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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE
PRE-EXILIC LEVITES

A thesis presented

by

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to

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TRANSLITERATION OF BIBLICAL HEBREW

Consonants

' = א	z = ז	m = מ	q = ק
b = ב	h = ח	n = נ	r = ר
g = ג	t = ט	s = ש	ś = שׁ
d = ד	y = י	' = ץ	š = שׂ
h = ה	k = כ	p = פ	t = ת
w = ו	l = ל	š = שׁ	

Note: The presence or absence of dagesh lene in the begadkepat letters is not shown. Consonants with dagesh forte are written double when the vowels are included. Where only the consonants are transliterated, dagesh forte is not indicated.

Vowels (shown as preceded by b)

bâ = בַּ	bā = בָּ	ba = ב	bǎ = בְּ
bô = בּוּ	bō = בּוֹ	bo = בּו	bö = בּוֹ
bû = בּוּ		bu = בּוּ	
bê = בֵּי	bē = בֵּי		bě = בֵּי
bè = בֵּי		be = בֵּי	be = בֵּי
bî = בֵּי		bi = בֵּי	

bāh = בַּח	bēh = בֵּחַ	pataḥ furtivum = אַ
bā' = אַח	beh = בֵּחַ	

ABBREVIATIONS

- AJSL - American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures
- ARI - W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (Baltimore, 1956)
- ATD - Das Alte Testament Deutsch (Göttingen)
- BA - The Biblical Archaeologist
- BASOR - Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
- BH³ - R. Kittel, ed., Biblia Hebraica, 3rd ed.
- BWANT - Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten und Neuen Testament
- CBQ - Catholic Biblical Quarterly
- FRLANT - Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
- GS - Gesammelte Studien zum Alten Testament (M. Noth and G. von Rad)
- HAT - Handbuch zum Alten Testament (Tübingen)
- HTR - Harvard Theological Review
- HUCA - Hebrew Union College Annual
- IB - The Interpreter's Bible
- ICC - The International Critical Commentary
- IDB - The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible
- JAOS - Journal of the American Oriental Society
- JBL - Journal of Biblical Literature
- JCS - Journal of Cuneiform Studies

JNES	-	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
JSS	-	Journal of Semitic Studies
JTS	-	Journal of Theological Studies
KS	-	Kleine Schriften (A. Alt and O. Eissfeldt)
LXX	-	The Septuagint (The Greek Version of the Old Testament)
MS	-	Manuscript
MSS	-	Manuscripts
MT	-	The Massoretic (Hebrew) Text of the Old Testament
NKZ	-	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift
OT	-	Old Testament
RB	-	Revue Biblique
TLZ	-	Theologische Literaturzeitung
TWNT	-	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament
VT	-	Vetus Testamentum
ZA	-	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie
ZAW	-	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

INTRODUCTION

It seems evident that the Levites played a significant role in the history of Israel judging merely by the numerous times that they are mentioned or discussed in the Old Testament.

Exodus 32 describes the Levites' faithfulness to Yahweh at Mount Sinai when the rest of Israel was disobedient. Before the rise of higher criticism this passage was considered fundamental for the understanding of the history of the Levites. It was thought that thereafter Israelite priests were chosen only from the tribe of Levi.

There were, however, many difficulties with this simplistic view. There was first of all the problem of explaining why the sons of Aaron are so frequently called the priests in Exodus-Leviticus-Numbers while the Levites are differentiated from them. In fact, sometimes the Levites are said to have "served" Aaron (cf. Num. 3:6). Deuteronomy, on the other hand, uses an entirely different terminology. It usually calls the priests hakkōhānîm halwîyim. Why should different books talk about the Levites in different ways?

The most serious difficulty with the traditional view was the totally different impression of the Levites that the books of Joshua, Judges, Samuel, and Kings give. Here there

is no mention at all that the Levites have special priestly rights, and instances are recorded where non-Levites carried out priestly duties (Judges 17:5; 2 Samuel 8:18; 20:26; 1 Kings 4:5; 12:31; 13:33). Even Samuel, the ranking priest at the time of Saul, is called an Ephraimite and not a Levite.¹

To be sure 1 and 2 Chronicles give a place to the Levites more in keeping with their prominence in Exodus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy; but again this only sharpens the contrast with Joshua to Kings.

In the age before the rise of literary criticism of the Old Testament, these were some of the most obvious problems that faced the scholar who sought to write a history of the Levites.

The classical statement concerning the Levitical problem has been made by Julius Wellhausen (1844-1918). He devoted a whole chapter (Part I, chapter 4) of his epoch-making book, Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel,² to a discussion of "the priests and the Levites."³ He notes first of all that

¹1 Sam. 1:1. He is, however, called a Levite in 1 Chron. 6:13, 18 (Eng. vv. 28 and 33).

²New York, 1958, 121-151. This book was first published in 1878 as Geschichte Israels. It was later revised and called Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels, Berlin, 1883.

³It was Wellhausen's purpose to elucidate the source theories that had been developed by several European Old Testament scholars--especially Eduard Reuss (1804-1891), K. H. Graf (1815-1869), Herman Hupfeld (ca. 1850), W. M. L. DeWette (1780-1849), and Abraham Kuenen (1828-1891)--as well as the development theory of Israel's religion put forth in 1835 by Wilhelm Vatke's book, Die Biblische Theologie. Wellhausen felt that his studies concerning the priests and Levites vindicated the Grafian hypothesis.

in the Priestly Code (P) the Levites were not really priests themselves. Though they were engaged in cultic duties, they were merely hierodules who worked under the direction of Aaron and his sons.⁴ Then Wellhausen looks at Ezekiel 44, which he dates to 573 B.C., that is, during the Babylonian Exile. In his plan for the new Jerusalem Ezekiel clearly distinguished between the Zadokite priests and the rest of the Levites.⁵ The sons of Zadok were to serve as priests, while the Levites were merely to perform the minor duties at the sanctuary. The similarities to P are striking, and Wellhausen wonders why Ezekiel did not refer to the laws of the Priestly Code that subject the Levites to the sons of Aaron. Wellhausen concludes that Ezekiel did not do so, because the Priestly Code was not yet in existence. Therefore, Wellhausen has proved to his own satisfaction that P was not written before the Exile. Hence, the accounts in P that attribute an elaborate priesthood to Israel already in the desert period are in fact describing post-exilic times.⁶ This then explains why in Joshua to Kings there is no mention of a professional class of priests. There

⁴This is expressly stated in Num. 3:6. Wellhausen believed that, according to P, the Levites had become involved in duties at the sanctuary only by virtue of their relation to the priest Aaron, and not vice versa--Prolegomena, 121f.

⁵The exact designation of the Zadokite priests (44:15) is: hakkōhānīm halwīyim bēnē sādōq. According to Ezekiel, the Levites were not to serve as priests, because they had sinned (44:10).

⁶Since 1 and 2 Chron., Ezra, and Nehemiah likewise speak of priests and Levites, Wellhausen also considers them to be post-exilic.

was, in fact, no such thing, and the impression given by these books that in early Israel anyone could serve as a priest is really correct.⁷

Accordingly, Wellhausen does not believe that the Levites could have formed a special priestly class in Israel's early period. He does not deny the fact that there had once been a tribe of Levi in remote antiquity.⁸ But the Levites as a tribe had disappeared already before the rise of the monarchy.⁹

Not until the monarchical period did priests begin to play a significant role in Israel. Their new prominence is reflected in Deuteronomy, which--following DeWette--Wellhausen dates to the time of Josiah. Here for the first time the priests are called "Levites." Wellhausen, however, does not believe that this new priestly class mentioned in Deuteronomy actually derived from the Levites of the pre-monarchical period. Rather, these priests simply assumed the name "Levite"

⁷Only at a large sanctuary, such as at Shiloh, could an independent priesthood develop--Wellhausen, 129.

⁸Prolegomena, 144. Perhaps Moses was actually descended from Levi--145. It is even possible in turn that Moses was the ancestor of the priests of Shiloh and Dan. Wellhausen arrives at this by reading "Moses" for "Manasseh" in Judges 18:30 and by identifying "father" in 1 Samuel 2:37 with "Moses"--142.

⁹Wellhausen, 144. This disappearance of the Levites is reflected in the historical books. Here Wellhausen--after eliminating 1 Samuel 6:15; 2 Samuel 15:24; 1 Kings 8:4; and 1 Kings 12:31 as either late additions or textual corruptions--can find only two references to the Levites, namely Judges 17-18 and 19-21. Even these passages in each case refer only to a single Levite--142.

as a patronymic in order to bind themselves together in a class.¹⁰

Wellhausen then goes on to describe how Deuteronomy's picture of the priesthood was never fully put into practice, for the "Levitical" priests had to subordinate themselves to the sons of Zadok.¹¹ From this arose the distinction between priests and Levites made first by Ezekiel, then by P, and finally by the Chronicler.¹²

Thus Wellhausen had solved the problem of the Levites by showing that they had never existed as a priestly class before the monarchical period, that is, not until shortly before the writing of Deuteronomy. And even the Levites of that time were not really descendants of the ancient tribe of Levi, but they were merely priests who had taken over the name "Levites" to give themselves more prestige.

Once it was widely recognized, however, that Old Testament traditions could have had a long oral history before they were written down,¹³ it became possible to reconstruct Israel's history back into pre-monarchical times with some assurance. One such effort which has been widely accepted by scholars is Martin Noth's demonstration that Israel was

¹⁰This name was all the more significant, because Moses was thought to have been a Levite--Wellhausen, 145.

¹¹Wellhausen arrives at this conclusion by comparing 2 Kings 23:9 with Deut. 18:6f.

¹²Wellhausen, 147.

¹³Hermann Gunkel was the first scholar to make widespread use of this insight in his work, though the principle was already recognized by Wellhausen.

organized in a Twelve-Tribe League in the period of the Judges.¹⁴

In the various attempts that have been made to reconstruct Israel's early history the traditions concerning the pre-exilic Levites have frequently been discussed. These discussions have been summarized by Hans Strauss.¹⁵

One of the most important of these post-Wellhausenian studies of the Levites that uses the traditionsgeschichtlich method is Kurt Möhlenbrink's article, "Die levitischen Ueberlieferungen des Alten Testaments."¹⁶ Möhlenbrink investigates four Levitic Gattungen: Listen, Geschichten, Satzungen, and poetische Stücke. In his discussion of the Listen he suggests how the Levitic genealogies may have come into their present form. One of his major contentions is that the Aaronide and Zadokite lines were secondarily added to earlier Levitic

¹⁴Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels ("BWANT," LII; Stuttgart, 1930).

¹⁵Untersuchungen zu den Ueberlieferungen der vorexilischen Leviten (Bonn, 1960). Among the works not included by Strauss are: Max Weber, Das Antike Judentum (Tübingen, 1921), trans. Hans Gerth and Don Martindale, Ancient Judaism (Glencoe, Ill., 1952); Yehezkel Kaufmann, תולדות האמונת הישראלית (Tel-Aviv, 1937-1956), trans. and abridged by Moshe Greenberg under the title, The Religion of Israel (Chicago, 1960); Moshe Greenberg, "A New Approach to the History of the Israelite Priesthood," JAOS, LXX (1950), 41-47; Roland de Vaux, Les Institutions de L'Ancien Testament, 2 vols. (Paris, 1958-1960), trans. John McHugh, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions (New York, 1961); Benjamin Mazar, "The Cities of the Priests and the Levites," Congress Volume, Oxford, 1959 (=Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, Leiden, 1960), 193-205; and A.H.J. Gunneweg, Leviten und Priester ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments," ed. Ernst Käsemann und Ernst Würthwein, 89; Göttingen, 1965).

¹⁶ZAW, LII (1934), 184-231.

genealogies. The original form of the genealogy in Exodus 6 (his Schema A) he dates sometime between David and Josiah,¹⁷ and Num. 26:58 (his Schema E) he believes originated in the time "between Deborah and David."¹⁸

Among the Geschichten Mühlenbrink does not find any that can be dated as early as his Schema A, that is, pre-exilic times.¹⁹ He denies any original connection between Zadokites and Eleazarites and between Eleazarites and Aaronides.²⁰ He does believe, however, that the Eleazarites were the priests of a Canaanite sanctuary at Gibeon already before the Conquest of Palestine by Israel. Later they attached themselves to the Levites.²¹ In the Geschichten he also notes an original heterogeneity between Aaron and Moses.²²

On the basis of his investigation of the Levitensatzungen, of which he considers Deut. 18:1-8 and Ezek. 44:4-31 to be the oldest, Mühlenbrink again concludes that the Aaronite traditions are a late addition to the Levitic.²³

Mühlenbrink's study of the poetische Stücke (Levitenlieder) yields the following results: The "Levi" of Gen. 49:5-7 (and of Genesis 34) had nothing to do with the Levitic priests. However, in Deuteronomy 33 Levi is a real Priesterheros.²⁴ It is a poem about the origins and privileges of the Mushite Levites. It dates even earlier than Schema E, that is, shortly before or shortly after the Conquest.²⁵

¹⁷Mühlenbrink, 208.

¹⁸Mühlenbrink, 196.

¹⁹Mühlenbrink, 213.

²⁰Mühlenbrink, 217.

²¹Mühlenbrink, 217f.

²²Mühlenbrink, 219.

²³Mühlenbrink, 226f.

²⁴Mühlenbrink, 228.

²⁵Mühlenbrink, 229.

Though M^hhlenbrink is frequently referred to by scholars,²⁶ very little use has actually been made of his work, and few scholars have included the genealogies in their study of the Levitic problem.²⁷ It is the writer's intention to re-investigate the Levitic genealogies taking full cognizance of what M^hhlenbrink has done and, where possible, to carry his investigation further. As a check upon the study of the genealogies a thorough analysis of Levitic and/or priestly terminologies will be made, something that M^hhlenbrink did not do. Finally, after the results of our genealogical and terminological study have been compared, a historical sketch will be attempted employing the insights gained. It is hoped that in this way the important study of M^hhlenbrink will have received its due and that new light will have been shed on the history of the pre-exilic Levites.

²⁶E.g., W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (4th ed.; Baltimore, 1956), 205, n. 44, calls it a "valuable study."

²⁷Typical is the remark of Eduard Nielsen, Shechem: A Traditio-Historical Investigation (2d ed. rev.; Copenhagen, 1959), 265, who dismisses the Levitic genealogies as a "playground for late 'redactors'."

CHAPTER I

THE LEVITIC GENEALOGIES

The word "genealogy" as used in this thesis is taken in the general sense of any list of descendants or ancestors according to the male line. When speaking of descendants, the Old Testament uses two main terms, namely, sons (bnym) and clans/families (mšpht). From the modern point of view, "families" is a wider term than "sons." However, in the Levitic genealogies they seem to be generally synonymous.¹

The reason for the loose use of kinship terms in the Old Testament is no doubt to be found in the general attitude of the Semites, who looked upon all members of a tribe as being "brothers" in a wide sense, whether or not they were actually related by blood. This led to the invention of eponymous ancestors, where each tribe is thought to descend from a single ancestor, and the ancestors of two allied tribes or clans are considered brothers.² Within the tribe there were various clans or families (mšpht) which were again felt to have an

¹See Ex. 6:24 and Num. 3:19.

²See De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 5. The Semitic conception of tribes and clans is most clearly seen in the genealogical schemes of the Arabs. For a catalog of Arab genealogies see F. Wüstenfeld, Genealogische Tabellen der Arabischen Stämme und Familien (Göttingen, 1852).

internal blood relationship. The head of a clan was an elder.

Accordingly, in the case of the Levites, the eponymous ancestor was Levi, and Gershon, Kohath, and Merari were clans within the tribe. However, they were also called "sons" of Levi, just as, in turn, their descendants were called both "sons" and "clans." Hence, the various names found in the Levitic genealogies can represent clans as well as individuals, and one should not expect to find every generation represented between an ancestor and his last descendant in a given genealogy. In other words, "son" can mean grandson or any descendant, as well as a literal son.

S. A. Cook reminds us that, since "a novus homo desires a noble pedigree," much of the material in the genealogies, or at least the way it is linked together, cannot be trusted.³ He therefore concludes: "In order to gain some idea of the origin of the Levitical genealogies we may start with the working theory that they are the result of later genealogizing skill, which has endeavoured to bring together into some sort of family relationship clans and divisions formerly quite distinct."⁴

³"Genealogies," Encyclopedia Biblica, ed. T.K. Cheyne and J.S. Black (London, 1901), II, 1561.

⁴Cook, 1662. André Lefèvre, "Note d'exégèse sur les généalogies Qehatites," Recherches de Science Religieuse, XXXVII (1950), 291, however, warns against the quick dismissal of a genealogy as being factually in error. He says we must try rather to see the art of the genealogist and to understand why he constructed a genealogy as he did.

This has been the working hypothesis of Möhlenbrink in his work already mentioned, and the present writer will follow the same critical stand toward the genealogies. However, with Möhlenbrink the writer holds that a traditio-historical investigation of the genealogies may nevertheless yield valuable historical insights.

The genealogies that we shall consider are those which purport to go back to Israel's earliest times or which are parts of genealogies that do. In addition, the priestly genealogies from the time of the United Monarchy are included, although their connection with the other genealogies, if any, is not always apparent.

No attempt has been made to differentiate between "Levitic" and "priestly" genealogies in the initial listing. The relationship of these terms to each other will be discussed in the course of the thesis.

Most of the Levitic genealogies are imbedded in P or the Chronicler's History. Their individual contexts will be discussed in I.B. below.

A. Text-critical Listing¹

Genesis 46:11

Levi-- { Gershon²
Kohath
Merari

Exodus 28:1b

Aaron-- { Nadab³
Abihu³
Eleazar
Ithamar

Numbers 3:2

Aaron-- { Nadab
Abihu
Eleazar
Ithamar

Numbers 26:57

Levites-- { Gershonites
Kohathites
Merarites

Numbers 26:58a

Levi-- { Libnites⁴
Hebronites
Korahites
Mushites

Numbers 16:1

Levi--Kohath--Izhar--Korah

Numbers 26:58b-60

Kohath--Amram-- { Aaron-- { Nadab
Moses Abihu
Miriam Eleazar
Ithamar

Numbers 3:17-21, 27, 33

Levi-- { Gershon-- { Libni
Shimei
Kohath-- { Amram
Izhar
Hebron
Uzziel
Merari-- { Mahli
Mushi

Exodus 6:16-25

Levi-- { Gershon-- { Libni
Shimei
Kohath-- { Amram-- { Aaron-- { Nadab
Moses Abihu
Eleazar-Phinehas
Ithamar
Izhar-- { Korah-- { Assir
Nepheg Elkanah
Zichri Abiasaph
Hebron
Uzziel-- { Michael⁵
Elzaphan
Sithri⁶
Merari-- { Mahli
Mushi

1 Chronicles 23:15

Moses-- { Gershom
Eliezer

Judges 18:30b

Moses⁸ --> Gershom⁷ --> Jonathan

1 Chronicles
6:5-6

Gershom
Libni
Jahath
Zimmah
Joah¹⁵
Iddo¹⁶
Zerah
Jeatherai

Cf. 1 Samuel
1:1²⁸

Zuph³⁰
Tohu
Elihu
Jeroham/Jerahmael²⁹
Elkanah
Samuel

1 Chronicles
6:18-23

Israel
Levi
Kohath
Izhar
Korah³⁸
Ebiasaph³⁷
Assir
Tahath
Zephaniah
Azariah
Joel
Elkanah³⁶
Amasai³⁵
Mahath
Elkanah³⁴
Zuph³⁴
Toah³³
Eliel³²
Jeroham/Jerahmael³¹
Elkanah
Samuel
Joel
Heman

1 Chronicles
6:7-13

Kohath
Amminadab¹⁷
Korah¹⁸
Assir¹⁸
Elkanah¹⁹
Ebiasaph¹⁹
Assir²⁰
Tahath²¹
Uriel
Uzziah
Shaul
Elkanah

Amasai²³ Ahimoth²²
Elkanah²³
Zophai²⁴
Nahath²⁴
Eliab
Jeroham/Jerahmael²⁵
Elkanah²⁶
Samuel
Joel²⁷ Abijah

1 Chronicles
6:24-28

Levi
Gershom
Jahath
Shimei
Zimmah⁴⁰
Ethan⁴⁰
Adaiah
Zerah
Ethni
Malachiah
Baaseiah³⁹
Michael
Shimea
Berechiah
Asaph

1 Chronicles
6:14-15

Merari
Mahli
Libni
Shimei
Uzzah
Shimea
Haggiah
Asaiah

1 Chronicles
6:29-32

Levi
Merari
Mushi
Mahli
Shemer
Bani
Amzi
Hilkiah
Hashabiah
Malluch
Abdi
Kishi
Ethan

1 Samuel 14:3a

Eli--> Phinehas--> (Ahitub--> Ahijah
Ichabod)

1 Samuel 22:20⁴¹ (22:9,11; 23:6)

Ahitub--> Ahimelech--> Abiathar

1 Samuel 30:7

Ahimelech--> Abiathar

2 Samuel 8:17

Ahitub-----> Zadok

Abiathar⁴²--> Ahimelech

1 Chronicles 18:16

Ahitub---> Zadok

Abiathar-> Abimelech⁴³

1 Chronicles 24:6

Abiathar---> Ahimelech

1 Chronicles 24:3 (cf. verses 6,31)

sons of Eleazar--> Zadok

sons of Ithamar--> Ahimelech⁴⁴

Footnotes to Chapter I.A

¹The Levitic genealogies that purport to go back to Israel's earliest times are here presented text-critically. The basis for comparison is the Hebrew text of MT (BH³). Where the ancient versions do not have any significant variants the evidence is not cited. When the readings differ sufficiently to merit discussion, those that clearly appear to be merely spelling variations based upon a common Vorlage are listed directly behind the Hebrew word(s) in question, while those that differ substantially from MT are listed below the Hebrew word(s).

Since we are interested mainly in establishing the names contained in the Levitic genealogies and not the original text per se of all parts of the passages in question, we have sometimes not written the conjunctive waw on Hebrew names, though they appear in MT.

If after citing the evidence of the versions no comment is given, this implies that the reading of MT is accepted.

The main source used for the Greek (and certain other readings) were the appropriate volumes of A. E. Brooke, N. McLean, and H. St. John Thackeray (eds.), The Old Testament in Greek: According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, Supplemented from Other Uncial Manuscripts, With a Critical Apparatus Containing the Variants of the Chief Ancient Authorities for the Text of the Septuagint. (London, 1927-32).

Other sources referred to were: August Freiherr von Gall, Der Hebräische Pentateuch der Samaritaner (Giessen, 1918, 5 vols.); Alexander Sperber, The Bible in Aramaic, I, II (Leiden, 1959); W. E. Barnes (ed.), Pentateuchus Syriae post Samuelem Lee (London, 1914); Versio Syriaca secundum editionem Urmiensem (American Protestant Missionary Society, 1852; reprinted 1954 by the Trinitarian Bible Society, London); Paul de Lagarde (ed.), Bibliothecae Syriacae (Göttingen, 1892).

The Greek manuscripts have been listed by families. Therefore not all the manuscript evidence has been cited in each case, but only as much as is necessary to establish which readings the various families support. When the separation into families is not obvious, colons will be used to separate them.

The Greek families have been arrived at in the following way: (the symbols are the writer's own, based on current practice)

Genesis

Source: Alfred Rahlfs (ed.), Septuaginta--Societatis Scientiarum Göttingensis auctoritate, I. Genesis (Stuttgart, 1926).

Families:

G^O = Origenic/Hexaplaric

G a c k m o x c₂ § (Syro-Hexaplar)

G^L = Lucianic

1 - g n

2 - d p t

3 - (?) b w

G^A = A Group

A y

G^C = Catena

e j v s

G^B = Egyptian

1 - B h

2 - f r

3 - q u

Exodus

Source: D. W. Gooding, The Account of the Tabernacle -- Translation and Textual Problems of the Greek Exodus (Cambridge, 1959).

Families:

G^B = B Group (Egyptian)

B a f i r h o q u x

A (ch. 1-8)

papyri 962, 911, 961

Amharic

Boharic

Coptic

G^A = A Group (Byzantine or Syrian)

A (chs. 9-40) F M

(y)

G^O = Origenic

1 - F^b G c k m

2 - A (Armenian), \mathcal{S} (Syro-Hexaplar),

C^f (Coptic)

G^L = Lucianic

1 - g n

2 - d p t

3 - (?) b w

G^c = Catena

e j v s z

Numbers

Source: Unpublished research of Frank M. Cross, Jr.
of Harvard University.

Families:

G^B = Egyptian

1 - B a₂

2 - (N) (o) (r)

G^L = Lucianic

1 - g n

2 - d p t

3 - (N)

G^O = Hexapharic

G c k x \mathcal{S}

G^c = Catena

e j s v z

Ⓒ^A = Byzantine

1 - A F M y

2 - (H) (a)

Mixed

b w

f h i l m q u b₂ A B C E L

Judges

Source: Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, Die Textformen der Uebersetzung des Richterbuches (Helsinki, 1951)

Note: Soisalon-Soininen has only the first three families below. The fourth class has been separated out by Frank M. Cross, Jr., of Harvard University (unpublished).

Families:

Ⓒ^O = Origenic/Hexapharic

A G a b c k x

Ⓒ^L = Lucianic

1 - K g n

2 - Z (d) p t

3 - l (o) v w

Ⓒ^A = Byzantine (Old Koine)

M N h y b₂

Ⓒ^B = Egyptian/B Group

1 - B e a₂ q

2 - f i r

3 - e j s v z (=Catenae)

4 - Ⓒ (Coptic)

5 - (d) (o)

1 Samuel 1:1 - 2 Samuel 11:1

Source: Published and unpublished research of
Frank M. Cross, Jr. of Harvard University.

Families:

Ⓞ^L = Lucianic

1 - b b o c₂ e₂ Thdt (Theodoret)

 L Josephus

2 - i

3 - g n P (Palestinian Aramaic)

Ⓞ^B = Old Greek-Egyptian

1 - B E a₂

2 - h v C

3 - a

Ⓞ^M = Old Greek-Byzantine

 M N

Ⓞ^O = Old Greek-Palestinian/Hexaplaric

1 - A c x ξ

2 - A

1 and 2 Chronicles

Source: Martin Rehm, Textkritische Untersuchungen
zu den Parallelstellen der Samuel-Königsbücher
und der Chronik (Alttestamentliche Abhand-
lungen, Bd. XIII, 3) (Münster, 1937).

Families:

Ⓞ^L = Lucianic

1 - b e₂

2 - y (?)

Ⓞ^A = A Group

1 - A N

2 - a c e g m n i

3 - f j

Ⓔ^B = B Group

1 - B S (Sinaiticus - only in

1 Chronicles 9:27-19:17)

2 - c₂

Special group - d p q t z

Footnote → 2 [ⲓⲱⲗⲏ / ⲗⲏⲣⲟⲩⲛ / ⲗⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ Ⓔ^A Ⓔ^C(-v) gn:qr:amoc₂:1]

ⲗⲏⲣⲟⲩⲛ k:a₂

ⲗⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ / ⲗⲉⲃⲟⲩⲛ / ⲗⲉⲃⲉⲩⲛ / ⲗⲉⲣⲟⲩⲛ / Getson / Tedson / Gesson

dptbw:hf:v:i* B¹ A-ed L B^P Anon² codd-ap-Or

Gedso B^W

The interchange between "Gershon" and "Gershom" occurs frequently in these genealogies. It is difficult to tell which is original. Both ān-ōn and ām-ōm can be used as diminutive/hypocoristic endings on biblical Hebrew names, cf. Martin Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung (Stuttgart, 1928), 38 and 233ff. However, given the antiquity of the ān-ōn hypocoristic ending in Northwest Semitic (cf. C. H. Gordon, Ugaritic Manual (Rome, 1955), 51; and Georg Beer, Hebräische Grammatik (2nd ed. edited by Rudolf Meyer; Berlin, 1952), I, 108) and its greater frequency in Biblical Hebrew than ām-ōm, it seems probable that "Gershon" is primary. In our discussions in Chapters I.C and III we shall show the likelihood that Moses originally belonged to the line of Gershon. Hence, if "Gershon" is the original name of the son of Levi, "Gershon" may also be the original name of the son of Moses (Exodus 2:22; 18:3; Judges 18:30b) according to the principle of papyponymy (cf. Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen, 50ff; for an example in the recently discovered Samaria papyri, see F. M. Cross, Jr., "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," BA, XXVI (1963), 120f.) Hence, "Gershom" may be an artificial substitution for "Gershon" by a redactor of the Levitic traditions. The substitution may have taken place when Moses was separated from the line of Gershon and was attached to the line of Kohath (cf. I.C below). The name of Gershon ben Moses would have been changed to Gershom ben Moses to differentiate Moses' family from the Gershonites. The Chronicler seemingly had forgotten whatever significance the n/m variation was to have, and he calls the son of Levi both Gershon and Gershom.

The reading γεδων and its derivatives is found in the Old Greek and probably is due to reading Γ for Δ in Vorlage.

3 אֲבִי הוּ אָדָם

αβιουδ Greek

abyhwd Syriac

"Abihu" (MT) and "Abioud" (the Greek reading) may be an interchange between an early and later form of the same name, deriving both from "Abi" + "hu" + "Adu" (=my father is Adu).

4 MT has: Levi-- Libnites
Hebronites
Mahlites
Mushites
Korahites

There are significant variances with regard to the last three names.

MT	...mšpht	hmhly	mšpht	hmwšy	mšpht	hqrhly...
B L(-dp)	---	---	δημος	ο κορε	και δημος	ο μουσε
C ^C A:bcdfhi						
klmpqvw			και δημος	ο μουσε	και δημος	ο κορε
xb ₂ E	---	---	και δημος	ο μουσε	και δημος	ο κορε
O						
C :a	και δημος	ο μουσε	και δημος	ο μουσε	και δημος	ο κορε

One may of course argue that the inclusion of the "Mahlites" in MT is original and that it is missing in the dominant Greek readings by haplography. However, because of the close association of Mahli and Mushi in other genealogies, "Mahlites" may have been added to the text here by a scribe who was acquainted with that association. The fact that only the Hexaplaric family and MSa have "Mahlites" is another indication that MT's reading may be in error, since one expects the Hexaplaric readings to be corrected toward MT. Hence, while not proven, our reasons for seeing "Mahlites" as secondary are at least as strong as those for considering it original.

The order of the last two names in the Egyptian and Lucianic texts is probably the original one, though it makes no difference as to the content of the genealogy whether it is or not.

5verse 22:

48Ψ10 / μισαηλ $\mathbb{G}^A \mathbb{G}^O \mathbb{G}^L(-b) \mathbb{G}(-s)$ FM hoqux **ALLE**]

om BAFir:s:b:nL

Since Mishael is mentioned only in Leviticus 10:4 in other literature referring to pre-exilic times, it does not seem likely that it would have been added here. Hence, we prefer to see it as a haplography in certain Greek manuscripts rather than as an addition in Hebrew.

6verse 22:

77Π0 / σετρη / σατρι / σεθρι / σετρι $\mathbb{A} \mathbb{A} \mathbb{X} \mathbb{C}_2$ **LA^CGA^L:ckla₂**]

σετρι / σετρι / σετρι <71> Equir

εθν(?)η m

ζεμεδαβ f

Soseri Anon¹

σεμισενλ 76

Mesori E^W

The interchange between τ and θ (second consonant) may be a confusion of Greek Τ and Θ. Several of the readings supported by only one manuscript are difficult to explain other than as mistakes. The bulk of the evidence suggests retaining the MT reading. The name occurs only here and in the Chronicler's History.

7007λ / γηρσθμ / γηρσθμ $\mathbb{G}^O(-a) \mathbb{G}^A$ Bqra₂:u:thdt]

γηρσθμ / γηρσθμ / Gerson b:ck:a₂ A-codd

γηρσθ ejsz

γηρσθμ / γερσθμ \mathbb{G}^L :a:f i:x C

γηρσθν <237>

Gessa L

Gethson A-ed.

Though "Gershom" is the best attested reading, this may already rest upon a scribal change from "Gershon." See our discussion under footnote 2 above.

8 The readings re Manasseh/Moses are:

πψ^δ / μανασση/μωυσση/Manase ^{O(-a)} ^{B(-ejz)} A
 μωσν ^L d ^{E^c} Thdt
 μωυσν a:ejv^az L
 om ^A ^G mru

The entire section according to families reads:

8	wywntn	* brh	dmnš',*	dbrh	dgrswm	brh	dmwš'
^L	Thdt	καὶ ὠνάθαμ	ο υἱος	μανασση	υἱου	γερσωμ	υἱου μωσν
MT	wyhwntn			bn	gršm	bn	mnšh
A:B:A	καὶ ὠνάθαμ/μ			υἱος	γερσωμ	υἱου/υἱος	μανασση
a:ejv ^a zL	καὶ ὠνάθαμ/μ			υἱος	γερσωμ	υἱου/υἱος	μωυσν
^A	mru			-	-	-	-

The first brh dmnš' of the Syro-Hexaplar is corrected toward MT as shown by the asterisks. This plus its unusual order show that the Syro-Hexaplar is a conflation of the other two major readings.

The mnšh of MT with its raised n has caused a great deal of discussion among scholars. Benjamin Kennicott (The State of the Printed Hebrew Text of the Old Testament Considered: Dissertation the Second. Oxford, 1759, 51-59) discusses this suspended nun. He considers it the work of a scribe who was concerned lest Israel's great lawgiver Moses be considered the grandfather of Israel's first priest of idolatry. He hoped instead to suggest that Israel's wicked king Manasseh be thought of at this point. Christian David Ginsburg, Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible, with a Prolegomenon: The Masoretic Text: A Critical Evaluation by Harry M. Orlinsky, New York, 1960, 335-338, quotes Rashi (1040-1105 A.D.) to show that this was also his understanding of the suspended nun. Ginsburg lists the early editions of the Hebrew Bible to show that some had the suspended nun and others did not. Jacob b. Chayim's Bible of 1524-25 had it. Cf. the discussion in G. E. Moore, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges ("ICC," VII; Edinburgh, 1895), 401f.

We certainly believe that Moses is the original reading. However, the reasons which the Jewish interpreters give for the

change to Manasseh are hardly believable. Certainly everyone would have known that Manasseh, the seventh century king, could not have been the ancestor of someone in the Tribal League. Did the corrector have Manasseh the son of Joseph in mind? Or was nun inserted because that was the easiest way to change "Moses" to another name without altering the text greatly? Or was a vowel letter written above the line and miscopied as a nun? (Cf. Frank M. Cross, Jr., "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of William Foxwell Albright, ed. G. E. Wright (Garden City, 1961), 139, line 9).

⁹Hebrew 5:27; Greek 6:1

יִשְׁרָאֵל / γερσων / γερσων N a c e g m n

γεδσων / γευδσων / Gethson b B c₂ i A-ed

γεδεων A e₂

γηρσων d p q t z:f j

Cf. remarks in footnote 2 above. Here and in 23:6f, 26:21, 29:8, and 2 Chronicles 29:12 the spelling of MT is with final n. Elsewhere the Chronicler, according to MT, uses Gershom.

¹⁰Hebrew 5:30; Greek 6:4

אֲבִיעֶזֶר / αβεισου / αβεισων G^A : d p q t z: B

αβειουδ G^L

αβεισουε c₂

G^L could be the result of a vertical dittography.

¹¹Hebrew 5:34; Greek 6:8

אֲחִיעֶזֶר / αχιεμαθ G^{L(-e₂)} G^A G^B : d p q t z

αχιμααθ e₂

αχιχααθ h

Manuscript h's reading is the result of metathesis of h and m in Vorlage.

¹²Hebrew 5:38; Greek 6:12

רִיטָץ 1^o and 2^o / σαδωκ / σαδδουκ G^L G^{A(-m)} G^B : d p q t z

σαλωκ m

Manuscript m is a result of confusion between Δ and Λ in Greek.

17 Hebrew 6:7; Greek 6:22

𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓 / ἀμινάδαβ B: m n i f j: d p q t z]
 pr Ἰσααφ (Ἰσααφε₂) υἱος αὐτοῦ Ⓛ(-y)
 ἀμινάδαμ ce
 Ἰσααφ A N a
 ἠσααφ g
 Sahar A
 Ἰσααφ υἱος αὐτοῦ ἀμινάδαμ y*

Wilhelm Rudolf, Chronikbücher, Tübingen, 1955, 54, says that Amminadab is impossible. In a complicated and unconvincing reconstruction he attempts to show that Izhar was the original reading. However, this disregards lectio difficilior. Instead the reading "Izhar" may be a correction based on 1 Chronicles 6:18,23. But it is also possible that the original reading is not preserved at all. See our suggestion to read "Amram" in I.C.9 below.

18 Hebrew 6:7; Greek 6:22

𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤕 / ἄσσιρ A N a c i n]
 ἀρεσει B
 ἀσερεσ / ἄσειρ c₂h
 ἄσηρ d p q t z Ⓛ : e g m f j

Manuscript B has metathesized s and r. Note that Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph are really only one generation, cf. I.C.9 below.

19 Hebrew 6:8; Greek 6:23

𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓 / ἄβιασαφ / ἄβιασαφα / ἄβιασαφ Ⓛ(-N)Ⓛ : d p q t z]
 ἄβιαθαφ B c₂^a
 ἰβιασαφ h
 ἄρῖσαφ N

The Samaritan Pentateuch has the same reading in Exodus 6:24 as MT here. However, the MT of Exodus 6:24 has 𐤒𐤓𐤓𐤕𐤓. These are no doubt variations of the same name.

B's reading may be due to a hearing error, a more familiar person being substituted for a lesser known one.

²⁰ Hebrew 6:8; Greek 6:23

אֲשֶׁרֵי / אֲשֶׁרֵי	Ⓔ ^L Ⓔ ^{A(-a)} d p q t z
ασσει / ασειρι	B c ² h
ελιασαφ	a
om	Syriac

²¹ Hebrew 6:9; Greek 6:24

קִלְקִל / θααθ	Ⓔ ^L Ⓔ ^{A(-g)} d p q t z
κααθ	B
καλθ	c ₂
θααμ	g
θαλαθ	<74>

Hebrew h is represented by Greek alpha, cf. 'Ααρά' for קִלְקִל in 1 Chronicles 8:1 (Greek manuscript A), and 'Αα5 = קִלְקִל in 4 Reigns 23:12 (Aq.) (Brooke-McLean, 379). Perhaps B's reading is a result of confusion between t and k. The reading of c₂ has resulted from confusion of ΚΑΑΘ and ΚΑΛΘ.

²² Hebrew 6:10; Greek 6:25

אֲחִימֹשׁ / αχιμωθ	Ⓔ ^{A(-n)} d p q t z
αλειμωθ	B c ₂
αχιμων	n
Achoth	A-ed
αμωθ υιος αυτου	Ⓔ ^L

Hebrew π is represented in Greek either by χ (Ⓔ^A), Α > Λ (Bc₂), or not at all (Ⓔ^L). Cf. comments on h = alpha in footnote 21 above.

²³ MT has two Elkanahs in 6:11 (Greek 6:26). We retain only the first. The second is not in the Greek or Syriac and it is also missing in some Hebrew manuscripts, according to BH³. MT may be conflation of synonymous variants, namely:

- a) וּבִן הַגִּבּוֹרִים ; b) הַגִּבּוֹרִים וּבִן .

²⁴Hebrew 6:11; Greek 6:26

קַוְוַי / και νααθ q t z]

καιναθ / κεναθ / κανααθ Bc₂ : h a A N i

Canath A

και ναθαθ m

νααθ G^L d p

και νααθ c e g n t j : q t z

+ drh brh sml' brh mry brh Syriac

Some Greek manuscripts have combined the Hebrew conjunction waw with the noun to form one word. Note in καινααθ that the Greek again represents Hebrew h by alpha.

²⁵Hebrew 6:12; Greek 6:27

קַוְוַי / εροαμ acegni N A]

εροαβ j t

εδαερ B c₂

εροβοαμ A:fm:dpz

ερδααμ h

εροβοαβ q

ερεμανλ / ερεμενλ G^L

gdhyl Syriac

Manuscript A, perhaps by aural error, has inserted a b into its Vorlage, perhaps because the well-known "Jeroboam" sounds similarly.

B's reading, IΔAEP, may have developed as follows:

I E P Δ A A M > I E P Δ A (by haplography)

> I Δ A E P (by metathesis of EP and ΔA).

G^L may be based on a Vorlage that had ל appended to קַוְוַי.

The Syriac reading gdhyl is related to G^L:

²⁶Hebrew 6:12; Greek 6:27

יְנִיחַ לְךָ אֱלֹהֶיךָ / ελκανα υιος αυτου]

+ σαμουηλ υιος αυτου b e₂ y:c₂

The reading of b e₂ y c₂ would seem to be required in the context. It could have very easily fallen out of MT by haplography.

²⁷Hebrew 6:13; Greek 6:28

הַבְּכֹר / ο πρωτοτοκος]

+ σανει G^A G^B

+ αυτου ιωηλ (ιωλ e₂) G^L A

brh bwkrh yw'y1 Syriac

MT could be a haplography:

הבכר שמואל

for הבכר שמואל

G^L A has "Joel," as does the Syriac. "Joel" is also demanded by 1 Samuel 8:2 (cf. 1 Chronicles 6:18). Hence, G^A G^B ΣΑΝΕΙ must somehow be a corruption of ΙΩΗΛ.

²⁸On differences in spelling between 1 Samuel 1:1; 1 Chronicles 6:11-13 (LXX26-28); and 1 Chronicles 6:18-20 (LXX33-35), see S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890), 4; and E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles (Edinburgh, 1910), 130f.

²⁹יְהִי / εροαμ AI]

ερεμεηλ / ερεμεηλ G^M G^{B(-v)} G^{L(-i)} A

ερεμευα v.

ερεαμ c x

The dominant Greek reading is the same as MT plus an 'ēl ending, cf. 1 Samuel 27:10; and 1 Chronicles 6:12, 19.

30 $\eta\iota\zeta\text{-}\eta\beta$ / υιου σειςφ / υιου σουφ / υιου σουπ / υιου σωφ
 $\mathbb{G}^0(-A) M(mg) e_2 \bar{b}$

υιου σωφ εξ ορους εν υσειβ_g

εν υσειβ / εν νεσιβ / εν ασειβ / εν ασηβ /
εν ασιμ / εν υσειβ^B / εν υσειβ^M / εν υσειβ^L / εν υσειβⁱ / εν υσειβⁿ

εξ αρμαθαμ γ

σειςφ / σουφ is a result of confusion between yod/waw in Hebrew. \mathbb{G}^p and \mathbb{G}^i are based on a wrong word division of the Hebrew (י = εν). Follow MT.

31 Hebrew 6:19; Greek 6:34

$\eta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ / $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha\mu$ / $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\alpha\mu\alpha$ A-N a c e g m n i

$\eta\alpha\alpha\lambda$ B

$\eta\delta\alpha\delta$ c₂

$\epsilon\rho\epsilon\eta\lambda$ h

$\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\eta\lambda$ / $\epsilon\rho\epsilon\mu\alpha\eta\lambda$ / $\epsilon\rho\mu\epsilon\eta\lambda$ \mathbb{G}^L

Ieremiel A

$\epsilon\rho\theta\beta\alpha\mu$ f j : d p q t z

Cf. remarks re 1 Chronicles 6:12 for reading of \mathbb{G}^L . The readings of MS B and c₂, ΗΑΑΛ and ΗΔΑΔ respectively, were obviously confused in copying, and they in turn must be a corruption of ΙΕΡΕΜΑΗΛ.

32 Hebrew 6:19; Greek 6:34

$\eta\lambda\eta\delta$ / $\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\eta\lambda$ / $\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\lambda$ / $\eta\lambda\eta\eta\lambda$ $\mathbb{G}^B(-c_2)$ $\mathbb{G}^A(-N)$ d p q t z

$\epsilon\lambda\eta\delta$ c₂

$\epsilon\lambda\eta\eta\lambda$ N

$\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\beta$ \mathbb{G}^L

$\epsilon\lambda\iota\theta$ Eus-cod.

Confusion between Δ and Λ is evident in the readings of c₂ and N.

33 Hebrew 6:19; Greek 6:34

Π Ι Ι / θουου / θουου / θουουε / θουουαι	Ⓐ d p q t z i h
ν α α θ	Ⓐ
θ ε ε ε	B c ₂

B c₂ probably read medial waw in Vorlage as yod. Ⓐ^L is difficult to explain. Could it have arisen as an aural error?

34 Hebrew 6:20; Greek 6:35

Π Π Δ / μεθ / μαεθ / μααθ	Ⓐ B c ₂
α μ ε ω θ	Ⓐ
hmt	Syriac
om	d p q t z

Ⓐ^L may be the result of a prosthetic alef in Vorlage. Syriac shows metathesis of m and h in MT. The manuscripts that omit this and the following two names (specifically they omit the words from υου³ in verse 20=Greek verse 35 to ελκανα in verse 21=Greek verse 36) do so by homioteleuton.

35 Hebrew 6:20; Greek 6:35

ׁ ׁ ׁ / αμασα / αμασ / αμας / αμασαι	Ⓐ (-cefj) Ⓐ ^L y: h
αμαθειου	B
αμαθεε	c ₂
εσασαρ υου αμασαι	c e
mwsy	Syriac
om	d p q t z : f j

It is possible that the reading of B and c₂ resulted from some type of confusion between ׁ and Π in Hebrew or Σ and θ in Greek. For the reading of manuscripts dpqtz see remarks on the previous word. The Syriac may have resulted from the dropping of the initial ׁ somewhere in the Hebrew transmission.

36 Hebrew 6:21; Greek 6:36

ׁ ׁ ׁ / ελκανα	Ⓐ ^L Ⓐ (-cefj) B c ₂
κουε υου ελκανα υου εσααρ	c e
om	d p q t z y : f j

The reading of manuscripts ce seems dependent on a knowledge of the content of Exodus 6:21, 24, although here the order is different. On manuscripts dpqtzy see remarks on the previous two words.

37 Hebrew 6:22; Greek 6:37

<p> $\eta \zeta \tau \chi$ $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ </p>	<p> $\alpha \beta \eta \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi / \alpha \beta \iota \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi / \alpha \beta \epsilon \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi$ </p>	<p> $G^A(-\eta)$ </p>	<p> $B^a?b$ </p>	<p> $d p q t z$ </p>	<p> $\left. \right]$ </p>	
	<p> $\beta \epsilon \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi$ </p>		<p> $n A$ </p>			
	<p> $\alpha \beta \iota \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi$ </p>	<p> $\upsilon \iota \upsilon \upsilon$ </p>	<p> $\epsilon \lambda \kappa \alpha \nu \alpha$ </p>	<p> $\upsilon \iota \upsilon \upsilon$ </p>	<p> $\alpha \sigma \eta \rho$ </p>	<p> $G^L(-b)$ </p>
	<p> $\alpha \beta \iota \alpha \sigma \alpha \varphi \tau$ </p>	<p> $\upsilon \iota \upsilon \upsilon$ </p>	<p> $\epsilon \lambda \kappa \alpha \nu \alpha$ </p>	<p> $\upsilon \iota \upsilon \upsilon$ </p>	<p> $\alpha \sigma \epsilon \iota \rho$ </p>	<p> b </p>
	<p> $\alpha \beta \iota \alpha \sigma \alpha \rho$ </p>		<p> $B^* c_2$ </p>			

Manuscript n has not reproduced the initial alef of MT. G^L and b contain glosses dependent on a knowledge of 1 Chronicles 6:8. B^*c_2 may have confused final ϕ and ρ .

38 Hebrew 6:22; Greek 6:37

<p> $\pi \tau \rho$ $\tau \tau \tau$ </p>	<p> $/ \kappa \omicron \rho \epsilon$ </p>	<p> $\left. \right]$ </p>	
	<p> $+ \upsilon \iota \upsilon \upsilon$ </p>	<p> $\alpha \mu \iota \nu \alpha \delta \alpha \beta$ </p>	<p> G^L </p>

G^L is apparently a gloss based on 1 Chronicles 6:7.

39 Hebrew 6:25; Greek 6:40

<p> $\eta \zeta \tau \chi$ $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ </p>	<p> $/ \beta \alpha \alpha \sigma \alpha / \beta \alpha \sigma \alpha / \beta \alpha \alpha \sigma \iota \alpha$ </p>	<p> $G^A:dpqtz$ </p>	<p> $\left. \right]$ </p>
	<p> $\mu \alpha \sigma \eta \lambda$ </p>	<p> y </p>	
	<p> $\mu \alpha \sigma \iota \alpha / \mu \alpha \alpha \sigma \alpha \iota$ </p>	<p> $G^L(-y)$ </p>	<p> $B:h$ </p>
	<p> $\alpha \mu \alpha \sigma \alpha \iota$ </p>	<p> c_2 </p>	

It is difficult to tell which is the primary reading, but they must all represent the same person.

40 Hebrew 6:27; Greek 6:42

<p> $\eta \zeta \tau \chi$ $\tau \tau \tau \tau$ </p>	<p> $/ \alpha \epsilon \theta \alpha \nu$ </p>	<p> $\left. \right]$ </p>	
	<p> $\alpha \epsilon \theta \alpha \mu / \eta \theta \alpha \mu$ </p>	<p> $G^L(-b)$ </p>	<p> c_2 </p>
	<p> $\eta \mu \alpha \theta$ </p>	<p> b </p>	
	<p> $\epsilon \mu \alpha \theta$ </p>	<p> b' </p>	
	<p> $\omicron \upsilon \rho \epsilon$ </p>	<p> $G^A:dpqtz$ </p>	

The readings of b and b¹ are by metathesis of a reading such as \mathbb{C}^L . Ουρι is probably due to inner Greek corruption.

41 $\eta\lambda\eta\pi\alpha/\alpha\chi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ $\mathbb{C}^L:A:N:hva$ \mathbb{C}^A
 $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ $cx:Ba_2$ \mathbb{E}

42 $\eta\lambda\eta\pi\alpha-|\eta\eta\lambda\eta\pi\alpha!$ \mathbb{C}^M $\mathbb{C}^B(-a\mathbb{C})$ \mathbb{C}^L A \mathbb{A} $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $A\beta\iota\alpha\theta\alpha\rho$
 $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ $\nu\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $A\beta\iota\alpha\theta\alpha\rho$
 $a:cx:depy$ \mathbb{C}^W

w'bytr br 'hymik Syriac

The Syriac may be corrected on basis of 1 Samuel 22:20, which is surely right historically. The MT reading may go back to a mistake in Vorlage.

43 $\eta\lambda\eta\pi\alpha/\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ S $dmpz$ \mathbb{A}
 $\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ \mathbb{C}^L $\mathbb{C}^A(-m)$ Bc_2 dqt Syriac

On the basis of 1 Samuel 22:20 one would expect to read "Ahimelech" here, although he is the father and not the son of Abiathar.

44 $\eta\lambda\eta\pi\alpha/\alpha\chi\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi/\alpha\chi\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ \mathbb{C}^L \mathbb{C}^A $\mathbb{C}^B(-pz)$
 $\alpha\beta\epsilon\iota\mu\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\chi$ pz

B. Form-critical Analysis

We shall examine the form of the Levitic genealogies in two ways. First the genealogies presented in I.A will be listed again, but by various symbols we shall indicate whether a given genealogy is a list of ancestors or of descendants, and under each of these categories there will be a further division as to form. Our second analysis of the form of the Levitic genealogies will take note of the precise wording by which a genealogy is introduced, linked together, and concluded. Arbitrary designations will be assigned to the various types thus discovered. After these have been presented, a tentative chronological listing will be made. Later these results will be compared with a study of the content or internal structure of the genealogies.

1. First Form Analysis

Legend

a) List of descendants

→ =is the father of (Heb.=X's sons are)

↓ =is the father of (Heb.=X bnw, X bnw, etc.)

→→ =is the ancestor of the following families
(mšpht)

→→ or ↓ =produced (hólîd/yiwwāléd l-) the following sons

b) List of ancestors

← or ↑ =is a son (bn) of

←← =is from the sons of

N.B. In the charts below, read from left to right and top to bottom. (This is also the order in the text in question.)

Genesis 46:11

Levi → [Gershon
Kohath
Merari]

Numbers 26:57

Levites → [Gershonites
Kohathites
Merarites]

Numbers 26:58a

Levi → [Libnites
Hebronites
Korahites
Mushites]

Exodus 28:1b

[Nadab
Abihu
Eleazar
Ithamar] ← Aaron

Numbers 3:2

Aaron → [Nadab
Abihu
Eleazar
Ithamar]

1 Chron. 24:1

Aaron → [Nadab
Abihu
Eleazar
Ithamar]

Num. 16:1

Korah ← Izhar ← Kohath ← Levi

Num. 26:58b-60

Kohath → Amram → [Aaron
Moses
Miriam] → [Nadab
Abihu
Eleazar
Ithamar]

1 Chron. 23:15

Moses → [Gershom
Eliezer]

Numbers 3:17-21, 27, 33

Levi → [Gershon → [Libni
Shimei]
Kohath → [Amram
Izhar
Hebron
Uzziel]
Merari → [Mahli
Musni]

Exodus 6:16-25

Levi → [Gershon → [Libni
Shimei]
Kohath → [Amram → [Aaron → [Nadab
Abihu
Eleazar → Eliezer
Ithamar has]
Izhar → [Korah → [Assir
Nepheg
Zichri] [Elkanah
Abiasaph]
Hebron
Uzziel → [Michael
Elzaphan
Sithri]
Merari → [Mahli
Mushi]

Judges 18:30

Jonathan ← Gershom ← Moses

1 Samuel 1:1

(Samuel) ← Elkanah ← Jeroham ← Elihu ← Tohu ← Zuph

1 Samuel 14:3a

Ahijah ← Ahitub
Ichabod } ← Phinehas ← Eli

1 Samuel 22:20

Abiathar ← Ahimelech ← Ahitub

1 Samuel 23:6

Abiathar ← Ahimelech

1 Samuel 22:9 and 22:11

Ahimelech ← Ahitub

1 Samuel 30:7

Abiathar ← Ahimelech

1 Chronicles 18:16 and 2 Samuel 8:17

Zadok ← Ahitub
Ahimelech ← Abiathar

1 Chronicles 24:3

Zadok ← Eleazar
Ahimelech ← Ithamar

1 Chronicles 24:6

Ahimelech ← Abiathar

1 Chronicles 9:11

Azariah ← Hilkiah ← Meshullam ← Zadok ← Meraiotn ← Ahitub

Nehemiah 11:11

Seraiah ← Hilkiah ← Meshullam ← Zadok ← Meraioth ← Ahitub

Ezra 7:1-5

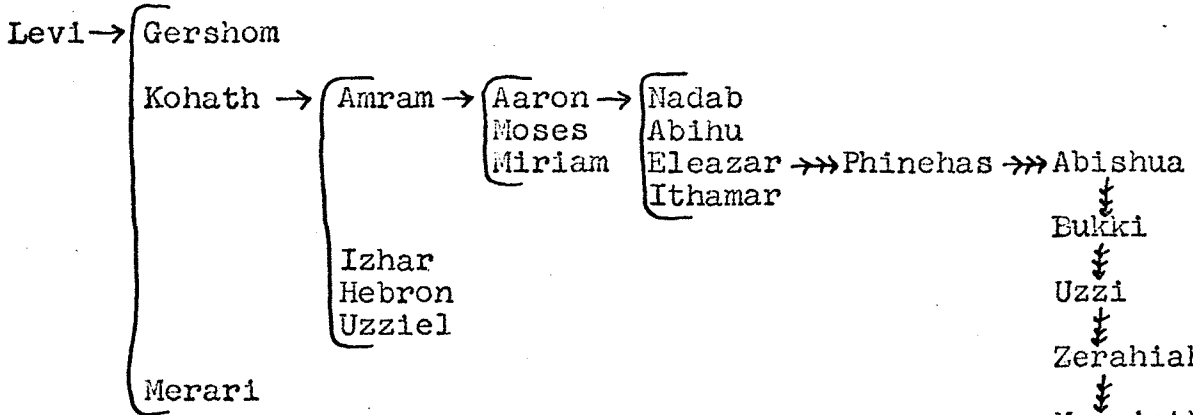
Ezra ← Seraiah ← Azariah ← Hilkiah ← Shallum

↑
Zadok
↑
Ahitub
↑
Amariah
↑
Azariah
↑
Meraioth
↑
Zerahiah
↑
Uzzi
↑
Bukki
↑
Abishua
↑
Phinehas
↑
Eleazar
↑
Aaron

1 Chronicles 6:35-38

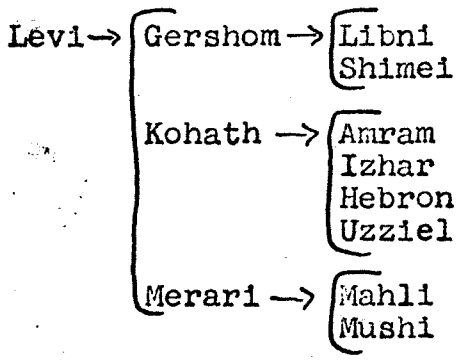
Aaron
↓
Eleazar
↓
Phinehas
↓
Abishua
↓
Bukki
↓
Uzzi
↓
Zerahiah
↓
Meraioth
↓
Amariah
↓
Ahitub
↓
Zadok
↓
Ahimaaz

1 Chronicles 5:27-41



- ↓
- Bukki
- ↓
- Uzzi
- ↓
- Zerahiah
- ↓
- Meraioth
- ↓
- Amariah
- ↓
- Ahitub
- ↓
- Zadok
- ↓
- Ahimaaz
- ↓
- Azariah
- ↓
- Johanan
- ↓
- Azariah
- ↓
- Amariah
- ↓
- Ahitub
- ↓
- Zadok
- ↓
- Shallum
- ↓
- Hilkiah
- ↓
- Azariah
- ↓
- Seraiah
- ↓
- Jehozadak

1 Chronicles 6:1-4



1 Chronicles 6:5-6

Gershom
Libni
Jahath
Zimnah
Joah
Iddo
Zerah
Jeatherai

1 Chronicles 6:7-13

Kohath
Ammiadab
Korah
Assir
Elkanah
Ebiasaph
Assir
Tahath
Uriel
Uzziah
Shaul
Elkanah
↓
Amasai Ahimoth
Elkanah
↓
Zoppai
Nahath
Eliab
Jeroham/Jerahmael
Elkanah
Samuel
↓
Joel Abijah

1 Chronicles 6:14-15

Merari
Mahli
Libni
Shimei
Uzzah
Shimea
Haggiah
Asaiah

1 Chronicles 6:18-23

Heman
↑
Joel
↑
Samuel
↑
Elkanah
↑
Jeroham/Jerahmael
↑
Eliel
↑
Toah
↑
Zuph
↑
Elkanah
↑
Mahath
↑
Amasai
↑
Elkanah
↑
Joel
↑
Azariah
↑
Zephaniah
↑
Tahath
↑
Assir
↑
Ebiasaph
↑
Korah
↑
Izhar
↑
Kohath
↑
Levi
↑
Israel

1 Chronicles 6:24-28

Asaph
↑
Berechiah
↑
Shimea
↑
Michael
↑
Baaseiah
↑
Malachiah
↑
Ethni
↑
Zerah
↑
Adajah
↑
Ethan
↑
Zimnah
↑
Shimei
↑
Jahath
↑
Gershom
↑
Levi

1 Chronicles 6:29-32

Ethan
↑
Kishi
↑
Abdi
↑
Malluch
↑
Hashabiah
↑
Amaziah
↑
Hilkiah
↑
Amzi
↑
Bani
↑
Shemer
↑
Mahli
↑
Mushi
↑
Merari
↑
Levi

Summary of Texts According to First Form Analysis

→	→→	→→→ or ↓
Genesis 46:11	Numbers 26:57	Numbers 26:58b-60
Numbers 3:2	Numbers 26:58a,b,c,d,e	Exodus 6:20,23,25
1 Chronicles 24:1	Numbers 3:18-21,27,33	1 Chronicles 5:30-41
1 Chronicles 23:15		
Numbers 3:17		
Exodus 6:16-19		
Exodus 6:21,22,24		
1 Chronicles 5:27-29		
1 Chronicles 6:1-4		

Note: There is only a slight difference between → and →→ because sometimes (e.g. Numbers 3:18-20) bny X is followed by lmsphṭm, (cf. also Exodus 6:24).

↓	← or ↑	←←
1 Chronicles 6:5-15	Exodus 28:1b	1 Chronicles 24:3
1 Chronicles 6:35-38	Numbers 16:1	
	Judges 18:30	
	1 Samuel 1:1	
	1 Samuel 14:3a	
	1 Samuel 22:20	
	1 Samuel 23:6	
	1 Samuel 22:9 and 22:11	
	1 Samuel 30:7	
	2 Samuel 8:17	
	1 Chronicles 18:16	
	1 Chronicles 24:6	
	1 Chronicles 9:11	
	Nehemiah 11:11	
	Ezra 7:1-5	
	1 Chronicles 6:18-32	

2. Second Form Analysis

a) Type A

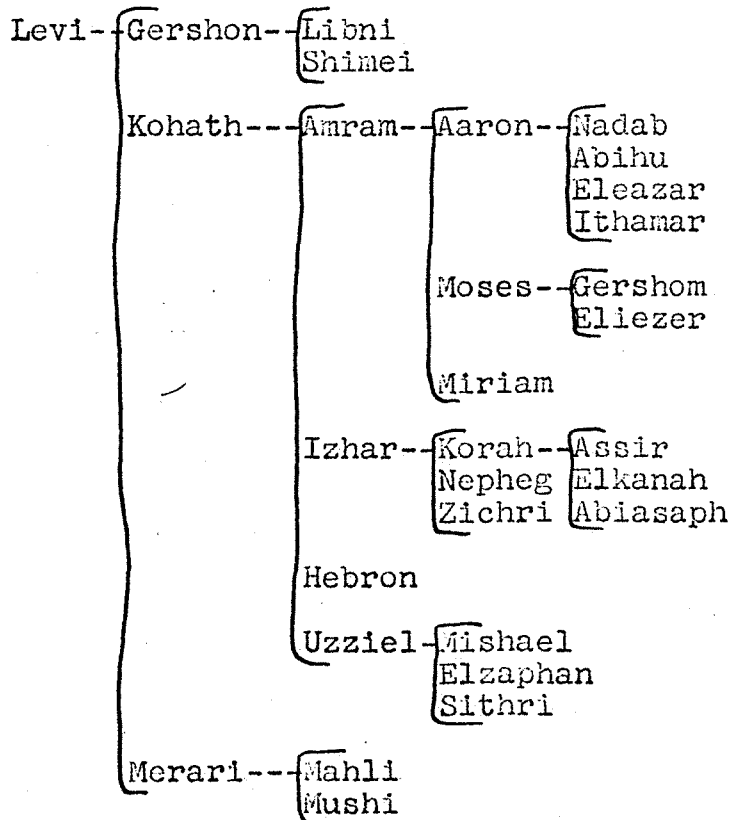
form: (w)bny X X, etc. (= (and) the sons of X are/were X, etc.)

examples: Genesis 46:11
Exodus 6:17; 6:18; 6:19a; 6:21; 6:22; 6:24
Exodus 28:1b (here the listing of names precedes the formula)
Numbers 3:19-20 (plus lmsphtm)
1 Chronicles 23:6-24
1 Chronicles 24:1
1 Chronicles 5:27-29; 6:1, 3-4

mixed: bny X X bnw (=the sons of X: X his son)
1 Chron. 6:7a, 13, 14a, 36a

bny X ... X bn X (=the sons of X: X the son of X)
1 Chron. 6:29a

composite content:



examples elsewhere (not Levitic):

Numbers 26:5ff
1 Chronicles 1:5, 8, 17, 28, etc.; 2:2ff
Genesis 9:18; 10:2, 6, 22

Comment:

(1) Genesis 46

The context of Genesis 46:11 is a list of seventy persons who came to Egypt with Jacob to live in Goshen. Included are the twelve sons of Jacob/Israel. The entire section is introduced by the words (verse 8): w'lh šmwt bny ysr'1 ... r'wbn. This, as we shall see, is our Type B. With Jacob's second son, Simeon, our Type A is introduced. Levi, in third place, is also in Type A, as are all the rest of the sons of Jacob in the genealogy ending with verse 27. It is therefore possible to conclude that at one time the entire genealogy of Jacob's sons was in the form of Type A, but that in the text as it now stands the beginning has been secondarily changed.

(2) Exodus 6

The passages cited from Exodus 6 are part of a larger section, namely, verses 14-25. That this section was originally independent of the context in which it is now found is indicated by the lack of connection between verses 13 and 14, and by the fact that verses 26-30 seek to combine the content of the genealogy with the verses before verse 13 by stating (verse 26), "These (i.e., the sons mentioned in the genealogy) are the Moses and Aaron to whom Yahweh said...."

The entire section (Exodus 6:14-25) begins as

a list of Israel's sons in the traditional order, namely, Reuben, Simeon, Levi, etc.¹ Obviously, however, the writer or redactor is only interested in showing that Aaron and Moses belong to the line of Levi (cf. verse 26), for after listing the descendants of Levi he does not continue with the genealogy of the other sons of Israel, but he returns to the narrative.

The entire list begins with the words (verse 14a): 'lh r'šy byt 'btm ("These are the heads of the house of their fathers"). Then the sons of Reuben and Simeon are listed according to Type A. Each listing is concluded by 'lh mšpht X (=These are the families of X) (verses 14b and 15b).

The Levites are introduced with a new formula, namely, our Type B (verse 16a): w'lh šmwt bny lwy ltldtm (=These are the names of the sons of Levi according to their generations). Then the names Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are listed (verse 16b), and the age which Levi attained is given (verse 16c).

The sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are listed in the form of Type A (verses 17-19a), as follows:

Exodus 6:17 bny gršwm lbny wšm'y lmšphtm

Exodus 6:18 wbny qht 'mrm wyšhr whbrwn w'zy'l...

Exodus 6:19a wbny mrry mhly wmwšy

This section is concluded with the statement (verse 19b):

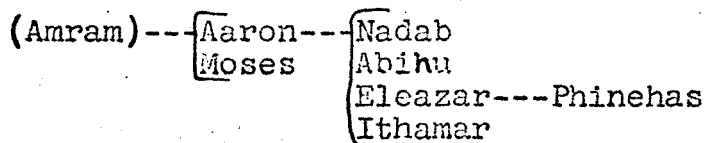
¹Noth, 39, dates the lists that include Levi to the earliest period of the period of the Judges.

lh mšpht hlwy ltlđtm (=These are the families of the Levites according to their generations). This could mean that verses 16-19 once formed an independent genealogy.²

Exodus 6:20 follows a different pattern from 6:17-19a.³ It reads: wyqh 'mrm 't ywkbd...wtld lw 't 'hrn w't mšh.... While we cannot be sure of the significance of this variant wording, let us herewith note it especially and hold open the possibility that the statement calling Aaron and Moses the sons of Amram is a secondary expansion of Type A as listed above.

Exodus 6:23 could be secondary for the same reason.⁴ It begins: wych 'hrn 't 'lyšb^c.... Finally, Exodus 6:25a⁵ could be the third instance of an addition: w'l^c zr bn 'hrn lqh lw mbnwt pwt^y'l....

If our suggestion is correct, it would mean that the following information has been secondarily connected to Amram in Type A:



Though Exodus 6:21 (the sons of Izhar), 22 (the sons of Uzziel), and 24a (the sons of Korah) now have the form of Type A, they may not have originally been connected with

²This is the opinion of Möhlenbrink, 188.

³Möhlenbrink, 188f and 198, calls it an erzählender Stil. In Möhlenbrink's article Exodus 6:20 is several times erroneously listed as 6:22.

⁴Möhlenbrink, 188.

⁵Möhlenbrink, 188f, 198.

Exodus 6:16-19.⁶ Such a hypothesis gains confirmation by the fact that a second conclusion (in addition to verse 19b) is added in Exodus 6:25b, namely: 'lh r'sy 'bwt hlwym lmsphtm. The independent character of the genealogy of the sons of Korah is further indicated by its special conclusion in 6:24b:

'lh mspht hqrhy.

(3) Exodus 28:1b

This is a slight variant of the pure form of Type A. The list of sons precedes the formula bny X (=the sons of X are) rather than follows it. In view of the possible secondary character of the genealogy of Aaron in Exodus 6, we must pose the question whether this passage may not have been secondarily adapted to Type A.

(4) Numbers 3:17-39

In the census of the tribes given in Numbers 1 the Levites were specifically excluded. In Numbers 3, however, Yahweh gives the command to number the Levites. In the course of the enumeration the three main Levitic groups, together with their sub-groups, are mentioned.

This section begins with the words (verse 17a): 'lh bny lwy bšmtm (=these were the sons of Levi by their names). Then Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are listed (verse 17b). The next step in the genealogy (verse 18a) is put in the following form (our Type B): w'lh šmwt bny gršwn lmsphtm (=and these are the names of the sons of Gershon according to their families).

⁶Möhlenbrink, 188f, 198.

Then Libni and Shimei are listed (verse 18b).

The sons of Kohath (verse 19) and Merari (verse 20a) are given according to Type A. However, since one would expect to find Type B used throughout the genealogy (in agreement with the formula used for the sons of Gershon), it seems plausible to consider verses 19-20a as shortened versions of Type B, caused by the dropping of 'lh šmw̄t at the beginning of the formula.

The concluding phrase (verse 20b), 'lh hm mšp̄ht hlwy lbȳt 'btm, suggests that in Numbers 3:17-20 we are once more dealing with an originally independent genealogy.

In Numbers 3:21-39 the three main branches of the Levites are again listed, this time (verses 21, 27, 33) according to the following formula; 1-X mšp̄ht X (gentilic) etc., 'lh hm mšp̄ht X (gentilic) (= belonging to X there were the families of X, etc., and these were the families of X). We shall call this Type C.

(5) 1 Chronicles 23:6-24

Comments concerning the total content of this section will be reserved until Part II. It purports to be a list of Levites at the time of David and Solomon. The form is basically Type A. For the present we shall ignore those names which do not coincide with Exodus 6. It is interesting to note, however, that, whereas the sons of Aaron are not listed, the sons of Moses, Gershom and Eliezer, are given (verse 15). They are not recorded in the other examples of Type A. The genealogy

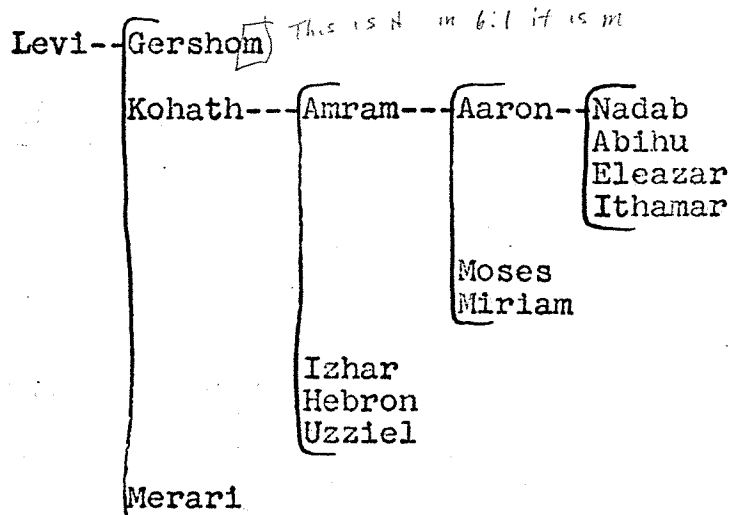
is concluded with the statement (verse 24): 'lh bny lwy lbyt
'bwtym r'sy h'bwt... (=these were the sons of Levi according
to the house of their fathers, the heads of the fathers....)

(6) 1 Chronicles 24:1

The reason why the sons of Aaron were not listed
in chapter 23 now becomes apparent. Aaron is singled out for
special attention here. The genealogy is given in Type A, and
the same four sons are mentioned as in Exodus 6 and Exodus 28.
Since the genealogy of Aaron appeared to be a secondary expan-
sion of Type A in Exodus 6, it is possible that its appearance
in Type A here is to be taken as harmonization of secondary
material to an earlier genealogical type.

(7) 1 Chronicles 5:27ff

This section makes up the single largest col-
lection of Levitic genealogical material in the Old Testament.
It comes in the midst of nine chapters of genealogies. It starts
out in Type A (5:27-29), giving the following content:



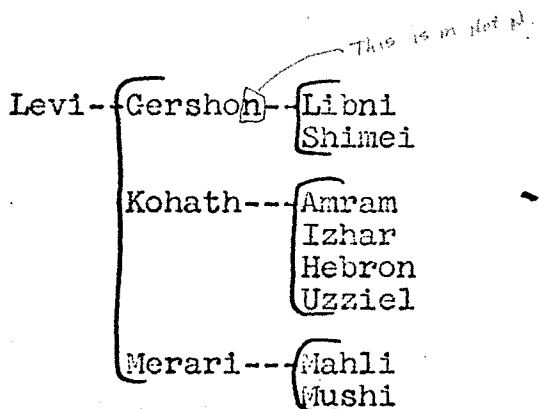
The fact that the sons of Gershom and Merari are not given, but

that the descendants of Kohath are carried out through Aaron's sons, indicates the Chronicler's interest in providing a Levitic genealogy for the sons of Aaron. Given this tendenz, it is possible that the inclusion of the Aaronides here does not invalidate our suggestion that they originally were not part of the Levitic genealogy in Type A.

The sons of Levi and Kohath are again given in Type A in 6:1 and 6:3. The sons of Merari, omitted in 5:27-29, are listed according to Type A in 6:4a.

(8) Revised content of Type A

For the reasons given under our discussion of Exodus 6 we suggest that the original content of Type A may have been:



b) Type B⁷

form: 'lh šmwt bny X ltltdm/lmšphtm X X X
 (=these are the names of the sons of X according to their generations/families: X, X, X.)

or 'lh bny X bšmtm X X X (Numbers 3:17a only)

examples: Exodus 6:16a
 Numbers 3:18
 Numbers 3:2 (-ltldtm/lmšphtm)
 1 Chronicles 6:2 (-ltldtm/lmšphtm)

⁷This type can be considered the same as Type A with the addition of an introduction, namely, 'lh šmwt.

mixed: w'lh šmwt bny X...X="and these are the sons of X...: X"

Genesis 46:8 (introduction to list of sons that includes Levi)

content: Israel--Levi--Gershon--Libni Shimei Kohath Merari

Aaron--Nadab Abihu Eleazar Ithamar

examples elsewhere (not Levitic):

Genesis 36:10

(1) Exodus 6:16: w'lh šmwt bny lwy ltltdm gršwn wqht wmriry...

This is a more elaborate form than Type A, but it has the same content.

(2) Numbers 3:17-20

Verse 17 is a slight variant of the pure form of Type B in verse 18. On the surface, verses 19-20 belong to Type A, but see our comments there. We therefore believe that the original form of verses 19-20 was in the form of Type B. How Type B can be easily shortened to Type A is illustrated by the wording of the three verses in question:

3:18 w'lh šmwt bny gršwn lmsph̄tm lbny wšm'y

3:19 wbny qht lmsph̄tm 'mr̄m wyšhr ḥbrwn w'zy'l

3:20 wbny mrry lmsph̄tm mhly wmwšy

(3) Numbers 3:2

This contains the genealogy of Aaron (although no connection is made with Amram). At first glance this seems

to distinguish the content of Type B from what we suggested was the original content of Type A, where Aaron and his sons are not included. However, since the sons of Izhar and Uzziel are not given in Type B, the genealogy of Aaron could possibly be an addition which has been cast in the wording of Type B.

(4) Revised content of Type B

According to our suggestion above concerning Numbers 3:19-20 and 3:2, the original content of Type B would be the same as Type A.

c) Type C

form: l-X mšpht X (gentilic) etc., 'lh hm mšpht X (gentilic) (=belonging to X there was the family of X, etc., and these were the families of X).

examples: Numbers 3:21, 27, 33
Numbers 26:57b, c, d (-the conclusion)

composite

content: Gershon---Gershonites--- Libnites
Shimeites

Kothath---Kothathites--- Amramites
Izharites
Hebronites
Uzzielites

Merari---Merarites--- Mahlites
Mushites

Comment:

(1) Numbers 3:21, 27, 33

For the context see the discussion under Type A above. The examples are as follows:

3:21 lgršwn mšpht hlbny wmspht hsm'y 'lh hm mšpht
hgršny

3:27 wlyht mšpht n'mny wšpht hyšhry wšpht hšbrny
wšpht h'zy'ly 'lh hm mšpht hqhty

3:33 lmrny mšpht hmhly wšpht hmwšy 'lh hm mšpht
mrny

(2) Numbers 26:57b, c, d

The context is the second census of the Israelites. First the tribal listing is given according to genealogical Type A, each section having as a conclusion 'lh mšpht X (lmsphtm). Then the Levites are given separately according to our Type C:

26:57b lgršwn mšpht hgršny

26:57c lqht mšpht hqhty

26:57d lmrny mšpht hmrry

The composite content of Type C is exactly the same as in the original forms of Types A and B, except that they are not explicitly connected to Levi. Again nothing is said about the family of Aaron. This further supports the suggestion of the secondary character of the statement about Aaron in Type B.

It should be noted that the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are given with gentilic forms, hence as groups and not as individuals. It is possible that this may denote an older form of the genealogies than Types A and B. Within Type C itself, the separate listing of the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites (Numbers 26:57) may indicate this as being older than the form in Numbers 3:21, 27, 33, and for convenience we shall henceforth speak of them as Type C-older form and Type C-later form, respectively.

d) Type D

form: mšpht X (=the family of X) (X is gentilic)

example and comment: There is only one example of Type D. This is found in Numbers 26:58b, c, d, e. It evidently constituted a separate genealogy originally. This is shown by its special introduction (verse 58a), 'lh mšpht lwy, by its special form (verse 57, which precedes, is in Type C), and its content (which is at variance with the preceding verse).⁸

mšpht hlbny

mšpht hḥbrny

mšpht hqrhy

mšpht hmwšy

e) Type E

form: X hwld 't X (=X was the ^{begat} father of X)

examples: Numbers 26:58, section f
1 Chronicles 5:30-41

composite

content: Kohath---Amram Eleazar--Phinehas--Abishua
Bukki
Uzzi
Zerahiah
Meraioth
Amariah
Ahitub
Zadok
Ahimeaz
Azariah
Johanan
Azariah
Amariah
Ahitub
Zadok
Shallum
Hilkiah
Azariah
Seraiiah
Jehozadak

⁸Möhlenbrink, 192f, 206f; Leroy Waterman, "Some Determining Factors in the Northward Progress of Levi," JAOS, LVII (1937), 376-379.

Comment:

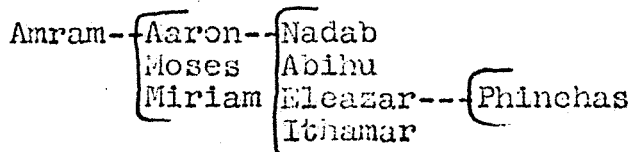
1 Chronicles 5:27ff, after starting out in Type A, then changes to Type E in verse 30. One link of the content of Type A is found in Type E (Kohath---Amram), and one part of the section of Exodus 6 which we considered as possibly being secondary to Type A is also represented here (Eleazar---Phinehas). The rest of the content of Type E has not appeared in any of the types discussed so far. Since the list purports to give Levites extending to the time of the Exile (verse 41), one would naturally not expect to find the last group of names in the genealogies of the Pentateuch. By the very nature of the case, therefore, this list, or at least most of it, cannot be considered as old as the lists studied thus far.

f) Type F

form: $\frac{X \text{ tld } 1-X \text{ 't } X}{\text{ywld } 1-X \text{ 't } X}$ (=X bore to X: X)
 or $\frac{X \text{ tld } 1-X \text{ 't } X}{\text{ywld } 1-X \text{ 't } X}$ (=and there was born to X: X)

examples: Numbers 26:59b wtld l'c'mrm 't 'hrn w't
 m'sh w't mrym 'htm
 Numbers 26:60 wywld l'hrn 't ndb w't
 'byhw' 't 'l'c' zr w't 'ytnr
 Exodus 6:20 wyqh 'c'mrm 't ywkdb
 ...wtld lw 't 'hrn w't m'sh....
 6:23 wyqh 'hrn 't 'ly'sb'...wtld
 lw 't ndb w't 'byhw' 't 'l-
 'zr w't 'ytnr....
 6:25 w'l'c'zr bn 'hrn lqh lw mbnwt
 pwt'y'l lw l'sh wtld lw 't
 pynhs....

composite
content:



examples: Genesis 4:18a; 5:3b, 6b, 9b, etc.

Comment:

This type, in which, like Type E, the key word is yld, differs from Type E in that it is in a more informal or editorial style.⁹ The content of Numbers 26:59b, 60 agrees with Exodus 6:20, 23, and 25, which we hypothetically suggested might be a secondary expansion of Type A, that is, they both give the family of Amram. It is curious that among the children of Amram only Aaron's family is mentioned. Since we suggested that the genealogy of Aaron (Numbers 3:2) might be secondary in Type B, this would mean that its original form is to be found here in Type F, whose "informal" style we have already noted. Does this suggest that Type F is a late scribal compilation?

g) Type G

form: X bn X (=X the son of X)

ascending order

- examples: Numbers 16:1
- Judges 18:30
- 1 Samuel 1:1
- 1 Samuel 14:3a
- 1 Samuel 22:20
- 1 Samuel 23:6
- 1 Samuel 22:9 and 22:11
- 1 Samuel 30:7
- 1 Chronicles 18:16 = 2 Samuel 8:17
- 1 Chronicles 24:6
- 1 Chronicles 9:11=Nehemiah 11:11
- Ezra 7:1-5
- 1 Chronicles 6:18-28, 29b-32.

contents: cf. I.A

Comment:

Only Numbers 16:1, Judges 18:30, Ezra 7:15, and the singer lists of 1 Chronicles 6:18ff contain names that purport

⁹Möhlenbrink, 138.

to go back to premonarchical times. Numbers 16:1 presents the genealogy of Korah in agreement with Exodus 6, but in our discussion of Type A we suggested that the genealogy of the sons of Korah may not have been originally connected to Izhar. Hence, the connection of Korah to Izhar here could be a scribal compilation that is later than the content of Types A-D in origin. Ezra 7:1-5 does not connect Aaron with Amram, and so it does not contradict the hypothesis put forth in the discussion of Types A and B, namely, that the family of Aaron is not part of the original form of the genealogies that purport to go back to Levi. The singer lists, though they trace Heman, Asaph, and Ethan back to Levi, do not present the sons of Levi in their traditional order, but they place Kohath before Gershom and Merari. Does this indicate that they are late reconstructions intended to emphasize the importance of the Kohathites? The only genealogy of this type purporting to go back to Israel's earliest history that presents fresh material is Judges 18:30. The very fact that elsewhere in the genealogies (except for 1 Chronicles 23:15) the sons of Moses are never given, although the sons of Aaron frequently are (albeit in what we suggest may be a secondary form), may mean that in Judges 18:30 a tradition is preserved which was omitted in most of the later genealogical schemes.

h) Type H

form: X mn bny X (=X from the sons of X)

example: 1 Chronicles 24:3 (cf. 1 Chronicles 6:18a)

content: cf. I.A

comment: This will be discussed in II.G 1 below.

i) Type J

form: X bnw (=X his son)

examples: 1 Chronicles 6:5-6
1 Chronicles 6:7b-12
1 Chronicles 6:14b-15
1 Chronicles 6:35b-38

examples elsewhere:

1 Chronicles 3:10ff

Comment:

The content of 1 Chronicles 6:35-38 is almost identical with Ezra 7:1-5 except that the list of Ezra 7 extends for four more generations (cf. I.A above). On Ezra 7 see our comments under Type G above. On the artificial character of 1 Chronicles 6:5-15 see I.C below.

j) Introductory and concluding formulae

(1) Introductions

(a) To Type A

Exodus 6:14a 'lh r^šy byt 'btm (=these are the heads of the house of their fathers)

Non-Levitic example: Genesis 10:1

(b) To Type C

Numbers 26:57a 'lh pqwdy X lms^šphtm (=these are X as numbered by their families)

(c) To Type D

Numbers 26:58a 'lh ms^špht X (=these are the families of X)

(d) Independent

Numbers 3:1 'lh twldt X (=these are the generations of X)
(cf. Genesis 10:1)

(2) Conclusions

(a) To Type A

Exodus 6:19b, 24b (cf. Exodus 6:14b, 15b)
'lh mšpht X ltlđtm (=these are the families of X according to their generations)

1 Chronicles 23:24
'lh bny X lbyť 'bwtym...
(=these are the sons of X according to the house of their fathers...)

Non-Levitic example:

'lh mšpht X (Numbers 25:7, 14, 22, etc.)

(b) To Type C

Numbers 3:20b, 21b, 27b, 33b
'lh hm mšpht X (gentilic)
lbyť 'btm (=these were the families of X according to the house of their fathers)

(c) To Type F

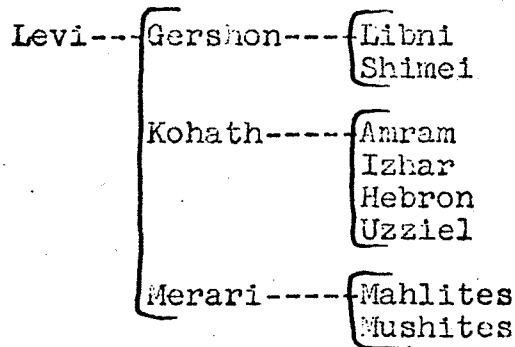
Exodus 6:25b 'lh r'šy 'bwt X lmšphtm
(=these are the heads of the fathers of X according to their families)

Summary of the Form-Critical Analysis of
the Levitic Genealogies

Our study has shown that there is a correlation between our first and second form analysis, as follows:

<u>Symbols used in first Analysis</u>	<u>Correspondent in second Analysis</u>
→	Type A
→→	Types B, C, D
→→→ ↓	Types E, F
← ↑	Type G
←←	Type H
↓	Type J

Types A (original form suggested), B (original form suggested), and C have the same content, namely:



Type C does not connect the names to Levi, but this is surely understood. A more significant difference among the three types is that Type C lists the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari with gentilic endings. This means that the names so listed represented groups and not just individuals.

Type D seemingly has no connection with the content of Types A, B, and C. It is as follows:

Levi--- Libnites
Hebronites
Korahites
Mushites

In the present form of the Old Testament text, all or part of Types E, F, G,¹⁰ and J are made to fit into Types A, B, and C.¹¹ However, there is never any connection with Type D; yet Type D purports to come from Israel's earliest history. This could mean that Type D (Numbers 26:58a) is to be considered even older than the content of Types A, B, and C as they are now constituted.

Type D is in gentilic form. If it is in fact so very old as we suggested, this may mean that in general one is to consider gentilic forms of names to be older than their non-gentilic counterparts. Accordingly, Type C, which is also in gentilic form would be older than Types A and B, and within Type C itself there seem to have been two forms, namely, one which stopped with the first generation of Levi's descendants (Numbers 26:57b, c, d), and another which added a second generation (Numbers 3:21, 27, 33).

¹⁰From Type G the following are not given an explicit Levitic genealogy nor are they part of another genealogy which is said to derive from Levi: Judges 18:30; 1 Samuel 14:3a; 22:9, 11, 20; 23:6; 30:7; and 1 Chronicles 24:6. It will later be shown how these may nevertheless be Levitic genealogies. 1 Chronicles 18:16 and 2 Samuel 8:17, which also belong to Type G, call Zadok the son of Ahitub. This fits with the long genealogy of 1 Chronicles 5:27-41, which goes back to Levi; but they also list Ahimelech the son of Abiathar. The place of Abiathar will also be discussed in the following chapters.

¹¹Type H lists Zadok as belonging to the line of Eleazar, which agrees with the content of Type E. However, it also speaks of Ahimelech as part of the line of Ithamar. The possible Levitic connection of this latter listing will be discussed below.

Our first form analysis showed that with the family of Amram a new form ($\overset{\text{bigat}}{\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow}$) begins. Our discussion of Type F suggests why on the basis of the analysis of the wording this element is secondary in Exodus 6, which is basically Form A.

Our first form analysis brings out the same shift in form in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41. Here the new form ($\rightarrow\rightarrow\rightarrow$) begins with Phinehas (verse 30).

What we have suggested throughout our analysis is that a change in form within a given section may indicate the building in of a later form into an earlier one. The use of the ten twldwt in Genesis may be a similar example.¹² Genesis 5 in its present form may be the result of attaching various smaller genealogies to the "twldwt of Adam." Likewise with the "twldwt of the sons of Noah" in 10:1ff; the "twldwt of Shem" in 11:10ff; the "twldwt of Ishmael" in 25:12ff; and the "twldwt of Esau" in 36:1ff.

None of the texts using Type G connects Aaron with Amram. Judges 18:30 gives a genealogy going back to Moses. There is no explicit mention of how Moses fits into the Levitic genealogy, but that he does is implicit in the context.

Hence, if our analysis is correct, it would appear that Types D and C (older form) are the two oldest Levitic genealogies. They are:

¹²See Claus Westermann, Genesis ("Biblischer Kommentar," I; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1966), 18ff.

Type D

Libnites
Hebronites
Korahites
Mushites

Type C (older form)

Gershonites
Kohathites
Merarites

Somewhat later a second generation (Type C-later form) was apparently added to fit in with Type C-older form. Type C-later form was still in gentilic style. If it is true that gentilics are generally the older form, Types A and B would be an adaptation of Type C-later form to a list of individuals. The two lists of the second generation are as follows:

Type C (later form)

Libnites
Shimeites

Amramites
Izharites
Hebronites
Uzzielites

Mahlites
Mushites

Types A and B

Libni
Shimei

Anram
Izhar
Hebron
Uzziel

Mahli
Mushi

Whether Type D antedates Type C (older form), or whether it may have at one time been a link between Type C (older form) and Type C (later form) we leave an open question for the present.

I.C. The Content of the Levitic Genealogies

On the basis of our form analysis of the Levitic genealogies it appeared that Types C and D were the oldest. Since there is only one example of D, and it has no obvious relationship to any of the other genealogies, it will be left out of consideration for now. On the other hand, Type C is clearly related to all of the other genealogies that purport to go back to the beginning of Israel's history. Therefore the content of Type C will serve as our starting point for a study of the internal structure or content.

1. Group A

The content of Type C-older form is found without addition in Numbers 26:57 and Genesis 46:11. Genesis 46:11 says that Gershon, Kohath, and Merari were "the sons of Levi," while Numbers 26:57 calls the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites "families" of the Levites. We shall call this first generation of descendants from Levi "Group A." We list it here for convenience.

Group A:

Gershon/Gershonites
Kohath/Kohathites
Merari/Merarites

The order of the "sons" in each group must be closely observed, for it is the writer's contention that the first son in a three-name genealogy, or sometimes the third

son was considered the most important.¹ Accordingly, in

¹Thorkild Jacobsen has suggested this view to the writer. Jacobsen bases himself on Axel Olrik, "Epische Gesetze der Volksdichtung," Zeitschrift für Deutsches Altertum und Deutsche Literatur, LI (1909), 1-12. Olrik shows how Volksepik is governed by a Gesetz der Dreizahl. Although in stories from India the Vierzahl often replaces the Dreizahl, the great majority of Volksüberlieferungen (e.g., Greek, Celtic, and German) use the Dreizahl. Olrik states (page 4): "Wie ein breiter streifen zieht sich das gesetz der dreizahl durch die sagenwelt hin, durch jahrhunderte und jahrtausende menschlicher cultur. die semitische und noch mehr die arische cultur ist diesem mächtigen herscher untertan" (underlining added). Olrik describes how the Gesetz der Dreizahl works (page 7): "Wenn eine reihe von personen oder dingen vorkommt, dann wird der vornehmste auf den ersten platz gesetzt; auf den letzten platz aber der, der den besonderen epischen anteil erregt. diese verhältnisse nennen wir mit einem nautischen ausdrücke toppgewicht und achtergewicht....achtergewicht mit dreizahl verbunden ist das vornehmste merkmal der volksdichtung --es ist ein episches gesetz. sobald wir uns in religiösen verhältnissen befinden, dann herrscht das toppgewicht; dann ist Odin grösser als seine zwei begleiter. wenn dieselben gestalten in epischen erzählungen auftreten, dann bekommen sie das achtergewicht: dann ist nicht mehr Odin der agierende als hauptperson der triade, sondern immer--als letzter der drei götter--Loki." Olrik also points out the Gesetz der scenischen zweiheit (page 5), in which two persons appear on the stage, one being the opposite of the other, e.g., young and old, large and small, good and evil (page 6). Though Olrik's examples come from European Volksdichtung he states (page 4), as we noted, that the principle of Dreizahl also applies to Semitic literature. Though he does not say so explicitly, he no doubt would agree that the principle of Zweiheit is likewise to be found among the Semites. Given Olrik's observations, Jacobsen's application of the Dreizahl principle to Gershon-Kohath-Merari seems very plausible. This is especially so, because there seem to be other examples of this principle in the Old Testament. The sons of Noah are listed as Shem-Ham-Japheth (Genesis 5:32; 10:1; 1 Chronicles 1:4). Here the placement of Shem in first place could be an example of what Olrik called Toppgewicht. In the breakdown of the three sons of Noah with their descendants the order is Japheth, Ham, and Shem (10:2ff, 6ff, 21ff--cf. 1 Chronicles 1:5,8,17). The placement of Shem in third place could be an example of Olrik's Achtergewicht. One might ask whether Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego in the Book of Daniel are not another example of the Dreizahl principle, although here they all seem to be on the same level. There are also examples of Zweiheit in the Old

the genealogies that we shall consider, it is interesting that Gershon is usually listed first and Kohath second; while in the breakdown of the names Kohath is given in the greatest detail, and his line is also amplified in the narratives. There is therefore a certain tension in our material concerning the significance of Kohath. Perhaps the order of Group A is old and so well established in the tradition that it could not easily be changed at a later time when Kohath had gained in importance.

2. Group B

Group A is repeated in Numbers 3:17-21, 27, 33; Exodus 6:16-19; and 1 Chronicles 6:1-4; but in these places the sons of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are named. We call this new generation "Group B." The names are as follows:

(Levi)-----(Gershon)----{
 Libni
 Shimei

(Kohath)-----(Amram
 Izhar
 Hebron
 Uzziel

Testament: Isaac and Ishmael (listed in that order in 1 Chronicles 1:28, but see Genesis 25:12, 19); Esau and Israel (1 Chronicles 1:34, cf. Genesis 25); Ephraim and Manasseh (Genesis 48:5, cf. Genesis 41:51f and 48:1); Moses and Aaron (Exodus 6:20; Numbers 26:59; 1 Chronicles 5:29, 23:13); and Gershom and Eliezer (Exodus 18:3f; 1 Chronicles 23:15). When two sons are listed it appears that the first-born is usually placed first, unless the writer wishes to make the point that the second-born outranks his older brother, e.g., Isaac-Ishmael in 1 Chronicles 1:28, Ephraim-Manasseh in Genesis 48:5, and Moses-Aaron (cf. discussion of plague stories in "J-E" in Chapter II below). Finally the families of Kohath (Amram-Izhar-Hebron-Uzziel) and Aaron (Nadab-Abihu-Elieazar-Ithamar) may be examples of the principle of Vierzahl. Judging by the Biblical evidence, Amram was considered to be the most important of the sons of Kohath; and at one time Nadab may have been considered the most important, as well as the first-born, son of Aaron.

(Merari)-----Mahli
Mushi

Here, too, the order of the names is constant and significant. The first name in each case, according to the principle we have outlined is the most important (cf. footnote 1, p. 64)

3. Group C (and D)

In the genealogies that we are considering, the names of Group B are carried out to the next generation as follows: (These new names we tentatively call "Group C.")

Hebron's sons are not given at all; Uzziel's sons (Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri) are given only once (and cf. Leviticus 10), namely, in Exodus 6:22; Izhar's family (Korah, Nepheg, Zichri) is mentioned only in Exodus 6:21 (and cf. Numbers 16:1); while the sons of Amram (Aaron and Moses) are recorded together four times (Exodus 6:20; Numbers 26:59; and 1 Chronicles 5:29 and 23:13),² and Aaron is listed separately twice (Exodus 28:1b and Numbers 3:2).

In our study of the external structure of Exodus 6:21 and 22 (cf. I.B above) it was suggested that if we took the external form seriously, we might consider the sons of Izhar and Uzziel as artificial additions to an existing genealogy (Type A). The fact that Hebron has no sons at all and that Aaron and Moses were probably not originally attached to Amram (cf. I.B) makes it doubtful whether any of the connections between Groups C and B are original, or even whether the names now found in

²On the "informal" style of Exodus 6:20 and Numbers 26:59 see the discussion of Type F in I.B above.

Group B were originally linked together as members of one generation. If they were, we would expect to see a uniform development of all four names. Also we would expect to see Mushi connected to Gershon, according to Judges 18:30b. But this we do not have. It is possible that the names in Group B are an artificial connection between the ancient Levitic group of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari and later independent groups: Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri; Korah, Nepheg, and Zichri.³ That is to say, it looks as though there is a break in the genealogy between Groups B and C. Accordingly, if a priestly document existed before "P," it probably included only Groups A and B.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion the definition of Group C can be changed. We would now consider Korah, Nepheg, and Zichri to be related and contemporaneous Levitic groups, which we call "Group C." Since Korah was active in a rebellion in the desert (Numbers 16), these groups can tentatively be dated to the earliest times of Israel's history.

Group C is then:

Korah
Nepheg
Zichri

Mishael, Elzaphan, and Sithri form another related

³Aaron and Moses, who are linked together as brothers in a "standard" genealogical form only in the late texts of 1 Chronicles 5:29 and 23:13, while in the Pentateuch they are listed in "informal" style (cf. Type F in I.B), pose a special problem to be dealt with more fully later.

group of three, which we label "Group D." Mishael and Elzaphan date to the Desert Period, if Leviticus can be trusted. Group D is thus:

Mishael
Elzaphan
Sithri

Libni, Shimei,⁴ Mahli, and Mushi, all of whom belong to Group B, have descendants who are recorded in 1 Chronicles 6. However, as we shall see, this is probably an artificial construction, and so we do not consider their "sons" as part of Groups C or D.

4. Group E (and F)⁵

Aaron and Moses are called brothers in Exodus 6:20, Numbers 26:59, and 1 Chronicles 5:29 and 23:13 (cf. also Numbers 3:1). It is significant that each time the order is "Aaron and Moses," whereas, as we shall see later, in the narrative sections it is normally "Moses and Aaron." Secondly, Moses' sons are never mentioned in the genealogies (except 1 Chronicles 23:15). These two facts alone indicate that Aaron and Moses may not be as closely associated as is often thought, and that they are best studied separately.

We start with the family of Aaron, which we tentatively call "Group E." Aaron is said to have four sons: Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar. Aaron's sons are recorded in

⁴Jahath, who in the present form of the text of 1 Chronicles 6:24-28 comes between Gershom and Shimei, is probably secondary, cf. Group K below.

⁵See Möhlenbrink, 214ff.

Exodus 28:1b, Numbers 3:2, Numbers 26:60, Exodus 6:23, and 1 Chronicles 5:29 and 24:1. Kurt Möhlenbrink⁶ compares Exodus 6:23 and Numbers 3:2, and he rightly contends that Exodus 6:23, because it is an Erzählungsgenealogie⁷ must be dependent on Numbers 3:2 and not vice versa. Numbers 26:60 would be dependent on Numbers 3:2 for the same reason. Exodus 28:1b may be a secondary adaptation to the wording of Type A. It too could have derived its content from Numbers 3:2. Since Numbers 3:2 is, then, undoubtedly the oldest genealogy of Aaron, and since it is not connected to Amram,⁸ this provides further support for the view that the connection of Aaron with Amram may be artificial.

It should be noted also that, since Nadab and Abihu⁹ are listed in positions one and two, they were probably the oldest and at one time the most important sons of Aaron, although according to Leviticus 10 they came to an early and ignominious end. Could this mean that Eleazar and Ithamar have been added to the sons of Aaron by a scribe who was attempting to reduce names to a scheme? At least it is historically possible that Eleazar and Ithamar took the place of Nadab and Abihu (cf. Leviticus 10), but that they were originally not

⁶p. 191.

⁷See the discussion under I.B.

⁸Aaron is connected to Amram only in the Erzählungsgenealogie of Exodus 6:20, 23 and Numbers 26:60.

⁹See Möhlenbrink, 214; and Gustav Westphal, "Aaron und die Aaroniden," ZAW, XXVI (1906), 222.

associated with them.¹⁰

The Old Testament provides scant information about the activity of Ithamar,¹¹ except to state that at one point he was the leader of all the Levites (Exodus 33:21), at another time of the Gershonites only (Numbers 4:28), and at still another times of the Merarites (Numbers 4:33; 7:8). In Leviticus 10 he is associated with Eleazar. However, there is no statement that he ever was the leader of the Kohathites. Thus his attachment to the Kohathites in the genealogies appears to be secondary. We can therefore say no more than that Ithamar was a ranking priest, probably sometime during the premonarchical period.¹²

Since Eleazar¹³ in the Old Testament narratives is clearly the outstanding son of Aaron (cf. Numbers 4:16; 19:3f; 20:28; 26:1-3; 27:18-21; 31:12f, 21), and later genealogies are attached to him (cf. Ezra 7:1-5 and 1 Chronicles 5:30ff; 6:35ff), it is unusual to find him in third spot in the list of Aaron's sons. This tends to confirm our suspicion that Eleazar's background may not be historically certain, for his connection with Aaron is not part of the primary tradition.

Most scholars have noted the similarity between

¹⁰See Gunneweg, 166, n. 1.

¹¹See Mühlenbrink, 215; and Gunneweg, 159f.

¹²See 1 Chronicles 24:3 which says that Ahimelech, and so also Eli, is from the line of Ithamar. Cf. 1 Samuel 22:20 and 14:3a.

¹³See Mühlenbrink, 216f; Gunneweg, 160; and Westphal, 223.

Eleazar (= אֶלְעָזָר) the son of Aaron and Eliezer (= אֶלְעִיזָר) the son of Moses (cf. Exodus 18:4), and many have suggested that the two are identical.¹⁴ For example, Gustav Hölscher¹⁵ calls attention to the fact that the mater lectionis with the i-vowel in Eliezer is secondary and that therefore there was originally no difference in the consonantal writing of the two names. Josephus in fact spelled the son of Moses Ἐλεάζαρος . Hölscher believes that a group of Aaronides appropriated Eleazar ben Moses as their ancestor to be on equal footing with the priests who traced their lineage to Gershom ben Moses.

A. H. J. Gunneweg's recent book on the Levites, to which we have already referred, presents a similar view. He holds that the Jerusalem priesthood sometime before the writing of P¹⁶ believed itself to be derived from Phinehas ben Eleazar ben Moses. Gunneweg believes¹⁷ that the Jerusalem priesthood had taken over this tradition from Shiloh¹⁸ where Eli was considered to be a descendant of Moses (cf. 1 Samuel 2:27f).

¹⁴For bibliography see Gunneweg, 164, n. 2.

¹⁵"Levi," Paulys Real-Encyclopädie, Neue Bearbeitung, ed. Georg Wissowa et al. (Stuttgart, 1924), XII, 2172f.

¹⁶Gunneweg's date is very general: "von einer bestimmten, nicht allzu frühen Zeit" (p. 164).

¹⁷p. 165.

¹⁸Just as it had fallen heir to the ark that had been at Shiloh.

Hence, according to Gunneweg, Eli and Eliezer¹⁹ are identical. Finally in P the line Eliezer/Eli--Phinehas was broken away from Moses and attached to Aaron, and Eliezer/Eli was given the name Eleazar. This also explains the downfall of the house of Eli (cf. 1 Samuel 2:30-36).

The present writer agrees with Hölscher and Gunneweg that Eliezer and Eleazar are identical. The strong "Aaronizing" Tendenz that we have already noted in I.B. would seem to be sufficient explanation for the separation of Eliezer/ Eleazar from Moses and for his attachment to Aaron.

On the contrary, we agree with Möhlenbrink²⁰ that the identification of Eliezer/ Eleazar with Eli goes too far. It is, however, possible that Eli descended from Eliezer/ Eleazar.²¹

If our contentions here are correct, we can now revise Group E to include only the following:

Group E: Aaron--Nadab
Abihu

Ithamar²² we list separately.

Group F: Ithamar

Eleazar is reserved for the next group.

¹⁹As well as Phinehas ben Eli and Phinehas ben Eleazar.

²⁰P. 217.

²¹See Chapter III below.

²²See Möhlenbrink, 215f; Westphal, 223; and Gunneweg, 159f.

5. Group G

The information provided by Judges 18:30b,²³ namely, Moses--Gershom--Jonathan, together with Eliezer/ Eleazar as a son of Moses makes up our "Group G" (cf. 1 Chronicles 23:15). Since this group consists of three generations, we also add Phinehas²⁴ the son of Eleazar. He is mentioned four times in the genealogies (Exodus 6:25--"informal" style; 1 Chronicles 5:30; 6:35; and Ezra 7:5) and also in various narratives (Numbers 25; Joshua 24:33; and Judges 20:28). Hence, Group G looks like this:

Moses---(Gershom---Jonathan
Eliezer---Phinehas

Therefore, according to our view, P, or a priestly writer of his time, would have had at his disposal Groups A-B, E, and G. Because of his Aaronizing Tendenz he broke up Moses' genealogy and attached it to Aaron.

6. Group H

The sons of Korah, namely, Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph, form "Group H." They are recorded in Exodus 6:24 (here they are brothers) and 1 Chronicles 6:7 (this time they are construed in a father-son relationship).

Group H: (Assir
 Elkanah
 Abiasaph

²³On the antiquity of this text see Charles Hauret, "Aux origines du sacerdoce danite, à propos de Jud. 18, 30-31," Mélanges Bibliques Rédigés en L'Honneur de André Robert (Paris, 1957), 107.

²⁴See Westphal, 224f; and Gunneweg, 161-164.

7. Group J

The line of priests recorded in 1 Chronicles 5:30-41 (and repeated partially in 1 Chronicles 6:35-38, Ezra 7:1-5, and 1 Chronicles 9:11 = Nehemiah 11:11)²⁵ makes up "Group J."

The names are:

<u>1 Chronicles</u> <u>9:11= Nehe-</u> <u>miah 11:11</u>	<u>1 Chronicles</u> <u>5:30-41</u>	<u>1 Chronicles</u> <u>6:35-38</u>	<u>Ezra 7:1-5</u>
	4 Abishua	Abishua	Abishua
	5 Bukki	Eukki	Mukki
	6 Uzzi	Uzzi	Uzzi
	7 Zerariah	Zerariah	Zerariah
	8 Meraioth	Meraioth	Meraioth
	9 Amariah I	Amariah I	(six
	10 Ahitub I	Ahitub I	names
	11 Zadok I	Zadok I	seemingly
	12 Ahimaaz	Ahimaaz	omitted)
	1 Azariah I		
	2 Johanan		
	3 Azariah II		Azariah II
	4 Amariah II		Amariah II
Ahitub	5 Ahitub II		Ahitub II
Meraioth	6		
Zadok II	7 Zadok II		Zadok II
Meshullam	8 Shallum		Shallum
Hilkiah	9 Hilkiah		Hilkiah
Azariah (1 Chron.9)	10 Azariah III		Azariah III
Seraiah (Nehemiah 11)	11 Seraiah		Seraiah
	12 Jehozadak		
			Ezra

In 1 Chronicles 5:27-41, Ezra 7:1-5, and 1 Chronicles 6:35-38 Abishua is traced back to Aaron via Phinehas and Eleazar. Our study of the genealogy in Exodus 6 showed, however, that Eleazar and Phinehas may not have been originally connected to Aaron. Rather we proposed (cf. Group G) that they

²⁵See Mühlenbrink, 210.

are to be construed as son and grandson of Moses. If this be true, then Zadok I would be separated from Moses/Aaron by ten generations. If one allows twenty-five years per generation, two hundred fifty years would separate Moses/Aaron and Zadok I. Since Zadok I can be dated fairly accurately to circa 950 B.C. (time of Solomon),²⁶ this would place Eleazar/Eliezer at 1200 B.C., which agrees with the commonly accepted date for the beginning of the Tribal League.²⁷

We are not here contending that Zadok was a descendant of Moses. Rather we would make the suggestion, which at this time can be no more than a hypothesis, that the genealogy that is now attributed to Zadok was originally the genealogy of Eli. This could have been adopted by Zadok, a novus homo who desired a noble pedigree,²⁸ when various traditions, including the ark, that had once been in Shiloh found their way to Jerusalem.²⁹ Whether or not this theory can be proven, there was no doubt some appropriation of names from the line of Eli by the Zadokites, as is shown by the listing of Ahitub as the father of both Zadok I and Zadok II, whereas 1 Samuel 14:3a; 22:9, 11, 20; and 23:6 clearly make Ahitub a descendant of Eli.

Group J is, however, not to be construed as the

²⁶See John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia, 1959), 466.

²⁷See Bright, 466.

²⁸See footnote 3 in Chapter I, p. 10.

²⁹In this respect we agree with Gunneweg, 165.

fabrication of the Chronicler. Rather it appears that he has combined two twelve-name genealogical documents,³⁰ both of which had been worked out and preserved by the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem. The first group was seemingly formed by adding Zadok and his son Ahimaaz to the ten-name genealogy (Aaron through Ahitub) which we suggested the Jerusalem priesthood had assimilated from Shiloh. This group of twelve would have reached from the Exodus to the building of the First Temple. Since the temple was begun in 959 B.C.,³¹ this would place the Exodus at 1259 B.C., if one reckons each generation as twenty-five years. This date agrees with one of the commonly held dates for the Exodus.³²

That this first group of twelve once had a separate existence seems confirmed by 1 Chronicles 6:35-38, which has exactly these twelve names, stopping with Ahimaaz.

The second group of twelve goes from Azariah I to Jehozadak. If one compares this list with the priests mentioned in the Books of Kings, it is obvious that there are historical gaps in the genealogy.³³ This fact, plus the repetition of

³⁰See Westphal, 219.

³¹Bright, 197, following the research of W. F. Albright and M. B. Rowton.

³²Bright, 113; and G. E. Wright, Biblical Archaeology (Philadelphia, 1957), 60. Both Bright (p. 113) and Wright (pp. 83f) assume that 1 Kings 6:1, which states that there were 480 years between the Exodus and the building of the Temple, must be understood as meaning twelve generations, which agrees with our analysis of the Levitic genealogy.

³³See the excursus after II.C.6, pp. 144f.

the group Amariah-Ahitub-Zadok, have led many scholars to believe that this second group of twelve is an artistic creation of a priestly scribe.³⁴ Thus it is not surprising that, if one allows three hundred years for these twelve generations and figures back from the destruction of Jerusalem in 587 B.C. (when Jehozadak lived, 1 Chronicles 5:41), one falls considerably short of 959 B.C., the date which we set for the end of the first group of twelve. Yet this second twelve-group had probably also become stylized in Zadokite circles long before the Chronicler used it in his work (1 Chronicles 5:27-41).

8. Group K - The Singer Lists

The ancestors of the three singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (sometimes called Jeduthun), are recorded in 1 Chronicles 6:18-32. We consider them to be "Group K."

<u>1-Chronicles 6:18-23</u>	<u>1 Chronicles 6:24-28</u>	<u>1 Chronicles 6:29-32</u>
1 Levi	1 Levi	1 Levi
2 Kohath	2 Gershom Jahath	2 Merari
3 Izhar	3 Shimei	3 Mushi
4 Korah	4 Zimmah	4 Mahli
5 Ebiasaph	5 Ethan	5 Shemer
6 Assir	6 Adaiah	6 Bani
7 Tahath	7 Zerah	7 Amzi
8 Zephaniah	8 Ethni	8 Hilkiyah
9 Azariah	9 Malachiah	9 Amaziah

³⁴See Möhlenbrink, 204. The practice of papponymy (naming grandson after grandfather) discussed by Frank M. Cross in "The Discovery of the Samaria Papyri," BA, XXVI (1963), 121, as well as the repetition of similar names like Thutmosis and Amenophis in Egyptian king lists and elsewhere would, however, seem to be sufficient evidence for the repetition of a certain name in a given genealogical line.

1 Chronicles
6:18-23

10 Joel
11 Elkanah
12 Amasai
13 Mahath
Elkanah
Zuph
Toah
Eliel
Jehoram
Elkanah
Samuel
Joel
14 Heman

1 Chronicles
6:24-28

10 Baaseiah
11 Michael
12 Shimea
13 Berechiah

14 Asaph

1 Chronicles
6:29-32

10 Hashabiah
11 Malluch
12 Abdi
13 Kishi

14 Ethan

The numbering is that of M^hhlenbrink.³⁵ In order to arrive at what he believes were originally three equally long genealogies, he considers Elkanah of the line of Kohath and Jahath of the line of Gershon to be mistakes.³⁶ Then he points out that Zuph to Samuel in the line of Kohath have been taken over from 1 Samuel 1:1.³⁷ The result is three genealogies of fourteen names each.

We agree with M^hhlenbrink³⁸ that these singer lists are artificial attempts to provide Heman, Asaph, and Ethan with a Levitic genealogy.³⁹ Even if there were not exactly

³⁵p. 203.

³⁶M^hhlenbrink, 202.

³⁷Joel, which is not part of the genealogy in 1 Samuel 1:1, may have been brought into the text here by virtue of the scribe's familiarity with 1 Samuel 8:2.

³⁸p. 203.

³⁹This does not, however, mean that Heman, Asaph, and Ethan are themselves unhistorical or that the phenomenon of guilds of temple musicians is unlikely for pre-exilic times. W. F. Albright, 126f, has shown the antiquity both of musical guilds and of the names Ethan and Heman. See also Albright, "Some Canaanite-Phoenician Sources of Hebrew Wisdom," Supplement to Vetus Testamentum, III: Wisdom in Israel and in the Ancient Near East (Leiden, 1960), 1-15.

fourteen names in each line originally, it is clear that the genealogy of Samuel is out of place in the line of Kohath, especially since it contains what are probably the same names as given in 1 Samuel 1:1⁴⁰ and Samuel's ancestors are there said to come from Ephraim. If one removes this list, the three genealogies are already approximately equal in length.

Another indication of the scribe's difficulty in understanding his data is provided by the fact that the line of Kohath is here given first. This indicates that the genealogist is living in a time when the old formula Gershon-Kohath-Merari no longer represents the historical facts concerning the relative prominence of the three groups.

Finally, the names Korah to Joel in the line of Kohath and Gershom to Ethni in the line of Gershom may have been taken from 1 Chronicles 6:7-9 and 6:5-6 respectively. In their present form the two sets of lists are not exactly the same, but they are close enough to suggest that here is another indication of how the genealogist of 1 Chronicles 6:18-32 cast about in his attempt to find enough names to carry out his plan of constructing the singer lists.⁴¹

⁴⁰See S. R. Driver, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel (Oxford, 1890), 1ff, and remarks under I.A. above.

⁴¹For an explanation of the minor differences between 1 Chronicles 6:21f and 6:7-9 see Lefèvre, 290. For a comparison of 1 Chronicles 6:26-28 and 6:5-6 see E. L. Curtis and A. A. Madsen, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Chronicles ("ICC"; Edinburgh, 1910), 130.

9. Group L

The sons of Libni and Mahli are carried out seven places each. This is "Group L."

1 Chronicles 6:5-6

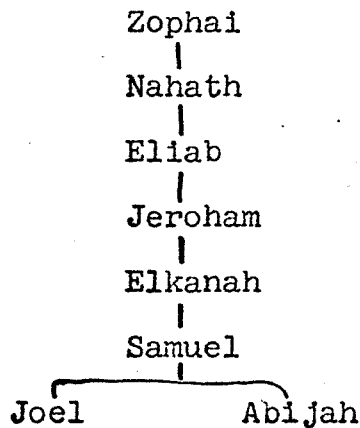
- Gershom
- 1 Libni
- 2 Jahath
- 3 Zimnah
- 4 Joah
- 5 Iddo
- 6 Zerach
- 7 Jeatherai

1 Chronicles 6:14-15

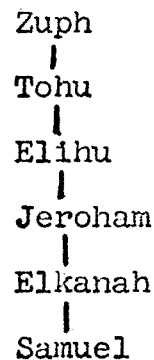
- Merari
- 1 Mahli
- 2 Libni
- 3 Shimei
- 4 Uzzah
- 5 Shimea
- 6 Haggiah
- 7 Asaiah

The genealogy of Kohath given in this section (1 Chronicles 6:7-13) does not fit the seven-generation pattern as it stands. However, that it is not in its original form is evident from the fact that its last six or seven names are virtually identical with 1 Samuel 1:1.⁴² A chart points this out.

1 Chronicles 6:11-13



1 Samuel 1:1



After one has removed the genealogy of Samuel plus

⁴²See Driver, *lff*; Albright, *Arch. and Rel. of Israel*, 205, n. 44; Curtis and Madsen, 130f.

his sons⁴³ in an attempt to get at the original form of the genealogy, there are still some problems. The remaining names are:

Kohath
|
Amminadab
|
Korah
|
Assir
|
Elkanah
|
Ebiasaph
|
Assir
|
Tahath
|
Uriel
|
Uzziah
|
Shaul

At this point the genealogical form is broken and the text continues (verse 10): "And the sons of Elkanah, Amasai and Ahimoth." Then the genealogical form is picked up again (disregarding the Massoretic punctuation) in verse 11: "Elkanah his son." However, it is not stated explicitly of whom Elkanah is a son. Evidently Elkanah here in verse 11 repeats the Elkanah of verse 10.⁴⁴

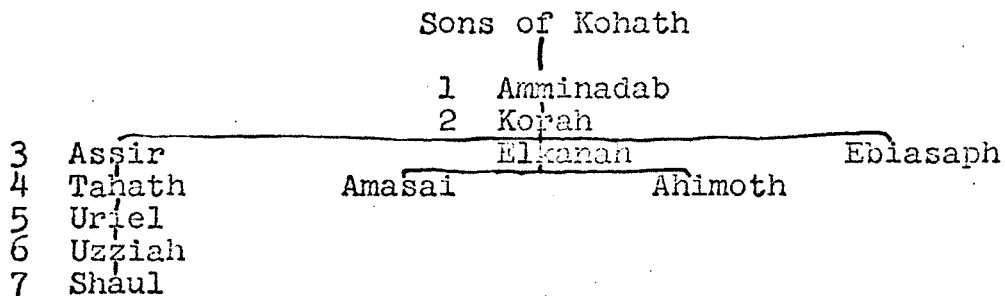
One can only make sense out of the text by following a suggestion as that by Lefèvre.⁴⁵ He first of

⁴³The sons of Samuel may have been added secondarily from 1 Samuel 8:2. For a discussion of the textual problems of 1 Chronicles 6:11-13 see I.A. above.

⁴⁴The next Elkanah in MT v. 11 we have seen to be not original in the text, cf. I.A. above.

⁴⁵Pages 289f.

all recalls the fact that in Exodus 6:24 Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph are not in a father-son relationship as here, but they are the "sons" of Korah. He suggests that the Chronicler has purposely changed the arrangement of Exodus 6 to fit his new circumstances. Lefèvre further suggests that the second Assir in the list is really the same as the first one, and that at this point the genealogist is simply taking up the name again and giving his descendants. Having done that, he also repeats the name of Elkanah and lists his sons, Amasai and Ahimoth. The words of the Massoretic Text, "Elkanah his son, Elkanah" in verse 11 he calls a "collector's notation."⁴⁶ Thus he has arrived at seven generations, just as in the case of Gershon and Merari. This is made clear in a chart:



Amminadab is a problem.⁴⁷ The suggestion of Möhlenbrink⁴⁸ and Lefèvre⁴⁹ commends itself. They see it as an

⁴⁶In I.A above we saw that the second Elkanah of MT v. 11 is secondary; and the first Elkanah of v. 11 would be a repetition of Elkanah in v. 10, or in Lefèvre's terms, a "collector's notation."

⁴⁷Note that an Amminadab is mentioned in 1 Chronicles 15:10 as belonging to the sons of Uzziel.

⁴⁸Page 201.

⁴⁹Page 291.

artificial substitute for Amram.⁵⁰ Since the seven-name lineage of Gershom and Merari passes through one who is repeatedly reckoned as their first-born, i.e., Libni and Mahli respectively, it is to be expected that the original seven-name lineage of Kohath would likewise pass through his purported first-born, i.e., Amram.

Since these genealogies of Group L pass through the "oldest" sons of Gershom, Kohath, and Merari, it is highly probable that we have here one of the first (albeit probably post-exilic) attempts to work out a full genealogy for the famous three branches of the Levites. That it is artificial is indicated by the schematic three sevens; that it is post-exilic is suggested by the fact that only the Chronicler records these genealogies, though we simply cannot reconstruct the Chronicler's sources in their entirety.⁵¹

10. Group M

"Group M," found in 1 Samuel 14:3a, is very interesting in that it lists the descendants of Eli, a priest who is known from the narratives of 1 Samuel 1-4. Whether or not Eli was a Levite and, if so, who his ancestors in the Levitic line

⁵⁰Paul Riemann (private communication) suggests עמינדב is the result of a haplography.

Thus: עמ[ר]ם בנו אהרן ב[נ]ו נדב בנו קרח בנו
 " " " נדב " " " נדב עמ

This however, would be the only instance of Korah being reckoned as a descendant of Nadab. Curtis and Madsen, 130f, believe that 1 Chronicles 6:7-13 is really the same as 1 Chronicles 6:18-23, and so they suggest that Amminadab is a mistake for Izhar. But their analysis is not able to arrive at a seven-name genealogy for Kohath.

⁵¹See discussion of Type J above and I.D below.

were, are questions that have no obvious answer. However, we have suggested that his genealogy was appropriated by the Jerusalem priesthood and attached to Zadok.⁵² If this is true, we would have to reconstruct the genealogy of Eli from the list of priests in 1 Chronicles 5:27-34. Group M is as follows:

Eli---Phinehas---

Ahitub
Ichabod

---Ahijah

11. Group N

The genealogy of Samuel, which we call "Group N," is given in 1 Samuel 1:1. According to 1 Samuel 1:1, Samuel's ancestors came from Ephraim. Therefore Samuel was not strictly speaking a Levite. Yet, because his genealogy was artificially built into the line of Kohath (1 Chronicles 6:7-13 and 6:18-23), as we have seen, it is necessary to list it:

Zuph---Tohu---Elihu---Jeroham---Elkanah---Samuel

12. Group O

We now present Numbers 26:58a:

Levi---

Libnites
Hebronites
Korahites
Mushites

If Mühlenbrink is correct,⁵³ this may date from the time of the Judges, that is, sometime between the conquest and the monarchy.

13. Others

2 Samuel 8:17 and 1 Chronicles 18:16 both present

⁵²For now see 1 Chronicles 24:3 and point 13 below.

⁵³Pages 191-197 and 206f; Waterman, 376ff; cf. also I.B above.

the following:

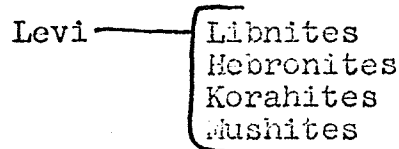
Ahitub-->Zadok and Abiathar-->Ahimelech⁵⁴

Zadok is repeatedly called the son of Ahitub in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 5-6. Ahimelech, however, is called the son of Abiathar only here. According to 1 Samuel 22:20 and 23:6 (cf. 22:9, 11) Abiathar is the son of Ahimelech who is the son of Ahitub (cf. 1 Samuel 30:7). In 1 Chronicles 24:3 Ahimelech is linked with the sons of Ithamar; while Zadok, in agreement with 1 Chronicles 5-6 is said to be of the lineage of Eleazar.

⁵⁴MT of 1 Chronicles 18:16 actually has Abimelech, but this is surely a mistake.

I.D. Preliminary conclusions

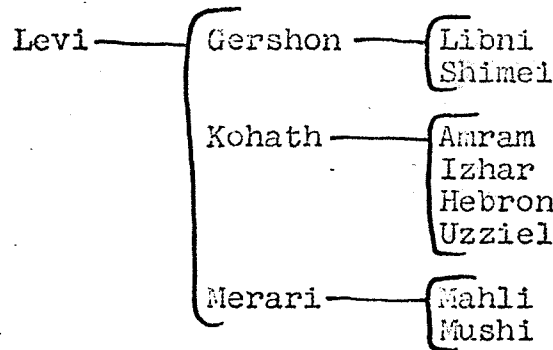
In our form-critical analysis of the Levitic genealogies (I.B), Type D had no noticeable relationship to the other genealogies. We tentatively put it first:



Next we place Type C-older form:



In third place we list Types A, B, and C, which all have the same content:



We will not attempt to date these now, or even to say definitely whether Type D should chronologically be placed first or third. We did suggest, however, that, at least according to the external form, the other genealogical material (except Type C-older form) is not as old.

Our investigation of the content of the genealogies (I.C) largely confirmed the findings of I.B.

Leaving Numbers 26:58a (Group O) temporarily outside our consideration, it appears that Group A is the oldest.

Levi ——— { Gershon/Gershonites
Kohath/Kohathites
Merari/Merarites

Group B is as follows:

(Levi) ——— { (Gershon) ——— { Libni
Shimei
(Kohath) ——— { Amram
Izhar
Hebron
Uzziel
(Merari) ——— { Mahli
Mushi

Group B agrees with the content of Types A, B, and C. It is very well established in the tradition. But nevertheless we found reason to believe (cf. discussion of Group C) that Group B is already an artificial construction of a genealogist, although this does not rule out the fact that each name in Group B represents a Levitic group. In keeping with the lettering for our groups, we shall call this artificial genealogy "Document A-B." We can set a terminus ad quem for it, namely, circa 587 B.C., since it antedated both P and the Chronicler, as we shall see.

It is our hope that a study of the narratives dealing with Levites and/or priests in Chapter II will help establish a more precise dating of the other Levitic groups. For the present we are only able to isolate them and to place them within very broad historical boundaries. Where a name is very commonly used in the narratives referring to a certain period, we shall assume that the person lived then. For example, we

assume that there was someone called Aaron or Phinehas in Israel's earliest period.

Therefore we simply list below the groups that, according to our principle of investigation of the Levitic genealogies, were active sometime between the Exodus and the Exile. We number them to keep them separate, but no historical sequence is thereby implied. Where an incident, datable according to the narrative traditions, involving one or more of the names is involved, this is noted:

1. Amram
2. Izhar
3. Hebron (mentioned in the Conquest Period - Joshua 10:36, cf. Judges 1:10; Joshua 14:13-15; 15:13-14; also Levitical city and city of refuge - Joshua 20:7; 21:10-13; 1 Chronicles 6:42)
4. Uzziel (Numbers 3:30)
5. Korah (cf. Numbers 16 - Desert Period), Nepheg, Zichri
6. Libni (connection with city of Libnah? - conquered by Joshua, Joshua 10:29f; a city of refuge alongside Hebron, 1 Chronicles 6:42)
7. Shimei
8. Mahli
9. Mushi (usually considered by scholars to be derived from Moses)
10. Aaron - { Nadab } - (cf. narratives in Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, especially Exodus 24:1ff; 32-34; Leviticus 10; Numbers 12; 20)
 { Abihu }
11. Ithamar (Exodus 38:21; Leviticus 10; Numbers 4:28; 4:33; 7:8)

12. Moses — { Gershon → Jonathan } (cf. re Moses Exodus-
Eliezer → Phinehas } Deuteronomy; re Eliezer
Numbers 4:16; 19:3f;
20:28; 26:1-3; 27:18-21; 31:12f, 21; re
Jonathan Judges 17-18; re Phinehas Numbers 25;
Joshua 24:33; and Judges 20:28)
13. Eli---Phinehas---{ Ahitub----Ahijah (cf. 1 Samuel 1-4)
Ichabod
14. Zuph--Tohu--Elihu--Jeroham--Elkanah--Samuel
(cf. 1 Samuel)
15. Ahitub--→Zadok; Abiathar--→Ahimelech
(1 and 2 Samuel; 1 Kings)
16. Ahitub---Ahimelech---Abiathar
17. Sons of Ithamar---Ahimelech; sons of Eleazar---Zadok
(Two more groups are probably pre-exilic,
since they are found in Exodus 6)
18. Mishacl, Elzaphan (cf. 1 Chronicles 15), Sithri
(Leviticus 10:4 - Mishacl, Elzaphan)
(Numbers 3:30 - Elizaphan)
19. Assir, Elkanah Abiasaph

It is now possible to construct a theory as to the development of the Levitic genealogies beginning with our suggestion in I.C (Group J), continuing with Groups A and B, then with the Levitic groups just listed, and ending with the work of the Chronicler.

1. Shiloh preserved a ten-name genealogy from Moses to Eli (cf. I.C, Group J).

2. The Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem appropriated the genealogy of Eli and applied it to Zadok. With the addition of Ahimaaz it became a stylized group of twelve names.

3. Sometime during the monarchical period, probably not long before the Exile, a (presumably Jerusalemite) genealogist

constructed a genealogy which we call "Document A-B" (to correspond to Groups A and B in I.C above). It consisted of attaching Libni, Shimei, Amram, Izhar, Hebron, Uzziel, Mahli, and Mushi (which may or may not correspond to actual Levitic groups of the time, cf. 1 Chronicles 15:4-10) to the time-honored Levitic genealogy of Gershon-Kohath-Merari.

4. P, working during the Exile (circa 550 B.C.), proceeded to develop Document A-B farther. He also had at his disposal a knowledge of the Levitic groups and small genealogies listed above. Since he was describing the desert period, he could not use the genealogy of Zadok any farther than Phinehas (cf. Exodus 6). Apparently he was particularly interested in presenting the Aaronides in a favorable light, for he attached the line of Aaron (Group E) to Amram, and he broke up the line of Moses (Group G) and attached Eleazar and Phinehas to Aaron. The other results of his handiwork are to be seen especially in Exodus 6:16-25.

5. Another genealogist, either contemporaneous with or somewhat later than P, made a different use of Document A-B. He added seven names (about whose historicity and dating very little can be said) to each of the first-born sons of Gershon-Kohath-Merari. This is Group L above. He either was not aware of, or he disregarded P's attachment of the Aaronides to Amram (who is the "first-born" son of Kohath).

6. Then the same or another genealogist attached the singer lists (Group K--here too it does not necessarily follow

that all the names are fictitious or late simply because they are arranged in a schematic way) of fourteen names each to the second-born sons of Gershon-Kohath-Merari. He also was either not aware of, or he disregarded P's attachment of two generations of groups of three each to Izhar (the "second-born" son of Kohath). This genealogist gives some indication of the time that he worked by placing the Kohathites first. This means that the tradition that put Gershon first was no longer held so sacrosanct.

7. Another genealogist, or the Chronicler himself, added the content of 1 Samuel 1:1 to the line of the Kohathites in Group L (thereby destroying the symmetry of the three sevens) and also to the singer list of Kohathites, i.e. Group K, (thereby breaking up the three fourteens).

8. The work of the Chronicler:

a) He disconnected 1 Chronicles 6:7-13 from Amram and attached it to Amminadab.

b) Then, taking Document A-B (which he knew to be a separate document, cf. 1 Chronicles 6:1-4) plus P's work with Groups E and G (which he uses separately in 1 Chronicles 24:1), and the two Zadokite twelve-name genealogies (point 1 above), he worked out a whole line of Levitic (high?) priests from Eleazar to the Exile (Jehozadok) and attached them to Aaron. This was our Group J.

CHAPTER II

LEVITIC AND/OR PRIESTLY TERMINOLOGIES

Thus far we have limited our discussion to genealogical items. In this chapter we shall seek to investigate the priestly and/or Levitic terminologies in non-genealogical material. The following order will be followed: JE, D, Deuteronomic History, the pre-exilic prophets, Ezekiel, P, and the Chronicler's History.¹

Assuming that we were correct in our judgment that Group B (Libni-Shimei; Amram-Izhar-Hebron-Uzziel; Mahli-Mushi) was an artificial construction of a genealogist toward the end of the monarchical period, it shall be the major task of this chapter to isolate, and to arrange in chronological order if possible, the various Levites and Levitic groups that historically ante-date the formation of this Group B.

As we proceed into an investigation of the narrative sources we shall make use of the insights gained in Chapter I

¹For the extent of the Deuteronomic and Chronicler's History see Martin Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1957). The source analysis is based mainly upon the researches of Otto Eissfeldt, Hexateuch-Synopse (Leipzig, 1922; reprinted without change, Darmstadt, 1952); and J. Estlin Carpenter and George Harford, The Composition of the Hexateuch (London, 1902). Eissfeldt's "L" we consider as part of JE. It is of course acknowledged that P and the Chronicler can contain material as old as JE or D.

and shall attempt to validate them further. The hypothesis which we are seeking to develop is as follows:

The earliest Levitic groups were the Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites. During the Tribal League there were four groups, namely, Mushites, Hebronites, Korahites, and Libnites. Between these two groups in time one must place the family of Moses and the family of Aaron. It has been our position that Eleazer and Phinehas must be reckoned as descendants of Moses and not of Aaron. Another position we have taken is that Zadok is a descendant of Aaron. We may still regard Aaron as a Kohathite, as he is listed in the genealogies. Moses, on the other hand, may well be a Gershonite rather than a Kohathite. How the line of the Merarites fits into this picture is still unclear at this time. The family of Eli (including Abiathar) we have taken to be descendants of Moses. If Moses is a Gershonite, then it follows that Eli must also be.

After this hypothesis has been checked in Chapter II, it will be clearly set forth by a chart in Chapter III.

A. JE

1. Genesis 29:34; 34:1-31; 49:5-7²

The JE stratum of Genesis contains only one personal name that appears in the Levitic genealogies, namely, Levi.

²Eissfeldt, 69-71, does not find any P material in Genesis 34. Carpenter and Harford, 512, call about half of the chapter P.

In the three passages where Levi is mentioned he is spoken of as an individual, and specifically as one of the sons of Jacob. Nevertheless most scholars³ are of the opinion that what lies beneath the surface is an episode out of the history of the clan Levi. At this time we shall not discuss the content (cf. IV below) other than to state that the present context places the story before the Exodus and even before the sojourn in Egypt.

Since there is no indication of any groups within the clan, any comparison with the Levitic genealogical material is difficult. The connection of Levi and Simeon which is contained in these passages does not occur again in the Old Testament. However, the greatest problem in using these texts to apply to the later Levites is found in the fact that Levi is not a priest here but a warring tribe. It is therefore debatable whether or not this so-called "secular" tribe has any connection with the later priestly tribe of Levites.⁴

³E.g., John Skinner, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis ("The International Critical Commentary," I, 2nd ed.; Edinburgh, 1930), 421f; H. H. Rowley, "Early Levite History and the Question of the Exodus," JNES, III (1944) 75-76; Eduard Nielsen, Shechem (Copenhagen, 1955), 278-283, and "The Levites in Ancient Israel," Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute, III, ed. Hans Kosmala et al. (Leiden, 1964), 20-22; Hans Strauss, Untersuchungen zu den Ueberlieferungen der vorexilischen Leviten (Bonn, 1960), 113-126; E. A. Speiser, Genesis ("The Anchor Bible," I; Garden City, N.Y., 1964), 266-8; and A. H. J. Gunneweg, Leviten und Priester ("Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments," ed. Ernst Käsemann and Ernst Würthwein, 39; Göttingen, 1965), 44-52.

⁴See the literature referred to in footnote 3 above.

2. Exodus

The names which the JE stratum of Exodus has in common with the Levitic genealogies are: Moses, Aaron, Nadab, Abihu, Gershon/m, and Eleazar/Eliezer.⁵ By far the majority of references are to Moses and Aaron. Exodus 32:25-29 speaks of the Levites as a group.

According to 2:1, Moses was a Levite. His father was from the byt lwy, and his mother was a bt lwy.⁶

The intermarriage between Levites and Midianites that occurred when Moses married Zipporah (2:21) will have to be taken note of in Chapter IV below.

Moses' son was called Gershom (2:22). This information about Moses' son agrees with the genealogy in Judges 18:30, and it is the same name, though not necessarily the same person, that occurs in Group A (cf. I.C). It is strange that Gershom is never called a son of Moses in the genealogies of Exodus or Chronicles (except cf. 1 Chronicles 23:15). This is one indication that JE and the genealogies imbedded in P and Chronicles have different interests.

We shall not cite every instance of the use of the

⁵For the interchange in spelling between Gershom here and Gershon of the genealogies see I.A above. On Eliezer=Eleazar see I.C above and Gunneweg, 164.

⁶Martin Noth, Exodus, trans. J. S. Bowden ("The Old Testament Library"; Philadelphia, 1962), 25, calls this J. Leroy Waterman, "Jacob the Forgotten Supplanter," AJSL, LV (1938), 34, considers it a secondary addition to J. T. J. Meek, "Moses and the Levites," AJSL, LVI (1939), 114, points out that the passage has usually been considered E, and that it fits well in the context. He therefore sees no reason to consider it secondary. With this we agree.

name Moses, but we are interested in all cases where Moses and Aaron are mentioned together. It will be recalled that in the genealogies Moses and Aaron are brothers, but Aaron is always listed first, i.e., he is the firstborn and, according to our principle (cf. I.C), the most important.

Aaron is called a Levite in 4:14 ('hrn 'hyk hlwy).⁷ This (verses 14-16 and 27-31) is the only JE passage of Exodus where Moses seems dependent upon Aaron.⁸ Otherwise Moses is the dominant figure in JE. This is particularly clear in the plague stories, where Moses is constantly mentioned first. In the very first encounter with Pharaoh (5:1-4) Moses is first and Aaron second.⁹

In the fourth plague (8:16-28=English 8:20-32) Moses dominates the scene. Aaron is mentioned only in verse 21 (=English 25), and then he is in second place behind Moses.¹⁰

In the fifth plague (9:1-7) Aaron is not mentioned at all; in the seventh plague (9:13-35) he is mentioned only in verse 27, again in second place;¹¹ in plague eight (10:1-20)

⁷Cf. Gunneweg, 95ff.

⁸Noth, Exodus, 46f, considers vv. 13-16 to be secondary to the epic source, and he drops Aaron as also secondary in vv. 27-31 (p. 51); Eissfeldt, Hexateuch-Synopse, 115, takes Aaron as secondary in v. 29, which he classifies as J.

⁹Noth, Exodus, 48, drops Aaron as secondary; Eissfeldt, Hexateuch-Synopse, 116, considers him so only in v. 4, part of his J source.

¹⁰Noth, Exodus, 64, again takes Aaron as secondary; Eissfeldt, 123, agrees, since this is J.

¹¹In Eissfeldt this is J, and he drops Aaron, 125; Noth, Exodus, 65, also drops Aaron.

he is mentioned three times (verses 3, 8, 16), but always in second position;¹² and in plagues nine (10:21-26) and ten (11:1-8) Moses acts alone.

In the actual Exodus (12:21-39 and chapters 13-14) Aaron is mentioned only twice (verses 28 and 31), both times as a tag behind Moses; and there is some doubt as to whether even these two instances belong to JE.¹³

Interestingly, after her famous song (15:1-18)¹⁴ Miriam is called the sister of Aaron, but Moses is not mentioned.¹⁵ The song itself is an old piece¹⁶ now part of JE. The mention of Aaron at this point has all the earmarks of being original, even if many of the other instances of his name discussed up to this point can be dismissed as secondary. Therefore, one would have to conclude that there was indeed a figure such as Aaron in Israel's earliest period,¹⁷ though up to this point we have not seen him functioning as a priest.¹⁸

¹²Eissfeldt, 126f, makes this J and drops Aaron each time, as does Noth, Exodus, 66.

¹³Noth, Exodus, 86; Eissfeldt, 130; and Carpenter and Harford, 516, call v. 28 P, and Noth drops Aaron from v. 31.

¹⁴On why this is so called see F. M. Cross, Jr., and D. N. Freedman, "The Song of Miriam," JNES, XIV (1955), 237-250.

¹⁵Cf. Noth, Exodus, 122; Gustav Westphal, "Aaron und die Aaroniden," ZAW, XXVI (1906), 207f and 211.

¹⁶For reasons, cf. Cross and Freedman, footnote 14 above.

¹⁷Cf. Westphal, 211.

¹⁸Noth, Exodus, 122f, cannot believe that 15:20f belongs to the basic material of J, since Noth is concerned to eliminate Aaron from J altogether.

At the time when Yahweh first sent manna to the people, Moses alone is mentioned (16:4-5).

During the war with the Amalekites (chapter 17) Aaron is a military leader of the same stature as Hur (verses 10, 12), but he is not described as a priest, nor is he on a par with Moses.¹⁹

In Chapter 18 where Jethro, Moses' father-in-law, acts as a priest by sacrificing, Aaron (verse 12), together with the elders of Israel, apparently is involved only as a participant in the communal meal which followed.²⁰

Gershom, Moses' son, is mentioned a second time (18:3); and for the first time Moses' other son, Eliezer, is referred to (18:4).²¹

In the preparation for the giving of the covenant at Sinai (chapter 19) Aaron is mentioned only once, and then in distinction to the "priests" (19:24, cf. verse 22). Who these "priests" are is not indicated. Though Aaron was given the honor of being asked to go up the mountain with Moses, in chapter 20 it is Moses alone (verse 21) who drew near to speak to God.

In the covenant ratification proceedings (chapter 24) Moses acts as a priest (verses 6, 8),²² while Aaron, Nadab,

¹⁹Cf. Westphal, 211.

²⁰Cf. Westphal, 213.

²¹On Eliezer=Elcazar see discussion under I.C.

²²Cf. Gunneweg, 36. It is not clear who the young men are who sacrificed (v. 5).

and Abihu function on the same level as elders in two cases (verses 1, 9), and in another instance (verse 14) Aaron and Hur stay with the elders.

Exodus 32 in its present form presents Aaron and Moses as being at loggerheads over the erection of a molten calf. Because the Levites (here mentioned as a group for the first time) sided with Moses, they were consecrated as priests (verse 29). See our Excursus on this chapter below.

3. Numbers

The role of Aaron is similar to that in Exodus. In 10:29 - 11:35 he does not appear at all, and Moses is the main figure. Likewise in the JE sections of chapters 13-14; 21:4-35; and chapter 32.

In chapter 12²³ Aaron (and Miriam) is actually opposed to Moses (cf. Exodus 32), though some scholars²⁴ believe Aaron is secondary in the story, since he is not punished the way Miriam was.²⁵

The source analysis of chapter 16 is very difficult, but Carpenter and Harford²⁶ and Eissfeldt²⁷ agree that the rebellion of Korah, whose followers are called "sons of Levi" (verses 8 and 10), belongs to P, and therefore the problems

²³Möhlenbrink, 219; Gunneweg, 82.

²⁴Cf. Noth, Ueber. des Pent., 139.

²⁵Cf. R. H. Kennett, "Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood," Journal of Theological Studies, IV (1904-1905), 165.

²⁶Page 519.

²⁷Hexateuch-Synopse, 173-5.

posed by the story will be discussed below. The JE stratum of the chapter presents the story of the revolt of Dathan, Abiram, and On (all Reubenites and therefore presumably not priests) against Moses. In this story Aaron is not mentioned.

SUMMARY

JE portrays Aaron as being a significant leader during the Exodus and Wilderness periods. He is always associated with Moses, but is never superior to him (except perhaps in chapter 4). Unlike the picture in the genealogies (especially Exodus and 1 Chronicles), where he is pictured as the Urpriester, in JE he does not appear as priest at all (except perhaps chapter 32).²⁸

In agreement with the genealogies, he is once called a Levite (4:14), and also once (4:14) the brother of Moses as well as of Miriam (15:20). Thus it can be said that JE is aware of much of the information about Moses and Aaron contained in the genealogies; however, the emphasis is entirely different. JE is "Moses-oriented," whereas the genealogies, especially the later developments of them as seen in I.B and I.C above, are "Aaron-oriented." Thus we see no reason to doubt the historicity of Aaron in the early period;²⁹ but we do believe that JE contains a more accurate account of his standing than one gets from studying the genealogies in their final form. In fact JE contains remnants of actual struggles

²⁸Cf. Kennett, 163.

²⁹Cf. Westphal, 216.

between Mushite and Aaronite priesthoods (Exodus 32 and Numbers 12).

In JE Nadab and Abihu appear alongside Aaron on one occasion (Exodus 24). It may be that JE knew them to be Aaron's sons (as the genealogies say), although he does not say so. There is also no indication that they were priests.

Strangely, there is no mention of the three-fold division of the Levites, Gershon-Kohath-Merari, so prevalent in the genealogies, though the name Gershom=Gershon does appear as the son of Moses (Exodus 2:22 and 18:3).

Eliezer=Eleazar is called Moses' son in 18:4. This is never recorded in the present form of the Levitic genealogies (except 1 Chronicles 23:15). However, it agrees with our Group G as reconstructed in I.C above.

EXCURSUS I

EXODUS 32 (AND 1 KINGS 12)

One of the prevailing interpretations of Exodus 32 is that it arose as a polemic against the cult of Jeroboam I. This is the position of Martin Noth.¹ He sees the whole of Exodus 32 as a secondary tradition in a complex that runs from Exodus 32 to 34, which is a continuation of the narrative interrupted at Exodus 24:15 by P material.

Within Exodus 32 itself Noth believes there are several levels of tradition. Verses 7-14, which explain how Israel was spared, he considers a Deuteronomistic addition because of its style and the mention of the oath given to the Patriarchs.²

It is Noth's contention³ that Aaron's role is not deeply rooted in the narrative of Exodus 32, since the subordinate clauses that refer to him in verses 25 and 35 are clearly secondary additions. Verses 21-24, which record a

¹Martin Noth, Exodus, trans. J. S. Dowden ("The Old Testament Library"; Philadelphia, 1962), 243ff. Murray L. Newman, Jr., The People of the Covenant (Nashville, 1962), 182, believes that Exodus 32 arose as an attempt to relate Jeroboam's calf to the Mosaic period but that its original form was favorable to the calf. For further bibliography see Moses Aberbach and Leivy Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam, and the Golden Calves," JBL, LXXXVI (1967), 136, n. 36.

²Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch (Stuttgart, 1948), 33, n. 113; and cf. Strauss, 83.

³Exodus, 244.

conversation between Moses and Aaron, are out of place and evidently also an addition. Accordingly, verses 1-6 in their original form would have dealt with the people's action alone; and though verse 5, which mentions Aaron, is probably original in verses 1-6, it presents him as "one who tolerated the fait accompli of the people."⁴

Noth further claims⁵ that verses 25-29, the Levite-passage, must be judged a later addition, because it conflicts with the punishment described in verse 20. He sees the real purpose of verses 25-29 to be an aetiology of the Levitic priesthood and at the same time a polemic against the non-Levitic priesthood of Jeroboam I. Though secondary, these verses are older than the insertions concerning Aaron.⁶

Hence, according to Noth, the Grundtext of Exodus 32 is to be found in 1a...4b-6. 15-20. (25-29). 30-33. 34a α . (34a β). 34b. (35).⁷ Because of its close connection with chapter 34, this Grundtext, according to Noth, is certainly related to J.⁸ However, if one assumes, as does Noth, that the Grundtext was composed with reference to Jeroboam's cult-politics, then it does not fit a Davidic/Solomonic date for J. Accordingly, Noth adopts the position that the basic narrative

⁴Exodus, 245. ⁵Exodus, 245.

⁶Cf. Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch, 160, n. 416.

⁷Cf. Noth, Ueber. des Pentateuch, 33.

⁸Cf. Noth, Exodus, 246.

of Exodus 32 was added to the J narrative at the time of Jeroboam I.⁹

That there is a connection between Exodus 32 and 1 Kings 12:25-33 there can be no doubt. This has been pointed out many times in the past, and in a recent article Moses Aberbach and Leivy Smolar find no less than thirteen points of identity or contact between the two accounts.¹⁰ The question, however, is: What is the nature of this connection? Is Noth correct in saying that Exodus 32 was composed to condemn Jeroboam for apostasy by showing that Aaron had once been condemned for introducing a bull into the cult? We believe that there is a historical tradition behind Exodus 32 and that Aaron, far from being secondary, is at its heart. As Frank M. Cross, Jr., has pointed out,¹¹ it is impossible to believe that the opponents of Jeroboam I would have fabricated the idea that a venerable priest like Aaron had once made a double of the Bethel bull, unless there already existed a cult legend (at Bethel?) to that effect.¹²

Another argument strengthens the view that Exodus 32 is not simply an ad hoc document composed "to accommodate the condemnation of the cult introduced by Jeroboam."¹³ This is

⁹Cf. Noth, Exodus, 246. ¹⁰JBL, LXXXVI, 129ff.

¹¹"Yahweh and the God of the Patriarchs," HTR, LV (1962), 257f.

¹²This is true, we believe, even if Aaron was condemned in the original version of Exodus 32; and even if the opponents of Jeroboam were Mushites who would not have held Aaron in the same reverence as the Zadokites did.

¹³These are the words of Noth, Exodus, 246.

the now generally accepted view that Jeroboam was not innovating with the use of bulls in his cult, but that he was harking back to an earlier practice.¹⁴ In other words, the bulls of Jeroboam were not intended as idols but as pedestals for Yahweh.¹⁵ Cross, basing himself on a study of 'El epithets (of which the "bull" is one) in Ugaritic literature and the Bible, believes that Jeroboam patterned his iconography for Yahweh after the 'El traditions of the Patriarchs.¹⁶

If the bull was in fact a cultic symbol already in the Patriarchal age, then it is certainly possible that this same symbol was used in early Israel, and specifically by Aaron at Sinai. This is especially true, if one grants that Aaron had to be at the center of the original tradition behind Exodus 32 in order for his inclusion in the narrative to be understood at all.

The next question is: What actually did Aaron do at Sinai, and was the original tradition favorable to the bull or not? The prevailing scholarly opinion today, among those who consider Aaron as part of the original story, is that he did nothing idolatrous.¹⁷ We do not presume to know exactly what went on at Sinai, but that Aaron committed some act for

¹⁴Cf. Cross, HTR, LV, 258; Newman, 182.

¹⁵For bibliography see Aberbach and Smolar, 135, notes 32-34.

¹⁶Cf. Cross, HTR, LV, 258.

¹⁷Cf. Newman, 182f; R. H. Kennett, "Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood," JTS, VI (1904/1905), 165f.

which he was condemned by Moses we accept as true. One naturally looks for an explanation of the minor role of Aaron in JE as well as for the "absence" of "the sons of Aaron" from the tradition of the Tribal League (cf. Chapters II.B and IV.B). Exodus 32 could be the explanation for these circumstances.

We likewise hold that one cannot explain the prominence of the Levites in the Tribal League (cf. Deuteronomy 33:8-11 and Chapters II.B and IV.B), except by positing some event which caused them to be recognized as Israel's (only) legitimate priests. Exodus 32:25-29 can provide the explanation for this.¹⁸

We do not deny that some retouching of Exodus 32 took place as a result of the events of 1 Kings 12. For example, "these are your gods" (Exodus 32:4) must have read originally, "this is your god," since Aaron only made one calf.¹⁹ However, we contend that the basic picture of Exodus 32 is correct, namely, that Aaron (and presumably his followers) were condemned (and demoted?) for cultic irregularities, and that as a result the Levites (=Mushites) became the dominant priests in early Israel.²⁰

If our reconstruction of the events at Sinai is

¹⁸For a discussion of the grammar of Exodus 32:29, see Gunneweg, 31-33; and Strauss, 87f.

¹⁹Cf. Cross, HTR, LV, 257.

²⁰Cf. W. W. Baudissin, "Priests and Levites," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (New York, 1902), 69.

correct, one may ask what happened to the Aaronides. There is a virtual silence as to their activities during the Period of the Tribal League. We assume that once Israel settled in her own land that the Aaronides centered at Hebron (cf. Chapter III below for reasons).

Many scholars²¹ believe that the Aaronides made their home at Bethel. They base this primarily on Judges 20:28, which says that Phinehas ben Eleazar ben Aaron served before the ark at Bethel. If, however, Phinehas was a Mushite, as we have contended (cf. I.C), then there are two ways to understand this notice of Judges 20:28. One explanation would be to consider the pre-monarchical priesthood of Bethel as Mushite and not as Aaronite. Thus when 1 Kings 12:31 states that Jeroboam appointed non-Levitic priests at Bethel (and Dan?), it could mean that up till this point the Levites (i.e., Mushites) had been in control there. However, Judges 20:28 could be understood in another way also. According to this second theory the priesthood of Bethel would have been Aaronite, and, since according to the Zadokite view Phinehas was an Aaronide, the reference to Phinehas would simply be the scribe's way of identifying the priesthood there to be Aaronite; but it would not rule out the possibility that in reality Phinehas was a Mushite.

²¹Cf. R. H. Kennett, 168; F. S. North, "Aaron's Rise in Prestige," ZAW, LXVI (1954), 191ff; T. J. Meek, Hebrew Origins (3rd ed.; New York, 1960), 136f; Albright, ARI, 110; Aberbach and Smolar, 137.

If one adopts the second theory, one has to explain why Jeroboam brought in new priests (1 Kings 12:31 seems to be saying that there was a change in priesthood) to set up the bull cult, when, as most scholars contend, this was part of the cult legend of the priests that had been serving there, namely, the Aaronides.

We would rather adopt the first explanation, which, to be sure, also has its difficulties; but we believe they are less severe. According to this theory, the Mushite Levites had been serving at Bethel since the days of Phinehas, but now Jeroboam removed them from the priesthood of Bethel, because, in his zeal to archaize his cult for the purpose of establishing his kingdom,²² he needed priests who were intimately acquainted with the bull symbol.²³ Thus he turned to the Aaronides. These we believe were his "non-Levitic"²⁴ priests. Another consideration is the probability

²²Cf. Cross, HTR, LV, 258.

²³The Levites may have been unacceptable to Jeroboam for other reasons as well. Sadao Asami, "The Central Sanctuary in Israel in The Ninth Century B.C." (Unpublished Th.D. dissertation, Harvard University, 1964), 281, suggests that the Levites were tied to Jerusalem by David's gift of the Levitical cities. Hence they opposed Jeroboam mainly for establishing a rival to the central sanctuary in Jerusalem.

²⁴We still believe that the sons of Aaron were Levites in the broad sense (cf. Chapter III below); but frequently Levites was applied in a narrow sense to the Mushites alone, since they had been the dominant priests of the Tribal League. The statement that the non-Levitic priests were chosen mqšwt h'cm (12:31) we believe does not invalidate our suggestion that Jeroboam's non-Levitic priests were actually Aaronides. As James Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings (Edinburga, 1951), 255, points out, mqšwt h'cm should not be translated "from the lowest of the people" (AV), but "from the whole range of the people."

that these non-Levitic priests were not asked to serve in the old sanctuary of Bethel, but in a new sanctuary called the byt bmwt.²⁵

When we adopt this first explanation, we of course are left with explaining the origin of the Aaronides who now, according to our theory, served under Jeroboam. There may still have been a contingent of Aaronides at Hebron that was willing to take the opportunity provided by Jeroboam's invitation to leave the South and become his priests at Bethel. But this is only a guess. Our point is that one can make just as strong a case for a Mushite priesthood at Bethel in pre-monarchical times as for an Aaronite one.

If Jeroboam installed a "new" priesthood at Bethel, did he also do it at Dan? The text of 1 Kings 12:31 does not say specifically where Jeroboam installed his new priests. It could have been at Bethel alone, at Dan alone, or at both.

There are two statements in Judges 18:30f that must be taken into consideration. Chapter 18:31 states that the graven image, which presumably was under the supervision of the Mushite priesthood, continued to exist in Dan "as long as the house of God was at Shiloh." Martin Noth²⁶ understands

²⁵Cf. Roland de Vaux, "Le schisme religieux de Jéroboam I^{er}," Angelicum, XX (1943), 86, for arguments that this refers to a single sanctuary.

²⁶Martin Noth, "The Background of Judges 17-18," Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James W. Mullenberg (New York, 1962), 84f.

this to refer to the establishment of a royal sanctuary in Dan by Jeroboam I.

Though Noth considers Judges 18:30 to be a gloss, because he sees a conflict with 18:31, it must not be rejected out of hand. Chapter 18:30 states that the Danites were priests at Dan "until the captivity of the land," that is, presumably until the Assyrian captivity.²⁷ This need not be a gloss, if one follows De Vaux's reconstruction of 1 Kings 12:29-31.²⁸ He takes 30a as a Deuteronomistic gloss, which, once inserted, isolated the reference to the image at Bethel; thus the reference to Dan's image (verse 29b) was added. But if these two additions are omitted, the resulting text (29a, 30b) makes excellent sense: "He erected one (of the images) at Bethel <> and the people went in procession before the other until (it reached) Dan." De Vaux believes that the scene does not change in verse 31, and that consequently the reference to a non-Levitic priesthood refers only to Bethel. Accordingly, if DeVaux is correct, the statement of Judges 18:30 that Mushites continued as priests at Dan "until the captivity of the land" may be correct.

If Jeroboam's act was not idolatrous in itself, why was it so strongly condemned by the Deuteronomic Historian? One reason for this could be animosity in the South toward the

²⁷733 B.C. or 722/721. Cf. John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia, 1959), 257f.

²⁸De Vaux, Angelicum, XX, 79.

man who caused a schism in the kingdom. This would agree with Noth's view that Exodus 32 is to be attributed to J. However, if we were correct in suggesting that Jeroboam was responsible for removing the Mushite Levites from the sanctuary at Bethel as well as cutting them off from Jerusalem, which they considered to be the new central sanctuary, then we believe one should look to the Levites as the bearers of the traditions which made of Jeroboam an apostate. These traditions eventually received written form at the hand of the Deuteronomic Historian.

If our understanding of the Levites has thus far been correct, namely, that they can be narrowly defined as Mushites, and that these Mushites had numerous conflicts with the Aaronides; then it follows that Exodus 32 (in a form critical of Aaron) would likewise have been preserved by these Levites whom we have placed mainly in the North. Hence, according to this view, Exodus 32 owes its preservation to Levitic circles in the North, and it presumably would have received written form from E.²⁹

²⁹Cf. Walter Beyerlin, Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitraditionen (Tübingen, 1901), 144ff.

B. Deuteronomy¹

The "sons of Aaron" are not mentioned at all in Deuteronomy. Aaron himself is mentioned only in the retelling of the apostasy with the golden bull (Deuteronomy 9:16-21) and with respect to his death (Deuteronomy 10:6 and 32:50). This is an even more significant playing-down of Aaron than in JE. Clearly the dominant figure in the retelling of the Exodus and Wandering Periods is Moses.

Moses does not identify himself as a Levite,² nor does he mention them in his account of the golden bull incident. He does, however, say (10:7-8) that the tribe of Levi (šbt hlwy) was set apart as a special priestly tribe at Jotbathah (in Exodus 32 it was at Sinai), one of the desert stations where Israel stopped (cf. Numbers 33:33-34), after Aaron's death. This is the first explicit usage of Levi as a tribe in the sources thus far discussed.

In the rest of the book of Deuteronomy the Levites are mentioned quite often. Two main types of terminologies are used to refer to them.³ One is simply "the Levite" (hlwy).

¹Cf. Gunneweg, 69ff; Strauss, 61ff; Eduard Nielsen, Shechem (2nd ed.; Copenhagen, 1959), 267ff.

²Although T. J. Meek, "Moses and the Levites," AJSL, LVI (1939), 115, suggests that 'yš ḥsydk of 33:8 is Moses.

³To the writer's knowledge, G. E. Wright, "The Levites in Deuteronomy," VT, IV (1954), 325-330; and "The Book of Deuteronomy: Introduction and Exegesis," IB (Nashville, 1953), II, 309-329, is the first to distinguish clearly between these two groups. It is Wright's opinion that the "Levites" in Deuteronomy, scattered over the country, were engaged mainly

The Levite is said to live "in your gates=towns":

- 12:12 - whlwy 'šr bš'rykm ky 'yn lw ḥlq wnhlh
'tkm
- 12:18f - whlwy 'šr bš'ryk...hšmr lk pn t'zb 't
hlwy
- 14:27-29 - whlwy 'šr bš'ryk l' t'zbnw ky 'yn lw ḥlq
wnhlih 'mk mqsh šlš šnym twsy' 't kl m'sr...
wb' hlwy ky 'yn lw ḥlq wnhlh 'mk...
- 16:11,13f - wsmht lpny yhwh...whlwy 'šr bš'ryk
bmqwm 'šr ybhr yhwh 'lhyk lškn šmw šm
- 16:13f - ḥg hskwt t'sh...'th...whlwy...bš'ryk
- 18:6f - wky yb' ⁴hlwy m'hd š'ryk...'l hmqwm 'šr
ybhr yhwh; wšrt bšm yhwh 'lhyw kkl 'hyw
hlwym h'ndym šm lpny yhwh
- 26:12 - ...'t kl m'sr.tbw'tk bšnh hšlyšt...wnth
llwy lgr lytwm wl'lmn w'klw bš'ryk wšb'w

An alternate expression is "among you":

- 26:11 - wsmht...whlwy...bqrbk.

The name "the Levite" is used without the qualifying phrase "in your gates" only in 10:9.

In all of these cases, except 10:9, the context is: The Israelite is to rejoice with the Levite (by providing food, etc. for him) when he goes to "the place which Yahweh

in "teaching." while the "Levitical priests" served at the central sanctuary, where they enjoyed a regular, dependable income with government support. Wright is opposed by J. A. Emerton, "Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," VT, XII (1962), 129-138. Emerton favors the view that all Levites usually served at altars before the policy of centralization was enforced. The present writer's position is that, while all Levites had the right to serve at sanctuaries, Wright is correct in emphasizing that most country Levites of the North were primarily engaged in teaching.

⁴Wright, VT, IV, 328, denies that this is a country Levite; Emerton, 135f, says it is any Levite.

your God will choose" (12:11, 18; 14:25; 16:11; 18:6; 26:2). The Levite is to be specially remembered, "because he has no portion or inheritance with his brothers/with you" (12:12; 14:27-9; cf. 10:9, 18:1).

The other main terminology is Levitical priests (hkhnym hlwym). It is used in the following places:

- 17:9 - wb't 'l hkhnym hlwym...whgydw lk 't dbr hmšpt
- 17:18 - whyh kšbtw 'l ks'...wktb...'t mšnh htwrh... mlpny hkhnym hlwym
- 18:1-2 - l' ywhw lkhnym hlwym...hlq wnhlh...ywhw hw' nhtw...
- 24:8 - hšmr bng' hšr't... l'šwt kkl 'šr ywrw 'tkm hkhnym hlwym...
- 27:9 - wydbr mšh whkhnym hlwym 'l kl ysr'l...

They render legal decisions (17:8f; cf. 21:5 and 24:8); and they are in charge of the Torah (17:18).

"The priests the sons of Levi" (hkhnym bny lwy) (21:5) is an alternate term for Levitical priests (cf. 17:8f). It is also used in 31:9.

"Levi" in 10:8f seems to be equivalent to "Levitical priests" because it says he is to minister (šrt) to Yahweh, just as 18:7 and 21:5 describe the Levitical priests.

Similarly 33:8-11,⁵ where he is said to use Urim and Thummim, reminds one of the Levitical priests of 17:8f and 17:18.

"Priests" and "priest" of 18:3 must also be the

⁵Cf. Möhlenbrink, 228f; also the LXX reading.

Levitical priests (this is the context starting in 18:1; and note that 18:5,7, speaking of these same "priests," uses terminology similar to 10:8, which was just shown to refer to "Levitical priests"). "Priest" in 17:12 is surely also a synonym for "Levitical priests" in 17:9. In 19:17 "priests" is parallel with judges, as it was in 17:8-13. Hence, it again is a reference to the Levitical priests. "Priest" in 26:4 is at the sanctuary that Yahweh chooses (verse 2) and so must be a Levitical priest (cf. 18:6-7).

The plural "Levites" (hlwym) of 27:14 (cf. verse 9) must be Levitical priests, since participating in a covenant ceremony agrees with the description of Levitical priests in Joshua 8:33 and Deuteronomy 31:9-11; cf. 31:25f and 18:7.

It is not absolutely clear who the "priest" of 20:2 is. But since preparing the people for holy war was a very important assignment, it would seem much more likely that this was the function of the Levitical priests, who throughout the book have the important assignments given to them.

"The tribe of Levi" of 18:1 is difficult.⁶ It may refer to only the Levitical priests; but it could also be intended to include both the Levitical priests and the Levites, since both groups are said to be without inheritance (cf. 10:9; 12:12; 14:27-9).

Deuteronomy generally speaks of the Levites as a

⁶Wright, VT, IV, 326; and Emerton, 133f, for discussion.

group (of the names in the genealogies, only Moses and Aaron are mentioned; and of the two, Aaron is referred to only in 9:16-21; 10:6; 32:50). In 27:12 Levi is listed as one of the twelve tribes.⁷ It is strange that no reference is made to Gershon-Kohath-Merari.

The two dominant terminologies seem to this writer to reflect different times.⁸ "The Levite" (hlwy) is described as a poor person dwelling in various cities throughout the land. It is not stated what this country Levite did.⁹ One is strongly reminded of the Levitic cities, since they could have served as the haven for the scattered Levites.¹⁰

The account of the Levitic cities in 1 Chronicles 6 and Joshua 21, which Wellhausen¹¹ called "historical fiction," is now thought by many to be historical. True, these cities were not reserved especially for the Levites already in the Period of the Judges, as the Biblical narrative has it; but the list may represent an actual situation at the time of

⁷See discussion of Levi as a tribe and its place in the tribal lists in Chapter IV below.

⁸Wright, VT, IV, 325-330, does not make explicit whether this is his position also, or whether he believes the two groups functioned at the same time.

⁹Wright, VT, IV, 329, infers that they were teachers of the law.

¹⁰Cf. Wright, VT, IV, 329.

¹¹Julius Wellhausen, Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel (New York, 1958), 159-164 (first published in 1883 as Prolegomena zur Geschichte Israels).

David,¹² or Solomon,¹³ or Josiah,¹⁴ or at least some pre-exilic times.¹⁵

The other main terminology, "Levitical priests" (hkhnym hlwym), is used of a group who: served at the central sanctuary (18:6f); performed priestly duties (18:1,7 cf. 10:8, 33:10b); taught (27:9; 31:9-13; cf. 33:10a); took care of judicial matters (17:8f; 21:5; 24:8f cf. 33:8); carried the ark of the covenant (31:9; 25, cf. 10:8); and perhaps called Israel to war (20:1-4). Clearly the Levitical priests were very prominent and influential people. The problem is to determine what time is reflected by this terminology.

It has generally¹⁶ been thought that in Deuteronomy all priests were Levites and all Levites were priests. But

¹²Cf. W. F. Albright, "The List of Levitic Cities," Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, ed. Saul Lieberman, et al. (Philadelphia, 1945), 49-73.

¹³Cf. Benjamin Mazar, "The Cities of the Priests and the Levites," Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII (Leiden, 1960), 193-205.

¹⁴Cf. Albrecht Alt, "Bemerkungen zu einigen Juddischen Ortslisten des Alten Testaments," Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel, (München, 1953), II, 289-305; and "Festungen und Levitenorte im Lande Juda," Kleine Schriften zur Geschichte des Volkes Israel (München, 1953), II, 306-315.

¹⁵De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 367; and Menahem Haran, "Studies in the Account of the Levitical Cities--II: Utopia and Historical Reality," JBL, LXXX (1961), 156. Haran accepts the view that there were forty-eight Levitic cities at some point in pre-exilic times. The statement of the Biblical text that these cities were an exclusive reservation for the Levites Haran finds to be a utopian reflection of P.

¹⁶Wright, VT, IV, 326, cites S. R. Driver and R. H. Pfeiffer as examples.

this does not do justice to the two terminologies.¹⁷ The country Levites may or may not have functioned as priests;¹⁸ Deuteronomy does not tell us in so many words, though they are invited to do so in 18:7.¹⁹ But that they were poor and scattered is spelled out clearly. On the other hand, the Levitical priests functioned both as priests and as teachers/judges according to Deuteronomy. Hence, we are obviously dealing with two different layers of tradition and presumably with two different times, both of course sometime prior to 622 B.C.²⁰ For now we tentatively suggest the following theory:

The situation of the poor country Levite who is to be helped by the Israelites coming to the central sanctuary reflects the time of Josiah. Josiah was concerned about

¹⁷In this we are following Wright and opposing Emerton. Cf. footnote 3 above.

¹⁸Wright, VT, IV, 329, says their main work was teaching and exposition; he does not say, however, that they never sacrificed. Emerton, 132f, says that all Levites had the right to serve as priests. With this we agree, but we do not believe the country Levites had much opportunity to carry out this right.

¹⁹Wright, VT, IV, 328, denies that the "Levite" of 18:6 is a country Levite. Emerton, 135f, says this refers to any Levite.

²⁰Deut. 18:7 combines the two traditions. It says that the country Levites have the right to serve at the central sanctuary the way the Levitical priests of the Tribal League did (cf. IV.B below). In the time between Jeroboam I and Josiah the right of serving at the central sanctuary, which formerly belonged to all Levites, had been usurped by the Jerusalem Levites who were probably all Zadokites=sons of Aaron. Now Levites of the northern Levitical cities are asked to join them.

helping the Levites living in the Levitic cities who since the time of Jeroboam I had been cut off from any royal support.²¹ If Albright is correct, the Levitic cities had been established by David, and the Levites living there would have received royal support during the United Monarchy.

The description of the Levitical priests seems to refer to priests of the central sanctuary.²² The dating is difficult, but it is suggested here that the connection with the ark (10:8; 31:9; 31:25; also Joshua 3:3 and 8:33) as well as with the covenant renewal festival at Shechem (27:9-14; 31:9-11; Joshua 8:33) make it possible to conclude that in the Levitical priests of Deuteronomy we have a very ancient tradition reaching all the way back to the Tribal League.

Accordingly, we offer the following analysis of 18:1-7 as an example of how this hypothesis would work out:²³

Verses 1-5 (considering "all the tribe of Levi" in verse 1 as secondary or as a synonym for Levitical priests; but in any case, the "all" could not include the country Levites, who are introduced into this passage first in verse 6) are a description of the Levites in the Tribal League.

Verses 6-8 reflect the time of Josiah when most Levites ("the Levite") were poor and living in various cities throughout the land. To ameliorate their condition, Josiah

²¹cf. II.C.5 and IV.C below.

²²cf. Wright, VT, IV, 327.

²³cf. Strauss, 45ff; and Emerton, 133ff; and IV.B below.

proposes that they join the Levites ("fellow-Levites" here probably means Zadokites) in Jerusalem and thus share in their priestly portions.

If the two parts of this section did refer to the same time and to only one group, then it is difficult to see how the Levite of verses 6-8 could be hungry after the lavish description of his fare in verses 1-5.

Our hypothesis will have to be checked again (Chapter IV below) when more evidence has been accumulated. One thing that would help us is a dating of 33:8-11, a passage that very neatly summarizes all that we have said about the Levitical priests, that is, according to our theory, the Levites of the Tribal League.²⁴

²⁴E. Nielson, "The Levites in Ancient Israel," Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute, ed. Hans Kosmala et al. (Leiden, 1954), III, 17-18 and 25, suggests that the passage dates back to pre-monarchical times. Mühlenbrink, 229, sets it shortly after the Conquest. For further discussion see Gunneweg, 37ff; and Strauss, 72ff.

C. Deuteronomic History

1. Joshua

Here we find the "Levitical priests" mentioned in 3:3 and 8:33. This is the terminology of the older stratum of Deuteronomy (cf. II.B above). In both passages they are carrying the ark (cf. Deuteronomy 10:8; 31:9; 31:25), and in 8:33 they are leaders in a covenant ceremony (cf. Deuteronomy 27:14; 31:9-11). In 3:6, 6:4, 12f (on the Levites' role in war see Deuteronomy 20:2f) the people who carry the ark and blow the trumpets are simply called "priests" (khnym), though the Levitical priests must be meant (compare 3:3 with 3:6).

In the first twelve chapters the "sons of Aaron," which is P's favorite term for the priests, are not mentioned.

Joshua 9:27 tells how the Gibeonites were made htby csym ws' by mym for the congregation and the altar of Yahweh.

Eleazar, the priest, and Joshua distributed the land by lot at Shiloh (19:51). It is frequently stated that the Levites received no inheritance in the land, because Yahweh had chosen them as his priests, 13:14, 33; 14:3f; 18:7 (cf. Deuteronomy 12:12; 14:27-29; cf. 10:9; 18:1). In 13:14, 33 they are called "the tribe of Levi" (šbt hlwy); in 14:3f and 18:7 they are "the Levites" (hlwym).

In Chapter 21 the Levites (hlwym) come to Eleazar the priest and ask for the cities that were promised to them. In 21:39 (English verse 41) it is stated that they received forty-eight cities.

Chapter 21 speaks of the three-fold division of the Levites, namely: Kohath, Gershon, and Merari.¹ The order, with Kohath first,² indicates that it is later than the traditional Gershon-Kohath-Merari sequence found in so many of the genealogies.³ The Kohathites are divided into two groups, the sons of Aaron and the rest of the Kohathites. Both in its order and in the division of the Kohathites chapter 21 is identical with 1 Chronicles 6:39ff (English verse 54ff). The precise terminology of chapter 21 is as follows:

- a) mšpht hqhty (verse 4)
 (1) bny 'hrn hkhn mn hlwym (verse 4)
 or:
 bny 'hrn mšpht hqhty mbny lwy (verse 10)
 or:
 bny 'hrn hkhn (verses 13 and 19)
 (2) bny qht hnwtrym (verse 5)
 or:
 mšpht bny qht hlwym hnwtrym mbny qht
 (verse 20)
- b) bny gršwn (verse 6)
 or:
 bny gršwn mšpht hlwym (verse 27)

¹John Bright, "The Book of Joshua," *IB* (Nashville, 1953), II, 546, states that chapters 20-21 received thorough editing by P.

²Cf. Möhlenbrink, 212.

³The first position of the Kohathites here means that at least by the time of the editing of the Deuteronomic History (which some would place circa 600 B.C.) the Kohathites were considered the most important of the Levitic groups. Interestingly, P is the one who preserves the older order of Gershon-Kohath-Merari in the genealogies of the Pentateuch.

- c) bny mrry (verse 7)
or:
mšpht bny mrry hlwym hnwtrym (verse 34)
or:
bny mrry lmšphtm hnwtrym mmšpht hlwym (verse 38,
English verse 40)

Joshua 24:33 states that Eleazar was the son of Aaron and that Phinehas was the son of Eleazar. This agrees with many of the genealogies (Exodus 6:16-25; 1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:35-38; Ezra 7:1-5).

SUMMARY

1. Dating

In the traditional view, Joshua is the last book of the "Hexateuch," and the same sources are to be found here as in Genesis through Numbers. In this scheme, almost all of the second half of the book is ascribed to P (except chapters 23-24), whereas the first half belongs mostly to J and E.⁴

Martin Noth's well-known theory⁵ states that Joshua is part of the Deuteronomic History which has Deuteronomy as its introduction.⁶ He places the editing of the work circa 550 B.C., at a time when the history of the people of Israel had collapsed.⁷ With this we would agree as a date for the

⁴Cf. Carpenter and Harford, 522f.

⁵Ueberlieferungsgeschichtliche Studien (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1957).

⁶For a comparison of the traditional view with Noth, see John Bright, IB, II, 541-546.

⁷Noth, Ueber. Studien, 91.

final editing, but we assume that there was also an earlier edition completed shortly before the death of Josiah.⁸

Under either the traditional view or that of Noth, however, it is possible to think of the pre-literary stage of the documents as going back to a time much earlier than the final editing of the book. As a notable example, one may consider how F. M. Cross, Jr. and G. E. Wright convincingly show that the province list of 15:21-62 "represents a revised edition of the Judahite province list, brought up to date in the court of Jehoshaphat during the second quarter of the Ninth Century B.C."⁹

Likewise the account of the Levitic cities in Chapter 21, which according to Albright goes back to the time of David (see II.B above). Here, however, the division into three groups of Levites represents a later revision, for it is in the order Kohath-Gershon-Merari (agreeing with 1 Chronicles 6:39ff).

In general therefore it can be said that there is a priori no reason why at least some of the material concerning the Levites in Joshua cannot actually reflect the period that

⁸Some scholars who posit two editings of the Deuteronomistic History set one at about 610 B.C. (just before the death of Josiah), the other during the Exile, perhaps circa 550 B.C. See, e.g., B. W. Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1966), 379; and Harold Forshey, "The End of the Deuteronomistic History" (unpublished seminar paper; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1962). Cf. L. Eissfeldt, Einleitung in das Alte Testament (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1956), 357ff for discussion.

⁹"The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," JBL, LXXV (1956), 226.

it purports to describe, i.e., the period of the Conquest.

2. Terminology

The terminology (and even the description of the duties) of the Levites in chapters 1-12 is identical with what we called the older stratum of Deuteronomy. If the description of the "Levitical priests" there goes back to the Tribal League, so also here. It may be that the Deuteronomic historian has chosen the term "Levitical priests" as a polemic against the Zadokite Aaronides who were in control of the priesthood of Jerusalem.

The references in chapters 13-20 seem more akin to the younger stratum in Deuteronomy, since they refer to the Levites as not having any inheritance (cf. Deuteronomy 12:12; 14:27-29; cf. 10:9, 18:1).

Chapter 21 appears to be a revision of an old document concerning the Levitic cities in a time when the Kohathites were most prominent. This would have its counterpart in the "Aaronizing" genealogies (cf. I.C above).

Finally there are three references to Eleazar. In 19:51 he distributed the land to the tribes at Shiloh. This puts him into the context of the Conquest period. He is also said to have distributed cities to the Levites (21:1). But if the matter of the Levitic cities belongs to the time of David, then his name has here been added secondarily. The reference to him in 24:33 agrees with the late Aaronizing genealogies.

2. Judges

Judges 1:16 states that the descendants of the Kenite (i.e., Hobab), Moses' father-in-law, went up from the city of the palms (Jericho) in Judah and settled in Arad.

Judges 4:11 states how Heber the Kenite left his kinsmen in Arad and went and pitched his tent at Elon Bezaannaim ('lwn bš^cnym), near Kedesh.

If Moses was a priest, then the Kenites, because of their relationship to Moses, may have also been priests. What is more, oaks were frequently considered sacred (cf. Joshua 24:26; Genesis 12:6);¹⁰ so 4:11 which mentions "Elon," may mean that the Kenites built a sanctuary at Kedesh.

This may now have found archaeological confirmation by the excavations of Y. Aharoni and Ruth Amiran at Tell Arad. One of their finds was a sanctuary which B. Mazar¹¹ dates to "between the tenth century B.C. (Stratum XI) and a late stage in the history of the Kingdom of Judah (Stratum VIII)." If this is true, the sanctuary of Arad may have been the harbor for Mosaic traditions, since the Kenites (who lived at Arad, 1:16) were connected with Moses by marriage. These traditions could have been transplanted to the North (Kedesh) by Heber the Kenite (cf. 4:11). According to the genealogy of Judges 18:30, Dan would have been another northern sanctuary where

¹⁰Cf. G. E. Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York, 1965), 132-135.

¹¹"The Sanctuary of Arad and the Family of Hobab the Kenite," JNES, XXIV (1965), 297-303.

Mosaic, and consequently Levitic, traditions were preserved. According to 18:30 there was a Mushite priesthood in Dan "until the captivity of the land," that is, presumably until circa 722 B.C.

Judges 17:7ff¹² speaks of a single Levite (lwy) of Bethlehem in Judah who became the priest of the Ephraimite Micah. Later he became the priest of the Danites (chapter 18). In 18:30¹³ his name, Jonathan, is given and he is called "the son of Gershom, son of Moses."¹⁴ This agrees with JE, where Gershom is called the son of Moses (Exodus 2:22), and it indirectly declares Moses to be a Levite. So at Dan there were Levites who presumably would have preserved Mosaic traditions.

Chapter 19 relates the story of another single Levite, this one from Ephraim.¹⁵ Since Bethel and Shiloh, both of which had sanctuaries, lay in Ephraim, this Levite may have been a priest at either of them.

SUMMARY

Most commentators¹⁶ agree that the story underlying

¹²Cf. Gunneweg, 14ff; and Strauss, 94ff.

¹³On the text see I.A above; and G. E. Moore, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Judges ("ICC," VII; Edinburgh, 1895), 401f.

¹⁴Cf. Möhlenbrink, 223; and Hauret, 108f.

¹⁵Cf. Gunneweg, 23ff; and Strauss, 105ff.

¹⁶See, e.g., Strauss, 100f.

chapters 17-18 is very old. Judges 17:6 and 18:1 say as much when they say that there was then no king in Israel. Judges 18:31 is also important for dating, since it states that the cult image which the Danites took over from Micah was in Dan "as long as the house of God was at Shiloh." According to 1 Samuel there was a sanctuary at Shiloh until the time of Eli. Of 18:31 M. Noth¹⁷ says: "This must be considered historical information." Strauss¹⁸ also dates the story of Judges 19-20 to the period of the Tribal League. Hauret¹⁹ says the migration of the Danites harmonizes with the beginnings of the Period of the Judges.

There is also no reason to deny the antiquity of the notices about the Kenites (chapters 1 and 4) and their relation to Moses and the Levites (cf. Mazar).

The Kenites probably had priestly functions, and the Levite of chapters 17-18 is specifically called a priest.

Very significant is the impression given in chapters 17-18 that Levites were considered to be the most legitimate priests and so were greatly in demand. Also it must be noted that we have reference to Levites/Kenites from or in Bethlehem-Judah, Arad, Dan, Kedesh, and Ephraim. This gives the picture

¹⁷"The Background of Judges 17-18," Israel's Prophetic Heritage: Essays in Honor of James W. Muilenberg (New York, 1962), 84.

¹⁸Strauss, 109f.

¹⁹Hauret, 107. On page 103 he lists other scholars who consider this a very ancient story.

of Levites being spread throughout the land.

Finally, since the one Levite whose name is given, namely, Jonathan, is traced back to Moses, we have here substantial agreement with JE, especially since the "sons of Aaron" are nowhere called priests in the Book of Judges.

One other name from the Levitic genealogies is mentioned--Phinehas in 20:26-28. His name is used in a parenthetical remark to explain why the people came to Bethel. He is called the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron. Many have explained this as a gloss introduced by a late Aaronizing editor. However, Albright²⁰ suggests that the Phinehas here may have been Phinehas II and the predecessor of Eli. If Phinehas was a Mushite as we suggested (I.C), there would be evidence here for a Mushite priesthood at Bethel. The ark is mentioned only here (verses 27-28) in Judges.

²⁰Quoted in Jacob M. Myers, "The Book of Judges," IB (Nashville, 1953), II, 318f.

3. First Samuel

The priests at the beginning of the book are Eli and his two sons, Hophni and Phinehas (1:3). This Phinehas is therefore apparently not the same as the one of the genealogies (I.C). As we saw in Chapter I, the genealogy of Eli (cf. 1 Samuel 14:3) does not now appear as a part of the genealogies that purport to go back to Israel's earliest history; so it is impossible to prove whether or not the line of Eli is Levitic. But on the chance that it is, we must discuss it.

Some commentators try to guess who "the house of your father who belonged to the house of Pharaoh when they were (slaves) in Egypt," taken from Yahweh's words to Eli (2:27), refer to.²¹ If one takes "house of Pharaoh" to be a synonym for Egypt, then a number of answers are possible. T. J. Meek²² takes it as a reference to the house of Levi;

²¹"Slaves" is from the LXX reading. It may have been added by a hand who understood the phrase, "the house of your father," to be speaking about all the Israelites. However, "slaves" is not needed to understand the passage. The words, lbyt pr'h (=to the house of Pharaoh), can modify 'byk (=your father) and together the two phrases would mean: "Your father who belonged to the house of Pharaoh." "When they were in Egypt" can also refer to the Israelites in general, or it can be a reference specifically to the ancestors of Eli. If one understands "the house of Pharaoh" to be the literal house of the Egyptian king and not a circumlocution for the land of Egypt, then of course "your father" would have to refer to Moses. This is the position of Wellhausen, 142, and it is also our position, since it is defensible in its own right, and it also agrees with our analysis of the Levitic genealogies.

²²"Moses and the Levites," AJSL, LVI (1939), 117f.

H. W. Hertzberg²³ says it can mean either the tribe of Levi or the sons of Aaron.

Wellhausen²⁴ considers it to mean Moses. Wellhausen's view can be defended, for the text says: "Your father who belonged to the house of Pharaoh." This could only be Moses, since only Moses lived in Pharaoh's house.

The identification of the "faithful priest" (2:35) who is to replace Eli is also a problem. The immediate context suggests Samuel;²⁵ but it could already be a reference to the fact that Zadok would eventually replace Abiathar as the main priest of the people (cf. 1 Kings 2:26f; 35).

The Levitic classification of Samuel is even more in doubt. Though he is included in the present form of the Levitic genealogies recorded in 1 Chronicles 6:7-13 and 1 Chronicles 6:18-23, it has been shown in I.C how these are simply secondary additions to what were originally schematic genealogies of seven and fourteen names respectively. These additions were taken from 1 Samuel 1:1, where Samuel's forefather Zuph is said to be an Ephraimite. That Samuel functioned as a priest, at least on occasion (cf. 7:10, etc.), seems clear. Therefore one must either reckon with a non-Levitic priesthood during this time; or the term "Levite"

²³I and II Samuel ("The Old Testament Library," ed. G. E. Wright et al., trans. J. S. Bowden; London, 1964), 37.

²⁴Page 142; cf. footnote 21 above.

²⁵Cf. T. J. Meek, "Aaronites and Zadokites," AJSL, XLV (1929), 160.

was used more as an appellative meaning priest than as an ethnic title. According to the former view, anyone, including Samuel, could have been considered a priest, irregardless of his tribal affiliation.²⁶

Yet there is a third possibility concerning Samuel, namely, that despite certain priestly functions he was technically a judge (despite 2:11). At least Samuel's sons who succeeded him were called "judges" (8:1; cf. 12:2).²⁷

The son of Phinehas is called Ichabod (4:21). This agrees with the genealogy of 1 Samuel 14:3a.

The sanctuary that Eli served was at Shiloh, which according to archaeologists²⁸ was destroyed at the time of Israel's defeat at the hands of the Philistines (chapter 4). Samuel is said to have worked at Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, and Ramah (7:16-17).

The only explicit mention of Levites is in 6:15, where it is stated that they took the ark of Yahweh after it was returned by the Philistines and put it on a great stone at Beth-shemesh. This description of the Levites' duties agrees with Deuteronomy 10:8; 31:9; Joshua 3:3; 8:33.

The priest at the time of Saul was Ahijah (14:3, 18). He is called the son of Ahitub, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eli (verse 3). If this is correct, the line of Eli was not

²⁶See Chapter IV.B below for a discussion of Levi as a tribe.

²⁷Note that even Eli was called a judge in 1 Sam. 4:18.

²⁸For bibliography see Martin A. Cohen, "The Role of the Shilonite Priesthood," HUCA, XXXVI (1965), 65.

replaced by Samuel and his descendants (and thus the fulfillment of the oracle re the "faithful priest" in 2:35 was still to come--presumably in Zadok).

If one compares 22:20, which contains the genealogy Ahitub---> Ahimelech---> Abiathar, it seems better to identify Ahimelech and Ahijah rather than to call them brothers.²⁹

First Samuel 15:6 states that the Kenites, kinsmen of Moses, were living among the Amalekites but were asked by Saul to move before Israel attacked the Amalekites.

First Samuel 21:1 (cf. 22:9) states that Ahimelech was the priest at Nob to whom David fled for protection from Saul. As we have seen, this is no doubt the same person as the Ahijah of 14:3, 18, whose father was Ahitub (cf. 22:9, 11, 12). Ahimelech's son was Abiathar (22:20; 23:6; 30:7). Abiathar became the personal priest of David (22:20). It is specifically stated (22:18-20) that Saul's commander, called Doeg, killed all the other sons of Ahimelech. Hence, Abiathar represented the last remnant of the line of Eli.

SUMMARY

The writer believes that Samuel was in the strict sense not a Levite. The line of Eli, however, seems best understood as belonging to the Levitical priesthood, though the connection can be made only on the basis of 2:27. If our

²⁹Cf. Cohen, 86, n. 91; so also Hertzberg, 112.

representation of the priesthood of the Tribal League in II.B, as far as we were able to detect it, was correct, then one would expect Eli to be a Levite. The fact that his son was called Phinehas and his grandson Ahitub, both names which occur in the line of priests from Eleazar to Zadok as recorded in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41, gives some support to this theory.³⁰

The fact that the father of Eli is never named leads one to suspect editorial tampering. It may be, as we already suggested in I.C above, that the first group of ten (Eleazar to Zadok) or twelve (Aaron to Ahimaaz) names in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 (cf. I.D above), which in its present form ends with Zadok or Ahimaaz, may have originally been the genealogy of Eli. If Eleazar was originally connected to Moses and not to Aaron, as we proposed in I.C, then we will have traced the Levitic line of Moses all the way to Eli, and Wellhausen would be correct in calling the "father" of Eli (1 Sam. 2:27) Moses.

As we saw, the Levites are mentioned once by name in 1 Samuel. The terminology of P, "sons of Aaron," is not used, nor is there any reference to Gershon-Kohath-Merari.

³⁰Cf. discussion of 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 in I.C above.

4. Second Samuel

The Massoretic Text of 8:17 reads:

wšdwq bn 'hyṭwb w'hymk bn 'bytr khnym...

This is the first mention of Zadok outside of the genealogies (cf. 1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 1 Chronicles 9:11=Nehemiah 11:11; 1 Chronicles 6:35-38; Ezra 7:1-5). If the genealogy of 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 is correct in maintaining that there were two Zadoks, the first one mentioned there would coincide better with the Zadok of our passage.

Ahitub is called the father of Ahijah (=? Ahimelech) in 1 Samuel 14:3a, and of Ahimelech (=? Ahijah) in 1 Samuel 22:9, 11, 20. But in our passage (8:17), 1 Chronicles 18:16, and in the large genealogies (1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:35-38) he is the father of Zadok I. Ahitub is the father of Zadok II according to 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 and Ezra 7:1-5; however, 1 Chronicles 9:11=Nehemiah 11:11 inserts Meraioth between Ahitub and Zadok II, no doubt correctly (cf. I.C above).

Ahimelech is also called the son of Abiathar in 1 Chronicles 24:6 (cf. 1 Chronicles 18:16 where the Massoretic Text has Abimelech). But this clashes with 1 Samuel 22:20 (cf. 22:9, 11); 23:6; and 30:7, where Abiathar is called the son, not the father, of Ahimelech.

Beginning with Tirinus in 1660³¹ scholars have noticed these discrepancies and concluded that the text of

³¹Quoted by H. H. Rowley, "Zadok and Nehushtan," JBL, LVIII (1939), 114.

our passage (8:17) is out of order. Wellhausen³² calls the corruption intentional and reads: "Ebjathar Sohn Ahimelechs Sohnes Ahitubs und Sadok waren Priester." Justification for revising the Massoretic Text can also be found in the Syriac version which reads: w'bytr br 'hymlk.

This writer agrees that the historical notices concerning Abiathar must be given preference. This means, as almost all scholars admit,³³ that in the original text of 2 Samuel 8:17 Zadok was left entirely without genealogy. The genealogy that he has in the present form of 2 Samuel 8:17 and in some of the genealogies has obviously been artificially constructed out of the genealogy of Abiathar.

Evidently not all priests of the time were Levites. Second Samuel 8:18 states that David's sons were priests. Second Samuel 20:26 says Ira the Jairite was also David's priest.

According to 15:24 the Levites were still in charge of the ark of the covenant, but they seem to have served under Zadok and Abiathar. In this same chapter we hear of Jonathan the son of Abiathar and Ahimaaz the son of Zadok (cf. 18:19, 22, 27). Ahimaaz is the son of Zadok I in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 and 6:35-38.

Wherever Zadok and Abiathar are mentioned together,

³²Der Text der Bücher Samuelis (Göttingen, 1871), 177.

³³Cf. Rowley, JBL, LVIII, 114ff, for a survey of scholarly opinion re Zadok up to 1939.

Zadok's name is always first, indicating that he was the more important (15:27-29, 35; 17:15; 19:12; 20:25).³⁴ In chapter 15:24-29 David addresses his words primarily to Zadok, again indicating his superior rank. Abiathar in verse 24 is presently out of place. Wellhausen³⁵ sees here a post-exilic attempt to eliminate Abiathar from the text altogether.

SUMMARY

For the first time outside of 1 Samuel 1:1 and Judges 17:5 we hear that non-Levites are priests (cf. 8:18 and 20:26 above). The Levites as a group are mentioned by name only in 15:24. There is no mention of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari. Zadok and Abiathar are the chief priests, with Zadok having a slight edge.

In II.C.3 we saw that Abiathar was probably a Levite. Our analysis here and in I.C has shown that Zadok had no genealogy in the original form of the pre-exilic texts. All the places where in these texts he has one, it can be shown to be secondary. This can mean either that Zadok was not a Levite, or he was, but of a different branch than Abiathar.

DeVaux³⁶ lists three possibilities for the origin of Zadok (presumably as a non-Levite):

1. That he was originally a high priest at Gibeon;³⁷

³⁴Cf. DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 373.

³⁵Der Text..., 197. ³⁶Ancient Israel, 373f.

³⁷Cf. E. Auerbach, "Die Herkunft der Sadokiden," ZAW, XLIX (1931), 327f.

2. That he was a priest of Kiriath-jearim;³⁸
3. That he was a Jebusite priest of Jerusalem.³⁹

Our working hypothesis is that Zadok was a Levite of the Aaronite line from Hebron.⁴⁰ This will be checked in Chapter III below.

³⁸Cf. Karl Budde, "Die Herkunft Sadoks," ZAW, LII (1934), 42ff.

³⁹Cf. especially Rowley, JBL, LVIII; and most recently C. E. Hauer, "Who Was Zadok," JBL, LXXXII (1963), 89-94.

⁴⁰This is also the position of Haran, JBL, LXXX, 161.

5. First Kings

The first two chapters tell us how Abiathar sided with Adonijah in his attempt to succeed David (1:7, 19, 25). Zadok was not with Adonijah (1:8, 26). David then called Zadok and Nathan, the prophet, and told them to anoint Solomon to be the next king (1:32-24). This was carried out (1:38f, 44f). Solomon of course now distrusted Abiathar (2:22), and he finally exiled him to Anathoth (2:26f).⁴¹ Zadok was now obviously Solomon's main priest (2:35).

Solomon sacrificed at Gibeon (3:4) where, according to 1 Chronicles 16:39-42, Zadok had sacrificed during David's time.

In 4:2 (Massoretic Text) Azariah the son of Zadok is called "the priest." In 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 there is mention of an Azariah who was Zadok's grandson. However, there is doubt whether the words "the priest" in our passage are original. It is missing in G^B and G^L, and it is easy to explain hkhn as the secondary expansion of a hand who wanted it to apply to Zadok and not Azariah, especially when one takes the first word of verse 3 as the predicate of Azariah with the meaning "over-the-year."⁴²

Montgomery⁴³ correctly explains the Massoretic Text

⁴¹Interestingly, this was a Levitical city, Joshua 21:18, and the place from which Jeremiah later came, Jeremiah 1:1.

⁴²Cf. James Montgomery, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings (Edinburgh, 1951), 113.

⁴³Page 113.

4:4b, which states that Zadok and Abiathar were the priests, as an erroneous introduction into the text from 2 Samuel 8:16-18.

Massoretic Text 8:4b states that priests and Levites brought up the ark to the temple. If the Massoretic Text is correct, this would be the first usage of this terminology which is common in P and the Chronicler.⁴⁴ However, the entire phrase is in doubt, since in 8:3 and 8:6 it is only "the priests" who bring up the ark. Therefore Montgomery,⁴⁵ together with the Septuagint (except AZgxe₂), considers all of 8:4b, i.e., the last four words of the verse in Massoretic Text, as a gloss. However, though Massoretic Text 8:4b is admittedly out of place and therefore seemingly secondary, it is not impossible that the phrase nevertheless reflects the beginnings of the separation of the Zadokites (=priests) from the rest of the Levites as a superior group whom the others served. This distinction became full-blown in P, although there "the priests" are called "the sons of Aaron."

Zabud/Zakur the son of Nathan is called "priest" as well as "king's friend" in 4:5. If this Nathan is the well-known prophet, we have another instance of a non-Levitic priest.

Jeroboam's cultic innovations (1 Kings 12) are said

⁴⁴John Gray, I & II Kings ("Old Testament Library"; London, 1964), 194, does not believe this usage can be pre-exilic.

⁴⁵Page 186.

to have included the appointment of non-Levitic priests (verse 31).⁴⁶ It has generally been assumed that Jeroboam's action applied to both Bethel and Dan. However, the text does not say explicitly where the non-Levitic priests were installed, but Bethel was probably one of the places. According to Judges 20 a certain Phinehas was a priest at Bethel in the Period of the Judges. If our analysis of the genealogies in I.C was correct, Phinehas was a Mushite. Accordingly, Bethel would have had a Mushite priesthood during the Tribal League. If 1 Kings 12:31 applies to Bethel, this would mean that Jeroboam brought an end to the Mushite line there. On the other hand, if Judges 18:30 is correct in stating that the Mushite line continued at Dan until the captivity (circa 722 B.C.), Jeroboam's action did not apply to Dan. And as we shall show in Chapter IV.C, even at Bethel Jeroboam's decree may not have prevailed long. In other words, one should not conclude on the basis of 1 Kings 12 that all Levites had been excluded from the sanctuaries of the North, even though 2 Chronicles 11:13f says that some fled south. Those, however, who remained would have become poor, since they no longer had any royal support.⁴⁷ As we

⁴⁶This passage has been discussed in connection with the Excursus on Exodus 32 above. For a summary of views concerning Jeroboam's action in appointing non-Levitic priests see Moses Aberbach and Leivy Smolar, "Aaron, Jeroboam, and the Golden Calves," JBL, LXXXVI (1967), 131, n. 8.

⁴⁷Cf. Sadao Asami, "The Central Sanctuary in Israel in the Ninth Century B.C." (unpublished Th.D. dissertation; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1964), 281, 285.

suggested (II.B above), this would explain the legislation in Deuteronomy which encourages charity for the poor country Levites.

6. Second Kings

This book mentions various individual priests. The priest at the time of King Joash was Jehoiada (chapters 11-12). Urijah was the priest at the time of Ahaz (16:10ff). The priest at Josiah's time was called Hilkiah (22:4, 8, 10, 12, 14). He has the title "great priest" (22:4, 8) (hkhn hgdwl).⁴⁸ The same term is applied to Hilkiah in 23:4. It should not simply be dismissed as a "post-exilic gloss."⁴⁹

Second Kings 23:4 speaks of "priests of the second rank" (lkhny hmšnh) and "keepers of the threshold" (šmry hsp). "Pagan" priests (kmrym) are also mentioned (23:5). They were priests at the high places. Other priests of the high places were seemingly orthodox, for they were invited to serve at Jerusalem, although they did not go (23:9--cf. Deuteronomy 18:6-8). The priests of the high places at Bethel were slain by Josiah (23:20).

At the time of King Zedekiah Seraiah was the chief priest (khn hr'š) and Zephaniah was the second priest (khn mšnh) (25:18).

We see here already in Second Kings the content of

⁴⁸Cf. W. F. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel (4th ed.; Baltimore, 1941), 107-109.

⁴⁹Gray, I & II Kings, 657.

the office of "high priest," though the title does not yet seem to have been applied in a systematic way. We have discussed this question further in IV.C below.

SUMMARY RE FIRST AND SECOND KINGS

The ascendancy of Zadok and decline of Abiathar is described. If Abiathar was a Levite (II.C.3) and Zadok an Aaronide (II.C.4), this would mark the beginning of the period when the Levites (in Jerusalem) served the "sons of Aaron." See our discussion of 8:4b above, which is also the only explicit mention of the Levites as a group in 1 and 2 Kings. The expression, "priests of the second rank" (2 Kings 23:4), may refer to this same subservient role of the Levites.

In 2 Kings we may have the first reference to the high priesthood (22:4, 8; 23:4; and 25:18). Hilkiah and Seraiah are specifically given the title, but it may have reference to Jehoiada and Urijah as well.

Jehoiada, Urijah, and Hilkiah are not mentioned in the genealogies, but Seraiah is mentioned in the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 (cf. Nehemiah 11:11), and Ezra 7:1-5.

There is no mention of Gershon-Kohath-Merari. Non-Levitic priests are mentioned in 1 Kings 4:5 and 12:31.

EXCURSUS II
 THE LIST OF "HIGH PRIESTS" IN I CHRONICLES 5:27-41 COMPARED
 WITH DATA FROM PRE-EXILIC NARRATIVES

<u>Kings of Judah</u>	<u>Narratives</u>	<u>Priests</u>	<u>Judges</u>	<u>I Chronicles</u>	<u>Notes</u>
			18:30	5:27-41	
			Moses	Aaron	
			Gershon	Eleazar	
			Jonathan	Phinehas	
				Abishua	
				Bukki	
				Uzzi	
				Zerahiah	
				Meraioth I	
				Anariah I	
	1 Samuel 1-4	Eli ?			
		Phinehas ?			
Saul	1 Samuel 14:18	Ahitub ?			
Saul	1 Samuel 21:1	Ahimelech ?			
David	1 Samuel 22:20	Abiathar			Cf. 2 Samuel 8:17; 15:24 (David) plus others in 1 Chronicles 15
David	2 Samuel 15:36	Jonathan			Cf. 2 Samuel 15:36 (David)
Solomon					
Solomon	1 Kings 4:2 (?)				
Rehoboam					
Abijah					
Asa					

<u>Kings of Judah</u>	<u>Narratives</u>	<u>Priests</u>	<u>Judges</u>	<u>1 Chronicles</u>	<u>Notes</u>
Jehoshaphat	2 Chronicles 19:11		18:30	5:27-41	Plus others, cf. 2 Chronicles 17:8
Jehoram				Amariah II Ahitub II (Meraioth II) Zadok II Shallum	Cf. 1 Chronicles 9:11 =Nehemiah 11:11
Ahaziah					
Athaliah	2 Kings 11:9	Jehoiada			
Joash	2 Chronicles 24:20	Zechariah			
Amaziah					
Uzziah	2 Chronicles 26:17	Azariah			
Jotham					
Ahaz	2 Kings 16:10	Urijah			
Hezekiah	2 Chronicles 31:10	Azariah (Zadokite)			Plus others in 2 Chronicles 29
Manasseh Amon					
Josiah	2 Kings 22:4			Hilkiah	
Jehochaz Jehoiakim Jehoiachin				Azariah III	
Zedekiah	2 Kings 25:18= Jeremiah 52:24			Seraiah Jehozadak	

D. Pre-Exilic Prophets

1. Hosea (circa 750-725)

A northern prophet, he condemns the priests for their wickedness in 4:4, 9; 5:1; and 6:9. H. W. Wolff sees in 6:9 a reference to persecution of the Levites. He extrapolates from 10:5, 13:2, 8:5f (where Hosea attacks the bull cultus, cf. 1 Kings 12:28f) and Exodus 32:25-29 (where the Levites are opposed to the golden bull) the theory that Hosea had allied himself with the Levites in opposing the cult introduced by Jeroboam I (1 Kings 12:25-33). According to Wolff's theory, the Levites were engaged in the preservation of early Mosaic traditions ever since Jeroboam I's appointment of non-Levitic priests (1 Kings 12:31).¹ He further sees in 6:9 an indication that these "exiled" Levites had made Shechem their center. This would explain the absence of any polemic against Shechem in Hosea. However, as Wolff understands 6:9, the wicked non-Levitic priests opposed and killed many of these Levites in and around Shechem.²

Wolff's theory is attractive, but it does not agree with the archaeology of Shechem, for the famous sacred area of Shechem had been brought to an end by Abimelech circa 1100 B.C.,³ and the city itself (Strata VIII-VII) was probably

¹H. W. Wolff, "Hoseas geistige Heimat," TLZ, LXXXI (1956), 91f.

²H. W. Wolff, Dodekapropheten I: Hosea ("Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament," XIV/1; Neukirchen, 1961), 155.

³G. E. Wright, Shechem: The Biography of a Biblical City (New York, 1965), 101.

not important in Hosea's time.⁴ Hence, Wolff's localization of the Levites in Shechem cannot be proved, but his contention that he has uncovered a reference to a conflict between Levites and non-Levitic priests may be true.

2. Amos (circa 750 B.C.)

Amos also worked in the North. He mentions a priest called Amaziah who served at Bethel at the time of Jeroboam II. He opposed Amos' work (7:10-17). Amaziah was obviously the ranking or "high" priest in the North at the time. Though Bethel probably had non-Levitic priests at the time of Jeroboam I (cf. 1 Kings 12:31), it is possible that Bethel had not always been in Israelite hands during the Divided Monarchy (cf. IV.C below), and therefore Levites could have returned to Bethel. However, it is very doubtful whether Amaziah could be a Levite, judging by his opposition to Amos, who, like the Levites, sought to promote Mushite traditions.⁵

3. Isaiah (circa 740-700 B.C.)

He gives almost no information about the Levites. In 8:2 he tells us that the priest at the time of King Ahaz of Judah was Urijah. This agrees with 2 Kings 16:10ff. In 24:2 and 28:7 he speaks out against the priests for being as wicked as the rest of Jerusalem, but he does not identify them.

4. Micah (circa 722-701)

He condemns wicked priests and prophets alike (3:11). He perhaps is acquainted with the tradition that made Moses,

⁴Wright, Shechem, 154ff.

⁵Cf. Anderson, 236.

Aaron, and Miriam leaders of Israel (6:4). Note that he lists Moses in first place in agreement with JE.

5. Zephaniah (circa 628-622 B.C.)

He also condemns the priests of Jerusalem (1:4; 3:4).

6. Jeremiah (626-587 B.C.)

Jeremiah mentions the priests more often than any of the other writing prophets. He himself is said to be the son of Hilkiah (not the Hilkiah of 2 Kings 22-23) of the priests in Anathoth (1:1). This presumably means that he was of a priestly family; and, since he came from Anathoth, he may have been a descendant of Abiathar (cf. 1 Kings 2:26f).⁶ Yet we have no evidence that Jeremiah ever acted as a priest.

Jeremiah also calls attention to the sins of the priests, and he condemns them accordingly (1:18; 2:8, 26; 4:9; 5:31; 6:13; 8:1, 10; 13:13; 14:18; 23:11, 33f; 32:32; 34:19).

Jeremiah tells us that it is the peculiar function of the priests to handle the Torah (2:8; 18:18). In 19:1 the "senior priests" (zqny hkhnym) are mentioned. It is unclear whether they are good or bad. Pashhur was an evil priest who opposed Jeremiah (20:1; cf. chapter 38). In chapter 26 the "priests and prophets" opposed Jeremiah.

Priests are mentioned in 27:16 (Jeremiah speaks to them); in 28:1 (Hananiah the prophet spoke to Jeremiah in the

⁶cf. John Bright, Jeremiah ("The Anchor Bible"; Garden City, N.Y., 1965), Lxxxviii.

presence of the priests); and in 29:1 (the priests in exile to whom Jeremiah writes).

Jeremiah 29:24-32 informs us that Zephaniah the son of Maaseiah had replaced Jehoiada as the priest in Jerusalem (cf. 21:1; 37:3). Zephaniah refused to arrest Jeremiah.

Jeremiah⁷ foresees a time when the priests will again be good (31:14; 33:17-22). In the latter passage the priests are called Levitical priests (hkhnym hlwym), which is Deuteronomic terminology. His hope is that these Levitical priests might occupy the priesthood forever.

If our analysis in I.C was correct, Abiathar was a Mushite. He would therefore have kept Mushite traditions alive in Anathoth, the place of his exile. Accordingly, Jeremiah, coming from Anathoth, would have had northern theological training. According to our theory (II.B), the northern point of view considered the Levites (that is, Mushite Levites particularly) as the rightful priests of the central sanctuary, and they refer to these Levites as the "Levitical priests." Of course when the Book of Deuteronomy was found in Josiah's time, the Jerusalem (Zadokite) priests immediately identified themselves with the Levitical priests, but we believe that the term originally referred to the priests at the central sanctuary of the Tribal League (cf. IV.B below). Hence, when Jeremiah states that the priests of the future will be

⁷Not all scholars take chapters 30-33 as being by Jeremiah. For a defense of Jeremiah's authorship see Bright, Jeremiah, 284ff.

"Levitical priests," he may be using the term as it was understood in the North, and his words may in effect be a polemic against the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem.

Jeremiah 52:24 says that the chief priest (hnh hr's) at the fall of Jerusalem (587 B.C.) was Seraiah. This agrees with the genealogies in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41, Ezra 7:1-5, and Nehemiah 11:11.

SUMMARY RE PRE-EXILIC PROPHETS

Hosea and Amos speak about wicked priests in the North. Hosea connects them with the bull cultus of Jeroboam I; and, if Wolff is correct, they were non-Levites. The "orthodox" priests, Wolff believes, were Levites who resided at Shechem (?).

Isaiah, Micah, and Zephaniah condemn the priests of Jerusalem for false practices. These were presumably Zadokite priests.

Jeremiah, who himself may have been a descendant of the Levite Abiathar, likewise condemns the Jerusalemite priesthood. It is his hope that the "Levitical priests" might be the priests of the future. This implies a knowledge that the Levitical priests once had been Israel's main priests, and an admission that at present someone else occupies the priesthood (i.e. the Zadokites). Jeremiah thus puts himself clearly on the side of the Levitical priests.

Since none of the pre-exilic prophets mention Gershon-Kohath-Merari, this strongly suggests that this belonged to the early tradition about the Levites but that it was no longer operable except as a genealogical theory.

E. Ezekiel (593-563 B.C.)¹

Ezekiel himself is a priest (1:3), but he is critical of the priests of Jerusalem who served at the first temple (7:26; 22:26).

Ezekiel identifies the Levitical priests with the sons of Zadok. This is in his vision of the new Jerusalem. The priests who will serve there are described in the following ways:

40:46 bny šdq hqrbym mbny lwy 'l yhwh
=the sons of Zadok who (alone) among the
sons of Levi may approach Yahweh

43:19 hkhnym hlwym 'šr hm mzc šdq
=the Levitical priests who are from the
seed of Zadok

44:15 hkhnym hlwym bny šdq
=the Levitical priests (who are) the sons
of Zadok

48:11 lkhnym hmqdš mbny šdq
=the consecrated priests of the sons of Zadok

Sometimes the priests who are to function in the new temple are simply called "priests," but the context indicates that this probably has reference to these special sons of Zadok (40:45f; 42:13f; 43:24, 27; 44:21f, 30f; 45:4, 19; 46:2, 19f;

¹The passages discussed in this section are not all attributed to Ezekiel by scholars. This is particularly true of chapters 40-48. See H. G. May, "The Book of Ezekiel," IB (Nashville, 1956), VI, 53ff for discussion; also Gunneweg 188ff; and Strauss 66ff. It is our position that even if the entire book was not written by Ezekiel, nevertheless the sections we are interested in reflect the Zadokite point of view for which he stood.

48:10).²

These sons of Zadok/priests will be the altar clergy in the temple (40:45f) in charge of the various offerings (42:13f; 43:19, 24, 27; 46:2), and they shall be the recipients of the firstfruits, the sacrificial food (44:30) and a holy district of land (45:4). They are commended for their faithfulness in the past (44:15; 48:11).

On the other hand, "the Levites" are condemned for having gone astray. They will be punished by having to serve as minor temple servants rather than as full-fledged priests in charge of the sacrifices (44:10-14; 48:11). But they will nevertheless receive a special precinct of the city which will be equal in size to that of the Zadokites.

Terminology Relating to Duties of Levites and Zadokites in Ezekiel³

Note: Underlinings point out significant differences between the two groups.

	<u>Levites</u>	<u>Zadokites</u>
40:45	khnym šmry mšmrt <u>hbyt</u>	
40:46		khnym šmry mšmrt <u>hmzbyh...</u> <u>hqrbym... 'l yhwh lšrtw</u>

²Contrary to most other scholars, W. W. Baudissin, "Priests and Levites," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (Edinburgh, 1902), IV, 78, sees in "priests" of 40:45 a reference to the Levites who are elsewhere described by Ezekiel as being demoted. Cf. also DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 305; and Strauss, 196.

³Our chart includes references to priests who once were (cf. especially 44:10, 15; 48:11) and those who are to be in the future. The position of the priests in the future temple is determined by how they acted in the past. This means that in the past the Levites may not have been in the inferior position to which Ezekiel relegates them for the future.

Levites

Zadokites

43:19

hqrbym 'ly...lšrtny

44:11 whyw bmqdšy mšrtym

pqdwt 'l š'ry hbyt

wmšrtym 't hbyt

hnh yšhṭw 't h'lh w't hzbḥ l'm

whmh y'mdw lpnyhm lšrtm

44:13 wl' ygšw 'ly lkhn ly

wlgšt 'l kl qdšy 'l qdšy hqdšym

44:14 šmry mšmrt hbyt lkl 'bdtw

44:15

šmrw 't mšmrt mqdšy...

yqrbw 'ly lšrtny

w'mdw lpny lhqryb ly ḥlb wdm

44:16

hnh yb'w 'l mqdšy

whmh yqrbw 'l šlhny lšrtny

wšmrw 't mšmrt

45:4

khnym mšrty hmqdš yhyh

hqrbym lšrt 't yhwh

45:5 mšrty hbyt

48:11

šmrw mšmrt

SUMMARY RE EZEKIEL

According to the view of Ezekiel, the only priests who will be eligible to perform all the priestly duties in the "new Jerusalem" are the Levites/Levitical priests who are descendants of Zadok. They are given this privilege because they remained faithful when the other Levites went astray (44:10-15; 48:11).

A question arises how Ezekiel can commend the sons of Zadok, whereas in the pre-exilic southern prophets they are harshly condemned. It is also necessary to ask what situation Ezekiel had in mind when he referred to the Zadokites' faithfulness and the Levites' sin. Wellhausen⁴ answered the second question by stating that Ezekiel was simply trying to legalize the consequences of Josiah's reformation of circa 622 B.C. (2 Kings 22-23; 2 Chronicles 34-35). At that time the Jerusalem priesthood (i.e., Zadokites) participated in the reform, while the Levites who had formerly served at the high places were invited to come to Jerusalem but were not permitted to serve at the altar of the temple, presumably because they were rejected by the Zadokites (2 Kings 23:9; cf. Deuteronomy 18:6-8). As a result, they were degraded.⁵ Most other scholars have followed

⁴Prolegomena, 122-127, 147.

⁵Because Wellhausen did not find this distinction between priests and Levites in Deuteronomy but in P it is explicit, this became one of his criteria for dating P after Ezekiel.

Wellhausen's interpretation of Ezekiel's reasons for condemning the Levites.⁶ Two who do not are Strauss⁷ and George Berry.⁸ Berry dates Ezekiel 40-48 to the Maccabean period and thus sees the Levites who went astray as the priests of the Samaritan temple.

As regards the question of the prophets' condemnation of the (Zadokite) priesthood of Jerusalem, Ezekiel evidently does not believe their aberrations were so great as to disqualify them as priests, although he too is critical of them in 7:6 and 22:26.⁹ However, Ezekiel's own criticism comes in the midst of a stylized condemnation of all the leaders of Israel and is therefore probably not to be taken as being specifically against the Zadokite priesthood. In fact, in chapter 8, which gives a picture of paganism in the temple, there is no explicit criticism of the priests.¹⁰ It must also not be forgotten that Ezekiel's references to the Zadokite priesthood after chapter 40 not only refer to it in the past, but they also deal with the idealized new Jerusalem, where the priesthood would as a matter of course be perfect.

⁶Cf. Baudissin, 78; de Vaux, Ancient Israel, 364.

⁷Page 72.

⁸George Berry, "Priests and Levites," JBL, XLII (1923), 237.

⁹Walter Zimmerli, Ezechiel ("Biblischer Kommentar Altes Testament," XIII; Neukirchen, 1956-), 184, says that 7:26 has been taken from Jeremiah 18:18; and May, 55, doubts the genuineness of 22:26.

¹⁰Cf. May, 55.

The description of the duties of the "Levites" and "sons of Zadok" here corresponds well with the description of the "Levites" as hierodules of the "sons of Aaron" in P.¹¹ Why, however, are the two groups referred to in two different ways? Scholars have made many guesses. Kennett¹² suggests that the Aaronides, who had previously been at home in Bethel, were invited to become the priests of Jerusalem during the time when the Zadokites were in exile of Babylon. F. S. North¹³ holds that the Aaronides were in charge of Bethel, and that Bethel actually supplanted Jerusalem as the religious center of Palestine during the Exile. After the Exile the Zadokites returned to establish a new cult in Jerusalem, and now they claimed that they themselves were Aaronite in descent. T. J. Meek¹⁴ assumes that the Aaronides took over the Jerusalemite priesthood during the Exile when the Zadokites were for the most part deported. After the Exile Zadokites were again accepted into the higher priestly ranks, but there was a certain amount of friction until finally in New Testament times the Zadokites triumphed. George Berry¹⁵ sees the "change" from the name "Zadokites" to "sons of Aaron"

¹¹Cf. the comparative chart in Gunneweg, 199f.

¹²R. H. Kennett, "Origin of the Aaronite Priesthood," Journal of Theological Studies, VI (1904-1905), 174.

¹³F. S. North, "Aaron's Rise in Prestige," ZAW, LXVI (1954), 194.

¹⁴T. J. Meek, "Aaronites and Zadokites," AJSL, XLV (1929), 155ff.

¹⁵Page 235.

as the work of P who was seeking to enhance the glory of the Jerusalemite priesthood by giving it an ancient lineage. De Vaux¹⁶ rejects the contention that the sanctuary of Bethel took on new life after the reform of Josiah. Rather he favors a view that the "sons of Aaron" constitutes a compromise between the descendants of Zadok and Abiathar, who, from the time of the Exile on, both traced their descent to Aaron--the Zadokites through Eleazar and the Abiatharites through Ithamar.

We disagree with these scholars who consider the Zadokite and Aaronite priesthoods to be two different phenomena. Likewise we reject De Vaux' opinion that "the sons of Aaron" was merely a title adopted by both Zadokites and Abiatharites from Exilic times on.

In Chapter III below we shall try to show that Zadok was a descendant of Aaron and Abiathar of Moses. The various links between Aaron and Zadok in the genealogy of 1 Chronicles 5:27-41, however, we have considered to be not genuine.¹⁷ This genealogy had no doubt been worked out by the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem to bolster its legitimacy. Though in itself, then, unhistorical; it nevertheless presented what we consider was an historical fact, namely, that Zadok was a descendant of Aaron.

¹⁶Ancient Israel, 394-397.

¹⁷Cf. I.C.7 above. We considered this genealogy to be originally a genealogy of Eli which the Zadokite priesthood attached to Zadok.

Hence, we believe that the "sons of Aaron" and the "Zadokites" stood for one and the same thing, namely, the priesthood of Jerusalem. We also hold that one should not speak of a "change" from one terminology to the other. Rather they could be used interchangeably after the time of Solomon, depending on the context. Accordingly, when P spoke about the Desert Period he used the term "sons of Aaron," because Zadok would have been an anachronism for the time. On the other hand, Ezekiel, since he spoke about his own day and the future, was free to use the term "sons of Zadok."

F. P

In discussing the terminology used by P we are concerned mainly with the narrative sources, since the genealogies, which are usually attributed to P, have been treated in Chapter I.

Though our discussion of P is placed after the other Pentateuchal sources, JE and D, this does not necessarily imply that the content of P is younger than the material in the other sources. We subscribe to the theory advanced by Frank M. Cross, Jr.¹ that P is a supplement (and not a separate document) to the other Tetrachal sources written circa 550 B.C., and that much of this supplementary material is very old. Accordingly, Cross has demonstrated the antiquity of the tabernacle materials in Exodus.² Other scholars have pointed out other ancient elements in P.³ P was no doubt a member of the Zadokite priesthood with access to the traditional materials of the temple archives. As such he set forth the "orthodox" Zadokite view that had been worked out by the Jerusalem priesthood in the Monarchical Period, beginning in the Tenth Century B.C. Hence, P was more of an archaizing than a creative theologian.

¹Unpublished.

²"The Tabernacle," BA, X (1947), 45-68.

³Cf. Cross, BA, X, 52-54, for a survey up to 1947.

1. Exodus

Yahweh spoke to "Moses and Aaron" (6:13). In 6:26 they are identified with the Moses and Aaron mentioned in the genealogy (6:16-25) whose parents are Jochebed and Amram (6:20).

In 7:1 Aaron is called the brother of Moses, and he is to be Moses' spokesman (7:2). In 7:7 Aaron is considered three years older than Moses. In 7:8-13 Moses and Aaron go to Pharaoh together, but Aaron is the more prominent in the action which follows.

In 7:19 Yahweh gives instructions to Moses (about the first plague) which he is to convey to Aaron. In 8:1-3 (English verses 5-7) the same procedure is followed with the second plague; likewise with the third plague (8:12-15=English verses 16-19). With regard to the sixth plague, the revelation of Yahweh is to both Moses and Aaron, and they both act (9:8-12). In 11:9 the revelation is to Moses alone, but he and Aaron work together in carrying it out (verse 10).

The instructions concerning the sacrifice of the pass-over were given to both Moses and Aaron (12:1-20, 28, 40-51). The command to consecrate the first-born went only to Moses (13:1-2).

In 16:2 the Israelites murmured against Moses and Aaron (cf. Numbers 20). In 16:6-13 they spoke together to Israel concerning manna.

At Sinai it was Moses alone who went up on the mountain of God (24:15-18).

In 25:1ff Moses is commanded to speak to the children of Israel to ask them to bring materials for the tabernacle. In 27:21 the terminology "Aaron and his sons" is used for the first time. They are to care for the tent of meeting.

In 28:1, 4 Aaron and his sons are specifically called the priests (albeit under Moses), and the sons of Aaron are called Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar, in agreement with the genealogies. In 28:2-29 Aaron has special priestly garments: ephod, breastplate, Urim and Thummim, mitre, and girdle (cf. chapter 39).⁴ Aaron's sons have less imposing garments (28:40-42). Moses consecrated Aaron and his sons (chapter 29).⁵ Moses was to make an altar of incense and Aaron was to take care of it. Aaron and his sons were to wash in a brass laver before performing their priestly duties (30:17-21). They were anointed with a special holy oil (30:22-33). In chapter 31 Moses appoints Bezalel and Oholiab to make the tabernacle.

In 38:21 we are told that Levites under Ithamar, the son of Aaron the priest, worked at the tabernacle. This is the traditional Zadokite point of view, which P here presents. Our position (cf. I.C above) is that "historically" Ithamar was not an Aaronide and that the Levites were not subservient to the Aaronides before the monarchy (cf. Chapter IV below).

⁴This is usually thought to be P's description of the "high priest," although the term is not used. On whether there was such an office in pre-exilic times, cf. IV.B.C below.

⁵cf. Leviticus 8.

After Aaron and his sons received their priestly garments (chapter 39) they were anointed by Moses for a "perpetual priesthood" (40:15).

Chart of P's Terminology re Moses, Aaron, Priests,
Levites in Exodus 25-31 and 34:29-40:38

Note: Parentheses in the column under Moses indicate that he simply provides the framework for the passage(s) so marked.

<u>Moses</u>	<u>Aaron and His Sons</u>	<u>Aaron</u>	<u>Sons of Aaron</u>	<u>Levites</u>	<u>Ithamar</u>	<u>Nadab, Abihu Eleazar Ithamar</u>
25:1	27:21 28:1					28:1
	chapter 29	28:2-39	28:40			
	30:19	30:7f 30:10				
(30:11,17, 22,34)	30:30					
(31:1,12, 18)	31:10					
34:29-35		34:30f				
chapters 35-38						
(chapter 39)	39:1 39:27			38:21	38:21	
(chapter 40)	40:12	39:41	39:41			
	40:31	40:13	40:14f			

SUMMARY

In Chapters 2-24 Moses and Aaron appear as brothers who lead Israel from Egypt. Once the cult had been founded P describes Aaron as the priest par excellence (chapters 25-31 and 35-40), but he is still responsible to Moses. It appears that Moses was so dominant in the received tradition (JE) that even P, despite his interest in presenting Aaronite-Zadokite traditions, had to acknowledge this. Nor could P cover up the fact that Moses was the dominant figure at Sinai (31:18; 34:29-35).

The P strand of Exodus with its predominance of "Aaronite" terminology seems to come from the same tradition as Leviticus. There is no mention of Gershon-Kohath-Merari in the narratives, but 28:1 agrees with the genealogy of chapter 6 in making Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar the sons of Aaron. We have contended (I.C above) that this does not represent the "historical" situation (cf. also Chapter III below).

P's view of the priesthood comes out also in 38:21, where Ithamar ben Aaron is called the leader of the Levites. This is the only reference to the Levites as a group by P in Exodus. However, in presenting them as being subservient to the Aaronides, it is our opinion that P is reading back into the Desert Period a point of view that had long been held by the Zadokites, but which was capable of realization only since the days of Solomon.

2. Leviticus

Chart of terminologies used:

Chapters 1-7 - regulations as to how Aaron and his sons are to take care of the sacrifices

<u>"The Sons of Aaron"</u>	<u>"Aaron and His Sons"</u>	<u>Aaron</u>	<u>Moses</u>
1:5,7,8,11 2:2			1:1
3:2,5,8,13	2:3,10		4:1 5:14,20 6:1,12,17
6:7,11 7:10	6:2,9,13,15,18		
7:33	7:31 7:34f		

Chapter 8 (cf. Exodus 29) - Moses consecrates Aaron and his sons to the priesthood

			Chapter 8
	8:2,6		
8:13		8:12	
	8:14,18,22		
8:24		8:23	
	8:27,30,31,36		

Chapter 9 - the first ministrations of Aaron and his sons

	9:1		9:1
9:9,12,18		9:2,8	
		9:21,22 9:23 (+Moses)	

(Chapter 10 - treated separately below)

Chapters 11-16 - Rules concerning ritual purity

<u>"The Sons of Aaron"</u>	<u>"Aaron and His Sons"</u>	<u>Aaron</u>	<u>Moses and Aaron</u>	<u>Moses</u>
			11:1	
				12:1
			13:1	
	13:2 (13:3 etc.)			
	(14:2 etc.)			14:1
			14:33 15:1	
	(15:15 etc.)			
		Chapter 16		
				16:2

Chapters 17-26 - Holiness Code

				17:1
	17:2			18:1
				19:1
				20:1
21:1				21:1
				21:16
		21:17,21		
				22:1
	22:2			
22:4 (=seed of Aaron)				
	22:18			
				23:1,9,23,33
		24:3f		24:1
	24:9			
				24:13,23
				25:1

Levites

25:32f				27:1
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Chapter 10⁶

The terminology of this chapter diverges from the rest of the book. So it is not surprising that Martin Noth⁷ says that "behind the narrative...there stood in the far background internal disputes between different priestly groups, about which we have no further knowledge."

Nadab and Abihu are known to us from JE (Exodus 24) and the genealogies. Here (verse 1), in agreement with the genealogies, they are called Aaron's sons.⁸ It is possible that their death is another phase in the decline of the Aaronite priesthood which we noted also in Exodus 32. At the same time it marks the beginning of the dominance of the Mushite line, for our chapter presents the punishment of the Aaronites as a vindication of Moses. Hence we believe that P is here presenting traditional material from Jerusalem archives which preserves the memory of an ancient Aaronite-Mushite conflict in which the Aaronites were defeated.

Mishael and Elzaphan are presented as being on Moses' side, for they removed the bodies of Nadab and Abihu (verses 4-5), and, as is the case in the genealogy of Exodus 6, they are called the sons of Uzziel. Sithri, who in Exodus 6 is their brother, is not mentioned here.

⁶Cf. Möhlenbrink, 214 and 218.

⁷Martin Noth, Leviticus (London, 1965), 84.

⁸Cf. our discussion of Group E in Chapter I.C for what we believe was the historical situation. Cf. also Chapter III below.

In verses 8-11 Yahweh addresses Aaron directly (cf. Numbers 18:1-7).

As soon as Nadab and Abihu are dead, Eleazar and Ithamar are introduced as the other sons of Aaron (verses 6, 12). This agrees well with our analysis of Groups F and G in Chapter I.C. Also with the service of Eleazar and Ithamar Moses was unhappy (verse 16), but he did not punish them. It is odd that Moses should be angry with Eleazar if he was actually Moses' son (cf. I.C above). However, since according to our view we are here dealing with artificial replacements for Nadab and Abihu, this part of the story is just a continuation of the Aaronide-Mushite conflict, and Eleazar here represents the Aaronides, not the Mushites.

SUMMARY

Chapters 1-7 are put in the framework of laws given to Moses (wydb^r yhw^h 'l mš^h l'mr), but the main actors are Aaron and his sons.

In Chapter 8 Aaron and his sons are ordained to the priesthood, but it is through the instrumentality of Moses who himself engages in sacrifice in the process.

Chapter 9 describes Aaron and his sons carrying out their priestly duties.

Chapters 11-16 speak of the action of Aaron and his sons only in 13:2, although they are perhaps referred to with the title "priest" in chapters 13-15.

Chapters 17-27 (the Holiness Code) also tell us very little about the action of the priests, except in chapter 24. Most of the other uses of priestly names and/or titles are found within the formulae, "Yahweh spoke to Moses," and "Yahweh spoke to Moses, saying: 'Speak to Aaron and his sons...'"

Only in one place are the Levites explicitly mentioned, namely, 25:32-33. In only one chapter do we find any confirmation for any of the elements in the genealogies: in Chapter 10 Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar are mentioned, as are Michael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel. This might well indicate that the story underlying Chapter 10 is much older than the parts of Leviticus in which "the sons of Aaron" are mentioned.

3. Numbers

Chapter 1⁹

Verse 3 - "You and Aaron shall number them..."

Verses 17,44 - "Moses and Aaron..."

Verses 47-53 - The Levites are not to be numbered (but cf. 3:15ff). They are spoken of as a group with no subgroupings mentioned. They are considered the priests in charge of the tabernacle, that is, they carry the tabernacle and its furnishings; they set it up and take it down; and they encamp around it.

Note: The tribes are listed twice: Verses 5-15 and 20-43. In both lists Levi is omitted. To get the total of twelve Joseph has been split into Ephraim and Manasseh.¹⁰ In the first list Levi is simply dropped,

⁹On the census lists here and in chapter 26 see G. E. Mendenhall, "The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26," *JBL*, LXXVII (1958), 52-66. It is Mendenhall's position (p. 60) that they are "an authentic list from the period of the Federation..., probably coming from specific occasions when the federation army had to be mobilized to meet a common peril." Concerning P's use of these lists Mendenhall states (p. 65): "We can assume also that he knew the lists to be earlier than the time of the kings, and therefore assigned them to the time of Moses, which was standard procedure from the perspective of the post-Exilic period." It is interesting that the lists do not include Levi. If Mendenhall's dating of the lists is correct, this means that the Levites did not send men into the army. This is understandable if they were a priestly tribe.

¹⁰Cf. Martin Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* ("BWANT," 52; Stuttgart, 1930), 14-20; also Chapter IV.B below.

and Judah etc. move up one place in the list. In the second list Gad is put into Levi's usual third spot (for the inclusion of Levi in position three see Genesis 29:31-30:24; 35:23-26; 46:8-25; 49:1-27; Exodus 1:2-4; 1 Chronicles 2:1-2; cf. also Deuteronomy 27:12f and Ezekiel 48:31-35).

Chapter 2¹¹

Verse 1 - Yahweh spoke to Moses and Aaron.

Verse 17 - The Levites shall be in the midst of the tribes on the march around the tabernacle. Although it is not here explicitly stated, it was P's viewpoint that the Levites' service at the tabernacle was under the supervision of the sons of Aaron, who alone had the right to serve the altar. If our analysis of Exodus 32 (and Leviticus 10) was correct, however, the Mushites, not the Aaronides, were the dominant priests (and hence the altar clergy) of the Desert Period. Therefore we believe that the stratum of material in Numbers which speaks of the Levites in isolation (cf. chart below) preserves a memory of their position as the altar clergy of the Desert Period (and Tribal League), but that it was reworked by the Zadokite priesthood in such a way as to make it appear that this was a service rendered to the sons of Aaron. This Zadokite viewpoint had become "orthodox"

¹¹Cf. Arnulf Kuschke, "Die Lagervorstellung der priesterschriftlichen Erzählung," ZAW, LXXIII (1951), 74-105.

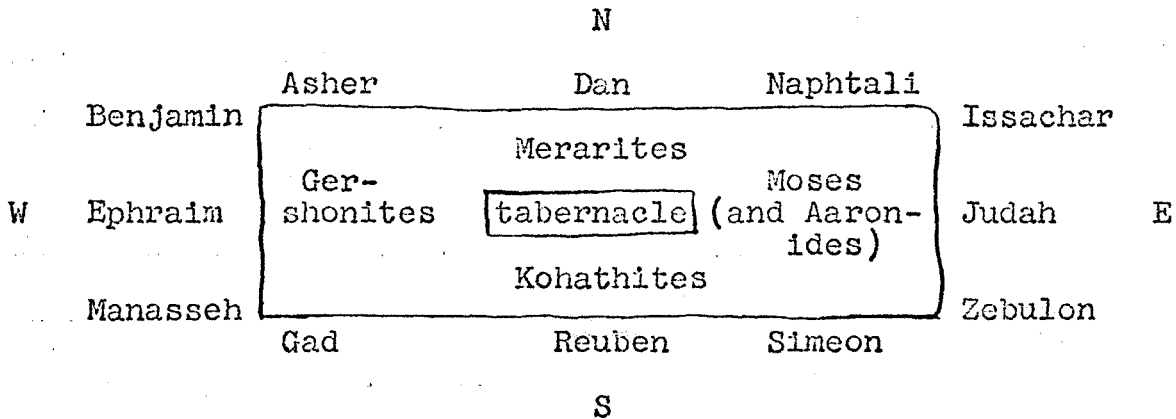
doctrine by the time of Ezekiel, and it became P's task to present it in a systematic literary fashion.

Verses 3-9 give the position of the tribes on the east; 10-16 on the south; 18-24 on the west; and 25-31 on the north. The position of the Levites in the center of the camp is specified in 3:23, 29, 35, 38 -- the Gershonites on the west; the Kohathites on the south; the Merarites on the north; and "Moses and Aaron and his sons" on the east side of the tabernacle "toward the sunrise." P has here preserved the ancient three-fold division of the Levites with the Gershonites first (cf. Chapter I.C above). The separation of "Moses and Aaron and his sons" from the rest of the Levites is unusual. There is something similar in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6:39ff (English verse 54ff), but there it is just "the sons of Aaron," and they are specifically separated from "the rest of the Kohathites." (Note that in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6:39ff the order is Kohath-Gershon-Merari, betraying the hand of the editor). Here in Numbers it is not stated that "Moses and Aaron and his sons" belong to the Kohathites; and, if Exodus 32 is accurate in portraying a dispute between Moses and Aaron (cf. also our discussion of Leviticus 10), one would not expect them to be so closely allied here. Hence, it seems to fit the evidence better to assume that in the tradition lying behind 3:38 only Moses (who according to our reconstruction in Chapter III is a

Gershonite) was mentioned, and that it was his family that led the rest of the Levites. The addition of the Aaronides here would be due to Zadokite reworking reproduced by P.¹²

Verse 33 - It is again stated that the Levites are not to be numbered among the rest of the Israelites.

Camp Arrangement of the Israelites (Numbers 2-3)



¹²Cf. Cross, BA, X, 55, who says: "The heavily idealized camp of the Priestly tradition, with priests and tribes grouped in systematic order in protective array about the Tabernacle, may reflect the battle formation of Israel both before and after the Conquest." Kuschke, 102f, states: "Die Lagerordnung ist zwar in ihrer vorliegenden Form eine durchaus eigene Schöpfung des priesterschriftlichen Erzählers; er hat sich jedoch bei ihrem Ausbau übernommener Ueberlieferungselemente bedient." Kuschke believes that there were especially two "streams of tradition" that Pg used, the one deriving from the Twelve-Tribe League at Shechem, the other stemming from an old Six-Tribe League centered at Hebron. We prefer to speak simply of P, rather than Pg. Though Kuschke is no doubt correct in pointing out that many individual elements coming from different times can be uncovered in the text as it now stands, we believe the position of the priests in the camp was a fixed tradition of the Zadokite priests of Jerusalem that P merely reproduced. The different elements in the tradition that Kuschke points out (we do not entirely agree with the provenance that he posits for the various elements) would then have been combined into one picture, not by P, but by the Jerusalem priesthood of the monarchy.

Chapter 3

Verse 1 - "And these are the toledoth of Aaron and Moses..." Moses seems secondary, since in what follows the descendants of Moses are not given; and where Aaron and Moses are mentioned together, the usual order, even in P, is "Moses and Aaron."

Verse 2 - Now a different form is used to introduce the sons of Aaron, namely, "these are the names of the sons of Aaron." Then they are listed. Hence, there must have been two forms for listing the sons of Aaron, but the first one (verse 1) was interrupted by the second, which is given in full.

Verse 3f - A brief description of why Eleazar and Ithamar have replaced Nadab and Abihu (cf. Leviticus 10).

Verses 5-10 - Moses is instructed to present the tribe of Levi to Aaron and his sons as their servants. But it is explicitly stated (verse 10) that only Aaron and his sons are to act as priests.

Verses 11-13 - Yahweh accepts the Levites as a substitute for the first-born of all the people. It is implied that the Levites are accepted as Yahweh's priests, which contradicts the previous passage; but it agrees with 1:47-53.

Verses 14-16 - Moses receives the command to take a

census of the Levites. Evidently 1:47 and 2:33 did not mean that the Levites were not to be numbered at all, but that they were not to be numbered at the same time with the rest of the tribes.

(Verses 17-20 - A genealogy. Cf. Chapter I.)

Verses 21-37 - The results of the census of the Levites are given. They are divided into three groups (Gershon-Kohath-Merari) in agreement with the previous genealogy. The respective sub-groups also agree with the genealogy. The heads of the three groups listed here are interesting. They are: Eliasaph ben Lael for Gershon, Elizaphan ben Uzziel for Kohath, and Zuriel ben Abihail for Merari. The names are obviously old, though they are not given in the genealogies (except Elizaphan may=Elzaphan ben Uzziel of Exodus 6, cf. 1 Chronicles 15). They are given the title nāsî' (-patriarchal representative), a term which Noth has shown to be Tribal League terminology.¹³ Could this passage, which is the only one in the Old Testament that attributes n^eśî'im to the Levites, be indirect "proof" that the Levites did in fact constitute a tribe in the Tribal League?¹⁴

¹³Noth, *Das System*, 151-162. Cf. also Cross, BA, X, 65; Kuschke, 90f; and E. A. Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical Nāsî'," *CBQ*, XXV (1963), 111-117.

¹⁴See discussion of the tribe Levi in IV.B below.

Verses 21-26 - Gershon:

- 7,500 males above one month old
- encamp west of the tabernacle
- care for tabernacle, tent, covering, hangings
- Eliasaph ben Lael is the nāsî'

Verses 27-31 - Kohath:

- 8,600 males above one month old
- encamp south of the tabernacle
- care for ark, table, candlestick, altars, and vessels of the sanctuary (i.e., the most holy things)
- Elizaphan ben Uzziel is the nāsî'

Verse 32 - Eleazar ben Aaron is said to be a nāsî' over the n^esî'îm of the Levites. This is in line with P's conception that Eleazar is the son of Aaron, and that the Aaronides were the dominant priests in the Desert Period. However, the mention of the n^esî'îm betrays the fact that underlying this passage there is a tradition stemming from the Tribal League. We have considered Eleazar to be a son of Moses rather than of Aaron (cf. I.C above). If this is true, he may indeed have been a nāsî' of the Levites in the earliest period of the Tribal League. We shall also attempt to show below (Chapter III) in what sense one can still speak of

three branches or lines of Levites in the Period of the Judges.

Verses 33-37 - Merari:

- 6,200 males above one month old
- encamp north of the tabernacle
- care for boards of tabernacle, bars, pillars, sockets, etc.
- Zuriel ben Abihail is the nāsi¹⁵

Verse 38 - Cf. comments under 2:17 and 3:32 above.

Verse 39 - The total of the Levites is said to be 22,000, which is universally considered to be impossible for the Desert Period.¹⁵

Verses 40-51 - Moses numbers the firstborn Israelites and finds that there are 22,273. Since there were only 22,000 Levites to act as a substitute for the firstborn (cf. 3:11-13 and 3:39) Moses redeems the additional 273 firstborn at five shekels apiece.

Note: Though the Kohathites are mentioned second, they have the greatest number, and they have the honor of handling the most sacred objects.

¹⁵Cf. G. B. Gray, A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Numbers ("ICC"; New York, 1903), 11-15. For different understandings of 'lp see Mendenhall, JBL, LXXVII, 52ff.

Chapter Four¹⁶

Note: This chapter is very similar to chapter three. Both describe a census of the Levites; but here it is of the Levites between thirty and fifty years. Both list the Levites according to the well-known three-fold division; but here the order is Kohath-Gershon-Merari. Though Kohath is still given the most honorable work, the largest number in the census is attributed to Merari. Among the Kohathites Aaron and his sons are singled out for special duties (verses 5, 15, 19). The three chiefs of chapter three are not mentioned here; instead Ithamar is over the Gershonites and the Merarites. Eleazar again seems to be over all the Levites.

Verse 1 - Aaron may be a secondary, since he is missing in verse 21.

Verses 2-15 and 17-20 - Kohath: They are to handle the most holy things (ark, table of the presence plus paraphernalia, candlestick plus utensils, golden altar, vessels for service in the sanctuary, and altar of burnt offering plus utensils), but only after they have been wrapped in a tahash skin by Aaron and his sons (verses 5, 15).

¹⁶Cf. Möhlenbrink, 224f.

Verse 16 - Cf. discussion under 3:32 above. "Historically" it may have been Eleazar=Eliezer ben Moses who was the leader of the Levites in the desert, but to P he is a son of Aaron.

Verses 21-28 - Gershon: They are to carry the curtains of the tabernacle, etc. They are to serve under Aaron and his sons (verse 27), or under Ithamar (verse 28). Verse 27 is the orthodox Zadokite view, while verse 28 may represent the reworking of a tradition in which Ithamar was not an Aaronide (cf. I.C above and III below). Note also 3:24 which called Eliasaph ben Lael the chief of the Gershonites. This may represent yet another pre-monarchical period.

Verses 29-33 - Merari: They carry the boards, bars, etc. They do this under the leadership of Ithamar. P considers him an Aaronide, but for the "historical" situation, see verses 21-28 above and Chapter III below. Note that 3:35 called Zuriel ben Abihail their chief.

Verses 34-37 - Kohath numbers 2,750.¹⁷

Verses 38-41 - Gershon numbers 2,630.

Verses 42-45 - Merari numbers 3,200.

Verses 46-49 - The total number of Levites between the ages of thirty and fifty years was 8,580.¹⁸

¹⁷Cf. Mühlenbrink, 211.

¹⁸Cf. G. B. Gray, A Crit....Com. on Numbers, 11-15

Chapters 5 and 6

These chapters are set in the framework of words spoken by Yahweh to Moses. Several duties of "the priest" (unspecified) are outlined. In 6:22f Yahweh tells Moses how Aaron and his sons are to bless the people.

Chapter 7

Verses 1-6 - There is no mention of Aaron. Moses received offerings for the Levites from the various princes.

Verse 7 - Gershon: Receives two wagons and four oxen.¹⁹

Verse 8 - Merari: Receives four wagons and eight oxen; they serve under Ithamar (cf. 4:33).

Verse 9 - Kohath: Does not receive any, since they were to carry the sanctuary.²⁰

Chapter 8

Verses 1-4 - Aaron is in charge of the lamps.

Verses 5-22 - The Levites have been given as a gift to assist and serve under Aaron and his sons (cf. 3:5-10; 4:27).

Verses 23-26 - These verses, if taken by themselves, can be construed to mean that only the Levites served as

¹⁹Cf. Möhlenbrink, 212.

²⁰Note that Kohath is placed last, no doubt because they received no wagons or oxen.

priests of the tabernacle. They were to serve between the ages of twenty-five and fifty. (Cf. comments under 2:17 above).

Chapter 10

Verses 8-10 - The sons of Aaron are in charge of blowing the trumpets to call people together at time of war and on feast days.

Verse 17 - When Israel left Sinai, the Gershonites and Merarites carried the tabernacle (mškn).

Verse 21 - The Kohathites carried the holy things (mqdš).²¹

Chapter 16²²

Note: Carpenter and Harford²³ and Eissfeldt²⁴ agree that the rebellion of Korah in this chapter belongs to P, whereas the revolt of Dathan, Abiram, and On belongs to the JE stratum.²⁵

Verse 1a - Korah is given a genealogy identical with that given in Exodus 6, that is, he is said to be a Levite (cf. discussion in Chapter III below).

²¹Cf. Möhlenbrink, 212.

²²Cf. Gunneweg, 171-182.

²³Page 519.

²⁴Page 173-5.

²⁵For reasons why the scholars thus divide the sources see G. B. Gray, A Crit....Com. on Numbers, 186-188.

Verses 2b-11 - Together with two hundred fifty leaders of the people Korah protests that Moses and Aaron have kept the priesthood for themselves, whereas any Israelite ought to be able to become a priest. First Moses invites Korah and his company to come with their censers on the morrow, and Yahweh will show whom he has chosen as priests (verses 4-7). Then Moses addresses the Korahites as "sons of Levi" and condemns them for not being satisfied with their position of helper to the priests (verses 8-11).

After what we have seen of strife between Moses and Aaron in Exodus 32 and Leviticus 10, it is strange that Moses should be defending the idea that only the family of Aaron could be priests (verses 8-11, especially 11b). But this is P, who is expounding Zadokite doctrine. Therefore to get at the "historical" situation, it seems better to consider verses 4-7 as containing the original account of Moses' reaction to the revolt (Aaron being secondary in verse 3), and to see verses 8-11 as the harmonizing work of the Jerusalem priests, who as always were interested in promoting the prestige of Aaron. This means that "historically" the revolt would have been directed against the Mushite-Levites by the Korahite-Levites (see Chapter III below).

Verses 16-24 - The test proposed by Moses (verses 4-7) is set up. It is told as though Aaron is also present, but in accordance with our theory above it is easy to see the name of Aaron (four times) as a secondary addition.

Verses 26a, 27a, 32b, 35 - The carrying out of the test, and the death of the two hundred fifty men, and presumably also Korah. Aaron is not mentioned in these verses.

Chapter 17²⁶

Verses 1-5 - Eleazar is directed by Moses to collect the censers of the dead men and to make out of them a bronze covering for the altar. If the rebellion "historically" had been against Aaron, one would expect to see him and not Eleazar mentioned here. So perhaps Eleazar is again really Eliezer ben Moses. This nicely fits our theory that the rebellion was actually against Moses; and so a Mushite, namely, Eleazar/Eliezer would be expected to be involved in the defense and not Aaron. This means of course that the words, "who is not of the descendants of Aaron," in verse 40 must be secondary.

Verses 6-15 - This is another account of the sequel to the Korah rebellion. It is told as though the rebellion was mainly a threat to the priestly prerogatives of Aaron. As such it fits better as a conclusion to verses 8-11 than to 4-7. See our discussion of these verses above.

Verses 16-28 - This is still another story of the vindication of Aaron's priestly rights, this time by means of his blossoming rod. Twice it is indicated that Aaron is a Levite (verses 18 and 23).

²⁶Gunnweg, 182ff.

Chapter 18

Verses 1-7 - Yahweh speaks to Aaron alone. This is unusual but does occur also in Leviticus 10:8-11. Most often Yahweh's words are directed to Moses alone, or to Moses and Aaron.

These verses presume that the Korahite Levites rebelled against Aaron, and therefore they seek to regularize the position of the non-Aaronite Levites as helpers of the priests. This agrees with 3:5-10; 4:27; and 8:5-22. Here (verse 7) the warning is given that anyone who assumes priestly duties except the Aaronides will be put to death.

Verses 8-20 - Offerings that were to be given to the Aaronides.

Verses 21-24 - The Levites are to get the tithe.²⁷

Verses 25-32 - The Levites are to give a tithe of their portion to the Aaronides.

Chapter 20

Verses 1a, 2, 3b-4, 6-8a, 10, 12f - The people murmur against Moses and Aaron concerning the lack of water (cf. Exodus 16:2). They produce water for the people, but Yahweh rebukes them for their unbelief.

²⁷Ezekiel Kaufman, discussed in M. Greenberg, "A New Approach to the History of the Israelite Priesthood," JAOS, LXX (1950), 43, calls this pre-exilic.

Verses 22-29 - Aaron does not get into Canaan because of his sin at Meribah. Eleazar replaces Aaron as the new priest.

Chapter 25

Verses 6-18 - Phinehas slays a Simeonite named Zimri and the Midianite woman Cozbi whom he had brought into his home. Phinehas is given an Aaronite genealogy in agreement with Exodus 6; 1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:35-38; and Ezra 7:1-5. Because of his zeal he was given the promise of a "perpetual priesthood."

If our analysis in I.C is correct, Phinehas was "historically" really a Mushite, and we consequently have here another example of the priestly activity and prominence of the family of Moses.

Chapter 26 - the second census²⁸

Verses 1-4 - Eleazar is instructed to take a census. According to the narrative in Numbers, the Wilderness Wandering has now been completed, and therefore it has been some years since the first census (chapters 1-3).

Verse 9f - A reminder that the company of Korah died (cf. Numbers 16). However, it is stated that the "sons of Korah" did not die.

Verses 57-66 - Cf. Chapter I. P here presents two

²⁸Cf. Mendenhall's work discussed in footnote 9 above.

breakdowns of the Levites, as though they were numbered according to two divisions. Obviously they reflect two different times and/or situations (cf. Chapter I). The first breakdown is the same one used in Chapter 3, namely, Gershon-Kohath-Merari. There, however, P listed the number in each group, with a total of 22,000. Here he lists only the total.

Verse 59a - Jochebed, the wife of Amram, was born to Levi in Egypt.

Verse 61 - A reminder of the death of Nadab and Abihu (cf. Leviticus 10 and Numbers 3:3f).

Verse 62 - The total number of Levites over a month old is now set at 23,000.

Verses 63-64 - A reminder that it was Eleazar who numbered the Israelites, and that this is an entirely different generation from the first census.

Note: On tribal lists see comments in note under chapter one above. The list here (verses 5-50) again has dropped Levi and replaced him with Gad, as in 1:20-43.

Chapter 27

Verse 3 - A reference to the rebellion of Korah (chapter 16).

Verses 18-23 - Moses instructs Eleazar to commission

Joshua to be Moses' successor.

Chapter 31

Verses 1-12 - Moses sends Phinehas and Eleazar, who according to our theory are Mushites, to lead Israel in war against the Midianites. That such duties could be construed as priestly is seen in 10:8f, cf. Deuteronomy 20:1-4.

Verses 13-54 - The distribution of the booty administered by Moses and Eleazar.

Verses 30, 47 - The Levites receive one-fiftieth of the half of the booty that was assigned to those of the congregation who had guarded the camp during the battle.

Chapter 35

Verses 1-8 - The Levites are promised six cities of refuge plus forty-two other cities as their dwelling place. This is to include the pasture land around the cities.²⁹ The names of the forty-eight Levitical cities are given in 1 Chronicles 6 and Joshua 21. For bibliography and dating see II.B above.

²⁹On the size of the pasture lands see G. B. Gray, A Crit....Com. on Numbers, 467f.

PRIESTS MENTIONED IN P SECTIONS OF NUMBERS

Phinehas	Levites	Moses	Eleazar	Gershon-Kohath-Merari	Levites under Aaron	Aaron	Sons of Aaron	Ithamar	Korah
	1:47-53	1:3,17,44				3:1	3:2-4 (N,A,E, I)		
	2:17,33	2:1			3:5-10				
	3:11-16		3:32	(3:17-20) 3:21-37			3:48-51		
	3:39-51	3:38	4:16	4:1-49 (K-G-M)	4:27		4:5,15, 19	4:28,33	
	7:1-6	5:1; 6:1					6:23	7:8	
	8:23-26			7:7-9 (G-M-K)	8:5-22	8:1-4			
		16:4-7, 16-24	17:1-5	10:17,21		16:8-11	10:8-10		16:1-3

Phinehas	Levites	Moses	Eleazar	Gershon-Kohath-Merari	Levites under Aaron	Aaron	Sons of Aaron	Ithamar	Korah
	18:21-24				18:1-7	17:6-15 17:16-20			
25:6-18		Chapter 20	20:22-9 26:1-4, 63	26:57	18:25-32	18:8-20			
	(26:58) 26:62						26:60 (N, A, E, I)		27:3
31:6	31:30, 47 35:1-8	Chapter 31	27:19-23 Chapter 31						

SUMMARY

The chart makes clear that Numbers has preserved a great variety of priestly material. Yet in the present form of the text it is all understood in one way, namely, that the "sons of Aaron" are the only legitimate altar clergy and that the rest of the Levites make up a clerus minor who serve under the Aaronides. This point of view was worked out by the Jerusalem priesthood of Solomon's temple, i.e., the Zadokites. This view was read back into the Desert Period, and the Zadokites of the Monarchical Period obviously identified themselves as the descendants of the Aaronides and the rightful heirs of their priestly prerogatives. This Zadokite view had crystallized by the end of the Monarchical Period and was reproduced by P with little or no change.

Our analysis of the genealogies (Chapter I) and of JE and D (reconstructed), however, produced quite another picture of the priesthood in pre-monarchical times. Yet we believe that even beneath P's treatment of the priesthood in Numbers one is able to see some remnants of this tradition. This is especially true of the passages in the columns marked "Phinehas," "Levites," "Moses," and "Eleazar." Here we think we have found some glimpses of an earlier tradition which was reshaped by the Zadokite priesthood to fit its own point of view. This earlier tradition, as far as we were able to uncover it, agrees with the picture of the priesthood given in

JE and in our reconstruction of D. In this tradition the legitimate altar clergy of the Desert and Tribal League Periods were the Mushite Levites, not the Aaronides.

The column marked "Gershon-Kohath-Merari" preserves a knowledge of the most ancient Levitic groups, although 4:1-49, which places Kohath first, looks like a Zadokite "revision." (On the significance of the order of these names see I.C above). Though most of P's material in Numbers is no doubt a "picture" of the Monarchical rather than of the Desert Period, as it purports, the reference to n^esi'im of the Levites (chapter 3) probably stems from the Tribal Amphictyony.

The incident concerning Korah (chapter 16), which in the present context has been made to redound to Aaron's glory, may preserve the memory of a rebellion by the powerful Korahite Levites against the Mushites, who in their eyes (perhaps after the events of Exodus 32) were becoming too powerful.

Numbers also refers to Ithamar as a ranking priest of the Desert Period. To be sure, in the present state of the text he is reckoned as a son of Aaron. But here too this could constitute a "revision" of an earlier tradition in which Ithamar was a powerful (Merarite?) Levite, but not of the Aaronite clan.

G. The Chronicler's History

It is not our purpose to discuss all the aspects of the Chronicler's theology.¹ We are interested only in his view of the Levites and/or the priesthood, though to be sure this is part and parcel of his overall interest in David and Jerusalem.² Since the Chronicler stands at the end of the Old Testament era³ he had at his disposal the Deuteronomic History as well as P. Much of his work can be traced to these sources, but he also presents much material that is peculiar to him.⁴ The Chronicler is certainly not a historian in the modern sense of the word. If Rudolph is correct, the Chronicler's purpose was not to write objective history but to teach his contemporaries in the post-exilic congregation that they had the right to think of themselves as the true Israel.⁵ Accordingly he was not interested in

¹There are many treatments of this. See, e.g., Robert North, "Theology of the Chronicler," JBL, LXXXII (1963), 369-381.

²Cf. Robert North, 375f.; A. C. Welch, The Work of the Chronicler (London, 1939), 55ff.

³Dates for the composition of the Chronicler's work range anywhere from 515 B.C. for a "first" edition (e.g., D. N. Freedman, "The Chroniclers Purpose," CBQ, XXIII (1961), 436-42) to the third century B.C. (Martin Noth, Ueberlieferungs-geschichtliche Studien (2nd ed.; Tübingen, 1957), 155). Many choose a date of 400 B.C., cf. Jacob Myers, I Chronicles ("Anchor Bible," 12; Garden City, 1965), lxxxix.

⁴Cf. Wilhelm Rudolph, Chronikbücher ("Handbuch zum Alten Testament"; Tübingen, 1955), x-xiii.

⁵Rudolph, xvi.

"historical facts" as such. On the other hand, as Jacob Myers has pointed out,⁶ "archaeological and historical studies have now rendered (the Chronicler's History) more respectable and have shown it to be at times more accurate than some of its parallel sources."

These matters must be kept in mind also when studying the Chronicler's treatment of the Levites and/or priests. Here too he has mixed together a variety of elements, some late and some early,⁷ in order to piece together a picture of the priesthood beginning with David's reign with which the post-exilic priests would be happy to identify. What the Chronicler presents is basically the view of P, but he treats the Levites in a much more favorable light, and he certainly does not have the condemnatory tone toward them that Ezekiel exhibits.⁸

1. 1 Chronicles

Chapters 5:27 to 6:38 contain various genealogies treated in Chapter I. The Chronicler is well acquainted with the familiar division of the Levites, namely, Gershon/m-Kohath-

⁶Myers, I Chronicles, xv.

⁷E.g., Martin Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen im Rahmen der gemeinsemitischen Namengebung ("BWANT," 3te Folge, Heft 10; Stuttgart, 1928), 56ff considers the use of papyponymy in the genealogies of Chronicles to be a post-exilic phenomenon in Israel. We question this assumption in Chapter III below.

⁸Cf. Rudolph, xxii.

Merari, and he uses it in 5:27-41, 6:1-4, 6:5-15, and 6:18-32. In 6:18-32 the order is Kohath-Gershon-Merari.

The Chronicler's genealogical lists also include much that is new, namely: A list of (chief) priests from Phinehas to Jehozadak (complete in 5:27-41, and partial in 6:35-38); a list of seven descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari respectively (6:5-15); and fourteen ancestors for each of the three singers, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (cf. I.D above).

Chapter 6:39-66 (English 6:54-81) contains a list of Levitical cities very similar to Joshua 21:4-42. Here too Kohath comes first and is divided into "the sons of Aaron" and "the rest of the Kohathites." (See II.B for bibliography.)

Massoretic Text 9:2 uses the terminology "Levitical priests." This could be an error for "priests and Levites," since 9:10-13 and 9:14-16 divides them into these two groups respectively.⁹ However, it may also be a remnant of the terminology used by Deuteronomy to refer to the clergy of the central sanctuary (of the Tribal League, according to our hypothesis) which the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem applied to itself and which the Chronicler has also adopted. Here it refers to those who returned from the Exile. This is outside the area of our investigation.

Chapter 9:10-13. Though this purports to be a list of priests returning from the Exile in Babylon, the list of

⁹Cf. LXX and Myers, I Chronicles, 63.

ancestors of Azariah back to Ahitub agrees with a portion of the genealogy in 5:27-41, except that 9:10-13 has an extra name between Ahitub and Zadok. Virtually the same list occurs in Nehemiah 11:11 as well (cf. I.A above). Hence, 9:11 seems to be a pre-exilic genealogy that has been brought into the text here and put into a post-exilic context. This exemplifies the Chronicler's method of mixing the old with the new.

Chapter 9:14-16 - List of post-exilic Levites.

Chapter 9:17ff - A post-exilic list of gatekeepers. They served the Levites (verse 18); and the four chief gatekeepers were Levites (verse 26). Mattithiah is called a Korahite Levite (verse 31). The name Korah itself is in the list as the father of Ebiasaph (verse 19). This could of course be an accurate historical notice for the post-exilic period. However, given the Chronicler's method for combining ancient and late material, it is probably an artificial take-off on Abiasaph ben Korah of Exodus 6. The Chronicler says (verse 20) that Phinehas ben Eleazar was ruler of the gatekeepers in former times. He also speaks of Korahites and Kohathites as being groups extant during his time, but he places them among the gatekeepers.

Chapter 9:33f - The post-exilic singers are called Levites.

SUMMARY RE CHAPTER 9

Instead of speaking about Gershon-Kohath-Merari, as he has done in his genealogies, the Chronicler speaks of the post-exilic priests as priests and Levites, although 9:2 may be an exception. He is the first to talk about gatekeepers and singers. He calls them Levites. The Chronicler seems to consider the Levites as an honorable group, and by calling the gatekeepers and singers "Levites" he no doubt wished to enhance their prestige.¹⁰ This agrees with the Levitic genealogies that he has provided for Heman, Asaph, and Ethan in 6:18-32.

Material Purporting to Date to the
Time of David

Among the list of David's forces at Hebron there are said to have been 4,600 Levites (12:27; English verse 26) plus 3,700 (presumably priests) with Jehoiada the Aaronite (verse 28; English verse 27). Zadok and twenty-two commanders (śrym) from his family are also mentioned (verse 29; English verse 28), but it is not clear whether they are part of the 3,700 (so Myers) or whether they form a separate group (RSV). This reference, however, seems clear in placing Zadok at home in Hebron (see discussion in III.B.7 below), though he is called a n^ʿr gbwr byl and not a priest. But the two terms are not mutually exclusive, i.e., some priests could have also

¹⁰Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 72f.

been connected with the army.

David invited "the priests and the Levites" to bring up the ark from Kiriath-jearim (13:2). Later (15:2) he states that no one but the Levites are to carry the ark. This could be the original statement, and the statement of 13:2, since it agrees with P-terminology, could be a later harmonization.

Chapter 15:4 says that David summoned "the sons of Aaron and the Levites." Here "the sons of Aaron" must be identical with "the priests" of 13:2. Chapter 15:5-10 gives the divisions of the Levites:

- 120 Kohathites with Uriel as leader;¹¹
- 220 Merarites with Asaiah as leader;
- 130 Gershonites with Joel as leader;
- 200 sons of Elizaphan with Shemaiah as leader;
- 80 sons of Hebron with Eliel as leader;
- 112 sons of Uzziel with Amminadab as leader.

These six leaders are called "Levites," and together with Zadok and Abiathar, who are called priests (15:11), they are all addressed by David as "chiefs of the Levitical families" (15:12). Verse 14 says that "the priests and Levites" sanctified themselves before taking hold of the ark. Verse 15,

¹¹Note that the Hebrew word translated as "leader" in this passage is sār, not nāsi'. Nāsi' is an amphictyonic term, cf. Martin Noth, Das System, 151ff; and E. A. Speiser, "Background and Function of the Biblical Nāsi'," CBQ, XXV (1963), 111ff. G. E. Mendenhall, JBL, LXXVII, 61, footnote 45, states, "...all references to sārīm in Israel before the monarchy are anachronistic...."

however, only mentions Levites as actually carrying the ark. Hence, verses 11 and 15 seem composite. Evidently the Chronicler has combined three different traditions in this passage:

(a) The ancient tradition that only Levites served at the ark (in this connection the breakdown of the Levites provided here is extremely interesting and may in fact give us a breakdown from the time of the Tribal League¹², cf. Numbers 26:58, or one related to it);

(b) The tradition of the Deuteronomic Historian that the priests of David's time were Zadok and Abiathar with the Levites under them (cf. 2 Samuel 15:24);

(c) The tradition (which seems to be the idea of the Chronicler's own time) that the sons of Aaron are the main priests.

Chapter 15:17-24 says that the Levites appointed singers (the leaders are Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, cf. 1 Chronicles 6:18-32 and chapter 25) and gatekeepers. Though David probably originated musical guilds in Israel,¹³ this passage may be the creation of the Chronicler who wished to give groups of his own time the guise of being founded at the very time when the ark was brought to Jerusalem.¹⁴

¹²The title śār would in this case be anachronistic, cf. footnote 11 above.

¹³Cf. W. F. Albright, ARI, 125.

¹⁴Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 111f.

Chapters 15:25-16:3 describe how the Levites brought the ark into Jerusalem and placed it in the tent that David had set up for it. Then (16:4-7) he appointed the Levites to serve as ministers before the ark and as singers. It is not impossible that this may represent historical fact,¹⁵ even as far as being singers is concerned.¹⁶ Asaph and nine other Levites are mentioned by name (verse 5). The two priests mentioned in verse 6 may represent the time of the Chronicler.

Chapter 16:38 states that Obed-edom and sixty-eight brothers helped Asaph the singer and his brothers. Obed-edom and Hosah were also gatekeepers.

Zadok the priest and his brothers, the priests, continued to serve at the high place at Gibeon (16:39).¹⁷ This seems to go contrary to the account in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings, where Zadok was the main (or one of the two main) priests at Jerusalem during the time of David and Solomon. But it may simply be a reflection of 1 Kings 3:3-15, which indicates that in the time of Solomon Gibeon was an important holy place. Heman and Jeduthun provided the music at Gibeon as well as served as gatekeepers (16:41f).

Chapter 18:16 states that Zadok ben Ahitub and Ahimelech (Massoretic Text Abimelech) ben Abiathar were David's priests. This is identical with 2 Samuel 8:17. (See the

¹⁵Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 120f.

¹⁶Cf. Albright, ARI, 125. ¹⁷Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 122.

discussion in II.C.4).

SUMMARY OF CHAPTERS 12-18

Here there is evidence that the Levites were the priests at the time of David with Zadok and Abiathar as their leaders. All mention of the "priests" or "sons of Aaron" can be explained as being added by the Chronicler himself to harmonize with his own time.

There is no mention of Gershom-Kohath-Merari. Instead chapter 15 contains the following division: Kohath-Merari-Gershon-Elizaphan-Hebron-Uzziel.

Chapter 23, etc. -

In 23:2 David summons "the priests and the Levites." In what follows the Levites are numbered, organized, and made subject to the priests (23:23 - cf. Numbers 3:5-10; 4:27; 8:5-22). The traditional Gershon-Kohath-Merari breakdown is used, but the rest of the divisions evidently come from post-exilic times, at least insofar as the sons of Gershon,¹⁸ Kohath, and Merari are concerned. The sons and grandsons agree only partially with the information given in the other genealogies (cf. I.A) (some of the names are repeated in 26:21, 24f). See the charts below. Strangely, this is the only genealogy where Moses' sons are mentioned (and cf. Judges 18:30 and 1 Chronicles 26:24). Note, however, that in the corresponding

¹⁸Note the final n in MT here.

genealogy in 24:20 they are missing. Otherwise they are mentioned only in the narrative sections of JE (Exodus 2:22 and 18:4).

The number of the Levites here (23:3) over thirty years of age (38,000) is much greater than the total between thirty and fifty in Numbers 4:48 (8,580). Also in verse 27 the age at which Levites begin their temple service is lowered to twenty (in agreement with 2 Chronicles 31:17 and Ezra 3:8) as opposed to thirty (verse 3, also Numbers 4:3, 23, 30, 47) or twenty-five in Numbers 8:24. Both facts are indications that the Chronicler wanted to portray the Levites as a great power at the time of David to enhance their position in his own time.¹⁹

As is his custom, the Chronicler includes gatekeepers and musicians in the number of the Levites as well as officers and judges (23:4f).²⁰

SUMMARY RE CHAPTER 23²¹

(a) Here the Chronicler makes use of the time-honored breakdown of the Levites, namely, Gershon-Kohath-Merari, but he combines with it names that must come from the Chronicler's

¹⁹Baudissin, "Priests and Levites," A Dictionary of the Bible, ed. James Hastings (New York, 1902), IV, 92, says there are really twenty-four classes of Levites here.

²⁰W. F. Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume (New York, 1950), 77, says the numbers given here are anachronistic.

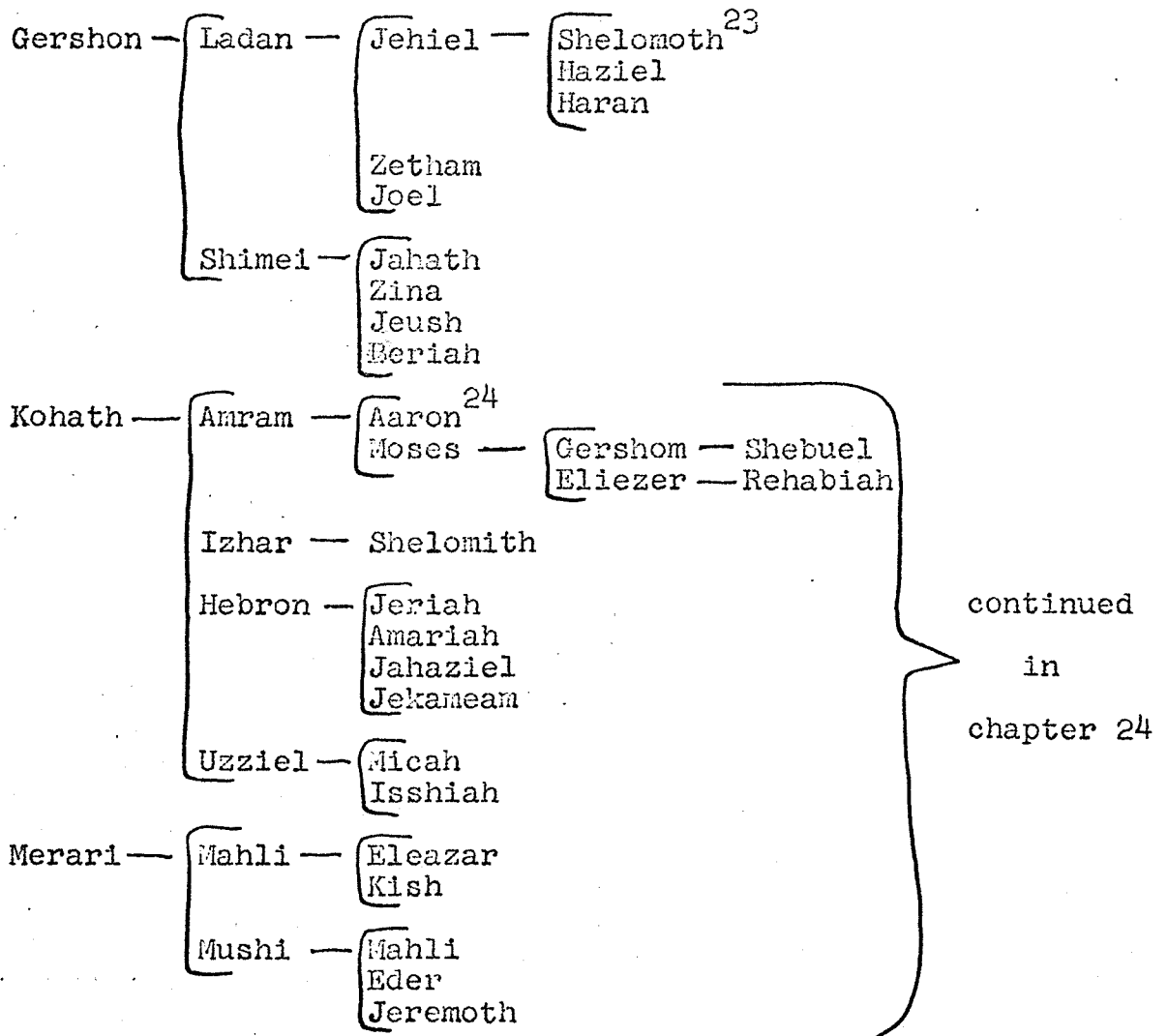
²¹cf. Mazar, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, 197.

own time.

(b) Also he repeats the view of P (cf. Numbers 3:5-10; 4:27; 8:5-22) that the Levites are to serve the priests.

(c) But his main aim seems to be to enhance the prestige of the Levites. Hence, here again there seem to be a combination of three layers of tradition.

1 Chronicles 23:6-23²²



²²Cf. Möhlenbrink, 205f. ²³Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 158.

²⁴Note that no descendants are attached to Aaron.

Chapter 24 - The classification of the sons of Aaron is given in the traditional way: Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar, Ithamar (verse 1). After referring to the premature death of Nadab and Abihu (verse 2), the Chronicler says that at David's time Zadok represents the line of Eleazar and Ahimelech the line of Ithamar.²⁵ The actual classification of the sons of Aaron is registered by the Levitical scribe Shemaiah in the presence of David and his priests Zadok and Ahimelech. Since there are twice as many families from Eleazar as from Ithamar, sixteen courses are taken from Eleazar and eight from Ithamar for a total of twenty-four (see list below for names). Of the twenty-four, Jedaiah, Harim, and Immer are mentioned in Ezra 2 and Nehemiah 7 as being among those who returned from Babylon with Zerubbabel.²⁶

Next, the "rest of the Levites" are enumerated. What follows is a continuation of the breakdown of the Kohathites and Merarites given in chapter 23 with additional names mentioned.²⁷ Gershon has, however, been omitted here.

SUMMARY RE CHAPTER 24

Saying that Zadok belongs to the line of Eleazar is simply stating the same thing that is contained in the

²⁵Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 164f, for discussion of problems.

²⁶Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 166.

²⁷Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 166.

genealogies of 1 Chronicles (5:27-41; 6:35-38). We have considered this to be a fabrication worked out already by the pre-exilic Jerusalem priesthood. That he was an Aaronide, however, we accept. See our discussion in I.C.7 and II.C.4.

The Chronicler's statement that Ahimelech (and therefore presumably also Abiathar and Eli, cf. I.A) is of the line of Ithamar cannot be verified or disproven. But see our suggestion in Chapter III below.

DeVaux²⁸ suggests that the distinction between Eleazarites and Ithamarites mentioned here goes back to the Exile in Babylonia, when the sons of Zadok and the sons of Abiathar reached an agreement that the Zadokites would trace their Aaronite lineage through Eleazar and the Abiatharites through Ithamar. See our rejection of this theory in II.E above.

The distinction between the sons of Aaron and the Levites is the same as that made by P. That David organized his priests in various divisions for temple service is very probable, but the number of the divisions given here may not be accurate for David's time, for most of the names are found only in the Chronicler, and we cannot reconstruct his sources or their tradition-history.²⁹

²⁸Ancient Israel, 396.

²⁹Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, who suggests late pre-exilic or exilic times for the priestly divisions (p. 165) and a generation later than chapter 23 for the Levitic divisions (p. 166f).

1 Chronicles 24³⁰

1. lbny 'hrn mhlwtn

a) Ancient division:

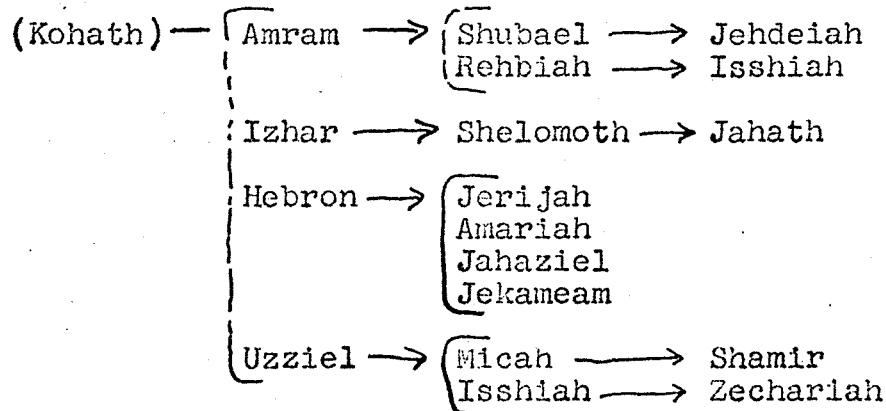
Nadab	Abihu	Eleazar	Ithamar
Present priests (verses 3,31) are →		Zadok	Ahimelech

b) New Division:

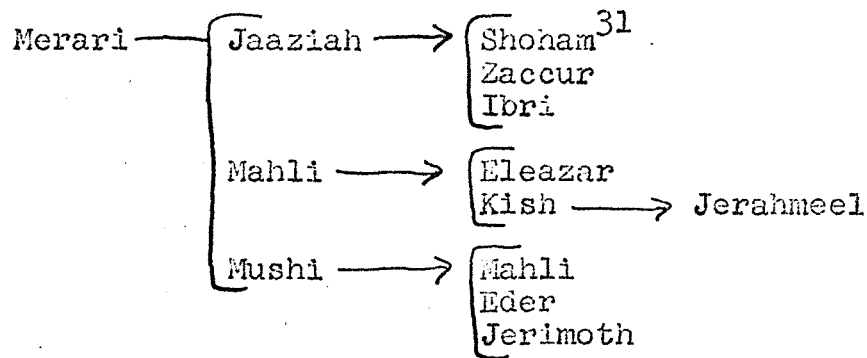
Twenty-four courses (sixteen from Eleazar and eight from Ithamar)--registered by Shemaiah in presence of king, princes, and priests.

- | | | | |
|---------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| (1) Jehoiarib | (5) Malchijah | (9) Jeshua | (13) Huppah |
| (2) Jedaiah | (6) Mijamin | (10) Shecaniah | (14) Jeshebeab |
| (3) Harim | (7) Hakkoz | (11) Eliashib | (15) Bilgah |
| (4) Seorim | (8) Abijah | (12) Jakim | (16) Immer |
| | (17) Hezir | (21) Jachin | |
| | (18) Happizzez | (22) Gamul | |
| | (19) Pethahiah | (23) Delaiah | |
| | (20) Jehezkel | (24) Maaziah | |

2. lbny lwy hnwtrym (continuation of 1 Chronicles 23)



³⁰ Cf. Mühlenbrink, 205.



Chapter 25³² - That David founded musical orders (verse 1) is very possible.³³ That Asaph, Jeduthun=Ethan, and Heman were leaders of musical guilds in pre-exilic times is also possible, since their names are contained in several Psalm titles (39, 62, 50, 73-83, 88, 89). The various sons of Asaph, Jeduthun, and Heman, however, probably represent post-exilic people whom the Chronicler is trying to cloak with the respectability of Davidic ordination.

Those that David set aside to lead the worship of the people:

Asaph- [Zaccur
Joseph
Nethaniah
Asharelah

Jeduthun- [Gedaliah
Zeri/Uzri
Jeshaiah
(Shimei)
Hashabiah
Mattithiah

Heman- [Bukkiah
Mattaniah
Uzziel
Shabuel
Jerimoth
Hananiah
Hanani
Eliathah
Giddalti
Romantiezer
Joshbekashah
Mallothi
Hothir
Mahazioth

Cf. I.A (1 Chronicles 6:18-32) for the genealogies of Heman, Asaph, and Ethan (descending from Kohath, Gershon, and Merari respectively)

³¹Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 163, 166.

³²Cf. Möhlenbrink, 206. ³³Albright, ARI, 125.

The twenty-four courses during which the above mentioned served:

- | | | |
|---------------|-------------------|------------------|
| 1. Joseph | 9. Mattaniah | 17. Joshbekashah |
| 2. Gedaliah | 10. Shimei | 18. Hanani |
| 3. Zaccur | 11. Azarel/Uzziel | 19. Mallothi |
| 4. Izri/Zeri | 12. Hashabiah | 20. Eliathah |
| 5. Nethaniah | 13. Shubael | 21. Hothir |
| 6. Bukkiah | 14. Mattithiah | 22. Giddalti |
| 7. Jesharelah | 15. Jeremoth | 23. Mahazioth |
| 8. Jeshariah | 16. Hananiah | 24. Romantiezzer |

Each of the twenty-four leaders was assisted by twelve brethren and sons. Comparing the courses with the three groups of leaders we see that the sons of Asaph received courses 1, 3, 5, 7; the sons of Jeduthun 2, 4, 8, 10, 12, 14; and the sons of Heman 6, 9, 11, 13, 15-24.

Chapter 26³⁴ - The gatekeepers (cf. 9:17ff; 16:37ff)

1. Korahites

- | | | | | |
|---|---|---------------|--|--|
| a) Meshelemiah/
Shelemiah →
(ben Kore
of sons
of Asaph) | {
Zechariah
Jediael
Zebadiah
Jathniel
Elam
Jehohanan
Elihoenai | b) Obededom → | {
Shemaiah →
Jehozabad
Joah
Sacher
Nethanel
Ammiel
Issachar
Peullethai | {
Othni
Rephael
Obed
Elzabad
Elihu
Semachiah |
|---|---|---------------|--|--|

2. Merarites

- | | |
|---------|---|
| Hoash → | {
Shimri
Hilkiah
Tebaliah
Zechariah |
|---------|---|

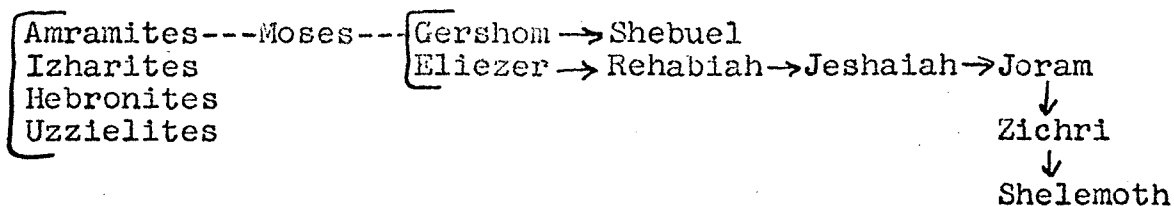
The gates of the temple were assigned as follows:

- East - Shelemiah/Meshelemiah
- North - Zechariah ben Shelemiah/Meshelemiah
- West - Hosah³⁵
- South - Obededom

The temple treasury was in charge of the following groups (verses 20-28): (Though Kohath is not mentioned by name, the names in Group 2 are assigned to Kohath in chapters 23-24.)

1. Gershonites: Sons of Ladan → Jehielites → {
Zetham
Joel

2. Kohathites:



³⁴Cf. Mazar, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, 197; and Möhlenbrink, 200.

³⁵Cf. Myers, I Chronicles, 176.

Levites serving as officers and judges (cf. 2 Chronicles 17:9; 19:8):

1. Izharites: Chenaniah
2. Hebronites: ³⁶Hashabiah and 1,700 brethren
Jerijah and 2,700 brethren

Chapter 27

Verses 16-17 - Chief of the Levites: Hashabiah ben Kemuel; Chief of the Aaronides: Zadok.

We see that the Chronicler considered Zadok an Aaronite. This agrees with his genealogies (5:27-41; 6:35-38).

Chapter 29³⁷

Verse 8 (=26:20-22) - Jehiel the Gershonite is treasurer of precious stones.

³⁶Cf. Mazar, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, 197.

³⁷Cf. Möhlenbrink, 213.

2. 2 Chronicles

Solomon - When Solomon ordered the ark to be brought into the temple, the Levites (1 Kings 8:3 has "priests") carried it (5:4). In 5:5 they are called the Levitical priests (1 Kings 8:4 has "priests and Levites"). See our comment on 1 Chronicles 9:2 above. But the actual placing of the ark in the holy of holies was done by "the priests" (verse 7). As the priests came out of the holy of holies (5:11-12) the "Levitical singers, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun, and their sons and their kinsmen," were there together with one hundred twenty priests.³⁸

The Chronicler here works with P's concept that there are priests and Levites (except see 5:5), but he does treat the Levites with great respect. (Note that the Levitical singers are garbed in linen, cf. 1 Chronicles 15:27. This was priestly material). He continues this same terminology in chapter 7 (verses 2 and 6). Chapter 8:14f says that Solomon installed the priests and the Levites as David had prescribed.

Time of Rehoboam-Jeroboam - First Kings 12:31 said that Jeroboam appointed non-Levitic priests. Here in 2 Chronicles (11:13) we are told that "the priests and Levites" then went to Jerusalem. This verse, by mentioning priests as well as Levites, may be late harmonizing, since the very next

³⁸I.e., five for each of the twenty-four divisions, cf. J. M. Myers, II Chronicles ("The Anchor Bible," 13; Garden City, 1965), 27.

verse (14) says that the Levites left their pasture lands and property and went to Jerusalem because Jeroboam had excluded them from the priesthood.³⁹ Verse 14 is more in agreement with 1 Kings 12:31 and may represent the historical reality, though it surely goes too far in implying that all Levites left the North.

In his speech to Jeroboam (13:4ff) King Abijah of Judah refers to Jeroboam's act against the Levites, but he says that Jeroboam also expelled "the sons of Aaron" (13:9). This must be an error, since nowhere else are "sons of Aaron" anything but priests of Jerusalem. This is what they are in verse 10.

Abijah - He calls his priests in Jerusalem "sons of Aaron" and "Levites" (13:10), or simply "priests" (verse 12). This agrees with the terminology of P.

Asa - Asa is reminded by Azariah ben Oded (who is not mentioned elsewhere) that Israel has not had a "teaching priest" (khn mwrh) for a long time (15:3), but it is not clear how far back this "long time" goes.

Jehoshaphat⁴⁰ - Jehoshaphat instituted a reform in

³⁹Sadao Asami, "The Central Sanctuary in Israel in the Ninth Century B.C." (unpublished Th.D. dissertation; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1964), 231, says that Jeroboam took this action, because the Levites held that Jerusalem was the only proper central sanctuary at the time.

⁴⁰W. F. Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume (New York, 1950), 32, says that 2 Chron. 19 is a "substantially correct account" of Jehoshaphat's judicial reform; while 17:7-9 he sees as probably "a misunderstood doublet of the tradition of judicial reform."

which he used Levites (Shemaiah, Nethaniah, Zebadiah, Asahel, Shemiramoth, Jehonathan, Adonijah, Tobijah, Tobadonijah) and priests (Elishama and Jehoram) to go throughout Judah. In 17:3f it is reported that they taught, having the book of the law with them.

In 19:8 it is stated that Jehoshaphat appointed Levites and priests, together with family heads, to handle cases pertaining to the cult⁴¹ and other disputes. Their seat was Jerusalem. Amariah was the chief priest (khn hr's), and the Levites were to serve as officers (19:11).

When attacked by the Moabites and Ammonites it was a Levite of the Asaph clan called Jahaziel who called on Judah to be confident and engage in holy war (20:14). After his speech the Levites, who are identified as Kohathites and Korahites, praised Yahweh (20:19).⁴²

Athaliah - At the time of Athaliah we hear that Jehoiada was the priest (22:11). He is also referred to in 2 Kings 11-12. He is called the high priest only in 24:6. He called together the priests and the Levites to help in a plot against Athaliah (chapter 23). Twice he refers to them as "priests and Levites" (verses 4 and 6), three times as Levites (verses 2, 7, 8), and once as Levitical priests (verse 18). Again the Chronicler has mixed terminologies.

Joash - At Joash' time the priests and the Levites were called upon to gather funds for the renovation of the

⁴¹Myers' translation, 106. ⁴²Cf. Mühlenbrink, 213.

temple (24:4). The Levites were slow in carrying out the project (24:5). It is not stated in so many words that the priests did any better (cf. 2 Kings 12). The job was finally done, but the Levites were not permitted to actually handle the money that they had gathered (verse 11).

(Second Kings 12 has a somewhat different account of this incident. There "the priests" are blamed by Jehoiada and the other priests for not getting the job done quickly.)

Uzziah - At Uzziah's time Azariah was the high priest (26:20), and the priests are called the sons of Aaron (26:18).

Hezekiah - Hezekiah called the priests and Levites together (29:4), but then he addressed only the Levites (29:5). He reminded the Levites that Yahweh had chosen them to serve him (29:11). The Levites then arose.⁴³ The groups of Levites are the following (verses 12-14):

<u>Kohathites</u> ⁴⁴	<u>Merarites</u>	<u>Gershonites</u>	
Mahath ben Amasai	Kish ben Abdi	Joah ben Zimmah	
Joel ben Azariah	Azariah ben Jehallelel	Eden ben Joah	
<u>Elizaphanites</u>	<u>Asaphites</u>	<u>Hemanites</u>	<u>Jeduthunites</u>
Shimri	Zechariah	Jehuel	Shemaiah
Jeuel	Mattanijah	Shimei	Uzziel

Note that the Kohathites are first.

In the actual cleansing and in the rededication ceremony of the temple both the priests and the Levites are

⁴³Cf. Myers, II Chronicles, 171. ⁴⁴Cf. Möhlenbrink, 213.

active (29:15-36). The priests, who are again identified with the sons of Aaron (29:21), were to take care of the actual sacrificing, but since there were not enough priests (verse 34), they received help from the Levites, who had been more conscientious in consecrating themselves (verse 34).

Hezekiah decided to have a passover.⁴⁵ Again the number of priests who had sanctified themselves was not sufficient (30:3). Therefore the passover was held a month later than usual (perhaps also to accommodate the northerners who since Jeroboam had been celebrating festivals according to a different calendar, cf. 1 Kings 12:32).

In the actual celebration of the passover both priests and Levites are active in performing the sacred rites (30:15-17, 21, 25), but the Levites are especially commended by Hezekiah for excellent service (verse 22). In 30:27 the term "Levitical priests" is assigned to the priests. See comment on 1 Chronicles 9:2 above.

Hezekiah arranged the priests and Levites according to divisions (31:2), no doubt as done previously by David and Solomon (cf. 1 Chronicles 23-24; 2 Chronicles 8:14). When he commanded the people to give provisions in support of the priests and the Levites (31:4), the people responded overwhelmingly. The chief priest (hkhm hr'š) Azariah of the house of Zadok informed Hezekiah that more had been contributed than

⁴⁵It is not recorded in 2 Kings. For the historical problems see Myers, II Chronicles, 176.

needed, so that there was a great store left (31:9f). Twelve Levites under the leadership of Conaniah were then placed in charge of the collections (31:11-13), while Kore the son of Imnah the Levite, keeper of the east gate, was made overseer of the freewill offerings and their distribution (31:14). He had assistants who helped distribute to the priests (called the sons of Aaron) and the Levites in the various cities where they lived (31:19).

The priests were enrolled according to their fathers' houses, and the Levites according to their divisions, that is, according to their function (31:17). The age is from twenty up (cf. 1 Chronicles 23:27, Ezra 3:8), as opposed to thirty (1 Chronicles 23:3, Numbers 4:3, 23, 30, 47) and twenty-five (Numbers 8:24) elsewhere.

Josiah - Josiah set out to repair the temple in the eighteenth year of his reign (34:8). He engaged the Levites to gather money from the North as well as from the South (34:9). They delivered the money to Hilkiah, who was the high priest (hkhm hgdl).

The actual temple repair was supervised by two classes of Levites, the Merarites and the Kohathites (34:12).⁴⁶ (The Gershonites are not mentioned). Some of the Levites were also scribes, officials, and gatekeepers (verse 13).

When Josiah read the book of the law to the people, the priests and Levites were present (34:30).

⁴⁶Cf. Möhlenbrink, 213.

When Josiah proposed to celebrate the passover (chapter 35), he first encouraged the priests (verse 2), and he then told the Levites, who are here called the teachers of all Israel, that since they no longer had to carry the ark they should serve Yahweh (verse 3). Their duties were to be the following: to arrange themselves by families into the traditional divisions set up by David and Solomon (1 Chronicles 23-24; 2 Chronicles 8:14); to be ready in the court of the temple to render service; and to kill the pass-over (up till now this had been the work of the priests, but at the time of Hezekiah the Levites helped out, and by now it had become their function.)⁴⁷

Chapter 35:7-9 describes the large number of animals, both paschal and regular sacrificial animals, that were brought to the priests and the Levites. Chapter 35:10-15 describes the actual passover ceremony at which the Levites slaughtered the animals and passed the blood to the priests (twice called "the sons of Aaron" - verse 14). The singers Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun were also present (verse 15), and were provided for by the Levites. Throughout the account the Levites are portrayed in a very favorable light.⁴⁸

Zedekiah - The priests were unfaithful in Zedekiah's time (36:14).

⁴⁷Cf. Myers, II Chronicles, 212.

⁴⁸Cf. Myers, II Chronicles, 213.

SUMMARY OF 2 CHRONICLES

The usual terminology is "priests and Levites," but in 5:5 and 23:18 and 30:27 the Massoretic Text has "Levitical priests" (but each time the versions have priests and Levites).

There is sporadic use of "sons of Aaron" for priests: 13:9, 10 (verse 9 seems to be an error, since it calls priests of the North "sons of Aaron"); 26:18; 29:21; 31:19; 35:14.

There are the following groups of Levites mentioned:

- 20:19 (time of Jehoshaphat) - Kohathites and Korahites
- 29:12-14 (time of Hezekiah) - Kohathites, Merarites, Gershonites, Elizaphanites, Asaphites, Hemanites, Jeduthunites
- 34:12 (time of Josiah) - Merarites and Kohathites

Other terminologies and significant statements:

- Chief priest: 19:11; 26:20; 31:10; 34:9
- Asaph, Heman and Jeduthun: 5:12 (Solomon's time); 29:12 (Hezekiah's time); 35:15 (Josiah's time) (cf. 20:14, Jehoshaphat's time)
- Levites teach: 17:8 (Jehoshaphat); 35:3 (Josiah) (cf. 15:3)
- Levites apparently better than priests: 29:34; 30:17; 30:22 (Hezekiah's time)
- Levites sacrifice: 29:34; 30:17; 35:6,11
- House of Zadok: 31:10 - Azariah the High Priest from house of Zadok (time of Hezekiah)

H. Psalms

Chapter 78:60ff seems to refer to the destruction of Shiloh by the Philistines in circa 1050 B.C.¹ (Cf. Jeremiah 7:12; 26:6). Chapter 78:64 says that the priests then fell by the sword (cf. 1 Samuel 4).²

Chapter 99:6 calls Moses and Aaron priests and adds that Samuel also called on the name of Yahweh, i.e., he too was a priest.

Chapter 110:4 refers to the strange priesthood of Melchizedek, which belongs to Abraham's time (cf. Genesis 14).

Chapter 132:9 mentions the priests in connection with the ark (verse 8).

Chapter 135:19-20 mentions the "house of Aaron" and "house of Levi."

Levitical names are found in the Massoretic Text titles of the following psalms:

Sons of Korah ³	42, 44-49, 84, 85, 87, 88 (cf. Exodus 6; Numbers 16; 1 Chronicles 6:7-13, 18-23)
Jeduthun (=Ethan) ⁴	39, 62, 77 (2 Chronicles 5:12)

¹Cf. John Bright, A History of Israel (Philadelphia, 1959), 165.

²Otto Eissfeldt, Das Lied Moses Deut. 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 (Leipzig, 1950), 36, dates this psalm before ca. 930 B.C., i.e., probably during the United Monarchy.

³Cf. Martin J. Euss, "The Psalms of Asaph and Korah," JBL, LXXXII (1963), 382-392.

⁴On the identification of Ethan and Jeduthun see Möhlenbrink, 230.

Ethan (=Jeduthun)	89 (1 Chronicles 6:29-32)
Asaph	50, 73-83 (cf. 1 Chronicles 6:24-28; 16:5)
Heman	88 (1 Chronicles 6:18-23; 15:17, 19)
Moses	90

J. General Results of Part II

1. JE

Moses and Aaron were both prominent Levitic (2:1; 4:14) leaders during the Exodus and Wandering Periods. Of the two, Moses was the more important. Accordingly, he was normally Israel's spokesman before Yahweh (but cf. Exodus 4:14-16, 27-31), and it was to Moses that Yahweh normally revealed himself (e.g., Exodus 20:21) and to whom he entrusted messages for Israel.

JE does not describe the cult in any detail, but it does mention that Moses was engaged in sacrifice at Sinai (Exodus 24:6,8) and that Aaron served as a priest for the people by constructing a golden bull (Exodus 32), though for this he was condemned by Moses. On other occasions (e.g., Exodus 17:10, 12 - cf. 18:12; 24:1, 9, 14) Aaron appeared as a military leader. But the same can certainly be said for Moses; and in view of Deuteronomy 20:2f and Joshua 6 it is not surprising to see priests engaged in military leadership.

That there was rivalry between Moses and Aaron is brought out in Exodus 32 and Numbers 12. Hence, the close association of the two that is usually assumed may be overdrawn.

Miriam appears to be Aaron's sister (Exodus 15:20; Numbers 12), but the contention of the genealogies that she is also the sister of Moses is not substantiated in JE (the

sister of Moses in Exodus 2:4,7 is not identified).

Nadab and Abihu appear alongside Aaron in Exodus 24, but it is impossible to determine from this whether they were Aaron's sons and/or priests.

JE tells us that Moses had two sons: Gershom/n (Exodus 2:22; 18:3) and Eliezer=Eleazar (18:4). See our analysis in Chapters I.C and III.

The Levites are mentioned as a group only once (Exodus 32), and there they are the allies of Moses and opponents of Aaron. No sub-groups of the Levites are given.

It is difficult to divide JE into its component parts. No doubt Moses was an imposing figure in both northern and southern traditions. However, according to our study of the Deuteronomic History, sanctuaries of the North were the special seat of Mushite traditions. Hence, it was probably there that the story underlying Exodus 32 with its account of Moses' dominance over Aaron was preserved; and E, belonging to the North, may have been responsible for its literary form (Exodus 32).

2. Deuteronomy

In the retelling of the events of the Desert Period Aaron is referred to only in the account concerning the golden bull (Deuteronomy 9:16-21). In agreement with JE, Deuteronomy makes Moses the dominant figure in Israel's formative years.

In the legislation of chapters 12-26 two groups of Levites are mentioned: "Levites," and "Levitical priests."

The former are poor and scattered; the latter are the priests of the central sanctuary. The Levitical priests served as priests and teachers; the Levites may have been primarily teachers, though Deuteronomy does not say so explicitly.

This description of the Levites obviously does not fit the Desert Period, as the book itself purports. But it would make excellent sense to see the "Levitical priests" as the clergy in charge of the central sanctuary during the Tribal League. The "Levites," meanwhile, seem best understood as the Levites of the Northern Kingdom from Jeroboam I until Josiah.

If von Rad and Wright are correct, the Deuteronomic traditions were preserved in the North by the Levites themselves until Josiah's time. Then no doubt the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem appropriated them and identified themselves with the "Levitical priests" of Deuteronomy.

3. Deuteronomic History

a) Joshua

In Joshua 1-12 the priests are called "Levitical priests," and they carry the ark. In the distribution of the land the Levites do not receive an inheritance. They are, however, given cities to live in (chapter 21). Close investigation of the account of the Levitic cities has led scholars to the conclusion that this cannot represent pre-monarchical times, but it may reflect a period as early as the reign of David (so Albright). The Deuteronomic editor divided the Levites who receive the cities into Kohath, Gershon, and Merari.

Kohath is further divided into "sons of Aaron" and "the rest of the Kohathites." By their position, the Kohathites are obviously considered the most important of the three Levitic groups at the time when this passage was put in final form.

The one priest mentioned by name in the book is Eleazar (19:51; 21:1; 24:33). His son is called Phinehas (24:33). See our discussion in Chapter I.C.7 and III.

b) Judges

Moses' relatives, the Kenites, established a sanctuary near Kedesh in the North.

Chapters 17-18 relate how the Levite Jonathan ben Gershom ben Moses was made the priest of the sanctuary at northern Dan. Chapter 18:30b explicitly states that the sons of Jonathan (=Mushites) were priests at Dan until the captivity (722 B.C.).

Phinehas ben Eleazar ben Aaron is called the priest before the ark in Bethel (20:25-28).

These few statements can be taken to mean that the far North had a Mushite and Bethel an Aaronite priesthood. But in our discussion in I.C we considered Phinehas a Mushite. This could mean that the whole northern priesthood was Mushite in the early period and at Dan at least until the Captivity of the North.

c) 1 Samuel

The line of Eli is as follows:

Eli--> Phinehas--> [Ahitub--> Ahijah/Ahimelech-->] Abiathar
Ichabod

Eli's ancestor is said to have belonged to the house of Pharaoh (2:27). This would make Eli a descendant of Moses. Eli's descendant, Abiathar, was chosen as David's priest.

According to our view a Mushite (Eli) was a priest at Shiloh in the North. Later (1 Kings 2) Abiathar is exiled in Anathoth, also belonging to the North.

d) 2 Samuel

Zadok, who is without genealogy in pre-exilic texts, becomes David's second main priest alongside Abiathar.

e) and f) 1 and 2 Kings

Zadok replaces Abiathar in Solomon's time, and his descendants become the ruling priests of Jerusalem. Some are mentioned by name: Jehoiada, Urijah, Hilkiah, Seraiah, Zephaniah.

If Zadokites controlled Jerusalem, one would assume that non-Zadokite Levites continued to serve at sanctuaries in the North. (Abiathar may have kept Mushite traditions alive at Anathoth.) However, even there they received opposition, for 1 Kings 12:31 says that Jeroboam I appointed non-Levites as priests. As we suggested, however, Jeroboam's action may have been short-lived. Yet Bethel was the object of polemics hurled by Hosea (4:15; 5:8; 10:5) and Amos (3:14; 4:4; 5:5f).

4. Pre-Exilic Prophets

There is some evidence in Hosea for Levites centered at Shechem (?) being persecuted by non-Levitic priests.

Jeremiah, probably an Abiatharite by birth although not by function, especially condemns the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem. This may reflect his northern (Mushite) theological training. He hopes that "Levitical priests" (by this he probably means Mushites) will one day again occupy the priesthood.

5. Ezekiel

He condemns the Levites for their past sins and demotes them to the status of servants of the Zadokites, whom he lauds. Unlike Jeremiah, Ezekiel identifies "Levitical priests" with the Zadokites. Evidently all priests wished to have the statements in Deuteronomy about "Levitical priests" apply to themselves. It is our contention that it originally meant Mushite-Levites particularly but that after Josiah it was usurped by the Zadokites. This explains Ezekiel's use of the term.

6. P

P follows Ezekiel's view of the priesthood, but because he purports to be describing the Desert Period he uses the terminology "sons of Aaron" rather than "sons of Zadok."

a) Exodus - cf. chart in II.F.1

The "sons of Aaron" are mentioned again and again as being the priests of the sanctuary where the ark was.

Once Ithamar is called the leader of the Levites (38:21).

b) Leviticus - cf. chart in II.F.2

Again the dominant terminology for priests is "sons

of Aaron." Only Chapter 10 departs somewhat from this in that it speaks of the sons of Aaron individually, and it mentions their sin and punishment. Moses, supported by Michael and Elzaphan, is presented as the overseer of the priests.

c) Numbers - cf. chart in II.F.3

In one strand the Levitic groups Gershon, Kohath, and Merari are spoken about.

In a second strand the "Levites" are said to be the priests of the tabernacle (here we include Eleazar, cf. Numbers 3:32; 4:16; 17:1-5; and Phinehas, cf. Numbers 25).

In a third stratum the terminology "sons of Aaron" is used, in agreement with Exodus and Leviticus.

Numbers 16 may provide some evidence for the decline of another prominent Levitic group, namely, the Korahites.

7. The Chronicler's History

The basic starting point for the Chronicler's understanding of the history of the Levites seems to have been the genealogies which he took over from the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem via P (cf. I.D above). This made Zadok a descendant of Aaron. The Chronicler usually referred to the Aaronides (P) or Zadokites (Ezekiel) as "the priests," and the other (lower) clergy he called "Levites." Frequently (especially in his description of the reign of David) he speaks in glowing terms about the "Levites" without reference to "the priests." One may conclude that either he remembered a time in early Israel when the Levites were the dominant

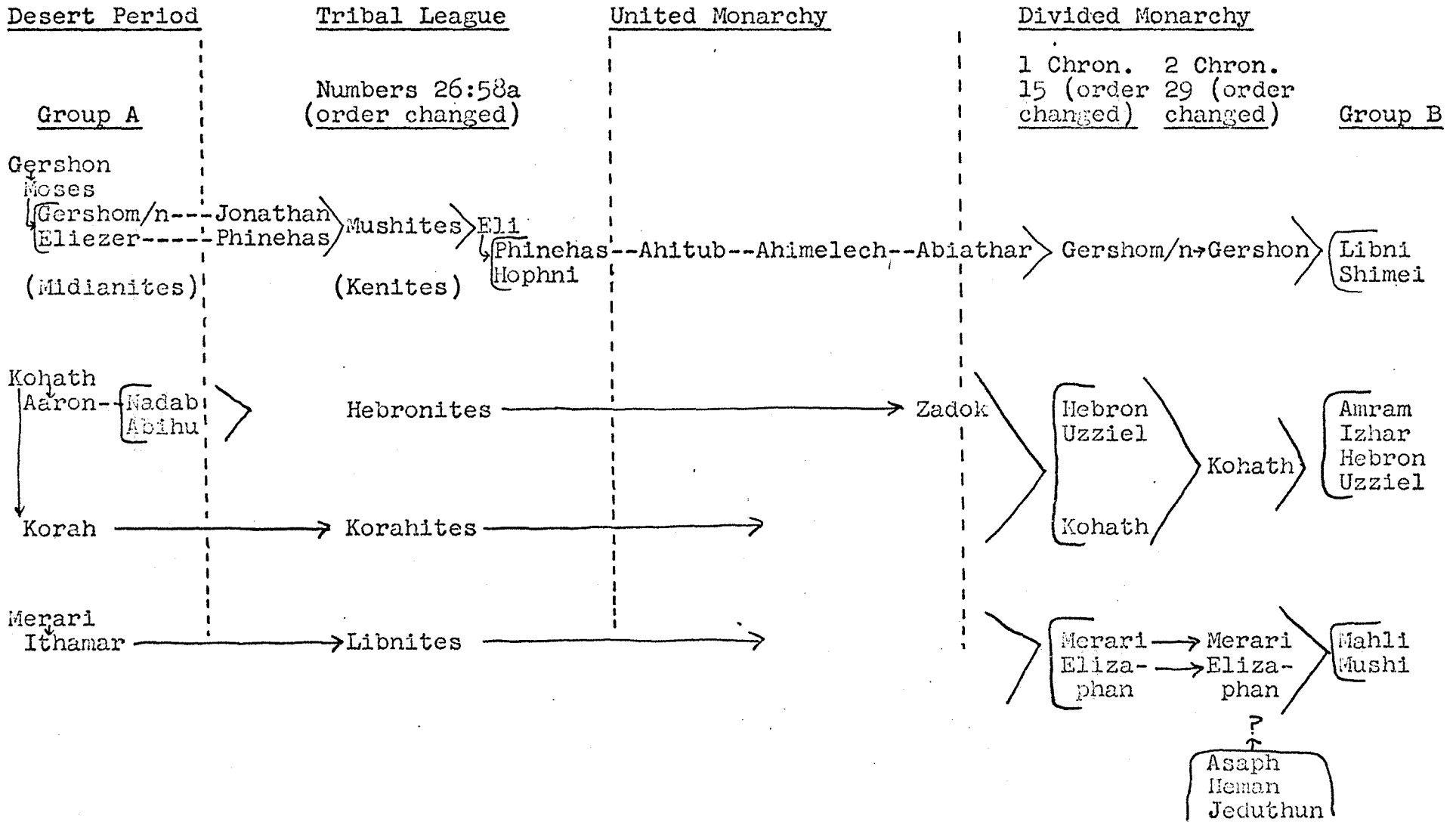
altar clergy, or that during David's time non-Aaronides (i.e. "Levites") and Aaronides=Zadokites were on the same level and enjoyed equal priestly privileges. We favor the latter view, because 1 Kings 2 speaks of the elevation of Zadok over Abiathar by Solomon.

The scattered references to the "Levitical priests" may indicate how this Deuteronomic term (which we considered to refer originally to the Levites at the central sanctuary in the Tribal League) was taken over by the Zadokites after the Deuteronomic Reform and applied to themselves. The same identification of Levitical priests with Zadokites was made by Ezekiel, and the Chronicler may have picked it up from him.

The Chronicler also knew the old Document A-B (cf. I.C.D above) which contained the three-fold division, Gershon-Kohath-Merari. But in his narratives he frequently places the Kohathites first, e.g., 1 Chronicles 15 and 24. This may represent the winning out of the Zadokite line (descendants of Kohath) in the monarchical period.

There seems to be a general decline of the Gershonites. In 2 Chronicles they are mentioned only in 29:12-14, and then in third place. If the Gershonites are to be identified with the Mushites (cf. Chapter III below), then this may represent the decline of the Mushites after the time of Solomon.

III. Comparison of Chapters I and II



The present writer now proposes that the data discussed in Chapters I and II can be summarized and presented by means of the foregoing chart.

It shall be the purpose of Chapter III to cite the evidence for each link (both genealogical and otherwise) in the chart in order to show, where possible, the "reasonableness" of our reconstruction.¹ It is not presumed that all problems have been solved, but it is claimed that all the data can be "reasonably" accounted for by our hypothesis.

A. The line of Gershon

1. Gershon - (Kohath - Merari)

a) Genealogies

Genesis 46:11

Numbers 26:57

Numbers 3

Exodus 6

1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:1-4; 6:5-15

1 Chronicles 6:18-32 (Kohath-Gershon-Merari)

b) Other sources

Deuteronomic History

Joshua 21 (Kohath-Gershon-Merari)

P

Numbers (cf. chart in II.F.3)

¹Thorkild Jacobsen, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia," Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, N.F.18 (1957), 95, says that the Ancient Mesopotamian historian, because of the nature of his materials, cannot write a meaningful historical account on the basis of "what the evidence obliges us to believe." However, by taking account of "what the evidence makes it reasonable for us to believe" one can integrate the data into a consistent and meaningful presentation. It is the present writer's contention that this principle must also be applied to the Levitic problem.

Chronicler

- 1 Chronicles 6:39-66 (Kohath-Gershon-Merari)
- 1 Chronicles 15 (Kohath-Merari-Gershon plus Elizaphan, Hebron, Uzziel)
- 1 Chronicles 23
- 1 Chronicles 26 (Gershon-Kohath)
- 1 Chronicles 29:8 (Jehiel the Gershonite)
- 2 Chronicles 29:12-14 (Kohath-Merari-Gershon plus Elizaphan, Asaph, Heman, Jeduthun)

c) Comment

Especially the picture in Numbers, where Gershon-Kohath-Merari are encamped around the tabernacle, suggests that Gershon-Kohath-Merari belong in the earliest traditions of the Desert Period.² This agrees with our study in Chapter I, which determined that Gershon-Kohath-Merari constitute the oldest element in the genealogies.

The order Kohath-Gershon-Merari and Kohath-Merari-Gershon occurs only in the Chronicler and Joshua 21. The order Kohath-Gershon-Merari is used in contexts where the Aaronides, who are said to be the descendants of Kohath, are being especially stressed. In some of the listings in the Chronicler (1 Chronicles 24; 26--re gatekeepers; 2 Chronicles

²Cross, BA, X (1947), 61, has pointed out that one motive of P's tabernacle derives from the desert (the other motive he finds in the Syro-Phoenician temple structure). Cf. also DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 296f. If Cross and DeVaux are correct, we believe we can say more about Gershon-Kohath-Merari than Gunneweg, who states (p. 169): "Alles, was sich mit Sicherheit mit Bezug auf die drei Levisöhne feststellen lässt, ist, dass sie in nachexilischer Zeit Eponymen von drei Klassen des Clerus minor sind, ohne dass sich nachweisen oder auch nur wahrscheinlich machen liesse, dass diese Namen in alter oder auch in der Spätzeit jemals Eponymen echter Levitengeschlechter waren."

20:19; 34:12) Gershon is no longer listed at all--a radical departure from his original first position.

2. Moses³

a) Genealogies

Exodus 6
Numbers 26:58b-60
Judges 18:30
1 Chronicles 5:27-41

b) Other sources

JE
passim (Moses dominant)

Deuteronomy
passim

Deuteronomic History
1 Samuel 2:27 ("your father in the house
of Pharaoh"=Moses)

P

Exodus and Leviticus -- Moses present
but the emphasis is on Aaron

Numbers -- Moses dominant in one strand
of P (cf. chart)

c) Comment

The antiquity of Moses is more strongly attested than any other Levitic figure.⁴ He overshadows Aaron

³For a summary of those who see in Moses mainly a priestly figure see Rudolf Smend, Das Mosebild von Heinrich Ewald bis Martin Noth ("Beiträge zur Geschichte der biblischen Exegese," III; Tübingen, 1959), 57-59. Cf. Gunneweg, 65-69.

⁴Martin Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch (Stuttgart, 1948), 172-191, denies that one can establish any significant role for Moses in the Desert Period. The only tradition about Moses that he believes is authentic is the Grabtradition (p. 189). We believe that Noth's views have been adequately refuted by John Bright, Early Israel in Recent History Writing ("Studies in Biblical Theology," 19; Chicago, 1956), 86. Cf. also Walter Beyerlin, Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinai-traditionen (Tübingen, 1961), passim.

everywhere except in P, and even there Moses' importance is recognized.

d) Connection with Gershon ben Levi

No explicit statement was found which called Moses the descendant of Gershon. We did, however, show that Moses and Aaron may not be as closely associated as it appears on the surface of the Old Testament text; at least they are frequently at odds. Since it is well established that Aaron was a Kohathite, it would seem to follow that Moses was not a descendant of Kohath, but of either Gershon or Merari. The fact that Moses named his son Gershom/n would seem to support the supposition that Moses was a "son" of Gershon and that his son was simply being given the name of the "grandfather." This exemplifies the Near Eastern principle of papponymy.⁵ There is also sufficient evidence both in biblical (cf. 1 Chronicles 5:27-41) and extra-biblical (cf. Egyptian 18th dynasty) sources that names tend to be repeated in a given family line.

Another indication that Moses was indeed a descendant of Gershon is found in the minor role played by Moses in most of P and in the major genealogies. This parallels the gradual disappearance of Gershon that we noted in our source study above (II.J). In other words, the fact that both Moses

⁵This is the principle of papponymy exemplified in the recently discovered Samaria papyri. Cf. Cross, BA, XXVI, 120f, who reconstructs the following sequence of governors for Samaria: Sanballat - Delaiah - Sanballat II - Hananiah - Sanballat III. Cf. also Roger T. O'Callaghan, Aram Naharim ("Analecta Orientalia," 26; Rome, 1948), 81, 85f, who deals with this phenomenon among the Mitanni; also Noth, Die israelitischen Personennamen, 56ff.

and Gershon were de-emphasized in the later stages of Old Testament history may indicate that it was known that they represented one and the same Levitic group.

3. Gershom/n (ben Moses)

a) Genealogies

Judges 18:30b
1 Chronicles 23:15

b) Other sources

JE
Exodus 2:22; 18:3

c) Date

Desert Period⁶

4. Eliezer⁷

a) Genealogies

1 Chronicles 23:15

b) Other sources

JE
Exodus 18:4

P
Numbers 3:32; 4:16; 17:1-5 (cf. II.F.3
above)

⁶Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch, 202, says that the Gershom of Judges 18:30 cannot be separated from Gershom ben Moses, cf. Exodus 2:22; 4:20a, 24-26.

⁷There is a certain amount of evidence (cf. remarks under II.F.3 - Numbers 3:32; 4:16; 17:1-5) that Eleazar ben Aaron (genealogies: Exodus 6; 28:1; Numbers 3:2; 26:58b-60; 1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:35-38; 24:1; Ezra 7:1-5) actually = Eliezer ben Moses (cf. Noth, Ueber d. Pentateuch, 203). This has been our working hypothesis, and it has everywhere yielded excellent sense, for if Aaron was not really the chief priest in the Desert Period, one would not expect his son to be an important priest either. Hence, Eleazar's important priestly role is best explained by considering him to be Moses' son.

- c) Date - Desert and Conquest periods
5. Jonathan
- a) Genealogies
 - Judges 18:30b⁸
 - b) Sources
 - Judges 17-18 (indirectly)
 - c) Date - Tribal League
6. Phinehas⁹
- a) Genealogies
 - Exodus 6
 - 1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:35-38
 - Ezra 7:1-5
 - b) Other sources
 - Deuteronomistic History
 - Joshua 24:33 (successor to Eleazar in Ephraim)
 - Judges 20:26-28 (priest at Bethel)
 - P
 - Numbers 25
 - c) Date - Conquest period
7. Mushites
- a) Genealogies
 - Numbers 26:58a

⁸Cf. Hauret, 109.

⁹Cf. Gunneweg, 161. Much of our argumentation concerning Eleazar also applies here. Since the role of Aaron, as we have uncovered it, is not the glorious picture given in most of P, one would not expect his grandson to be the chief priest of the early stages of the Tribal League. But again, if he is really a grandson of Moses, his importance is easily explained.

b) Other sources

Deuteronomy¹⁰

c) Date

According to all we have said of the Mushites being equal to the family of Moses, one would look for the Mushites any time after Moses. Since, as we shall develop, the Mushite line received a setback at Abiathar's time, that would be the terminus ad quem for the term. After that (e.g. in Deuteronomy) they were called Levitical priests. Möhlenbrink¹¹ believes all four groups of Numbers 26:58a date to the time between the Conquest and the kingdom of David.

8. Eli →

Phinehas Hophni	→	Ahitub	→	Ahimelech/Ahijah	→	(Abiathar)
		Ichabod				

a) Genealogies

1 Samuel 14:3a
1 Samuel 22:20 (22:9,11; 23:6)
1 Samuel 30:7

b) Other sources

Deuteronomic History

1 Samuel 1-4
1 Samuel 21-22

¹⁰Since "Mushites" means descendants of Moses (cf. Möhlenbrink, 196; Leroy Waterman, JAOS, LVII, 377, n. 2, 378), all of the references to Moses and his sons would fit here. If our analysis of the terminology in Deuteronomy is correct, the term "Levitical priests" is equivalent to the "Mushites" of the Tribal League. Accordingly, the Mushites seem to have monopolized the service at the central sanctuary. It is also interesting, as our study in II.C.2 showed, that the Kenites, who were related to Moses, established a sanctuary near Kedesh (cf. Judges 1 and 4). In the account of the Levitic cities (Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6), Kedesh is assigned to the Gershonites, who according to our reconstruction were related to the Mushites.

¹¹Pages 191-197.

c) Date - late Tribal League period

d) Comment

On the connection of Eli with Moses see I.C.7
and II.D above.

9. Abiathar

a) Genealogies - cf. above under Eli et al.

b) Other sources

Deuteronomic History

1 Samuel 22, 23, 30

2 Samuel passim

1 Kings 1-2

Chronicler's History

1 Chronicles passim

c) Date - time of David

10. Gershom/n

1 Chronicles 15 lists six groups of Levites as being extant at David's time. They are: The sons of Kohath, Merari, Gershom/n, Elizaphan, Hebron, Uzziel. The sons of Gershom would naturally be the descendants of the earlier Gershonite line. This explains our placement of Gershom behind Abiathar, whom we have shown to be a Gershonite.

In 2 Chronicles 29 (purported to be the time of Hezekiah) the groups remain the same except that Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun are added and Hebron and Uzziel are dropped.

11. Libni and Shimei

Historically, as we have shown, one should find Mushi connected with Gershom instead of Merari. But for some reason

Libni and Shimei are listed as the sons of Gershon in the genealogies (Exodus 6; Numbers 3; 1 Chronicles 6:1-4, cf. 1 Chronicles 6:5-6, 24-28; in 1 Chronicles 23:7 Libni has been replaced by Ladan, cf. 1 Chronicles 26:21). This already indicates the artificiality of this part of the genealogies.¹² In other words, sometime between the time of Hezekiah (cf. 1 Chronicles 29:12-14) and the inclusion of the genealogies in P and the Chronicler the Levitic groups had begun to be referred to in a stylized, ahistorical form (this was our Group B in I.C). This means that, if one tries to understand our so-called document A-B (cf. I.D) historically, all the narrative accounts concerning the Levites must be inserted between Group A (Gershon-Kohath-Merari) and Group B (Libni-Shimei, Amran-Izhar-Hebron-Uzziel, Mahli-Mushi). To put it still differently, Document A-B has combined the earliest Levitic groups with the latest pre-exilic groups, although there is a great gap between the two historically. This gap we have filled in by a study of the narrative sources and certain of the smaller genealogies.

B. The line of Kohath

1. Kohath¹³

(Cf. A.1 above, also 1 Chronicles 9; 24; and 2 Chronicles 20:19; 34:12)

¹²Möhlenbrink, 208, sees a connection between Shimei and the tribe of Simeon.

¹³Cf. Gunneweg, 169.

2. Aaron

a) Genealogies

Exodus 6
Exodus 28:1
Numbers 3:2; 26:58b-60
1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 6:35-38; 24:1
Ezra 7:1-5

b) Other sources

JE

passim (Moses dominant)
Exodus 32 - Aaron sins

Deuteronomy 9:16-21 - Aaron sins

P

Exodus and Leviticus - Aaron dominant
Numbers - Aaron dominant in one strand
of P only (cf. chart)

d) Comment

Though the role of Aaron has been exaggerated in the later sources, there is no reason to doubt his existence as an important Levitic figure contemporaneous with Moses. However, the numerous conflicts between Moses and Aaron cause one to doubt whether they were as closely associated as the genealogies would have it.¹⁴

3. Nadab and Abihu¹⁵

a) Genealogies

Exodus 6; 28:1
Numbers 3:2; 26:58b-60
1 Chronicles 5:27-41; 24:1

¹⁴Cf. Martin Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch, 195ff.

¹⁵Cf. Gunneweg, 159.

b) Other sources

JE

Exodus 24

P

Leviticus 10

Numbers 3:2-4; 26:60f

c) Comment

The tradition that Nadab and Abihu are the sons of Aaron seems sound. This would place them in the Desert Period, as does also Exodus 24. The sin and resultant death of Nadab and Abihu (Leviticus 10) plus the sin of Aaron in Exodus 32 would seem to be sufficient explanation for the decline of the Aaronite Levites during the period of the Tribal League.

4. Korah

a) Genealogies

Exodus 6

Numbers 16

1 Chronicles 6:7-13, 18-23

b) Other sources

P

Numbers 16; 26:9-11

Chronicler's History

1 Chronicles 9 - gatekeepers

1 Chronicles 26 - gatekeepers

2 Chronicles 20:19 (time of Ahab and Jehoshaphat)

c) Comment

Numbers 16 makes Korah a contemporary of Moses and Aaron. Although this narrative in its present form

indicates that the Korahites were annihilated, Numbers 26:9-11 specifically says that "the sons of Korah did not die." The Chronicler (II,20:19) lists them alongside the Kohathites as being Levites during the time of Ahab and Jehoshaphat, and in 1 Chronicles 9 and 26 he lists them among the gatekeepers.¹⁶ Therefore it seems safe to assume that, though the Korahites may have gone into a period of decline after the events of Numbers 16, they still played an important role during the late monarchy and post-exilic times.

According to our analysis of the genealogies, Group B has as its terminus a quo the late monarchy. Therefore the linking of Korah to Izhar in Exodus 6 cannot represent historical fact, if this Korah is the Korah of Numbers 16. Undoubtedly, then, the Korah of the genealogies represents the descendants of the Korah of Numbers 16, rather than of Izhar; and these Korahites functioned as gatekeepers in the last stages of Israel's history.

Nevertheless, the constant association of Korah with Kohath in the genealogies (and cf. 1 Chronicles 9), as well as in 2 Chronicles 20:19, probably represents historical reality. Hence, we have connected Korah to Kohath in our reconstructed genealogy. Korah's decline would then parallel Aaron's, and one can therefore conclude that in Israel's

¹⁶Möhlenbrink, 230, thinks they are not related to the Korahites of Numbers 16.

earliest period the Kohathites were not the ranking priests.

5. Korahites

The Korahites of Numbers 26:58a would naturally represent the descendants of Korah (cf. 4 above) and, like the Mushites, (cf. A.7 above) would date to the Tribal League.¹⁷

6. Hebronites

The Hebronites are also mentioned in Numbers 26:58a as being a Levitic group.¹⁸ They were no doubt the inhabitants of the city of Hebron, mentioned in Joshua 10:36 as having been taken by the Israelites during the Conquest.¹⁹

The connection of the Hebronites with the Aaronides²⁰ as made by our chart, is very tenuous. If our assignment of the Mushites as sons of Gershon and Korahites as sons of Korah is correct, then by a process of elimination the Hebronites could be the descendants of either Kohath or Merari. However, since the Mushites probably were in control of the sanctuaries at Dan (cf. Judges 17-18), Kedesh (cf. our discussion of

¹⁷Waterman, JAOS, LVII, 377 refers to Genesis 36:5,14, where Korah is one of the sons of Esau, and to 1 Chronicles 2:42, where he is a son of Hebron, as support for the southern origin of Korah. Cf. also DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 370.

¹⁸Cf. Möhlenbrink, 195-197, who dates them between the Conquest and David's reign.

¹⁹On Hebronites in 1 Chronicles 26 see B.8 below.

²⁰Kuschke, 94, cites this as the view of Joh. Hempel, but he believes Hempel has gone too far. The connection of Aaronides with the Hebronites is, however, defended by Murray Newman, The People of the Covenant (Nashville, 1962), 139.

Judges 1 and 4 in II.C.2), Bethel (cf. Judges 20:26 - taking Phinehas as a Mushite), and Shiloh (cf. 1 Samuel 1-4 - taking Eli as a Mushite), one would expect to find their rivals, the Aaronides, in the South.²¹ Hebron would be a likely place for their center. It is significant, accordingly, that in the account concerning the Levitic cities, Hebron is assigned to "the sons of Aaron, one of the families of the Kohathites who belonged to the Levites" (Joshua 21:13 and 1 Chronicles 6:39f, 42).²² Thus our connection of the Hebronites with Aaron and vice versa, while not being proven, would not be at all improbable.

7. Zadok²³

a) Genealogies

None in pre-exilic texts²⁴ (cf. II.C.4)

b) Other sources

Deuteronomic History
2 Samuel - passim
1 Kings 1-4

Chronicler's History
1 Chronicles - passim

c) Date - Time of David and Solomon;
contemporary of Abiathar

²¹It is possible that Arad in the South remained a Mushite sanctuary, cf. II.C.2 above.

²²It is true that W. F. Albright, Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, 52, considers Hebron to be a secondary intrusion in the list because it is a city of refuge. However, Benjamin Mazar, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, 193ff, includes Hebron among the Levitic cities.

²³cf. Gunneweg, 98.

²⁴cf. DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 373.

d) Comment

The pre-exilic texts do not list the ancestors of Zadok. In the genealogy of 1 Chronicles 6:35-38, however, he is traced back to Aaron, and in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 his lineage is traced through Aaron to Levi. In our discussion in Chapter I.C.D we suggested that the names in these genealogies from Eleazar to Ahitub are actually the descendants of Moses, not of Aaron, and that they constitute the genealogy of Eli. Yet even if this should be true, Zadok may still be a descendant of Aaron, and we believe that he is. In fact, 1 Chronicles 27:17 calls him the chief of the Aaronides; and, as we have seen (II.E), Ezekiel equates the sons of Zadok with the Levitical priests, which undoubtedly means that he considered them to be Aaronides.

If our contention (point 6 above) that the Aaronides were connected with Hebron be allowed to stand, then 1 Chronicles 12:29 (Eng. v. 28), which states that Zadok was with David at Hebron when David became king, may provide indirect "proof" that Zadok was an Aaronide. Accordingly, when P speaks of the "sons of Aaron" he would actually be talking about the Zadokites, who according to our sources became the ruling priests of Jerusalem from Solomon on.²⁵ If, as we have seen, the Aaronides were suppressed by the Mushites up to the time of David, what would have been more natural

²⁵Gunneweg, 156f, understands the "sons of Aaron" to be the ideal priesthood of P's ideal sanctuary in Jerusalem.

than for the Zadokites to rehabilitate Aaron, their forefather, once they came into power?

Hence, the genealogies in 1 Chronicles are ultimately correct in connecting Zadok with the line of Aaron,²⁶ and the explanation for a lack of proper genealogy for Zadok in pre-exilic texts would be the discrediting of the line of Aaron that we have posited during the Tribal League as a result of unsuccessful skirmishes with the powerful Mushite line (cf. Exodus 32 etc.).

8. Hebron - Uzziel - Kohath and Kohath (alone)

These three branches of Levites mentioned in 1 Chronicles 15 would seem to be related to the Aaronides and Korahites before them, since we have connected the Aaronides with Hebron and Kohath, and the Korahites with Kohath. Our connection of Uzziel with Kohath is based upon the genealogies in Numbers 3; Exodus 6; and 1 Chronicles 5:27-41, which in this case may represent the historical situation.

In 2 Chronicles 29 these groups have seemingly all merged into Kohath.

9. Amram, Izhar, Hebron, Uzziel

These are the stylized groups of Kohathites as they were conceived of in the late monarchy (cf. A.11 above). That they do not represent historical groups which precede Moses,

²⁶Cf. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 110.

Aaron, and Korah by a generation we have already contended in our study of the genealogies (I.B.C.D.) Although 1 Chronicles 26, which purports to come from the "fortieth year of David's reign" (verse 31), states that Izharites and Hebronites served as officers and judges,²⁷ references to Amram, Izhar, Hebron, and Uzziel are rather sketchy in our narrative sources (cf. references to the city Hebron; also notices about the Hebronites in Numbers 26:58a and 1 Chronicles 15). This further underlines our contention about their ahistorical form. Once they had been established in the stylized form in Document A-B, however, they became the springboard for the late genealogical work of P and the Chronicler (cf. I.D).

C. The Line of Merari

1. Merari²⁸

Cf. A.1 above, plus

1 Chronicles 26 (Kohath-Merari) and
2 Chronicles 34:12 (Merari-Kohath)

2. Ithamar²⁹

a) Genealogies

Exodus 6
Exodus 28:1
Numbers 3:2; 26:58b-60
1 Chronicles 5:27-41
1 Chronicles 24:3 Ithamar → (Eli) → Ahimelech

Note: All these genealogies call Ithamar a son of Aaron.

However, see our discussion in I.C.4 where we saw

²⁷Mazar, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, 197f, finds this to fit the period of the Levitic cities.

²⁸Gunneweg, 169.

²⁹Gunneweg, 159.

this as a secondary connection.

b) Other sources

P

Exodus 38:21 - Levites serve under Ithamar
at tabernacle

Leviticus 10 - Moses unhappy with his ser-
vice (verse 16)

Numbers 4:28 - Leader of Gershonites

Numbers 4:33 - Leader of Merarites

Numbers 7:8 - Leader of Merarites

c) Comment

The sources place Ithamar in the Desert Period.

Ithamar is never connected with Kohath in the narratives. Therefore his connection with Kohath in the genealogies appears secondary. The narratives connect him both with the Gershonites and Merarites, but more prominently with the Merarites. Again, though our connection of Ithamar with Merari is tenuous, it is not without some support; and since Merari has no other known descendant in the Desert Period, we feel confident in connecting Ithamar with him.

The connection between Ithamar and Gershon in Numbers 4:28, and indirectly in 1 Chronicles 24:3 (considering Ahimelech to be a Gershonite), as well as the connection of Mushi (a Gershonite) with Merari in so many of the genealogies may be explained by the apparently close and friendly relations between the Gershonite/Mushite Levites and the Merarite/Ithamarite Levites.

3. Libnites

A Levitic group mentioned in Numbers 26:58a. It is

probably to be connected with the city Libnah conquered by Joshua in Joshua 10:29f. Hence, the Levitic Libnites probably date to the Tribal League.³⁰ Their connection with Merari/Ithamar cannot be clearly established; but by employing a process of elimination (all the other groups of Numbers 26:58 already having been assigned) we can say that the connection is at least possible, if not probable.³¹

4. Merari, Elizaphan

Here, too, these are the only groups mentioned in 1 Chronicles 15 that are unassigned. Hence, we suggest a connection going back to Merari. At least the Merari of 1 Chronicles 15 would thus seem to be correctly connected with Merari ben Levi.

These same two groups are listed in 2 Chronicles 29. Then Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun are also added. These last three may represent groups going back to David's time, but it is hazardous to maintain that the stylistic genealogies

³⁰Cf. A.7 above; Möhlenbrink, 194-196; Waterman, JAOS LVII, 378f.

³¹Somewhat disturbing for our connection of Libni with Merari is the assignment of the city Libnah to the sons of Aaron in Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6. However, it is possible that by the time the Levitic cities were inaugurated (perhaps during the reign of David or Solomon) the Libnites no longer lived in Libnah, but because of their early connection with the city the name still clung to them. Perhaps they moved among the Gershonites, since in Document A-B Libni is connected to Gershon. The Danites of Judges 17-18 are another example of a people who moved from their original home but still retained its name.

in 1 Chronicles 6:18-32 are historically correct in their assignment of Heman to Kohath, Asaph to Gershon, and Ethan to Merari.

5. Mahli and Mushi

Historically we would expect Mushi with Gershon, but we have here reached the point of stylized, ahistorical groupings (cf. A.11 and B.9).

Special Note on Group Terminologies

"Levites" is a term that can be used in either a broad sense including all the descendants of Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, or in a narrow sense referring to the Mushites and/or Merarites.

"Levites" seems equal to Mushites in Exodus 32. In Exodus 38:21 it may be equivalent to Merarites, since Ithamar is called their leader, and he is elsewhere the leader of the Merarites (Numbers 4:33; 7:8). Likewise, in the oldest strand of Numbers "Levites" seems to mean Mushites. In Chronicles, in the terminology ("priest and) Levites," the term "Levites" refers to non-Zadokites (i.e. probably Mushites and/or Merarites), and this is probably the meaning of Levites in Ezekiel as well.

In Deuteronomy the editor has had to differentiate two groups of non-Zadokite Levites in two different periods. He calls the older group "Levitical priests," though surely this is only D's term for a group equivalent to the Mushite and/or Merarite Levites. His term "Levites" would then refer to Levites of the same pedigree (that is Mushite/Merarite) as the Levitical priests but who lived at a different time and under far different conditions than the Levitical priests.

"Sons of Aaron," (P)³² "Zadokites" (Ezekiel) and "the priests" (cf. especially the Chronicler) we take to refer to essentially the same group, i.e. the descendants of Kohath

³²P could not use "Zadokites," since he was purporting to talk about the Desert Period, when Zadok had not yet been born.

(though as we have seen, the Korahites may have belonged to this group also).

CHAPTER IV

THE HISTORY OF THE PRE-EXILIC LEVITES IN THE LIGHT OF CHAPTERS I-III

Note: Throughout this section the results of Chapters I, II and III will be assumed, and only where it seems necessary will cross references to the first three chapters be made.

A. The Desert Period

Note: The sources for the Desert Period are JE and certain sections of P, especially in Numbers.¹

The history of the "sons of Israel" begins, properly speaking, when they left Egypt and became an independent people.² However, some years passed before Israel settled down in a land of its own. The Old Testament is filled with references to these intervening years, a time when Israel wandered in the desert.³ It is in the earliest traditions of this period that one first hears of Levites who serve as

¹F.M. Cross, Jr., BA, X, 52, states: "While the Priestly account is schematized and idealized, and while the Priestly writers read the theological interpretations and historical developments of later ages into their system, nevertheless, Priestly tradition must be deemed an important historical witness to the Mosaic Age." See also Cross' comment on p. 59.

²E.g., see the approach of B. W. Anderson, Understanding the Old Testament (2nd ed.; Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960), 15ff.

³Cf. Martin Noth, Ueberlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch, 62f and 127ff, who calls this period "Führung in der Wüste."

priests. In fact, Moses, Israel's leader in the Desert Period, was considered to be a Levite (Exodus 2:1).⁴

There were three main Levitic groups in the Desert Period: Gershonites, Kohathites, and Merarites (cf. Numbers 3:21-37; 10:17, 21). They took their names from their eponymous ancestors Gershon, Kohath, and Merari, the sons of Levi ben Jacob/Israel. As we contended in Chapter III, Moses was the chief of the Gershonites, Aaron and Korah of the Kohathites, and Ithamar of the Merarites.

According to JE (Exodus 2:16-22), Moses married Zipporah, the daughter of a Midianite priest.⁵ That the priesthood of Moses was henceforth closely connected with Midian's is

⁴Leroy Waterman, JAOS, LVII, 379, and "Jacob the Forgotten Supplanter," AJSL, LV (1938), 34, calls this passage secondary and therefore denies that Moses was a Levite. However, T. J. Meek, "Moses and the Levites," AJSL, LVI (1939), 113-116, upholds Moses' Levitic ancestry. He believes that Exodus 2:1 fits well into E. He sees support for this position in 1 Chronicles 5:29; 23:13, Exodus 6:20, and Numbers 26:59. He further believes that 'yš ḥsydk in Deuteronomy 33:8 refers to Moses; that "Hushi" in Numbers 26:58 is a gentile of Moses; and that Judges 18:30 originally gave a genealogy going back to Moses. Gunneweg, 65-59, takes "Levite" to be originally an appellative rather than an ethnic term. Accordingly, he considers Moses to be a "Levite," regardless of whether his parents belonged to Levitic circles or not.

⁵He is called Reuel in Exodus 2:18 and Numbers 10:29. Otherwise he is called Jethro (3:1; 4:18; 18:1ff). A possible way out of the difficulty is to consider Reuel a clan name and Jethro his personal name. Another complication is that in Numbers 10:29, Judges 1:16, and 4:11 Hobab is called Moses' father-in-law. "Father-in-law," however, can be translated "son-in-law" by a simple change in the Hebrew vowels. Accordingly, both Jethro and Hobab would be from the Midianite clan of Reuel, and Jethro would be Moses' father-in-law and Hobab his son-in-law. Cf. W. F. Albright, "Jethro, Hobab and Reuel in Early Hebrew Tradition," CBQ, XXV (1963), 1-11.

suggested by Exodus 18:12 (JE), where in a cultic meeting of Israel and the Midianites the dominant partner was Midian (probably representing Moses, since Moses is not among Israel's representatives), while Aaron and the elders of Israel appeared as guests.⁶

Only two sons are attributed to Moses and Ziporah: Gershom/n and Eliezer (Exodus 18:3f). Of Gershom/n we know very little, except that he was the ancestor of Jonathan, the priest of northern Dan (Judges 17-18). Eliezer/Elieazar, however, became Israel's chief priest after Moses' death.⁷

The Levites appear to have been priests already when Israel left Egypt, for we see Moses sacrificing at Sinai (Exodus 24:6,8). Some time later the priesthood of the Gershonite/Mushite and Merarite/Ithamarite Levites was formalized.⁸

Aaron was another Levite (Exodus 4:14) who dates to the Desert Period. He was of the Kohathite line (cf. the

⁶Cf. Phyllis Bird, "The Traditions of Moses' Father-in-Law: Their Origin and Function" (unpublished seminar paper) (Cambridge: Harvard University, 1964), 17.

⁷Cf. III.A.3.4 above for full listing of data.

⁸Cf. Exodus 32:25-29 and Deuteronomy 10:7-8. Exodus 32 takes place at Sinai, while Deuteronomy 10:7-8 says that Levi was set apart "to carry the ark..., to stand before Yahweh to minister to him" at Jotbathah; cf. Numbers 33:33f. Either one or both may be correct. At all events the Levites appear as the only legitimate priesthood from the Desert Period on. Cf. Eduard Nielsen, "The Levites in Ancient Israel," Annual of Swedish Theological Institute, ed. Hans Kosmala et al. (Leiden, 1964), III, 17-20.

genealogies). As a Levite he performed priestly duties. Exodus 18 describes a cultic meal at which Aaron is one of the representatives of Israel. Exodus 32 (cf. Excursus after II.A.3 above), however, is our chief source for a description of Aaron's priesthood. Here he is presented in a very bad light. He led Israel in unorthodox religious practices for which he was berated by Moses. As a result of this incident the Aaronite Levites were virtually read out of the priesthood,⁹ and the Levites (i.e. Gershonite/Mushite and Merarite/Ithamarite lines) became the dominant priests. The Aaronides, however, were not annihilated. Rather they merely went into isolation,¹⁰ only to emerge later as the Zadokites.

Another story about rivalry between Moses and Aaron and/or Miriam is contained in Numbers 12 (JE). The incident is set at Hazeroth. Miriam and Aaron criticized Moses for his choice of a Cushite wife, perhaps a reference to Zipporah (Exodus 2). Moses was vindicated by Yahweh himself, and Miriam was punished with leprosy for seven days.

Hence, P's account is not historically accurate when it attributes the main priestly duties of the Desert Period, especially the supervision of the tabernacle, to Aaron and

⁹Cf. Waterman, JAOS, LVII, 378.

¹⁰After the Conquest they made Hebron their home. Cf. our analysis in Chapter III. Newman, The People of the Covenant, 98, believes that Exodus 32:25-29 should probably be associated with Kadesh. He thinks that certain tribes went directly north from Kadesh and conquered southern Palestine and that their priests, who were Aaronides, centered at Hebron (pp. 101, 107, 139).

his sons. This is not to deny that Israel had a movable shrine during the Desert Period.¹¹ The priests who served at Israel's movable shrine or tabernacle were, however, not the Aaronides but the Levites (i.e. Gershonite/Mushite and Merarite/Ithamarite Levites). They carried the tabernacle and its furnishings, set it up and took it down, and encamped around it (Numbers 1:47-53; 8:23-26).

The camp arrangement of the Israelites as described in Numbers 2-3 may be essentially correct for the Desert Period.¹² In this description the family of Moses (cf. our discussion in II.F.3) is directly in front, i.e., on the eastern side, of the tabernacle, and the rest of the Gershonites are behind it, i.e., on the west. The Merarites were said to be on the north and the Kohathites on the south.¹³

Eleazar/Eliezer is said to be the nāsi over the n^esi'im

¹¹Two terms are used for the movable shrine: 'ōhel mō'ēd (JE and P) and miškan (only P). Cf. Cross, BA, X, 65; Newman, The People of the Covenant, 55ff.; and Arnulf Kuschke, ZAW, LXIII, 82ff. Cross, 61, also shows that one motive of the tabernacle as described by P derives from the desert. Cf. also Menahem Haran, "Shiloh and Jerusalem: The Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch," JBL LXXXI (1962), 17-19. DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 294-302, shows that both the ark and the tent existed in the Desert Period.

¹²Cross, BA, X, 55, calls it "heavily idealized" but says it "may reflect the battle formation of Israel both before and after the Conquest." Cf. also Kuschke, 96.

¹³The statements concerning the n^esi'im of the three groups and the outer ring of tribes probably reflect the period of the Tribal League. Cf. Kuschke, 96-99, and Noth, Das System..., 151ff.

of the groups of Levites (Numbers 3:32; cf. 4:16). Though the name nāsi¹⁴ is Tribal League terminology, as Noth has shown,¹⁴ the statement may nevertheless be accurate in its portrayal of Eleazar as the chief Levite after Moses. He also commissioned Joshua to be Moses' successor (Numbers 27:18-23); and, like his father Moses, he was a military leader as well as a priest (Numbers 31:1-12; cf. Numbers 10:8f, Deuteronomy 20:1-4).

The leader of the Merarites was probably Ithamar (Numbers 4:33; 7:8). The fact that he is once (4:28) called the leader of the Gershonites probably indicates the close relationship and virtual merging of the Merarites into the Gershonites after the exclusion of the Aaronides from the Levitical priesthood (cf. Exodus 32).

The Korahites were another branch of Kohathite Levites. Numbers 16 (P) records an incident at Kadesh. The Korahites opposed the Mushites; but, like the Aaronides, they were punished and demoted; though according to Numbers 26:11 they continued to exist as a group.

Toward the end of the Desert Period we see another Mushite, Phinehas ben Eleazar/Eliezer, coming into prominence. He was a military leader (31:1-12) and was also promised a "perpetual priesthood" (25:6-18). According to Joshua 24:33 and Judges 20:28 he eventually became the successor of

¹⁴Noth, Das System..., 151-162.

Eleazar/Eliezer and the chief priest in charge of the ark at Bethel.

Legislation concerning support for the Levites is already placed in the context of the Desert Period by P (cf. Numbers 7:1-6; 18:21-24; 31:30, 47), but it certainly dates no earlier than the Tribal League.

It is difficult to localize many of the events of the Desert Period, but one place does stand out--Kadesh. The rebellion of Korah occurred there, and Deuteronomy 33:8 says that Levi was tested at Massah-Meribah, i.e., Kadesh.¹⁵

¹⁵Cf. Newman, The People of the Covenant, 77, 97.
Sigo Lehming, "Massa und Meriba," ZAW, LXXVI (1961), 71-77;
and Nielsen, Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute,
III, 19, think Massah-Meribah means "Versuchung" (=trial).

B. The Tribal League (including the reign of Saul)

Note: The main sources for this period are found in Joshua, Judges, 1 Samuel and parts of Deuteronomy.¹

The question as to whether "Levite" is an ethnic or functional appellation has been delayed until now. However, from our discussion it is rather obvious that we consider the Levites to be mainly a group or groups related by blood.² This does not necessarily mean that "Levite" is per se an ethnic term. It can also be a designation for a group that, though related, had a common function, and who, because of the common function, received the name. This seems to be the case with the Levites, for according to Albright the term lawiyu, from which he derives "Levite," means "a person pledged for a debt or vow (to Yahweh)."³ In other words, a

¹Cf. Eduard Nielsen, Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute, III, 25, concerning Deuteronomy as a source for the Tribal League.

²Albright, ARI, 109, is surely right, however, in pointing out that one could be adopted as a member of the Levites as well as be born to them. His prime example of such an adopted Levite is Samuel.

³In 1941 W. F. Albright proposed a common etymology for both the Biblical lēwî and the Minaean lw'/lw't, namely, a NW Semitic word lawiyu. For the possible Canaanite occurrence of lawiyu see Albright, The Vocalization of the Egyptian Orthography ("American Oriental Series," 5; New Haven, 1934), p. 8, n. 16. For the connection between lawiyu and lēwî and lw' see Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, pp. 109 and 204f, n. 42. The probable development from NW Semitic to Hebrew was: lawiyu > *liwyu > *lēw, plus the gentilic -î > lēwî. The development being thus, the gentilic would indicate that the Levites were a class performing a common function and not an ethnic group. The development from NW Semitic to North-Minaean went via the Aramaic, where at an early date intervocalic y changed to ʿ, and this Aramaic word was then borrowed

Levite, etymologically speaking, was a priest.⁴

It is therefore our position that each of the major groups or clans of Levites (Gershon, Kohath, Merari) constituted a blood relationship within themselves but not necessarily between them. Thus Moses and Aaron would not have to be related, though the late genealogies make them brothers. But they were both Levites in the sense that they were both priests. Or to put it differently, a clan

by the North Minaeans in the Persian period. By comparing the use of the Minaean with the Neo-Babylonian word lamutanu and lawūtānu (also loan-words from the Aramaic) and the biblical lāwah, "to borrow" (hif'il - "to lend"), Albright concludes that lawiyu meant "a person pledged for a debt or vow. This position was also held by Grimme and Pedersen, cf. Eduard Nielson, Shechem (2nd ed.; Copenhagen, 1959, 266). In 1884 and 1907-1910 the words lw' and lw't were found in Minaean inscriptions at el-'Ulā, the ancient Dedan, in Northern Arabia. For a bibliography of the original publications of these Minaean inscriptions see Roland de Vaux, "'Lévites' Mineens et Lévites Israélites," Lex Tua Veritas: Festschrift für Hubert Junker, ed. Heinrich Gross and Franz Mussner (Trier, 1961), 265. Many scholars have considered these words to be related to Levi/Levite of the Bible, and on the basis of these inscriptions they maintain that the Levitical priesthood of the Bible had its roots in Northern Arabia in pre-Mosaic times. Since the Minaean inscriptions are now generally dated in the Persian period or a little later, de Vaux finds it difficult to imagine that lw' and lw't were used in Arabia a thousand years before the inscriptions mention them. Hence, according to this, the Israelite Levite/Levi could have influenced the Minaean lw' and lw't but not vice versa. See de Vaux, Lex Tua Veritas..., 265-273; also Ancient Israel, 369f.

⁴Most scholars believe this conflicts with what they feel is a secular tribe Levi in Genesis 34 and 49. Accordingly, if "Levite" means priest, then the only connection with the Levi of Genesis would be one of name. However, some scholars have tried to connect the two by emphasizing that both groups were engaged in military activity (Genesis 34 and Exodus 32) and are therefore really one and the same (priestly) group. Cf. Nielson, Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute, III, 20-22.

constituted a blood relationship, and several such clans who had the common function of the priesthood joined together to form the tribe "Levi."

We have had to discuss these questions before we can consider whether or not there was a tribe of Levi in Israel's early history. Accordingly, we can now say that the Levites did comprise a group of clans who, taken together, could have been designated as a tribe.⁵

In the first sixty pages of his book, Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels, Martin Noth deals with the various lists of the tribes. He finds that they generally fall into three categories: (1) Those in which Levi is included (always in third place); (2) those in which Levi is not present but in which Joseph has been divided into Manasseh and Ephraim to retain the total of twelve tribes; and (3) those in which Levi, Ephraim, and Manasseh are all included.

The lists that Noth has gathered are as follows:

⁵De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 4ff, says that the clans, once they had joined together and assumed an eponymous ancestor, considered themselves as blood related, whether or not they really were. G. E. Mendenhall, "The Hebrew Conquest of Palestine," BA, XXV (1962), 69-76, sees the essence of membership in a tribe to be "a subjective feeling of belonging and loyalty no doubt conditioned by the entire childhood and adult experience in the group and the orientation and indoctrination process which is an inevitable concomitant of a close-knit group in constant competition and conflict with outside groups" (p. 70).

LISTS WITH LEVI

	<u>Gen.29:31 -30:24</u>		<u>Gen.49: 1-27</u>	<u>Deut.27: 12f</u>	<u>Gen.35:23-26 and Ex.1: 2-4</u>	<u>Gen.46: 8-25</u>	<u>1 Chron. 2:1-2</u>	<u>Ezek.48: 31-5</u>	
Leah	{ 1 Reuben 2 Simeon 3 Levi 4 Judah	6 Leah Tribes	{ Reuben Simeon Levi Judah Zebulon Issachar	Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Joseph	Reuben Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Zebulon	Reuben Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Zebulon	Reuben Simeon Levi Judah Issachar Zebulon	Reuben Judah Levi Joseph Benjamin	
Bilhah (Rachel)	{ 5 Dan 6 Naphtali		{ Zebulon Issachar	Benjamin Reuben Gad	Joseph Benjamin Dan	Gad Asher Joseph Benjamin	Dan Joseph Benjamin Naphtali	Dan Issachar Benjamin Naphtali	Simeon Issachar Zebulon Gad
Zilpah (Leah)	{ 7 Gad 8 Asher		{ Asher Naphtali	Dan Gad Asher Zebulon	Reuben Gad Asher Zebulon	Benjamin Dan Naphtali Gad	Asher Joseph Benjamin Dan	Joseph Benjamin Naphtali Gad	Issachar Zebulon Gad Asher
Leah	{ 9 Issachar 10 Zebulon Dinah		{ Joseph Benjamin	Joseph Benjamin	Dan Naphtali	Asher Naphtali	Naphtali Asher	Asher	Naphtali
Rachel	{ 11 Joseph 12 Benjamin	Rachel Tribes							

LISTS WITHOUT LEVI

<u>Num.26: 5-51</u>	<u>Num.1: 20-43</u>	<u>Num.2:3-31 & 10:14-28 & 7:12-83</u>	<u>Num. 1: 5-15</u>	<u>Josh.13- 19</u>	<u>Num.34: 14-29</u>	<u>Ezek.48: 1-29</u>	<u>Num.13: 4-15</u>	<u>Judges 5</u>
1 Reuben	Reuben	Judah	Reuben	Reuben	Reuben	Dan	Reuben	Ephraim
2 Simeon	Simeon	Issachar	Simeon	Gad	Gad	Asher	Simeon	Benjamin
3 Gad	Gad	Zebulon	Judah	EManasseh	Manasseh	Naphtali	Judah	Machir
4 Judah	Judah	Reuben	Issachar	Judah	Judah	Manasseh	Issachar	Zebulon
5 Issachar	Issachar	Simeon	Zebulon	Ephraim	Simeon	Ephraim	Ephraim	Issachar
6 Zebulon	Zebulon	Gad	Ephraim	WManasseh	Benjamin	Reuben	Benjamin	Reuben
7 Manasseh	Ephraim	Ephraim	Manasseh	Benjamin	Dan	Judah	Zebulon	Gilead
8 Ephraim	Manasseh	Manasseh	Benjamin	Simeon	Manasseh	Benjamin	Joseph	Dan
9 Benjamin	Benjamin	Benjamin	Dan	Zebulon	Ephraim	Simeon	Manasseh	Asher
10 Dan	Dan	Dan	Asher	Issachar	Zebulon	Issachar	Dan	Zebulon
11 Asher	Asher	Asher	Gad	Asher	Issachar	Zebulon	Asher	Naphtali
12 Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali	Naphtali	Asher	Gad	Naphtali	
				Dan	Naphtali			

COMBINED LISTS

1 Chronicles
12:24-38

- 1 Judah
- 2 Simeon
- 3 Levi
- 4 Benjamin
- 5 Ephraim
- 6 Manasseh
- 7 Issachar
- 8 Zebulon
- 9 Naphtali
- 10 Dan
- 11 Asher
- 12 Reuben
- 13 Gad
- 14 Manasseh

1 Chronicles
27:16-22

- Reuben
- Simeon
- Levi
- Judah
- Issachar
- Zebulon
- Naphtali
- Ephraim
- WManasseh
- EManasseh
- Benjamin
- Dan

1 Chronicles
2-8

- Judah
- Simeon
- Reuben
- Gad
- Manasseh
- Levi
- Issachar
- Benjamin
- Naphtali
- Manasseh
- Ephraim
- Asher
- Benjamin

Deuteronomy
33

- Reuben
- Judah
- Levi
- Benjamin
- Joseph: Ephraim-
Manasseh
- Zebulon
- Issachar
- Gad
- Dan
- Naphtali
- Asher

The third category Noth takes to be a late harmonizing of the first two categories. Concerning the second category, in which the lists do not include Levi, Noth plausibly shows that all are dependent on either Numbers 1:5-15 or Numbers 26:5-51. He believes that Numbers 1:5-15 originally had Gad in third place. Hence, the only difference between Numbers 1:5-15 and Numbers 26:5-51 is the different order of Ephraim and Manasseh. Noth takes Numbers 26:5-51, which puts Manasseh first, as the older of the two forms. Noth believes that the oldest form of category one (with Levi, Joseph still being undivided) is found in Genesis 49:1-27. Since the Song of Deborah in Judges 5⁶ mentions Ephraim and Machir (=Manasseh), Noth believes that Numbers 26:5-51 and 1:5-15 must post-date this Song. Hence, he dates them in the second half of the period of the Judges.⁷ Genesis 49:1-27, on the other hand, must ante-date the Song of Deborah, since it still speaks of Joseph as undivided. This form of the list of the tribes Noth dates to the very beginning of the period of the Judges. Another reason why Noth feels that the original form of these lists must come from before the monarchy of David is his feeling that they would have come from a time when the tribes were still interested in maintaining their individual histories.⁸

⁶W. F. Albright, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Archaeology," BASOR, 62 (1936), 26-31, dates it to 1125 B.C.

⁷Cf. G. E. Mendenhall, "The Census Lists of Numbers 1 and 26," JEL, LXXVII (1953), 52-66, who takes these to be an authentic list from the Period of the Judges.

⁸Das System, 30f.

Assuming that Noth is correct in placing Genesis 49:1-27 at the beginning of the Period of the Judges, either Levi must have still existed as a tribe at that time, or Levi was still remembered as an integral member of an old Six-Tribe League (the Leah tribes) which now formed the basis for a new Twelve-Tribe League. Noth thinks that the latter is the case.⁹ According to Noth, this first or oldest list of the tribes retains the memory of a secular tribe Levi which by the time of the second list had declined to the point (cf. Genesis 34 and 49) where they were no longer mentioned. Gunneweg¹⁰ holds to the first alternative, namely, that Levi did exist as a tribe in the Period of the Judges, and that one must explain the absence of Levi from the second category of tribal lists in some other way than by positing its non-existence. Gunneweg seeks to explain the difference between category one (with Levi) and category two (without Levi) by seeing a difference in purpose between them. The first category he considers to be a "Mitgliederliste" of the amphictyony according to their eponymous ancestors; the second, since it substitutes Ephraim and Manasseh for Joseph, he takes as a geographical-political oriented list. Accordingly, because Levi had no land, it was not included in the second list,

⁹Das System, 34. Noth also carries out the idea of a Six-Tribe League in his Geschichte Israels (2nd ed.; Göttingen, 1954), 83ff. Cf. Newman, 79.

¹⁰Pp. 59ff.

but because it was a member of the amphictyony it was listed in the first group.

We believe that Gunneweg has pointed in the right direction. However, to further clarify the difference between categories one and two, we would consider the first category as a "religious" listing, that is to say, these are the groups or tribes who were to appear before Yahweh at the central sanctuary three times yearly (cf. Exodus 23:17; 34:23); whereas the second category was "political," meaning that from these groups men of war could be conscripted.¹¹ Thus we hold that the Levites were recognized as one of the member tribes of the amphictyony, though they owned no land and their young men did not serve in war.

According to our discussion in Chapter III, the four main groups of Levites during the Tribal League period were: Mushites, Hebronites, Korahites, and Libnites. This information is given in Numbers 26:58a.¹² As we have contended, the Mushites were the descendants of Moses, the Hebronites of Aaron, the Korahites of Korah, and the Libnites of Ithamar.

We believe that the Mushites and Libnites were the dominant groups and, as we shall contend, were the priests in charge of the central sanctuary with its tent and ark.

¹¹Mendenhall, JBL, LXXVI, 52-66.

¹²Möhlenbrink dates the list between the Conquest and David's reign (197,206). Waterman, JAOS, LVII, 378, dates it "at least as early as the reign of Saul." De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 370, says, "This list is very ancient, certainly pre-monarchic...."

The Hebronites and Korahites, on the other hand, had been discredited in the Desert Period and so served only at local sanctuaries.

The Hebronites, who were Aaronides by birth, would of course have received their name because they served at Hebron. It is impossible to determine where the Korahites served. The Mushites were situated in the North (Dan, Kedesh, Bethel, Shiloh--cf. III.B.6); and the Libnites, though originally no doubt inhabitants of the Judean city of Libnah, may have eventually merged with the Mushites (cf. III.C.3).

The Tribal League or amphictyony as described by Noth¹³ and by Albrecht Alt¹⁴ was a system of twelve tribes organized around a central Yahweh sanctuary.¹⁵ To this sanctuary all males were to make a pilgrimage (hg) three times a year

¹³Das System.

¹⁴Die Staatenbildung der Israeliten in Palestina (Leipzig, 1930)=KS, II (München, 1953), 1-65.

¹⁵Sadao Asami, "The Central Sanctuary in Israel in the Ninth Century B.C." (unpublished Th.D. dissertation; Cambridge: Harvard University, 1964), 1-14, has summarized the shift from Wellhausen, who saw the central sanctuary as a post-Josianic phenomenon (Prolegomena, 17ff.), to today, when a central sanctuary in the Period of the Judges is widely accepted (cf. Albright, Archaeology and the Religion of Israel, 102-105; De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 92f; Newman, 102-126; Noth, Geschichte Israels, 83-104; Yehozkel Kaufmann, The Religion of Israel, trans. and abridged by Moshe Greenberg (Chicago, 1960), 256). As described by Asami, the central sanctuary was not the sole sanctuary (cf. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 331f), but it was the place where the official cultic activities involving the whole people of Israel ("all Israel") took place.

(Exodus 23:17; 34:23; Deuteronomy 16:16).¹⁶ Whether this central sanctuary included both the ark and the tent is a moot point.¹⁷ No one who accepts the concept of the Tribal League, however, doubts that at least the ark was involved.¹⁸ For our study it is also not necessary to decide whether the central sanctuary remained at one place throughout the Period of the Judges¹⁹ or whether it moved around.²⁰ Our concern is whether or not the Levites had anything to do with the central sanctuary, wherever it happened to be.

The biblical books that purport to be a history of the

¹⁶Asami, "The Central Sanctuary...", thinks these passages presuppose a central sanctuary, pointing out that a hg was a pilgrimage (cf. DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 470) and that the expression "appear before Yahweh" implies being present before the ark, i.e., at the central sanctuary. In spite of these arguments, with which we agree, Noth, Geschichte Israels, 94, and Bright, History of Israel, 149, think the passages refer to festivals at local sanctuaries.

¹⁷A recent defense of the close connection between ark and tent is found in Walter Beyerlein, Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinaitraditionen, 133ff. DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 302, agrees. However, Newman, The People of the Covenant, 65ff., believes they were not connected.

¹⁸Cf. Martin Noth, Geschichte Israels, 88f; Otto Eissfeldt, "Lade und Stierbild," ZAW, 53 (1940/41)=KS, II, 282ff.

¹⁹This is the position of Asami, 29-39; Albright, Arch. and Rel. of Israel, 103; and Haran, JBL, LXXXI, 21.

²⁰Noth, Geschichte Israels, 90ff, mentions Shechem (Deuteronomy 11:26-32; 27:1-26; Joshua 8:30-35; 24:1-28), Bethel (Judges 20-21), Gilgal (Joshua 3-5), and Shiloh as cities which at various times served as the place of the central sanctuary. H. J. Kraus, Gottendienst in Israel-Grundriss einer alttestamentlichen Kultgeschichte (München, 1962), 172-174, agrees. Cf. also DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 302-311.

Period of the Conquest and the Judges are Joshua, Judges, and part of 1 Samuel. However, the Deuteronomic editor was evidently not primarily interested in the priesthood, for we find only scattered references to the Levites.

Since these books are part of the Deuteronomic History, we would expect to find the same terminology used here as in Deuteronomy, and this is in fact the case. However, this does not necessarily mean that Deuteronomy's terminology actually was used in the Tribal League. Rather it is the Deuteronomic editor's way of referring to certain groups of priests and/or Levites of the time. Hence, we believe that when he speaks about "Levitical priests" he is actually referring to the Mushites and Libnites that we have just discussed.

Joshua 3:3 says that "Levitical priests" carried the ark as the Israelites crossed the Jordan.²¹

The seven priests who carried the ark around Jericho (Joshua 6) are not called "Levitical priests." However, since these priests carry the ark, as in 3:3, the writer

²¹Verses 8, 13, 14, and 17 simply use the term "priests." There are two possible explanations: (a) All the priests were Levites, but only in the first instance did the writer feel compelled to mention the word Levites; or (b) the priests were not necessarily all Levites, and the term "Levitical priests" used in v. 3 represents merely the bias of the writer who, under the influence of Deuteronomy, sought to create the impression that all the priests were Levites, but he was not consistent in adding the term "Levites" in every place where "priests" was used. We prefer (a) above. Cf. II.C.1.

must have had "Levitical priests" in mind again.

At the time of the reading of the law of Moses on Mount Ebal and Mount Gerizim (Joshua 8:30-35) it is again the "Levitical priests" who carry the ark of the covenant. Deuteronomy 31:9-12 says that "the priests the sons of Levi" who carried the ark were instructed to read the law every seven years. Since this was to be done before "all Israel," this function of the Levites must have been carried out at the central sanctuary (cf. Deuteronomy 27:9 and 27:14).

Joshua 9:27 tells how the Gibeonites (Canaanites) became "hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation, and for the altar of Yahweh." Though the altar they served is not mentioned,²² it could mean that they assisted the Levites at the central sanctuary.

Whatever actual historical happenings may be represented in these accounts, this much is clear: By the time the Book of Joshua was written, there was in Israel still the memory of a tradition that connected the Levites with the ark of the covenant and the public reading of the law in the very earliest period of the Tribal League.

The last half of the Book of Joshua contains very little narrative material. The great bulk of these chapters is usually considered to be later than chapters 1-12. It is

²²Menahem Haran, "The Gibeonites, the Nethinim and the Sons of Solomon's Servants," *VT*, XI (1961), 161, thinks it was at the great high place of Gibeon.

therefore difficult to know whether it tells us anything about the Tribal League at all. Briefly, however, the Levites are presented as priests, who as such did not receive any land as their inheritance (13:14,33; 14:3f; 18:7). Instead they are said to have received cities to dwell in (Joshua 21; cf. 1 Chronicles 6). There is general agreement among scholars that the account of the Levitical cities does not date to the Tribal League;²³ but that the Levites did not have any territory of their own and thus had to be given some special support by the rest of the Israelites is no doubt true. The Book of Deuteronomy (18:1-5) suggests how the Levites at the central sanctuary were supported.²⁴

The Book of Joshua mentions only one individual priest, namely, Eleazar/Eliezer, but our knowledge of him as a priest is based mainly on other sources. We have considered him to be a Mushite (cf. III.A.4). Here he is said to be involved in the distribution of the land (19:51) and of the Levitical cities (21:1), though this latter statement does not fit the Tribal League. Both acts are said to have taken place at Shiloh.²⁵ Eleazar's death is reported to have occurred in Ephraim (Joshua 24:33), which also fits the theory that he was the chief priest of the central sanctuary at Shiloh.

²³See II.B above.

²⁴Cf. DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 380f.

²⁵Joshua 19:51 specifically says that the distribution of the land took place "before Yahweh," i.e. before the ark of the central sanctuary.

There is some indication in our texts that the Kenites were connected with the Levites in the earliest period of the Tribal League. Hobab the Kenite is called Moses' father-in-law/son-in-law.²⁶ That the relationship between the Kenites and Levites was not just one of intermarriage but of common priestly function is suggested by Judges 1:16 and 4:11, which we have discussed above.²⁷ To recapitulate, the Kenites probably founded a sanctuary at Arad at about the time when the Israelite tribes were first moving into the land. Somewhat later they founded a sanctuary in the North near Kedesh.²⁸ Hence, the Kenites/Mushites would have been in control of a northern sanctuary very early in the Tribal League period. If Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6 are accurate, Kedesh eventually became a Levitic city assigned to the Gershonites, which according to our theory is another name for Mushites.

Judges 17-18 gives the account of how a Levite became the priest of northern Dan. According to the Massoretic Text, this Levite had been "a young man of Bethlehem-Judah, of the clan of Judah...and he sojourned there" (17:7). The versions and commentators alike have had difficulty explaining how a Levite could also belong to the clan of Judah.²⁹ Perhaps

²⁶Cf. IV.A footnote 5. ²⁷II.C.2.

²⁸They may have continued to serve the sanctuary at Arad as well.

²⁹Cf. G. E. Moore, Judges, 383f, Strauss, 98-100, Gunneweg, 14-20.

the text of the Massoretic Text does not intend to say that the Levite in question was a blood member of the tribe of Judah, but simply that he lived there. Of course, there may have been some cases of people who were non-Levites by birth but who "became" Levites when they were adopted into the priesthood.³⁰

The name of the Levite is given in 18:30, namely, Jonathan ben Gershom ben Moses.³¹ Charles Hauret³² does not feel the genealogy at the end of the story is an intrusion, as do many other scholars, but that it is an ancient tradition preserved in the priestly circles of the sanctuary of Dan. He also defends Jonathan against the charges by scholars who would make him "cunning," "greedy," "ungrateful," and "ambitious." Hauret maintains that, if Jonathan was not the most virtuous priest, he at least had the merit of ability. Hauret further believes that Jonathan may have been an actual grandson of Moses, because the migration of the Danites harmonizes well with the beginning of the Period of the Judges.

³⁰Albright, Arch. and Rel. of Israel, 109.

³¹Nielsen, Shechem, 272, believes the name Jonathan and his genealogy to be based upon "solid historical tradition." Charles Hauret, 108f, believes the same genealogy was originally found in 17:7 which now ends whw' gr-šm. In hw' he sees a remnant of yhwtn, and gr-šm can of course be read as "Gershom." Hence, he finds in 17:7 the following description of our priest: "A young man--of Bethlehem Judah--of the clan of Judah--a Levite--Jonathan--a son of Gershom."

³²p. 108f.

The Levite Jonathan is seen moving from Bethlehem-Judah to Ephraim. There he was quickly taken in as the priest of the Ephraimite Micah, who up till then had used his own son as a priest. This shows that from the beginning of the period of the Judges Israelites looked upon the Levites as the appointed representatives of Yahwism and as specialists of the cult.³³ Micah considered the presence of a Levite in his house as a pledge of the blessing of Yahweh (17:13). No doubt the Levites enjoyed this position of prestige because they were the priests of the ark of the covenant.

Judges 18 continues the story of Micah's priest, Jonathan the Levite. Here it is reported how the Danites on their migration northward virtually stole Jonathan, because in their new home they wished the services of a priestly technician who could declare to them the divine intentions (18:5) and who would be qualified to set up and care for a sanctuary.³⁴ Thus whether in Ephraim where he sojourned, or in the tribe where he set up his final home, the role,

³³Hauret, 109.

³⁴Despite the many features of the Danite migration which seem highly unethical (they massacre, burn and pillage --18:27; and they robbed a priest and sacred relics--18:19f), Hauret, 111, believes these things are to be expected in times of migration and that they still worshipped Yahweh alone and that the new sanctuary of Dan probably replaces one of the Canaanites. Hauret, 112f, believes further that 18:31b, which implies that the orthodox place of worship during the existence of Dan's sanctuary (with its image) was Shiloh, is a secondary addition of a partisan of the Zadokite priesthood of Jerusalem.

importance, and benefits of Levitism were appreciated.³⁵

If Judges 17-18 is any indication, Levites were scarce during the period of the Tribal League. This is understandable if their major function was caring for the central sanctuary with the tent and ark. Only gradually, as their numbers grew, would some Levites be free to serve at local sanctuaries.

Judges 19-20 gives another story of a Levite. He was from Ephraim and he took a mistress from Bethlehem-Judah. When the Benjaminites of Gibeah raped his mistress so that she died, the Levite sent pieces of her throughout the land to stir up the rest of the tribes to avenge the crime. Horrified by the deed (19:30), the rest of the Israelites spontaneously rallied to the side of the Levite, and they gathered at Bethel to inquire of God (20:18,26).³⁶

It is stated that the ark was at Bethel and that it was served by Phinehas (cf. III.A.6). He was the son of Eleazar/Eliezer and the grandson of Moses. If our analysis thus far has been correct, Phinehas was the chief priest of the central sanctuary³⁷ in Ephraim, while his "cousin"

³⁵Hauret, 109.

³⁶Judges 20:1,3 says that they gathered at Mizpah.

³⁷The central sanctuary may have been at Shiloh (cf. Judges 18:31), but the ark may have moved in time of battle. This could explain the presence of the ark at Bethel.

Jonathan was the chief priest of the sanctuary of northern Dan.³⁸ Assuming that this Phinehas was a Levite, we here have information which corroborates the picture given in Joshua, namely, that the most important Levites were in charge of the central sanctuary and its ark. Here we have the added information that the Levites at the central sanctuary are consulted before battle is joined against an enemy (Judges 20:18,23, 26-28). To serve at the central sanctuary meant to stand before Yahweh (lipnê yhw) and his ark (20:28). It is interesting that lipnê yhw seems to be a technical term meaning to be at the central sanctuary before the ark, where Yahweh was also thought to be, for in 20:18 the Israelites consulted bē'lōhîm; in 20:23 they wept lipnê yhw and consulted byhw; in 20:26 they wept and sacrificed lipnê yhw; and in 20:27 they consulted byhw at the ark of the covenant when Phinehas (20:28) served as the priest ʿōmēd l'pānāyw (i.e. standing before him=Yahweh, or it=the ark).

This, however, does not exhaust our material for the period of the Tribal League. In recent years there has been a strong reaction against DeWette's and Wellhausen's dating of Deuteronomy to the Seventh Century B.C.³⁹

³⁸If the incident of Judges 19-20 dates to the latter part of the period of the Judges, then Albright (quoted in Jacob M. Myers, The Book of Judges ("IB," II; Nashville: Abingdon, 1953), 818f, is probably correct in saying that this is a Phinehas II (Phinehas III being the son of Eli-- 1 Samuel 1).

³⁹Cf. Wellhausen, Prolegomena, 9.

In his Studies in Deuteronomy⁴⁰ Gerhard von Rad points out that Deuteronomy preserves traditions older than the final editing of the book. He goes on to suggest that the country Levites of the Northern Kingdom were the bearers of these traditions.⁴¹ He makes the same conclusion about some material in the Holiness Code.⁴² G. E. Wright has accepted von Rad's conclusions,⁴³ and he has emphasized even more strongly than von Rad that many of the Levites were teachers of the law rather than altar clergy.⁴⁴

J. A. Emerton⁴⁵ has rejected Wright's view that Deuteronomy makes a sharp distinction between Levites who were altar-priests and those who taught. Rather, he favors the view that all Levites (before Josiah) possessed priestly status and were connected with sanctuaries. In II.B above we have argued against Emerton.

⁴⁰Trans. David Stalker ("Studies in Biblical Theology," 9; London, 1956). A recent attack on von Rad's view has been made by Moshe Weinfeld, "Deuteronomy--The Present State of Inquiry," JBL, LXXXVI (1967), 249-262. The present writer does not agree with Weinfeld's thesis that Deuteronomy would have received its covenantal structure more readily at the hands of royal scribes than in the cult.

⁴¹Von Rad, pp. 66f. Cf. also DeVaux, Ancient Israel, 338.

⁴²Von Rad, p. 31.

⁴³"The Book of Deuteronomy: Introduction and Exegesis," IB (Nashville, 1953), II, 326.

⁴⁴IB, II, 413f, 444; "The Levites in Deuteronomy," VT, IV (1954), 325-330.

⁴⁵"Priests and Levites in Deuteronomy," VT, XII (1962), 129-138.

Wright believes that the Deuteronomic tradition stems from the Shechem sanctuary where it was promulgated in covenant renewal ceremonies of which Deuteronomy 27-30 (cf. 31:9-13) preserves the memory.⁴⁶ Hence, if von Rad is correct in saying that the Levites were the bearers of the Deuteronomic tradition, then they would also have been engaged in the reading of the law every seven years at the central sanctuary (whether it was Shechem, Shiloh, or elsewhere), as we have already suggested (cf. Joshua 8:30-35; Deuteronomy 31:9-12; 27:9,14).

Therefore, the very fact that so many scholars agree to the antiquity of the material in Deuteronomy makes it legitimate to see if what Deuteronomy says about Levites can be made to supplement what we have learned from Joshua and Judges.

The agreement between Deuteronomy and Joshua-Judges concerning the Levites is remarkable. The Levites are connected with the ark in Deuteronomy 10:8 and 31:9,25, just as in Joshua 3:3 and 8:33. They are explicitly connected with the covenant renewal festival at Shechem (27:14 and 31:9-11), paralleling Joshua 8:33. Deuteronomy even tells us more about what the Levites did at the covenant renewal festival: They not only carried the ark; they also expounded the Mosaic Torah (17:18, 27:9f; 31:9-11, 24-26).

⁴⁶Wright, IB, II, 325f.

The favorite expression for the Levites in Deuteronomy is hkhnym hlwym (=Levitical priests).⁴⁷ Where the ark, which is always connected with the central sanctuary, is spoken of (10:8f), only "Levi" is mentioned. But by comparing the similar terminology in 18:5,7 and 21:5, we see that the "Levitical priests" are meant.

According to Judges 20:18, 23, 26-28 it was the priest at the central sanctuary who was consulted before battle. In Deuteronomy the ability to consult Yahweh is attributed to the "Levitical priests." They render legal decisions (17:8f; cf. 19:15ff; 21:5 and 24:8), and they are in charge of the Torah (17:18).⁴⁸

Deuteronomy 18:1-8 is a disputed passage.⁴⁹ However, the difficulty is obviated if we consider the whole passage as speaking about the Levitical priests. "All the tribe of Levi" (verse 1) would then be a parenthetical remark applying only to the one part of the whole passage, namely, to the inheritance. We might translate: "The Levitical priests

⁴⁷Cf. II.B for complete listing. We have suggested that this corresponds to Mushites and Libnites of the Tribal League period.

⁴⁸Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," 77, says: "It stands to reason that the cooperation of royal judges and priests on the bench had been functioning long before the seventh century B.C.E. Ezekiel (44:24) took the judicial functioning of priests as a matter of course." Albright shows further, 78ff, that priests formed an important part of the civil judiciary of Egypt for centuries before the time of Jehoshaphat.

⁴⁹Cf. preliminary remarks in II.B above; also Nielsen, Shechem, 268f.

shall have no inheritance with Israel--of course, this applies to all the tribe of Levi--they shall eat the fire offerings to Yahweh as their inheritance."⁵⁰ The rest of the passage (verses 2-8) then refers only to the Levitical priests, the priests who served at the central sanctuary, and it is not talking about the Levites who served at local sanctuaries. Accordingly, the use of "priests" in 18:3 must refer to Levitical priests, and, as can be determined by comparing 10:8, the Levites of 18:7 are also the Levitical priests of the central sanctuary, since they are described as standing lipnê yhwh when the country Levites (verse 6) come up to the central sanctuary. We have already seen that lipnê yhwh is a technical expression for the central sanctuary.

The Levites of Deuteronomy 27:14 are Levitical priests (cf. Joshua 8:33 and Deuteronomy 31:9-11); likewise 31:25f and 18:7. The "priests" of 17:12 are Levitical priests (cf. 17:9; 18:7; 10:7f); likewise 19:17. The "priest" of Deuteronomy 26 must be a Levitical priest, since he is at the central sanctuary, "the place that Yahweh chooses" (verse 2).

Given this predominance of the Levitical priests in Deuteronomy, the "priest" of 20:2, who was to be consulted at the time of a holy war, may be a reference to another role of the Levitical priests (cf. Judges 20:18, 23, 26-28).

⁵⁰In light of Joshua 13:14,33 and 18:7 we read "as their inheritance" instead of MT "and his inheritance," which is awkward.

In short, the terminology "Levitical priests" seems to be used in Deuteronomy only of the priests of the central sanctuary. No other priests could serve there. All of the functions ascribed to the Levitical priests were such that could be carried on only at the central sanctuary. In general these fell into four categories:

- (1) Using Urim and Thummim to obtain an oracle about various matters (17:9,12; 19:17; 20:2; 21:5; 24:3 --regarding 20:2 and advice concerning holy war cf. Judges 20:18,23, 25-28).
- (2) Expounding the law of Moses (17:18; 27:9f; 31:9-11, 24-26--cf. Joshua 8:30-35).⁵¹
- (3) Serving before the ark (10:7f; 31:9,25--cf. Joshua 3:3; 6:4,12; 8:33; Judges 20:27).
- (4) Sacrificing and receiving offerings (18:1,3; 26:4).⁵²

Though Deuteronomy 33:8-11 in its present form seems to be a late addition to the Blessing of Moses,⁵³ in its content it seems to describe the Levites in the Tribal League.⁵⁴ Using the Urim and Thummim (verse 8) corresponds to Category (1) above. Teaching the law (verse 10) corresponds

⁵¹The Levites who were not at the central sanctuary no doubt also engaged in expounding the law. Cf. Wright, VT, IV, 325-330.

⁵²If "to serve" (šrt) Yahweh includes sacrificing, then we can include 10:8 and 21:5. The country Levites would have sacrificed at the local sanctuaries as well.

⁵³Frank M. Cross, Jr., Studies in Ancient Yahwistic Poetry (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Ph.D. dissertation, 1950), 220.

⁵⁴Nielsen, "The Levites in Ancient Israel," 18, says: "The blessing of Levi, which depicts the Levites as a priestly clan, a) is of northern origin, and b) dates back to pre-monarchical times." Möhlenbrink, 229, dates it shortly before or after the Conquest.

to Category (3). Putting burnt offerings on the altar is equivalent to (4). Only (2), serving the ark, is not mentioned specifically, and that could well be implied, if our argumentation above is correct, namely, that at the central sanctuary, where the ark was, only the Levitical priests were involved in teaching the law.

As we begin 1 Samuel, the central sanctuary is at Shiloh, and the ark of the covenant was kept there (4:4). Eli and his sons, Hophni and Phinehas, are the priests. We have sought to demonstrate that they were Levites of the Gershonite/Mushite line (cf. II.C.3 and III.A.8). Samuel was not a Levite by birth, but he evidently became adopted into the priesthood.⁵⁵

First Samuel 4 describes a decisive victory of the Philistines over Israel. Eli's sons died in battle, and the ark was captured. Eli himself died after hearing the news of the battle. Though 1 Samuel does not say so, archaeology⁵⁶ and Jeremiah 7:12; 26:6 indicate that Shiloh too was destroyed. The loss of both the ark and the central sanctuary would have drastically affected the Levites. According to 1 Samuel 6:15, the Levites were in a position to get the ark when it was released by the Philistines. But the ark was not put into a central sanctuary (cf. 6:15-7:2), and we hear no more of

⁵⁵Albright, Arch. and the Rel. of Israel, 109.

⁵⁶For bibliography see Martin A. Cohen, "The role of the Shilonite Priesthood," HUCA, XXXVI (1965), 65.

it until David became king. Accordingly, the Levites who had served at the central sanctuary now had to try to attach themselves to local sanctuaries. Ichabod (4:21), the son of Phinehas, disappears from the scene.

Into this situation stepped Samuel, a young Ephramite, who had been trained as a priest by Eli himself (1 Samuel 1-3), but who also can be reckoned as a prophet.⁵⁷ He seems to have performed the duties of chief priest in Saul's time.⁵⁸ However, he apparently made no effort to bring back the ark to a prominent place, nor did he work at a central sanctuary. Rather we find Samuel serving at various cities (Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah, Ramah--7:15-17). Therefore Albright may be right in concluding that Samuel diminished the role of priests and Levites and turned to ecstatic prophets and local sanctuaries.⁵⁹

First Samuel 8:1-5 and 12:2 indicate that Samuel's sons also served as priests or judges. But we hear no more of them.

Another priest at the time of Saul was Ahijah ben Ahitub ben Phinehas (1 Samuel 14:3,18). Hence, we may assume that the line of Eli had not died out, but it played an insignificant role compared to Samuel.

⁵⁷Cf. W. F. Albright, Samuel and the Beginnings of the Prophetic Movement (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College)=The Samuel H. Goldenson Lecture, 1961.

⁵⁸We include the reign of Saul in IV.B for convenience.

⁵⁹Albright, Samuel..., 18.

The Elides eventually established themselves at Nob (cf. 1 Samuel 22:11) where Ahimelech is said to have been priest; but this is no doubt another name for Ahijah. Ahimelech/Ahijah's son was Abiathar. The Elides at Nob were murdered by Saul, and only Abiathar escaped. He took refuge with David (1 Samuel 22:20-23) and became David's priest (1 Samuel 30:7).

SUMMARY OF TRIBAL LEAGUE

Putting all the foregoing together we get the following picture:

In the desert the Levites had been given the right to serve the ark. By virtue of this they became the keepers of the central sanctuary in Tribal League. It became their prerogative to expound the Mosaic law as well as sacrifice at the central sanctuary. As the Levites grew in number not all of them could stay at the central sanctuary. This made some available for serving at local sanctuaries. Anyone could be a priest at a local sanctuary, but even there Levites were preferred. But at the central sanctuary only the Levites could serve. These are the "Levitical priests" of Deuteronomy. All these Levites seem to be descendants of Moses and/or Ithamar. They were probably the Mushites and Libnites mentioned in Numbers 26:58a. The Aaronides (Hebronites) and Korahites were not influential during this time, and we have no record of their activities.

We have mentioned several important Mushite priests during the period of the Tribal League. The question is whether we can speak of a "high priest" during this time. The office is described in P and has been almost universally considered to be non-existent before the Exile. Now some

scholars⁶⁰ think the office can be documented in monarchical times, and Albright assumed that the sanctuary at Shiloh (pre-monarchical times) had its chief priest.⁶¹

Hence, we come back to our suggestion made tentatively in I.C.D, II.C.3, and III.B.7, namely, that the genealogy of Zadok in the present text of the genealogies of 1 Chronicles 5-6 was originally the genealogy of Eli. If we may now employ this list and follow Albright's suggestion, we arrive at the following list (which is not necessarily a genealogy) of "chief/main" priests for the period of the Tribal League:⁶²

1. Eleazar/Eliezer
2. Phinehas I
3. Abishua
4. Bukki
5. Uzzi
6. Zerahiah
7. Meraioth
8. Amariah
9. Ahitub
10. Eli

If we reckon Eli's death at circa 1020 B.C. and count each generation as twenty years, we arrive at a date of 1220 for the Conquest, which agrees with the modern consensus (cf. our similar conclusion in I.C.7).⁶³

⁶⁰E.g. Raymond Abba, IDB, III, 886f.

⁶¹Albright, Arch. and the Rel. of Israel, 107f.

⁶²Cf. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 378, re the term "high priest."

⁶³G. E. Wright, Biblical Archaeology (Philadelphia, 1957), 81, places the fall of Lachish to the invading Israelites at 1220 B.C. Cf. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 375, for a discussion of 1 Chron. 5:29-41 as a list that expresses the continuity of Zadok's line.

C. The Monarchical Period

Note: The main sources for the monarchical period are 2 Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. Chronicles provides much material that is not found in Samuel and Kings, but it has been axiomatic in Old Testament studies to regard this as being of little value for the historian of pre-exilic times. In recent years, however, some scholars have shown that at many points the Chronicler must be taken seriously in his description of events dealing with the monarchy.¹

Since DeWette it has been thought that Deuteronomy describes the period just before Josiah, rather than the pre-Conquest period as the book itself claims. We have already seen (IV.B) that some of the material in Deuteronomy fits the Tribal League, but it is no doubt true that part of the book (especially the sections dealing with the centralization of worship) describes conditions in the monarchy.

The account concerning the Levitic cities (Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6) probably dates to the time of David or slightly later (cf. II.B), as we have already acknowledged.

Finally, there is the possibility that much of the P material in Exodus, Leviticus, and Numbers, though it has generally been thought to reflect post-exilic times, gives us some information on the monarchical period as far back as David and Solomon.²

In IV.B we suggested that the fall of Shiloh had a profound effect upon the Mushite and Libnite Levites. No

¹Cf. Albright, Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, 61ff; and F. M. Cross, Jr., and D. N. Freedman, "Josiah's Revolt Against Assyria," JNES, XII (1953), 56-58.

²On P as a possible source for pre-exilic times see Cross, BA, X, 52-54; Cross, 63, holds that P's tabernacle account reflects the tent of David. See also M. Haran, "Shiloh and Jerusalem: The Origin of the Priestly Tradition in the Pentateuch," JBL, LXXX (1961), 156; "The Complex of Ritual Acts Performed inside the Tabernacle," Studies in the Bible ("Scripta Hierosolymitana," VIII; Jerusalem, 1961), 272-302; and Abba, 888f.

longer were they able to support themselves by serving at the central sanctuary. Rather they had to seek employment at the local sanctuaries where in addition to members of their own group there would have been Aaronite Levites as well. We are not able to give any details, but it is very likely that the Levites, especially of the Mushite and Libnite clans, deteriorated in position as well as in material means. What is more, we hear of the actual slaughter of all the descendants of Eli (Mushites) except Abiathar (1 Samuel 22).

The most important cultic event of David's reign was the re-establishment of a central sanctuary by bringing the ark of the covenant to Jerusalem. It is not entirely clear whether the Levites carried the ark alone, or whether they were assisted by "priests."³ At all events, we can be quite sure that David wanted to keep all elements of the population happy and that it was therefore his policy to invite as many representatives from local shrines to serve at Jerusalem as possible.⁴ Hence, the Mushite/Libnite Levites no longer had a monopoly on the service at the central sanctuary, as they

³David invited "the priests and the Levites" to bring the ark from Kiriath-jearim (1 Chronicles 13:2). Later (1 Chronicles 15:2) he states that no one but Levites are to carry the ark. Hence, "the priests" in 13:2 may be a gloss, or it may indicate that already at this time Zadokites were serving alongside the (Mushite/Libnite) Levites. Cf. 2 Samuel 15:24.

⁴Asami, 276, note 1, thinks David brought priests from the following shrines to Jerusalem: Shiloh (1 Samuel 1-4); Beth-Shemesh (1 Samuel 6:7-20); Kiriath-jearim (1 Samuel 6:21-7:2); Gibeah (?) (1 Samuel 14:2-3 and 31-35); Bethlehem (1 Samuel 16:1-13; Nob (1 Samuel 21-22); and Hebron (2 Samuel 2:1-11).

did during the Tribal League, although they were still represented there by Abiathar (cf. 2 Samuel 15:24).

The most important new priest whom David brought to Jerusalem was Zadok. We have tried to show (II.C.4 and III.B.7) that Zadok was one of the Aaronides, a group of Levites who had their center in Hebron. Since David ruled Judah from Hebron for seven and one-half years (2 Samuel 5:5), it is readily understandable that he should have made contact with Zadok⁵ and that when he made his capital in Jerusalem he invited Zadok to join him. Accordingly, as we have said, during David's reign the Mushite/Libnite Levites had to share the service at the central sanctuary with the Aaronite/Zadokite Levites; and, in fact, Zadok seems to have been more prominent than Abiathar (cf. II.C.4).

From this period on there is evidence that the Zadokites came to be referred to simply as "priests" (the Chronicler's term) or as the "sons of Aaron" (P's term),⁶ although according to our analysis they were Aaronite Levites. The "Levites," according to our reconstruction, would have henceforth referred mainly to the Mushites. This seems to be brought out in 1 Chronicles 15:4 where David called together "the sons of Aaron" and "the Levites."

⁵1 Chronicles 12:27 (Eng. v.26) states that David had 4,600 Levites and 3,700 priests at Hebron. The numbers are certainly too large, but that there were Levites (under Abiathar) and priests (=Aaronides) under Zadok, who is mentioned in 12:29 (Eng.v.28), is no doubt true. At any rate, Zadok is placed at Hebron.

⁶Only in Ezekiel are they called "Zadokites" (cf. II.E).

If the condition of the Levites after the fall of Shiloh was as we have described it, and if because of the influx of Aaronides into Jerusalem they were gradually being displaced even from the new central sanctuary; then it is perfectly understandable that David would have sought to alleviate their condition by setting aside certain cities for them. There they could care for the sanctuary or perhaps also teach the law, as we suggested they did in the Tribal League both at local sanctuaries and at the central sanctuary. Therefore, when Albright (on textual and geographical grounds) shows that the establishment of forty-eight Levitic cities (Joshua 21 and 1 Chronicles 6) is probably to be attributed to David,⁷ this fits our theory of scattered and poor Levites very well. No doubt David not only wanted to help the Levites who were jobless and homeless, but by his act he also wished to create a group of influential people throughout his kingdom who would be loyal to him and the interests of Jerusalem.⁸

First Chronicles 15 says there were six Levitic groups at David's time. We have indicated in Chapter III how we believe they relate to the earlier groupings we have studied: Gershon represents the Gershonites; Hebron, Uzziel, and Kohath the Kohathites/Aaronides; and Merari and Elizaphan the ancient

⁷Albright, Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume, 58. Cf. further bibliography in II.D.

⁸Cf. Asami, 280.

Merarites. Interestingly, the chiefs of the Levitic groups are here given the title sār, whereas in Numbers 3 they are called nāsî, which is an amphictyonic term.⁹

According to 1 Chronicles (15:17-24; 16:4-7; chapter 25) there were singers and gatekeepers among the Levites already in David's time. Albright has shown¹⁰ that, although the singers probably existed in the Chronicler's own time, it is highly likely that David had already originated musical guilds in his day (cf. 1 Chronicles 25), and that the names Heman, Asaph and Ethan probably represent such ancient musical guilds. Regarding the gatekeepers, we are not sure whether they were all Levites in David's time, as 1 Chronicles 26 says. Probably not. David may also have been responsible for the organization of his priests, but it is doubtful that he had twenty-four divisions, as 1 Chronicles 24 says.¹¹

The most significant event for the Levites during the time of Solomon was his banishment of Abiathar and adoption of Zadok as chief priest (1 Kings 2:26f).¹² This meant that from now on the Zadokites/Aaronides were the dominant priests, and the Mushite Levites were in a position of service to the Zadokites. This situation continued unchanged until the

⁹Cf. Noth, Das System, 151-162.

¹⁰Arch. and Rel. of Israel, 125-129.

¹¹Cf. our discussion in II.G and Albright, Alexander Marx Jubilee Volume, 80f.

¹²See II.C.5.

Exile, though the Levites were probably always trying to recover their lost prestige.

We do not wish to repeat all the details of II.G above, however, it seems obvious that David and Solomon would have had a much larger priesthood than is indicated in 2 Samuel and 1 Kings. Hence, the picture given by the Chronicler, while overdrawn at many points, is nevertheless a valuable source for the history of the priesthood in the United Monarchy.

Some of the provisions concerning priestly duties contained in P are really a description of the cult during the time of David and Solomon, but it is difficult to recover this in detail. We have suggested, however, that the material in Exodus relating to Aaron and his sons (see chart in II.F.1), the strands of Numbers which we entitled "Levites under Aaron," "Aaron" and "sons of Aaron" (see chart in II.F.3), and most of Leviticus ultimately goes back to Zadokite circles.¹³

At the time of the division of the kingdom the Levites in the Levitical cities in the north¹⁴ were cut off from Jerusalem. Because of their background as priests of the central sanctuary in the Tribal League, and because they had been closely tied to Jerusalem for their support since the creation of the Levitical cities by David, they were of course

¹³Cf. also footnote 2 above.

¹⁴Cf. map, Mazar, Supplements to Vetus Testamentum, VII, 194.

odious to Jeroboam I.¹⁵ Therefore, it is easy to comprehend why he appointed non-Levites as priests (1 Kings 12:31). However, his action may not have extended beyond Bethel, since according to Judges 18:30b the Hushites=Levites were the priests of the Danites until the captivity (i.e., circa 722 B.C.). And if Sadao Asami is correct¹⁶ in holding that Bethel was in Judean hands for much of the period of the Dual Monarchy, then Jeroboam's program did not last long even in Bethel. It is even possible that Levites were able to re-establish themselves in Bethel after the time of Jeroboam I.

Second Chronicles 11:13f says that as a result of Jeroboam's action against the Levites some of them left their homes in the North and went to Jerusalem. But it is doubtful whether many went south, and those who did would not have received a very warm welcome from the Zadokites.

Therefore, the Levites may have been cut off from Jerusalem and other southern sanctuaries, as well as from Bethel. In this situation they would have had limited

¹⁵Cf. Asami, 281.

¹⁶"The Central Sanctuary in Israel in the Ninth Century," 308ff. On this point Asami bases himself on the work of F. M. Cross, Jr. and G. E. Wright, "The Boundary and Province Lists of the Kingdom of Judah," *JBL*, LXXV (1956), 202-226. The positing of a "Bethel Bulge" from Abijah to Amaziah also explains the silence of Elijah and Elisha concerning false worship practices at Bethel (cf. 2 Chronicles 13:19 and 2 Kings 14:8-14).

opportunity to engage in sacrifices at any large sanctuary, and they would have become poor. Hence, G. E. Wright, following von Rad, is no doubt correct in stating that the "country Levites" were engaged mostly in teaching.¹⁷

According to the theory we are following, the Levites who did remain in the North preserved many traditions that eventually were published in the book of Deuteronomy (see IV.B above) found in Josiah's time. This included the tradition of how they, the Mushite-Libnite Levites, had been the priests of the central sanctuary in the Tribal League, though Deuteronomy's term for the Mushite-Libnite Levites of the Tribal League is "Levitical priests" (cf. II.B). These Levites of the Northern Kingdom expressed their hope of going up to Jerusalem again in Deuteronomy 18:6-7.¹⁸

But the Levites who lived between the time of Jeroboam I and Josiah also wished to better their present situation as personae miserae. Therefore, they reminded the people of the obligations to care for the "Levite" (cf. II.B) when they went to "the place which Yahweh will choose" (Deuteronomy 12:12f; 12:17-19; 14:23, 27-29; 16:11,14f; 18:6f; 26:2, 11-13). There may have been such legislation already in the Tribal League to provide support for those Levites who served at local sanctuaries rather than the central sanctuary, but now it took on new meaning and was promulgated with greater vigor.

¹⁷Cf. references in II.B.

¹⁸Cf. Asami, 285.

If H. W. Wolff¹⁹ is correct, one center of this North Israelite Levitic activity was Shechem (Hosea 6:9--cf. II.D above).

The "evidence" for the priesthood in the South after Solomon must come mainly from 2 Chronicles, since 2 Kings has little to say about priests. Though the "Levites" are mentioned along with "priests" on various occasions (cf. II.G above), it seems clear that the "priests" (=Zadokites) were dominant.

At the time of Abijah the Levites shared the priesthood of Jerusalem with the "sons of Aaron" (2 Chronicles 13:10). At Jehoshaphat's time the Levites were engaged in teaching (2 Chronicles 17:8). They were also arbiters in cultic and other disputes (19:3).²⁰

At Joash' time there was a certain criticism of the Levites for their slowness in gathering funds for the renovation of the temple (2 Chronicles 24:5). But at Hezekiah's time they received special praise (2 Chronicles 30:22), and various groups of Levites are mentioned (2 Chronicles 29:12-14).²¹

The trend of upgrading the Levites, begun in Hezekiah's

¹⁹Theologische Literaturzeitung, LXXXI, 91f.

²⁰Albright, "The Judicial Reform of Jehoshaphat," 82, shows that 2 Chronicles 19 is a substantially correct account, while 2 Chronicles 17:7-9 may well be a misunderstood doublet of the tradition of judicial reform.

²¹Cf. II.G.2 for listing and Chapter III for a description of how this compares with the groups of 1 Chronicles 15.

time, was seemingly continued by Josiah. He ordered the centralization of all sacrifice in Jerusalem, but he gave the Levites (of the countryside, including those still in the North) the opportunity to join their fellow Levites who were already in Jerusalem (cf. Deuteronomy 18:6-8). Thus Josiah sought to go back to conditions at the time of David. But according to 2 Kings 23:9 the Jerusalem priests did not accept the country Levites.

For other details concerning the period of the Divided Monarchy see especially II.G.2. Jeremiah (cf. II.D.6) gives us some idea of what conditions were like just before the Exile.

Whether there was a high priesthood in pre-exilic times is still a moot point. But in our discussion at the end of IV.B we have tentatively followed Albright and others who posit such a phenomenon. There we limited ourselves to a discussion of pre-monarchical "chief" priests. On the basis of 1 Chronicles 5:29-34 we reconstructed a possible list from Moses to Eli. However, as we saw in I.C and II.C, one cannot simply use the rest of the list in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 as an accurate account of the remaining "chief" priests from the Exodus to the Exile.²²

DeVaux²³ lists only four usages of "high priest"

²²Cf. De Vaux, Ancient Israel, 375; and H. J. Katzenstein, "Some Remarks on the Lists of the Chief Priests of the Temple of Solomon," JBL, LXXXI (1962), 377-384.

²³Ancient Israel, 378.

(hakkōhēn haggādōl) in pre-exilic texts (2 Kings 12:11; 22:4, 8; 23:4). But in the parallels to these texts in Chronicles he finds other readings. Hence, he says that "all four references to the 'high priest' before the Exile seem to be later modifications." Nevertheless, the fact that the actual term "high priest" does not occur more often or seem more fixed in the tradition does not necessarily mean that the office did not exist.²⁴ Accordingly, the second half of the list in 1 Chronicles 5:27-41 may preserve the memory (and some of the priests' names) of a high-priestly office that existed in Jerusalem from Zadok I until the captivity of Judah.

By the time of Ezekiel the Zadokite viewpoint of the Jerusalemite priesthood had become "orthodox" doctrine. This view, which considered only the Aaronides to be legitimate priests while the rest of the Levites made up a clerus minor, was taken over by P and the Chronicler. It was presented in pure fashion by P; but the Chronicler, as was his custom, combined other traditions with it.

²⁴Cf. Abba, 886f.

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STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF THE PRE-EXILIC
LEVITES--A SUMMARY

by

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The first part of the thesis seeks to build upon a form-critical study of the Levitic genealogies carried out by Kurt Mühlenbrink in 1934. It was Mühlenbrink's contention that the Aaronite and Zadokite lines had been secondarily added to earlier Levitic genealogies.

Before Mühlenbrink's findings are checked, the dissertation makes a text-critical study of all the Levitic genealogies that purport to go back to Israel's earliest times or which are parts of such genealogies. This part of the thesis shows that the original text of Numbers 26:58a contained only the Libnites, Hebronites, Korahites, and Mushites; and the original text of Judges 18:30b had Moses-Gershon-Jonathan.

After the names contained in the Levitic genealogies are established, the thesis presents two form-critical analyses. The first analysis examines the mode in which a given genealogy indicates that it is a list of ancestors or descendants. This study confirms Mühlenbrink's position that the Aaronite-Zadokite line is a secondary addition.

A second form-critical analysis takes note of the precise wording by which a genealogy is introduced, linked together, and concluded. Various genealogical "types" are discovered. This analysis corresponds well to the first form analysis, and it already gives some indication of the chronological sequence of the various genealogies under study. Type C-older form (Gershonites-Kohathites-Merarites) and Type D (Libnites-Hebronites-Korahites-Mushites) seem to contain the oldest names.

The next part of Chapter I is a study of the content of the Levitic genealogies. Here the Levitic names found in the genealogies are listed by "groups." Within each group the order of the names is closely observed. This content analysis confirms the findings of the form-critical analysis. It shows that Group A (Gershonites-Kohathites-Merarites) is the oldest Levitic group. It is followed chronologically by Group B (Libni-Shimei; Amram-Izhar-Hebron-Uzziel; Mahli-Mushi). By late monarchical times these two ("Document A-B") had become the traditional way of presenting the priesthood of early Israel genealogically.

A comparison of form and content, found at the end of Chapter I, shows that it is now possible to go beyond Möhlenbrink in constructing a theory of the entire development of the Levitic genealogies.

Chapter II gives a complete listing with discussion

of all the Levitic and/or priestly individuals and groups found in non-genealogical material. It serves both as a check and a supplement for Chapter I. A summary at the end of the chapter presents the major findings of this study, as follows.

In JE Aaron is clearly inferior to Moses. In fact, there are several indications of conflicts between the two in which Moses prevails over Aaron (cf. Exodus 32).

The investigation of Deuteronomy develops the theory that the "Levitical priests" were the priests of the central sanctuary of the Tribal League. The "Levites," on the other hand, seem best understood as the Levites of the Northern Kingdom from Jeroboam I until Josiah.

A study of Judges and 1 Samuel sheds further light on the Levites in the Period of the Judges. According to this examination, the Levites of the time were Mushites, i.e., descendants of Moses. Eli and Abiathar were of this same line. Jeremiah later seems to reflect the Mushite point of view. Ezekiel, however, presents the view of the Zadokites who had become the dominant priesthood of Jerusalem at the time of Solomon.

The Zadokites looked upon themselves as the only legitimate altar clergy. The other Levites (i.e., the Mushites) were subordinated to the role of a clerus minor. This Zadokite viewpoint had become "orthodox" doctrine by the end of the monarchical period, and it received its greatest literary

presentation at the hand of P, who read this view back into his treatment of the Desert Period.

The Chronicler basically follows the Zadokite view in his presentation of the priesthood of monarchical times. He calls the Zadokites the "priests." Not infrequently, however, he gives evidence of respect for the "Levites," i.e., presumably the Mushites.

Chapter III builds upon the results of Chapters I and II, and by means of a chart it offers a reconstruction of the history of the pre-exilic Levites. In the commentary on this chart it is shown that there is sufficient evidence to make it reasonable to conclude: (1) Moses belongs to the line of Gershon, not of Kohath; (2) Eleazar ben Aaron=Eliezer ben Moses; (3) The Aaronides were centered at Hebron until the time of David; (4) Zadok is an Aaronite; (5) Korah, like Aaron, belonged to the Kohathite line; (6) Ithamar belonged to the line of Merari.

Chapter IV draws together the findings of the first three chapters and presents a sketch of the history of the Levites in three periods: (1) The Desert Period; (2) The Tribal League; and (3) The Monarchical Period..