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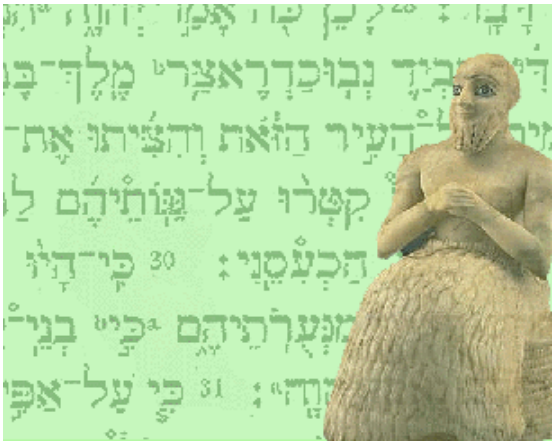

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INTRODUCTION

In this article,[1] I intend to elaborate and update my previous publications dealing with King David's heroes and their exploits as recorded and recounted in the book of Samuel and repeated—with considerable changes—in the book of Chronicles.[2] In Samuel, most of the information is included in the last part of the book (2 Sam 21–24), defined by previous scholars as an "Appendix."[3] Today, several scholars have reservations about such a definition and replace it with "epilogue" or "conclusion," inasmuch as these four chapters contain links among themselves as well as with the main part of the book.[4] In any event, according to my recent research,

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[1] This article was inspired by my paper delivered at a conference on "The Shaping of the Historical Memory and Consciousness in the Book of Chronicles" that took place in the spring of 2010 at Bar-Ilan University.

[2] See my Hebrew publications: M. Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David: Studies in History and Inquiries in Historiography* (Tel Aviv: Don, 1975; Heb.), 26–40, 55–57; Idem, *The Rise of the Monarchy in Israel: Studies in the Book of Samuel*, vol. 3 (2d ed.; Raanana: The Open University of Israel; Heb.), 135–165; Idem, "The Four Sons of Rephaim who Fell in Combats with David and his Heroes," *Beit Mikra* 54 (2009), 39–61 (Heb.; Eng. Summary p. 7*); See also my English articles: M. Garsiel, "The Water Retrieval Mission of David's Three Warriors and its Relationship to the Battle of the Valley of Refaim," M. Heltzer & M. Malul (eds.), *Teshurot LaAvishur: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, in Hebrew and Semitic Languages—A Festschrift Presented to Prof. Yitshaq Avishur on the Occasion of his 65th Birthday* (Tel Aviv/Jaffa: Archaeological Center Publication, 2004), 51–62; Idem, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath: Between History and Artistic Theological Historiography," G. Galil, M. Geler, and A. Millard (eds.), *Homeland and Exile: Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Honour of Bustenay Oded* (VTSup, 130; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2009), 391–426.

[3] See, e.g., M. H. Segal, *The Books of Samuel: Edited and Interpreted with a Detailed Introduction* (Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sefer, 1964; Heb.), 362–363; A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (WBC 11; Dallas: Word, 1989), 247–248.

[4] See, e.g., J. G. Baldwin, *1 and 2 Samuel: An Introduction and Commentary* (TOTC; Leicester, UK: InterVarsity, 1988), 282–283; R. P. Gordon, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Regency Reference Library, 1986), 45, 298; H. H. Klement, *II Samuel 21–24: Context, Structure and Meaning in*

most of the material in the epilogue—including the parts regarding David's heroes—was gleaned, edited and added at a later stage of the book of Samuel's composition by the second author. That author adopted the earlier, short version of the book that had been composed by his predecessor, omitted from it some material, but added to it a lot more.

Who, then, are the two separate authors of the book of Samuel and how did this book come into being? According to my recent research,[5] the former author was probably one of the Prophet Nathan's disciples who wrote the initial book about David's story and history. This book was not intended to serve mainly as a political propaganda glorifying David or Solomon against their opponents, as viewed by various scholars; it concentrated, rather, primarily on the theological principle of God's providence, which rewards people or punishes them in accordance with their deeds. This earlier work, which included David's story from his appearance at the king's court up to his old age and Solomon's accession,[6] was probably written at an early stage of Solomon's reign. However, at a later stage of Solomon's reign, when disillusion from the king's hedonistic way of life and resentment of compulsory work that he had imposed upon his people intensified and developed into a threatening opposition, a second author—probably one of the sages and a skilled scribe—wrote a different version of the book. He omitted entirely from the earlier version the section dealing with David's old age and Solomon's accession to the throne with the vital help of the Prophet Nathan; but he added to the earlier version the stories about Sa-

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the Samuel Conclusion (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 2000), passim; R. Polzin, *David and the Deuteronomist: A Literary Study of the Deuteronomic History*, Part Three; Idem, *2 Samuel* (Bloomington/Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1993), 202–214; D. G. Firth, *1 & 2 Samuel* (AOT 8; Nottingham/Downers Grove: InterVarsity, 2009), 501–503.

[5] See my recent articles: M. Garsiel, "The Book of Samuel: Its Composition, Structure and Significance as a Historiographical Source," *JHS* 10 (2010), article 5 (electronic); Idem, "Ideological Discordance between the Prophets, Nathan and Samuel, as Reflecting the Divergence between the Book of Samuel's Authors," G. Galil et al. (eds.), *The Ancient Near East in the 12th–10th Centuries BCE: Culture and History* (AOAT; Münster, forthcoming).

[6] Cf. G. Keys, *The Wages of Sin: A Reappraisal of the Succession Narrative* (JSOTSS, 221; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), passim, who regards only 2 Sam 10–20 as belonging thematically to the "sin and punishment" cycle. In my judgment, the earlier composition initially contained the whole of David's story and history, including Solomon's accession story. These sections are thematically joined together and are committed to the sin and punishment motif. One should bear in mind that all the characters in the section of Solomon's accession are rewarded in accordance with their deeds, and most of these deeds are narrated in various parts of David's story and history.

muel and his sons, and parts of Saul's story, as well as most of the epilogue's materials.

Hence, one may assume that the book of Samuel's material concerning David's elite warriors might contain significant information that should not be discarded as late and unreliable legends.[7] In the book of Chronicles, however, which was composed a few years after the middle of the fourth century BCE, there are considerable changes in the parallel texts as well as in Chronicles' contexts. In this article, I will discuss both versions, compare them to each other, and try as well to draw some conclusions about their historical, historiographical and socio-theological significance.

DAVID'S WARRIORS FIGHTING THE GIANTS IN THE PARALLEL SOURCES

In 2 Sam 21:15–22, the second author of the book recounts four episodes related to various periods in which David and his warriors combated four Philistine giants from Gath who are dubbed "sons of Rapha," that is, *Rephaim*. The latter is an etiological and mythological attributive to giants who are regarded as descendants of deities who, as a result of theomachy, fell from heaven to earth and became mortals, one of whom was Og, king of Bashan (Deut 3:11; Josh 12:4; 13:12).[8] These giants, also known as *Nephilim* (Gen 6:2–4), are ironically described in this text as meeting their destiny by the same verb root of נפל "fall": "Those four were descended from the Raphah in Gath and they *fell* by the hands of David and his men" (2 Sam 21:22).[9]

The book of Joshua attributes the extermination of most of the giants to Moses and Joshua, and concludes: "No Anakites [= giants] remained in the land of the Israelites, but some remained in Gaza, Gath and Ashdod" (Josh 11:22). At first glance, it seems that the "implied author" of the episode in Samuel sets an analogy between David and his warriors and Moses and Joshua; both groups successfully smote the autochthonic, formidable giants. Furthermore, it might even seem that the section of David and his warriors killing the giants aimed to be a continuation of David's war stories, since they served as a fulfillment of Nathan's oracle promising David that, in terms of military achievements, he would be granted "great renown like that of the greatest men on the earth" (1 Sam 7:9).[10] However, a close comparative reading of the text leads the

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[7] See Garsiel, "The Book of Samuel: Its Composition, Structure and Significance," passim.

[8] For further discussion on the Rephaim issue and bibliography, see Garsiel, "The Four Sons of Rephaim who Fell in Combats with David and his Heroes," 42–44.

[9] Biblical quotations usually follow the NJPS translation, sometimes with small amendments.

[10] Cf. M. Avioz, *Nathan's Oracle (2 Samuel 7) and its Interpreters* (Bern et

reader to an entirely different conclusion: While Moses and Joshua almost completely exterminated the dangerous giants from most of the land (except for three Philistine cities, one of which is Gath), David and his warriors killed only four of the giants of the city of Gath alone. The earlier leaders, Moses and Joshua, attained—or so the text indicates—better military achievements in combat against the giants than the king and his warriors. The second author of the book of Samuel emphasizes here once again why the kingdom of the Almighty God ruled by God's representative leaders (like Moses and Joshua) is preferable to a leadership of a human king, even one like David.

FIRST EPISODE (2 SAM 21:15–17)

The first of the episodes in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 21:15–17) deals with a battle with the Philistines that became complicated and endangered David's life:

וַתְּהִי-עוֹד מִלְחָמָה לַפְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֵּרֶד דָּוִד וַעֲבָדָיו עִמּוֹ
וַיִּלָּחֲמוּ אֶת-פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיָּעַף דָּוִד:
וְיִשְׁבִּי (ק') בְּנֹב אֲשֶׁר בִּילִדֵי הָרָפָה
וּמִשְׁקַל קֵינוֹ שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת מִשְׁקָל נְחֹשֶׁת וְהוּא חָגוּר חֲדָשָׁה
וַיֹּאמֶר לְהַכּוֹת אֶת-דָּוִד:
וַיַּעֲזָר-לוֹ אֲבִישַׁי בֶּן-צְרוּיָה וַיַּךְ אֶת-הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיְמִיתֵהוּ
אָז נִשְׁבְּעוּ- אַנְשֵׁי-דָוִד לוֹ לֵאמר
לֹא-תֵצֵא עוֹד אִתָּנוּ לַמִּלְחָמָה וְלֹא תְכַבֶּה אֶת-נֵר יִשְׂרָאֵל:

> Yet another war broke out between the Philistines and Israel, so David and the men with him went down and fought the Philistines. David grew weary, Ishbi Benob tried to kill David; he was a descendant of the Raphah, his bronze spear weighed three hundred shekels and he was girded with a new sword. But Abishai son of Zeruiah came to David's aid; he attacked the Philistine and killed him. It was then that David's men swore him an oath, "You shall not go with us into battle anymore, lest you extinguish the lamp of Israel!"

Since none of the four battles was set up within a chronological framework, one may wonder when the first episode took place. One should rule out the periods of David's service in Saul's army, his wandering in the land of Judah, or when he settled in Ziklag. At all these occasions, David's presence in battle was vital and his men could not afford to take a vow that he would not be their leader and military commander.[11] Indeed, later on, when David served seven and a half years as king of Judah, we read that he was absent

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al.: Peter Lang, 2005), 48.

[11] Cf., e.g., 1 Sam 23:3–5; 27:8–9; 28:1–2; 29:1–11.

in at least two battles (2 Sam 2:12–32; 3:22). However, it is clear that at these times there was no vow to prevent him from leading his troops against the Philistines in the valley of Rephaim, when he already served as the king of all Israel (5:17–25).

The most plausible time, then, for most of the episodes at issue is the middle of the first decade of David's reign in Jerusalem. At this time, David opened the last operative stage aimed at subjugating Achish's kingdom and turning it into his vassal. During this endeavor, several battles took place in Judah's lowland, the Negeb, and in the vicinity of Gath. In some of these wars or skirmishes, giant members of the Philistine guild of Rephaim took part. Therefore, the first episode opens with the note that again there was another war against the Philistines, implying that there were earlier wars of this kind. The Hebrew word עוד "again" is common to the opening of the episode and to the vow taken by the people. From the vow's language, one may also deduce that, until then, David used to lead his troops in wars. Since the description delineates David and his troops as *going down* to fight, one may also assume that the Israelites were descending from Jerusalem and the hill country toward a lower region that was under Philistine rule.

The giant who nearly overpowered David is referred to as "Ishbi benob" (**ישבי בנב**). It seems that the first word refers to his name. Nevertheless, following the K version, some ancient exegetes[12] and LXX^{L} have it as a verb: **וישבו** from the root **שב"ה** "take a prisoner". Some modern scholars follow this lead and interpret the phrase with slight variations as an action taken by the Philistine to capture David and kill him.[13] However, this interpretation is problematic, since 4QSam^{a} supports the Q reading **וישבי**.[14] Furthermore, in the following episodes, we have the giant's names or, at least in one episode, his description. Hence, Ishbi should refer to the giant's proper name and not to his action.[15]

As for the second word **בנב**, I have suggested elsewhere the reading **בן [א]ב**, namely, Ishbi was a son of a person whose name is Ob.[16] The father's name probably means a magician who specializes in raising the spirit of the dead (1 Sam 28:3, et al.). In our text, however, it might also subtly connote a midrashic name connection to the Rephaim, the descendants of dead heroes who were the offspring of deities who fell from heaven to earth and became mortals, as we have explained above. Ironically, the narrator finds

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[12] BT, Tractate Sanhedrin, 91a.

[13] Cf., e.g., P.K. McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1984), 447–448; Gordon, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 302.

[14] See F. M. Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4, XII, 1–2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 179.

[15] See also Anderson, *2 Samuel*, 254; Firth, *1 & 2 Samuel*, 508.

[16] See Garsiel, "The Four Sons of Rephaim who Fell in Combats with David and his Heroes," 46.

in the father's name an ominous suggestion that the giant son is doomed.

Yet, since in other episodes in the larger context the narrator also points to the battle scene, there is also the possibility that "be-Nob" refers to a place name: "at Nob." However, if it refers to the priests' holy city, we would expect a place close to Jerusalem (Isa 10:32).[17] Moreover, it is rather unlikely that the Philistines arrived so close to David's capital after their two defeats at the Rephaim valley. Furthermore, David and his people are depicted as "descending" towards the Philistines. Therefore, the battle place should be found near Philistia. Indeed, the Sages suggest that there is a village there known as Nob.[18] The problem is that there is no other evidence to substantiate this claim. We have, therefore, no alternative but to postulate a corrupt text in the above place name. Some scholars suggest the reading of "Gob" instead of "Nob," since Gob is mentioned as well in the two following episodes.[19] However, it is highly unlikely that the three battles happened at the same place, and that a copyist would make an error only in the first episode, while in the next two he would get it right. In any event, I shall shortly cast doubt if there is any place at all carrying the name of "Gob" in Philistia and its vicinity.

Therefore, it seems most likely to me that the word **בנב** is misspelled and should be amended to **בנ[ג]ב**. The battle probably took place at "the Negeb of the Cherethites" (1 Sam 30:14), somewhere in the western Negeb that turned into a war zone between the Israelites and the Philistines in the time of Saul and David.

What is the significance of this battle and how did it happen that Ishbi and David encountered each other? The text here leaves a wide gap. Y. Yadin interprets the stories of the encounters between Joab's twelve warriors and Abner's twelve warriors (2 Sam 2:12–32) as well as the one between David with Goliath (1 Sam 17) as an agreement between the rival armies to have one-on-one combat of which the results should determine the outcome of the whole war. Yadin also suggests that the episodes in 2 Sam 21:15ff are demonstrations of single combats which are designed to function in a similar way.[20] However, Yadin's theory at its core is open

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[17] For various identification, see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography* (2nd ed.; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1979), 393; A.F. Rainey, *The Sacred Bridge: Carta's Atlas of the Biblical World* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2006), 147.

[18] BT, Tract. Sanhedrin, 95a.

[19] See H. P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951), 378; H. W. Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1964), 385–386.

[20] See Y. Yadin, "Let the Young Men I Pray thee Arise and Play before Us," J. Liver (ed.), *The Military History of the Land of Israel in Biblical Times* (Tel-Aviv: Maarachoth, Israel Defense Forces, 1970; Heb.), 166–169, esp. p. 169, n. 7; Cf. also G. N. Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29: A New*

to doubts that have been raised elsewhere.[21] As for the first of these episodes, one cannot consider it as an instance of one-on-one combat since Abishai came to help David. It looks like a case in which one of two rivals (or even both of them) attempts to encounter his opponent in order to gain the glory of killing a prominent foe. Ishbi was well equipped with a long and heavy bronze spear and girded with a belt and new sword;[22] and he tried to fight David in order to win the glory of killing the adversary's king. Other combat scenes should probably be viewed along the same lines: as incidental combats between mighty fighters who were seeking their special adversaries in the middle of the war.

Even though the encounter resulted in a happy ending, David's men were worried and decided to change their strategy Up to this point, they expected the king to go "before" the troops, leading them to war as their commander-in-chief.[23] Now, however, after the near disaster, they took a vow prohibiting the king from going out to war with the troops. They decided that they needed a king as their national leader more than as a military field commander who takes part in actual fighting.[24] The significance of preserving the king's life is demonstrated in the metaphor: "You shall not go with us into battle any more, lest *you extinguish the lamp of Israel!*" Indeed, even later, David went out with his troops in special battles or just joined the army at the last stage of the war in order to be part of the glory of victory. However, he probably stayed well protected in a rear command camp.[25]

This first episode well serves the anti-monarchial approach of the second author, inasmuch as the main motivation for anointing a king was that he would lead the people to war; this point was emphasized on many occasions regarding both kings, Saul and David.[26] Ironically, however, this episode of the vow prohibiting the king from going to battle completely undermines the earlier security conception. The people at this point came to the opposite

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Translation with Introduction and Commentary (AB; New York et al.: Doubleday, 2004), 735.

[21] See A. Rofé, "The Battle of David and Goliath: Folklore, Theology, Eschatology" J. Neusner, B. A. Levine and E. Frerichs (eds.), *Judaic Perspectives on Ancient Israel* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 132–134; M. Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath…", 411–415.

[22] Cf. Cross et al., *Qumran Cave 4, XII, 1–2 Samuel*, 179–180.

[23] Cf. 1 Sam 8:20; 2 Sam 3:17–19; 5:1–3.

[24] In Absalom's revolt, the people refused the king's request to accompany the troops in actual fighting and they urged him to stay protected within the fortified city of Mahanaim (2 Sam 18:2–3).

[25] See Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David*, 101–105; Idem, *The rise of the monarchy in Israel*, vol. 4, 36–42.

[26] See 1 Sam 8:19–20; 9:16; 12:12; 15:17–18; 18:8; 2 Sam 5:1–3; 19:10–11.

conclusion: A king is not so crucial in leading his troops in war. Sometimes it is the other way around; the king should stay at home or behind the battle zone rather than risk his life in actual fighting.

Another point should be taken into consideration. In the earlier version of David's history, the first author did not miss any opportunity to criticize Joab and Abishai, sons of Zeruiah, for their brutal behavior; that author also saw justice done in Joab's execution.[27] The second author, however, by adding the episode of Abishai's coming to the king's defense, bestows Abishai with the credit of saving King David's life. We shall soon examine additional instances of where the sons of Zeruiah are depicted in a favorable light in the second version of the book of Samuel.

The difference between the two authors' treatment of the sons of Zeruiah can be explained by those authors' socio-political and theological difference of opinion. The first one was a follower of the Prophet Nathan and, as such, a supporter of King Solomon and a bitter opponent to Joab who supported Adonijah. The second author, however, took a different stand. He was very critical of both King Solomon and the whole concept of kingship and, consequently, did not hesitate to relate the story of the vow regarding David's participation in battle when it became clear that the Israelites do not need a king to serve as a field commander; they need, rather, military leaders like the sons of Zeruiah. Unlike his predecessor, the second author chose to omit the whole section of Solomon's accession to the throne; that author also restored some of the glory due to the sons of Zeruiah in parts of his epilogue.

This dialectic process continues to the third author, the Chronicler. The episode under discussion was deliberately omitted from the parallel unit in Chronicles. The Chronicler constantly glorifies David, inasmuch as he was the king who initiated, planned and began the preparations to build the Jerusalemite temple. Hence, the Chronicler omits the episode at issue as he consistently does in other portions that damage David's reputation.

SECOND EPISODE (1 CHR 20:4 AND 2 SAM 21:18)

The second episode in the book of Samuel and the first one in Chronicles appear with a few changes in the parallel sources as follows:

1 Chr 20:4	2 Sam 21:18
וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי-כֵן	וַיְהִי אַחֲרֵי-כֵן
וַתַּעֲמד מִלְחָמָה בְּגֶזֶר עִם-פְּלִשְׁתִּים	וַתְּהִי-עוֹד הַמִּלְחָמָה בְּגוב עִם-פְּלִשְׁתִּים
אָז הִכָּה סִבְּכַי הַחֻשָׁתִי אֶת-סִפַּי	אָז הִכָּה סִבְּכַי הַחֻשָׁתִי אֶת-סַף
מִילְדֵי הָרָפָאִים וַיִּכָּנְעוּ׃	אֲשֶׁר בִּילְדֵי הָרָפָה׃

[27] See 1 Sam 26:8–12; 2 Sam 3:22–39; 11:14–25; 16:9–13; 18:9–15; 19:22–23; 20:4–14; 1 Kgs 1:7, 19, 41; 2:5–6, 28–34.

2 Sam 21:18

> After this, fighting broke out again with the Philistines, at Gob; that was when Sibbecai the Hushathite killed Saph, a descendant of the Rapha.

1 Chr 20:4

> After this, fighting broke out with the Philistines at Gezer; that was when Sibbecai the Hushathite killed Sipai, a descendant of the Rephaim, *and they were humbled.*

This episode is short and concise, as the second author of the book of Samuel is not interested in the exploit as such, nor in the battle and its implications. It seems as if the author recounts four military contests between the Rephaim giants and David and his warriors, concluding that the latter was consistently victorious. This impression results from the fact that, in Samuel's version, nothing is told about the outcome of the wars in all four incidents, and the summary at the end of this portion concentrates only on the four Rephaim who fell in battle with David and his servants (2 Sam 21:22). At first sight, it seems that the author probably adopted an ancient, archival roster dealing with heroes and their exploits. However, as part of the epilogue of Samuel, the portion contains elements that support the anti-monarchial attitude of the second author, as we have seen above and will witness below.

The Chronicler, however, adds at the end of this episode, a significant word regarding the "humbling" of the Philistines (ויכנעו) before the Israelites. This one word changes the whole meaning of the episode and has an impact as well on the following episodes. It regards the combat between the warriors as a trigger to a comprehensive Israelite triumph and a Philistine surrender. It also makes a point that Nathan's oracle about "humbling" (והכנעתי) David's enemies (17:10) comes true.[28]

According to Samuel's version, the battle took place at Gob (גוב). This same place name is mentioned as the place of battle also in the following episode in Samuel's version. In the parallel version in Chronicles, however, as well as in the whole Hebrew Bible, the name Gob is not mentioned at all. Neither is it mentioned near the battle zones in extra-biblical sources of the time.[29] Therefore, since the Chronicler reads in the parallel episode "Gezer" instead of "Gob" in Samuel's version, and since there is no theological reason for this kind of change, it is plausible to assume that the Chronicler adopted the reading of a more reliable text of Samuel's version on this issue.[30] In the following episode, however, not having access to

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[28] See Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, 735–736.

[29] Gob is mentioned only at the end of the Tannaitic period as located within the city Ashkelon's zone (Tosefeta Ohaloth 18:15).

[30] See J. M. Myers, *I Chronicles: Translated with an Introduction and Notes*

the battle's place name, he preferred to ignore it. The suggested amendment of "Gob" to "Gezer" in Samuel's second episode is plausible for another reason: Since the fortified city of Gezer controls part of an important road that leads from Philistia to the central hill country and to David's capital in Jerusalem and is part of the international road that led from Egypt to Syria and Mesopotamia, it is, therefore, reasonable to maintain that battles between the Israelites and Philistines took place in the vicinity of the fortified city of Gezer.

In modern scholarship, some other suggestions regarding Samuel's place name have been offered. One is to read "Gibton" (גבתון) instead of "Gob";[31] another is to read either "Geba" (גבע) or "Gibeon" (גבעון) instead of "Gob".[32] But these latter two cities are located very close to the City of David, and it is highly unlikely that, at such a late stage, the Philistines penetrated to a location so close to David's capital. Moreover, the text relates that David and his men *descended* to encounter the Philistines; namely, the Israelite troops left the hill country downward, probably to the lowlands of Judah.

Recently, Nadav Na'aman has suggested identification of Gob (a Philistine city, according to Na'aman) with Khirbet Queiyafa, the location of which is on the northern ridge that controls from the north the narrow ravine of Elah near the western entrance to the ravine, rather close to Azeqah. Na'aman adopts a scholarly suggestion that Samuel's first three episodes refer to one place—Gob; only the last one occurred at Gath.[33]

As I wrote above in the first episode, it does not make sense that the copyist would replace "Gob" with "Nob," while in the second and the third episodes he copied "Gob" correctly. Therefore, we have adopted for Samuel's second episode the Chronicler's reading—"Gezer." Furthermore, Samuel's third episode, as we shall show below, refers to the story of David and Goliath. However, in the elaborated story (1 Sam 17), the suggested place name of Gob is not mentioned at all. Since this name is neither mentioned in this story nor in the rest of the Bible or extra-biblical

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(AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1965), 141; Segal, *The Books of Samuel*, 371; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 448.

[31] See A. Malamat, "Aspects of the Foreign Policies of David and Solomon," idem (ed.), *The Kingdoms of Israel and Judah* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1961; Heb.), 42, and in n. 53 references to the suggested readings above.

[32] Suggestions cited by B. Halpern, *David's Secret Demons: Messiah, Murderer, Traitor, King* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 148, n. 7; 150–151, 321.

[33] N. Na'aman, "In Search of the Ancient Name of Khirbet Qeiyafa," *JHS* 8 (2008), article 21; Idem, "Shaaraim—the Gateway to the Kingdom of Judah," *JHS* 8 (2008), article 24.

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sources, there is no escape but to maintain that in Samuel's second and third episodes the place name "Gob" should be amended. The amendment in the third episode will be discussed presently.

THIRD EPISODE (1 CHR 20:5 AND 2 SAM 21:19)

The third episode in Samuel and the second one in Chronicles appear with significant differences in the parallel sources as follows:

2 Sam 21:19	1 Chr 20:5
וַתְּהִי-עוֹד הַמִּלְחָמָה בְּגֹוב עִם-פְּלִשְׁתִּים	וַתְּהִי-עוֹד מִלְחָמָה אֶת-פְּלִשְׁתִּים
וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן- בֶּן-יַעְרֵי אֹרְגִים בֵּית הַלַּחְמִי	וַיַּךְ אֶלְחָנָן בֶּן- יָעִיר (ק')
אֵת גָּלְיַת הַגִּתִּי	אֶת-לַחְמִי אֲחִי גָּלְיָת הַגִּתִּי
וְעֵץ חֲנִיתוֹ כִּמְנוֹר אֹרְגִים:	וְעֵץ חֲנִיתוֹ כִּמְנוֹר אֹרְגִים:

2 Sam 21:19

> Again there was fighting with the Philistines at Gob; and Elhanan son of Jaare-orgim the Bethlehemite killed Goliath the Gittite, whose spear had a shaft like a weaver's bar.

1 Chr 20:5

> Again there was fighting with the Philistines, and Elhanan son of Jair killed Lahmi, the brother of Goliath the Gittite; his spear had a shaft like a weaver's beam.

Samuel's version comes as a surprise, since the killing of Goliath is attributed to Elhanan, while in the main story (1 Sam 17) and other short references, it is attributed to David. This discrepancy is probably what motivated the Chronicler to attribute to Elhanan the killing of Lahmi, the brother of Goliath. In early midrashim, it was suggested that Elhanan is David's nickname, since God graciously bestowed him (חננו) with courage and skills.[34] This is the line of interpretation of early translators and commentators like Rashi and the Aramaic translation attributed to Jonathan.

The identification of Goliath's killer becomes even more complicated with the reading of the main story in 1 Sam 17.[35] The Philistine giant is fully introduced by his name Goliath as well as his hometown Gath (v. 4). In the rest of the story, however, he is only once more referred to by this explicit identification (v. 23). Otherwise (27 times), he is referred to only by his ethnic indentification "the Philistine," and several more times by a personal pronoun. However, in two other episodes, the giant is referred to again as גלית הפלשתי "Goliath the Philistine" (21:10; 22:10).[36] The fact

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[34] See, e.g., Ruth Rabba, portion 2.

[35] See M. Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 391–426.

[36] In the first episode, Ahimelech the high priest of Nob explicitly attributes the killing of Goliath to David. However, in the latter episode,

that in the main story Goliath's name is mentioned only twice, and in the appendix his killer is called Elhanan has led many scholars and modern commentators to offer two different reconstructions. The first suggestion is that, indeed, the one who smote Goliath was another Bethlehemite whose name was Elhanan. But during David's kingship, according to this view, the king capitalized on his high status, attributing to himself the exploit of killing Goliath.[37] The second is that, indeed, young David killed an unnamed Philistine giant, but Elhanan was the one who killed Goliath. Later on, however, the name "Goliath" was transferred to the story of David's exploits.[38] These kinds of reconstructions are rather speculative, since the former moralist author, who wrote David's history from a prophetical outlook, had access to reliable written and oral sources, and did not hesitate to reprove David on many occasions. It does not seem logical, therefore, that he would let David steal someone else's glory.

It is, consequently, reasonable to adopt the solution already offered by ancient commentators and modern scholars who have suggested identifying Elhanan with David. We suggest reconstructing the process as follows: When Jesse's eighth son was born, he called the infant Elhanan, "God bestowed me" (**האל חנני**) i.e., "God bestowed me with another son" (cf. Gen 33:5).[39] This youngest son, Elhanan, killed Goliath, and gradually became an admired, high-ranking commander in Saul's army. This popular officer at some point was given a nickname, David, which means "beloved one." Indeed, the author of the first version of Samuel plays on the related root **אהב** "love"(cf. Song 3:1–4) by stating that everybody "loved" David: Saul (1 Sam 16:21), Jonathan (18:1–3), Michal (ibid., vv. 20, 28), Saul's officers (ibid, v. 22), all Israel and Judah (ibid., v. 16). These are examples of a midrashic name derivation playing on David's nickname. The first author of Samuel continued to use this wordplay on Solomon's nickname, Jedidiah, which is interpreted by its synonymous verb of **אה"ב**: "The Lord

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when Doeg the Edomite briefed Saul, he omitted David's exploit, since he did not want to antagonize his king by reminding him of David's courageous fighting.

[37] See F. Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel* (ZBK, AT 9; Zürich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), 203; C. S. Ehrlich, "Goliath," *The Anchor Bible Dictionary*, II (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 1073–1074; S. Herrmann, *A History of Israel in Old Testament Times*, (Revised and enlarged ed., translated from the German; London: SCM, 1981), 138–139.

[38] See Segal, *The Books of Samuel*, 138–139; P. K. McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes & Commentary* (AB; Garden City: Doubleday, 1980), 291; A. F. Campbell, *I Samuel* (FOTL VII; Grand Rapids/Cambridge, Eerdmans, 2003), 177.

[39] Epigraphic evidence from various ancient cites related to the tenth–ninth centuries BCE (Timnah, Beth-shemesh, Tel Rehob) contain the name *Hanan*.

loved him" (2 Sam 12:24–25). At a later stage, the nickname "David" turned into his regnal name.[40]

The dialectic process of the epilogue's composition is also very interesting. While in his main story, the first author described David's military exploits very favorably, the latter author, who added most of Samuel's epilogue, made a clear distinction between the elder King David and the younger David-Elhanan. While the younger David, when he was still known by his original name Elhanan, killed Goliath, the elder King David grew tired and was almost killed himself. In this general context of the epilogue, the whole notion of the king as a military leader who joins the troops, leading them to victory after victory suffered a severe blow. Furthermore, Abishai, the famous commander, who was very much hated by the first author—a moralist and one of Nathan's disciples—is depicted here by the second author as David's savior. One may find that the latter author, in his additions to the epilogue, is very favorable toward both commanding brothers, the sons of Zeruiah. In a later stage, however, when the two psalms were added to the epilogue, the impression that King David was not needed anymore as a field commander was considerably diminished.

Our identification of Elhanan with David is strengthened by additional considerations. The story suffered a few text corruptions, the first of which is in the introduction: "Again there was fighting with the Philistines at Gob" (2 Sam 21:19). The fact that this opening copies exactly the one in the previous episode has caused some scholars to wonder if it is not an unnecessary redundancy due to an editor's interpolation or a copyist's mechanical error. Furthermore, as we have said above, the place name Gob is unknown elsewhere in the Bible or in extra-biblical sources, and even the Chronicler did not mention this place name in either parallel episode.

The best way to deal with the problem, in my mind, is to read here **בגיא** ("in the ravine") instead of **בגוב**. This reconstructed place name appears twice in the main story of David and Goliath. It refers to a narrow section of the Elah brook that is bordered by two hill ridges. On one of the northern hilltops near the western entrance to the ravine, at the modern cite of Khirbet Qeiyafa, the city of Shaʿarayim (**שעריים**) was built either by King Saul, or a decade later by King David.[41] On the southern ridge, on a central hill-

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[40] See A. M. Honeyman, "The Evidence for Regnal Names among the Hebrews," *JBL* LXVII (1948), 13–25.

[41] See Y. Garfinkel and S. Ganor, "Khirbet Qeiyafa: Shaʿarayim," *JHS* 8 (2008), article 22. For a different identification, cf. G. Galil, "King David's First Decade as King of Jerusalem and his Relation with the Philistines in Light of the Qeiyafa (=Netaʿim) Excavation and Inscription," E. Baruch, A. Levy-Reifer and A. Faust (eds.), *New Studies on Jerusalem,* vol. 16 (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan, 2010), 21–71 (Heb.; Eng. Sum p. 22*; a full Eng. article is forthcoming). I prefer the former identification that fits better

top, the city of Socoh (שוכה) was located. The ravine (גיא) separated both armies: The Israelite troops were deployed on the northern ridge and the Philistines on the southern one (1 Sam 17:3). From the Elah brook in this ravine, David (Elhanan) chose five smooth, round stones and advanced toward Goliath (v. 40). The encounter between the two combatants took place in this ravine (גיא), and from here the Israelites began chasing the retreating Philistines, slaying them along the Shaʿarayim road (v. 52), which refers to the road leading from the city of Shaʿarayim (Khirbet Qeiyafa) to Gath (or vice versa), along the Elah brook.[42]

Moreover, the name of Elhanan's father in Samuel's version is יערי אֹרגים, which is regarded by many commentators as corrupt. First, *orgim* is a redundancy (dittography) from the same word mentioned as a simile for Goliath's heavy spear at the end of the same verse. Secondly, the first component of the construct *yʿaray* means "wood" (plural) which does not make sense as a personal name. Hence, I tend to accept the suggestion that the latter component is a corruption from ישי "Jesse", the name of David's father.[43] The hero of the third episode is, therefore, none other than Elhanan-David, Jesse's youngest son. Noteworthy is the father's local definition, בית הלחמי "the Beth-lehemite", a kind of possessive definition to this city which is attached elsewhere in the Bible only to Jesse (cf. 16:1, 18; 17:58); other personalities who came from the same locality are mentioned just as coming from Beth-lehem, without a possessive suffix (cf., e.g., Jud 12:8; 17:7–9; 2 Sam 23:24). This distinction supports the reconstruction of the hero's father as Jesse the Beth-lehemite.

Furthermore, the final summary of this literary unit is valid only if we identify Elhanan with David: "These four were descended from the Raphah in Gath, and they fell by the hands of David and his men" (2 Sam 21:22). According to the four episodes, the giants' killers were Abishai, Sibechai, Elhanan and Jonathan; in his summary, however, the narrator says explicitly that the four giants fell to the hands of *David* and his underlings. If we do not maintain the identification of Elhanan with David, the narrator cannot attribute to David a part in these exploits. One cannot argue that these exploits are also attributed to the king, like other comprehensive triumphs that are eventually attributed to the king (cf. 2 Sam 12:24–31), since the literary unit under discussion deals with personal exploits, each of which is attributed to an individual

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the text of 1 Sam 17.

[42] For more details on this battle, see M. Garsiel, "The Valley of Elah Battle and the Duel of David with Goliath," 391–426. When I completed the article, I was still unaware of the excavations at Khirbet Qeiyafa, the results of which support my suggested analysis.

[43] So Honeyman, "The Evidence for Regnal Names among the Hebrews," 23–25.

known by his name. There is no escaping the conclusion that Elhanan is David's previous name before he became king. Moreover, as we have explained earlier, the second author made a point of telling us that after David became king, he was no longer fit to take part in actual fighting, so the Israelites vowed to ban his participation. Yet, as a young boy, he excelled in killing Goliath. As we said before, the latent comparison between the two episodes undermines the Israelites' claim for a king who would lead the people to war, which serves well the second author's anti-monarchial outlook.

FOURTH EPISODE (1 CHR 20: 6–8 AND 2 SAM 21:20–22)

The fourth episode in Samuel and the third in Chronicles have only minor differences:

2 Sam 21:20–22	1 Chr 20:6–8
וַתְּהִי-עוֹד מִלְחָמָה בְּגַת	וַתְּהִי-עוֹד מִלְחָמָה בְּגַת
וַיְהִי אִישׁ מָדוֹן (ק')	וַיְהִי אִישׁ מִדָּה
וְאֶצְבְּעֹת יָדָיו- וְאֶצְבְּעוֹת רַגְלָיו	וְאֶצְבְּעֹתָיו
שֵׁשׁ וָשֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבַּע מִסְפָּר	שֵׁשׁ-וָשֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרִים וְאַרְבַּע
וְגַם-הוּא יֻלַּד לְהָרָפָה:	וְגַם-הוּא נוֹלַד לְהָרָפָא:
וַיְחָרֵף אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל	וַיְחָרֵף אֶת-יִשְׂרָאֵל
וַיַּכֵּהוּ יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן- שִׁמְעָא (ק') אֲחִי דָוִד:	וַיַּכֵּהוּ יְהוֹנָתָן בֶּן-שִׁמְעָא אֲחִי דָוִיד:
אֶת-אַרְבַּעַת אֵלֶּה יֻלְּדוּ לְהָרָפָה בְּגַת	אֵל נוּלְדוּ לְהָרָפָא בְּגַת
וַיִּפְּלוּ בְיַד-דָּוִד וּבְיַד עֲבָדָיו:	וַיִּפְּלוּ בְיַד-דָּוִיד וּבְיַד-עֲבָדָיו:

2 Sam 21:20–22:

> Once again there was fighting at Gath. There was a giant of a man, who had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot, twenty-four in all; he too was descended from the Raphah. When he taunted Israel, Jonathan, the son of David's brother Shimei, killed him. These four were descended from the Raphah in Gath, and they fell by the hands of David and his men.

1 Chr 20:6–8

> Once again there was fighting at Gath. There was a giant of a man who had twenty four fingers [and toes], six [on each hand] and six [on each foot]; he, too, was descended from the Raphah. When he taunted Israel, Jonathan, son of David's brother Shimea, killed him. These were descended from the Raphah in Gath, and they fell by the hands of David and his men.

This fourth episode in Samuel and third in Chronicles is the only one in which the battle theatre's name is identical in the parallel sources: Gath, the hometown of the giants. There are, however, some small, insignificant differences which are tangential to our topic, so we will move to the concluding formula. The author of

Samuel points to the total score of four personal victories, while the Chronicler omits the number, probably because he omitted the first episode and did not see any point in changing the reduced total to three. He even kept Samuel's version in which the giants fell into David and his warriors' hands, even though none of the episodes in Chronicles' text is related to David's personal exploits, since the author of Chronicles did not adopt the identification of Elhanan with David. Yet the Chronicler probably had in mind the original story of David and Goliath (he introduces Lahmi as *Goliath's* brother), so he latently preserves David's share in the concluding formula.

Besides the textual differences in the parallel sources, it is worthy to evaluate them in their various general contexts. The second author of the book of Samuel put together the four warrior episodes and dovetailed them in the epilogue sections. At first sight, it looks like a small catalogue roster of four encounters between David and his warriors and four Philistine giants that resulted in Israelite victories. The encounters took place in various locations (western Negeb, Gezer, the ravine of Elah, and Gath) and at different times ranging from the time of Saul's battle against the Philistines at the ravine of Elah to King David's attack on the Philistine's royal city of Gath. However, a thorough analysis of this section in the context of the whole book of Samuel reveals that the second author added this section in order to challenge the first author's thesis concerning the necessity of a king who would lead the troops in war. Young Elhanan (later to be known as David) indeed slew Goliath, but he did it when he was very young and not yet a king. Much later, however, when he became king and the nickname David became his royal name, he was almost killed in another encounter with a Philistine giant, so the troops vowed to ban him from joining them in future wars.

Furthermore, it becomes evident that even other heroes can match David's successes in killing Goliath. This was well demonstrated by the three warriors who killed the other three giants who shared with Goliath membership in the guild of Rephaim's descendants. The most important reason for establishing a kingship in Israel, namely, that the king would lead his people in war, is obsolete. Moreover, Samuel's second author grants Abishai an honorable mention for saving his king's life, a comment directed against the first author's tendency not to miss any opportunity to denounce the sons of Zeruiah.

These changes in text and context in Chronicles seem to be moving in different directions. The story about David's near death and the troops' vow to ban the king from joining them in war was omitted. The Chronicler does not share the second author of Samuel's negative opinion on the necessity of the king's presence in war. On the contrary, prior to the three episodes on the encounters with the Philistines, the Chronicler depicts King David as taking personal, leading roles in important wars (1 Chr 18:1–6; 19:16–18),

but staying in Jerusalem for others (18:12; 19:8–15). Like the first author of Samuel, the Chronicler views David as a king who takes part in some important wars, but sends the sons of Zeruiah to launch other wars, while remaining in Jerusalem whenever he regards the operations as less important. But unlike the first author of King David's history, the Chronicler favors the sons of Zeruiah and sees in Joab and Abishai loyal commanders who helped David win wars.

Unlike the second author of Samuel who added to the earlier version the epilogue's sections and composed the warriors' anecdotes in a non-chronological order, the Chronicler positioned the three episodes as a conclusion to all of King David's wars. Even so, as I have analyzed elsewhere, all the Philistine wars antedated the wars against the eastern and northern enemies.[44] This might be another reason why the Chronicler did not want to mention explicitly the David and Goliath story, since it happened long before David's kingship, so he placed these events as David's concluding wars.

As we said before, the Chronicler does not regard the encounters just as personal achievements of courageous warriors, but as exploits that overpowered the Philistines' deployment, which caused them to yield. This change was made by adding in his opening episode just one word referring to the outcome of the general war: **ויכנעו** "and they [the Philistines] were subdued" (1 Chr 20:4). This change, combined with the section's context at the end of all of David's wars, bestow the warfare against the Philistines an importance that is way beyond just personal encounters between heroes.[45] Yet the Chronicler probably preferred a literary structure based on a parallel between opening and conclusion (*inclusio*) rather than an accurate, historical chronology of David's wars. He opens David's war cycle with a general statement about David's smiting the Philistines, subduing them and capturing Gath (18:1). He concludes with the last episode of killing the third of the Rephaim giants, which took place at Gath, concluding that all these Rephaim giants born at Gath fell into the hands of David and his warriors (20:6–8).

DAVID'S ELITE COMPANY AS LISTED IN THE PARALLEL SOURCES

Another section in the epilogue of the book of Samuel deals with the elite unit entitled "David's heroes" (2 Sam 23:8–39) and its modified parallel was interwoven in the main part of Chronicles' description of David's enthronement and the comprehensive sup-

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[44] See Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David*, 65–71; Idem, *The Rise of the Monarchy in Israel*, vol. 3, 170–193.

[45] Cf. Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; London: SCM, 1993), 366, 368.

port he got from all ranks of warriors (1 Chr 11:10–12:41). We shall now discuss the first section in the parallel sources that deals with the unit's commanders. The following table presents interesting variations between the parallel sources:

2 Sam 23:8–23		1 Chr 11:11–25	
Commander's name	**His rank**	**Commander's name**	**His rank**
1. Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite	A chief of thirty	1. Jashobeam son of Hachmoni	A chief of thirty
2. Adino the Eznite	- - - - -	2. - - - - -	- - - - -
3. Eleazar son of Dodo son of Ahohi	He was one of the three warriors	3. Eleazar son of Dodo, the Ahohite	He was one of the three warriors
4. Shammah son of Age	- - - - -	4. - - - - -	- - - - -
5. Abishai, the brother of Joab, son of Zeruiah	He was head of the three. He won a name among the three. Since he was the most highly regarded among the three, he became their leader. However, he did not attain to the three.	5. Abshai the brother of Joab,	He was head of the three. He won a name among the three. Among the three, he was more highly regarded than the other two, and so he became their commander. However, he did not attain to the other three.
6. Benaiah son of Jehoiada	He had a name among the three warriors. He was highly regarded above the thirty, but did not attain the three.	6. Benaiah son of Jehoiada	He won a name among the three warriors. He was highly regarded above the thirty, but he did not attain the three.

A close study of the parallel sources raises significant questions:

A. The section about the elite warriors in Samuel consists of a roster (including rank definition and exploit anecdotes) of six commanders (three plus three) followed by a somewhat monotonous list of thirty underling warriors. Yet when adding the six with the thirty, the second author

of Samuel gives the figure of *thirty-seven* as its total. Who, then, is the warrior who is missing in both the roster and the list, but included in the total?

B. Before both the roster of commanders and the list of privates, Chronicles adds the story of Jerusalem's conquest by Joab (1 Chr 11:5–6). Is there any deliberate connection in this book between the list of heroes and Joab son of Zeruiah who answered David's challenge, conquered Jerusalem and helped David build it?

C. In Samuel, four out of the six in the commander's roster were described by rank definitions; Adino (no. 2) and Shamma (no. 4) are the exceptions, being described only with a short story about their exploits without any rank definitions. If they are included in the commander's roster, why does the author not mention their rank as he does with their four colleagues?

D. It looks as if both above mentioned commanders, Adino and Shammah, were omitted from the Chronicles' roster of commanders, which leaves that roster with only four commanders instead of the six in Samuel. Why were those two commanders omitted in the roster of Chronicles?

E. What exactly are the various rank definitions that are attributed to the four commanders in Samuel's roster of six and, in particular, what does it mean, in both parallel sources, that Abishai and Benaiah are described as included in "the three" yet did not attain "the other three?" Who, then, are "the three" among whom Abishai and Benaiah are included, and who are "the other three" among whom both heroes were excluded?

F. Why did the Chronicler add, after the two lists of heroes, another list of trans-Jordanian heroes led by a commander named Adina son of Shiza the Reubenite. He then added: "a chief of the Reubenite, and *thirty* with him." There follows subsequently a partial list of heroes (1 Chr 11:42–47). What does this addition contribute to the Chronicler's theme?

G. What is the Chronicler's point in adding, after the Reubenite's list, a collection of more various lists of warriors who joined David?

We intend to address the above issues and, at the same time, try to understand the distinctive structures in the parallel sources and the different tendencies that motivate differences in both books' presentations of the above issues.

We will begin by addressing the first two issues (A and B). It seems to me that, in the ancient archive used by both biblical authors, Joab appeared as a commander who served in David's early years of reign in both functions: as a top commander of the elite

company known as "King David's heroes" as well as a commander-in-chief of David's small army. The ancient source probably described the elite unit's echelon, and Joab appeared at the top of that unit. The story of how King David was anxious to capture Jerusalem in the second year of his reign in Hebron probably appeared in this source near the description of Joab's high rank.[46] The king motivated his warriors with a challenge that the warrior who could accomplish it would be promoted to chief (ראש) of his elite heroes as well as chief/minister (שר) of his small army. Joab did it, and attained both command positions for several years. The Chronicler adopted the episode and inserted it in a better context (1 Chr 11:4–8). Being the top commander of the heroes' company, Joab deserved to be positioned in front of the roster and the list enumerating David's heroes, their commanders and their exploits. Unfortunately, the first author of the earlier version of the book of Samuel had already used the Jerusalem conquest episode elsewhere, and he deliberately omitted Joab's special contribution to this operation (2 Sam 5:6–9). Being one of the Prophet Nathan's disciples, the moralist first author loathed Joab for being responsible for Uriah's death in "obedience" to David's orders in the Ammonite war. He also was critical of Joab for murdering his adversaries, Abner and Amasa, and for supporting Adonijah in his rivalry with Solomon on the issue of King David's throne accession. As we said earlier, this author criticizes the sons of Zeruiah for their violent activities, and diminishes their glory wherever and whenever he could get away with it.

But the second author, who later provided the book of Samuel with additional material (including most of the epilogue), was torn between caution and fear of Solomon, on the one hand, and his desire to restore the sons of Zeruiah's glory, on the other hand. In the case of Joab, Samuel's second author made a cautious compromise. He did not describe Joab explicitly as the chief commander of the elite company. He implicitly referred to him indirectly on

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[46] There are good reasons to date Jerusalem's conquest to David's second year in Hebron, see B. Mazar, *Biblical Israel: State and People* (Jerusalem: Magness & Israel Exploration Society, 1992), 78–87; Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David*, 15–16; Idem, *The Rise of the Monarchy in* Israel, vol. 3, 29–30; H. Reviv, *From Clan to Monarchy: Israel in the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Magness, 1979), 123–124. However, Knoppers argued against Mazar's early date citing Sara Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*, 234): "Jerusalem could not have been conquered and built during the very event of the enthronement" (Knoppers, *I Chronicles 10–29*, 545). But Japhet's remark was not directed against Mazar's historical reconstruction. She only dismissed the possibility of applying this chronological reconstruction to the text of Chronicles. In any event, in both biblical parallel sources, both the conquest of Jerusalem and its building was depicted in a non-chronological order but was motivated by different sequence considerations that cannot be elaborated on here.

three occasions: when his two brothers are mentioned as *Joab's* brothers (2 Sam 23:18, 24) and later when he identified two heroes as *Joab's* arms bearers (v. 27). These references imply that Joab was the unit's chief commander at an earlier stage. I assume that he is the one who completes the total in the epilogue's roster and list to 37 (which settles question A from above).

Devoid of both his predecessors' inhibitions and hesitations, the Chronicler discloses Joab's contribution in the conquest of Jerusalem and its building and how he attained his status as chief commander (**ראש**) of the elite unit as well as his rank as a minister of the army (1 Chr 11:4–8). Subsequently, the Chronicler presents his elaborate version of the unit, its commanders and their exploits and the list of its other warriors (vv. 10–41). We shall return to the Chronicler's special approach below. (Question B is now settled.)

We move now to Adino and Sammah, whose ranks are missing in Samuel and even whose names are missing in Chronicles (questions C and D above). It seems to me that neither commander was in control of the initial platoon, i.e., the founders' platoon of heroes that was established probably as early as David's period of wandering or in his time at Ziklag. In these periods, most of the elite platoon's warriors were members of the southern tribes of Judah, Simeon and Dan.[47] Yeshbaal, whose name was modified to Jashobeam (son of Hachmoni) in Chronicles, and to Josheb-basshebeth, a Tahchemonite, in Samuel served as the first platoon's top commander of the "thirty."[48] That last name is probably a very late midrashic name derivation that was based on the verb **ישב** "sit" and the adjective **חכם** "sage" and was inserted by a late copyist.

The second author of Samuel wanted to devote a memorial list for the founders' platoon by mentioning its top commander Jashobeam, its lower officers and their hierarchy—Abishai, Eleazar and Benaiah—respectively. He attached anecdotes of the exploits of the four commanders. Subsequently, he added a monotonous list of thirty underling heroes. The original platoon's structure is now reconstructed, as is demonstrated by the following table.

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[47] See Myers, *I Chronicles*, 90.

[48] We read in the parallel texts: **ראש השלשים** "the head of thirty" (pace N. Na'aman, "The List of David's Officers (*šališim*)," *VT* 38 (1988), 71–79, who reads *šališim*).

Heroes' Names	Their Military Status
The Platoon Commanders	
1. Jashobeam	A top commander of the founders' platoon
2. Abishai	Head of the "three" lower officers (equivalent to modern sergeant-major) of the first platoon
3. Eleazar	The second in command of the "three" lower officers
4. Benaiah	The last in command of the "three" lower officers
The Platoon Underlings	
A list of "thirty" heroes	Regular warriors (privates)

After reconstructing the initial platoon, its top commander, its three lower officers as well as its privates, we remain with the same above questions: Who are Adino and Shammah? Why were they also inserted in the epilogue's roster within a text dedicated to commanders?

As for Adino (2 Sam 23:8), I have suggested identifying him with Adina son of Shiza the Reubenite. The latter is described in Chronicles as "a chief of the Reubenites and *thirty* with him" (1 Chr 11:42). The warrior's name list in the latter text was recognized as based upon trans-Jordanian warriors.[49] It seems to me that Adino/Adina was a top commander of a platoon of thirty trans-Jordanian elite warriors plus its lower officers and, in fact, his rank is equivalent to Jashobeam, the top commander of the first platoon. While the first platoon was made up mainly of the tribe of Judah, neighboring tribes, and other refugees who joined David in his wandering period, at a later stage David added to it another platoon under the command of Adino. This second platoon consisted mainly of trans-Jordanian warriors.

The above reconstruction leads us to another probability, that the second commander, Shammah son of Age (אגא), was also a top commander of a third platoon that was added at a later stage to David's elite unit. We shall now explore this hypothesis. The name Shammah (שמה) is an abbreviation of various theophoric names that contain the verb שמע plus a deity's name as suffix, which means that the "deity would heed" the request of the parents or the wish that he would protect the infant. The full name construction would be, therefore, Ishmaiah (ישמעיה), or the like.[50]

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[49] Cf. S. Klein, "The Heroes of King David," *Yediot* 7 (1940), 103–104, 106 [Heb.]; B. Mazar, *The Early Biblical Period: Historical Studies* (Jerusalem: Israel exploration Society, 1986), 101–102; S. L. McKenzie, *1–2 Chronicles* (AOTC; Nashville: Abington Press, 2004), 127.

[50] See M. Noth, *Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung* (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1928), 39, 138, 185; *Encyclo-*

Consequently, it seems plausible to identify the above Shammah (שמה בן אגא) of the *hill* region (ההררי) with Ishmaiah of Gibeon (whose place name indicates a *hilly* site—identified with the modern village of el-Gib) who is mentioned in 1 Chronicles 12:4 as: "a warrior among the thirty, *leading the thirty*." The latter is mentioned in this text among other warriors as "kinsmen of Saul from Benjamin" who joined David's camp when he was still deployed at Ziklag (ibid., vv. 1–4).[51] Hence, Sammah/Ishmaiah served as a top commander of the third platoon that joined the elite unit and most of whose warriors were Benjaminites. This enlarged unit became at this stage a company under the commander-in-chief, Joab. The latter, as we have said, is the missing name of the 37 total warriors in Samuel's roster and list.

If our analysis is correct, Samuel's roster of six commanders contains *three* top platoon commanders: Jashobeam, Adino and Shammah/Ishmaiah, as well as *three* lower officers of the first founders' platoon: Abishai, Eleazar and Benaiah. The partial reconstruction of the whole company based on information supplied by both biblical sources is demonstrated in the following table.

The chief commander of the warriors' company		Joab son of Zeruiah	
	The first platoon (the founders)	**The trans-Jordanian's platoon**	**The Benjaminites' platoon**
The "three:" platoons' top commanders	Jashobeam	Adino/Adina	Shammah/Ishmaiah
The "three:" the first platoon's lower officers	1. Abishai, head of the "three" 2. Eleazar, second in command 3. Benaiah, last in command		
The "thirty:" regular platoons' warriors (privates).	Detailed lists in 2 Sam 23:24–39; and 1 Chr 11:27–41.	A partial list in 1 Chr 11:42–47.	A small list fragment in 1 Chr 11:2–4.

paedia Biblica, vol. 8, entries שמא, שמה, 69–70. For a further discussion of this name and other information on the later promotions of this commander, see Garsiel, *The Rise of the Monarchy in Israel*, vol. 3, 143–144.

[51] For further discussion of the identification of Shammah with Ishmaiah, see Garsiel, *The Kingdom of David*, 31–34.

We can move now to the various texts at issue in Samuel and Chronicles, solve the rest of the problems presented above, and disclose the various approaches and purposes of the biblical sources toward the heroes and their exploits. As stated above, the second author of the book of Samuel wanted to lessen somewhat the glory of the king as the greatest hero and military leader who takes significant part in actual fighting. This author, who opposes the kingship in general, did it subtly again by adding his memorial roster and list of the commanders and members of David's elite unit, and by telling anecdotes of their extraordinary exploits. He even combined this with the previous one about David and his heroes who killed four Philistine giants. In both sections, it becomes clear that David's feat in killing Goliath was not a unique and unimaginable act of heroism, as presented by the first author in his earlier composition. Several other warriors—as the second author in both warrior sections subtly reminds us—matched David's success in killing giants like Goliath; three of the warriors killed the Rephaim giants, a guild which also includes Goliath. Moreover, whereas the earlier author recounts how young David and his men killed 200 Philistines and cut their male organs (1 Sam 18:25-28), the second author points out that several of David's warriors outmatched the former and killed alone a lot more of their enemies; one of these warriors was no other than the hated (by the earlier author) Abishai son of Zeruiah (2 Sam 23:18). The second author was trying to diminish David's glory by shifting the focus to the heroic actions of the commanders and a few other warriors—all of whom share the glory of David's victories. Some of them even fell in war; the second author mentions Uriah the Hittite in the closing list (2 Sam 23:39), which serves also as a reminder of David's sins.

The second author cautiously picked up the information about the first two stages of the development of the elite unit from available, ancient archives. He wanted to focus on the first stage, namely, on the first platoon of the founders, elaborating on its top commander Jashobeam and his three lower officers, Abishai, Eleazar and Benaiah (in this hierarchic order). This second author, however, also wanted to briefly remind the audience of the second stage, when two other platoons joined the unit and it became a company. Instead of elaborating on the second stage, the author presented it with its two top platoon commanders, Adino and Shammah, whom he added to the roster of commanders of the first platoon. At this point, this roster included three top platoon commanders, who were granted the title of being within "the three" of the higher level platoon's top commanders. However, in order not to disturb the first platoon's echelon, only Jashobeam was described in the text as "the head of thirty." His two colleagues, in command of the other later platoons, were not described explicitly by their ranks as heads of thirty, but the narrator implicitly counted them within the upper "three." This is how we suggest solving question C above.

When the second author mentioned the lower officers in a hierarchic order, he was careful not to confuse the "three" of them with the "three" top commanders. Hence, he cautiously described Abishai's rank as the leader of the "three" officers by adding the the sentence, "However, he did not attain to the three" (namely, the "three" top platoon commanders). As for Benaiah, the author wanted to place him above the regular warriors while in the status of the lower officers. However, once the commander was elevated above the "thirty" regulars, the author added again the same cautious remark that this officer was indeed above the "thirty" and within the lower "three." Yet that does not mean that he attained the upper "three" status of a platoon's top commander. This explanation helps us to solve question E above.

The memorial section of the elite platoon as well as its commanders' exploits, including the two top commanders of the two additional platoons, serves the second author of Samuel by diminishing David's glory as an unmatched, Israelite super-hero. Both of the epilogue's sections dealing with David's warriors tell us that other warriors excelled in the fighting as well; they fought against well-equipped giants or against hundreds of foes or penetrated the enemy's deployment all the way from the besieged fortress of Jerusalem to occupied Bethlehem to bring intelligence information to their king as well as water from the cistern at Bethlehem's gate.[52] Furthermore, it is evident that both of the epilogue's sections restore respect for Abishai explicitly and Joab implicitly. Abishai saved his king's life, and he served as the commander in the exploit of the three who brought "water" to his king. In another incident, he killed hundreds of enemies. In disclosing these details, the second author diminishes the hostility toward the sons of Zeruiah who were so criticized by the first author in his earlier version of David's story and the history of his kingdom.

The Chronicler, on the other hand, drew significantly from the second version of Samuel and probably used ancient sources as well. Yet the changes in the texts and in the context of the warriors' lists and rosters drive these parallel sections in different directions in terms of meaning and message. The Chronicler puts the kingdom and kingship of David and Solomon in the center of Israel's history. He does this to such an extent that, even though he opens his book with the first human being, Adam, he tells very little or even nothing about the history of Israel in the times of the patriarchs, Moses and the exodus, Joshua and the conquest of Canaan, the judges and the settlement or Saul and his kingship. It looks almost as if the main history of Israel began with David and Solomon, to whom the Chronicler devotes the major part of his

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[52] See M. Garsiel, "The Water Retrieval Mission of David's Three Warriors and its Relationship to the Battle of the Valley of Refaim," 51–62.

book. Moreover, he confines his interest in the northern kingdom to certain joint operations in which both kingdoms cooperated or fought against each other.

I have elsewhere addressed several main issues in Chronicles' literary structure and contents. Following M. Noth's views, I concluded that the book served as a subtle polemic against the Samaritans who dissented from the Separatist returnees who followed Ezra and Nehemiah's preaching and actions. The latter bitterly fought against the so-called "people of the land" (עמי הארץ). The Separatists continued the campaign against the people of the land, also dubbed "the Samaritans." The schism eventually brought about a Samaritan counter-building of a temple on Mount Gerizim, which served them as a replacement for the Jerusalemite second temple, attendance and worship in which was denied them. The Samaritans also claimed that they were continuing the traditions of the earlier northern kingdom, and that even the patriarchs had built altars there. The Chronicler, on his part, tried his best to contribute to the bitter theological debate against the Samaritans by making revisions of the history of Israel, in which the Jerusalemite temple became the center of Israelite life. Its builders, furthermore, David and Solomon, became the most prominent figures in the history of Israel.[53]

The Chronicler's motivation in writing his book has a bearing on this topic as well. As stated before, three out of four anecdotes in Samuel's epilogue about David and his warriors killing Philistine giants turned into three major wars against the Philistines. Samuel's first episode about Abishai saving David's life was omitted. But the main point is the Chronicles' context. Whereas these wars were recounted in Samuel as personal encounters intended to glorify the heroes and diminish the king's image as a military leader, in Chronicles the encounters became a finale to David's comprehensive wars against the Philistines and other nations. Furthermore, all of David's wars became instrumental to the building of the Jerusalemite temple, as was subtly stated by the Chronicler:

> David took the gold shields carried by Hadadezer's retinue and brought them to Jerusalem; and from Tibbnath and Cun, towns of Hadadezer, *David took a vast amount of copper, from which Solomon made the bronze tank, the columns and the bronze vessels.* When King Tou of Hamath heard that David had defeated the entire army of King Hadadezer of Zobah, he sent his son Hadoram to King David to greet him and to congratulate him on

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[53] For a comprehensive survey of this approach, see my article: M. Garsiel, "The Structure and Contents of Chronicles as a Veiled Polemic against the Samaritans," J. Schwartz et al. (eds.), *Jerusalem and Eeretz Israel: Arie Kindler Volume* (Ramat Gan & Tel Aviv: The Ingeborg Rennert Center for Jerusalem Studies, Bar-Ilan University & Eretz Israel Museum, 2000), English section, 42–60.

> his military victory over Hadadezer–for Hadadezer had been at war with Tou *[he brought with him] all manner of gold, silver, and copper objects. King David dedicated these to the Lord, along with the other silver and gold that he had taken from all the nations: from Edom, Moab, and Ammon, from the Philistines* and the Amaleqites. (1 Chr 18:7–11).

Hence, the wars against the Philistines, as well as against other nations, served indirectly for the building of the temple and its implements. King David and King Solomon used the booty of war and other gifts in building the central temple in Jerusalem and furnishing it.

Similarly, the second version of Samuel's list of the elite warrior unit that was intended to glorify the heroes and restore honor to the very much criticized (by the first author) sons of Zeruiah became in Chronicles a part of a comprehensive demonstration of support for David. The Chronicler omits Samuel's detailed stories about the conflict between Saul and David and between the house of David and the house of Saul. Only a few hints remain of these periods. The Chronicler describes David as achieving the kingship with a vast approval of all the tribes of Israel. Being the king who conquered and built Jerusalem, made it his capital, brought the Ark of the Covenant there and initiated the building of the temple, the Chronicler preferred to describe David as having gained the approval of all of Israel in his kingship, instead of as a controversial king who fought his way to the throne, as recounted in Samuel.

In line with this revisionary history of David, the Chronicler used King David's warriors to describe the wide support of the military for David's kingship. Within this framework, the Chronicler tried reconstructing the second phase of the elite unit. Unlike Samuel's second author, who used the unit in its initial stage to glorify the heroes as well as the sons of Zeruiah (with only a hint of its second stage), the Chronicler tried to reconstruct its second stage by naming Adina (=Adino) the Reubenite, who served as the second platoon's top commander of the trans-Jordanian elite platoon. He could not, however, reconstruct the whole unit, so he sufficed with only a partial list of fifteen warriors. He also mentioned the Benjaminite's third Platoon Commander, Ishmaiah, among the Benjaminites who joined David. But due to his lack of available sources, he could not reconstruct the third platoon. In any event, the whole description of the many warriors who joined David served in Chronicles to clear David from any suspicion that his kingship was attained by controversial means. The Chronicler needed both David and Solomon to be regarded with the utmost integrity in the history of Israel, inasmuch as they were connected to the building of the temple in Jerusalem, which served the Chronicler's polemical argument against the Samaritans who built another temple on Mount Gerizim to replace the Jerusalemite one.