Graeme Auld

נפש אדם and the Associations of 1 Chronicles 5 in the Hebrew Bible

1 Introduction

The combination of *nephesh* and *'adam* (נפש אדם) occurs only once in the books of Chronicles: in 1 Chr 5:21, almost at the centre of 1 Chr 1–9 (at v. 197 out of 407). Although both components are unremarkable nouns, they are combined only rarely in the Hebrew Bible. As in Chronicles, נפש אדם is found in only one context in each of books. (a) Lev 24:17–18 distinguishes between killing ‘any human being’ (כל־נפש אדם) and killing an animal: [נפש־] מות יומת ומכה [נפש־] (LXX does not attest the repetition of נפש in v. 18). There is a difference in penalty: death for killing a human but payment for an animal. (b) Ezek 27:13 talks of humans being traded, humans as articles of exchange in Tyre’s commerce: בנפש אדם וכלי נחשת נתנו מערבך. Lev 24 makes a distinction between humans and animals; however, by contrast, Ezekiel lumps humans along with lifeless bronze items as joint items of Tyre’s trade. Then we find them on three occasions in Numbers: in Num 9:6 and 19:11, 13 in definitions of ritual uncleanness; and in Num 31:35, 40, 46 alongside animals, as in 1 Chr 5:21, among the prizes of war. Leviticus and Numbers are among the broadly ‘priestly’ books of the Pentateuch; and Ezekiel and Chronicles have many affinities with the priestly literature. Yet such priestly links may prove quite irrelevant to understanding how the few instances of נפש אדם are related.

Translations of 1 Chr 5:21 will be reviewed next (2). Then the wider paragraph (18–22) will be discussed under three main headings: Transjordanians and Levites in the books of Numbers, Joshua, and Chronicles (3); stories of victory, booty, and survival in Chronicles (4); and the sources of 1 Chr 5:18–22, 25–26 (5). Some conclusion will then be drawn (6).

Graeme Auld, University of Edinburgh

2 Translation issues

אדם may be near central in the Chronicler's prologue, but what does it mean? 1 Chr 5:21 is often paraphrased rather than translated literally. Roddy Braun's translation¹ is not untypical:

וישבו מקניהם	So they seized their cattle
גמליהם חמשים אלף	(fifty thousand camels,
וצאן מאתים וחמשים אלף	two hundred and fifty thousand from their flocks,
וחמורים אלפים	and two thousand asses),
ונפש אדם מאה אלף	together with one hundred thousand men whom they took alive.
כִּי־חללים רבים נפלו	Many others fell slain ...

1. מקנה overwhelmingly in HB refers to domestic animals, and the widespread choice to render מקנה by cattle/*Vieh*/livestock² gives priority to this usage over the primary sense of property or 'possessions', as rendered by Jacob Myers.³

2. Many agree in making a distinction between animals and humans – but that does not come straightforwardly from the simple Hebrew ר. Myers and Gary N. Knoppers⁴ seem to me to be correct when they include humans straightforwardly in the list of מקניהם.

3. כי at the start of 22 is taken as causal by some and emphatic by others.

4. How do the fallen רבים relate to what has gone before? Are they contrasted with the immediately preceding אדם נפש, or does their great number help to explain how the Transjordanians were able to take such huge amounts of plunder, including human slaves?

5. Whatever the answer to 4., the 'many fallen slain' at the start of 22 have influenced Braun, Willi, and Knoppers⁵ to give separate value to נפש from אדם in translation.⁶ However, Myers ('men') and Ralph W. Klein ('people') take אדם נפש as a single semantic unit.⁷

1 Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles*. WBC 14 (Waco: Word Books, 1986), 70.

2 Rendering מקניהם at the start by 'livestock' (as also NRSV) may not be sensitive to the issues of life and death in the context – simply 'stock' would be better.

3 Jacob M. Myers, *1 Chronicles*. AB (New York: Doubleday, 1965), 33.

4 Myers, 33 and Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles* AB (New York: Doubleday, 2004), 376.

5 Braun, 70, Thomas Willi, *Chronik* BK xxiv.1 (Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1991), and Knoppers, 376.

6 Braun's expansive 'whom they took alive' corresponds more closely to חיים שבו in 2 Chr 25:12 (see section 4.3 below).

7 I am puzzled that Sara Japhet (*I & II Chronicles*. OTL [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1993], 139) finds in this verse 'the only occurrence in Chr of נפש alone meaning "person", which is

מקניהם can be read strongly as defining the possessed status of all the living creatures that follow:

They captured their stock :	their camels 50,000	וישבו מקניהם גמליהם חמשים אלף
	and sheep 250,000	וצאן מאתים וחמשים אלף
	and asses 2,000	וחמורים אלפים
	and humans 100,000	ונפש אדם מאה אלף

So read, נפש אדם may have been slaves of the Hagrites, a fourth element of Hagrite property. However, if the 100,000 were surviving Hagrites who escaped being among the many who fell (5:22), then נפש אדם is a second object of וישבו,⁸ and co-ordinate instead with מקניהם:

They captured their stock :	their camels 50,000	וישבו מקניהם גמליהם חמשים אלף
	and sheep 250,000	וצאן מאתים וחמשים אלף
	and asses 2,000	וחמורים אלפים
and humans	100,000	ףלא האמ סדא שפנו

The absolute numbers are extraordinary, and even the proportions surprising. 100,000 human captives alongside a total of 302,000 animals is just credible. But Klein's extraordinary suggestion⁹ that these 100,000 humans may all have been virginal females surely constitutes one argument against joining him in reading 1 Chr 5 in light of Num 31:35, 40, 46.¹⁰

3 Triangular relationship?

נפש אדם would be even closer to the centre of 1 Chr 1–9 if ch. 5 were organised more logically: vv. 23–24 belong logically with vv. 1–17, while vv. 25–26 naturally link with vv. 18–22.

5:1–10	Reuben
5:11–17	Gad
5:18–22	all three together
5:23–24	half-Manasseh
5:25–26	all three together

the more common usage in the priestly stratum'; and I suspect that her Hebrew has suffered in English translation.

⁸ *Die Bibel (in heutigem Deutsch)*, 435 supplies a second verb for the second object: *Sie erbeuteten von ihnen ... und nahmen 100,000 Mann gefangen*.

⁹ Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles*. Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2006), 168.

¹⁰ See section 3.2 below.

However, to focus on the near-central location of נפש within the opening chapters of Chronicles would probably lead interpretation into a *cul de sac*. Yet there is more than one structural way to suggest significant links. Within the register of all Israel (1 Chr 4–8), we find Transjordan (5) and the Levites (5–6) at the centre: between the southern (4) and the northern (7–8) tribes west of the Jordan. A similar distinction between groups of tribes is achieved differently in Joshua by having Transjordan and Levites and refuge not separate south from north but set before (Josh 13–14) and after (20–22) south and north (15–19).

1 Chr 4–8	Josh 13–22
4 South	13–14 Transjordan and Levites
5A Transjordan	15 South
5B–6 Levites and refuge	16–19 North
7–8 North	20–22 Refuge, Levites, and Transjordan

It is the same two groups that receive special attention at the end of Numbers: Transjordan (Num 32) and Levites and refuge (Num 35). Some key terms have similar prominence in these same books.

- אֲחֻזָּה (holding/possession) is concentrated at the end of Numbers (and related end of Deuteronomy), in Josh 21–22, at the end of Ezekiel, and in Chronicles.¹¹
- In seven contexts in the narrative books, מִקְנֶה (possession/holding of live-stock) denotes property belonging to David and subsequent kings in Jerusalem¹²; but ten times in the narratives listed below, all set between Exodus and monarchy, מִקְנֶה is exclusively associated with Israel in Transjordan or Reuben/Gad/half-Manasseh in particular.

Num 20:19	Israel and Edom
31:9	Israel and Midian
32:1, 4, 16, 26	Gad and Reuben
Deut 3:19	Reuben/Gad/half-Manasseh
Josh 22:8	Reuben/Gad/half-Manasseh
1 Chr 5:9, 21	Reuben, then Reuben/Gad/half-Manasseh

An eleventh case (Josh 14:2–4) explains how the Levites relate to the 12 tribes understood as $9\frac{1}{2}$ west of the Jordan + $2\frac{1}{2}$ east.¹³

¹¹ Num 27:4, 7; 32:5, 22, 29; 35:2, 8, 28; Deut 32:49; Josh 21:12, 41; 22:4, 9, 19, 19; 1 Chr 7:28; 9:2; 2 Chr 11:14; 31:1; and 14x in Ezek 44–48.

¹² 1 Sam 23:5; 30:20; 2 Kgs 3:17; 1 Chr 28:1; 2 Chr 14:14; 26:10; 32:29. 1 Chr 7:21 provides the sole exception.

¹³ The Cisjordanians are described as $9\frac{1}{2}$ tribes only in Num 34:13; Josh 13:7; 14:2.

There is further evidence of a triangular relationship between the end of Numbers, the framework of Josh 13–22, and 1 Chr. מעל often appears in these books in contexts that have already used מקנה.

	מקנה	מעל
Numbers	31:9; 32:1, 4, 16, 26	31:16
Joshua	14:4; 22:8	22:20, 31
1 Chr	5:9, 21; 7:21	2:7; 5:25; 9:1; 10:13

Itzhak Amar draws attention, within his discussion of how the Chronicler portrays exile differently for Judah, Israel, and the Transjordanians,¹⁴ to the several similarities noted by Yair Zakovitch¹⁵ between the portrayal of west and east in Num 32 and Josh 22. But he does not comment on the fact that Reuben and Gad are found in parts of these texts without half-Manasseh.

- They (mostly in the order Gad-Reuben) are the only players in Num 32:1–32, with half-Manasseh added only in 32:33–42.
- In Josh 22 MT, Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh feature throughout vv. 1–31 while only Reuben and Gad in the concluding vv. 32–34.¹⁶
- As already noted, 1 Chr 5 starts with Reuben alone, moves to Gad alone, then reports on all three together before a separate mention of half-Manasseh.

3.1 1 Chronicles 5 and Joshua 22

The kinship between these chapters is marked not just by shared terminology – an argument over substance is also implied. 1 Chr 5:25 straightforwardly attributes the exile of Reuben, Gad, and half-Manasseh to a gross though unspecified breach (מעל) with the god of their fathers. In Josh 22, however, a specific accusation of מעל is laid by the western majority against the eastern minority and is vigorously rebutted by them. The western tribes first charge these easterners with מעל over a structure near the Jordan, but then become persuaded they had been wrong in making such a complaint. Possibly 1 Chr 5:25 is a brief reference to the extended narrative in Josh 22. It is equally possible that the debate reported in Joshua between tribes east and west of the Jordan was created in response to the charge recalled in 1 Chr 5. That long account is told differently in MT and LXX,

¹⁴ Itzhak Amar, ‘Expansion and exile in the Chronicler’s narrative of the two and a half tribes (1 Chr. 5.1–26)’, *JOT* 44, 2020, 357–376 (see, 367).
¹⁵ Yair Zakovitch, *Joshua* (Tel Aviv: Revivim, 2000), 200.
¹⁶ LXX includes half-Manasseh throughout.

with some of the differences reflected in the variant retellings in Josephus and Pseudo-Philo – and, in MT at least, Joshua himself is absent from the story.¹⁷

3.2 Numbers 31: a major locus for נפש אדם

Num 31 deals with living booty, human and animal, taken by Israel from Midian, and in much greater detail than 1 Chr 5 from the Hagrites. And this long chapter of 54 verses immediately precedes the report in Num 32 of Moses settling the Transjordanians in a land entirely suitable for מקנה (32:1, 4, 16, 26 resonate with 1 Chr 5:9). The act of capture is stated in Num 31:9 using the same verb שבה as 1 Chr 5:21 (with the cognate noun שבי used in 31:12, 19, 26). The expressions for ‘those going out to war’, היצאים לצבא (31:27, 28) and היצאים בצבא (31:36), are similar to but not the same as the Chronicler’s יצאי צבא (1 Chr 5:18; 7:11; 12:33, 36; 2 Chr 26:11). In fact, the Chronicler’s usage is the same as we find when all Israel is counted earlier in Numbers (chs 1 and 26).

Later in the long chapter come instructions (unique to Num 31) about the division and taxation (מכס) of the booty (31:28, 37–41), both human (אדם) and animal (בהמה) – with the animals in three categories: herd (בקר), asses (חמרים), and flock (צאן). The taxation rate for all categories, animals and humans alike, is stated in v. 28 as one *nefeš* per five hundred (נפש מחמש המאות).¹⁸ The statement in v. 31 that ‘Moses and Eleazar the priest did as Yahweh had commanded Moses’ is at least an interim conclusion and may have marked the end of an earlier shorter draft. There are several shifts in terminology from the first to the second part of the chapter:

- The totals of the taxable remainder are listed in 31:32–35 in reverse order from v. 28: sheep, asses, cattle, and humans.
- The humans are now termed not אדם but נפש אדם (vv. 35, 40, 46) and narrowly defined in 31:35 as women who had not experienced lying with males (אשר לא־ידעו משכב זכר).
- The tax due on the three categories of animal is stated as a simple numeral, for example there were 36,000 cattle ‘and the tax on them for Yahweh was seventy-two’ (ומכסם ליהוה שנים ושבעים). However, the tax on the 16,000 נפש אדם is given in v. 40 not as ‘thirty-two’ but as ‘thirty-two *nefeš*’ (שנים ושלשים נפש).¹⁹

¹⁷ Graeme Auld, “Re-telling the Disputed “Altar” in Joshua 22,” in Ed Noort (ed.), *The Book of Joshua*. BETL CCX (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 281–293.

¹⁸ The first half of this chapter uses נפש just once more: נפש כל הרג נפש (v. 19).

¹⁹ מלקוח (31:11, 12, 26, 27, 32) is used elsewhere in HB only in Isa 49:24, 25.

4 Camels, capture, and divine aid in Chronicles

In several respects, what the Transjordanians capture from the Hagrites anticipates several linked situations described in Chronicles.

4.1 Key terms

A pattern of recurrent terms readily illustrates this:

מקנה 1 Chr 5:9, **21**; 7:21; 28:1; 2 Chr **14:14**; 26:10; 32:29

רכוש 1 Chr 27:31; 28:1; 2 Chr 20:25; 21:14, 17; 31:3; 32:29; 35:7

גמלים 1 Chr **5:21**; 12:41; 27:30; 2 Chr 9:1; **14:14**

שבה 1 Chr **5:21**; 2 Chr 6:36, 37, 38; **14:14**; 21:17; 25:12; 28:5, 8, 11, 17²⁰

עזר 1 Chr **5:20**; 12[5x]; 18:5; 22:7; 2 Chr **14:10, 10**; 18:31; 19:2; 20:13; 25:8; 26:7, 13; 28:16, 23; 32:3, 8

As the numbers in **bold** make clear, the report of the confrontation between King Asa and the Cushites (2 Chr 14:9–15) provides the closest parallel. And the relevance of this link is further marked by similar resources available to Asa and the Transjordanians: מגן נשאי (shield-bearers) is unique in HB to 1 Chr 5:18 and 2 Chr 14:7, while דרכי קשת (bow-drawers) is found additionally only in Jer 50:14, 29 and 1 Chr 8:40. The combination מגן וחרב (5:18) is known elsewhere only in Ps 76:4, while the passive participle למוּד (5:18) and the combination שעמהם (5:20) are unique. But there is one key difference: in the case of Asa, as often in the other subsequent passages, the humans or animals captured are said to be ‘very many’ (רב מאד) or ‘in quantities’ (לרב). In all of Chronicles, it is only in 1 Chr 5:21 that we are provided with precise totals – as also in Num 31.

4.2 Arabic, camels, and corpses

The list of the defeated Hagrites starts with their camels, which can remind us of the joke that purports to explain how difficult it is to learn Arabic – because so many nouns in that language have at least four senses: a word means itself, and its opposite, and something obscene, and some part of a camel. And that obser-

²⁰ Half the non-synoptic instances in Chronicles of שבה are in 2 Chr 28 – Judah under Ahaz suffers incursions from Aram (v. 5), Israel (vv. 8, 11), and Edom (v. 17).

vation, even if much exaggerated, leads back to the book of Numbers, even if not one camel can be found anywhere in its 36 chapters.

Num 9:4–5 opens: ‘Moses spoke to all Israel of holding the Passover. And they held the Passover at first on the fourteenth day of the month ...’ The passage continues (9:6): **ויהי אנשים אשר היו טמאים לנפש אדם ולא יכלו לעשת־הפסח ביום ההוא** – ‘And there were men who had become unclean in respect of a **נפש אדם** and they were unable to perform the Passover on that day.’ How can one become unclean by way of or in respect of a living human being? The more specific Num 19:11, 13 apparently clarifies the situation: **הנגע במת לכל־נפש אדם וטמא שבעת ימים** – ‘Whoever touches the dead of any human being will be unclean seven days.’ It seems that **נפש אדם**, like any good Arabic word in the jest, can also mean its opposite; and certainly **נפש** in Qumran Hebrew (*DCH* V 733b), like its cognates in Aramaic and Arabic, can refer to a memorial for the dead.

4.3 **נפש** in 2 Chronicles 25, **מחיה** in 2 Chronicles 14, and **נפש** in 1 Chronicles 5

According to the synoptic narrative, Amaziah and his people struck down 10,000 men of Seir (2 Chr 25:11//2 Kgs 14:7). But the Chronicler adds in the next verse that they captured (שבו) a further 10,000 alive (**חיים**): **ועשרת אלפים ועשרת אלפים חיים**. These they then threw to their destruction from the top of a rock. Klein interprets this action in light of the observation by the unnamed man of God that Yahweh could give Amaziah much more if he discharged his northern mercenaries.²¹ Troy Cudworth cautions in response that Chr ‘never praises mere brutality for its own sake’.²² However that may be, ‘alive’ (**חיים**) in this supplement to the older story is the result of a skilful re-reading of the immediate synoptic context. The story shared with the book of Kings about Amaziah’s success over the Edomites and subsequent challenge to Joash of Israel uniquely contained two of the very rare²³ synoptic instances of this ‘life/living’ word.

²¹ Ralph W. Klein, “The Chronicler’s Theological Rewriting of the Deuteronomistic History: Amaziah, a Test Case,” in K.L. Noll and Brooks Schramm (eds), *Raising Up a Faithful Exegete. Essays in Honor of Richard D. Nelson* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 237–245 (p. 242).

²² Troy D. Cudworth, *War in Chronicles. Temple Faithfulness and Israel’s Place in the Land*. LHBOTS 627 (London: T&T Clark, 2016), 151.

²³ There are seven at most: 2 Chr 6:31; 10:6; 18:13//1 Kgs 8:40; 12:6; 22:14; and 2 Chr 23:11; 25:18, 25//2 Kgs 11:12; 14:9, 17 (*Life in Kings*, 29–38). The seventh is 1 Chr 11:8, arguably part of a more original account of David taking Jerusalem than 2 Sam 5:6–9 (A. Graeme Auld, *1 & 2 Samuel*, OTL [Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011], 395–399).

The first response by J[eh]oash to the presumptuous Amaziah was verbal: couched in the form of a fable (2 Chr 25:18//2 Kgs 14:9). As often in a parabolic warning (distinct from an allegory), the relationship between the characters in the story and those in the real-life situation it addresses is flexible. On first hearing/reading the fable, we fairly suppose that the king of Israel is portraying himself as the cedar. But when he responds in action, he is experienced more like a 'wild-life' (חית השדה), an animal who would trample on a mere thistle. Defeat him he did; but the consequence was paradoxical: Amaziah *outlived* wildlife Jehoash by fifteen years (25:25//14:17), till his reign ended in death in Lachish during an uprising against him. The Chronicler's addition to the Edom section of the story underlined a mismatch: between Amaziah's behaviour to 'the men of Seir' and his own lenient treatment at the hands of Jehoash. Ten thousand men of Seir were still *alive* after the battle; but, unlike Amaziah who would live fifteen more years after his defeat, they *survived* only to meet an immediate grisly fate.²⁴

Asa's struggle with the Cushites is told in terms very reminiscent of 1 Chr 5. The defeat is no less decisive and is described in a single clause (2 Chr 14:12): 'and there fell of the Cushites till none of them had life' (ויפל מכושים לאין להם מחיה), though a great quantity of booty is also reported. Klein inserts 'wounded' in his paraphrase: 'some fell wounded beyond recovery'.²⁵ It should be stressed that מחיה in the Asa story and חיים in the Amaziah story are the only instances of words related to חיה in all of non-synoptic Chronicles.²⁶ The behaviour of kings Asa and Amaziah described in non-synoptic Chronicles matches that of their ancestor David in non-synoptic Samuel: in his southern raids (1 Sam 27:9, 11) 'he left alive neither man nor woman' (ולא יחיה איש ואשה). The cases of Asa and Amaziah are cited here partly to caution against Braun's rendering of נפש אדם in 1 Chr 5:21b – 'together with one hundred thousand *men whom they took alive*'.²⁷ The Chronicler, supposing he was consistent in his usage, would have used some form of חיה to convey that meaning.

²⁴ The final synoptic instance of חיה was no less influential on the development of the book of Kings. I have argued that Amaziah's 15-year survival was the model for Hezekiah's survival from Sennacherib's invasion in his 14th year to his own death in the 29th year (*Life in Kings*, 184).

²⁵ Ralph W. Klein, *2 Chronicles*. Hermeneia (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 208.

²⁶ Given that the Chronicler did add forms of חיה twice to the source-material he shared with Sam-Kgs, it seems unlikely that he also stripped out of his source more than one hundred instances of this word. It is more likely that he knew a shorter and earlier form of the book of Kings that did not yet contain them.

²⁷ Section 2 above.

נפש and חיים are familiar in HB in poetic parallel, repeatedly so in Job 33.²⁸ Yet in Chronicles, these terms, each only sparsely used, are never found in proximity, whether in synoptic or non-synoptic contexts. While חיים largely corresponds to Latin *vita*, נפש in Chronicles might better be represented by *vitalitas*. In the case of the Transjordanians and Hagrites, booty is reported before casualties. The booty includes humans (נפש אדם) who, like the other livestock, will be found useful and not simply led off to a second stage of slaughter.

5 Development in 1 Chronicles 5:1–26

There are clear signs of development within this first section of 1 Chr 5. As in Num 32 and Josh 22, it appears that half-Manasseh has been added secondarily to Reuben (and Gad).²⁹

5.1 From Reuben alone to Reuben/Gad/half-Manasseh

The account of joint action by Reuben/Gad/half-Manasseh in vv 18–22 – before half-Manasseh has even been mentioned as a separate unit – reuses each element of vv 9b-10 except for the specifics of place ('in the land of Gilead', 9b) and time ('in the days of Saul', (10a).

'They made war with the Hagrites' (10a/19a) ends with the enemy 'in their hands' (10a/20a). But 'their possessions' at the start of 9b is resumed only in 21a, while the associated רבו ... כי (9b) is not resumed till 22a by רבים ... כי, where 'they fell' also resumes 10a. Time and place are not overlooked in this expansive retelling. However, they are apparently only rather loosely suggested in the concluding

²⁸ The densest cluster is in Job 33:20, 22, 28, 30; but there are several other instances in Job – 7:15; 9:21; 10:1; 12:10; 36:14.

²⁹ See section 3 above.

words (22b): ‘and they settled instead of them³⁰ till the exile’ – see further section 5.2 below.

Immanuel Benzinger already noted the link with Hagrites in 5:10.³¹ Klein observes that ‘[t]he vague expansion of Reuben into the lands of the Hagrites in v. 10 is modified in vv. 21–22 by the acquisition of an enormous amount of booty and the notice that the two and one-half Transjordanian tribes settled in their territory’.³² However, his further comment is rather odd: that ‘[t]he word “livestock” מִקְנֵיהֶם echoes the abundant “cattle” מִקְנֵיהֶם of the Reubenites in v. 9’³³. Such a shift in rendering is certainly anticipated in LXX (and differently in B and L); but it seems perverse to translate מִקְנֵיהֶם differently *precisely where* a relevant link is being asserted.

	LXX ^B		LXX ^L
5:9	κατήνη	5:9	κατήνη
5:21	ἀποσκευήν	5:21	κατήσεις

We are not dealing with a simple expansion or supplementation of the earlier note. It is more like a ‘midrashic’ development of the conclusion of the section on Reuben. And this is not unique within 1 Chr 5:1–26. The still earlier note (5:6) about the Assyrian king exiling a Reubenite prince is reapplied to the exile of the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh as the development of the whole section ends (5:26). In Amar’s account of the narrative as chiasmic, ‘the exile of the two and a half tribes’ (25–26) corresponds to ‘Reuben ... deprived of his birthright’ (1–2).³⁴ These opening verses of the section on Reuben are of course also secondary: the opening words of v. 1 are recapitulated in v. 3. Amar also notes unique links between the core account of Reuben and the preceding report on Simeon as also between Reuben and Levi. As to the first, both 4:38 and 5:6 use נָשִׂיא ‘prince’ and both 4:38–40 and 5:9–10 ‘describe an increase in population and livestock’.³⁵ And, as to the second, 5:6 and 5:41 are the only mentions of a *single* person taken into exile.³⁶ The links he notes might preserve evidence of a Simeon-Reuben-Levi textual substratum, that was developed later into the Transjordanian/Levite

³⁰ וישבו תחתיהם is anticipated in 1 Chr 4:41. Cf וישבו תחתם in Deut 2:12, 21, 22, 23 – also in a Transjordanian context.

³¹ Immanuel Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik*. KHAT XX (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1901), 20.

³² Klein, 158.

³³ Klein, 168.

³⁴ Amar, 365.

³⁵ Amar, 359.

³⁶ Amar, 363.

pairing explored in section 3 above. These were after all the three senior sons of Jacob listed before Judah in Gen 29:32–35; 35:23.

Amar himself does not venture into literary-historical remarks about 1 Chr 5:1–26. However, I find in his own remark that '[t]he exile of the two and a half tribes is mentioned in 2 Kgs 15:29' an echo of how the author of 5:18–22, 25–26 read 5:3–10.³⁷ The verse in Kings does not in fact mention Reuben, Gad, or half-Manasseh: it lists Gilead as one of several areas of Israel taken from Pekah by Tiglath-Pileser and exiled. It is because of Amar's prior knowledge that he reads *all these tribes* into a mention of Gilead. Somewhat similarly, the author of 1 Chr 5:1–26 expansively re-presented 5:3–10 in light of his knowledge of all the Transjordanian tribes. Whatever prompted the author of the longer report to produce an account of joint action by 'the sons of Reuben and Gad and half of the tribe of Manasseh', much of the content was developed from a very local source. The source of much of the rest was also close to hand.

5.2 אדם, נפש, and שבה in Solomon's prayer

אדם נפש combines two common Hebrew words. It is of course possible that these were paired more frequently in classical Hebrew, even though this is rarely attested in HB. The author of 1 Chr 5:21 may even have been familiar with the passages already reviewed in Ezekiel or Leviticus or Numbers. But the more important question is not whether the Chronicler knew these texts, but whether in this detail he was influenced by them. We have already noted that 1 Chr 5:18–22 and 5:26 were spun in part from threads sourced very locally in 1 Chr 5:6, 9b–10a.

There are also several close links between this 'midrash' and the seventh and last request in Solomon's long prayer (2 Chr 6:36–39//1 Kgs 8:46–50a). Whether as part of the familiar book of Kings (the consensus view) or as one element of an older draft of Kings (my own view), Solomon's long prayer was part of the Chronicler's major source. נפש and אדם are both used in this final petition – separately. More significantly, the prayer includes alongside אדם (6:36) and נפש (6:38) the only synoptic instances of the verb שבה: twice in qal (36) and once in niphal (37). Not only so – a feature of this petition is the juxtaposition of the common and also assonant verb שוב ([re-]turn) with this repeated verb שבה (capture): והשיבו and ושוב are examples of שוב in v. 37, and נשבו and שבים of שבה; and in v. 38, ושוב is again related to שוב, but שבו and שבים to שבה.³⁸ Modelled on Solomon's intricate

³⁷ Amar, 359 (n. 6).

³⁸ Non-synoptic 2 Chr 28:11 repeats the wordplay: והשיבו השביה אשר שביהם מאחיכם.

play, the ‘midrash’ concludes (5:22b) equally skilfully: **וַיֵּשְׁבוּ תַּחְתֵּיהֶם עַד־גּוּלָּהּ** (and they dwelt in their place till the exile). **גּוּלָּהּ** (exile) names the background implied in Solomon’s plea; and **וַיֵּשְׁבוּ** (dwelt) is no less assonant with **שָׁבָה** than Solomon’s **שׁוּב**.

Num 31 also uses both **שָׁבָה** (v. 9) and **נֶפֶשׁ אָדָם** (vv. 35, 40, 46), but not in the same immediate context. Then, though a long chapter, it uses neither of the assonant – and common – verbs **שׁוּב** and **יָשַׁב**. Only Solomon’s prayer in all of HB, like 1 Chr 5, uses both **אָדָם** and **נֶפֶשׁ** (though not in actual combination), with **שָׁבָה** in close proximity.

6 Some conclusions

6.1 1 Chronicles 5 in light of Numbers and Joshua

Israel’s Levites and the tribes east of the Jordan are odd associates from several points of view. Yet they share an important link that can be stated both negatively and positively. Neither has a share in the division of land west of the Jordan and both have requirements for grazing livestock. The holdings (**מִקְנָה**) of the Transjordanians are described in terms of animals, while the Levites have a need for pasture (**מִגְרָשׁ**) near their appointed cities.

These two groups come to the fore in the final chapters of Numbers as joint exceptions within a 12-tribe Israel: counted once in Num 1 and again in Num 26 after forty years, this Israel is now facing the historical and topographical realities of settlement in a promised land west of the Jordan. In Josh 13–22, their exceptional situation is described before and after the division of that western land of promise; but in 1 Chr 5–6 they are listed at the heart of the people, between south (1 Chr 4) and north (7–8). For all that they are handled side by side in Numbers and Joshua as well as at the start of Chronicles, there is one major difference in the Chronicler’s treatment of the two exceptional groups. Levites and priests will play a large role throughout Chronicles while the Transjordanians are restricted to 1 Chronicles³⁹: they do not reappear in the text after the death of David has been reported. This textual disappearance – the ‘actual’ disappearance will not occur till much later – may support Amar’s reading the Transjordanian exile as one without return.

³⁹ 1 Chr 6:48, 63; 11:42; 12:9, 15, 38; 26:32; 27:16, 21.

The inter-relatedness of Num 32, Josh 22, and 1 Chr 5 as they present the Transjordanians does not simply belong to the final stage in the development of these texts. There is some evidence in each that the half-tribe of Manasseh has been added to a prior Reuben-Gad pairing. The materials in 1 Chr 5:18–22, 25–26 about the eastern tribes as a group are additional to the traditions about the three separate units. A key source of their wording is the section on Reuben (5:3–10). Then 1 Chr 5:26 states that the easterners were exiled because of מעל, while Josh 22 debates such a charge against them and finally rejects it. The Chronicler may have misremembered the narrative in Joshua or disagreed with it. Alternatively, as suggested above, the extended narrative in Josh 22 may have taken the brief note reported in Chronicles as the opportunity for an extended discussion of centre and periphery, of the legitimacy or otherwise of (cultic) life outside the western heartland. I am no longer committed to the view that the list of Levitic cities in 1 Chr 6 was the source of Josh 21; but I still find it equally unlikely that Josh 21 (MT or LXX) was the source of the list in 1 Chr 6. The ideal number 48, stated in Num 35 (4 cities from each of 12 tribes), has been imposed on a prior list which it cannot fit: Judah and Simeon have 9 cities and the Aaronites 13.⁴⁰

In most of Num 31 (in vv. 11, 26, 28, 30, 47), the term for human (as distinct from animal) is simply אדם. But in the supplementary section about taxation (vv. 32–46) this is replaced (in vv. 35, 40, 46) by נפש אדם (human [person?]). The end of the supplement is marked by recapitulating much of vv. 30–31 in v. 47, including a return to using the simple אדם. If the author of the so-called midrash in 1 Chr 5:18–22 did draw on the expanded text of Num 31–32 with its variation between אדם and נפש אדם, then his נפש אדם too may signify little different from אדם; and, even if נפש does have its own significance within the pairing, it will simply mean ‘person’ or ‘individual’.⁴¹

6.2 Victory and booty and life in Chronicles

In the victory story of Amaziah, continued living (חיים) on the part of the vanquished is mentioned only to be immediately extinguished. In the victory story of Asa, life/survival (מחיה) is mentioned only to be denied. These, we need to remember, are the only two instances of חיה/‘life’ in non-synoptic Chronicles;

⁴⁰ A. Graeme Auld, “The Cities in Joshua 21: The Contribution of Textual Criticism,” in *Textus XV* (1990), 141–152 (reprinted in *Joshua Retold. Synoptic Perspectives* [Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1998], 49–62).

⁴¹ As ... ainsi que cent mille personnes in *La Bible: traduction oecuménique*, 1813.

and, in the Chronicler's version of the story of Jerusalem's monarchs, both Asa and Amaziah came to a bad end. However, for the two-and-a-half tribes east of the Jordan, 100,000 נפש אדם are a vital human resource.

The victory-plus-booty report in 1 Chr 5:18–22 is the first in a whole series of such narratives in Chronicles; yet it is also distinct from those that follow. It states precise thousands of animals and humans captured while other reports simply claim 'large numbers'. Then, even within the sub-group of three that deal with the issue of continued existence for the defeated humans, the report about the Transjordanians takes its own path. Defeated Edomites equal in number to those who died in battle do leave the field 'alive' (חיים), though only to be killed elsewhere. As for the defeated Kushites, no 'life' (מחיה) survived. The Chronicler took over from his source only a small number of forms related to חיה. It is only in these two notes that Chronicles adds to this already sparing usage; and in one of them חית השדה and ויחי were already part of the inherited synoptic context (2 Kgs 14:9, 17//2 Chr 25:18, 25). However, the continuation of human life after the Hagrite defeat in 1 Chr 5:21 is differently expressed. Here the Chronicler uses נפש, a term similarly rare in both synoptic and non-synoptic Chronicles. 'Life' (חיים\מחיה) denotes the opposite of immediate death meted out by the troops of Amaziah or Asa. But human נפש has potential as a useful labour force. The Chronicler made at least a lexical distinction between the battlefield actions of the eastern tribes and of two kings in Jerusalem. Whether he intended thereby an ethical distinction is hard to determine. Unlike Achar/n before them (1 Chr 2:7) or Saul after them (10:13–14), their terrible fault (מעל) is left unspecified (5:25).

6.3 A 'midrash' indebted to Solomon

Two features of 1 Chr 5 do invite comparison with Num 31: specification of booty-totals unique within Chronicles; and the use of נפש [אדם]. However, three further features of 1 Chr 5 – *in addition to* uniquely sharing the keywords אדם, נפש, and שבה – suggest an even closer relationship with the conclusion of Solomon's long prayer at the dedication of the temple: (1) The assonant play by Solomon on שבה and שוב is echoed in 1 Chr 5 by play on שבה with ישוב. (2) The formula 'with all his/their heart and נפש' from the source-prayer (2 Chr 6:38) is repeated almost verbatim three times in non-synoptic Chronicles – Solomon's words were clearly important to this author.⁴² (3) Several other elements of vv. 18–22 and vv. 25–26

⁴² Japhet rightly finds the usages in 1 Chr 22:19 and 28:9 'characteristic of the Chronicler' (p. 493, cf. 402), yet describes 2 Chr 15:12 as borrowing from a Deuteronomistic phrase (p. 726).

are also midrash-like developments, in their case of material in vv. 1–10. In the source text, נפש and אדם both have a distinct role. That makes it more likely that they retain a separate function in 1 Chr 5:21 and that combined נפש אדם was not simply, as in the extension to Num 31, an expanded alternative to אדם.

Typical of many key synoptic terms in the older book of Jerusalem's kings, the four instances of נפש come in two pairs, with each member of the pair relating to a different king.⁴³

1a	1 Chr 11:19 (//2 Sam 23:17)	כי בנפשותם הביאום
1b	2 Chr 1:11 (//1 Kgs 3:11)	ולא-שאלת את נפש שניאך
2a	2 Chr 6:38 (//1 Kgs 8:48)	ושבו אליך בכל-לבם ובכל-נפשם
2b	2 Chr 34:31 (//2 Kgs 23:3)	בכל-לבבו ובכל-נפשו

(1) David refuses to drink water brought by his heroes from Bethlehem at cost of their *lives* and Yahweh praises Solomon in his vision at Gibeon for not requesting the *life* of those who hate him.

(2) In each of the second pair, נפש reinforces לב:⁴⁴ Solomon asks Yahweh to listen if his future exiled people commit *their whole hearts and lives* in turning back to him and Josiah covenants *with his whole heart and life* to follow Yahweh.

The non-synoptic usage of each in Chronicles nicely illustrates the thesis of organic development from the synoptic core.⁴⁵ Four of the five non-synoptic instances maintain the synoptic inheritance or modify it only minimally:

- 1 Chr 11:19 simply repeats the synoptic usage within the same verse.
- 1 Chr 22:19; 28:9; 2 Chr 15:12 repeat or lightly modify the use of נפש to reinforce לב that is already synoptic in 2 Chr 6:38; 34:31 and is most familiar now in the Shema and related texts.

⁴³ *Life in Kings*, 92–93 included 29 significant pairings. These נפש-pairs are two of more than 130 listed in “Tracing the Writing of Kings with Nadav Na’aman and Klaus-Peter Adam,” to be published in *SJOT* 35, 2021.

⁴⁴ One half of all the synoptic occurrences of ‘heart’ are found in Solomon’s prayer: 2 Chr 6:7, 8, 8, 14, 30, 37, 38//1 Kgs 8:17, 18, 18, 23, [38,] 39, 47, 48. Of these, it is the culminating instance that is paired with נפש.

⁴⁵ The thrust of my work on Sam-Kgs and Chr has been less interested in Chr as such and more in what comparison between Chr and Sam-Kgs helps us to understand about Sam-Kgs: both Sam-Kgs and Chr being organic developments from a much earlier book of Kings. The book of Chronicles may be one of the latest books in HB. However, in several cases I suspect that it also contains evidence about earlier stages in the so-called ‘Primary History’ (Genesis-Kings). See further “Counting Sheep, Sins, and Sour Grapes: The Primacy of the Primary History?” (n. 46 below).

If this short narrative builds on material from the source of Chronicles, and specifically the water brought to David from Bethlehem or the seventh request in Solomon's prayer, נפש אדם will carry the stronger sense of 'live humans' or even 'lively humans'.

An ancient writer could re-present details of a more ancient report about Reuben in his own account of the two-and-a-half tribes. A modern scholar familiar with Numbers and Joshua could read Gilead in Kings as a reference to these two-and-a-half tribes. And it is natural for other contemporary readers, familiar with the categories Primary History (Genesis-Kings) and Secondary History (Chronicles-Ezra-Nehemiah), to give priority to Numbers and Joshua when studying similar materials in Chronicles.⁴⁶ However, this essay has advised double caution in relation to the development of 1 Chr 5:1–26. (1) Even the latest elements in this narrative are derived from earlier material within Chronicles. (2) While there are clear links with late elements in both Num 31 and Josh 22, the direction of influence in each case was arguably from 1 Chr 5 to these 'partner texts'. Each such relationship between materials in the so-called 'Primary' and so-called 'Secondary' Histories must be assessed on its own merits.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ At the end of 'Counting Sheep, Sins, and Sour Grapes: The Primacy of the Primary History?', in Alastair G. Hunter and Philip R. Davies [eds], *Sense and Sensitivity: Essays on Reading the Bible in Memory of Robert Carroll*, JSOTS 348, 2002, 63–72), I probed these terms. 'Primary' in English is ambiguous: it can refer to greater authority (primacy) or simply greater age. Torah and Former Prophets (the Primary History) certainly have greater (canonical) authority; but does that necessarily derive from the greater age of all their materials?

⁴⁷ Whichever way the influence runs between the 'generations' (תולדות) at the start of Genesis and the start of Chronicles, the fact that 1 Chr 1 and Gen 5 open with the same genealogy of Adam and that Gen 5 has a formal 'title' ('*This is the book of the generations of Adam*') may preserve evidence that 'the generations of heaven and earth' (Gen 1–4) are a later preface to the 'first' book of the Bible (A. Graeme Auld, 'imago dei in Genesis', *ExT* 116, 2005, 259–262).