked Joshua into making peace with them, while Josh 10:1–2 relays the story of the five kings who made war against Gibeon, because of its accord with Joshua. Gibeon is cited as a city of the Benjaminites in Josh 18:25, although it is a city of the Levites in Josh 21:17. 2 Samuel has a strong tradition of Gibeon being linked with Benjamin (2 Sam 2:12, 13, 16, 24; 3:30; 20:8). Gibeon is usually identified with El-Jib, about thirteen kilometres northwest of Jerusalem. It was excavated in the late nineteen fifties and early sixties. Some remains from the Late Bronze Age were found, although most material dated from the Iron Age or later; cf. A. Negev and S. Gibson [eds], *Archaeological Encyclopaedia of the Holy Land* (New York/London: Continuum, 2001) 280. Minor places of Benjaminite habitation mentioned in 1 Chronicles 8 are Manahath, Ono and Lod (1 Chr 8:6, 12). Gath is also mentioned incidentally (1 Chr 8:13). Manahath is difficult to identify. As a place name it does not occur elsewhere, although there is a tendency for commentators, following A. Bartel (“ברדה מסורת לע גורל הגבעונים,” *Beth Mikra* [1969] 24–27), to assume that it was located in Judah because 1 Chr 2:52, 54 posit that Manahathites had mixed with Judaeans. However, in the opinion of the present scholar, it is equally possible, with Rudolph (*Chronikbücher* 21, 79) that it was a place in Edom, as a Manahath is said in Gen 36:23 and 1 Chr 1:40 to be descended from Esau, particularly the branch connected with Seir. As Teman in Esau’s genealogy is

a place name, Manahath may have been one also, especially as some of the inhabitants of Geba were carried there as captives. Ono does not occur in pre-exilic Biblical tradition although the lists of Thutmose III attest to its early existence; cf. J. B. Pritchard (ed.), *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969) 243. Ono was inhabited by the Benjaminites in the post-exilic period, according to Neh 11:35. It is also mentioned in Ezra 2:33 and Neh 7:37 as a place of residence at that time. Lod has a similar history of attestation as Ono: it appears in the lists of Thutmose III (as Lydda) and is attested by Ezra 2:33 as a place of residence in the post-exilic period. The time of settlement in Ono and Lod by Benjamin is unknown. It is possible that it does predate the post-exilic period as Ono and Lod were within the boundaries of Josiah's kingdom. Whether it can be projected back further is uncertain. Some of the heads of fathers' houses in Aijalon are claimed to have put the inhabitants of Gath to flight in 1 Chr 8:13. The Philistines inhabited Gath in Iron I and it is possible that the routing of the Gathites may have been an incident connected with the Benjaminite settlement of Aijalon. 1 Sam 14:31 credits Saul and Jonathan with smiting the Philistines from Michmash to Aijalon and it would not be unreasonable to suppose that this marked the beginning of Benjaminite settlement in Aijalon.