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## THE GENEALOGY OF BENJAMIN: A CRITICISM OF 1 CHRONICLES VIII.

In the article "Benjamin" in the Encyclopaedia Biblica soon to appear, the present writer argues that traces of systematic structure in parts of the list occupying I Chron. viii suggest that perhaps at one time the whole chapter was far less incoherent than it now seems. A few simple emendations possessing inherent probability go so far towards introducing order and meaning that the case for other emendations, not in themselves so obvious, gains in plausibility, and the conviction is borne in upon one that a determined effort must be made to remove the textual corruption by which the passage is obscured. It is proposed here to state as briefly as possible the main grounds of this contention<sup>1</sup>. If some of the details are necessarily of a kind that may seem tedious, there are also points of considerable interest; and if the general result should be to any extent admitted, the inferences that must eventually be drawn are not unimportant.

Several considerations combine to prove that the text of the long list of Benjamite names in I Chron. viii is corrupt. We shall begin with one of the most obvious points.

- 1. Elpaal and his brothers (vv. 11 b-27).—Ver. 12 a, with its three sons of Elpaal, disturbs the scheme of the genealogy as at present arranged, for, as we shall see, Elpaal's
- <sup>1</sup> For the sake of brevity, constant reference to the hypothetical nature of the conclusions proposed is avoided. The reader will easily supply the necessary qualifications. Technical details will be omitted as much as possible; but the nature of the argument determines the method of treatment.

sons follow naturally in ver. 17 f. along with the sons of his brothers. The names of the b'ne Elpaal in ver. 12 a and in ver. 17 f. are not in English very similar:—

ver. 12 Eber and Misham

ver. 17 Zebadiah and Meshullam [and Hizki and Heber]

- " 12 and Shemed,
- " 17 and Ishmerai,

but in Hebrew the resemblance is so striking that it can hardly be accidental:—

עבר ומשעם ver. 12 עבר ומשעם ver. 12 זבריה ומשלם [וחזקי וחבר] וישמרי

The most natural explanation of the disorder and the resemblance would be to regard ver. 12 a as a duplicate of ver. 17 f. The probability of this being the case is raised to practical certainty by the fact that we can show (as we shall do presently) how ver. 12 a came to be repeated, and even why it was inserted precisely after ver. 11. Finally, any excuse for lingering hesitancy is removed when we find how symmetrical the whole passage becomes on the simple omission of ver. 12. All that is necessary is to read "Ahio" in ver. 14 as "his brethren" (אָהָיוֹ as אָהִיוֹ), or to correct it to "their brethren"—that אחין is not, as even If supposed, a proper name is shown by the fact that it is not afterwards resumed in the way that, as we shall see. the names on each side of it are resumed—and we have in vv. 11-27 first an account of the five (six) "sons" of Hushim, and then a list of their descendants. For the "sons" Elpaal (ver. 11), Beriah, Shema (ver. 13), Shashak, and Jeremoth (ver. 14), are obviously the same as the "fathers" Elpaal (ver. 18), Beriah (ver. 16), Shimei (ver. 21), Shashak (ver. 25), and Jeroham (ver. 27). It may indeed be objected that in ver. 11 Elpaal precedes Beriah (ver. 13), whilst in ver. 18 he follows Beriah (ver. 16), and it might be supposed that this is an indication that ver. 11 is the original and ver. 17 f. the duplicate. But this change of order really points us to the explanation of the whole confusion. Some scribe, after copying the list of five "sons"

(vv. 12-14), began the list of their descendants; but after he had written "Zebadiah," the name of the first son of Elpaal, his eye passed to Zebadiah the first son of Beriah. The sons of Elpaal were thus entirely omitted. They were therefore written on the margin. Subsequently they were restored to the text, but (by mistake) before instead of after Beriah. The writer of another copy, however, inserted them independently into his copy, and was, somewhat naturally, misled into placing them immediately after the mention of Elpaal in ver. 11. Our present text is a conflation of the two attempts to remedy the blunder.

It is thus plain that the text has suffered in transmission. It also appears that some of the corruptions can by care be removed. All is now clear from ver. 11 to ver. 27.

Working our way backwards from ver. 11, we ask who this venerable Hushim is whose posterity is enumerated in verses 11-27.

2. Who was Hushim (vv. 8 b-11 a)?—From verses 8 b, 9 a it is commonly inferred that Hushim was one of two earlier wives of Shaharaim. The passage as it stands, however, cannot be construed. It is unsafe, therefore, to draw any such inference. ⑤<sup>BA</sup> reads not "wives," but "wife," thus confining the reference to Baara (better Beriah? 1). Perhaps we have a clue to the original reading in the ι prefixed to Baara in ⑤<sup>B</sup> (ιβααλα for κυγμ), which may represent a ' (or ')—the last letter of the preceding word, wrongly connected by the Greek translator with the proper name. The original text was probably "and his wife [was] Baara" (משרו בערא). When the final ו was lost אוא הערו בערא) would easily become "and Baara" (משרו בערא). After this corruption occurred, "his wives" (משרו בערא) at the end was perhaps added to make sense.

The only other hint of Hushim's being a "wife" is the pat the beginning of ver. II if it is regarded as a preposition (E.V. "of"). Some versions, however, make it a part of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> βαδαα, the reading of 🔞 suggests that perhaps we should emend Baara to the better known form Beriah (cp. vers. 13, 16).

- name 1. It is better to attach it to the preceding word: for "fathers. And of Hushim" read "their fathers. And Hushim" (מְאַבוֹת: וֹמְשִׁים: וֹתְשִׁים: וֹתְשִׁים: וֹתְשִׁים: וֹתְשִׁים: וֹתְשִׁים for יַבְּיִּבְּיִם: וֹתְשִׁים for supposing that Hushim was a "wife" of Shaharaim disappears. Was Shaharaim, then, perhaps father? If the words preceding "Hushim" could really be construed as they stand, this would be the most natural explanation; but they cannot. It will be best to begin by asking who Shaharaim himself was.
- 3. Shaharaim (vv. 7b, 8).—His name is, so to speak, thrust in quite unintroduced at the beginning of ver. 8, as subject of what has the form of an explanatory clause. This probably means that either this name or some previous name (probably the immediately preceding name Ahihud), is corrupt, or that both are so. The probability that both are corrupt is strengthened by the fact that neither Ahihud nor Shaharaim occurs anywhere else. Ahishahar, however, occurs-not only in Assyrian records, but also in the Chronicler's earlier Benjamin list (vii. 10). Ahihud and Shaharaim are, therefore, probably independent corruptions of a single Ahishahar.—Hūd (קוד) in Ahīhūd being part of shahar(שחר) dittographed, and aim in Shahar(aim) belonging not to the name but to the following context, being in fact the conjunction "and" (1) misread as a contraction (1) and expanded into aim (ים). The "and" which we thus get would then connect "[he] begat " (read ויולד for חולד ) in ver. 8a with something in the preceding context. For (ver. 7 end) "and Ahihud. (ver. 8) And Shaharaim begat," accordingly, we propose to read simply "and Ahishahar. And he begat." The meaningless expression (ver. 8a β) מָן שָׁלָחוֹ אֹתָם (E.V. "after he had sent them [whom?] away)," following "begat in the country of Moab," must therefore contain somehow the name of the person, son or daughter, born in Moab. Possibly the original was "Mesha2, their sister" (מֵישָׁא אֲחוֹתָם),

<sup>1 &</sup>amp; μεωσειμ; Pesh. Mahšim; Vulg. Mehusim.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> For Mesha, cp. ver.9†, and De Voguë, Syrie Centrale, p. 39, inscription 33a, line 3, where, moreover, Mesha is feminine—not, as in verse 9, masculine.

or some equivalent. Verse 8a thus becomes a parenthesis ("and he begat in the field of Moab Mesha their sister")—if, that is, with  $\mathfrak{G}^{L}$ , we insert "and" before Hushim in verse 8b and read thus: (ver. 7b) "begat Uzza and Ahishahar, (ver. 8) [and he begat, in the field of Moab, Mesha their sister], and Hushim (and his wife was Baara [or Beriah?])." The sons of Hushim follow in verses 11-27—after the interpolation of verses 9 and 10 (supposed sons of Hodesh), which look like a parenthetic passage (to this we shall return later). All is now comparatively clear from verse 7b onwards to verse 27.

4. Verses 6bβ-8a.—We must next work our way back a stage farther. What are we to make of הוא הגלם (E.V. "he removed them" [who removed whom?]) which immediately precedes (in ver. 7 a)? Kautzsch in Die Heilige Schrift gives up the passage as hopeless. Hopeless it is unless it can be emended. But perhaps it can. GBA may furnish a clue when it takes הגלם as a proper name: ιγααμ [B], ιγλααμ [A]. In favour of the word being a proper name is the fact that it is just as meaningless—taken as a verb—when it recurs, this time unrecognized as a name by & a, in verse Taken as a verb—as it is taken by the versions, ancient and modern alike (E.V. "and they removed them") -to whom could it refer? If we take the word as a noun we are reminded of εγλαμ, which in I Chron. vi. 69 [54] B represents Aijalon. Here, however, ιγλααμ more probably points to a form יגלם. Such a name is, no doubt, unknown; but the formation is frequent in names of places. The probability, if it is a proper name, that it began with a is increased by the fact that it so occurs in verse 6b (ויגל וון בול וויגל The next two words in verse 6, "to Manahath" (אֶּל־מְנָחַת), suit the verbal meaning; but they may have been made to fit it. If we adopt the proper-name theory we must assume that they have been changed. Perhaps we could best explain them as a corruption of some other name, possibly the Benjamite place-name Alemeth (see chap. vii. 8)—a corruption resulting from the interpretation of indaam as

a verb (which seemed to need a preposition), assisted perhaps by a conflation of the well-known alternative forms μόν and πόν. The "he" (κηπ) before ιγλααμ in verse 7 a can hardly in any case be right. It might be a miscorrection of an "and" connecting Alemeth (i. e. "to Manahath") with ιγλααμ—an "and" which would naturally become unintelligible when the three names (Naaman, Ahiah, Gera) at the beginning of ver. 7, which seem out of place (to this we shall return), strayed into their present position. It will now become natural to understand the parenthetic ver. 8 a—"and he begat in the field of Moab their sister Mesha"—as predicated of this ιγλααμ.

- 6. Verses 9 and 10.—The next question is, Who is Hodesh? If the answer be, A wife of Ehud, then ver. 9 f. (the consideration of which we have postponed till now) is a parenthesis—perhaps a marginal gloss—for ver. 11 returns, as we have seen, to Hushim. But it is at least possible, and the conjecture is very tempting, that "of Hodesh" (מַנחרש) is a corruption of "Ahishahar" (חַבְּשַׁחַר)—a corruption that would easily lead to the interpolation of "his wife" (אַחַרוֹבב) if that is not mere dittography (the next word is

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Reading therefore ויגלום אל-מנחת for ויגלום אל-מנחת.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Reading therefore ויגלם הוליך for הוליר.

If this suggestion be entertained we should then continue the rendering thus: (ver. 9) "And Ahishahar begat Jobab, &c. (ver. 10 a \beta) and Mirma. [(ver. 10 b) These were his sons, heads of their (see above) fathers' houses], (ver. 11) And Hushim begat," &c., as above, on to ver. 27. We have thus a simple scheme running continuously from ver. 6 to ver. 27, viz. sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons of Ehud.

- 7. Ehud.—Our next inquiry must be, what the compiler has to tell us of this prolific Ehud. Even if we could find no other trace of him in the list, we should not be surprised at the Chronicler's making room for him. Is not Ehud the clan whose real or supposed eponymos delivered Benjamin from the sway of Moab in the days of Eglon? The Chronicler might be expected, however, to find a way of engrafting him more or less organically into his genealogical Nor is it difficult to divine how he would do it. For the eponymos Ehud was a son of Gera, and Gera is prominently mentioned in vv. 1-7. We must see, therefore, whether it is possible in some way to connect Ehud with Gera in the present list, and for this purpose we must endeavour to find our way through the labyrinth of the opening verses of the chapter. It is not, after all, very difficult, for Gera himself supplies us with the clue.
- 8. Opening verses.—Probably the most noticeable peculiarity of the opening verses of the chapter is the recurrence of the group Naaman-Ahiah-Gera. This suggests that the names form a well-defined Gera triplet. In seeking to determine its original position, however, we note another Gera-clause Gera-Abihud-Abishua in vv. 3, 4. This, which we shall find to be parenthetic, and the following Gera-group cannot be regarded as in place; for if we remove them we find that they have been keeping apart "Addar" (ver. 3) and "Shephuphan and Huram" (ver. 5), a group that may plausibly be regarded as equivalent to a pretty clear triplet in P's Benjamin list in Gen. xlvi. 21. That list, when critically examined, is found to consist of three triplets:—

(a) BelaBecherAshbel.(b) GeraNaamanAhiram $^1$ .(c) Shupham $^2$ Hupham $^2$ Ard $^3$ .

Of these (a) may at once be recognized in our ver. 1 a b a: "And Benjamin begat Bela his first-born, Ashbel his second." It is only thinly disguised through the second name, Becher (or Bichri), being misinterpreted as "his first-born"—an error which naturally led to the further obscuring of the original scheme (of triplets) by the interpolation of the numerals (second to fifth)4. (c) is just as clearly to be recognized in ver. 3 ba Addar (= Ard), ver. 5 a B Shephuphan (=Shupham), and ver. 5 b Huram (=Hupham). It is not unnatural, accordingly, to surmise that the three remaining names represent the third triplet (b); and there is, in fact. sufficient resemblance to make this quite plausible. Aharah (ver. 1 b $\beta$ ) is almost certainly a corrupt form, and it would not be easy to find a more likely correction than Ahiram אחרם אחרה), whilst Nohah and Rapha (ver. 2) may, in so corrupt a context, represent Naaman (or, with & Naama) and Gera (נרא=רפא; נעמן=נוחה). We may conjecture that they are the reading of an erroneous copy of a defaced MS.. and that the two other Gera-triplets already detached as out of place (viz. vv.  $4a\beta$ —5 aa, and 7 aa respectively) represent a marginal reading, from a better copy, which has crept into the text at two wrong places. If this restoration can be accepted, we arrive at the remarkable result that vv. 1-5 contain nothing but P's three triplets (a), (b), and (c), and the parenthetic clause Gera-Abihud-Abishua (vv. 3, 4). The plausibility of this hypothesis is perhaps strengthened when we compare the Chronicler's list with P's second form of the Benjamite genealogy (Num. xxvi. 38-40)—if, that is to say, this list, which is certainly closely related to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Or Ahijah.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Vocalization doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> Order of last two consonants doubtful.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> This interpolation has been carried in the Peshitta right up to ten. This version has, on the other hand, preserved (or restored) the name Becher in the second place.

Genesis list, can be regarded as dependent on an earlier, but already corrupt, form of what the Chronicler used: in (a) Becher has been read "first-born," and therefore ignored 1.

We can now perceive what the parenthetic Gera-clause (vv.  $3 \, \mathrm{b} \, \beta$ ,  $4 \, \mathrm{a} \, \alpha$ ) must be: if it is to be taken with the restored triplet (b), the last and only important name of which is Gera, it should, according to all analogies, convey some additional information about Gera—that is to say, we must read, not "and Gera and Abihud and Abishua," but "and Gera was the father of Ehud and the father of Shua" (וגרא ואביהור ואבישוע for וגרא בי אהור ואבי שוע). The natural sequel to this is, of course, vv. 6-27, with their genealogical tree of descendants of Ehud.

- 9. Verses 39 and 40.—All that is now needed to complete the scheme is the descendants of Shua, and we suggest that these may be found (ver. 39 f.)<sup>3</sup> in the three sons of Eshek (pwy = ynw: perhaps the real name was  $\forall ynw$  [cp.  $\mathfrak{G}^{B}$   $a\sigma\eta\lambda$ ,  $\mathfrak{G}^{A}$   $\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\kappa$ ], the famous Benjamite district of Shual), in which case the phrase "his brother" in ver. 39 becomes easy and natural, for it means "brother of Ehud" (referring back to ver. 3 f.).
- 10. Verses 28 and 29.—We must now consider the long passage (viii. 28-38) that separates the trees of the two sons of Gera, Ehud and Shual. As is well known, this passage recurs at the end of chap. ix (vv. 34-44), and Ed. Meyer declares with confidence (Entstehung, p. 161, n. 2) that it has been copied thence into chap. viii. It is certain that viii. 28 f. have come from ix. 34 f. (ver. 28 [=ix. 34] "These are [the] heads of families [of the Levites] in their generations, chief men. These dwelt at Jerusalem"; ver. 29 [=ix. 35] "And

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> The omission of Becher can, however, be explained also otherwise: see the article in the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Meyer saw that "and Abihud" should be "is the father of Ehud," but went no farther (*Entstehung des Judenthums*, p. 161, n. 2).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> That ver. 39 is to be connected immediately with ver. 27 has been already recognized by Ed. Meyer (loc. cit.).

at Gibeon dwelt," &c.), for the words had to be changed to suit (?) the new context. In the first of the verses the phrase "of the Levites" is natural enough, indeed indispensable, in the context of chap. ix. In chap. viii it became unintelligible, and was therefore simply omitted. Then as to the second of the verses. According to ix. 2 the Chronicler was giving in chap. ix an enumeration of "early" (postexilic) inhabitants (היושבים הראשנים) "in their cities," viz. first (ver. 3, beginning; ver. 34, end) at Jerusalem, and second In ix. 35 ff., therefore, we should expect an enumeration of inhabitants of other towns after the manner of Neh. xi. 25-30, 31-36. If 1 Chr. ix. 35 looks like the beginning of such a passage—and it does look like it it is on the supposition that the text has since become corrupt and been emended hypothetically in a way determined by the verses that now follow (it is perhaps hopeless to attempt a restoration 1). With ix. 36 begins a list of a quite different character—in fact, a genealogy. It will be better, therefore, instead of studying it as a part of chap. ix, to ask first whether a natural connexion can be found between it and the rest of the genealogical chapter (chap. viii).

11. Verses 30-38.—If the nine verses, viii. 30-38, really belonged to chap. viii, what should we expect to find in them? After what we have found in viii. 6-27, 39 f., we can have little hesitation in replying. Of the two Benjamite clans known to history, vv. 6-27, 39 f. give us the tree of one, viz. Gera; vv. 30-38 must surely be the tree of the other,

יניניאל would suit very well a scheme of construction something like: "And at Gibeon lived the sons (אבי for אבי of Gibeon (cp. Neh. vii. 25 = Ezra ii. 20 = 1 Esd. v. 16[L]), and at Ai (now יניאל; cp. Neh. vii. 32 (bb aleia) the men of Ai" (cp. Neh. vii. 32). Mr. S. A. Cook suggests, as nearer the present text, "And at Gibeon lived Bichri the father of Gibeon (and his wife's name was Maacah); and the sons of Bichri were, &c." This is an attractive restoration, and it is favoured by the singular verb κατψκησεν of (bb (Na)L). It is, however, not without its difficulties. For such a passage could hardly belong originally to chap. ix. But, as we have seen, viii. 28 (=ix. 34) belongs to the scheme of that chapter, and viii. 29 surely belongs to the same context as viii. 28.

viz. Becher or Bichri. And examination shows conclusively that that is precisely what the passage contains—nay, what it really professes to contain. All that has hitherto prevented this from being discovered is that, by the same error that introduced so much confusion in the opening verses of the chapter, some scribe or editor misread the first two words. For "And his first-born son" read "And the sons of the Bichrite are" (ובנו הבכור for ובני הבכור), and at once the purport of the passage becomes clear. plausibility of this emendation and its palaeographical soundness are obvious. Its probability is raised almost to certainty by an examination of the list that follows, which is admirably suited to serve as a tree of the Bichrites. For the most important feature in the list is the genealogy of Saul; and Marquart 1 has made it probable that Saul, like Sheba, was a Bichrite. Not the least interesting feature of the present reconstruction of the Benjamite genealogy, should it in any degree be considered made out, is that it would furnish another argument for Marquart's contention.

12. History of the passage viii. 28-40.—If this view of viii. 30-38 (= ix. 36-44) be correct the passage clearly belongs to chap. viii. It just as clearly does not belong to chap. ix. The fact that whoever copied it into chap. ix stopped at the end of viii. 38 (= ix. 44) probably shows that at that time viii. 39, 40 a (the sons of Eshek [or Shual?]) had not yet been severed from viii. 6-27 (the sons of his brother Ehud). viii. 38 no doubt ended, "All these were the sons of Benjamin" (see ver. 40  $(6)^{1}$ ).

We may conjecturally reconstruct the history of the passage somewhat thus. Originally viii. 6-27 (descendants of Ehud, son of Gera) was immediately followed by

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte, p. 14.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Either Benjamin was changed to "Azel" in ix. 44, as "Benjamin" there gave no sense (and then the change made its way into the equivalent viii. 38 also), or the change was made in chap. viii—when vv. 39, 40 a (sons of Eshek) were brought down to their present position—to avoid the duplicate viii. 38 b = viii. 40 b.

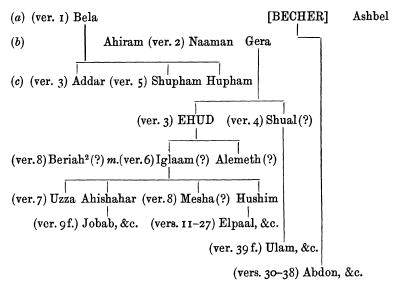
viii. 39, 40 a (sons of Ehud's brother), and that in turn by viii. 30-38 (sons of Gera's brother Bether, Bichri), the whole being ended by viii. 38 b (= 40 b @L). In some manner, which it is perhaps still possible to determine (we must postpone to another occasion what we have to say on the question), ix. 34 f. made its way into chap. viii (not where it now stands as vv. 28 f., but) immediately after viii. 40 a (sons of Eshek), and therefore before viii. 30-38 (the Bichrites) 1. viii. 32 b (=ix. 38 b "And these also dwelt with their brethren in Jerusalem over against them") is perhaps a marginal gloss of some bewildered reader. Then, in some copy, viii. 39, 40 a was perhaps accidentally omitted. It would be restored at the foot of the page or on the margin, and finally inserted, as at present, in a wrong position—after, instead of before, viii. 30-38 (and viii. 28 f.).

13. Review.—We shall not at present carry the work of reconstruction any farther. We have endeavoured to restore to something with a purpose a chapter that seemed a mere waste of names. It is not likely that all the suggestions we have made will commend themselves to other students. They have very various degrees of probability: some are hardly more plausible than alternative suggestions that might have been made. These details are of comparatively slight importance. The main point is, that the chapter requires somewhat bold treatment. The reconstruction suggested above may be very far from what a consensus of opinion will eventually adopt as the nearest approach we can make to the original form of the chapter. But some reconstruction, it would seem, there must be.

Merely for the sake of convenience we recapitulate in tabular form the main points.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Of this the copying of viii. 30-38 into chap. ix. (after verse 35) was either the cause or a natural consequence.

## PROVISIONAL ANALYSIS OF 1 CHRON. VIII'.



14. Estimate of results.—It is hardly necessary to say that to introduce order into the chapter is one thing, and to recover documents of historical value is another. There may be little that is historical in the chapter beyond the clan-names, Gera, Ehud, Becher, Bela, and part of the Bichrite tree. On the other hand, the bearing of the reconstruction on literary questions is obvious and important. Our view of this, however, we reserve for the present. To discuss it here would involve too many other matters.

HOPE W. Hogg.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Verses 28, 29 interpolated from chap. ix. Verse 32 b a gloss.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See note on p. 104.