

THE COMMENTARY OF  
RABBI DAVID KIMḤI TO CHRONICLES

Program in Judaic Studies  
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THE COMMENTARY OF  
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A Translation with  
Introduction and Supercommentary

by  
Yitzhak Berger

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A TRANSLATION WITH  
INTRODUCTION AND  
SUPERCOMMENTARY

Yitzhak Berger

Brown Judaic Studies  
Providence, Rhode Island

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*For Ditzza*

**מצא אשה מצא טוב**

(משלי יח, כב)

*and for*

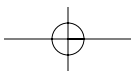
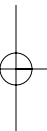
*Racheli, Sara, Tehilla, Baruch Meir,  
Breindy, and Tova*

**יעסקו בתורתך הקדושה ללמוד וללמד לשמור ולעשות**

**ויעבדוך באהבה וביראה**

**ויהיה אהבה ואחווה ושלוש ביניהם**

(תפילת השל"ה)



# Contents

*Introduction* . . . . . 1

*Translation and Supercommentary* . . . . . 21

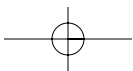
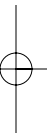
    • 1 Chronicles . . . . . 29

    • 2 Chronicles . . . . . 187

*Works Cited* . . . . . 283

*Index of Passages* . . . . . 289

*Index of Subjects*. . . . . 303





## Acknowledgments

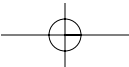
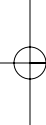
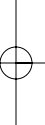
This work is a revision of my Yeshiva University dissertation, which I completed under the expert guidance of Professors Sid Leiman, Richard Steiner, and Mordechai Cohen, and with the steady encouragement of Dean Arthur Hyman of Yeshiva's Bernard Revel Graduate School for Jewish Studies. In preparing the present volume, I benefited from fellowships provided by the Memorial Foundation for Jewish Culture, Hunter College, and the Professional Staff Congress of the City University of New York. Professors Rivka Friedman and Tamara Green of Hunter enabled me to devote a full semester to the project and provided consistent support.

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## Introduction

The commentaries of Rabbi David Kimḥi (Radak) of Narbonne (c. 1160–1235) have long occupied a prominent place in the history of biblical interpretation. For traditional Jews over the centuries, Radak has stood alongside Rashi, R. Abraham Ibn Ezra, and other classical figures whose works attained the status of primary religious texts and became objects of devotional study. For modern critical students of the Bible, Radak's exegesis has retained its utility, and the trails he blazed show their effect in scholarly commentary—even where his influence has become too far removed to merit explicit acknowledgment. For the intellectual historian, Radak's works mark a path-breaking synthesis of the literal-contextual exegesis of the Northern European *peshat* school, the philological commentaries of the Andalusians, the rationalism of Maimonides, and rabbinic midrash.<sup>1</sup>

The commentary to Chronicles presented in this work, widely considered to be among Radak's earliest products,<sup>2</sup> provides a unique perspective into a broad array of salient characteristics of his exegesis. The book of Chronicles exhibits frequent redundancies, inconsistencies, and other textual difficulties—especially within its lengthy genealogical lists—and contains many apparent contradictions to parallel biblical material. Radak's approaches to these problems enable us to evaluate the respective roles that traditionalism, midrash, and the critical reading of texts played in his thinking and exegesis and to judge where he stood on these matters in

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1. For a concise and informative overview of Radak's exegetical methods and place in the history of interpretation, see Cohen (2000). Works on Radak of monograph length include Talmage (1975), Cohen (2003), Grunhaus (2003a), and Seidler (2003).

2. See Geiger (1857, 162–63), Finkelstein (1926, XCIV–XCVI), and Talmage (1975, 58–59). See also pp. 54–58 in Talmage on Radak's works on grammar and masorah, which preceded the Chronicles commentary. Radak's *Mikhlol*, consisting of a section on biblical grammar followed by a lexicon, was later divided into two, and the lexicon became known as *Sefer ha-Shorashim* ("The Book of Roots").

I consider Radak's commentary to Proverbs (Talmage, ed., 1990) to have been his very first exegetical work; see Berger (2008), a reaction to Grunhaus (2003c), who contests the attribution of this commentary to Radak.

## 2 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

relation to his medieval predecessors. Also, in comparing Radak's comments on Chronicles to his later expositions of parallel biblical texts, we are able to trace the development of his exegetical program and methods, and of his thinking on a range of matters.

In the present introduction, we will consider the following questions: (1) What did Radak add to the exegesis of Chronicles beyond the contributions of his predecessors? (2) What specific assumptions did he make when confronting contradictions and other challenging textual problems, especially regarding the crucial question of the consistency and integrity of Scripture? (3) What differences emerge between the present commentary and Radak's later efforts on similar material, particularly where the text of Chronicles closely parallels that of the Former Prophets?

### Manuscripts Paris and Munich

Even sharper analysis becomes possible thanks to two key manuscripts of the Chronicles commentary, which preserve earlier versions of the work than those found in printed editions and other text witnesses. In mss Paris National Library 198 and Munich 363, a large amount of material is unattested, and all indications are that this material was in fact added into the commentary later—by Radak himself.<sup>3</sup> The Paris manuscript is the shorter of the two and reflects the earliest version in our possession,<sup>4</sup> while the Munich manuscript contains a small percentage of the later additions attested in other text witnesses. Among fuller witnesses, occasionally one manuscript or another will include what appears to be a still later addition of Radak, which suggests that our exegete inserted new material into the Chronicles commentary on repeated occasions. In fact, at times ms Paris

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3. See, e.g., n. 297 in the supercommentary, concerning the explanation provided by Radak for the appearance of Zelophehad's name in place of that of his father, Hephher. In that case, as in many others, it is hardly plausible that another scribe amended Radak's comment, as this would have required the insertion of multiple changes with surgical precision in a conscious effort to alter the meaning. In another insertion, at 1 Chr 2:23, reference is made to the accuracy of "our interpretation" presented earlier in the comment. The first-person pronoun again suggests that the added material is from Radak's pen. (See also n. 472 in the supercommentary, concerning a comment that seems to have passed through as many as four different stages.) For a more extensive presentation of the argument that Radak himself inserted the later material, see Berger (2006, 80-82). That full article consists of an expanded treatment of most of the discussion that follows.

4. Radak's additions do appear in ms Paris, but in the form of marginal and interlinear insertions by a later hand. In the case of the last page of the manuscript, beginning at 2 Chr 31:13, this scribe erased portions of the original text and rewrote them in smaller lettering in order to fit an unusually large number of additions onto the page. In the case of this material, therefore, it cannot be determined from ms Paris alone what was original to the commentary.

itself seems to reflect different stages of composition, which indicates that the very first version of the commentary was probably briefer than any that we possess.<sup>5</sup>

The implications of this are wide ranging. First, certain omissions in mss Paris and Munich provide important confirmation that Radak indeed composed the core of the commentary at an early point in his career. A small group of recent scholars have challenged the consensus affirming the work's early composition on the basis of two of Radak's comments on Chronicles where he makes reference to his relatively late commentary to Kings.<sup>6</sup> In one of these references in particular, at 2 Chronicles 18:19, Radak's language suggests unequivocally that he had already composed the Kings commentary ("We have explained this matter in [the commentary to] the book of Kings").<sup>7</sup> Mss Paris and Munich, however, do not contain these allusions to Radak's work on Kings. This implies that—in keeping with a speculation found in earlier scholarship—Radak inserted the references in question only later, after he *had* in fact composed the Kings commentary.<sup>8</sup> There remains, then, no reason to contest the long-accepted view that the nucleus of the Chronicles commentary is early.

Of greater importance, these more rudimentary versions enable us to evaluate better the development of Radak's exegesis. On the basis of these versions, we may conduct comparisons between the Chronicles commentary and Radak's later ones, and additionally, trace the evolution of his exegesis of Chronicles itself. The centrality of the evidence provided by mss Paris and Munich will become increasingly apparent in the course of our assessment of the work.

## Why Did Radak Write a Commentary?

Toward the end of his introduction, Radak reveals his motive for composing a commentary to Chronicles:

This book contains very obscure matters, and matters contradicting those in Samuel and Kings. And since this book is a historical account, people have not regularly studied it, nor have I seen any of the early commentators attempt to elucidate it. I did, however, find some commentaries on this book here in Narbonne (I do not know the names of their authors); but

5. See, e.g., the supercommentary at 2 Chr 15:8. Talmage (1975, 59) already observed that Radak's commentaries reflect "reworking and revision."

6. See volume 2 of Kiel (1986, appendixes, 95 n. 52), and Kalimi (1998, 36).

7. The other reference, at 1 Chr 5:17, reads: "as we will explain [in our commentary] on the book of Kings."

8. See Finkelstein (1926, XCIV), and Talmage (1975, 58-59).

#### 4 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

I saw that they mostly follow a midrashic approach. So when a certain scholar from Gerona, a student of my master, my father, of blessed memory, asked me to write a commentary on it, I saw fit to grant his request. But I did not write on one verse after another, only on the verses that require interpretation.

Three considerations, then, contributed to Radak's decision to write a commentary: the book's obscurities and contradictions to the Former Prophets, the outstanding need for non-midrashic interpretation, and the request of his father's student.

Which commentaries did Radak possess that "mostly follow a midrashic approach," whose authors he could not identify? Scholars have convincingly argued that Radak utilized the twelfth-century German commentary erroneously attributed to Rashi ("Pseudo-Rashi"),<sup>9</sup> while there is no clear evidence that he saw the other two early medieval commentaries in our possession: the tenth/eleventh-century North African commentary attributed to a student of Saadia Gaon<sup>10</sup> and the twelfth-century German commentary in ms Munich 5, which was influenced considerably by Pseudo-Rashi.<sup>11</sup> If it is clear that Radak used Pseudo-Rashi, however, there arises a problem with Radak's characterization of the commentaries he possessed as "mostly following a midrashic approach." Pseudo-Rashi's work is decidedly *not* mostly midrashic; yet if Radak

9. See Epstein (1983, 282 n. 35), whose full article discusses Pseudo-Rashi more generally, and volume 2 of Kiel (1986, appendixes, 95 n. 50).

10. This is available only in the edition of Kirchheim (1874), with an introduction and notes in German. The Tosafists (*Yoma* 9a) refer to an interpretation "in the commentary to Chronicles authored by the students of R. Saadia," and it is likely that the reference is to this work, which contains the interpretation in question. While scholars have questioned the identity of the "R. Saadia" mentioned occasionally by medieval northern French figures, there has been no debate regarding the North African provenance of this particular commentary and its connection to Saadia Gaon; see Poznanski (1923, esp. 86). More recently, Steiner (2003, 142) confirmed that the commentary "seems to have been written in Kairouan or elsewhere in North Africa in the tenth or eleventh century."

While we cannot know whether or not Radak saw this work, it remains likely that it influenced him at least indirectly, or that the two commentaries share some common influence. In the supercommentary, I indicate where Radak cites interpretations that are similar to what appears in this earlier work. See, e.g., at 1 Chr 2:52. In his forthcoming article on medieval perceptions of a prophetic role in the composition of Chronicles, Eran Viesel indeed raises the possibility that Radak possessed the North African commentary.

11. On this commentary see Ta-shma (1996) and Berger (2007b). For some general remarks on a possible relationship between the North African commentary and the German school, see Ta-shma (2001, 63-64). For examples of notable similarities in content between the North African and Munich 5 commentaries, which at a minimum suggest some common influence on the two works, see the supercommentary at 1 Chr 18:3 and 22:8. Viesel's forthcoming works promise an expanded analysis of Radak's medieval predecessors on Chronicles and the relationships between them.

intends to justify the need for a new commentary, it would appear that *all* significant prior treatments available to him must be included in his characterization.<sup>12</sup> To my mind, there is only one reasonable explanation of Radak's intention: he means that, collectively, the commentaries he had were largely midrashic and that no one commentary provided consistent enough *peshat* interpretation to satisfy him.

In what respect, then, was Pseudo-Rashi's work too midrashic for Radak? Most likely, the answer lies in Pseudo-Rashi's rather ambitious, even fanciful approaches to two central issues, where Radak's departures indeed testify to his own more restrained exegetical method.<sup>13</sup>

The first matter concerns the purpose of the book and how to treat its extensive genealogical lists. Pseudo-Rashi—followed by the Munich 5 author—argues that Ezra wrote the book in order to validate the Davidic, priestly, and Levite lineage—apparently in his effort to reestablish a Jewish polity and cultic community in Jerusalem after the exile. In the course of providing genealogical accounts from the beginning of time, Ezra progressively discards all irrelevant figures and gives emphasis to individuals chosen for a special role. While this basic position is quite persuasive and even path breaking, Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author push it to an extent that borders on the fanciful: all individuals not chosen are included in the book just to be rejected—the better to “honor” the selected ones. Consider the following passage from Pseudo-Rashi's introduction:

as it is explained in Genesis Rabba (39:10): “This is analagous to a king who, when traveling from one place to another, dropped a precious stone,” and proceeded to sift through the dirt with a sieve until he found it. “So did the Holy One, blessed is He, say: Why should I list the progeny of Shem, Arpachshad, etc., and then Terah, if not for the purpose of finding Abraham, [about whom it says:] ‘and You have found in him a trusting heart’ (Neh 9:8).” And it is for Isaac's honor that the text lists the descendants of Esau and Ishmael and those of Keturah—casting them aside little by little and rejecting them; ... it even lists Timna, a concubine of Abraham's progeny, to illustrate the worthiness of Abraham: she was a descendant of chieftains and heads of clans, but opted to be a concubine [in the clan] of Abraham ... saying: If I am unworthy to marry into [his clan], I will be a concubine [among them].

Contrast this to Radak's far less ambitious remarks at the beginning of his own introduction:

12. In keeping with Radak's usage elsewhere, the word “mostly” (*be-rov*) almost certainly means “most of the time.” On these grounds alone, then, it is highly unlikely that Radak's phrase means that “most” but not all *of the commentaries* he had were midrashic in their approach.

13. This basic approach to the question already appears in Epstein (1983, 281-82).

## 6 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

This book, the book of Chronicles, is among the Holy Scriptures: it was included in them because it contains an account of the history of the Judean kings. It begins by presenting, in abridged form, the genealogy from Adam to Noah; then from Noah to Abraham; and then from Abraham to David—for he is the essential one. Indeed, until it reaches David, it does not bother presenting the genealogies of all the Israelites—only that of Judah. Only afterwards does it present some of the genealogy of the other tribes, in order to provide their numbers in the days of David. All the genealogies of the other nations of the world that it provides along the way serve to produce an orderly account of the world's ancestry, the way it appears in the book of Genesis; but it presents all the rest of the genealogies with progressive abridgment.

It also presents the kings of Edom, because eight kings and eleven chiefs ruled over them before any king ruled over the Israelites.

As scholars have observed, according to Radak, Chronicles is merely a historical record of the Judean monarchy, tracing its ancestry all the way back to Adam.<sup>14</sup> Whereas Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author see the incorporation of lesser figures as a means of honoring the chosen ones, Radak plainly observes that the book focuses on individuals of concern to the monarchy, while mentioning others only briefly to provide a better overall genealogical perspective. And in fact, the comments of Pseudo-Rashi, the Munich 5 author, and Radak on the genealogical material itself quite consistently reflect their respective approaches to the question of its role.<sup>15</sup>

Radak's remarks about authorship confirm the impression that he saw Chronicles as a mere historical record:

Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Bava Batra* 15a), said that Ezra wrote this book. But in fact, these chronicles of the Judean kings were written before Ezra, as it says in the book of Kings; they just were not yet included in the Holy Scriptures. Rather, they were written as a separate book, among the chronicles of the Judean kings. Similarly, the chronicles of the Israelite kings were written in a book; but that book was not included in the Holy Scriptures because the Israelite kingship did not survive. In the future also, only the Davidic kingship will arise, as the prophet says: "and there shall be one prince for all of them" (cf. Ezek 37:24), and: "Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms" (Ezek 37:22). But the book of the chronicles of the Judean kings was properly included in the Holy Scriptures, to relate events pertaining to the Judean kings and their exile, until their ascent from the exile.

According to Radak, then, the book is fundamentally a representation of the Judean chronicles mentioned in the book of Kings (which continued to

14. See volume 2 of Kiel (1986, appendixes, 94).

15. See the supercommentary at 1 Chr 1:5, 24, 27, 32, and 38.



be updated until the return from exile), not the ideologically driven post-exilic composition suggested by his predecessors. The awkward phrase “among the chronicles of the Judean kings” is missing from ms Paris, and Radak probably added this qualification when he realized that our book does not contain everything that the book of Kings ascribes to the Judean chronicles.<sup>16</sup>

The second example of Radak’s more pristinely *peshat*-centered program concerns the interpretation of names and the related matter of how to resolve discrepancies in names. On several occasions toward the beginning of the book, Pseudo-Rashi provides midrashic explanations of names.<sup>17</sup> Radak spells out his own position at 1 Chronicles 2:55:

**The Tirathites, the Shimeathites, the Sucathites.** These are names of families. Now there are many midrashic expositions concerning these names; but if we were to undertake to provide midrashic explanations for why all the names were called as they were, no book could contain them. We are only concerned, then, with what we find written. For all the names involved matters known to them, as recorded in connection with a few of them. We should not, then, pursue those whose matters are not recorded.

Concerning discrepancies in names in particular, Pseudo-Rashi will tend to provide midrashic explanations—for example, at 1 Chronicles 1:6-7, where the name Rodanim appears instead of Dodanim, the parallel name in Genesis.<sup>18</sup> Radak’s reaction to this is well known:

**And Rodanim.** This is spelled with a *resh* at the beginning; but in the book of Genesis (10:4) it is spelled *ve-Dodanim*, with two *dalets*. Since *dalet* and *resh* look similar, some readers of the genealogical books written in antiquity would read it with a *dalet*, while others would read it with a *resh*. This, then, is how the name remained pronounced by people: with either a *dalet* or a *resh*. Therefore, one of the readings was recorded in the book of Genesis, and the other in this book, to indicate that it is all one name, even though one reads *dalet* and another *resh*. Similarly, “Riblah” (2 Kgs 25:7) is

16. See, e.g., 2 Kgs 14:18, which states that Amaziah’s remaining exploits are to be found in the chronicles of the Judean kings. They do not, however, appear in the biblical book of Chronicles.

17. See, e.g., at 1 Chr 1:23, where Pseudo-Rashi explains based on the midrash (*Genesis Rabba* 37:7) that the name יקטן reflects that this individual עסקיו נקטן (“played down his accomplishments”). In that comment, he indicates that such explanations are acceptable where the parent providing the name was a prophet.

18. Pseudo-Rashi explains, based on the midrash (*Genesis Rabba* 37:1), that the descendants of ין are called *Dodanim* when they ingratiate themselves to the powerful Israelites, saying, “You are *benei dodenu* (‘our cousins’).” When the Israelites sin and lose power, however, the descendants of ין are called *Rodanim*, since they confront Israel and *rodim ba-hem* (“subjugate them”).

## 8 The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles

with a *resh* while “Diblah” (Ezek 6:14) is with a *dalet*, and “Deuel” (Num 1:14) is with a *dalet* while “Reuel” (Num 2:14) is with a *resh*.

Concerning *vav* and *yod*, also, readings interchange because the two look similar. They also interchange for vowel letters *alef* and *hei* when at the end of a word, as in *savta* (סבֿתָּא; 1 Chr 1:9) and *savtah* (סבֿתָּה; Gen 10:7). For *alef* and *hei* are members of one class, the class of letters that represent [nothing more than] exhalation; so one may write either an *alef* or a *hei*, whatever one wishes. This function of the letters *alef*, *hei*, *vav*, and *yod* applies just the same to verbs, nouns, and auxiliary words, as we have explained fully in the grammar book that we have authored.

And even though there are midrashic expositions concerning the variation in the letters of these names, I did not see fit to record them, in order that the task not become too burdensome for me; for the main explanation is the one that I have provided.

In the final sentence of this passage, Radak implies that “midrashic expositions” of names are at best of secondary importance. Indeed, the need for a *peshat*-based approach on this matter, it would appear, contributed to his decision to answer the call for a new commentary.

At the same time, Radak’s own creative solution to the Rodanim-Dodanim discrepancy (and other such inconsistencies) has rightly invited considerable discussion: for Radak, the two versions became legitimate alternatives prior to their canonization—because of the *misreading* of pre-biblical records.<sup>19</sup> This provides occasion for us to evaluate Radak’s approach to a critical issue: the integrity of the biblical text in light of the many serious difficulties that arise from the text of Chronicles.

## Radak and Scriptural Integrity

In the context of their exegesis of Chronicles, medieval commentators almost invariably reveal their attitude toward the coherence and reliability of biblical texts; for the types of difficulties to which we have alluded can hardly be overlooked. Undoubtedly the most radical passage appears in the commentary of the fourteenth-century Provençal rationalist R. Joseph Kaspi, at 1 Chronicles 1:5:

I will provide you with a rule: This book is not worth scrutinizing like the book written by our teacher Moses, which was from Heaven, since this one merely consists of the author’s brief selections—for he omits or modifies whatever he wishes. Consider that he presents the tribes in a con-

19. See, e.g., the discussion in Simon (1968, 208-9).

fused order, mentions the death of Er but not of Onan, and provides an abridged version of the affair of Tamar—in addition to many other modifications found in the book. With respect to any book, scrutiny is warranted in proportion to the author's distinction. Still, this book too undoubtedly contains some worthy matters, which is why it is counted among the Holy Books.

To be sure, there is nothing that comes close to such a broadly dismissive formulation in Radak or among any other traditional exegetes. At the same time, Radak's predecessors do acknowledge the possibility of imprecision in Chronicles,<sup>20</sup> and it will be instructive for the sake of comparison to trace briefly their views on these matters.<sup>21</sup>

At 1 Chronicles 9:3, the early North African commentator addresses certain inconsistencies between a list of names in Chronicles and a parallel list in Nehemiah. In this context, he cites the view of "the easterners," who suggest—building on a more moderate principle found in rabbinic sources<sup>22</sup>—that the biblical redactor (*sadran*) found two versions of the list and, unable to determine which was correct, deliberately preserved each of them in different places. The North African author himself, however, does not endorse this option, and this is the lone instance in the work where he cites it.

Pseudo-Rashi, on the other hand, adopts this solution here and in other contexts, most notably in connection with a doublet in 1 Chronicles, consisting of a list of Benjaminites in 8:29-38 that reappears with minor variations in 9:35-44. According to Pseudo-Rashi, the very motive for this lengthy, awkward repetition is to preserve these few variations. Like "the easterners" above, he was evidently willing to allow for the canonization of an error, at least in cases where the correct alternative—whatever it might be—is recorded somewhere in the Bible. What is more, it emerges that according to Pseudo-Rashi, the second time this passage appears most of its contents are genuinely redundant.

The Munich 5 author, building on Pseudo-Rashi's precedent, invokes this principle with great regularity to account for discrepancies. Nevertheless, it is striking that in the case of the doublet just discussed, the Munich 5 author shies away from Pseudo-Rashi's solution and accounts for the apparent redundancy on the basis of what we commonly refer to as "resumptive repetition."<sup>23</sup> It is quite likely, based on this and other con-

20. Note that Kaspi's own formulation, however extreme, does not quite acknowledge the possibility of biblical *inaccuracies*, although it does make it doubtful that he would have taken a particularly conservative position on the matter. His commentary does not suggest a clear answer to this question.

21. For recent discussions see Steiner (2003) and Berger (2007b).

22. See, e.g., Yerushalmi *Taanit* 4:2. On the principle as formulated by the rabbis, see n. 25 below.

23. On resumptive repetition in Chronicles see chapter 13 of Kalimi (2005).

10 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

siderations, that this commentator was firmly committed to the basic structural integrity of the biblical text and on this fundamental issue took a conservative turn away from the position of his predecessor.<sup>24</sup>

Both German exegetes, however, ran into a problem with contradictions between Chronicles and Genesis, such as the Rodanim-Dodanim discrepancy already mentioned. Neither commentator, it seems, was prepared to suggest that the *Pentateuchal text* might have developed a possible inaccuracy.<sup>25</sup> Accordingly, if Chronicles contains a version of a name that differs from the one in Genesis, this cannot be in order preserve a plausible variant reading. We have already noted the midrashic approach of Pseudo-Rashi, which he invokes precisely in such cases. Explanations like these, however, evidently did not satisfy the Munich 5 author any more than they satisfied Radak. In a noteworthy harbinger of Radak's solution, the Munich 5 commentary, at 1 Chronicles 1:6, contains the following remark:<sup>26</sup>

one should not be surprised about this; for a father can call his son by two names, and the author of the book, having found two names, recorded the new name that is not recorded in Genesis.

Like Radak, then, the Munich 5 commentator argues that the alternative form of the name became legitimate prior to its canonization in Chronicles and that the biblical author deliberately chose to give "the new name" representation. This alternative name, however, did not emerge from any misreading of records, as for Radak, but was utilized during the individual's own lifetime. Still, notwithstanding this distinction, the explanation remains similar enough to Radak's that we must consider the strong possibility that Radak was familiar with something like it. As his use of Pseudo-Rashi makes clear, among the anonymous commentaries Radak possessed were representatives of the twelfth-century German exegetical tradition.

At the same time, Radak himself actually takes an even sharper traditionalist turn—one that sets him apart from the German school. Observe that in Radak's presentation, he includes an example of a discrepancy

24. See the discussion in Berger (2007b).

25. This is true even though in the rabbinic sources that serve as the basis of these German commentators' proto-text-critical position, the biblical variants that are mentioned do involve Pentateuchal texts. For according to the rabbis, in those instances Ezra was able to verify the correct reading on the basis of a majority of the manuscripts available to him. It would be quite different, however, to suggest that the correct version of a name could *not* be determined based on manuscripts of the Pentateuch and that Ezra felt compelled to record a genuine alternative in a later biblical book.

26. The Munich 5 author is addressing a discrepancy between the name "Diphat" in the verse in Chronicles and "Riphat" in Gen 10:3. This is of precisely the same nature as the Rodanim-Dodanim discrepancy.

between “Riblah” in Kings and “Diblah” in Ezekiel and accounts for it based on the same principle: the misreading of prebiblical records gave rise to what became two legitimate versions of the name. It appears, then, that Radak was committed not only to defending the integrity of the text of the Pentateuch: he took the same position concerning other biblical books such as Kings and Ezekiel. And indeed, nowhere in our commentary does Radak adopt the view that Ezra canonized disparate readings knowing that one of them was in error, despite his apparent familiarity with this suggestion in Pseudo-Rashi. To the contrary, consider Radak’s remarks at 1 Chronicles 9:3, concerning the contradictory passages in Chronicles and Nehemiah already mentioned:

The account here parallels the one there, with only occasional differences. And those are easy to harmonize, since people are called by different names, as we have mentioned several times [in commenting] on this book. While [the two accounts] provide different numbers for the Benjaminites and the priests, this is because the text counts some there that it does not count here, and vice versa. It is readily understandable.

This emphatic formulation is probably a reaction to Pseudo-Rashi, who, invoking his more revolutionary approach, responds to this, as did “the easterners,” by suggesting that Ezra recorded conflicting data that he could not resolve. And while—as the struggles of modern critical scholars suggest<sup>27</sup>—this data is in fact far from “easy to harmonize” and “readily understandable” as claimed by Radak, it is our commentator’s basic assumption that biblical texts are infallible.<sup>28</sup> Therefore, all of the discrepancies in names must reflect legitimate options, and the apparently contradictory tallies of “the Benjaminites and the priests” must result from some unknown difference in the parameters of the calculation.<sup>29</sup>

The assertion that Radak takes this traditionalist position might appear to stand in conflict with his oft-cited remarks in the introduction to his commentary to Joshua. There, Radak accounts for masoretic distinctions

27. See recently the concise summary in Dirksen (2005, 141-42).

28. Compare Radak’s introduction to the Psalms commentary, where he affirms that even the Writings were composed with Divine inspiration. It is likely that according to Radak, in all cases, whichever version of a name was canonized first is the original one—recorded by the inspired biblical author—while the later book attests to the alternative version that developed subsequently. In his parallel remarks on the name “Dodanim” in Genesis, Radak indeed writes that Moses must have known that to have been the original version. Contrast Talmage (1975, 112), who argues that while Radak in Genesis does give preference to the name that was canonized earlier, this is only because it appears in the Pentateuch, which reflects Mosaic prophecy.

29. At the same time, note that at 1 Chr 7:1, Radak does acknowledge that there was relevant genealogical material unavailable to Ezra.

## 12 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

between the spelling (*ketiv*) and pronunciation (*qere*) of words on the basis of the very same rabbinic source that gave rise to his predecessors' approach to discrepancies in Chronicles: Ezra found conflicting manuscripts and decided in some way to preserve both options. In fact, however, Radak's position in that case is limited in a fundamental way: he speaks there not of Ezra's canonization of error but of Ezra's transcription of previously canonized books which had undergone *transmissional* corruption. The most that Radak appears to allow for, then, is that obscurities could have emerged in the course of transmission and that the correct text was preserved by Ezra in the form of either the *ketiv* or the *qere*. His essential position, however, remains that no error could have been canonized and that discrepancies must be harmonized rather than attributed to any kind of corruption.

Resolution of contradictions, accordingly, emerges as one of several important aspects of Radak's unique agenda on Chronicles. The distinctiveness of this agenda, to which we now turn our attention, warrants careful examination.

### **Radak's Exegetical Program: Chronicles versus the Former Prophets**

Even a cursory glance at Radak's commentary to Chronicles reveals that it is far briefer and less comprehensive than his others. Indeed, three centuries after Radak, the Spanish exegete Don Isaac Abravanel made the following remarks in the introduction to his commentary to Samuel:

In this land we have no commentary to the book of Chronicles except some meager comments of Radak, of blessed memory, and these are so meager as to be insignificant—he did not provide in them any in-depth analysis.

Is Radak's commentary, then, half-hearted and indiscriminate, or is there some systematic program on which he follows through consistently? The most direct programmatic statement in his introduction—that he “did not write on one verse after another, only on the verses that require interpretation”<sup>30</sup>—provides little guidance: Radak uses similar language at the beginning of his commentaries to Joshua and Jeremiah, and both of those works reflect his usual fuller exegetical style.<sup>31</sup> If the commentary to Chron-

30. This appears at the end of the very first quotation above.

31. Radak's statement on Joshua reads: “I will write on the verses that require interpretation and the words that require philological evaluation.” On Jeremiah he writes: “With God's help, in interpreting the book, I will write on the verses that require interpretation and



icles reflects some consistent agenda, then Radak's conception of what "requires interpretation" must have undergone substantial change.

To resolve this matter, it is necessary to consider that the commentary is least thorough on narrative segments of the book, which tend to pose comparatively few basic interpretive difficulties. On the other hand, while *Chronicles* consists of sixty-five chapters, about one-third of Radak's commentary corresponds to the genealogical lists in the first nine, which contain an abundance of philological obscurities, discrepancies with lists in other biblical books, internal contradictions, puzzling choices of content and arrangement, and repetition. Furthermore, on the invariably difficult poetic prayer in 1 *Chronicles* 16, Radak provides a fairly sustained, running commentary. In my opinion, the picture that emerges from this is not one of haphazardness. Rather, as he writes in his introduction, Radak was especially troubled by the book's "very obscure matters, and matters contradicting those in other books" and, accordingly, composed this work with the objective of resolving the more glaring difficulties that arise from the text. On the other hand, the greater comprehensiveness found in Radak's other commentaries results, in part, from a subjectively higher standard of elucidation of the text for the reader<sup>32</sup> and, more significantly, from several quantifiable expansions to his exegetical program.

### *The Exposition of Narrative*

Most important, in his commentaries to other narrative books, Radak goes beyond resolving obscurities and begins to ask what contribution is made by each component of the text.<sup>33</sup> This expanded agenda comes through

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the words that require philological evaluation—not always on one verse after another the way I did in the *Isaiah* commentary, but rather the way I did in the commentaries on the first four books." The distinction between the *Isaiah* commentary and the others results, I believe, from the dense and cryptic poetry in the book of *Isaiah*; on such books, Radak tends to provide consistent verse-by-verse philological commentary.

32. For illustrations of this, see Berger (2006, 85-87). See also p. 84 n. 9 concerning several more minor matters that contribute to the greater expansiveness of Radak's later commentaries. One of these that deserves mention is the presence of a running Targum, which Radak did not have by his side in the case of *Chronicles*. In his commentaries to books on which he did have a Targum, Radak frequently cites and evaluates targumic renderings. Churgin (1945, 236) first noted that commentators do not appear to have had access to *Targum Chronicles* even into the modern period. For examples where Radak would probably have cited this Targum for support had it been before him, see volume 4a of Sperber (1968, 70-71), and the independent lists in Eisemann (1987, 481 n. 1), and in volume 2 of Kiel (1986, appendixes, 95 n. 51).

33. On Radak's literary sensitivity in narrative contexts see most extensively Seidler (2003).

## 14 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

most sharply in Radak's treatment of passages in the Former Prophets that have parallels in Chronicles. Consider, for example, the following remarks in Radak on 2 Samuel 5:1, where the Israelites declare their loyalty to David, saying, "We are your own flesh and blood":

Even though you are of the family of Judah and they are related to you, we are also your flesh and blood, for all of us Israelites are kinsmen.

This incisive explanation of the significance of the biblical formulation exemplifies the textual sensitivity that Radak displays in the majority of his commentaries. On the parallel phrase in 1 Chronicles 11:1, however, Radak is silent, since the Israelites' choice of words presents no particular difficulty.

In a similar vein, Radak gives little attention to the question of motives of biblical characters in the Chronicles commentary, while elsewhere this is decidedly among his concerns. For example, at v. 6 of the same chapter in Samuel, Radak explains that the full nation's commitment to David is what prompted his decision to advance upon Jerusalem:

For they had a tradition that Zion stands front and center in the Israelite kingdom, and that only a king of all Israel shall conquer it; and until this point there was no established kingship in Israel, since Saul's kingship did not survive.

Again, on the parallel verse in 1 Chronicles 11:4—which actually gives emphasis to the full nation's participation ("David *and all Israel* went to Jerusalem"<sup>34</sup>)—Radak says nothing, apparently unconcerned with explaining David's reason for initiating the battle.

### *Philosophy and Rationalism*

Several more specialized programmatic expansions are even more striking. Radak's attention to philosophical matters, including his inclination to rationalize apparently miraculous events, is well documented.<sup>35</sup> In keeping with his more limited agenda on Chronicles, however, Radak did not set out to address such concerns. To illustrate this, let us return to 2 Samuel 5, where at v. 24 David is now confronted by the Philistines. With the battle

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34. Scholars have devoted considerable attention to the Chronicler's wide use of the phrase "all Israel" and its implications for his ideology. The most important starting point remains Japhet (1989), who devotes an entire chapter to this question.

35. See Talmage (1968).



about to be joined, God commands David not to attack until a marching sound emerges from the top of the bushes, signifying that God himself is leading the way. Radak explains:

I will produce a sound in order to encourage the people who are with you: it will sound to them as though people are walking on the tops of the trees—as if angels have gone forth to attack the Philistines.

Unlike Rashi, who writes that actual angels were to march on the tops of the trees, Radak characteristically rationalizes the matter, rendering the angels a mere illusion. On Chronicles, however, Radak is again silent.

While the reader of Radak on Chronicles will nonetheless detect a handful of philosophically motivated remarks, including the rationalization of miracles, all the relevant examples are unattested in mss Paris and Munich, for they apparently did not conform to his original program. For instance, at 2 Chronicles 21:12, Radak addresses the matter of Elijah's letter to King Jehoram, sent after the Elijah's ascent to the heavens. According to Radak, the letter did not really come from the heavens; rather, it was composed by a living prophet to whom Elijah appeared, who was to mislead the king into *thinking* that the letter came from the heavens. This explanation, however, does not appear in mss Paris and Munich, which preserve the commentary in a form that better exemplifies Radak's initial agenda.<sup>36</sup>

### Qerei-Ketiv *Disparities*

Radak's treatment of *qerei-ketiv* disparities yields a similar observation. As above, Radak considered such alternative readings to represent legitimate textual variants, and, as he promises in his introduction to the Joshua commentary, it is his usual practice to explain both options. On Chronicles, however, he does not do this. The only real exception appears at 2 Chronicles 24:27, where Radak indeed tries to account for both the *qerei* (ירב) and the *ketiv* (ורב). His entire discussion of this, however, is unattested in mss Paris and Munich, and was apparently not part of the original version of the commentary.<sup>37</sup>

36. For other examples, see Radak's comments and our remarks at 1 Chr 21:1; 2 Chr 5:9; 18:19; and 32:31. Another philosophically oriented comment, at 2 Chr 6:18-20, is essentially a paraphrase of a prayer of King Solomon in the text.

37. In a very different kind of example, at 1 Chr 15:24, Radak notes that the *ketiv* contains an essential letter that became lost in pronunciation. He reiterates this at 2 Chr 29:28 in what is indeed a later addition.

16 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles**Rabbinic Citation*

Finally, on the crucial matter of Radak's utilization of rabbinic material, the evidence of these two manuscripts is essential.<sup>38</sup>

In the Chronicles commentary as elsewhere, Radak incorporates some rabbinic citations that provide plausible *peshat* explanations, and others whose value is homiletic. Citations might stand alone as the one straightforward interpretation of the text, provide support for Radak's view, or appear beside Radak's interpretation as straightforward or homiletic alternatives. It should be emphasized that in keeping with a programmatic statement in his introduction to the Joshua commentary, Radak incorporates homiletic citations "for lovers of *derash*," but they do not encroach on his commitment to explaining the plain sense of the text.<sup>39</sup> And crucially, with only the rarest of exceptions, in the earlier versions of the Chronicles commentary *all* types of rabbinic citations—including homiletic ones—provide responses to textual concerns, consistent with Radak's limited program in the work.<sup>40</sup>

In the later versions, however, Radak incorporates rabbinic material far more liberally, as he does in his other commentaries.<sup>41</sup> For example, several rabbinic citations unattested in mss Paris and Munich raise a problem that is really extraneous to the text, impart information not really necessary for understanding the text, or deduce a halakhah. These include a halakhic derivation concerning the splitting of spoils; the discussion of a

38. On Radak's use of rabbinic sources generally, see recently Cohen (1993), Cohen (2000, 397-413), Grunhaus (2003a), and Berger (2007a).

39. I present my views on the question of potential exceptions to this in the final section of Berger (2007a).

40. The only important exception to this concerns a group of three didactic inferences, all in one context—at 1 Chr 2:26 and 2:34—each of which Radak introduces with the phrase "Based on this they said." Even these, however, appear within broader comments that otherwise respond to textual difficulties.

41. Even among such later insertions, *homiletic* citations in the Chronicles commentary appear within comments that address textual problems, with only one exception: at 1 Chr 8:27, Radak cites a homiletic midrash that provides support for his apparent desire to reject the rabbinic equation of Phinehas with Elijah. Such cases highlight the tension in Radak's commentaries between his rationalistic bent and his subservience to what he perceived as authoritative traditions on matters of historical fact. As I argue elsewhere (Berger 2007a), Radak's overt challenges to the rabbis appear most often in reaction to assertions of a halakhic, theological, or historical nature, reflecting his need to justify his rejection of their authority in these realms. In the case of the Chronicles commentary, see Radak and our remarks at 1 Chr 2:18; 2:23; 3:15; 8:1; and 9:20; and at 2 Chr 5:9; 22:2; 30:2; and 32:30. Of particular note is Radak's sharp (if deferent) rationalistically motivated critique of the rabbis' assertion that the Ark miraculously took up no space in the Temple (see Radak and the supercommentary at 2 Chr 5:9). On authoritative historical traditions in Radak more generally, see Perez (1983) and Grunhaus (2003a).

halakhic problem concerning ritual immersion in a vessel; the observation that participants in the dedication of the Temple ate on the Day of Atonement; the identification of a “man of God” as Amoz; and the citation and rejection of two criticisms of King Hezekiah: that he added a second month of Nisan during Nisan itself, and that he improperly stopped up the waters of Gihon.<sup>42</sup> The addition of this type of rabbinic material suggests a definitive expansion of Radak’s program.

In fact, even where rabbinic citations do address a textual problem, an unusually large percentage of them are later additions. Indeed, these citations amount to the most dramatic and sizable modifications of the commentary. While in some cases this might reflect Radak’s incorporation of rabbinic material that he came across only later, the more fundamental expansions noted above confirm the impression that a programmatic shift is at work. Radak, it appears, utilized rabbinic sources far more restrictively when first setting out to write his commentary to Chronicles, focused as he was on addressing textual problems in ways that met his critical standards.

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## The Translation and Supercommentary

Printed editions of Radak on Chronicles, all of which follow the basic text of the *editio princeps* (a close descendant of ms Paris),<sup>43</sup> are riddled with errors. The English translation provided in this volume, therefore, makes use of all available text witnesses. Beyond mss Paris and Munich, manuscripts occasionally cited in the supercommentary for their value in establishing the correct text include Escorial G II 6 (on which the translation is mostly based),<sup>44</sup> Marucelliana C.CCCLXI, Vatican 89, JTS Lutzki 865, Oxford Bodleian Opp. Add. 125, and St. Petersburg Russian National Library II A 6. For biblical verses, I generally follow the new Jewish Publi-

42. These appear, respectively, at 1 Chr 29:22; 2 Chr 4:6; 7:9; 25:7; 30:2; and 32:30.

43. The first printed edition of Radak on Chronicles appears in the 1548 Venice Rabbinic Bible. It mirrors the text of ms Paris with the marginal insertions of Radak’s later additions. This edition also contains several new errors that clearly result from misreadings of ms Paris itself. At present, a critical Hebrew text of the commentary is available only in dissertation form (Berger 2003).

44. This is the earliest manuscript, dated to the late-thirteenth or early-fourteenth century, and is as reliable as any other despite its fair share of errors. mss Paris and Munich are later and less reliable, even as they reflect an earlier version of the commentary. I thank Prof. Malachi Beit-Arié and Dr. Edna Engel, who assisted in the paleographic analysis of the manuscripts. For a full evaluation of text witnesses, see Berger (2003, 59-76, English section).

18 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

cation Society translation,<sup>45</sup> except where Radak's remarks—either in the commentary or in his biblical lexicon (*Sefer ha-Shorashim*)—suggest a different understanding.

Where Radak refers to a biblical text, cites the rabbis, alludes to works of his own, or mentions other medieval figures by name, I include parenthetical references in the body of the translation.<sup>46</sup> Other references appear in the supercommentary. Where Radak's remarks parallel others elsewhere in his works, references are regularly provided.<sup>47</sup> For the sake of thoroughness and possible reader interest—at only occasional risk of excess—I regularly indicate where Radak appears to have added material later, based primarily on the evidence of mss Paris and Munich.

It proved impractical to present with full consistency comparisons between Radak's comments and his numerous predecessors' treatments of the same issues. I do provide such comparison where Radak's dependence on an earlier treatment is apparent, and more important, where there emerges a particularly instructive contrast.<sup>48</sup>

Radak's affirmation of the integrity of the biblical text, his early dating of the basic text of Chronicles, and his traditionalist assumption that the Bible reflects a unified theology distinguish his work sharply from modern critical treatments. In particular, his discussions of textual problems in genealogical lists and of apparent contradictions between Chronicles and parallel biblical texts—which together comprise a sizable portion of the commentary—lend themselves to only occasional comparison with mod-

45. I also used NJPS's spellings of names of people and of places. Where more standard transliterations of names are necessitated by context, they appear in italics in accordance with all transliterated terms. I utilized the 1999 edition of NJPS.

46. Among rabbinic sources, Radak refers to the Bavli most often. The commentary includes over fifty citations of the Bavli and five of the Mishnah. Otherwise, where Radak names his source, there are two references to the Yerushalmi, one to the Tosefta, five to *Genesis Rabba*, one to *Leviticus Rabba*, one to *Seder Eliyyahu Rabba*, one to the *Thirty-two Hermeneutic Rules of R. Eliezer*, and six to *Seder Olam*. Among anonymous citations, it appears that there are as many as eight more of the Yerushalmi, several more of *Midrash Rabba* (especially *Genesis Rabba*), and two of *Avot de-Rabbi Natan*. Other citations of the rabbis suggest that Radak might well have utilized *Midrash Tanḥuma*, *Yalkut Shimoni*, *Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer*, *Sifrei*, *Midrash Tehillim*, and Tractate *Soferim*. As for Targum, Radak cites Aramaic renderings of verses elsewhere in the Bible, but did not possess *Targum Chronicles*; see above, n. 32. Radak's named citations of medievals include two of his father, R. Joseph Kimḥi, one of Rashi, two of Ibn Ezra, and four of R. Jonah ibn Janah. Radak makes reference to his *Mikhlol* on ten occasions.

47. In addition, in several places I cite explanations of verses in Chronicles from the works of Radak's older brother and teacher, R. Moses Kimḥi, particularly where they concern problems also addressed by Radak.

48. In cases where the position of a predecessor of Radak is of borderline significance, I have at times chosen to acknowledge it without paraphrasing its content. Such references will be of use specifically to readers with facility in Hebrew.

ern studies, which operate on fundamentally different presuppositions. Therefore, I provide reference to modern Chronicles scholarship only selectively. I indicate, for example, where a particular solution of Radak (or in some cases of one of his predecessors) to a difficult problem is considered seriously by critical scholars and, relatedly, where a debate among the medievals anticipates a similar one among moderns. I also provide modern parallels where Radak or another traditional commentator provides a path-breaking literary perspective.<sup>49</sup>

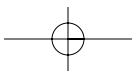
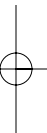
I do, however, I make frequent reference to commentators (spanning several centuries) who utilized Radak and shed light on his comments.<sup>50</sup> In particular, the nineteenth-century commentaries of Judah Jeitteles and Joseph Weisse, of the school of Moses Mendelssohn, contain frequent references to Radak and provide evaluation of his positions. I also regularly cite modern scholarship on Radak and on medieval interpretation and philology more generally. With the incorporation of these many important works, the supercommentary will, I trust, provide better elucidation of Radak's own contribution to the interpretation of Chronicles,<sup>51</sup> his methodology, and his place in the history of biblical exegesis and Jewish thought.

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49. I made frequent use of the recent commentaries of Dirksen (2005) and Knoppers (2003, 2004) on 1 Chronicles, and the magisterial commentary of Japhet (1993), which regularly provide excellent perspectives on a range of scholarly approaches to exegetical issues. I also consulted numerous other commentaries and studies, cited accordingly in the supercommentary. The commentary of Klein (2006) on 1 Chronicles appeared too late to be incorporated systematically.

50. I cite these commentaries without reference to page numbers. Unless otherwise indicated, I refer to the exegete's comment on the verse under discussion.

51. To be sure, the comparatively lucid style of Radak, which made his commentaries so popular, enabled me to allow Radak to speak for himself in a large percentage of cases. Accordingly, it is often precisely where Radak expresses himself most expansively that explanatory notes are kept to a minimum.



## Translation and Supercommentary

David son of Joseph, the Spaniard,<sup>1</sup> of the Kimḥi family said: This book, the book of Chronicles, is among the Holy Scriptures: it was included in them because it contains an account of the history of the Judean kings.<sup>2</sup> It begins by presenting, in abridged form, the genealogy from Adam to Noah;<sup>3</sup> then from Noah to Abraham; and then from Abraham to David (1 Chr 1:1–2:15)—for he is the essential one. Indeed, until it reaches David (1 Chr 2:15), it does not bother providing the genealogies of all the Israelites—only that of Judah (1 Chr 2:3–4:23).<sup>4</sup> Only afterward does it present some of the genealogies of the other tribes, in order to provide their numbers in the days of David (1 Chr 4:24–8:40).<sup>5</sup> All the genealogies of the other nations of the world that it provides along the way serve to produce

1. In this opening formula, Radak refers to his Spanish ancestry despite his own Provençal origins, as is his standard procedure. In this connection, see Talmage (1975, 9).

2. Prior to Radak, Pseudo-Rashi already makes explicit mention of the book's concentration on the history of the Judean monarchy (e.g., at 1 Chr 10:1); see Kiel (1986, appendixes, 95), and Kalimi (1998, 35). But see above, introduction, 5-7, concerning Radak's and Pseudo-Rashi's different conceptions of book's objective.

3. That is, until Noah, only one name represents each generation.

4. While Radak acknowledges the meager representation of non-Judean figures, he does not suggest, as do Pseudo-Rashi and the author of the Munich 5 commentary, that this pointedly serves to highlight the primacy of the Davidic ancestry. Comparatively, Radak attributes to the book less of an ideological slant; see above, introduction, 5-8.

5. That is, the text provides the genealogies and numbers of "some" of the tribes, but not of all of them: nothing appears for Zebulun and Dan; for

## 22 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

an orderly account of the world's ancestry, the way it appears in the book of Genesis;<sup>6</sup> but it presents all the rest of the genealogies with progressive abridgment.<sup>7</sup>

It also presents the kings of Edom, because eight kings and eleven chiefs ruled over them before any king ruled over the Israelites (1 Chr 1:43-54). But while among their kings there was not one who was the son of a previous king—rather, since people from other places dominated them, kings from those places ruled over them<sup>8</sup>—each king within the Davidic kingship was the son of a previous king. And for all the antiquity of [the Edomite] kingdom, it did not withstand the first king of Israel, namely David, as the text says: “and ... the Edomites became vassals of David” (2 Sam 8:14).<sup>9</sup> For even though Saul ruled over Israel first, this was not the

others, such as Naphtali (1 Chr 7:13), there appear only brief lists; and actual numbers (of warriors of value to David) are provided for only a few, such as Issachar (1 Chr 7:5). See Radak's important remarks at 1 Chr 7:1 (and supercommentary) concerning the limited source material available to Ezra when editing the work.

6. Compare Radak at Gen 5:29: “Our teacher Moses ... recorded the names of these people from Adam to Noah and the number of years that they lived, in order that we, the recipients of His Torah, should possess an account of the early history of the world, and that every generation should be familiar with its time frame.”

7. Early, relatively comprehensive genealogies of several nations appear in 1 Chr 1, based on Gen 5 and 10. The book's focus then narrows, as it provides a full record specifically of Jacob's sons and grandsons, followed by highly selective lists of Israelite figures up until the generation of King David.

8. See the list of Edomite successions in the text.

9. Again, Radak departs from Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author, who explain that the text mentions the Edomite kings in order to honor Isaac, father of Esau/Edom. Still, in referring to the transience of these Edomite rulers and their defeat at the hands of David, Radak too might well imply some ideological motive for their inclusion. See also his comment at 1 Chr 1:38, where he echoes Pseudo-Rashi's claim that the text mentions the descendants of Seir to honor Isaac, whose own Edomite descendants were granted the land of Seir.

Similarly, Radak at Gen 36:19 considers the possibility that the text



primary kingship, and he reigned for just two years (1 Sam 13:1). (He nevertheless did do battle with [the Edomites]—and they could not contend with him [1 Sam 14:47]; but it was David who subjugated them [2 Sam 8:14].)<sup>10</sup> The Davidic kingship, however, is the primary one according to the tradition<sup>11</sup> and prophecy transmitted from our father Jacob and from our teacher Moses, may they be at peace; for Jacob said, “The scepter shall not depart from Judah” (Gen 49:10),<sup>12</sup> and Moses said, “Hear, O Lord, the voice of Judah, and restore him to his people” (Deut 33:7).

Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Bava Batra* 15a), said that Ezra wrote this book.<sup>13</sup> But in fact, these chronicles of the Judean kings were written

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there lists the progeny of Ishmael and Esau to honor their fathers Abraham and Isaac (see also at Gen 25:12 and 25:17 concerning Ishmael specifically). It is noteworthy, however, that Radak does not articulate this with regard to the genealogies of Ishmael and Esau in Chronicles; see below, 1 Chr 1:27 and 1:35. In this connection, see Berger (2007a, 59 n. 55) concerning the commentary to Genesis and Radak’s conception that the Pentateuchal text leans further in the direction of “omnisignificance.”

On the entire matter of the Edomite kings, Radak presents his view with a bit more elaboration at Gen 36:31.

10. This parenthetical interruption is missing from the Paris and Munich manuscripts, which attest to earlier versions of the commentary. Radak presumably added this later upon consideration of 1 Sam 14:47, which briefly mentions a successful military campaign that Saul waged against Edom.

11. On “traditions” in Radak, which he considers to be unassailable, see Perez (1983); Grunhaus (2003a, 98-101, 135-42); and Berger (2007a).

12. Consistent with his claim here that David, and not Saul, was Israel’s first king of any consequence, Radak on the verse in Genesis writes that “*until David reigns*, leadership shall not depart from Judah,” which requires that Saul’s reign be considered negligible. By limiting the scope of the prophecy to the pre-Davidic period, Radak avoids the problem presented by the appearance of non-Judean rulers in later periods. On this, see below, 1 Chr 5:2.

13. See the talmudic passage, which contains an enigmatic qualification of the assertion of Ezra’s authorship. Radak apparently considers this qualification to be of little impact.

24 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

before Ezra, as it says in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 14:29); they just were not yet included in the Holy Scriptures.<sup>14</sup> Rather, they were written as a separate book, among the chronicles of the Judean kings.<sup>15</sup> Similarly, the chronicles of the Israelite kings were written in a book; but that book was not included in the Holy Scriptures because the Israelite kingship did not sur-

14. As noted by Japhet (1993, 24), Radak is among the first to argue that Ezra canonized Judean chronicles that had apparently been compiled over centuries. Ezra's role in producing and shaping the text, for Radak, appears to have been relatively minimal. (Still, the book clearly contains some late additions, such as the progeny of Zerubbabel in 1 Chr 3:19-24.)

This is quite consistent with Radak's assertion above that the book was included in the canon since "it contains an account of the history of the Judean kings"; that is, the canonization of the book (like its composition) plainly served to preserve the history of the Judean monarchy, and the choice and arrangement of material need not reflect the ideological exigencies of the early Second Commonwealth or of any other period. In this connection, see Kiel (1986, appendixes, 94), who indeed writes that Radak perceives Chronicles as an utterly typical work of history. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi's introductory remarks (echoed in the Munich 5 commentary) concerning Ezra's ideologically driven presentation of the genealogical material and his need to validate the Davidic line. For a fuller discussion, see above, introduction, 5-7.

On the views of traditional exegetes with respect to the authorship of the book, see Kiel (1986, introduction, 170-72), and especially Eisemann (1987, 470-74).

15. The formulation here is problematic, as it emerges that "the chronicles of the Judean kings ... were written as a separate book among the chronicles of the Judean kings" (in the text, I have rendered "*these* chronicles" in the first case to give sense to the passage as it stands). In fact, in the Paris manuscript, which contains the earliest version of the commentary in our possession, the phrase "among the chronicles of the Judean kings" does not appear. This suggests that, initially, Radak considered our book to represent fully the "Chronicles of the Judean Kings" mentioned in the book of Kings. Only later did he awkwardly modify his remarks, having noticed that some of the material alleged to be in these chronicles—such as "the other events of Amaziah's reign" (2 Kgs 14:18)—does not appear in our book (compare 2 Chr 25:26).

Saltman (1978, 53) offers a different rendering of Radak's formulation, but it appears to be based on a speculative emendation of the printed text that is not supported by manuscript evidence.

vive.<sup>16</sup> In the future also, only the Davidic kingship will arise, as the prophet says: “and there shall be one prince for all of them” (cf. Ezek 37:24),<sup>17</sup> and: “Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be divided into two kingdoms” (Ezek 37:22). But the book of the chronicles of the Judean kings was properly included in the Holy Scriptures, to relate events pertaining to the Judean kings and their exile, until their ascent from the exile. They had a prince over them from the Davidic dynasty—Zerubbabel, son of Shealtiel, grandson of Jehoiachin—and this book presents the royal descent up until Zerubbabel (1 Chr 3:19).<sup>18</sup>

Ezra included this book in the Holy Scriptures on the authority of the prophets Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi,<sup>19</sup> and included it in the Writings

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16. Japhet (1989, 309) deduces from here that, for Radak, the Chronicler recorded the history of the Judean monarchy alone since he saw it as the only legitimate continuation of the kingship of David and Solomon. In fact, however, Radak here is merely addressing why Ezra canonized the Judean chronicles exclusively, explaining that the Israelite monarchy was long dissolved and not expected to be reestablished. As for authorship, he indicates above that the book is essentially an old Judean chronicle, which suggests that it need not reflect any specific ideological purpose (as above, introduction, 6-7).

17. The actual text of Ezekiel speaks of a “king” rather than a “prince.”

18. Here also, I do not think that the reference to Zerubbabel need imply that, for Radak, the motive for the canonization of the book was to grant legitimacy to the reestablishment of Davidic rule. Rather, the account of Zerubbabel’s progeny simply marks the end of the span of history that the book addresses. Contrast the reading of Radak in Eisemann (1987, xxv).

19. This appears to be an adaptation of the beginning of Pseudo-Rashi’s introduction. It is not clear if, for Radak, the prophets’ role was to formalize the book’s canonical status or merely to attest to the accuracy of the material. Since Radak, in the introduction to his Psalms commentary, writes that even the Writings must reflect Divine inspiration, the canonization of old chronicles—probably of unknown authorship—might have required prophetic endorsement of their contents.

An extensive discussion of medieval references to the role of these prophets in the composition of Chronicles appears in Eran Viesel’s forthcoming article on the topic. Viesel cites the North African commentary at 1 Chr 3:24 as the first such known reference and observes that the intention there is to explain how Ezra could have known and recorded the names of

26 *The Commentary of Rabbi David Kimḥi to Chronicles*

and not in the Prophets because it is a historical account. Since its main purpose is to present the history and the genealogies, it was written and included among the Writings even though there are some prophecies in it<sup>20</sup>—just as the book of Ruth was written to convey the genealogy of David and thus was included in the Writings.

This book contains very obscure matters, and matters contradicting those in Samuel and Kings. And since this book is a historical account, people have not regularly studied it,<sup>21</sup> nor have I seen any of the early commentators attempt to elucidate it.<sup>22</sup> I did, however, find some commentaries on this book here in Narbonne (I do not know the names of their authors);<sup>23</sup> but I saw that they mostly follow a midrashic approach.<sup>24</sup> So when a cer-

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descendants of Zerubbabel who lived well after Ezra's time. Viesel suggests that later commentators who mention a role for these prophets—including Pseudo-Rashi and Radak—might have been motivated at least in part by similar concerns.

20. See, e.g., Solomon's prophecy at 2 Chr 1:11-12.

21. R. Benjamin ben Judah of Rome, in the introduction to his *Chronicles* commentary (attested in several manuscripts), adds that "people shy away ... even from reading [Chronicles] due to the absence of commentaries." For a discussion, see Mondschein (2005, 404).

22. Printed editions, based on what is probably a mistaken omission in ms Paris, fail to indicate that it is specifically "early" commentators whom Radak did not find to have elucidated the book. The added adjective strengthens the impression that he probably refers to classical commentators such as Rashi and Ibn Ezra, whom he utilizes considerably in his works. In this connection, see Mondschein (2005, 403, 410-11), who argues, in part based on this passage, that Ibn Ezra indeed did not compose a commentary to any substantial part of *Chronicles*, notwithstanding a small amount of evidence to the contrary. On Radak's wide use of Rashi, see most recently Grunhaus (2003b).

23. In all likelihood, one of these is Pseudo-Rashi; see above, introduction, 4.

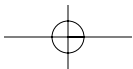
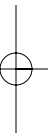
24. This does not appear to mean that every one of these commentaries follows a mostly midrashic approach, for Pseudo-Rashi does not. Nor is it likely to mean that most of the commentaries Radak had were essentially

tain scholar from Gerona, a student of my master, my father, of blessed memory, asked me to write a commentary on it, I saw fit to grant his request. But I did not write on one verse after another, only on the verses that require interpretation.<sup>25</sup> And with this I begin, with the help of Him who grants knowledge to man (cf. Psalm 94:10).

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midrashic, but not all of them: in Radak's usage, the term *be-rov* employed here generally means "most of the time", not "most of them"; and furthermore, Radak would not then be providing an explanation of the need for a new commentary. Rather, his intention is probably that collectively, the commentaries he had were largely midrashic—some more so and some less so—and none provided consistent enough *peshat* interpretation to satisfy him. See above, introduction, 4-5.

25. On Radak's program in this commentary see above, introduction, 3-8, and Berger (2006).



# 1 Chronicles

**1 (1-4) Adam, Seth, Enosh.** This is an account of one generation after another, as is “**Kenan, Mahalalel, Jared; Enoch, Methuselah, Lamech; Noah, Shem.**” But “**Shem, Ham and Japheth**” is like “Reuben, Simeon, Levi and Judah” (Exod 1:2).<sup>26</sup>

26. It is unlikely that Radak merely intends to say, as implied by Jeitteles, that “Shem, Ham, and Japheth” is a list of brothers rather than a generational sequence; the analogy to the list of Jacob’s sons would appear unnecessary for this purpose. Rather, as suggested by Weisse, the point is more subtle: brothers are not a sequence but a group; thus, a *vav* precedes the last one mentioned (“*and Japheth*”), just as in the list of Jacob’s sons (“*and Judah*”). (The *vav* before “Judah” is missing from most printed editions of Radak, which undermines the analogy and the sense of the comment.) Indeed, for Radak, ideally a *vav* should appear before *all* components of a list consisting of a group, so that he considers the absence of a *vav* before “Simeon” to be an example of an “elided *vav*”; see below, 2 Chr 11:18, and *Mikhlol* 50b.

Weisse aptly contrasts Radak’s comment with that of R. Moses Kimhi at Ezra 2:2 (the commentary is mistakenly attributed to Ibn Ezra). In that verse, there appears a list that oddly does *not* contain a *vav*, even though its components represent a group. R. Moses compares this to the generational sequence in our text, deeming the lack of a *vav* here to be similarly exceptional, even as Radak implies that as a sequential list, our case does not call for a *vav* at all. Compare R. Moses’ position to that of Ibn Ezra in *Sefer Moz-nayim*, cited in Charlap (1999, 188).

The early North African commentator to Chronicles is also struck by the absence of a *vav* in the generational sequence; like Radak, he draws a contrast to the list of Jacob’s sons, which does contain a *vav*, but he feels compelled to provide a speculative explanation for why the sequence does not. (Radak’s citation of this same list of Jacob’s sons provides, I think, only meager evidence of the North African commentator’s possible influence on him.)

## 30 1 Chronicles 1:5-7

(5) **The sons of Japheth.** [The genealogies] begin with Japheth as they do in the Torah (Gen 10:2), even though he is the youngest—since the text always refers to them as “Shem, Ham, and Japheth” (e.g., Gen 5:32), it seems that this was the order of their births. When it says [concerning Shem] “the brother of Japheth the *gadol*” (Gen 10:21), this does not mean older (*gadol*) in years but greater (*gadol*) in stature.<sup>27</sup> The very fact that it mentions Shem in reference to [Japheth] lends support to this.

The reason that the text begins by presenting the progeny of the youngest is that the only important part of the account concerns Abraham, and it is in connection with him that it will present the genealogies at length. This, then, is why it presents the lines of Shem only at the end.<sup>28</sup> And it places Japheth before Ham because he was greater and more honorable than him, even though he was younger in years.

**The sons of Gomer.** The spelling is “and Diphath,” with a *dalet*; but in the book of Genesis (10:3) it is spelled with a *resh*.<sup>29</sup>

(7) **The sons of Javan.** The text leaves out Magog, Madai, Tubal, Meshech, and Tiras—as it does in Genesis (10:3-5)—in order to be brief, because their

27. That is, it does not mean that Japheth was older than Shem. Radak takes the same position at Gen 10:21, following one opinion cited by Ibn Ezra (and one cited in the North African commentary here), but adds that *gadol* might refer to Shem and signify either his age or his stature. Contrast Radak's position to that of Rashi there, who considers Japheth to have been the oldest, following *Genesis Rabba* 26:3. Radak at Gen 10:6, however, does consider the possibility that Japheth was the *gadol* in years, at least relative to Ham.

28. Pseudo-Rashi, consistent with his approach, emphasizes that the briefer, earlier presentation of the non-Semitic genealogies sets them up for rejection in favor of that of Shem. Radak's formulation is, again, less ideological than this: he merely observes the structural phenomenon in and of itself. Compare the North African commentary at 1 Chr 1:34 (concerning Esau and Ishmael), and among moderns, Japhet (1993, 53-54, 57). See also Radak at Gen 10:6. For a more intensely ideological reading among modern scholars, calling to mind the position of Pseudo-Rashi, see volume 1 of Johnstone (1997, 27, and throughout his treatment of the genealogies).

29. That is, the name in Genesis is “Riphath.” Radak at Gen 10:4 explicitly compares this case to the more celebrated Rodanim-Dodanim discrepancy; see below, v. 7; above, introduction, 10 n. 26; and Berger (2006, 96-97).



progenies do not amount to anything important. But Gomer and Javan might have been the heads of the families that emerged from Japheth.<sup>30</sup>

**Tarshishah.** In the book of Genesis (10:4) [it says] “Tarshish” — they are one and the same.<sup>31</sup>

**And Rodanim.** This is spelled with a *resh* at the beginning; but in the book of Genesis (10:4) it is spelled *ve-Dodanim*, with two *dalets*. Since *dalet* and *resh* look similar, some readers of the genealogical works written in antiquity would read it with a *dalet*, while others would read it with a *resh*. This, then, is how the name remained pronounced by people:<sup>32</sup> with either a *dalet* or a *resh*. Therefore, one of the readings was recorded in the book of Genesis, and the other in this book, to indicate that it is all one name, even though one reads *dalet* and another *resh*. Similarly, “Riblah” (2 Kgs 25:7) is with a *resh* while “Diblah” (Ezek 6:14) is with a *dalet*, and “Deuel” (Num 1:14) is with a *dalet* while “Reuel” (Num 2:14) is with a *resh*.<sup>33</sup>

In the case of *vav* and *yod*, also, readings interchange because the two look similar. They also interchange for vowel letters *alef* and *hei* when at the end of a word, as in *savta* (סבֹּתָא, 1 Chr 1:9) and *savtah* (סִבְתָּה, Gen 10:7).<sup>34</sup> For *alef* and *hei* are members of one class, the class of letters that represent [nothing more than] exhalation;<sup>35</sup> so one may write either an *alef* or a *hei*,

30. Compare Pseudo-Rashi; and contrast Radak at Gen 10:4, where unlike here, he indicates that he has no explanation for the inclusion of only some of the families of Japheth.

31. This comment appears in only one branch of manuscripts and is probably an especially late addition of Radak.

32. The correct text reads *be-pi benei adam*, as already noted by Talmage (1975, 111 and n. 457). The mistaken reading *li-penei benei adam* (“before people”) in printed editions (based on ms Paris) is highly misleading.

33. On this entire matter see above, introduction, 7-12.

34. There is considerable disagreement among text witnesses as to which two words Radak is contrasting. I have opted for the reading in ms Vatican, the only one that properly contains one word ending with *alef* and another with *hei*.

35. On the Hebrew term employed by Radak for vowel letters, *naḥot*,

32 1 *Chronicles* 1:7-13

whatever one wishes. This function of the letters *alef*, *hei*, *vav*, and *yod* applies just the same to verbs, nouns, and auxiliary words, as we have explained fully in the grammar book that we have authored.<sup>36</sup>

And even though there are midrashic expositions concerning the variation in the letters of these names,<sup>37</sup> I did not see fit to record them, in order that the task not become too burdensome for me; for the main explanation is the one that I have provided.<sup>38</sup>

(13) **Canaan fathered.** I saw one of the commentators note<sup>39</sup> that the sons of Canaan total eleven, and that together with him they total twelve, so that when the verse says “He established the borders of nations according to the number of the sons of Israel” (Deut 32:8), it means the borders of Canaan and his sons, who are equal in number to Israel’s sons.<sup>40</sup>

in the usage of medieval grammarians, see Charlap (1999, 61-62) and the literature cited there. The term *nah* can also denote an extension of vowel length, that is, the “exhalation” that Radak considers such vowel letters to represent. Compare the definition in Goldenberg (1980, 191).

36. See *Mikhlol*, 78a-83a. While there is no explicit formulation in the *Mikhlol* applying the use of vowel letters to “verbs, nouns, and auxiliary words,” Radak’s examples extend to all these categories. On this three-part classification itself, see *Mikhlol* 1b. Concerning the category “auxiliary words” (*millim*), which consists most prominently of prepositions and pronouns, see *Mikhlol* 188b-194b. In this connection, see Chomsky (1952, 10 and n. 3), who also discusses the source of the three-part classification. Compare also R. Moses Kimḥi at the beginning of his *Mahalakh Shevilei ha-Da’at*, and in *Sekhel Tov* (1894a, 222).

37. See *Genesis Rabba* 37:1, and compare Pseudo-Rashi.

38. See above, introduction, 7-8.

39. The interpretation appears in Pseudo-Rashi, to whom Radak is presumably referring. It also appears in Rashbam on Deut 32:8; see the notes in the edition of Lockshin (2004, 175) for additional references. See also the similar comment on this verse of the medieval Christian exegete Stephen Langton in Saltman (1978, and the editorial remark, 75 n. 37).

40. Japhet (1993, 59) cites this comment of Pseudo-Rashi and Radak and endorses the likelihood that these twelve Canaanite names parallel the

(17) **The sons of Shem.** The list includes grandsons along with sons; for Uz, Hul, Gesher, and Meshech were sons of Aram.<sup>41</sup>

**And Meshech.** But in the book of Genesis (10:23) it says “and Mash” — they are phonetically similar, and he was called by both.<sup>42</sup>

(20) **Joktan fathered. Hazarmaveth** is one word.<sup>43</sup>

(24) **Shem, Arpachshad.** At this point the text restricts the account of the genealogy to one man after another, from Shem to Abraham.<sup>44</sup>

(27) **Abram, that is, Abraham.** The text says “Abram” in keeping with the way [one presents] genealogical lines;<sup>45</sup> and “that is Abraham” — the famous one, whom God loved and whose name He aggrandized (Gen 12:2), making him a father of many nations (Gen 17:5).<sup>46</sup> In the course of

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twelve sons of Israel. Compare also Knoppers (2003, 288-89). Indeed, Radak himself probably took this claim quite seriously, since purely homiletic remarks do not appear in this work except in the context of comments that respond to a genuine textual problem. The only exceptions to this appear in Radak’s later additions to the commentary; see above, introduction, 16-17, and Berger (2006, 91).

41. At v. 36 below, Radak indicates that in such cases Ezra relied on the reader’s familiarity with the account in Genesis. At Gen 10:23, he adds that there was nothing significant to convey concerning the progeny of the rest of Shem’s sons, which is omitted both there and here.

42. Regarding such cases, see Radak below, 4:24, and above, introduction, 11.

43. Ginsburg (1926) cites several variants according to which this appears as two words. See also Ginsburg (1897, 200) concerning the different masoretic traditions on the matter.

44. Consistent with their approach, Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author add that the text mentions Shem again in order to honor Abraham.

45. That is, the name he received at birth was Abram. The same version of the name appears in the parallel account in Gen 11:26.

46. Radak utilizes the phrase in Gen 17:5, *av hamon goyim*, which the verse presents as the source of the name Abraham (*Avraham*). His formu-

34 1 *Chronicles* 1:27-32

presenting the lines of Abraham, the text provides the lines of his son Ishmael and the sons of Keturah, and after that states, "Abraham fathered Isaac" (1 Chr 1:34), since he is the essential one.<sup>47</sup>

(32) **The sons of Keturah, Abraham's concubine.** Since the Torah says "Abraham took another woman (*ishah*)" (Gen 25:1), the text indicates here that she was only a concubine.<sup>48</sup> And when the Torah says that he took an *ishah*, it means that he took a certain woman (*ishah*) as a concubine; for he had no wife (*ishah*) other than our mother, Sarah: the others were concubines. In accordance with this, it says in the Torah: "To Abraham's sons by concubines," etc. (Gen 25:6).<sup>49</sup>

lation suggests that he sees an ideological turn in the phrase "Abram, that is, Abraham," that emphasizes Abraham's status as a chosen patriarch. Compare Japhet (1993, 60): "[This phrase] marks the change from the 'Abram' of the extant genealogical lists to 'Abraham' — the forefather of the Israelites"; and see the endorsement of this in Knoppers (2003, 277-78). But contrast Williamson (1982, 43): "even this comment need not indicate particular interest in Abraham himself."

47. Three related issues arise from the text: What is the motive of mentioning the progeny of Ishmael and Keturah? Why are they mentioned first when Isaac's name precedes Ishmael's in v. 28 (a structural anomaly characteristically observed by the Munich 5 author; see Berger [2007b])? Why does the text repeat in v. 34 that "Abraham fathered Isaac"? Radak appears to address all of these, at least by implication, in suggesting that it is appropriate to mention all of Abraham's progeny, but to save the line of Isaac, emphasized to be Abraham's "essential one" ("Abraham fathered Isaac"), for last. (Consistent with his general approach, the Munich 5 author writes that the extra phrase "Abraham fathered Isaac" serves not just to emphasize Isaac's line as the main one but to "honor" him.)

On the parallel, similarly redundant phrase in Gen 25:19, Radak, following Rashi and the rabbis, provides more elaborate, arguably midrashic, explanations (compare the North African commentary here). Again, I suspect that Radak felt more compelled to account for redundancies in the Pentateuchal text specifically; see Berger (2007a, 59 n. 55).

48. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi, who contends that the reason the text mentions that Keturah was a concubine is in order to belittle her sons in comparison to Isaac. For a similar perspective among moderns, see the remarks of Dirksen (2005, 40).

49. Radak at Gen 25:1 reverses his position and writes that *ishah* in that

(35) **The sons of Esau.** Just as the text provides the lines of Abraham's son Ishmael, it also provides the lines of Isaac's son Esau, and the kings who reigned over his nation before any king reigned over the Israelites (v. 43). For afterward they did not have kings, as I have written,<sup>50</sup> because they were under the control of David—until the sins of the Judean kings facilitated their rebellion against [Judean] rule (2 Chr 21:8-11).

(36) **The sons of Eliphaz.** “Zephi” is written with a *yod*; but in the Torah (Gen 36:11) it appears as “Zepho,” with a *vav*.<sup>51</sup>

**Kenaz, Timna, and Amalek.** From this verse it seems that Timna was a son of Eliphaz; but in the Torah (Gen 36:12) it says that Timna was a concubine of Eliphaz and that she bore him Amalek! Some explain that Timna was the mother of Amalek as it says in the Torah, and that she was misbegotten.<sup>52</sup> For Eliphaz had relations with Seir's wife, the mother of Lotan, and she bore him Timna—either during Seir's lifetime or after his death<sup>53</sup>—

verse indeed suggests that Keturah was a wife, not a concubine. Accordingly, he contends that the “concubines” mentioned in Gen 25:6 do not include Keturah, or, for that matter, Hagar—both of whom were wives in full standing—but rather other women in Abraham's household. Radak does not address our verse in his comments there (but see Ramban at Gen 25:6).

50. See Radak's introduction and our comments there. Concerning the Edomite rulers who functioned in place of kings, see 1 Kgs 22:48, and Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry נִצֵּב.

51. On such cases see Radak above, v. 7.

52. Similar interpretations appear in *Tanḥuma va-Yeshev* 1, two manuscripts of *Genesis Rabba* 82:12 cited in Theodor and Albeck, and a midrash cited by R. Samuel Masnut here. However, the term “Some explain” in Radak, without reference to the rabbis, suggests that he alludes to a medieval work—such as Rashi at Gen 36:12—and that he was not familiar with any rabbinic source for this. Nevertheless, only in the *Genesis Rabba* variants and in Masnut's midrashic citation—but among none of Radak's extant medieval predecessors—is it explicit that Eliphaz had relations with Seir during the latter's lifetime, which would render the child misbegotten (a *mamzeret*), as claimed by Radak.

53. For Timna to have been misbegotten, Eliphaz's act of relations with Timna's mother would need to have taken place during Seir's lifetime.

36 1 *Chronicles* 1:36

and Ezra made a subtle observation in the Torah that there is a *paseq* after “Timna,” so that the intent is: “Gatam, Kenaz, and Timna” (Gen 36:11-12), meaning that she too was his daughter. Afterward, though, she became his concubine and bore him Amalek.<sup>54</sup> It is for this reason, then, that the text says, “and Lotan’s sister was Timna” (Gen 36:22, 1 Chr 1:39)—not “Seir’s daughter” but rather “Lotan’s sister.”<sup>55</sup>

But this interpretation is midrashic: had Timna been the daughter of Eliphaz, the author would not have recorded her in the list of sons; for Scripture does not do this without saying so explicitly, as in “and his daughter Dinah” (Gen 41:15) and “and their sister Serah” (Gen 46:17).<sup>56</sup> Rather, in my view it appears that the text takes an abridged form: since Ezra did not need to be explicit, inasmuch as the matter is explicit in the Torah, he recorded the genealogical lines in abridged form. He was similarly brief concerning the sons of Shem, recording his grandsons in the list of sons for the purpose of brevity,<sup>57</sup> so that when the text mentions “Aram” (1 Chr 1:17) it is as if it says: “*His sons were* Uz and Hul.” Here also, then, he was brief in writing “Timna.” For, in fact, he could have been even

Radak explicitly raises the possibility that Seir then died before Timna’s birth, perhaps since this would better justify why she is not listed as his de facto daughter rather than as Lotan’s sister.

54. That is, the word *ve-Timna*’ (“and Timna”) must be read both as a part of the list of Seir’s children that precedes it and as the subject of the sentence “And Timna was the concubine of Eliphaz.” Variations of this appear among several commentators, but see especially the North African commentary here concerning this type of literary feature and the sources cited in Kirchheim’s notes, as well as Rashbam at Gen 36:12 and the notes in the edition of Lockshin (1989, 229-31). Radak recognizes such a feature below, 1 Chr 23:8.

55. That is, Seir was not her biological father and perhaps did not live to raise her at all.

56. Ramban at Gen 36:12 deflects this objection on the grounds that a well-known daughter may be listed together with her brothers without any special indication, such as Miriam in 1 Chr 5:29. If Radak was conscious of this counterexample, it might be that he considered the case of Miriam, a particularly familiar figure, to be exceptional.

57. At 1 Chr 3:15, Radak recognizes this as a common feature of the genealogical presentations.

briefly and said, “Zepho, Gatam, Kenaz, and Amalek”; but since Amalek was not equal to the other sons—for they were sons of wives while he was the son of a concubine—he separated them by mentioning his mother. And it was adequate for him to just say “Timna,” since the matter is recorded in the Torah.<sup>58</sup>

(38) **The sons of Seir.** The text provides the sons of Seir also, just as it provides them in the Torah, because out of love of Isaac, [God] gave his son Esau the land of these chiefs, the descendants of Seir.<sup>59</sup>

(39) **The sons of Lotan: Hori and Homam**—with a *vav*; but in the Torah (Gen 36:22) this appears as “Hemam,” with a *yod*.

(40) **The sons of Shobal: Alian.** But in the Torah (Gen 36:23) this appears as “Alvan,” with a *vav*.

**Shephi**—with a *yod*, but in the Torah (Gen 36:23) this appears as “Shepho,” with a *vav*.

(41) **The sons of Dishon.** But in the Torah (Gen 36:26) it says “These are the sons of Dishan,” with a *qameṣ*. In truth, they were the sons of Dishon, for Dishon—with a *holem*—was the fifth of Seir’s sons, while Dishan—with a *qameṣ*—was the seventh one of Seir’s sons. This is in fact how it mentions them in the Torah—“Dishon, Ezer, and Dishan” (Gen 36:21)<sup>60</sup>—even as

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58. That is, Ezra relied on the reader’s familiarity with the Torah’s assertion that Timna was Amalek’s mother, so that the intention is not that Timna was Eliphaz’s child.

As Radak notes at Gen 36:12, this interpretation, in contrast to the one Radak rejects, need not favor the assumption that this Timna is the one indicated to be Lotan’s sister. The Munich 5 author indeed ignores the reference to Lotan’s sister here and considers this Timna to be a male, by whom an Edomite clan is identified in v. 51.

Compare Radak’s identification of our Timna with that of Ibn Ezra as understood by Ramban on the verse in Genesis.

59. Consistent with their approach, Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author add an even more ambitious ideological motive: from the account of Seir’s progeny, it emerges that Timna, despite being a daughter of clan heads, opted to join the family of Abraham’s progeny as a mere concubine (compare *Genesis Rabba* 82:14).

60. That is, the genealogies are presented here in order, and this Dis-



## 38 1 Chronicles 1:41–2:7

when it mentions their progeny, it calls both of them “Dishan,” with a *qameṣ*: “The sons of Dishan were Hemdan and Eshban” (Gen 36:26), followed by the sons of Ezer, followed by “the sons of Dishan were Uz and Aran” (Gen 36:28). Ezra, though, wrote “Dishon” for both of them. Apparently, concerning their names, they were not particular about the distinction between “Dishan” and “Dishon.”

**The sons of Dishon: Hamran**—with a *resh*; but in the Torah (Gen 36:26) this appears as “Hemdan,” with a *dalet*. I have already indicated the reasons for the variations (v. 7).

(42) **Zaavan and Jaakan**—with a *yod*; but in the Torah (Gen 36:27) this appears as “Vaakan,” with a *vav*.

(43–50) **These are the kings. ... When Baal-hanan died, Hadad reigned in his stead**—with a *dalet*; but in the Torah (Gen 36:39) this appears as “Hadar,” with a *resh*.

**And the name of his city was Pai**—with a *yod*; but in the Torah (Gen 36:39) this appears as “Pau,” with a *vav*.

**2 (1) These are the sons of Israel.** The author begins by presenting the progeny of the sons of Judah, because the book is primarily about the Judean kings.<sup>61</sup>

(6) **The sons of Zerah: Zimri.** This is Zabdi the son of Zerah, who is mentioned in the book of Joshua (7:1).

(7) **The sons of Carmi: Achar.** Even though Carmi was not listed, it was known that Carmi was a son of Zabdi, who is the same as Zimri mentioned [above]. Such is the tendency of this book when presenting genealogies in some cases.<sup>62</sup> Achar is the same as Achan, only the text calls him Achar pejoratively, since he caused trouble for (*‘akhar*) Israel.<sup>63</sup>

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hon is the fifth, which corresponds to the Dishon listed as the fifth son both here and in Genesis.

61. See above, n. 2.

62. The comment up to this point is missing from mss Paris and Munich. This is either due to homoioteleuton or because it is Radak’s later addition. Concerning the Chronicler’s elliptical presentations, see Radak above, 1:36.

63. The sequence in Joshua 7:1 is Zerah-Zabdi-Carmi-Achan. For alter-



(8) **And the sons of Ethan: Azariah.** This is like “The sons of Dan: Hushim” (Gen 46:23),<sup>64</sup> and “The sons of Palu: Eliab” (Num 26:8). The author does not mention the progeny of Heman, Calcol, and Darda; perhaps he did not find them. Alternatively, he abridged the progeny of Zerah because the kingship did not come from it and returned to present the progeny of Hezron son of Perez, since the kingship did come from it.

**And Chelubai.** This is Caleb son of Hezron, whom the text mentions later (v. 18).

(10) **Nahshon, prince of the sons of Judah.** It is written in this manner for the honor of David, to convey that even his grandfather Nahshon was a prince.

(13) **Jesse (*Ishay* [יִשַׁי]) fathered.** Whether with an *alef* or with a *yod*<sup>65</sup> it is the same, because the letters *alef*, *hei*, *vav*, and *yod* can interchange.<sup>66</sup>

native traditional solutions to the problems addressed by Radak see the Targum (and R. Levi Gersonides [“Ralbag,” available in standard Rabbinic Bibles]) as well as the various opinions cited in the North African commentary. For the story of Achan’s transgression, see Joshua chapter 7.

The North African commentator attributes the Achar-Achan discrepancy merely to the tendency of *resh* and *nun* to interchange. To Radak’s more substantive explanation, Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author, again seeing a stronger ideological agenda, add that the Chronicler denigrates the progeny of Zerah in order to explain why the Judean monarchy did not descend from him. Compare Japhet (1993, 75): “The allusion is enough as a reminder of the fate of Achan and his whole family, who were all executed together ‘on that day’ (Josh 7.24-25). Again, *the line of election does not abide with the Zerahites but must be sought elsewhere in the tribe of Judah*” [emphasis added].

64. Radak on the verse in Genesis provides a justification for the plural noun: “When the text says ‘The sons of,’ this is as if to say: ‘This one amounts to all the sons he had.’” See also Radak below, 2 Chr 24:25, and our remarks there.

65. The end of v. 12 refers to David’s father by the usual form of his name, *Yishay* (יִשַׁי), without an *alef* and with a *hireq* under the consonantal *yod*. In the form that appears in our verse, the name begins with a consonantal *alef* in place of a *yod*. (The *yod*, however, does remain as part of the long *hireq* that follows the *alef*.)

66. See Radak above, 1:7, and contrast the midrashic explanations in Pseudo-Rashi and the North African commentary.

## 40 1 Chronicles 2:13-15

**Shimea, the third.** This is the same as Shammah mentioned in the book of Samuel (1 Sam 16:9).

(15) **David, the seventh.** R. Jonah [ibn Janah] has written that this is like “the eighth,” since [Jesse] had seven sons besides David.<sup>67</sup> For it says in the book of Samuel: “Jesse presented seven of his sons before Samuel” (1 Sam 16:10), at which point [Samuel] said to him: “Are these all the boys you have?” (16:11), and he responded: “There is still the smallest one” (16:11). Furthermore, it says: “He had eight sons” (1 Sam 17:12). So if he had eight sons, and David was the eighth, “David, the seventh” would then mean “David, the eighth.”

But this substitution is impossible! Rather, in truth, it is possible that Jesse had a son from another wife, and that in the book of Samuel, the text counts all of them when saying “seven of his sons” and then “There still remains the smallest one.” But here, it refers to the seven that were of the same mother as David.<sup>68</sup> The scholar R. Abraham Ibn Ezra in fact explained it this way (*Sefer Şahot* 72b).

There are some, however, who say that another son had died.<sup>69</sup> And in the midrash (*Midrash Tehillim* 119:81), it says that the name of the eighth son was Elihu, the one mentioned among the officers whom David appointed over Judah: “Elihu, of the brothers of David” (1 Chr 27:18).<sup>70</sup>

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67. Radak first cites this opinion of Ibn Janah in *Shorashim*, entry שבע. As noted by Melamed (1978, 804 n. 234), its source is unknown. But see in this connection Ibn Janah’s *Sefer ha-Riqmah*, 312. See also Ibn Ezra’s shorter commentary to Exod 21:8, where he sharply rejects several suggested emendations of biblical texts, including the assertion that “the seventh” in our verse must be *corrected* to “the eighth.”

68. Compare Radak, *Shorashim* (שבע), and see the evidence added in the commentary of R. Meïr Leibush Weiser (“Malbim,” available in many Rabbinic Bibles).

69. This appears in most printed editions of Rashi on Sam 17:12, but Levy (1987, 61) indicates that it is not attested in manuscripts. Ibn Ezra in the passage cited by Radak writes that “many have explained it this way.”

70. This interpretation appears in the Peshitta and in all of Radak’s extant medieval predecessors, including Pseudo-Rashi, the Munich 5 author, and the North African commentator, who adds R. Judah Ibn Quraysh’s suggestion that the eighth boy was a son of Eliab. At the later ref-

And he was younger than David; so when it says “and David was the smallest” (1 Sam 17:14), it is only because he made himself small that it calls him “small.”

(17) **Jether the Ishmaelite.** This is Jithra the Israelite who is mentioned in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 17:25), and the text calls him “the Ishmaelite” because he resided in the land of Ishmael. The reason it calls him “the Israelite” is so that nobody should think that since he was called “the Ishmaelite,” he was of Ishmaelite descent. He was, rather, of Israelite descent.<sup>71</sup>

(18) **Caleb the son of Hezron.** Some of our Sages,<sup>72</sup> of blessed memory (*b. Sotah* 11b), have said that this is Caleb the son of Jephunneh; and why was he called “the son of Jephunneh”? Because he turned (*panah*) away from the plot of the spies. (They also said that when it says “Othniel son of Kenaz, brother of Caleb” [Josh 15:17],<sup>73</sup> it means that he was his brother by his mother, so that Caleb was not the son of Kenaz but rather his stepson, that is, the son of his wife. And they said that this is implied by a textual subtlety, where it says “the Kenizite” [Num 32:12] rather than “the son of Kenaz.”)

It does not appear so, however, according to the plain sense of the verses; for according to the plain sense of the verses, it appears that this

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erence to Elihu, Radak provides an alternative explanation that this is another name for one of the brothers mentioned here. On the history of interpretation of the number of Jesse’s sons, see Kalimi (2001).

71. On the verse in Samuel, Radak suggests in the name of R. Joseph Kimḥi that Jether was called an Israelite only when he was in the land of Ishmael. See also his citation of the rabbis there. Compare also below, 1 Chr 27:30.

72. In mss Paris and Munich there appears a different formulation, which does not contain the limitation to “some of” the Sages. There is no actual evidence of a conflicting view in rabbinic literature, and Radak probably introduced the restricting language after he became convinced, in light of his own more straightforward suggestion, that the view recorded in the Talmud is probably not universal. See below, 1 Chr 4:15, and our comments there, and especially Berger (2007a, 46-47).

73. This is an independent problem: the verse in Joshua, speaking of Caleb son of Jephunneh, implies that he was a son of Kenaz. See Radak’s alternative solutions there.

42 1 *Chronicles* 2:18

Caleb was among the earlier sons of Hezron, in that the text says (v. 21) that afterward, he took the daughter of Machir when he was sixty years old. But if it is as our Sages said—that he was Caleb the son of Jephunneh<sup>74</sup>—then when Hezron fathered Caleb, Hezron would have been one hundred and seventy years old! For Caleb said, “I was forty years old when Moses, the servant of the Lord, sent me” (Josh 14:7), and that was in the second year after they left Egypt, while Hezron was among those who came to Egypt (Gen 46:8, 12).<sup>75</sup>

**Fathered Azubah Ishah and Jerioth** (*holid et ‘Azuvah Ishah ve-et Yeri’ot*). But afterward it says, “When Azubah died ...” (1 Chr 2:19), and it says, “**and these were her sons**”;<sup>76</sup> so it appears that they were his wives, *and* it appears that they were his daughters! In this vein, our Sages, of blessed memory, said: “Is there a person who fathers his wives?”<sup>77</sup> And they provided midrashic interpretations.

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74. This clarification is missing from the versions of commentary attested in mss Paris and Munich, where Radak does not indicate any suspicion that there was rabbinic dispute on the matter. See above, n. 72.

75. That is, if Caleb was only forty years old soon after the exodus, he would have been born in approximately the one-hundred-and-seventieth year of the Israelites’ two-hundred-and-ten-year stay in Egypt. Thus, even if Hezron was born right before the arrival in Egypt, he would have been fully one hundred and seventy years old when he fathered Caleb. Radak’s analysis here appears already in the North African and Munich 5 commentaries.

In support of the rabbis’ view equating the two Calebs, Weisse and Malbim observe that both Calebs have a daughter named Achsah (1 Chr 2:49; Josh 15:16). Modern scholars attribute this to a redactor’s error (see, e.g., Dirksen 2005, 57) or to a conscious effort “to identify Caleb the son of Hezron with Caleb of conquest fame” (Braun 1986, 42; see also Japhet 1993, 87, and more generally, chapter 8 in Kalimi 2005, on “character creation” in Chronicles). The latter option would imply that the rabbinic identification has its roots in inner-biblical interpretation.

76. Both the continuation of v. 19—which indicates whom Caleb married after Azubah’s death—and the listing of Azubah’s sons here imply that she was his wife.

77. This language appears to be unattested in extant rabbinic literature; but see *Exodus Rabba* 1:17, and compare the North African commentator’s citation of the Sages.

To my mind, however, this *et* is like *min* (“from”), as in the case of *ke-ṣeti et ha-’ir* (“when I go out from the city,” Exod 9:29), and others besides it.<sup>78</sup> This, then, is the meaning of the verse: Caleb the son of Hezron fathered children *from* his wife Azubah and *from* Jerioth—both of them were his wives, and he had children from both of them. But the text keeps the genealogical lines brief, mentioning the sons of just one of them, namely, Azubah: it is with respect to her that it says, “and these were her sons.”<sup>79</sup> And when Azubah then died, Caleb took another wife named “Ephrath” (v. 19).

(21) **Afterward Hezron had relations.** It says “**when he was sixty years old**” because the [other] wives that the text mentions he had already taken beforehand.<sup>80</sup> Only afterward, when he was sixty years old and an old man, did he take the daughter of Machir, etc.<sup>81</sup> All of these births were in Egypt, since Hezron was among those who came to Egypt.<sup>82</sup>

(22) **Segub fathered Jair.** It appears from the Torah (Num 32:41; Deut 3:14) that Jair was of the tribe of Manasseh and that he is the one who took the cities<sup>83</sup> in the land of Gilead and named them “Havvoth-jair,” for himself. The text relates the entire story here also to indicate that this is the Jair mentioned in the Torah. Only here it connects him to the tribe of Judah—indeed correctly! For when the Torah (Num 32:41; Deut 3:14) says “the son of Manasseh,” it means on his grandmother’s side, since his father’s mother was

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78. Compare the Targum, and see additional examples in *Shorashim*, entry נח. On this option in modern scholarship, see Dirksen (2005, 53).

79. As noted by Weisse, Radak, in an effort to create cohesion between this verse and the next, considers “*her* sons” to allude to Azubah, even though Jerioth is the last wife mentioned. See also Radak’s remark at v. 42 concerning this phrase.

80. The reference is presumably to the mother of the sons enumerated in v. 9, and to Abijah mentioned in v. 24.

81. Contrast the ideological and arguably midrashic explanation in Pseudo-Rashi.

82. See Radak above, v. 18.

83. In Numbers the text states that he “conquered” them. Radak’s terminology follows the verse in Deuteronomy.

## 44 1 Chronicles 2:22-23

the daughter of Machir son of Manasseh (v. 21). And since Jair took the cities in the land of Gilead, he remained there with the tribe of his grandmother, and those cities became his portion (Deut 3:14).<sup>84</sup>

But our Sages have said (*b. Bava Batra* 112a) that this is not the Jair who is recorded in the Torah.<sup>85</sup> Rather, this Jair son of Segub took a wife in the land of Gilead, and when she died he inherited what was hers; so he had these twenty-three cities from his wife's inheritance.

(23) **Geshur and Aram took.** The text indicates that these cities that Jair took were taken away from his grandchildren by Geshur and Aram. These were neighboring nations, as it says: "Until the border of the Geshurites and the Maacathites" (Deut 3:14).<sup>86</sup>

**All of these were the sons of Machir the father of Gilead.** This means: All these cities *belonged to* the sons of Machir the father of Gilead (by which it means: to the sons of Machir's daughter); and the text elides a prepositional *lamed*.<sup>87</sup> The same is true for "There were two company commanders who were the son of Saul" (2 Sam 4:2), which means "*for* the son of Saul,"<sup>88</sup> as well as many like it that lack a prepositional *lamed*.<sup>89</sup>

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84. This, then, accounts for why the Torah refers to his Manassite ancestry. The North African commentator makes a more general assertion that individuals may be identified by a distinguished maternal ancestor, as in Ezra 2:61. Compare the commentary of R. Moses Kimḥi there (mistakenly attributed to Ibn Ezra).

85. The North African commentator here and Ibn Ezra on Num 32:41 precede Radak in assuming the two to be the same. In fact, even the Talmud is not explicit on the matter, and Weisse questions Radak's claim that the rabbis distinguish between them. (See also the commentary of R. Samuel Strashun ["Rashash"] on Bavli *Yevamot* 62b [included in standard editions], who addresses Weisse's objection to Radak.)

86. Presumably, Radak's intention is to provide a source that Geshur bordered Israel. Aram's proximity to Israel is better known. On the history of Jair's acquisition of these cities and their subsequent conquest see the novel approach of the North African commentator.

87. Radak's predecessors also assume that the reference is to the cities.

88. Radak on the verse in Samuel nevertheless provides two alternative explanations.

89. See *Mikhlol* 50b.

Based on this, our Sages, of blessed memory, said: Grandsons, even sons of daughters, are like sons.<sup>90</sup> But this does not hold true with respect to the law.<sup>91</sup> Now they interpreted “the sons of” in accordance with its straightforward sense, not like “belonged to the sons of,” as we interpret it.<sup>92</sup> But the correct view is as we have interpreted; for if the text says this concerning the sons, what does “All of these” mean, when it only mentioned Segub and Jair? Rather, it refers to the cities—the “sixty cities” that the text mentions.

And it is possible that when the text refers to twenty-three cities in the land of Gilead (v. 22), they are included in the sixty cities mentioned, for these sixty cities are also in the land of Gilead. When it says “twenty-three,” then, it means the large cities, and when it says “sixty,” it means together with their dependencies.

(24) **After the death of Hezron *be-Kalev Efratah*.** Some say<sup>93</sup> that they named the city “Caleb-eprathah” for Caleb and his wife, in which case Hezron was among those who came to the land of Israel and died there.<sup>94</sup>

90. The remainder of this comment is missing from mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late, as is the parenthetical remark at the beginning of the comment, where Radak similarly acknowledges that “sons” means grandsons by a daughter.

Radak’s claim that the rabbis deduce the principle in question from our verse appears to be based on Bavli *Yevamot* 62b; however, the verse is not cited there, nor is any reference to it implied according to Rashi’s interpretation of the talmudic passage. But in support of Radak’s reading, see the commentary of R. Samuel Eidels (“Maharsha”) there (included in standard editions of the Bavli) and the commentaries of Weisse and Jeitteles on our verse.

91. Radak appears to suggest that the principle is ultimately rejected, although this does not seem consistent with the Talmud’s conclusion. But in support of Radak’s position, see the sources cited in Zevin (1951, 347 n. 15).

92. Both Weisse and Jeitteles echo this understanding of the rabbis’ position. Nevertheless, it seems entirely unclear how Radak deduces that the rabbis interpreted “sons of” straightforwardly: as he acknowledges above, his own elliptical reading similarly presumes that grandsons by a daughter are called “sons.”

93. This appears in Pseudo-Rashi and in the Munich 5 commentary.

94. Radak’s assumption is that they could not have given such a name to a city in Egypt itself. And prior to the descent into Egypt, Caleb son of



46 1 *Chronicles* 2:24-26

But this interpretation, that Hezron lived for more than two hundred and fifty years,<sup>95</sup> is improbable.<sup>96</sup> To my mind the meaning is: When his son Caleb took his wife Ephrathah, at that very point Hezron died.<sup>97</sup>

**Abijah, wife of Hezron.** Since the text had said (v. 21) that in his old age he took Machir's daughter, it indicates that when he died, he had another wife named Abijah and that she **bore him Ashhur, the father of Tekoa**, either during his lifetime or after his death.<sup>98</sup>

(25) **The sons of Jerahmeel.** The text first presented the progeny of Ram son of Hezron (vv. 10-17), since he is the one who is essential for presenting the family of David; then afterward—following Ram—it presented the progeny of Caleb son of Hezron (vv. 18-20);<sup>99</sup> and now it returns to present the progeny of the firstborn, that is, Jerahmeel.

(26) **Jerahmeel had another (*aḥeret*) wife, whose name was Atarah.** According to the plain sense of the verse she was an Israelite, and it says "another" because it mentioned the first one.<sup>100</sup> Or even should you say

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Hezron was not yet born; for he does not appear in Genesis 46 in the list of those who arrived from Canaan.

95. Radak adds forty years in the wilderness to the two hundred and ten in Egypt.

96. As Weisse observes, however, Radak at 1 Chr 5:36 ascribes to Azariah an exceedingly long life-span. See also Radak's comment at 1 Chr 7:21 concerning Ephraim.

97. The North African commentator presents two approaches to the phrase *be-Kalev Efratah*, both of which suppose, as does Radak, that the reference is to Caleb's marriage to Ephrathah.

98. Radak appears to render the verse as follows: "After the death of Hezron—at the time Caleb married Ephrathah—Hezron left a wife Abijah, who bore him/had borne him Ashhur the father of Tekoa." Contrast the Targum, Pseudo-Rashi, and Ibn Quraysh (cited in the North African commentary), who all take the verse to mean unequivocally that Ashhur was born "after the death of Hezron."

99. As Radak noted above at v. 9, Chelubai, born after Ram, is a version of the name Caleb.

100. As noted by Weisse, only the sons of the first wife are mentioned,



that she was a concubine, as in “you are the son of a woman of another status (*aḥeret*)” (Judg 11:2), she was still an Israelite.

But our Sages, of blessed memory (*y. San.* 11b), explained midrashically that she was a Gentile, and that it is for this reason that the text mentions that her name was Atarah; for he took her as an adornment for himself (*le-hit’atter bah*), since she was the daughter of people of distinction.<sup>101</sup> And based on this they said (cf. *Midrash Zuta* Ruth 1:12):<sup>102</sup> Do not trust a convert until twenty-four generations. For there are twenty-four generations from Atarah until Ishmael son of Nethaniah son of Elishama, who killed Gedaliah son of Ahikam (2 Kgs 25:25). They consist of Atarah, Onam, Shammai, Nadab, Appaim, Ishi, Sheshan, Sheshan’s daughter, Attai, Nathan, Zabad, Ephlal, Obed, Jehu, Azariah, Helez, Eleasah, Sisamai, Shalum, Jekamiah, Elishama, Nethaniah, and Ishmael, who together with Jarha—the father of Attai—who was a slave, total twenty-four.<sup>103</sup>

(30) **Seled died *lo banim*.** [This means:] *be-lo banim* (“without children”).<sup>104</sup>

(34) **Sheshan had no sons.** But it says “The sons of Sheshan: Ahlai” (v. 31)! Rather, it is that Ahlai died in his father’s lifetime, and there was no son or daughter left by him.<sup>105</sup>

**Sheshan had an Egyptian slave, whose name was Jarha (יִרְחָע),** who grew

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not she herself. Compare Radak above, v. 21, and our comments there. In rejecting the subsequent rabbinic midrash, Radak is preceded by Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author. Only the North African commentator defends the rabbis’ claim that she was not an Israelite, explaining on this basis why the firstborn Jerahmeel’s progeny appears last.

101. Compare Radak at Jer 41:1.

102. There does not appear to be an extant midrash that explicitly mentions our verse as a source of this principle.

103. Radak is compelled to count both Jarha and his wife, Sheshan’s daughter, to reach twenty-four.

104. Compare *Mikhlol* 50b-51a, where Radak notes a similar elided *bet* in v. 32 below.

105. Compare Pseudo-Rashi.

up with him and was a member of his household,<sup>106</sup> like Abraham's slave Eliezer;<sup>107</sup> and he gave him his daughter (v. 35) after he freed him. In a midrashic vein:<sup>108</sup> It is from the name that they deduced that he made him a freeman;<sup>109</sup> for ירחע stands for עבד חרי ('*eved ḥarrei*, "a freed slave"): the 'ayin stands for עבד ("slave"), and ירח backward is חרי ("free").

It is based on this that [the Sages] said (see *b. Pes.* 113b): "When your daughter matures, free your slave and give her to him."<sup>110</sup> But even though he freed him, he violated the Torah when he gave him his daughter, because he was a first-generation Egyptian convert (cf. *Deut* 23:8-9). They also said based on this (*y. Hor.* 19a): "Do not trust a slave until sixteen generations"; for there are sixteen generations from Jarha until Ishmael son of Nethaniah.<sup>111</sup>

(42) **The sons of Caleb brother of Jerahmeel.** The text presents the progeny of Jerahmeel and proceeds to complete the progeny of Caleb, whatever was not recorded above (vv. 18-20).

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106. This is Radak's assumption, perhaps based on the fact that the Chronicler saw fit to list Jarha's progeny as if he were a son of Sheshan.

107. Compare Radak at *Gen* 24:2.

108. This appears to be Radak's own "midrashic" suggestion, not a citation of the rabbis. See a similar explanation in the North African commentary.

109. Mss Paris and Munich do not contain this part of the sentence (beginning "It is from ..."). While the Hebrew phraseology might have engendered a homoioteleuton, it is more likely that this is in fact a late, mildly awkward insertion of Radak; for the pronoun "they" appears to allude to the rabbis, in a statement of theirs that he cites only later in the comment. As noted by Weisse, the more straightforward reason for assuming that Jarha was freed is the very fact that he was given Sheshan's daughter in marriage.

110. The North African commentator makes a similar comment; yet there is no extant rabbinic source that our verse is the basis for this assertion.

111. Ishmael was the murderer of Gedaliah son of Ahikam; see *Jer* 41:2.

**Meshah his firstborn.** For those mentioned above were not [Caleb's] first sons. But the text places them earlier—perhaps they were the most important of his sons. It does the same for the sons whom he had by Ephrath, for the honor of Bezalel. And this is the meaning of what it says above: “and these were her sons” (v. 18); that is, he himself already had sons, but these he had by Azubah.

**Who was the father of Ziph.** Ziph was well known; that is why it says “the father of.” The same is true for “Machir father of Gilead” (v. 21), and many others. Perhaps the city Ziph (Josh 15:24) was named for him. Some interpret “the father of Ziph” to mean the chief of Ziph, which means that Meshah was the chief who ruled the city that was called Ziph.<sup>112</sup> But the first [explanation] is correct.

**The sons of Mareshah the father of Hebron.** To my mind, “Ziph” is elided: since the text just mentioned him, it relies on the reader’s understanding and leaves him out. It is as if it had said: “The sons of Ziph: Mareshah father of Hebron.”<sup>113</sup>

(47) **The sons of Jahdai.** He is one of the sons mentioned, and he had two names.

(48) **Maacah was the concubine of Caleb, who fathered (*pilegesh* Kalev *Ma'akhah yalad*).** *Yalad* does not refer back to Maacah—for then the text would have said *yaledah* (“bore”)—but rather to Caleb; and it is as if it had

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112. This is the view of the Targum, Pseudo-Rashi, and the Munich 5 author. The North African commentator anticipates Radak’s view.

113. The Munich 5 author writes that Mareshah is a variation of Mesha, so that it is Mesha’s progeny to which the text alludes. As above, he interprets the prior phrase, “the father of Ziph,” to refer to not to the progeny of Mesha but to the area over which he ruled. On the other hand, Radak and the North African commentator, for whom “the father of Ziph” is already a representation of Mesha’s progeny, favor the elliptical reading presented here, according to which Mareshah is not Mesha but the son of Ziph.

For lists of suggested emendations of the verse in modern scholarship, see Dirksen (2005, 56-57), as well as Japhet (1993, 86), who cites the possibility that the name “Ziph” is missing from the text—calling to mind Radak’s suggestion that it is intentionally elided.

## 50 1 Chronicles 2:48-50

said “Maacah was the concubine of Caleb, and he fathered (*pilegesh Kalev Ma’akhah ve-yalad*) **Sheber and Tirhanah** by her.”<sup>114</sup>

(50) **These were the sons of Caleb son of Hur.** This means that those whom the text lists now,<sup>115</sup> Shobal and the others, were sons of Caleb son of Hur, who is the grandson of Caleb son of Jephunneh.<sup>116</sup> Having presented above the progeny of Uri son of Hur (v. 20), it says here that Hur had another son named Caleb;<sup>117</sup> and these were his sons.

**Father of (*avi*) Kiriath-jearim.** Some interpret: the ruler of Kiriath-jearim;<sup>118</sup> and the same for “*avi* Bethlehem” (v. 51) and “*avi* Beth-gader” (v. 51). But it is possible to interpret *avi* according to its plain sense, meaning “father of Kiriath-jearim”; since all the people of Kiriath-jearim were his children

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114. Radak appears to consider this a case of an elided *vav*. But in none of his examples in *Mikhlol* 50b is a *vav* elided before a verb governed by a new subject, as in this case. Indeed, both the Targum and the Munich 5 author consider Maacah to be the subject of *yalad*. The same is true for Ibn Janaḥ in *Sefer ha-Riqmah*, 212, who justifies the masculine form on the grounds that “there is no fear of confusion.” Weisse, critiquing Radak, adds the observation that had *yalad* referred to Caleb, one would normally have expected a *hif’il* form (there are no other cases in Chronicles where the *qal* is used in reference to the father).

115. That is, the word *elleh* (“these”) does not refer to what precedes it but to what follows it.

116. Radak here (and at 4:1) assumes the rabbinic view that Caleb son of Hezron is the same as Caleb son of Jephunneh, even though he questions this at v. 18 above. This comment appears to reflect Radak’s earlier hesitation to reject the rabbis’ position; see our remarks there.

117. Radak’s point appears to be that this is a rather abrupt resumption of the progeny of Hur that the text had begun to present earlier. It provides no introductory comment indicating that this is a continuation of Hur’s progeny, and it begins to speak of Caleb son of Hur without stating directly that Hur even had a son by that name. The peculiarity of the formulation in fact prompted Pseudo-Rashi to provide multiple interpretations, including one that parallels Radak’s.

118. This view appears in the Targum and in the North African and Munich 5 commentaries. Compare also Pseudo-Rashi at 1 Chr 4:12.

and grandchildren, and the entire city was settled by his descendants, the text puts them together and says, “father of Kiriath-jearim.” And the same is true for “*avi Bethlehem*” and “*avi Beth-gader*.”<sup>119</sup>

(52) *Haro'eh haši ha-menuhot*. Some explain that he ruled over a city named “Manahath,” the one mentioned below (1 Chr 2:54, 8:6), and that the meaning of *ha-ro'eh* is that he would supervise (*ro'eh*) the matters of the city and rule over it.<sup>120</sup> Some explain that he ruled over half (*haši*) of Jerusalem, which is called *menuḥah* (“tranquility”).<sup>121</sup> And some explain that he was the supervisor and appointee over half of the offerings (*haši ha-menaḥot*) that came to Jerusalem from all the nations.<sup>122</sup> There are still other interpretations that I did not see fit to record,<sup>123</sup> and even those that I have recorded do not seem correct to me.

What does seem correct in my view is that *Haro'eh Haši-ha-menuhot* are names of sons of Shobal—additional sons, beyond those who settled in Kiriath-jearim—and one's name was “Haroeh,”<sup>124</sup> and the other's name was “Hazi-hamenuhoth.” One should not be surprised at a combination of

119. Compare the two views presented at v. 42 above. In what follows, Radak presumes his preferred interpretation to be correct. His view anticipates the consensus of modern scholars; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 85-86).

120. This appears in Pseudo-Rashi and in the Munich 5 commentary.

121. This is the opinion of the North African commentator.

122. Compare the Targum.

123. See the view of R. Saadia Goan cited in the North African commentary, which is somewhat similar to Radak's preferred view below.

124. Radak's assumption that Haroeh did not live in Kiriath-jearim creates an apparent inconsistency in his comments: on the next verse, he writes that the Zorathites descended from the families of Kiriath-jearim, and at 1 Chr 4:2 he writes that the Zorathites descended from Reaiah, whom he equates with Haroeh—suggesting that Haroeh himself *was* of the families of Kiriath-jearim. Possibly, he considered Haroeh's children to have joined the families of that city while Haroeh himself did not. In fact, at 1 Chr 4:2 he identifies specifically the children and grandchildren of Haroeh as the “main Zorathite families,” which, according to his comment to v. 53, left Kiriath-jearim to settle Zorah.

52 1 *Chronicles* 2:52-54

names of people that resembles something with a meaning, for, after all, there is the combination “Giddalti and Romamti” (1 Chr 25:4) which resembles something with a meaning,<sup>125</sup> and they are names of people. And there are others besides these.<sup>126</sup>

(53) **And the families of Kiriath-jearim: the Ithrites, the Puthites.** This means: All the people of Kiriath-jearim, who were the descendants of Shobal, were divided into these families, and those who are mentioned were the heads of the families. Each family is identified in reference to the household of its ancestor, as in “Of Imnah, the family of the Imnites ... of Beriah, the family of the Beriites” (Num 26:44); and so for all of them.

**From these came the Zorathite and the Eshtaolite clans.** Zorah and Eshtaol are two places in the land of Judah: people from the families of Kiriath-jearim went out and built these two places and settled them and became two families called Zorathites and Eshtaolites.<sup>127</sup> Even though it says “The spirit of the Lord first moved him in the Camp of Dan, between Zorah and Eshtaol” (Judg 13:25), [this area] did not belong to the tribe of Dan but to the tribe of Judah, as did Kiriath-jearim. But it was called “the Camp of Dan” because people of Dan encamped in those places until their portion fell to them.<sup>128</sup> And so it says: “They went up and encamped at Kiriath-jearim in Judah. That is why that place is called ‘the Camp of Dan’ to this day” (Judg 18:12).

(54) **The sons of Salma: Bethlehem.** This is as we have explained (v. 50) “Salma father of Bethlehem” (v. 51).<sup>129</sup> And there was another family of his descendants called **the Netophathites.**

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125. This combination means “I reared and brought up.” The full name of the second individual is Romamti-ezer; see Radak below, 1 Chr 25:1.

126. Radak provides no indication of what additional cases he has in mind.

127. These families later expanded into clans; see Radak below, 4:2.

128. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi’s alternative explanation.

129. That is, Salma’s descendants settled Bethlehem. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi, who follows his position at 1 Chr 4:12 that the term *avi* before the name of a city need not suggest that its inhabitants are descendants of the individual in question.

**Atroth-beth-joab.** This is also the name of a family. Alternatively, it is the name of a city, like “Atroth-shophan” (Num 32:35), and that entire city was comprised of his descendants.

**And the Hazi-manahathites, the Zorites.** These are also names of families.<sup>130</sup>

(55) **And the families of the scribes that dwelt at Jabez.** This means that these families were also among the descendants of Salma.

**Scribes.** For they were scribes and teachers and were the inhabitants of the city named Jabez. It is possible that Jabez built it and that it was named for him.

**The Tirathites, the Shimeathites, the Sucathites.** These are names of families. There are many midrashic expositions concerning these names;<sup>131</sup> but if we were to undertake to provide midrashic explanations for why all the names were called as they were, no book could contain them. We are only concerned, then, with what we find written. For all the names involved matters known to them, as recorded in connection with a few of them. We should not, then, pursue those whose matters are not recorded.<sup>132</sup>

**These are the Kenites (הקנינים).** So I have found it in a carefully written manuscript: הקנינים with a *šerei* for the *qof*.<sup>133</sup> But in other manuscripts, also carefully written, I have found the *qof* with a *hīreq*. And the masoretic notation on it is: “No other occurrence; but one *qinim va-hegeh* (“lamentations and woes,” Ezek 2:10).”<sup>134</sup>

130. That is, these are families consisting of Salma’s descendants, presumably with no connection to Shobal’s descendants Hazi-hamenuhoth and the Zorathites. In printed texts of Radak, based on a marginal insertion in ms Paris, it states explicitly: “These are the names of families of descendants of Salma.” It is possible that this reflects Radak’s own addition.

131. See Sifrei Beha’alotekha 78, Mekhilta Yitro 2, and Tanḥuma Yitro 4 and *va-Yaqhel* 8. See also the Targum here.

132. See above, introduction, 7-8.

133. The only additional evidence for this vocalization appears to be the witnesses cited in *Minḥat Shay* (included in many Rabbinic Bibles). Ginsburg (1926) and De Rossi cite no such variant.

134. That is, the masoretic notation also suggests that the correct read-



## 54 1 Chronicles 2:55–3:1

The Kenites were similarly a well-known family. Some say that they were smiths, based on the Targum of “and he gave it to a smith” (cf. Judg 17:4): *ve-yahbeh*<sup>135</sup> *le-qena’ah*.<sup>136</sup> But our Sages, of blessed memory, have said (*b. Sotah* 11a) that they are among the descendants of Keni, the father-in-law of Moses, and that they became mingled with the families of Judah, so that their genealogy was presented together with them.<sup>137</sup>

**From Hammath, father of the house of Rechab.** This is the family of the house of the Rechabites mentioned in the book of Jeremiah (35:2), and the name of the father of that family was Hammath.

**3 (1) These were the sons of David.** Since the text presented above (2:10–17) the family of Ram until David but refrained from completing those lines in order to present those of Ram’s brother Caleb, it returns now, upon completing the lines of Caleb, to complete the Davidic lineage.

**The second one Daniel.** But in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 3:3) he is called Chileab. There is a midrashic explanation of this (*Tan. Toledot* 6):<sup>138</sup> Since

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ing is with a *hireq*: it indicates the absence of any other instance of *ha-qinim*, except the appearance in Ezekiel, which contains no definite *hei* and refers to something entirely different. This whole matter of the vocalization of הקינים, which interrupts the flow of Radak’s discussion of the family names in the text, is missing from mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

135. Our targumic texts read *vi-havteh*, which corresponds to the feminine verb in the verse. Radak cites the verse in the masculine also, apparently in error.

136. This is Pseudo-Rashi’s position.

137. This particular interpretation is more compatible with the reading of הקינים with a *şerei*; compare the remarks of Weisse. Scholars indeed identify the group with the Kenites, notwithstanding the masoretic vocalization (Japhet 1993, 89).

138. On the verse in 2 Samuel, Radak cites this only after suggesting that, as is the case with many other biblical figures, this individual had two names. Kalimi (2005, 107 and n. 41), in contrast to most scholars, allows for the genuine possibility that the names somehow parallel each other (note especially his citation of the rabbis and the medievals, including Radak).



David married Abigail after the death of Nabal (1 Sam 25:39-42), the scoffers of the generation said that this child born to Abigail was the son of Nabal. Therefore, his countenance appeared in the likeness of David's, in order to remove suspicion. He thus called him Chileab (*Kil'av*); that is, "*domeh la-av*" ("in the likeness of the father").<sup>139</sup> But Daniel was his main name; that is, "*danani Elohay mi-Naval*" ("my God has vindicated me in the matter of Nabal").<sup>140</sup>

(2) **The third one Absalom (*le-Avshalom*) son of Maacah.** The *lamed* of *le-Avshalom* refers to the pure substance of the thing,<sup>141</sup> and does not relate anything else to the substance;<sup>142</sup> so when the text says *le-Avshalom*, it is as if it had said *Avshalom*. This *lamed* is like those of *haregu le-Avner* ("had killed Abner," 2 Sam 3:30), *le-kol kelav ta'aseh nehoshet* ("make all its utensils

139. On the verse in Samuel, Radak, citing the midrash, records the language *kullo av*, which accounts for the *kaf* in *Kil'av*. This is indeed what appears in *Midrash Tanhuma*, as well as in the Targum, Pseudo-Rashi (in the name of *Midrash va-Yekhullu*), and R. Samuel Masnut on our verse. (The first few chapters of Masnut's commentary appear in most reproductions of the Lublin Rabbinic Bible, beginning on the page where 2 Chronicles 9 begins. The full work is preserved in ms Vatican 97.) In Radak here as well, ms Vatican reads *domeh kullo la'av*. Compare also R. Saadia Gaon, cited in the North African commentary.

140. A variation of this appears in Pseudo-Rashi's midrashic citation. It does not appear in the passage in *Midrash Tanhuma*.

141. Radak expresses variations of this formulation in several places; see, e.g., his comments at Jer 25:5 and 30:12, and in *Mikhlol* 194a. This function of the *lamed* largely parallels Radak's understanding of the word *et* (see *Shorashim*, entry נָ), which already appears in Ibn Ezra in several places; see, e.g., Ibn Ezra at Gen 1:1 and Exod 10:8, and Charlap (1999, 202). Compare also R. Moses Kimḥi, *Sekhel Tov* (1894a, 224). Radak, however, writes in the *Shorashim* that the word *et* "signifies the substance of the object receiving the action," whereas the *lamed* here goes beyond this, signifying something that is *not* the object of a verb (see also Radak below, 1 Chr 21:12 and 2 Chr 3:11). Radak, then, is not suggesting that the *lamed* here is the precise equivalent of *et* as perceived by *Mešudat David*, Ibn Melekh, Malbim, Jetteles, and others. Compare Dirksen (2005, 61): "The *lamed* ... is a scribal error, or one of the few cases of the *lamed* in a *subject* ..." [emphasis added].

142. That is, it is not a preposition as it usually is.

## 56 1 Chronicles 3:2-5

of copper," Exod 27:3), *anush le-shivrekhi* ("your wound is severe," Jer 30:12), and others besides these, which I have cited in the *Mikhlol* in the section on grammar (194a).<sup>143</sup>

(3) **Ithream, by his wife Eglah.** [The Sages] have said that this is Michal daughter of Saul (*b. San.* 21a); it is for this reason that the text says "his wife," which means his first one.<sup>144</sup> And when the verse says, "So to her dying day Michal daughter of Saul had no children" (2 Sam 6:23), it means that from that day on she had none, as punishment for her having scorned David for dancing wildly before the Lord—but beforehand she had (*b. ibid.*).

(5) **These were born (*nulledu* [נוולדו]) to him in Jerusalem.** The gemination of the *lamed* of *nulledu* takes the place of the [preceding] vowel letter; even though the *vav* is written here, it is incorporated into the gemination.<sup>145</sup>

**Four by Bath-shua daughter of Ammiel.** This is Bathsheba daughter of Eliam (2 Sam 11:3); only some called her Bath-shua and some Bathsheba, since they are similar. Likewise, Ammiel and Eliam are one and the same, only the letters are reversed.

These four sons are not mentioned in the order of their births. For Solomon was the eldest: he was the first son born by Bathsheba to David

143. The additional examples in the *Mikhlol* involve prefixes—including but not limited to *lamed*—which Radak does not consider to carry their standard prepositional meaning because they follow a noun in the construct state. For example, *ohavei la-num* in Isa 56:10 is the equivalent of *ohavei num* ("lovers of drowsing"), with the *lamed* signifying the substance of "drowsing."

144. Radak himself applies the identification in the Talmud to account for the words "his wife." (In this connection, see also the midrash cited in Japhet [1993, 95].) On his general attitude toward such rabbinic identifications, see Berger (2007a). On the verse in Samuel, Radak adds that according to the straightforward meaning, Eglah is not in fact Michal, and proceeds to explain the text differently; see his lengthy comment there.

145. That is, the first *vav* in נוולדו would normally signify a lengthening of the vowel (compare *Mikhlol* 78a-79a), but here it does not, as the gemination of the *lamed* neutralizes the vowel length and effectively "incorporates" the *vav*. See Radak at 1 Chr 20:8 and in *Mikhlol* 93b for variations of his formulation here.

after the death of the child, as the text says: “David consoled his wife Bathsheba; he went to her ... she bore him a son, and he called him Solomon” (see 2 Sam 12:24).<sup>146</sup>

Now in the book of Samuel, when the text lists the children of David born to him in Jerusalem (2 Sam 5:14-16), it does not mention the first Eliphelet and Nogah (1 Chr 3:6-8)—perhaps they were not alive then, and so it does not list them. But in this book it does list them, even though the two of them were not alive.<sup>147</sup> For it lists those born to him in Jerusalem; and since it says here “All the sons of David” (v. 9), it lists them all. In another place in this book where it again lists them (1 Chr 14:4-7), it similarly lists them all: even though it does not say “All these are the sons of David,”<sup>148</sup> it does after all say “whom he had in Jerusalem” (1 Chr 14:4-7).<sup>149</sup>

(8) **And Eliphelet** (the second one). Perhaps the first one had already died when he named the latter one. But in the second list in this book (1 Chr 14:4-7) there is a slight difference between them, as the first is *Elpalet* and the second *Elifalet*.<sup>150</sup>

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146. The verse actually reads “she bore a son,” without the word “him.” This entire sentence of Radak is missing from mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

147. A variation of Radak’s approach here appears in Pseudo-Rashi.

148. In Radak’s hypothetical phrase here, the emphasis appears to be that “All these are *the* sons of David”; that is, all are included in the list. While his formulation *kol elleh benei David* does not clearly indicate this, his point might be that *any* such apparently extraneous phrase would carry this implication.

149. The complete phrase reads: “These are the names of those children whom he had in Jerusalem.” Problematically, a similar phrase—“These are the names of those born to him in Jerusalem”—appears in the very passage in Samuel that omits the two names under discussion. Two solutions seem plausible. Possibly, Radak considered a reference to Jerusalem to justify—but not to *necessitate*—the listing of all those born to him in that city including the ones that had died. Alternatively, the terminology “whom he *had* in Jerusalem,” which appears only in Chronicles, is what indicates that all those whom he fathered are included.

150. This entire comment appears in only one family of text witnesses and is presumably Radak’s later addition. In fact, only in ms St. Petersburg

(10) **The son of Solomon: Rehoboam.** The text leaves aside the other sons and presents the progeny of Solomon, since the kingship belonged to him and to his children after him. It then presents the royal lineage of Judah, generation after generation.

(15) **The sons of Josiah: Johanan the *bekhor* (“firstborn”).** This is Jehoahaz, whom Pharaoh Neco took and exiled to Egypt, where he died (2 Kgs 23:34);<sup>151</sup> and he had two names. How then could the text say “the first-born”? After all, Jehoiakim was two years older than he! For it says: “Jehoahaz was twenty-three ... when he became king” (2 Kgs 23:31), and: “Jehoiakim was twenty-five ... when he became king” (2 Kgs 23:36); and there were only three months between their respective ascents to the throne (2 Kgs 23:31-34). Rather, it calls him *bekhor* because he was the *bekhor* for kingship, meaning that he reigned first. This is how our Sages, of blessed memory, explained it (*b. Hor.* 11b).

**The third Zedekiah, the fourth Shallum.** Our Sages, of blessed memory, said (*b. Hor.* 11b) that Shallum is Zedekiah and that the text calls him Shallum because he was wholesome (*mushlam*) in his deeds; for he was righteous—it was the people of his generation who were wicked.<sup>152</sup> Furthermore, it calls him Shallum because the Davidic kingship came to a

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does it properly appear as a separate comment. In all others in which it is attested, including printed texts, it is erroneously incorporated into the middle of the previous comment, violating the sense of both.

151. After this point, this comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich. It is likely that Radak inserted the additional material when analyzing the parallel text in Kings. See his comment at 2 Kgs 23:30, where he also cites at length the alternative view of Ibn Ezra at Dan 1:1—endorsed by most modern scholars (e.g., Japhet [1993, 97])—that Johanan was not a king and that Shallum is the same as Jehoahaz. (Regarding the evidence cited by Ibn Ezra from Jer 27:1-3, Radak, in his comment on Kings, promises to address the matter in his Jeremiah commentary. The reference is to Radak at Jer 27:1, not at 22:11 as noted in the *Haketer* edition.) Kalimi (2005, 105 n. 29) cites one scholarly view that supports Radak’s identification of Johanan with Jehoahaz.

152. That is, it was the wickedness of the people that caused the destruction of the Temple, which marked the end of Zedekiah’s reign. This particular point is Radak’s own defense of the rabbis’ assertion.

close (*shalemah*) in his day.<sup>153</sup> And it says concerning him “the third” because he was the third son of Josiah, and “the fourth” because he was the fourth since Josiah’s reign.

But in the manner of straightforward interpretation it does not appear so, but rather that this Shallum is Jehoiachin son of Jehoiakim son of Josiah.<sup>154</sup> We cannot say that Josiah had another son named “Shallum”; for among the kings who reigned after Josiah we find only Jehoahaz, Jehoiakim, Jehoiachin, and Zedekiah, and in the book of Jeremiah, Shallum is called a king: “concerning Shallum son of Josiah ... who succeeded his father Josiah as king” (Jer 22:11). The concern of that entire prophecy is rather Jehoiachin, who was exiled to Babylon; and when it says “son of Josiah,” this is because he was his grandson, and grandsons are like sons (one finds this in many places<sup>155</sup>). And while here too the text records him in the list of Josiah’s sons, this is only because he preceded his uncle Zedekiah in assuming the Josiahide kingship. This is, in fact, why it proceeds to mention him again—in the appropriate list (v. 16).<sup>156</sup>

**(16) The descendants of Jehoiakim: his son Jeconiah, his son Zedekiah.** Jeconiah named his son Zedekiah after his uncle Zedekiah.

**(17) And the sons of Jeconiah: Assir, Shealtiel his son.** These were both his sons. They called him Assir because he was born in prison (*bet ha-asurin*). For after all, the prophet wrote of him:<sup>157</sup> “Record this man as childless,

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153. Knoppers (2003, 327), in contrast to most scholars, sees fit to cite this as a real option.

154. Compare Radak at 2 Kgs 23:30 and Jer 22:11.

155. See Radak above, 1:36.

156. That is, as far as the lineage is concerned, Jehoiachin’s place is in the next verse, where he is properly mentioned again. Weisse remarks that Radak’s entire approach is obviously forced; and indeed, it would appear to suffer from several drawbacks: Radak must assume that Shallum was not Josiah’s son but his grandson; that he is mentioned twice; that he is referred to by two different names; and that he is listed after Zedekiah in v. 15, even though the very reason for including him is allegedly to indicate that “he preceded his uncle Zedekiah in assuming the Josiahide kingship.”

157. “Him” refers to Jeconiah.

## 60 1 Chronicles 3:17-19

one who shall never prosper" (Jer 22:30)! So [the Sages] said that he repented in prison and returned to God with all his heart and that God responded to him and gave him sons (see *Lev. Rab.* 10:5). And when he left prison, he named one Assir because he was born in prison (*bet ha-asurin*), and the other Shealtiel because the Davidic kingship was taken away (*nish-talleh*) from him.<sup>158</sup>

They also said (*b. San.* 37b): "Rabbi Johanan said: Exile atones for everything. For it says 'Record this man as childless,' and after he went to exile it says 'Assir his son, Shealtiel his son' (cf. our verse)—'Assir' because his mother conceived him in prison (*bet ha-asurin*), and 'Shealtiel' because God implanted him (*shetalo El*) in an unusual manner: while we have learned that a woman cannot conceive while standing, she did conceive while standing. Another interpretation: [the name] 'Shealtiel' relates to [God's] annulment of His curse (*nish'al 'al alato*<sup>159</sup>); and [the name] 'Zerubbabel' (v. 19) refers to [Zerubbabel's] conception in Babylon (*nizra' be-Bavel*)—for what in fact was his name? His name was Nehemiah son of Hacaliah."

(18) **Malchiram, Pedaiah.** These are all sons of Shealtiel. But the text keeps things brief and does not say "The sons of Shealtiel," since it is understood that in all these cases it mentions father and son.<sup>160</sup>

(19) **The sons of Pedaiah: Zerubbabel and Shimei.** When it says in Haggai (1:1), Zechariah,<sup>161</sup> and Ezra (3:2) "Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel," this is because he was his grandson; for Pedaiah was the son of Shealtiel, and Zerubbabel was the son of Pedaiah. After all, one finds many places where the text mentions grandsons as sons.

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158. The remainder of this comment is among the many midrashic citations that do not appear in mss Paris and Munich. The later addition of such material reflects Radak's greater willingness to incorporate midrash; see above, introduction, 16-17, and Berger (2006, 90-92).

159. The relevant line in the Talmud reads: *nish'al 'al alato El*—"God annulled His curse" preventing Jeconiah from having children—with the probable intention that the word *El* justifies the end of the name Shealtiel.

160. Alternatively, these may be considered sons of Jeconiah. See the remarks in Knoppers (2003, 320-21), where he argues against Radak's "influential suggestion."

161. Radak's reference to Zechariah appears to be in error.

**The son of Zerubbabel: Meshullam.** This is like “The sons of Zerubbabel.” The same is true for “The son of Hananiah” (v. 21), and “The son of Neariah” (v. 23).

**4 (1) The sons of Judah: Perez, Hezron, Carmi.** The text proceeds to fill in the lines of Judah not mentioned above,<sup>162</sup> mentioning—in abridged form—sons and grandsons in order.<sup>163</sup>

**Hur and Shobal.** This is the Hur mentioned above: “Caleb son of Hur the firstborn of Ephrathah” (2:50). This Hur was the son of Caleb son of Jephunneh;<sup>164</sup> and he was the father of the Caleb who was the father of Shobal, as mentioned above (2:50). Here, the text completes his progeny.

**(2) Reaiah son of Shobal.** Reaiah (*Re’ayah*) is the same as Haroeh (*Ha-ro’eh*) mentioned above: “Shobal ... had sons: Haroeh, Hazi-hammenuhoth” (2:52). For *Ha-ro’eh* (הַרְוֹאֵה) and *Re’ayah* (רְאִיָּה) are one and the same, as it is common for letters in names to change position.

162. That is, the text already achieved the goal of reaching David and his progeny, provided in chapter 3, but it goes back to fill in briefly the lines of Judah not yet mentioned, starting again with “The sons of Judah....”

163. Radak might be thinking primarily of v. 1 itself, which contains a sequential list of names—one from each generation—even though for one of these generations it switches to a different line to find an appropriate representative, and near the end one generation is skipped. It presents Judah first; then his son Perez; then Perez’s son Hezron; then Carmi, who for Radak is a grandson not of Perez but of his brother Zerah (see above, 2:6-7); then a great-grandson of Perez in Hur son of Caleb son of Hezron; and then Hur’s grandson Shobal (see above, 2:3). The rest of the lines presented might also be said to consist of “sons and grandsons in order,” but in a looser sense.

Notably, the Munich 5 author considers Carmi to be the same as Caleb the father of Hur, thereby salvaging the integrity of the sequence in v. 1. It is here that he first presents his liberally applied principle (based on an adaptation of rabbinic sources that already appears among earlier commentators) that such different versions of names represent conflicting text variants deliberately recorded by Ezra. See above, introduction, 9-10, and Berger (2007b).

164. Radak here assumes the rabbinic identification of Caleb son of Hezron and Caleb son of Jephunneh; see above, n. 72.



62 1 *Chronicles* 4:2-5

**These were the families of the Zorathite clan.** This is the same as the one mentioned above: “From these came the Zorathites and the Eshtaolites” (2:53); only here the text lists Jahath, Ahumai, and Lahad, who were the main Zorathite families.<sup>165</sup>

(3) **And these: the father of Etam.** This means: And these were additional descendants of Shoval and of Hur: the father of Etam,<sup>166</sup> **Jezreel**, etc.<sup>167</sup>

**And the name of their sister was Hazlelponi.** Perhaps the reason the text mentions their sister and that of the sons of Zerubbabel above (“And Shelomit was their sister” [3:19]) is that they did not have others; so it mentions these.<sup>168</sup> Or they were famous and important women in their time; so it mentions them, as in the case of Serah daughter of Asher (1 Chr 7:30).

(4) **The father of Bethlehem.** In order to be brief, the text does not mention Salma, who was the father of Bethlehem. Rather, it says “the sons of Hur ... the father of Bethlehem”; for Hur was the father of Salma,<sup>169</sup> and Salma was the father of Bethlehem (1 Chr 2:50-51).

(5) **Ashhur the father of Tekoa had.** This is the one mentioned above (2:24) as the son of Hezron, who begot him by his wife Abijah.<sup>170</sup> But above the

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165. That is, the families of Kiriath-jearim that became Zorathites (see Radak above, 2:53) were not among the primary Zorathite families like those mentioned here.

166. Etam is a city; see below, 2 Chr 11:6, and compare 1 Chr 4:32.

167. Weisse observes that Radak’s understanding of “the father of Etam” as the first on a list of sons is not consistent with the masoretic *zaqef qaton* on the word “Etam.” The Munich 5 author appears to have had a text that read not *ve-elleh avi ‘Etam* but *ve-elleh benei ‘Etam*, a variant attested in De Rossi. He understands this to mean “These were the inhabitants of Etam,” the list consisting of distinguished members of the greater city who governed its dependencies. This accounts for the inclusion of a female, Hazlelponi, whom he assumes to have been among these chiefs.

168. That is, where there is only one daughter, it is not too onerous to include her.

169. As noted in the Munich 5 commentary, Hur is actually the father of Caleb, who in turn was the father of Salma (compare Radak above, 2:50).

170. Radak does not even mention the rabbis’ claim in Bavli *Sotah* 12a



text did not list any more of his progeny, just that he was “the father of Tekoa” (2:24); so here it completes his progeny.

(9) **Jabez was more esteemed than his brothers.** Perhaps Jabez is one of those listed, and he had two names. Or he is an additional one, and the text records his story even though it does not list him in the genealogical sequence.

**Jabez (יעבֶז).** Even though, considering the story, this involves a transposition [of letters]—for according to the story it should have said יעצב—Hebrew speakers are not particular on this,<sup>171</sup> as in the cases of *Noah* (“Noah”), from *yenaḥmenu* (“will provide us relief,” Gen 5:29); *Qayin* (קַיִן, “Cain”), from *qaniti* (קָנִיתִי, “I have gained,” Gen 4:1); and *Shemu’el* (“Samuel”), from *me-Adonay she’iltihu*<sup>172</sup> (“I asked the Lord for him,” cf. 1 Sam 1:20).<sup>173</sup>

(10) **Jabez called out.** Perhaps he was concerned about his name, which is related to [the word meaning] pain (עֶצֶב)—as it says: “**that I not suffer pain** (לִבְלֹתִי עֶצֶב)” —and he was concerned that his dealings would not turn out right and that he would experience pain in his dealings with the world. So he made a vow that should God make him succeed, he would do such and such—but it does not say what he vowed. This is also true for [the verse], “Jacob then made a vow, saying, ‘If God remains with me ...’” (Gen 28:20), according to some of the commentators,<sup>174</sup> and for [the verse],

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that Ashhur is the same as Caleb, even though above, at 2:18, he dealt at length with another identification of Caleb in this talmudic passage. As noted by the Munich 5 author, the identification of Caleb and Ashhur is particularly difficult, since the text presents distinct lines for them.

171. The reference is not specifically to transpositions, which would not account for the example of Noah, but rather to any moderate difference between a name and its source.

172. Our texts read *she’iltiv*.

173. See Radak’s comments at 1 Sam 1:20 and especially Gen 5:29.

174. The full text of Jacob’s vow reads: “If God remains with me, and if He protects me on this journey that I am making, and gives me bread to eat and clothing to wear, and if I return safe to my father’s house, *ve-hayah Adonay li le-Elohim, ve-ha-even ha-zot*, which I have set up as a pillar, shall be

"Then Israel made a vow ... and said, 'If you deliver this people'" etc. (Num 21:2).<sup>175</sup>

***Ve-'asita ("and make/do") that from misfortune I not suffer pain (me-ra'ah le-bilti 'oṣbi)***. This means: And make *for me* that I not suffer pain from misfortune, meaning that You should make *a sign for me* that I will not suffer pain from misfortune in the world, and that my name not cause me any pain.<sup>176</sup> 'Oṣbi is then the infinitive of an intransitive verb,<sup>177</sup> with the pronoun and the infinitive relating to one person: it does not indicate a subject and an object.<sup>178</sup> Alternatively, it is a transitive verb, and the mean-

God's abode, and of all that You give me I will set aside a tithe for You." There is debate among commentators concerning the syntax of this: is the clause beginning *ve-hayah* part of the condition—"and *if* the Lord shall be my God"—and the clause beginning *ve-ha-even* the onset of the vow itself—"then this stone ... shall be God's abode"; or does the phrase beginning *ve-hayah* already represent the onset of the vow—"then the Lord shall be my God, *and* this stone ... shall be God's abode"? Rashi is the most prominent of those who take the former view, and it is likely that Radak had him in mind when referring to "some of the commentators." But the example remains seriously problematic, because it is quite clear that there is an explicit vow in that passage beginning at the latest with *ve-ha-even ha-zot*, whereas Radak's argument appears to be that in our verse there is no vow at all.

175. The continuation of the verse in Numbers reads *ve-haḥaramti et 'arehem*, which most commentators do understand to be an explicit vow—"then I will proscribe their cities." Compare Radak's own citation of the rabbis at Josh 7:20. Radak himself, however, presumably renders it as a part of the condition—"and I succeed in *destroying* their cities"; compare the *Shorashim* of Radak and that of Ibn Janaḥ under the entry *ḥrm*.

Beginning with "according to some of the commentators," the latter part of this comment does not appear in ms Paris and could well be Radak's later addition. Compare our comments below, 1 Chr 7:21. In light of the Hebrew formulation in ms Paris, the omission might also be the result of homoioteleuton.

176. Compare Ibn Janaḥ, *Riqmah*, 268.

177. This is the position taken by Radak in *Shorashim*, entry עֲצַב.

178. While Ibn Janaḥ, *Riqmah*, 76, understands 'oṣbi to be just an infinitive with an extraneous *yod*, Radak appears to see the *yod* as a possessive

ing is: And You will act on my behalf to save me from misfortune, that it not cause me pain.<sup>179</sup>

(11) **Chelub the brother of Shuhah.** Even though the text does not mention him in the genealogical sequence, it mentions him [here] to relate his lines. One finds this in many places in the book, since it keeps the genealogical lines brief.

(12) **Father of the Ir-nahash.** This is like “father of Kiriath-jearim” (1 Chr 2:50), for the city called “Ir-nahash” was settled by his sons.<sup>180</sup>

**These were the men of Recah.** All these sons of Chelub that are mentioned were called “men of Recah” for a reason known to them.

(13) **The sons of Kenaz: Othniel.** Even though the text had not mentioned Kenaz, it mentions his lines, as we have written (v. 11).

(14) **Father of Ge-harashim.** This is like “father of Kiriath-jearim” (1 Chr 2:50), in the sense that we have written (v. 12). The text indicates why the city was called “Ge-harashim” — **because they were craftsmen (*ḥarashim*)**. This means: crafters of stone, wood and iron, for each of them is called a *ḥarash*.<sup>181</sup>

pronoun (and not as an object, as he states explicitly), which yields the literal meaning “my being in pain.” As Weisse observes, however, nowhere else does עָצַב have a stative meaning. Furthermore, according to this interpretation, the clause must be taken as the equivalent of *ve-‘asita* [‘*immi ot* (“for me a sign”)] *le-bilti* ‘*oṣbi me-ra’ah*, with an inversion of the word order.

179. Radak takes this position in *Mikhlol* 33a, where he cites this case as an example where a *yod* alone—rather than *nun-yod*—functions as a first-person-singular object suffix. This interpretation is consistent with the word order in the verse, but the reference to “saving” is elided along with the phrase “for me”: “and do [for me to save me] from misfortune.” A variation of this appears in the Munich 5 commentary.

180. Compare Radak on the earlier verse, and our comments there. The Munich 5 author (like Pseudo-Rashi) understands “father” here to mean “chief,” in keeping with his earlier position.

181. Notably, the Munich 5 author cites a midrash that reads *ḥadashim* rather than *ḥarashim* in the biblical text. There does not appear to be any other attestation of this midrash or of such a biblical variant.

66 1 Chronicles 4:15-17

(15) **The sons of Caleb son of Jephunneh.** We have already written (1 Chr 2:18) that the view of our Sages, of blessed memory, is that he is the same as Caleb son of Hezron,<sup>182</sup> even though the text provides additional lines not provided above (1 Chr 2:18-55).

**And the sons of Elah: Uknaz.** This was his name: “Uknaz,” with a *vav*.<sup>183</sup>

(17) **The sons of Ezrah: Jether, Mered, etc., and she bore (*va-tahar et*) Miriam.** The meaning of *va-tahar* is like that of *va-teled* (“she bore”).<sup>184</sup> Similarly, *‘al birkhot horay* (“over the blessings of my ancestors,” Gen 49:26) is like *yoleday* (“those who bore me”). It is concerning the wife of Mered that the text says that she bore him — [that is,] Mered — Miriam, **Shammai**, etc.<sup>185</sup>

**Miriam.** He is a son, like the others: we find many names used for both males and females, like Abijah the wife of Hezron (1 Chr 2:24),<sup>186</sup> Ephah the concubine of Caleb (1 Chr 2:46),<sup>187</sup> and many others. The end of the passage proves that “and she bore Miriam” refers to the wife of Mered. Similarly, “And his wife, the Judahite, bore Jered” (v. 18) means Mered’s wife.<sup>188</sup>

182. The language in ms Paris is simply “He is the same as Caleb son of Hezron.” Radak appears to have restricted this to the opinion of the rabbis after having become more comfortable with his own alternative view; see above, 2:18, and our remarks there.

183. Radak’s language here is based on that of Pseudo-Rashi. Contrast the reading of the Targum, and see also Radak below, 1 Chr 5:34, and our remarks there.

184. Compare the *Shorashim* of Radak and that of Ibn Janah, entry *hrh*, Ibn Ezra and Radak at Gen 49:26, and R. Moses Kimḥi at Job 3:2.

185. On this, see Radak’s next comment and our remarks there.

186. Abijah is also the name of several males, including a king of Judah, one of Rehoboam’s sons mentioned above (3:10).

187. Ephah is also the name of a son of Midian; see above, 1:33.

188. The end of v. 18 states, “These were the sons of Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh, whom Mered married” (compare Radak there), which suggests to Radak that all those mentioned are sons of Mered’s wives. The same view appears in the North African commentary. See other interpretations in Bavli *Sotah* 11b, the Targum, and Pseudo-Rashi. Pseudo-Rashi

(18) **The Judahite.** This means that the first one mentioned was not a Judahite; she was Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh, mentioned at the end of the passage.<sup>189</sup>

**Jered father of Gedor.** Some interpret all these cases of “father of” as “master of,” and interpret “Gedor,” “**Soco**,” and “**Zenoah**” as the names of the cities over which these people ruled.<sup>190</sup> But the truth is that they mean what they say: they are all names of sons born to each respective person. One finds several such cases in the [biblical] context where we made our introductory remarks (1 Chr 2:42); in the event that the son was more highly regarded and famous than the father, the text identifies the father in reference to the son.

**These were the sons of Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh.** This means: Those mentioned earlier—Miriam, Shammai, etc. (v. 17)—were sons of Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh, **whom Mered**, the son of Ezrah the descendent of Caleb son of Jephunneh, **married**. But our Sages, of blessed memory, interpreted midrashically (*b. San.* 19b; *Meg.* 13a) that Mered is Caleb son of Jephunneh. And why was he called “Mered”? Because he rebelled (*marad*) against the plot of the spies. All these names—“Jered,” “Abigedor,” and “Heber”—they interpreted midrashically to refer to Moses, our teacher; and “bore” is to be understood as “raised,” since he was like a son to her.<sup>191</sup>

appears to read the end of v. 18 elliptically—“These were the sons of Bithiah daughter of Pharaoh whom [Caleb] married: Mered”—as does the Munich 5 author. But as Weisse observes, right before this, Pseudo-Rashi oddly seems to accept the rabbinic identification of Caleb and Mered.

R. Moses Kimḥi, cited by R. Benjamin ben Judah of Rome, interprets “*et Miriam ve-et Shammai*” to mean “from Miriam and from Shammai,” as in *ke-ṣeti et ha-‘ir* (“when I go out from the city”; compare Radak above, 2:18). This does not, however, appear to be attested in R. Moses’ extant works.

189. Radak does not address why the text would say “These were the sons of Bithiah” at the end if her sons are the ones listed first. His interpretation thus appears quite difficult, as noted by Weisse.

190. This is the view of Pseudo-Rashi and the North African and Munich 5 commentators. See above, 2:42, and our comments there.

191. According to this midrash, “These are the sons of Bithiah” refers to the names in this verse itself, in opposition to Radak’s view. On Radak’s

68 1 *Chronicles* 4:19-22

(19) **The sons of the wife of Hodiah.** Even though this Hodiah had not been mentioned to this point, the text provides his line. Such is the practice of the book, as we have written (1 Chr 4:11). It was from his wife the **sister of Naham** that he had these sons—the **father of Keilah the Garmite, and Eshtemoa the Maacathite**.

(21) **The sons of Shelah son of Judah.** All the lines provided to this point had been from Perez and Zerah—the text had not mentioned until now any of the descendants of Shelah. But now, when completing the lines of Judah, it mentions a few of the descendants of Shelah.

**And the families of the linen factory.** This means that those families were flax workers.

(22) **And Jokim, and the men of Cozeba.** There are many midrashic interpretations concerning these names: [The Sages] interpreted (*b. Bava Batra* 91b) **Joash and Saraph** to be Mahlon and Chilion, *asher ba'alu le-Moav* to mean that they married Moabite women, and *ve-yashuvi* (וישבי) **Lahem** to mean that they were from Bethlehem in Judah.<sup>192</sup> They also provided many midrashic interpretations (*b. Bava Batra* 91b) of the verse “These were the potters ...” (v. 23). But the straightforward meaning is that all these are sons and grandsons of Shelah:<sup>193</sup> all the people of Cozeba were his descendants (perhaps Cozeba is Chezib [Gen 38:5]<sup>194</sup>); Joash and Saraph were also his descendants, with *asher ba'alu le-Moav* meaning that they fought the Moabites and were their masters;<sup>195</sup> and *Yashuvi Lahem* (“Jashubi Lehem”) was also one of his descendants.

**The matters have been reliably transmitted.** This means: Our earlier remark that Joash and Saraph became masters over Moab, although not

conviction that this particular rabbinic identification is midrashic speculation rather than a received tradition, see Berger (2007a, 49 n. 27).

192. This involves reading *ve-yashuvi* as the equivalent of *ve-yoshevei*. On Mahlon and Chilion, see Ruth 1:2-4.

193. Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author precede Radak in providing this more straightforward reading.

194. Japhet (1993, 117) considers this identification to be probable.

195. Weisse objects to Radak's assumption that “Moab” is a direct object, since it is preceded by a *lamed* rather than the word *et*. But see Radak above, 3:2, and our comments there concerning this function of *lamed*.

found in the prophetic books, is known by a tradition that was carefully transmitted, received, and relayed from one man to the next.<sup>196</sup> But some explain that “The matters have been reliably transmitted” refers to all the genealogical lines recorded to this point by Ezra; it means that even though what is written here cannot be found in any of the prophetic books, you should not ask how Ezra knew all these things that did not happen in his time—for they are all traditions.<sup>197</sup>

(23) **These were the potters, dwellers of *neta'im* and *gederah*.** It might be that this refers to the people of Cozebe who were mentioned (v. 22), and means that these people were well-known potters—expert crafters of pottery vessels—who dwelt outside the city where the crops (*neta'im*) were, to plant crops and work the land, and to make the vessels there. It also might be that the earth in that place was good for crafting, and that they lived there, planting crops and erecting fences (*gederot*).<sup>198</sup>

**In the king's service.** They were also in the king's service outside [the city], attending to the crops and the fences;<sup>199</sup> and **they dwelt there** because of their work.<sup>200</sup>

(24) **The sons of Simeon.** The text provides an abridged account of Simeon's progeny after that of Judah because their portions rendered them

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196. This reflects Radak's typical conception of “traditions”; see, e.g., Perez (1983, 73).

197. See the interpretations that appear in the North African commentary. Pseudo-Rashi presents an entirely different view.

198. This suggestion appears to complement the first part of the comment, clarifying why these people dwelt in this specific place and explaining the term *gederah*. It is, however, not clear from Radak if *neta'im* and *gederah* are just descriptive terms of the area outside the city or actual names of places there.

199. That is, this latter part of the verse provides another context in which these people stayed in the areas outside the city—when they did similar kinds of work for the king. Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author prefer what seems to be the more straightforward reading: *all* of their work in these areas was in the king's service.

200. That is, they dwelt there because of the work they did both for themselves and for the king.



## 70 1 Chronicles 4:24-33

neighbors (it presents [the Simeonites'] portion together with their progeny [vv. 28-43]), as it says: "The portion of the Simeonites was part of the territory of the Judahites; since the share of the Judahites was larger than they needed, the Simeonites received a portion inside their portion" (Josh 19:9). For they did not have their own portion as did the other tribes—this is the meaning of "I will scatter them in Jacob" (Gen 49:7).<sup>201</sup>

**Nemuel, Jamin.** Nemuel is the same as Jemuel mentioned in [Genesis 46:10] and [Exodus 6:15]. He is also called Nemuel in [Numbers 26:12]: "Of Nemuel, the clan of the Nemuelites." One finds this with many Hebrew names—with names of people and of cities—for they were not particular about changing one or two letters in a name. Sometimes, they called people by two names that are *not* similar to one another—calling them in one place by one name and in another place by another name.<sup>202</sup>

(27-33) **In all, their families were not as prolific as the Judahites.** Since [the Simeonites] dwelt among the Judahites, the text says that their families were not prolific enough to equal the numbers of the Judahites.<sup>203</sup> It is for this reason that they dwelt among them and were appended to them, living in just a few of the cities of Judah. One even finds the cities mentioned here listed in the book of Joshua among the cities of Judah (Josh 15:20-36).<sup>204</sup> (It also mentions [these cities] as part of the portion of the Simeonites that fell to them within the portion of Judah [Josh 19:1-6].<sup>205</sup>)

Now it says here "**These were their cities until David became king**"; for when David became king and the Judahites gained power, the Judahites expelled [the Simeonites] from their portion. They then sought a portion for themselves, as it says: "They went to the approaches of Gedor, to the eastern side of the valley," etc., "and some of the Simeonites went to Mount Seir," etc. (vv. 39-42); for they went all over looking for a portion.<sup>206</sup>

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201. See Radak at the verse in Joshua, and especially at the verse in Genesis.

202. See above, introduction, 11.

203. See a similar comment in Pseudo-Rashi.

204. The majority of the cities indeed appear there, some by slightly different names. See Radak's lengthy treatment at Josh 15:32.

205. All of the cities appear in that context.

206. The Munich 5 author similarly writes that the Simeonites sought



And when it says “**such were [the Simeonites’] settlements, those to which they were linked** (*ve-hityahsam la-hem*),” it means that those five cities and their villages remained theirs (the Judahites did not expel them from them), so that they were linked to them, which means that [these cities] were always referred to by [the Simeonites’] name. Linguistically, it is not problematic to employ *yhs* for cities. For the word *yahas*, as an indication of family, functions mainly to identify the family or tribe from which a person comes. Thus, it can also relate cities to people or people to cities for the purpose of identification and of revealing the appropriate information. Accordingly, they have also called the *yod* of צורי (*Šori*, “Tyrian,” 1 Kgs 7:14) a “*yod* of *yahas*,” because it relates [the individual] to Tyre, just as they have called the *yod* of עברי (*‘Ivri*, “Hebrew,” Gen 39:14) a “*yod* of *yahas*,” because it relates [the individual] to Eber.<sup>207</sup>

Now when it says “such (*zot*) were their settlements,” instead of saying *elleh*, this is consistent with the way the language works in many places, using a plural form for an individual or a singular form for a group: *ki tiqrenah milhamah* (“should there be a war,” Exod 1:10); *va-yavo Mosheh ve-Aharon* (“Moses and Aaron came,” Exod 7:10);<sup>208</sup> and those like them, as we have written in the *Mikhlol* in the section on grammar (6b-7a). Alternatively, its meaning is: “This (*zot*) was the land.”<sup>209</sup>

(34) **Meshobab, Jamlech, etc.** All those listed were chieftains of clans of the tribe of Simeon and ancestral heads, who went to seek land after David became king. The land belonged to the descendants of Ham, who had been living there from the beginning, and these people came, wiped them out forever, and settled in their place (vv. 40-41).<sup>210</sup>

these portions because the Judahites had expelled them from their own. Apparently, neither he nor Radak considers the Simeonites’ having “increased greatly” (v. 38) to be the sole motive for their quest for land mentioned in the subsequent verse.

207. See Ibn Janaḥ, *Riqmah*, section 21, and compare Radak, *Mikhlol* 157a and below, 2 Chr 2:13. I have not found a source prior to Radak where the term “*yod* of *yahas*” is explicitly employed in connection with *Šori*.

208. *Tiqrenah* (in the first example) is a plural verb; *va-yavo* is a singular verb.

209. That is, the singular noun “land” is implied by the verse.

210. Radak’s approach follows that of Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich

## 72 1 Chronicles 4:41-43

(41) **The Meunim**—with a *shureq* instead of a *holem*: it is a plural form of *ma'on*, which means a place of residence.<sup>211</sup> When the text says “forever,” this is because until the days of Ezra, the descendants of Ham still had not returned to these areas, even though the Simeonites had been exiled from them.

(42) **Sons of Ishi were at their head.** Our Sages have said (*b. Bava Batra* 123b) that these four sons of Ishi, who were heads of these five hundred people, were from Manasseh; for we have seen that Ishi was from the tribe of Manasseh, as it says: “These were the chiefs of their clans: Ephraim, Ishi” (1 Chr 5:24). They said this because they had said (*b. Bava Batra* 123b) that the descendants of Esau can be defeated only by the descendants of Joseph—as it says: “And the House of Esau shall be flame and the House of Esau shall be straw” (Obad 1:18)<sup>212</sup>—and then asked: But it says: “And some of the Simeonites went to Mount Seir,” etc. and “sons of Ishi were at their head.” So they replied that Ishi also came from Manasseh, as it says: “Ephraim, Ishi.”

(43) **[This group of Simeonites] destroyed the last surviving Amalekites.** This means whoever remained, not having been wiped out by Saul and David; for concerning David it says: “until he had killed off every male in Edom” (1 Kgs 11:16), and Amalek was a descendant of Edom (Gen 36:9-12).

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5 author. By contrast, the North African commentator understands the event described in v. 41—dated in the time of Hezekiah—to be the conquest of the cities of Samaria at the hands of the Assyrians, and that the “names” to which that verse refers are not of the individuals listed here but of the places of origin of those who displaced the Israelites (see 2 Kgs 17:24).

211. As noted by Weisse, the plural form that appears elsewhere is *me'onot*, not *me'onim* or *me'unim*. Possibly, *me'onot* is a plural of the feminine *me'onah*, while this is the lone appearance of the plural of the masculine *ma'on*. Both singular forms are attested.

Context appears to have prompted Radak not to interpret *me'unim* as a gentilic, relating to the place Maon mentioned in Judges 26:7, as he does for *Me'unim* in 2 Chr 26:7 (see Radak below, 2 Chr 20:1; 26:8). The Munich 5 author does consider the appearance here to be a gentilic, and cites several midrashim—not attested elsewhere—that do the same. On the different options see recently Dirksen (2005, 81), and Knoppers (2003, 363-64 and 369).

212. Compare Radak on the verse in Obadiah.

Now when the text says “**and [these Simeonites] lived [in Mount Seir] to this day,**” it means: until the day that they were exiled. Alternatively, it means that to this day, even though the Simeonites have been exiled from there, Amalekites have not returned there; so to this day it is in the possession of the Simeonites.

**5 (1) The sons of Reuben.** After mentioning the Simeonites, who were, as we have written, the Judahites’ neighbors (1 Chr 4:24), the text returns to Reuben, the **firstborn**.

**For he was the firstborn.** This means: He was the firstborn; and since the birthright and the kingship should properly have belonged to him, the account of the genealogies should properly have begun with him.<sup>213</sup> But **when he defiled his father’s bed, his birthright was given to the sons of Joseph son of Israel;** that is, his father had a dear and beloved son to whom he gave it.<sup>214</sup>

**But not to be reckoned as firstborn.** This means: When he gave him the birthright,<sup>215</sup> it was not for Joseph to be reckoned as firstborn in all respects and to be called Israel’s firstborn; for had that been the case he would have had the kingship also, just as the rule would have dictated that Reuben have everything.<sup>216</sup>

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213. For Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author—as for most modern scholars (see, e.g., Japhet [1993, 131-33])—the digression in the verse is to account for why Reuben did not merit the privileges associated with the status of a firstborn son; for it had identified him as the firstborn. By contrast, for Radak (and for the North African commentator), the text is primarily addressing the structural question of why Reuben’s lineage is not presented first if he was indeed the firstborn.

This striking emphasis on structure rather than on the substantive matter of the exclusion of Reuben in favor of Judah is consistent with Radak’s nonideological conception of the book’s purpose; see above, introduction, 5-7. To Radak’s view, compare the formulation in Knoppers (2003, 382); see also p. 398 concerning the argument for adopting “a more positive view of the image Chronicles presents of Reuben ... than that held by some scholars.”

214. With this, Radak accounts for the arguably extraneous phrase “son of Israel.”

215. See Gen 48:22 and Radak there.

216. Compare Pseudo-Rashi. For modern evaluations of Radak’s read-

## 74 1 Chronicles 5:2-4

(2) **For Judah became more powerful than his brothers**, and Jacob gave him the kingship,<sup>217</sup> while the rest of the birthright—that is, to receive a double portion of land—he gave to Joseph.

**And he who was to be a leader (*u-le-nagid*)—from him (*mimmennu*).** This means: Whoever was to be a leader in Israel (*be-Yisra'el le-nagid*) Jacob declared must come from him (*mimmennu*).<sup>218</sup>

(3) **The sons of Reuben.** Since the text had digressed from the topic, it returns to say “The sons of Reuben” again.<sup>219</sup>

(4) **The sons of Joel.** Even though the text did not mention him in the genealogical sequence, it mentions him now to provide the lines of the descendants that follow him. There are many cases like this in the genealogical accounts.

**His son Shemaiah, his son Gog.** Each one is a son of the one before. Even if they all had other sons, the text only mentions the first ones. One finds this in many places.

ing, according to which the phrase in the text refers to Joseph rather than to Reuben, see Dirksen (2005, 87-88) and Knoppers (2003, 377).

217. See Gen 49:10 and Radak there.

218. In light of Radak’s limitation of Gen 49:10—“the scepter shall not depart from Judah”—to the pre-Davidic period (see his comment there), it does not appear that he believes that there can be no subsequent exceptions to the requirement that Israelite kings be of Judean ancestry. His comment here, therefore, is probably not intended to be absolute. Compare n. 12 above, and contrast the presentation of Radak’s position in Eisemann (1987, 71).

219. On “resumptive repetition” in Chronicles generally and on Radak’s comment here in comparison to the remarks found in modern commentaries, see chapter 13 of Kalimi (2005, esp. 293 and n. 46), and Japhet (1993, 131). Kalimi refers to examples such as this second appearance of “The sons of Reuben” as “repetitive introductions.”

The Munich 5 author applies the rabbinic principle *siddur she-neḥelaq*—“a broken up presentation”—to this and other such cases, even though the principle is employed by the rabbis (and other medievals) only to describe a continuous phrase that traverses a verse break, not a topic that is interrupted and then resumed. On this, see Berger (2007b).

(6) **His son Beerah, whom [Tillegath (תלגת)-pileser] exiled. He was chieftain** of the tribe of Reuben at the time when Tillegath-pileser exiled them. He is the same as Tiglath (תגלח) mentioned in Kings (2 Kgs 15:29): the transposition of letters in names is a normal feature of the language, as one sees often.<sup>220</sup>

(7) **And his brothers, by their families.** This means: He was himself a chieftain, and his brothers, **in relation to their lines**, were also heads of families and well known;<sup>221</sup> and among them there were **Jeiel, their head,<sup>222</sup> and Zechariah**, etc.

(8) **Son of Shema son of Joel.** He is the same as Shemaiah son of Joel mentioned above (v. 4).

**He dwelt in Aroer (ba-'Aro'er) [until Nebo].** Some explain that the *bet* ("in") of *ba-'Aro'er* takes the place of a *mem* ("from"),<sup>223</sup> since Aroer did not belong to the Reubenites but rather to the Gadites, as it says: "The Gadites rebuilt Dibon and Ataroth and Aroer" (Num 32:34).<sup>224</sup> And this is correct: we similarly find *bet* in place of *mem* in "and what is left over *from* the flesh and *from* the bread (*ve-ha-notar ba-basar u-ba-laḥem*)" (Lev 8:32), and in "They battered and shattered the Israelites *from* that year (*ba-shanah ha-hi*), for eighteen years" (Judg 10:8). One can also interpret *ba-'Aro'er* to mean in

220. Compare Radak above, 4:2.

221. Radak reads this verse as a continuation of the phrase right before it, which indicates that Beerah was a chieftain.

222. Compare Radak's reference to a tribal head of Gad below, v. 12.

223. On the verse in Judges, Radak prefaces this explanation similarly—"The commentators have explained ..."; yet there does not appear to be an extant medieval work in which this function of *bet* is applied specifically to our verse (compare the note in the *Haketer* edition of Judges). More generally, see R. Saadia Gaon, Exod 38:8 and Lev 8:32; Ibn Janāḥ, *Riqmah*, 86; Ibn Ezra, Lev 7:36; and R. Moses Kimḥi, *Sekhel Tov*, 224; and compare Radak, *Mikhlol* 46a-b.

224. In response to this, Weisse makes what has become a common observation among scholars: there is in fact more than one Aroer (see Josh 13:27, 35). Radak's efforts here thus appear unnecessary.

## 76 1 Chronicles 5:8-11

the territory of Aroer (*bi-gevul 'Aro'er*), on the assumption that only the city belonged to the Gadites who built it while the territory around it belonged to the Reubenites.

(9) **He also dwelt toward the east.** This means: toward the east of the land of Gilead; for their entire land was east of the land of Israel, as it says: “the east side of the Jordan” (Num 32:19). They spread out toward the eastern part of the land of Gilead, however, and settled **as far as the fringe of the wilderness at the Euphrates River (*le-min ha-nahar Perat*)**, which means: as far as the Euphrates River, their border extending from the river (*min ha-nahar*) inward. For the Euphrates River is the eastern boundary of the land of Israel, as it says: “from the River, the Euphrates (*min ha-nahar nehar Perat*), until the Western Sea” (Deut 11:24).<sup>225</sup>

**Because their cattle had increased.** This means: The reason they had to spread out through the land was that their cattle had increased.

(10) **On the Hagrites (ההגרים).** These are the descendants of Hagar: the *alef* takes the place of the gentile *yod*.<sup>226</sup>

**Throughout the entire *penei mizrah la-Gil'ad*.** [This means:] the eastern region (*penei mizrah*) of the Gilead.<sup>227</sup>

(11) **The sons of Gad dwelt facing them in the land of Bashan as far as Salcah.** This does not include the entire land of Bashan, for the Torah says that Moses gave the land of Bashan to the half-tribe of Manasseh, as it says: “The rest of the Gilead and all of the Bashan, the kingdom of Og, I assigned to the half-tribe of Manasseh—the whole Argob district, all that part of the Bashan” (Deut 3:13). Rather, the Gadites had a part of the Bashan, which

225. Possibly, Radak is implying that the phrase *min ha-nahar ... Perat* in Deuteronomy accounts for the odd formulation *'ad ... le-min ha-nahar Perat* in our verse. That is, *min ha-nahar Perat* emerged as an expression denoting the eastern border of Israel and inward, so that “as far as (*'ad ... le-min ha-nahar Perat*)” means: as far as the area west of the Euphrates, Israel’s eastern border.

226. Compare Ibn Janaḥ, *Riqmah*, 250.

227. That is, *mizrah la-Gil'ad* does not refer to the area east of Gilead (as in *mi-qedem le-Bet El* [“east of Bethel”; Gen 12:8]), but to the eastern part of Gilead itself.

extended as far as Salcah; and from Salcah onward,<sup>228</sup> the entire Bashan belonged to the half-tribe of Manasseh. And when it says in the Torah that “all of the Bashan [the kingdom of Og]” belonged to the half-tribe of Manasseh, it means: all of the Bashan *that constituted* the kingdom of Og, along with the whole Argob district that is called “Rephaim country” (Deut 3:13).<sup>229</sup> There were, however, a few places in the Bashan over which Og did not rule. Even though he was called “King of Bashan” (Num 21:33), this is because the majority of the Bashan was his. But a part of the Bashan—up to Salcah—had belonged to the Amorites,<sup>230</sup> and that was what the Gadites had.

When the text says here “and they dwelt in Gilead, in Bashan, and in its dependencies” (v. 16), this refers, again, to the part of the Bashan that extends as far as Salcah and its dependencies, where the Gadites dwelt. Similarly, when it says here (v. 23) that the half-tribe of Manasseh dwelt in the land of Bashan as far as Baal-hermon, it means *from the part of the Bashan that belonged to the Gadites* as far as Baal-hermon. Accordingly, it says in Joshua (22:7), “To the one half-tribe of Manasseh Moses had assigned territory *in the Bashan*,” but does not say the whole Bashan.

(12) **Joel the chief.** He was chief of the Gadites. Those four who are mentioned, who were heads of families and well known in the tribe, ruled **in the Bashan**. But in the midrash it says: “‘And Shaphat in Bashan’ refers to Shaphat the father of the prophet Elisha, since the text juxtaposes ‘in Bashan’ to him; just as the Bashan has sixty cities (Deut 3:4), so Elisha his son led Israel for sixty years.”<sup>231</sup>

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228. This means from Salcah northward, which includes the vast majority of the Bashan.

229. Radak appears to draw an analogy between the phrase “the kingdom of Og” and the reference to “Rephaim country”; the former, he claims, restricts the area in the Bashan given to the Manassites, just as the latter restricts the area in the Argob district given to them. This requires that the reference to Rephaim country indeed modify the Argob district, rather than the Bashan as a whole which would appear more likely (see, e.g., the rendering in the NJPS translation).

230. This is Radak’s assumption, on the grounds that the neighboring area conquered by Moses was Amorite territory; see Num 21:21-35.

231. For rabbinic sources similar to this see Bavli *Pesaḥim* 68a, and especially *Numbers Rabba* 14:18.



78 1 Chronicles 5:15-17

(15) **Chief of their clan.** [This refers] either to Abdiel or to his father, Guni.

(16) **And they dwelt in Gilead, in the Bashan (*ba-Bashan*).** This means *u-ba-Bashan* ("and in the Bashan"): it elides the *vav*, as in *shemesh yareah* ("sun and moon," Hab 3:11).<sup>232</sup>

(17) **All of them were registered by genealogies in the days of King Jotham of Judah and in the days of King Jeroboam of Israel.** This means: All these descendants of Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh were registered by genealogies for this war that they made on the Hagrites (v. 19); that is, they were enumerated by the clans of their ancestral houses when they went out to war. And this happened in the days of King Jotham of Judah, and in the days of King Jeroboam of Israel—that is, Jeroboam son of Joash, a descendant of Jehu.

This is despite the fact that it seems from the verses in Kings that King Jotham of Judah and King Jeroboam of Israel did not rule concurrently. For Jeroboam ruled for forty-one years (2 Kgs 14:23); in Jeroboam's twenty-seventh year, King Azariah—that is, Uzziah—son of Amaziah ascended to the throne (2 Kgs 15:1); and this Azariah ruled for fifty-two years (2 Kgs 15:2). King Azariah of Judah, then, ruled for thirty-eight years after the death of King Jeroboam of Israel. (Even though one can quibble over these calculations, as we will explain [in our commentary] on the book of Kings [2 Kgs 15:1], Uzziah still lived for a long time after Jeroboam.)<sup>233</sup> How, then, could Jotham son of Uzziah have ruled in the days of Jeroboam? Because Jotham son of Uzziah ruled during the lifetime of his father, Uzziah, from the time Uzziah became a leper, as it says: "The Lord struck the king with a plague," etc., "while Jotham, the king's son, was in charge of the palace and governed the people of the land" (2 Kgs 15:16).<sup>234</sup> One could also explain "in the days of Jotham ... and in the days of Jeroboam" to mean

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232. This comment is missing from mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition. On the elision of a *vav*, see above 1:1 and our comments there.

233. Radak probably added this parenthetical comment—missing from mss Paris and Munich—sometime after composing his comment on 2 Kgs 15:1 (see above, introduction, 3 and n. 7). He is referring specifically to his assertion that Uzziah became king not in the twenty-seventh year of Jeroboam's reign but twenty-seven years before the *end* of Jeroboam's reign.

234. Compare Radak's comments there.



each one in his time, and that [these tribes] registered for the war with each of them.<sup>235</sup>

**And experienced at (*lemudei*) war.** This is an adjective derived from the *qal*, and not a passive participle; for *lmd* is an intransitive verb, which takes a *pa'ul* form only as an adjective, as I have explained in the *Mikhlol* in the section on grammar (20a).<sup>236</sup>

(20) **And all who were with them.** [This means:] and all of the nations that were with the Hagrites—all were delivered into the hands [of the Reubenites, Gadites, and Manassites].

***Ve-na'tor la-hem* ("and He responded to their entreaty").** This is like *ve-ne'tar*;<sup>237</sup> it is a *pa'ul* form,<sup>238</sup> similar to *ve-naḥtom be-taba'at ha-melekh* ("and sealed with the king's signet," Esth 8:8).

(22) **And [these tribes] dwelt in their stead (*tahtam*).** [This means:] in their place (*bi-meqomam*). Even though it says "They carried off their livestock" (v. 21), some of them dwelt there, while some returned to their land with the spoils.<sup>239</sup>

235. The rabbis' position, which Radak engages at length at 2 Kgs 15:1-8, is that Jotham and Jeroboam in fact did not reign concurrently. Even though Radak does not mention this view here, it is quite possible that having given it substantial consideration in commenting on Kings, he then returned to our verse and added his final suggestion—missing from mss Paris and Munich—to explain our verse according to the rabbis. That is, these tribes registered for the war *with each king in his time*, as the two kings did not overlap.

236. The general principle, not this particular example, appears in the *Mikhlol*: intransitive verbs do not appear as passive participles, since there is nothing receiving the action that could function as the subject of the verb in such a form.

237. That is, it is a form of the *nif'al*. Compare *Mikhlol* 54b.

238. That is, it is a passive form, the subject of which is the receiver of the action (*pa'ul*). Compare Radak's terminology in *Mikhlol* 54a, 61b, and 66b.

239. This comment appears in only one family of text witnesses but is probably Radak's own addition. Compare above, introduction, 2-3.

80 1 *Chronicles* 5:22-27

**Until the exile.** [This means:] until they were exiled by the Assyrian king (v. 26).

(23) **The members of the half-tribe of Manasseh ... they were very numerous.** This means: Since they were very numerous, they extended their boundary "to Baal-hermon, Senir, and Mount Hermon."

(24) ***Ve-'Efer ve-Yish'i (Epher and Ishi).*** The *vav* of *ve-'Efer* is like the *vav* of *ve-Ayyah va-'Anah* ("Aiah and Anah," Gen 36:24).<sup>240</sup>

(26) **To this day.** For [these tribes] did not leave when the Judean exile left Babylon.

(27) **The sons of Levi.** The text presents the progeny of Levi's sons also and the cities that were given to them (1 Chr 6:39-66),<sup>241</sup> and it mentions that David appointed people from their ranks to perform music and to minister before the Lord (1 Chr 6:16-38). The text presents the progeny of Aaron until the exile (vv. 29-41), that is, [until] Jehozadak, who went [to Babylon] with the Judean exile at the hands of Nebuchadnezzar and whose son Joshua went up from Babylon with the [returnees from] exile (Haggai 1).

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240. See Radak's lengthy comment there, where he considers the *vav* of *ve-Ayyah* to signify the *tehillat ha-devarim* ("the beginning of the matter") but not to add anything of substance. In *Mikhlol* 44a, however, he writes that this *vav* has no function at all and appears to distinguish it from others that mark the *tehillat ha-devarim*. The precise meaning of *tehillat ha-devarim* and the development of Radak's thinking on the matter require further study. In both of those contexts, he contrasts his position to that of his father (see the section on *vav* in R. Joseph Kimḥi's *Sefer ha-Galuy*), who considers *vavs* such as these to stand in place of a word that is elided. Further discussions of the views of Radak's predecessors in this connection appear in Chomsky (1952, 369 n. 672), and in Steiner (1992) and the literature cited there (see especially p. 438 concerning R. Joseph Kimḥi). See also Ibn Janaḥ, *Riqmah*, 63, and the sources cited in editorial note 4.

Radak's comment here is missing from mss Paris and Munich and can be assumed to be his later addition.

241. Radak appears to mean that the text places emphasis on Levi's sons, providing the lines of each of them relatively fully as if each son begat a tribe of his own, and then providing the names of the cities where the descendants of each son lived.

In the book of Ezra (7:1-5), the text provides this genealogy back to Aaron, since Ezra was a son of Seraiah: it provides *his* genealogy back to Aaron, just as here it provides the genealogy of his brother Jehozadak back to Aaron.<sup>242</sup> Only there, it omits five ancestral houses that it mentions here, from Johanan, the father of Azariah, until Meraioth.<sup>243</sup> (It is in order to be brief that it omits those five ancestral houses.)

The text presents the progeny of Eleazar but not the progeny of Ithamar<sup>244</sup> because high priests were forever to come from the descendants of Eleazar. For this is what the Holy One, blessed is He, said to Phinehas when he took impassioned action at Shittim: “It shall be for him and his descendants after him a pact of priesthood for all time” (Num 25:13).<sup>245</sup> And this refers to the high priesthood; for the descendants of Ithamar were also priests, but high priests were forever to come from the descendants of Phinehas. This blessing began with Zadok, since until Zadok there were high priests from the descendants of Ithamar also; for Eli was a high priest (see 1 Sam 1:9) of the descendants of Ithamar, as were Ahimelech (see 1 Sam 21:3) and his son Abiathar (see 1 Sam 22:20; 1 Kgs 2:27).<sup>246</sup>

**(36) It was [Azariah] who served as priest in the Temple that Solomon built in Jerusalem.** If we say that he was the *first* to serve as priest in the Temple—such was not the case! For it was Zadok, as it says in Kings: “the priest Zadok and the prophet Nathan” (1 Kgs 1:34). In this book, also, it says: “and they anointed him as ruler before the Lord, and Zadok as high

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242. Jehozadak too was a son of Seraiah; see below, v. 40.

243. This actually includes six ancestral houses omitted in Ezra, not five.

244. The entire discussion of this point, until the end of the comment, is missing from mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

245. Compare Ibn Ezra there, and see *Sifrei* at the end of *Balaq* and the sources cited in the edition of Horovits (1966).

246. Ahitub, the father of Ahimelech, was descended from Eli (1 Sam 14:3), and Ahimelech is listed as a descendant of Ithamar in 1 Chr 24:3. See also Radak at 1 Kgs 2:27, where he affirms that Abiathar was a high priest. It indeed appears from 1 Kgs 2:35 that Abiathar was high priest until Solomon replaced him with Zadok.

## 82 1 Chronicles 5:36

priest" (1 Chr 29:22).<sup>247</sup> And if we say that the text does not mean that he was the *first* to serve as priest in the Temple, just that he served in the Temple—there were others who served as priests also;<sup>248</sup> so what it is adding? If it is adding that he was a high priest, there were others also who were high priests!

Our Sages, of blessed memory, have said (*Yal. Shim. Qorah* 754)<sup>249</sup> that this is the Azariah from the days of King Uzziah; and since he gave his life for the sanctity of the Temple in not allowing Uzziah to offer incense (2 Chr 26:17-18), it says, "it was he who served as priest," which means that he cared about the honor of the priesthood and was not partial to Uzziah.

One can also explain that he served as priest in the days of Solomon also—after Zadok, and after his ancestors that are mentioned<sup>250</sup>—but he was still young in the days of Solomon and was not high priest until the days of Uzziah. In the days of Hezekiah he was in fact *still* alive and was high priest, as it says: "The chief priest Uzziah<sup>251</sup> replied to him" (see 2 Chr

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247. The verses cited here indicate that Zadok was high priest when Solomon became king but do not prove that he was still in that position when the Temple was built, eleven years later (see 1 Kgs 6:38). Radak's argument appears to be that since Azariah is listed four generations after Zadok, it is not plausible that Azariah was already high priest by the time the Temple was built. A similar argument appears in the Munich 5 commentary.

248. The implication appears to be that while there were others who were high priests, the list in the text does not include high priests exclusively. Indeed, at v. 27 Radak referred to it merely as a list of "the progeny of Aaron." Contrast Pseudo-Rashi, and Tosafot on *Yoma* 9a; and compare the remarks of Eisemann (1987, 85).

249. Pseudo-Rashi cites the *Sifrei* and *Yerushalmi* as sources for this, but I have not found it attested there. The interpretation also appears in the North African commentary, in Tosafot on *Yoma* 9a in the name of R. Jekuthiel of Worms and "the students of Saadia Gaon," and in the Munich 5 commentary citing the *Yerushalmi*.

250. This is not to discount the possibility that he served contemporaneously with some of these others but to stress that he was a still young in Solomon's later days.

251. Our texts read "Azariah."

31:10). So it is because he lived so long that it says concerning him, “who served as priest in the Temple,” which means: who served for a long period of time.

**6 (1) The sons of Levi: Gershom.** He is the same as Gershon (2 Chr 5:27), since in names, *mem* and *nun* are equivalent, as with Chimham (2 Sam 19:38) and Chimhan (2 Sam 19:41), and Tannim (Ezek 29:3) and Tannin (Isa 27:1).<sup>252</sup>

**(5) Of Gershom: his son Libni, etc.**<sup>253</sup> But the text does not present the family of Shimei; and so too in [Numbers 26:58]. The reason it does not mention him here—much as it does not present the families of Amram, Hebron, and Uzziel—is that the ones it does present were the leaders in charge of musical performance, similar to those presented below:<sup>254</sup> from Kohath, the family of Izhar (vv. 18-23); from Gershom, the family of Libni (vv. 24-28); and from Merari, the family of Mushi (vv. 29-32). But where David counts them below, it does present the family of Shimei (1 Chr 23:9-11).

**His son Jahath.** This is Libni’s son. And when the text mentions “Jahath” below among the sons of Shimei (1 Chr 23:10), it is because their two sons had the same name. But it mentions below the name of this Jahath, the son of Libni, as “Jehiel” (1 Chr 23:7). For “Jahath” and “Jehiel” are phonetically similar, and he was called by both of these names. There are many cases like this in the book.

252. These examples are taken from Ibn Janah, *Riqmah*, 110-11. Compare also Radak at Ezek 29:3, and in *Shorashim*, entry יָהִי. Our comment is the only place where Radak explicitly limits the principle to names. (Radak’s term *shemot* appears to refer to actual names and not to nouns, with Tannin considered a name, similar to Leviathan.) At *Mikhlol* 191b, he acknowledges one of Ibn Janah’s examples that is not a name—*hemmah* appearing in the sense of *hennah*—but probably considers it to be an exceptional case.

253. Both of Radak’s comments on this verse are missing from mss Paris and Munich and are presumably late. In this connection, see also our remarks below, v. 7.

254. The Hebrew reads *kemo she-zakhar ba-samukh*, literally, “as it presents below.” The families listed below, however, are not precisely the same as those here. Radak’s intention appears to be that just as the text lists below the families that David placed in charge of musical performance, so too here it lists those that were in charge before the time of David.

84 1 *Chronicles* 6:7-11

(7) **The sons of Kohath: Amminadab.** The text returns to the descendants of Kohath because it wants to present more of the progeny of his sons and grandsons.<sup>255</sup> Amminadab is the same as Izhar, and he had two names: above (v. 3) it calls him Izhar, and here it calls him Amminadab.

(7-8) **His son Assir, his son Elkanah, his son Ebiasaph.** For these three, the text does not mean to say that each was a son of the one before. Rather, these three instances of “his son” refer to Korah, for all three were his sons, as it says in the Torah: “The sons of Korah: Assir, Elkanah, and Abiasaph” (Exod 6:24).<sup>256</sup> Here also, when it provides the genealogy of Heman, it says: “Ebiasaph son of Korah” (v. 22).

(10-11) **The sons of Elkanah: Amasai and Ahimoth, Elkanah.** Each of these three is a son of the one before: Elkanah is Ahimoth’s son, Ahimoth is Amasai’s son, and Amasai is Elkanah’s son.<sup>257</sup>

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255. See above, 5:28-41. According to Radak’s comment at v. 5, there would appear to be a simple explanation why the text revisits the progeny of Kohath: earlier it listed the priests, while here it lists the supervisors of musical performance. Since that comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently Radak’s later insertion, it seems that he simply failed to revise his comment here in light of his new observation. Even though the relevant sentence here is also missing from ms Paris and might itself be late, material unattested only in ms Paris can be assumed to be earlier than material also unattested in ms Munich; see above, introduction, 2.

256. The North African commentator does interpret each of the individuals in our verse to be of a new generation and implies that Assir, Elkanah, and Ebiasaph here are not the same as Korah’s sons. To maintain consistency, Radak requires that the Ebiasaph listed here indeed be a son of Korah; for below, v. 18, he contends that the ancestors of Heman listed in vv. 18-23—where Ebiasaph in fact appears as Korah’s son—are the same as the descendants of Kohath listed here (albeit some by different names). (Only Ebiasaph’s brothers Assir and Elkanah could not be included there, because they were not ancestors of Heman.)

Radak’s basic perspective is consistent with the consensus of modern scholars, even as they attribute the discrepancies between the lists of descendants to a multiplicity of sources and/or different stages of composition and redaction; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 153-58).

257. This too is consistent with Radak’s claim at v. 18; see the previous

(11) **The sons of Elkanah: his son Zophai, etc.** Each of these is a son of the one before. Eliab mentioned here is the same as Elihu mentioned at the beginning of the book of Samuel (1 Sam 1:1); Nahath is the same as Tohu mentioned there; and Zophai is the same as Zuph mentioned there.<sup>258</sup>

(13) **The sons of Samuel: the firstborn Vashni (וַשְׁנִי) and Abijah (*va-Aviyyah*).** Some interpret *vashni* like *ve-ha-sheni* ("and the second one"), as if the text had said *ve-ha-sheni Aviyyah* ("and the second one, Abijah"); and it says "the firstborn" without mentioning his name because it is known that it is Joel (v. 18), while the second is Abijah, as it says in Samuel: "and his second son's name was Abijah" (1 Sam 8:2).<sup>259</sup> They say that וַשְׁנִי (*šēnī*) is like שְׁנִי (*šēnī*), as with שְׁלֵוֹ (*š'lēw*, "tranquil," Jer 49:31) and שְׁלֵוֹ (*šālēw*, "tranquil," Ezek 23:42), and that the *pataḥ* under the *vav* is as in "*va-ḥamor* and the lion" (1 Kgs 13:28), which is like *ve-ha-ḥamor* ("and the ass").

But this interpretation is not correct, for we never find any case of וַשְׁנִי that is like שְׁנִי. And there is no proof from שְׁנִי and שְׁלֵוֹ, since those are two different patterns.<sup>260</sup> Also, there cannot appear a *vav* with a *pataḥ* in a case like this. The *vav* in *va-ḥamor* has a *pataḥ* because of the guttural; for it would otherwise have had a *shureq*, as does the *vav* of *u-Zevulun* (Gen

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note, and below, 6:20-21, where these four individuals are mentioned in generational succession, provided that Nahath is another name for Ahimoth.

258. The comparisons to the names in Samuel do not appear in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak's later addition. See also his reference to our context in his comment to 1 Sam 1:1.

259. This is the second explanation in Pseudo-Rashi. As noted by Weisse, this might also be the implication of Ibn Ezra's alternative suggestion at Num 21:14: "*vashni* is to be interpreted with the *vav* as a conjunction."

260. That is, שְׁלֵוֹ is not just an alternative form of שְׁלֵוֹ but a fundamentally different pattern. On the שְׁלֵוֹ pattern compare Radak in *Mikhlol* 146a and at Jer 49:31; and see his comment at Ezek 23:42 concerning שְׁלֵוֹ. In stating that these are different "patterns," but not that שְׁלֵוֹ is a verb form and שְׁנִי an adjective (a *shem* in his own less nuanced terminology), Radak is consistent with his presentation in *Mikhlol* 2b, where all his examples of *qatel* verbs are in the perfect tense. The *qatel* form that functions, in our terms, as the participle of a stative verb—like שְׁלֵוֹ—is apparently always a *shem* for Radak, not a verb.



## 86 1 Chronicles 6:13-16

35:23).<sup>261</sup> Indeed, any conjunctive *vav* appears as a *shureq* when juxtaposed to a word that has a *sheva* at the beginning, unless it is juxtaposed to the letters *alef*, *het*, *hei*, or *'ayin*, in which case it has a *pataḥ* when the word has a *ḥataf pataḥ* at the beginning, and a *segol* when the word has a *ḥataf segol* at the beginning. So had the *vav* of *vashni* been a conjunctive *vav*, it should have said *u-sheni*—the *vav* with a *shureq*. Also, how could the text say “the firstborn” without mentioning his name? We never find such an elision! Finally, they would have to say that the *vav* of *va-Aviyyah* is extraneous. Who forced them into *that* predicament? Rather, what is correct is that *Vashni* is Joel, and that he had two names, as one finds in many places in this book. Thus, this person’s name was Joel, even as his name was also *Vashni*.<sup>262</sup>

**(16) These were appointed by David to be in charge of musical performance.** This means: He appointed them to perform music.

***Bet Adonay* (“the house of the Lord”).** This is like *be-bet Adonay* (“in the house of the Lord”). The same is true for *ha-nimṣa bet Adonay* (“found in the House of the Lord,” 2 Kgs 12:11), and many others like these.<sup>263</sup>

***Mi-menoaḥ ha-aron* (“from the time the Ark came to rest”).** This is the construct state of *manoaḥ*, as *meqom* (“place of”) is of *maqom* (“place”). “From the time the Ark came to rest” means: from the day that the Ark rested in Jerusalem, when they brought it from Kiriath-jearim to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:16–16:1)<sup>264</sup>—after which it remained in the tent that David pitched

261. Radak does not consider *va-ḥamor* to be definite (compare his comment on the verse in Kings); so the *pataḥ* does not stand in place of a definite article but appears because of the guttural letter that follows it.

262. This is the view of the Targum and the North African and Munich 5 commentators. It also appears in Pseudo-Rashi, and in Ibn Ezra at Num 21:14.

263. See *Mikhlol* 50b-51a, where Radak offers three additional examples where the word *bet* means *be-bet*. In our case, however, the full phrase is, “These were the ones appointed by David ‘*al yedei shir bet Adonay*.” It is therefore not clear why Radak did not interpret *shir bet Adonay* to mean “the song of the house of the Lord,” with both *shir* and *bet* in the construct state, especially since the next verse contains a reference to a definite *shir*. (I am indebted to Prof. Richard Steiner for this observation.)

264. More precisely, the Ark was brought to Jerusalem from the house



for it (2 Sam 6:17) until the erection of the Temple. When the text says, “from the time the Ark *came to rest*,” then, this is the point. For until that day, it had not rested, since they would bring it from place to place; but from the day the Ark rested there, David appointed musicians, and they ministered there before the Ark just as in the Temple.

**(17) And they performed their service (*‘avodatam*) as prescribed for them.** This is the service of music. It similarly says in the Torah, *la’avod ‘avodat ‘avodah* (“to perform duties of service,” Num 4:47), which means music—the service that accompanied the sacrifices.

**(18) Those were the appointed men.** The text mentions these three, Heman, Asaph, and Ethan, who were chiefs of clans of the Levites.<sup>265</sup> For their honor, it provides the genealogy of each of them back to Levi. In fact, in the case of Heman, who was greater and more highly regarded than the other two, it provides the genealogy back to our father Jacob—saying “son of Israel” in connection with him (v. 23)—while for the other two it says “son of Levi” (vv. 28, 32) and no more. Indeed, since he was more highly regarded than the others, he would stand in the middle when performing music—with Asaph on his right (v. 24) and Ethan on his left (v. 29).

But our Sages explained midrashically (*Gen. Rab.* 98:5<sup>266</sup>) that the reason it says “son of Israel” in the genealogy of Heman is that he was a descendant of Korah. For our father Jacob said, “Let not my being be included in *their* assembly” (Gen 49:6), which means that my name should not be mentioned in connection with assemblies for which they come together on their own (in the Torah it indeed says: “Korah son of Izhar son

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of Obed-edom, where it stood temporarily after having been taken from Kiriath-jearim; see below, 1 Chr 13:5-14.

265. These three are actually not listed among the “chiefs of clans of the Levites” at the time the Ark was brought to Jerusalem (1 Chr 15:11-12) but rather as the primary musicians (1 Chr 15:16-17). Possibly, the reference here to “their sons,” in conjunction with the considerable number of musicians in 1 Chronicles 25 listed by reference to their descent from Heman and Asaph, prompted Radak to consider those two—and Ethan by extension—to have been the patriarchs/chiefs of the Levite clans responsible for musical performance.

266. See also the parallel midrashim cited in Theodor and Albeck; and compare Radak on the verse in Genesis.

88 1 *Chronicles* 6:18-33

of Kohath son of Levi" [Num 16:1]<sup>267</sup>); but in connection with assemblies for which they are gathered together by David for the service of God, my name should be mentioned. So for this reason it says, "sons of Israel."

In this genealogy of Heman, one finds names that are altered from the form that the text utilized above (vv. 7-13). This [feature] is common; one sees it in many places. Some [individuals] had two names—people would call them by one name on one occasion and by another on another occasion. And some people's names would change a little bit so that the letters of one [version of the] name are similar to those of the other: they were not particular about this, as with "Toah" mentioned here (v. 19), whom the text earlier calls "Tahath,"<sup>268</sup> and in the book of Samuel "Tohu" (1 Sam 1:1). Similarly, here it mentions "Zuph" (v. 20), but above "Zophai" (v. 11); and so for Eliel (v. 19), whom above it calls "Eliab" (v. 12), and in the book of Samuel "Elihu" (1 Sam 1:1).

(28) **Son of Jahath son of Gershom son of Levi.** The text does not mention Libni,<sup>269</sup> but it does mention Shimei son of Jahath despite not mentioning him above (6:5). We have found no reason for this. Ethan (v. 27) is the same as Joah mentioned above (v. 6); Adaiah (v. 26) is the same as Iddo (v. 6); and Ethni (v. 26) is the same as Jeatherai (v. 6).

(33) **And their kinsmen the Levites were appointed for all the duties of the Tabernacle of the House of God.** That is, those three whom we mentioned were chiefs of clans: they served as musicians before the Tabernacle of the Tent of Meeting and had to do neither portage by shoulder nor anything else—they were just musicians. It was their kinsmen who were assigned the rest of the duties of the Tabernacle, as it says in the Torah (Num 1:50; 3:6-8; 4:1-49)—they were carriers of the Tabernacle until the Ark came to rest, and from the time the Ark came to rest<sup>270</sup> they served as

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267. In that context, Korah assembled a group to rebel against the leadership of Moses and Aaron. The rabbis note that Jacob's name is not mentioned in this ancestral line.

268. "Earlier," in 6:11, the text calls him Nahath. He is called Tahath below, 1 Chr 7:20.

269. The reference is to Libni son of Gershom, mentioned in v. 5.

270. At v. 16, Radak interpreted the phrase "from the time the Ark came to rest" as a reference to the placement of the Ark in Jerusalem. His

gatekeepers and involved themselves in the needs of the Tabernacle. They were also gatekeepers in the Temple that Solomon built, as it says.<sup>271</sup>

**But Aaron and his sons made offerings.** (The text mentions Aaron in his capacity as head of the priesthood.<sup>272</sup>) This is connected to the discussion of the Levites; that is, certain duties were assigned to the Levites, and Aaron and his descendants were to make offerings and **to make atonement** for the Israelites.

(35) **These are the sons of Aaron.** The text presents their lines until Zadok and Ahimaaz (v. 18) who lived in the days of David and Solomon.

(39) **These are their dwelling places according to their settlements.** Since the tribe of Levi did not have any part of the land—rather, the Lord is its portion (Josh 13:33)—and they were assigned to the service of God—the Levites to perform music and the priests to make offerings—the text mentions the cities that were given to them in return for their service.

In the listing of the cities of the Levites one finds names that are different from what one finds in the book of Joshua (21:11-38).<sup>273</sup> This is as I

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own use of the phrase here, however, appears to refer to any time the Levites put down the Ark after carrying it, in the wilderness and subsequently.

271. The reference might be to the end of v. 17, where, after David appoints musicians, the text states: *va-ya'amdu ke-mishpatam 'al 'avodatam*. Perhaps Radak interprets this to mean that “they remained in their tasks, as designated” even later, when Solomon built the Temple, and extends this to the gatekeepers as well. See 2 Chr 8:14, and the end of Radak’s remarks above, v. 16.

272. That is, naturally, Aaron himself was not making offerings during the time of David.

273. E.g., Hilez (v. 43) appears there as Holon (Josh 21:15). Radak does not make reference to the matter of names that appear in Joshua but are missing here, such as Juttah and Gibeon (Josh 21:16-17). In response to the various discrepancies, both Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author make reference to the principle that Ezra found conflicting manuscripts and recorded both versions, an approach that Radak was apparently unwilling to accept. See above, introduction, 9-12.

## 90 1 Chronicles 6:39–7:1

have explained to you concerning names of people (v. 18). But some explain that the differences here are due to the following: When the lottery provided for the distribution of the cities enumerated in Joshua, a few of them were in the hands of the Canaanites; so [the Israelites] set aside others instead of them until they conquered them.<sup>274</sup> We find along these lines in the Tosefta (Zuckerman; *Mak.* 3:2): “Even though they set aside Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim, it did not provide refuge; so they set aside Kiriath-jearim instead of it until they conquered Shechem. Even though they set aside Kadesh, it did not provide refuge; so they set aside Gamla instead of it until they conquered Kadesh.” And there are many midrashic interpretations of the variations in the names, but there is no need to record them.<sup>275</sup>

(51-52) **And from the families of the sons of Kohath.** This means: Some of the families of the sons of Kohath, those that did not receive from Judah, Simeon, or Benjamin, received cities from the tribe of Ephraim: **Shechem with its pasturelands ... and Gezer with its pasturelands.**

(53) **Jokmeam.** This is the same as Kibzaim mentioned in Joshua (21:22).

**Beth-horon with its pasturelands.** This belonged to the Ephraimites.<sup>276</sup>

(54) **Aijalon etc.** These belonged to the Danites (Josh 21:24)—but the text does not mention that! Perhaps they were near those cities that [the Danites] received from Ephraim; for in Joshua (21:20-26) it indeed mentions Dan after Ephraim.<sup>277</sup> So it does not mention the name Dan here; for it mentions the cities that were near the cities of the Ephraimites, and it was known that they belonged to the Danites.

**7 (1) Ve-li-benei Yissakhar (“the sons of Issachar”).** The *lamed* of *ve-li-benei* is like the *lamed* of *ve-ha-shelishi le-Avshalom* (“the third one Absalom; 1 Chr 3:2).<sup>278</sup>

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274. This interpretation does not appear to be attested in extant medieval commentaries.

275. I have not found sources for these.

276. That is, this is the end of the list of Ephraimite cities; see Radak's next comment.

277. That is, since the text mentions Dan after Ephraim, it appears that their cities were close to one another.

278. See Radak's comment and our remarks there.

Above (2:3), the text began to present the lines of the tribes; but it interrupted with Levi, presenting their lines and their dwelling places according to their cities. So now, it returns to provide the lines of the tribes and the numbers that they totaled in the days of King David of Israel. Those that it leaves out and does not mention here, it mentions along with all the rest when it relates how they joined David in Hebron in order to coronate him (1 Chr 12:24-39).<sup>279</sup>

The text does not, however, mention the lines of Dan and his sons.<sup>280</sup> Some say, though, that “*Hushim* the sons of *aḥer*” mentioned near the sons of Naphtali (v. 12) is an allusion to Hushim son of Dan (Gen 46:23).<sup>281</sup> In the case of Naphtali also, it does not provide his progeny beyond his sons (v. 13); perhaps [Ezra] did not find their lines recorded, nor was it told to him by tradition.<sup>282</sup> Alternatively, it includes the genealogies that it left out when it says at the end: “All Israel was registered by genealogies; and these are in the book of the kings of Israel” (1 Chr 9:1).<sup>283</sup>

(2) ***Le-Tola’ men of substance according to their lines.*** This means: Tola had (*le-Tola’ hayu*) these men of substance by the rest of his sons—other than Uzzi—and they totaled **twenty-two thousand six hundred**, while

279. In his introduction, Radak emphasized the inclusion of the tribes’ numbers in the time of David, apparently of their warriors in particular, as the key motive for recording their genealogies. Numbers for Reuben, Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh appear at 1 Chr 5:18; for Issachar at 1 Chr 7:5; for what might be Benjamin (see Radak at v. 6) at 7:7-11; and for Asher at 7:40. For the rest, Radak makes reference to the numbers provided in chapter 12, even as they appear well after the genealogical accounts.

280. Zebulun is also not mentioned at all, but Radak does not indicate this.

281. This position appears in the North African commentary, whose remarks are cited supportively in Dirksen (2005, 120). *Aḥer*, then, means “another.” Contrast Radak at v. 12, where he considers *Aḥer* to be the name of Hushim’s father.

282. This is the position of the Munich 5 author and of Pseudo-Rashi at v. 13. Radak was apparently willing to accept that information was unavailable to Ezra, even as he would not concede the canonization of an error (as above, introduction, 10-12).

283. Again, compare Pseudo-Rashi at v. 13.

92 1 *Chronicles* 7:2-8

from Uzzi he had thirty-six thousand (v. 4). This is the reason the text says that they had many wives and sons (v. 4)—as that is why their numbers were so high. For the numbers of the rest of Tola's sons—of whom there were five—totaled just twenty-two thousand six hundred; but the descendants of Uzzi totaled thirty-six thousand, because they had many wives and fathered many sons.

(5) **Their kinsmen belonging to all the families of Issachar.** [This refers to] those descending from Tola's brothers—Puah, Jashub, and Shimron.

(6) **[The sons of] Benjamin: Bela, Becher, and Jediael—three.** Some explain that this Benjamin descends from Issachar, as does the entire line until "the sons of Naphtali" (v. 13); for Benjamin [son of Jacob] will be mentioned later, after Asher (1 Chr 8:1).<sup>284</sup> But it is possible to explain that this indeed refers to Benjamin son of Jacob, and that here the text mentions some of the genealogy, while later it mentions more—up until the lines of King Saul of Israel.<sup>285</sup>

**And Jediael.** He is the same as Ashbel (Gen 46:21).<sup>286</sup>

(8) **The sons of Becher ... Anathoth.** The city of Anathoth that is in the land of Benjamin is named for him, for this Anathoth built it. This is like: "and he named the city for his son Enoch" (Gen 4:17).<sup>287</sup>

**And Alemeth ('Alamet).** This too is both a person's name and the name of a city in the land of Benjamin; it is the one called "Bahurim." Targum Jonathan, also, renders "from Bahurim" (2 Sam 19:17) "from Alemeth ('Almat)."<sup>288</sup>

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284. I have not found this explanation among any of Radak's predecessors.

285. This is the dominant view, appearing in the Targum, Pseudo-Rashi, and the Munich 5 and North African commentaries. An extensive discussion of the approaches of medieval commentators to this question appears in Eisemann (1987, 111-12).

286. Radak assumes here, as do his predecessors, that this is a list of the sons of Benjamin son of Jacob, of whom Ashbel was the third.

287. Even though it was Enoch's father who named the city for him, Radak considers it likely that Anathoth himself built the city called by his name; compare Havvoth-jair in Num 32:41.

288. Bahurim and Alemeth are synonymous terms, denoting youth.

(12) **And Shuppim and Huppim were the sons of Iri.** This is Iri, whom the text listed among the sons of Bela (v. 7).<sup>289</sup>

**Hushim**, one of **the sons of Aher**. This Aher is not mentioned<sup>290</sup>—perhaps he is the same as one of those listed, and had two names. The reason the text relates the genealogy in abridged form is that Ezra recorded only what he found in the genealogical records or was told to him by tradition.

(13) **The sons of Naphtali.** The text mentions none of his progeny besides his sons. Now when it says “**the descendants of Bilhah**,” this corresponds to where the Torah says, “These were the descendants of Bilhah” (Gen 46:25)—[that is,] without saying the equivalent for the other [mothers of the tribes]. But there is a midrashic interpretation that the text mentions Bilhah to praise her, because she married Jacob willingly; for concerning her, it does not say “she took” as with Zilpah (Gen 30:9) but only “she gave” (Gen 30:4).<sup>291</sup>

(14) **The sons of Manasseh: Asriel (Asri’el), whom she bore.** It would appear from the Torah (Num 26:29-31) that Asriel is a son of Gilead son of Machir son of Manasseh, so that he was [Manasseh’s] great-grandson. We find many places in this book where the text mentions grandsons in a sequence of sons; so here, also, it mentions Asriel among the sons of Manasseh even though he was his great-grandson.<sup>292</sup> And it places him before

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Compare Radak’s lengthy treatment at 2 Sam 3:16, and Rashi and R. Joseph Kara at Josh 21:18. While Alemeth is the consistent targumic rendering of Bahurim, Radak specifically alludes to the case of 2 Sam 19:17 because it mentions a “Benjaminite” from that city.

289. This identification appears in the North African commentary but is not accepted by the Targum, Pseudo-Rashi or the Munich 5 commentator.

290. See Radak at v. 1 and our comments there.

291. The “taking” and “giving” in these verses refer to Leah and Rachel, respectively, who prompted Jacob’s union with their maidservants. In connection with this midrashic interpretation, see *Bereshit Rabbati* 46:25, and, as mentioned in Albeck’s note there, compare the midrash cited in R. Abraham Saba’s *Šeror ha-Mor* at Gen 46:18.

292. Concerning the North African commentator’s novel approach to this entire matter, see Eisemann (1987, 116-21).



his son Machir because Machir was a son of a concubine, as it says: **“his Aramean concubine bore Machir the father of Gilead.”**

When it says “Asriel, whom she bore” without mentioning the one who bore him, it follows a standard practice of the text, as in “whom she bore to Levi in Egypt” (Num 26:59),<sup>293</sup> and “He was the one whom she bore after Absalom” (1 Kgs 1:6).<sup>294</sup>

The reason the text mentions Asriel while not mentioning the others is that they are [all] mentioned in the Torah (Num 26:29-35); so it takes an abridged form. But it does mention him; perhaps he was more highly regarded than his brothers, and his family was well known. There is a midrashic explanation on this that it is because his name was similar to their ancestor *Yisra’el* (“Israel”).<sup>295</sup>

(15) **And Machir took a wife *le-Huppim u-le-Shuppim*.** This means: He took a wife *from* [Huppim and Shuppim]<sup>296</sup> (they are the sons of Ir mentioned above [v. 12]): the meaning of the *lameds* in *le-Huppim u-le-Shuppim* is that Machir took a wife who was a sister of Huppim and of Shuppim (*ahot le-Huppim u-le-Shuppim*); thus it says: **“The name of his sister was Maacah.”** In saying “his sister” rather than “their sister,” the text is refer-

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293. Compare Ibn Ezra at the verse in Numbers, and Pseudo-Rashi here.

294. That verse refers to Adonijah, whose mother, Hagith, is in fact mentioned in the verse before it. Most probably, Radak concluded that the verb “bore” cannot be linked to the explicit reference to Hagith considering the distance between them. Note, however, that Radak interprets the syntax of the clause as follows: “He was the one whom she bore after [Maacah bore] Absalom” (not simply “after Absalom [was born]”). The verb “bore,” then, governs the object Absalom also (on this syntactical principle, see *Mikhlol* 51a, and compare Radak below, 1 Chr 8:8), and the second subject “Maacah” is elided, just as the name of the mother is elided in our verse. It cannot be ruled out, therefore, that in citing this parallel Radak is alluding to the elision of Maacah rather than to the inexplicit reference to Hagith.

295. I have not found a source for this.

296. The *lamed*, then, functions like a *mem*; compare Ibn Janah, *Riqmah*, 310 and 385, and the Targum and North African commentator here.



ring to the more highly regarded of them, namely, Huppim, whom it places before Shuppim. But when it says “Shuppim and Huppim” (v. 12), this is according to birth.

**And the name of the second was Zelophehad.** This connects to “The sons of Manasseh: Asriel” stated above (v. 14): Asriel is a great-grandson of Manasseh—three generations after him, while Zelophehad is a great-great-grandson of Manasseh—four generations after him. The text says “the second” even though relative to Asriel, [the line that produced Zelophehad] did not come second—for [Zelophehad’s] father, Hepher, was Gilead’s sixth son, while Asriel was the third (Num 26:29-33). Rather, it means “the second” one *mentioned*, for it only mentions Asriel, Zelophehad, and the sons of Shemida mentioned at the end (v. 19).

The text mentions [Zelophehad] instead of his father, Hepher, because Zelophehad was the only son he had who was as honorable and highly regarded as he was, and it was [Zelophehad] who perpetuated his name; for the others are not mentioned. But while **Zelophehad had daughters** only, Hepher did have other sons, as it says in Joshua, “a portion among their father’s brothers” (17:4), and in the Torah, “wives for the sons of their uncles” (Num 36:11).<sup>297</sup>

**(16) And his sons were Ulam and Rekem.** This refers to Peresh, or to the closer Sheresh.<sup>298</sup>

297. In place of the last two sentences of this comment, mss Paris and Munich contain an earlier, briefer formulation: “The text mentions [Zelophehad] instead of his father, Hepher, because Zelophehad was the only son he had, and it was he who took over his place—and Zelophehad had daughters only.” That is, Zelophehad had no brothers or sons; so he remains the only legitimate male representative of Hepher’s progeny (male descendants of Hepher’s daughters would not be counted among his lines). Probably, Radak later noticed the verse in Joshua (and secondarily, the verse in Genesis) indicating that Zelophehad did have brothers and adjusted his comment accordingly: Zelophehad was not Hepher’s only son, just the most distinguished one. Since in this new version of the explanation, Zelophehad is not in fact the only recognized male descendant of Hepher, the reference to Zelophehad’s own lack of sons is no longer relevant. Thus, Radak subordinates it to his acknowledgment that Hepher did have sons besides Zelophehad: “But while Zelophehad had daughters only, Hepher did have other sons....”

298. The phrase preceding “and his sons were Ulam and Rekem” con-

(17) **These were the sons of Gilead son of Machir son of Manasseh.** This refers to Asriel and Zelophehad whom the author had mentioned (vv. 14-15).<sup>299</sup> He is saying: even though I listed them among the sons of Manasseh, they were descendants of his grandson Gilead.

(18) **And his sister the ruler.** [This means:] the sister of Gilead. She ruled over part of Gilead's land.<sup>300</sup> Even though this is not mentioned in the Torah or in the Prophets, it was known to them by tradition. And because she was a great woman, the text provides her progeny.

(19) **The sons of Shemida were.** The text did not have to mention that Shemida was a son of Gilead, since this is known from the Torah (Num 26:32); but it mentions his sons, who were **Ahian, Shechem, Likhi, and Aniam**. This Shechem is not the one mentioned in the Torah (Num 26:31), for that one was Shemida's brother, while this was his son.

(20) **The sons of Ephraim: Shuthelah**—as is mentioned in the Torah (Num 26:35). Bered is the same as Becher mentioned in the Torah (Num 26:35); **Tahath** is the same as Tahan (Num 26:35);<sup>301</sup> and from that point forward they are later descendants. It is possible, however, that with the exception of Shuthelah, *all* those mentioned are later descendants.

(21) **The men of Gath killed them, the ones born in the land.** Some explain that the reason the text says "the ones born in the land" is that *the*

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tains references to both Peresh and Sheresh: "[and she called] the name of his [i.e., Peresh's] brother Sheresh." Thus, "*his* sons" might refer to Peresh (as does "*his* brother") or to Sheresh, who is mentioned closest to the pronoun.

299. It cannot refer to those descendants of Machir mentioned in vv. 16-17, since they are not sons of Gilead. Contrast the position of the North African commentator.

300. The term *ha-molekhet* in the text, taken by Radak (and the Targum) to mean "the ruler," is understood by the North African and Munich 5 commentators—and by modern scholars—to be a woman's name.

301. Thus, Bered and Tahath are both sons of Ephraim, as are Becher and Tahan in the verse in Numbers, even though here the text says "his son" after each, which might suggest a sequence of one generation after another. Compare Radak above, 6:8. The North African commentator in fact contends that *all* those listed are sons of Ephraim, considering the conjunctive *vavs* that appear before each name.

*men of Gath* were born in the land, and knew the lay of the land; so when the Ephraimites came into the land **to take their cattle** and did not know the roads, the men of Gath ambushed them and killed them.<sup>302</sup> And some explain that it says “the ones born in the land” because Gath later belonged to Israel; so it says that the men of Gath who were *born* in the land, that is, the Philistines, were the ones who killed them.<sup>303</sup>

But in my opinion, “the ones born in the land” refers to the Ephraimites. Since among the descendants of Ephraim, the text mentioned the ones born in Egypt—that is, his sons and grandsons, as it says: “Joseph lived to see children of the third generation of Ephraim” (Gen 50:23)<sup>304</sup>—it says that the descendants of Ephraim “born in the land”—whom *he produced* “in the land”<sup>305</sup>—went down to the land of Gath to take their cattle, and the men of Gath killed them.

Now this took place in the wilderness.<sup>306</sup> It could not have taken place in the land of Israel, since the text says, “And Ephraim their father mourned

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302. This is the view of Pseudo-Rashi.

303. I have not found a source of this explanation.

304. Compare Radak on the verse in Genesis (and contrast Ibn Ezra). This is not to suggest that beyond that generation, Joseph’s descendants were not born in Egypt, for there remained the entire period of the enslavement.

305. According to both other interpretations, “the ones born in the land” refers to Gathites born in Gathite territory, which is consistent with the assumption of modern scholars. For Radak, however, it refers to Ephraimites, and “in the land” refers not to Ephraimite territory but to the land of Egypt where Ephraim the individual resided. (See the discussion of Radak’s position in relation to others in Japhet [1989, 377].) Thus, by writing “whom *he produced* ‘in the land,’” Radak clarifies that “the ones born in the land” means those Ephraimites born in the land of Ephraim the individual, not of Ephraim the tribe and certainly not of the Gathites. The text includes the phrase “the ones born in the land,” then, to indicate that it is these descendants of Ephraim, and not subsequent ones, whom the Gathites killed.

306. At Ps 78:9, Radak adds that the Ephraimites defied God’s decree that the Israelites must remain in the wilderness for forty years and thus

98 1 *Chronicles* 7:21

many days" (v. 22)—and Ephraim did not enter the land!<sup>307</sup> For the only ones who left Egypt at twenty years of age or more who entered were Joshua and Caleb (Num 14:29-30).<sup>308</sup> Therefore, I say that this event took place in the wilderness or in the land of Gilead, with Ephraim still alive.<sup>309</sup> For that *is* possible, since Machir son of Manasseh was among those who conquered the land of Gilead (Josh 17:1), and the children of Machir son of Manasseh were, after all, "born upon Joseph's knees" (Gen 50:23).<sup>310</sup> What proves this interpretation is that you will find that the Ephraimites' numbers when they went out of Egypt, when they were counted in the wilder-

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were killed. Compare this to the rabbinic view cited at the end of Radak's comment here.

307. Here, "the land" refers to Israel.

308. *ms Marucelliana* contains the added phrase "according to some of our Sages, of blessed memory." This could well be Radak's own addition; compare a similar addition above, 4:10. The restriction to "some of our Sages" takes into account the more limited view of R. Aḥa b. Jacob in *Bavli Bava Batra* 121b, according to whom the decree did not apply to those who were above the age of sixty at the time—such as Ephraim. In fact, that opinion is the one eventually accepted by the Talmud. If this addition is Radak's own, then, he would appear to undermine his argument, effectively acknowledging that it is only valid according to the rejected opinion of "some of our Sages," specifically that of R. Hamnuna, who disagrees with R. Aḥa. If Radak did insert the qualifying phrase, therefore, he probably intended to subordinate this proof to the one below, which remains in force.

309. On Radak's attitude toward lengthy life spans, see above, 2:23, and our remarks there. Radak does not consider the possibility that these Ephraimites went to Gath from Egypt itself prior to the enslavement, since "the ones born in the land" of Egypt presumably includes some that were born after the enslavement began. Also, Radak's second proof below excludes such a possibility.

310. According to Radak on the verse in Genesis, "born" in this case implies that they were "raised" when Joseph was still alive. If Machir's grandsons were indeed already growing up by then, it stands to reason that Machir himself was born relatively early, not overwhelmingly long after his uncle Ephraim. So if Machir lived until the conquest of Gilead, argues Radak, Ephraim could have been alive then also.

ness of Sinai in the second year, totaled forty thousand five hundred (Num 1:33), while when they were counted on entering the land, in the steppes of Moab, they totaled just thirty-two thousand five hundred (Num 26:37). So those eight thousand whom they lost in the wilderness are the ones whom the Gathites killed.<sup>311</sup>

But our Sages, of blessed memory, explained midrashically (*b. San.* 92b) that this was before the exodus from Egypt: having calculated the end erroneously, they left before their time, and this is what happened to them.<sup>312</sup>

(22) **And *ehav* came to comfort [Ephraim].** This means his relatives and the people who knew him.<sup>313</sup>

(23) **Because [this wife] was in his house when there was misfortune.** For it was after he took her that this tragic event took place, in which the men of Gath killed his sons.

(24) **Who built both Lower and Upper Beth-horon.** These are the ones mentioned in the book of Joshua, in the portion of the Ephraimites (Josh 16:3, 5).

**And Uzzen of Sheerah.** The name of the city is Uzzen. Perhaps there was another Uzzen; so they would relate this one to Sheerah, who built it.

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311. This entire proof is missing from mss Paris and Munich and is evidently Radak's later addition. In fact, the only "interpretation" that it "proves" is that the event described in the text took place after the exodus, in opposition to the subsequent rabbinic interpretation that the reader of Radak has not reached yet, but which Radak apparently had composed at an earlier stage. It does nothing to refute the alternative explanations of "the ones born in the land" that Radak cited above. Compare Radak's addition above, 2:34, and our remarks there.

312. In connection with this critical view of the Ephraimites' conduct in the rabbinic tradition—and on the question of its consistency with the Chronicler's ideology—see recently Dirksen (2005, 123) and the literature cited there.

313. Radak assumes that the plural *ehav* cannot refer to actual brothers, since the only known brother of Ephraim is Manasseh. On the question of the necessity of this assumption, see Dirksen (2005, 126).

100 1 *Chronicles* 7:25–8:1

(25) **His son Rephah, Resheph.** The text returns to the genealogical sequence that it initiated for the Ephraimites (vv. 20–21). It digressed with the story of the men of Gath, and now it returns and completes the genealogy up until Joshua.

(29) ***Ve-‘al yedei* the Manassites.** [This means:] *ve-‘al meqomot* (“and near the places of”) the Manassites, as in *ish ‘al yado* (“each man in his place,” Num 2:17).<sup>314</sup> It means to say that near the cities of the Manassites, which were **Beth-shean and its dependencies, Taanach and its dependencies**, etc., were the cities of Ephraim, as it says in the book of Joshua (17:8–11).<sup>315</sup>

(30–31) **The sons of Asher ... who was the father of Birzaith.** Malchiel was the father of Birzaith.

(32–40) **Heber begot Japhlet ... heads of (*rashei*) the chieftains.** Their might was so great that they were heads even of the chieftains of the tribes. Alternatively, *rashei* is like *rashim* (“heads”)—there are many cases like this<sup>316</sup>—and the text means to say: they were the heads, the chieftains.

**8 (1) Benjamin begot Bela his firstborn, Ashbel the second.** The text says “Ashbel the second” when he was really the third—for the sons of Benjamin were Bela, Becher, and Ashbel (Gen 46:21). Indeed, above it does say “Bela, Becher” (7:6). But since it does not mention Becher [here], it says “Ashbel the second.”<sup>317</sup> It does not mention Becher here, much as it does not mention him in [Numbers 26:38]—just: “Of Bela, the clan of the Belaites; of Ashbel, the clan of the Ashbelites.”

Now in [Genesis 46:21] the text lists ten sons for Benjamin, while in [Numbers 26:38–39] it only lists five! Perhaps [these five] were the clan

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314. See Radak’s explanation of this usage in *Shorashim*, entry נִי, and compare Pseudo-Rashi.

315. Since it emerges from the verses in Joshua that these are Manassite cities, Radak could not interpret our verse to mean that these were Ephraimite cities that bordered Manassite territory.

316. See *Mikhlol* 10b. According to this explanation, *rashei* does not carry the usual meaning of a noun in the construct state.

317. Up to this point, the text of Radak’s comment is not attested in ms Paris and is either a later addition or was omitted by homoioteleuton.

chiefs for Benjamin; that would also be why it did not mention Becher here even though it mentioned him in the first account.<sup>318</sup> Also, in [Genesis 46:21] the text lists Ard and Naaman among the sons of Benjamin, while in [Numbers 26:40] it lists them among the sons of Bela! Perhaps in [Genesis] it includes grandsons with sons; or, when it says “The sons of Bela were Ard and Naaman” (Num 26:40), it is that Bela named his sons for his brothers.<sup>319</sup> Also, in [Numbers] the text presents the names differently from the way it presents them in [Genesis], as this book does [here] and in many places besides it, as we have written (1 Chr 6:18).<sup>320</sup>

But our Sages, of blessed memory (*Num. Rab.* 21:8), have said that those families missing in [Numbers] perished in the wilderness in the affair of Balaam. What will they say, though, concerning Becher, who is not mentioned in [Numbers] but is mentioned above in this book (7:8-9)—himself, his family, and the numbers they reached in the time of David?<sup>321</sup>

**(6) And they transferred them (*va-yaglum*) to Manahath.** This means: These clan chiefs transferred the inhabitants of Geba to Manahath; and

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318. That is, Becher is not mentioned because he was not a clan chief. The discussion of the disparity with the account in Genesis, up to this point, is also missing from ms Paris and is more clearly Radak's later insertion.

319. Ibn Ezra at Gen 46:21 precedes Radak in asserting that there are two Naamans, one a son of Benjamin and the other a grandson.

320. Pseudo-Rashi here, employing a principle later applied liberally by the Munich 5 author, suggests that Ezra, having found conflicting manuscript evidence, recorded different versions of names. Pseudo-Rashi, however, is addressing specifically the disparities between the two accounts of Benjamin's progeny in Chronicles itself and probably would not have extended this to the Pentateuchal discrepancies addressed by Radak. See above, introduction, 9-11, and Berger (2007b). See also the North African commentator's effort at harmonization at 7:6.

321. As in the case of many of the rabbinic citations in the commentary, Radak's incorporation and rejection of this midrash is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently his later addition. See above, introduction, 16-17. On Radak's tendency to express challenges specifically to rabbinic assertions of historical fact, and in connection with this particular example, see Berger (2007a, 49).



## 102 1 Chronicles 8:6-8

after that, the text mentions which of the heads transferred them, namely Naaman, Ahijah, and Gera.<sup>322</sup> The sense of this use of *glh* is one of movement; that is, he made them get up and move from their place, which was Geba, to Manahath. The sense of “You are also a *goleh* (‘an exile’)” (2 Sam 15:19) is also one of movement. It is the same for every use of *glh*, except that most of them refer to moving captives.<sup>323</sup>

(8) **And Shaharaim had sons in the country of Moab *min* (“from”) *Shilhō Otam*.** This Shaharaim is a descendant of Benjamin (even though the text does not mention him, there are many such cases in the book), who went to live in the country of Moab because of famine<sup>324</sup> or some other occurrence, and had sons from Shilhō Otam. That is the name of one of his wives; **Hushim** is [the name of] the second; and **Baara** is [the name of] the third—all three were his wives. And the text is saying that he had sons by all three: [the word] “from” in “from Shilhō” serves a double function,<sup>325</sup> so that it is as if it had said: “from Shilhō Otam and from Hushim”; and *ve-et Baara* is like “*u-min* (‘and from’) Baara,” as in “they had just gone out *et* the city” (Gen 44:4) and “As I go out *et* the city” (Exod 9:29), where [*et*] means *min*.<sup>326</sup>

The text provides the lines of two of his wives (vv. 9-11)—“his wife Hodesh” (v. 9) is the same as Shilhō Otam whom it mentioned—but it does not provide the lines of Baara. Perhaps this is because [Baara’s descendants] were not highly regarded or in positions of leadership; for the ones that it does mention were clan chiefs, as it says (v. 28).

But some interpret *min shilhō otam* to mean: after (*me-’et*, = *min ’et*, “from the time”) Shaharaim sent them away (*shilah otam*), transferring them and

322. *Hu heglam*—“he transferred them”—in v. 7, with its singular subject, renders Radak’s interpretation problematic (compare Japhet 1993, 191). The Munich 5 author offers a creative interpretation according to which it was Gera alone who transferred his kinsmen; compare Dirksen (2005, 134).

323. Compare Radak on the verse in Samuel and in *Shorashim*, entry גלה.

324. Compare Ruth 1:1.

325. Compare *Mikhlol* 51a.

326. Compare *Shorashim*, entry את.



the rest of the clan chiefs to Manahath (vv. 6-7), he subsequently went to the country of Moab and had sons there by his wives Hushim and Baara.<sup>327</sup>

(27) **Jareshiah, Elijah, and Zichri were the sons of Jeroham.** I found in the midrash (*Exod. Rab.* 40:4) that this Elijah is the prophet Elijah and that he had four names; and these four names are interpreted to refer to him, as it says in that midrash.<sup>328</sup> He was a Benjaminite, then—for these are the lines of Benjamin, as the text says (v. 1)—in which case Phinehas is not the same as Elijah according to this midrashic author.<sup>329</sup> I also found in *Seder Eliyyahu Rabba* (18) and in *Genesis Rabba* (71:9): “He said to them: ‘My distinguished scholars, how much longer are you going to debate over me?’<sup>330</sup> I am a descendant of *Rachel*!’ They said to him: ‘Provide evidence for your claim.’<sup>331</sup> He said to them: ‘Is this not what it says in the book of genealogies: “Elijah and Zichri were the sons of Jeroham”?’”

327. The Targum and Pseudo-Rashi understand *min shillho otam* to mean that Shaharaim fathered children after his family was released from the area to which they had been transferred. The Munich 5 author, as in the opinion cited by Radak, takes the phrase to mean that Shaharaim fathered children after the initial transfer had taken place. But there does not appear to be an extant source of the claim that Shaharaim himself performed the transfer. Modern scholars share the assumption that *shillho otam* is not a name; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 188 and 192), who translates: “And Shaharaim had sons in the country of Moab after he had sent away Hushim and Baara his wives.”

328. On the midrashic expositions cited by Radak in this comment, see Ish-Shalom’s edition of *Seder Eliyyahu Rabba*, 4-7 and 98 n. 57; and the notes on pp. 834-35 of the Theodor-Albeck edition of *Genesis Rabba*.

329. This entire comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich. Radak probably inserted it at a later point in order to justify his skepticism of the rabbinic identification of Phinehas and Elijah, which he cites below at 1 Chr 9:20. All of the midrashic sources he cites here preclude the identification, which requires that Elijah be a descendant of Levi. Compare Radak at Judg 20:28, and see Berger (2007a, 48).

330. This question does not appear in our texts of *Seder Eliyyahu Rabba*. A similar question does appear in a parallel midrash in *Seder Eliyyahu Zuta* 15.

331. This line is also cited by Tosafot on *Bava Metzia* 114b in the name of *Seder Eliyyahu Rabba*, but does not appear in our texts of the midrash.

104 1 *Chronicles* 8:27-33

(28) **These dwelt in Jerusalem.** For part of Jerusalem belonged to Benjamin and part of it to Judah, and those Benjaminites mentioned to this point dwelt in Jerusalem.

(29) **Dwelt in Gibeon (*Giv'on*).** Gibeon was a Benjaminite city, as it says in the book of Joshua (18:25). Perhaps this *Avi Giv'on* built it, and it was named for him. Alternatively, his real name was Jeiel, mentioned below where the text provides this genealogy a second time (1 Chr 9:35); but it calls him *Avi Giv'on* ("father of Gibeon") because he was the elder of the city called *Giv'on*.<sup>332</sup>

(30) **Baal, Nadab.** The text does not mention Ner; but the second time it does mention him: "Baal, Ner, Nadab" (1 Chr 9:36).<sup>333</sup>

**They, too, opposite their kinsmen.** They too **dwelt with their kinsmen** in Jerusalem, even though their primary residence was not in Jerusalem.<sup>334</sup>

(33) **Ner begot Kish.** In the book of Samuel the text says that Abiel was the father of Kish (1 Sam 9:1)<sup>335</sup> and that Ner was a brother of Kish son of Abiel and the father of Abner (1 Sam 14:51). In another verse, also, it says, "Abiner son of Ner, Saul's uncle"<sup>336</sup> (1 Sam 14:50). But here it says that Ner was the father of Kish the father of Saul! (Also, in the verse below it says "Kish,

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332. The relevant phrase in chapter 9 reads: "In Gibeon there dwelt *Avi Giv'on* Jeiel, and his wife's name was Maacah." It is unclear what "*Avi Giv'on* Jeiel" means according to Radak's first interpretation.

Note that Radak could not interpret *avi Giv'on* to mean "father of all the inhabitants of Gibeon," even though above, 2:50, he had suggested that the *avi* of "*avi Kiriath-jearim*" (and others) should be understood in that sense. For in that earlier case, according to Radak, the phrase is the Chronicler's way of incorporating an allusion to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim; but here, the inhabitants of Gibeon are otherwise listed by name.

333. See Radak below, 1 Chr 9:3, on discrepancies between the two accounts.

334. That is, they were primarily residents of Gibeon.

335. Compare Radak's comment there.

336. That is, Ner was Saul's uncle; he was the brother of Saul's father, Kish.

Baal, Ner, Nadab" (1 Chr 9:36), from which it seems that Ner and Kish were brothers. Concerning that, however, we could say that Ner named his son Kish, for his brother.<sup>337</sup>

It is possible to explain that Abiel is the same as Ner and that he had two names; and his son—who was the father of Abner—he named Ner, for himself. So when Ner named his son Abner (*Avner*), he meant to refer to the name of his father (*aviv*), which was Ner. I found this in a rabbinic source also, in *Leviticus Rabba* (9:2): "Rabbi Simeon ben Lakish said: One verse says, 'Ner begot Kish,' and another verse says, 'Kish son of Abiel' (1 Sam 9:1). How can this be? His name was Abiel, but since he would light candles (*nerot*) for the public in dark alleys he acquired the name Ner."<sup>338</sup>

**Jonathan, Malchi-shua, Abinadab, and Eshbaal.** Abinadab is the same as Ishvi mentioned in the book of Samuel (1 Sam 14:49)<sup>339</sup>—the text calls him Abinadab there also when they died at war (1 Sam 31:2). Eshbaal is the same as Ish-bosheth (*Ish Boshet*) son of Saul (2 Sam 2:8): "baal" and "bosheth" are the same, since the Baal-deity is called *Boshet* ("shame"), as it says: "They turned aside to *Boshet*" (Hos 9:10).<sup>340</sup> Also, it says: "you have set up altars to *Boshet*, altars for sacrifice to Baal" (Jer 11:13). Furthermore, Gideon is called both Jerubbaal (Judg 6:32) and Jerubbesheth (2 Sam 11:21). The text, however, does not tell us why that was what he was called.<sup>341</sup> The same is true for Jonathan's son: in the book of Samuel it calls him Mephibosheth (2 Sam 4:4), and here "Merib-baal" (v. 34). "Baal" is in place of

337. This parenthetical comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently Radak's later addition. There remains the problem that Abiel, not Ner, was the father of Saul's father, Kish.

338. This midrashic citation, among those missing from mss Paris and Munich and apparently added later by Radak, supports his opinion that Abiel and Ner are names of one individual.

339. Compare Radak's comment there.

340. Compare Pseudo-Rashi at 1 Chr 9:39.

341. According to Judg 6:32, where Gideon is first called Jerubbaal (ירבעל), the name refers to his confrontation of Baal: "Let Baal contend with him (*yarev* [ירב] *bo ha-Ba'al*), since he tore down his altar." In asserting that "the text does not tell us why that was what he was called," then, Radak appears to be referring specifically to Eshbaal/Ish-bosheth.

106 1 *Chronicles* 8:33–19:2

“bosheth,” and “Merib” (*meriv*) is in place of “Mephi” (*mefi* [מֵפִי]) since they are similar, for a *merivah* (“quarrel”) is ‘*al ha-peh* (עַל הַפֶּה [“oral”]).<sup>342</sup> And this is what they were called because of some matter known to them that it not known to us.<sup>343</sup>

(34) **Merib-baal begot Micah.** In the book of Samuel (2 Sam 9:12) it says that this Micah was a son of Mephibosheth.

(38) **Azel (אֶזֶל) had.** The *šadei* has a *šerei*; but in “the sons of Azal,” the *šadei* has a *patah*, because of the pause.<sup>344</sup>

**9 (1) All Israel was registered by genealogies.** This means: Even though I have provided some of the genealogies, I have not provided all of them: **the book of the kings of Israel is where they are recorded.**<sup>345</sup> But that book, like the *Book of Jashar* (Josh 10:13) and the *Book of the Wars of the Lord* (Num 21:14), is not in our possession.

**(1-2) And Judah was taken into exile in Babylon because of its violations.** Concerning the exile of Israel, the text mentioned above (5:26) that King Pul of Assyria and King Tiglath-pileser of Assyria exiled the Reubenites, the Gadites, and the half-tribe of Manasseh. In fact, the Assyrian king exiled the rest of the tribes also (2 Kings 17).<sup>346</sup> None of these tribes, however, returned at the time of the second Temple, with the exception of a small minority—from Ephraim, Manasseh, Issachar, and Zebulun—who remained with the Judean kings until the Judean exile, went to exile with them, and returned with them.<sup>347</sup> The tribe of Judah, however, which was

342. See Gen 13:8 and Num 27:14.

343. Again, the text in Judges does provide an explanation of the name Jerubbaal; so Radak apparently refers here only to Ish-bosheth/Eshbaal and Mephibosheth/Merib-baal, the respective sons of Saul and Jonathan.

344. Compare *Mikhlol* 3b-4a. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

345. Compare Pseudo-Rashi, and see the lengthy treatment of the North African commentator above, 8:7.

346. The reference is to Shalmaneser.

347. Radak appears to have added this exception regarding the rest of the tribes—which is not attested in ms Paris—upon considering the refer-

taken into exile in Babylon because of its transgressions, did return in the time of Ezra. So here it tells of their return and of those who settled in Jerusalem upon their return from exile, as described in the book of Ezra (Neh 11:4-6).

When the text says “**The first to settle on their property,**” it means that the first returnees from Babylon settled on their property **in their cities—Israelites, priests, Levites, and temple servants**. And as it proceeds to detail, some of them settled in Jerusalem.<sup>348</sup> It says the same thing in the book of Ezra: “These are the heads of the province who lived in Jerusalem. In the countryside of Judah, the people lived in their towns, each on his own property—Israelites, priests, Levites, temple servants” (Neh 11:3). Only there it adds, “and the sons of Solomon’s servants,” who are not mentioned here.

(3) **And among those who settled in Jerusalem were some of the Judahites, etc.** The text there says the same thing (Neh 11:4). The account here parallels the one there, with only occasional discrepancies. And those are easy to harmonize, since people are called by different names, as we have mentioned several times [in commenting] on this book. While [the

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ences to these tribes in the context of Hezekiah’s paschal observance in 2 Chronicles 30. See 2 Chr 30:18, which alludes specifically to the tribes listed by Radak and presumably served as his source, as well as the reference to Asher in 2 Chr 30:11 (and to Benjamin in v. 3 below).

Radak’s assumption appears to be that this paschal celebration took place after Shalmaneser completed his purge of the Northern Kingdom, possibly because of the reference to the “remnant ... who escaped from the hand of the kings of Assyria” in 2 Chr 30:6. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi there, who writes that the observance took place during the six years in which Hosea son of Elah, the last ruler of the Northern Kingdom, maintained his subservience to Assyria.

348. Contrast the position of the Munich 5 author, who believes that the subsequent list of inhabitants of Jerusalem consists of those who settled there after David conquered it, not of those who returned from the Babylonian exile. See also the latter part of Pseudo-Rashi’s comment to 1 Chr 8:29, where he expresses skepticism that the book would provide extensive genealogies of this later period. In this connection, see also our remarks below at v. 18. Radak’s position, as noted by Japhet (1993, 207-8), anticipates that of most modern scholars, even as her own view closely resembles the one expressed in ms Munich 5.

## 108 1 Chronicles 9:3-19

two accounts] provide different numbers for the Benjaminites and the priests, this is because it counts some there that it does not count here, and vice versa. It is readily understandable.<sup>349</sup>

(18) **To this point, at the King's Gate on the east.** This means: [The setup] remains as it was for the first Temple.<sup>350</sup> the **keepers**<sup>351</sup> are stationed at the gate through which the king used to enter, which was on the east then also. What was done for the second Temple followed the example of the first Temple, as it says: "David and Samuel the seer established that they be set up like this" (v. 22).<sup>352</sup>

(19) **Shallum son of Kore son of Ebiasaph son of Korah.** This is the same Ebiasaph son of Korah mentioned above (6:22) in the section that begins, "These were appointed by David to be in charge of music" (6:16). Shallum son of Kore is not mentioned there, however. Perhaps he was a descendant of Heman, and the text elides the genealogy through the son of Ebiasaph son of Korah.<sup>353</sup>

349. For the discrepancy regarding Benjamin, see below, v. 9, and Neh 11:8. Regarding the priests, see below, v. 13, and Neh 11:12-14. If Radak has in mind any specific difference between the parameters of the count in Nehemiah on one hand and the one here on the other, he does not provide it. There is no distinction readily apparent from the verses. Contrast Radak's commitment to harmonization with the approach of Pseudo-Rashi (above 8:29) and the Munich 5 author, according to whom Ezra intentionally recorded contradictory data where he could not resolve the conflicting records available to him. In this connection, see above, introduction, 9-11.

350. That is, the phrase "to this point" means: to this point in time. This is consistent with the view of the North African commentator. The Munich 5 author, however—who ascribes the entire description in the text to the First Temple period—interprets "to this point" spatially rather than temporally, as does Pseudo-Rashi. See our comments at vv. 1-2 above.

351. Radak does not address the verse's problematic reference to "those keepers"—apparently the ones listed just before—who could not have lived into the Second Temple period. On this problem in the text, see, e.g., Dirksen (2005, 146).

352. At that phrase below, Radak explains: "they established the matter, and set in place *that it be like this for all times.*"

353. That is, in providing the ancestry of Shallum here, the text skips

**And his kinsmen of his clan, the Korahites, were in charge of the work of the service, guards of the threshold of the Tent.** This means they were guards of the doorposts of the Holy of Holies, much as their ancestors of the Korahite family—that is, the Kohathite family—were responsible for the Ark, the cover, and the screening curtain (see Num 4:4-15). This, then, is **the camp of the Lord**.<sup>354</sup> They would guard the entrance so that nobody would go inside, much as it says concerning themselves: “But let them not go inside and witness the dismantling of the Sanctuary” (Num 4:20).<sup>355</sup>

**(20) And Phinehas son of Eleazar was the chief officer over them in time past; the Lord was with him.** This means: Phinehas son of Eleazar was chief officer over the Korahite family in time past, in the days of their ancestors, just as his father Eleazar was in charge of them, as it says: “In charge of the duties,” etc., “Eleazar son of Aaron the priest.”<sup>356</sup> [Eleazar’s] son Phinehas continued to be chief after him; since the Lord was with [Phinehas] and he was greater than the sons of Ithamar, he was chief over them his whole life.

Some of our Sages, of blessed memory, have said (*Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer* 47) that Phinehas is the same as Elijah.<sup>357</sup> And it is indeed true that Phine-

from Shallum himself all the way back to Ebiasaph son of Korah, eliding the names listed in 6:18-22 from Heman through the son of Ebiasaph.

Radak’s comment appears highly problematic for two reasons. First, since for Radak, the text here is listing Levites who resided in Jerusalem in the time of Ezra, it is all too obvious that this Shallum would not belong in that earlier context—among his ancestors from the time of David and beforehand. Second, since Shallum appears here on a list of gatekeepers, the conjecture that he belongs to the line of Heman the musician does not seem justified.

354. That is, “the camp of the Lord” in our verse refers to the Holy of Holies. This is to be distinguished from the rabbinic term “camp of the *Shekhinah*,” which is not limited to the Holy of Holies.

355. This verse, then, provides evidence of the severity of the prohibition against entering the Holy of Holies—even for the Kohathites themselves.

356. This is a loose citation; compare Num 3:32 and 4:16.

357. Concerning this entire matter see Radak above, 8:27, and our remarks there.



## 110 1 Chronicles 9:20

has lived for a long time.<sup>358</sup> For he was among those who left Egypt (Exod 6:25); and in the days of the concubine at Gibeah, more than three hundred years after the exodus from Egypt, we see that he was still alive, as it says there: “and Phinehas son of Eleazar,” etc. (Judg 20:28).<sup>359</sup>

In a midrashic vein, our Sages, of blessed memory (*Gen. Rab.* 60:3), have said that the Divine Presence left him because he did not annul Jephthah’s vow<sup>360</sup> and that this is why the text says, “was the chief officer over them” —not “*is* ... over them” but “*was* ... over them.” And on “in time past the Lord was with him” they said (*y. Yoma* 5a): “In time past the Lord was with him,” for in the days of Zimri he protested (Num 25:7-8), while in the days of the concubine at Gibeah (Judges 19-21) he did not protest.<sup>361</sup> That is, since in the days of Zimri the Lord was with him, he had the strength to protest; so he did so. In fact, since the Lord was with him and he had the strength to protest, there was atonement for Israel in that they did not die out in the days of Zimri. But in the days of the concubine at Gibeah he did not have the strength to protest, since the Lord was not with him; for several thousand Israelites had died by the time they defeated the Benjaminites (Judg 20:21-39).<sup>362</sup>

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358. On Radak’s tendency to defend a component of a midrash even where he is ambivalent about its primary claim, particularly where a chronological matter is at issue, see Berger (2007a, 47-48 n. 24).

359. Compare Radak’s comment there.

360. The reference is to Jephthah’s vow to sacrifice whoever would be first to greet him on returning home from war, which turned out to be his daughter. See Judg 11:30-40.

361. In the days of Zimri, Phinehas protested the Israelites’ involvement with Moabite women, killing Zimri and his cohort. As for the days of the concubine at Gibeah, the intention appears to be that he failed to protest the type of behavior exemplified by the violation and murder of the concubine.

362. Radak appears to mean that in the days of Zimri, the strength that God provided to Phinehas to protest ultimately prevented mass deaths among the Israelites; so accordingly, Phinehas’s failure to protest is responsible for the large number of innocent deaths in the days of the concubine at Gibeah and reflects his loss of this strength.



But some explain that “And Phinehas son of Eleazar was the chief officer over them” does not refer to Phinehas the priest; for this Phinehas was a Levite. And that is [precisely] the meaning of “in time past the Lord was with him”; that is, this Phinehas is *not* the one from time past, since the Lord was with that Phinehas in that the Divine Spirit rested on him. But such was not the case for this one, even though he was great and was chief officer over the Levites.<sup>363</sup> The correct interpretation, however, is the one I have provided.

**(22) All these who were selected, etc.; David and Samuel the seer established them when they set things in place (*be-emunatam*).** David and Samuel instituted shifts of priests and Levites and established that [together, the gatekeepers at the thresholds] should not amount to fewer than two hundred and twelve [Levites].

The sense of *be-emunatam* is *be-qiyyumam* (“when they set things in place”),<sup>364</sup> which means that they established this and set it in place, as in “And Esther’s ordinance set in place (*qiyyam*)” (Esth 9:32). What the text is saying here, then, is that they established the matter and set in place that it be like this for all times. Many cases can be found where *emunah* has the sense of *qiyyum*, such as “And I will espouse you with *emunah* (‘permanence’)” (Hos 2:22); *emunah omen* (“have been steadfastly fulfilled,” Isa 25:1); “*emunat* ‘ittekha (‘your capacity to endure’) shall be” (Isa 33:6); and others besides these.<sup>365</sup> But our Sages, of blessed memory (*y. Suk. 26b*), con-

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363. The Munich 5 author takes the position that this Phinehas was a Levite but understands “in time past the Lord was with him” as a characterization of this very Phinehas, meaning that he was a prophet at one time. Pseudo-Rashi’s preferred view seems to be the same. The precise interpretation cited by Radak, which suggests that the verse contrasts this Phinehas with the earlier one, is not attested in extant sources. Modern scholars support Radak’s position that the verse refers to the original Phinehas. A suggested ideological motive for the reference appears in Japhet (1993, 216): the Chronicler seeks, “by reference to Phinehas and David, to legitimize the gatekeepers’ status in his own days.”

364. Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author precede Radak in this interpretation. Contrast the North African commentary.

365. Compare Radak’s comments on all of these examples, and *Shorashim*, entry שֶׁמֶט.

cerning *be-emunatam*, said that there was an expertly devised system (*umanut gedolah*) in place there that assured that no one shift would preemptively receive a second opportunity for appropriating land holdings.<sup>366</sup>

These two hundred and twelve did not all serve guard duty at once. Rather, in accordance with the schedule of the shifts, a new shift would come every seven days. This is what is meant by: "to come every seven days, according to a fixed schedule, as did these ('*im elleh*)" (v. 25).<sup>367</sup> For these [Levite gatekeepers] too lived in villages of their own, as it says: "they were in villages that accorded with their genealogy."<sup>368</sup> (This means the villages given to them in the days of Joshua; each of them would trace his lineage to his ancestral house to find out in which city his ancestors lived.) They knew, however, to come to Jerusalem for the shifts that were assigned to them.

(26) **The four gatekeepers of distinction were set in place.** It is not that there were only four, but rather that there were four of distinction appointed to supervise the others in guarding the gates.<sup>369</sup>

(27) **And they were in charge of the key *ve-la-boqer la-boqer*.** This means: to open the gates every morning (*ba-boqer ba-boqer*): the *vav* of *la-boqer* is like the soft *fah* in Arabic.<sup>370</sup>

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366. According to Lev 27:20-21 (as understood, e.g., by Rashi there), a field that had been donated for the Temple's use and was not bought back by the Jubilee year becomes the possession of the priests of the shift on duty at the beginning of that Jubilee year. The division of the priests into twenty-four shifts allowed for a rotation in which no one shift would be in a position to benefit from this twice before all others did at least once. See the commentaries on the page of the Yerushalmi, which attempt to clarify how this is borne out mathematically. The matter, however, remains in need of basic explanation.

367. Verse 25 indicates that "their kinsmen" would come for shifts of seven days, "as did these"; that is, "these" gatekeepers mentioned before v. 25, as well as their kinsmen, all worked seven-day shifts.

368. That is, just as it says in v. 25 that their kinsmen would come every seven days from "their villages," they too lived in villages of their own and would come to Jerusalem only for their shifts.

369. That is, there might have been others of distinction who were not in a supervisory position.

370. On *lamed* functioning as *bet*, see *Mikhlol* 45b-46a. On *vav* func-

(31) **Were entrusted with *ma'aseh ha-havittim* (החביתים).** [This means:] *ma'aseh mahavat* ("making the griddle cakes"). The gemination [of the *tav*] takes the place of the vowel letter exemplified in *seridim* (שרידים, "fugitives," Josh 10:20), which represents its pattern.<sup>371</sup> The same is true for "for the Arameans are *nehittim* (נחיתים, 'encamped') there" (2 Kgs 6:9): the root is *nhṭ*, and the gemination [of the *tav*] takes the place of the vowel letter exemplified in *seridim*.

(33) **These are the musicians ... free.** This means that they would sit in the offices, free of other duties, since they were involved in musical duties day and night.

(35) **And in Gibeon there lived, etc.** The text presented this section above (8:29) but interrupted with the matter of the Levites and priests who lived in Jerusalem during their shifts. So now it presents it again, for the purpose of presenting both the progeny of Saul in proper sequence and an account of his fate and of the transferring of the kingship from him to David son of Jesse.<sup>372</sup> And from that point on, it proceeds to relate

tioning like the "soft *fah* in Arabic," see the citation of Ibn Ezra in *Mikhlol* 44a and the summation of scholarship on the matter in Charlap (1999, 237-42). The present example remains in need of explanation according to all of the approaches cited by Charlap.

This entire comment is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak's later addition. It was also apparently overlooked by the scribe who inserted Radak's additions into the margins of ms Paris and is thus missing from printed editions as well, which are closely descended from that manuscript. See above, introduction, 17.

371. That is, in this pattern, a *yod* normally appears before the final root letter, signaling a lengthening of the *hireq*, and the subsequent consonant is not geminated. In *havittim*, however, there is no such *yod*; the *hireq* is short, and the gemination of the *tav* compensates for the lost vowel length. See *Mikhlol* 78b-79a and 156a, and compare above, 1:7, and our comments there.

372. Radak accounts for the lengthy redundancy in the text here on the basis of the principle of resumptive repetition, as do the North African and Munich 5 commentators: the repeated genealogy recaptures the thread that leads into the account of the transfer of Saul's power to David. Compare Japhet (1993, 205-6), reacting to the scholarly view that the second appearance of the list cannot reflect a conscious editorial decision: "I tend to see a better case for the view that both passages are authentic; the same

114 1 Chronicles 9:35–10:10

the history of the Judean kings in order, one after the other, until the exile.<sup>373</sup>

**10 (2) *Va-yadbequ Pelishtim* (“The Philistines pursued and caught up to”<sup>374</sup>).** This is like *va-yadbiqu*. Similarly, *va-yadrekhu et leshonam* (“they bent their tongues,” Jer 9:2) is like *va-yadrikhu*.<sup>375</sup>

(9-10) **And they carried off his head and his armor ... and they impaled his head in the temple of Dagon.** But in the book of Samuel [it says]: “and they impaled his body on the wall of Beth-shan” (1 Sam 31:10)!<sup>376</sup> What is omitted there is filled in here; for they impaled his head in the temple of Dagon and his and his sons’ bodies on the wall of Beth-shan, and the people of Jabesh-gilead then took his and his sons’ bodies. They did not, however, take his head from the temple of Dagon.<sup>377</sup> The reason the people of Jabesh-gilead took care of him was that they remembered what he had done for them: he saved them when Nahash the Ammonite threatened them (1 Sam 11:1-11).

**And [the people of Jabesh-gilead] fasted for seven days.** This was in remembrance of the seven-day respite granted to them by Nahash the

material ... is employed twice, in somewhat different formats, in order to provide a fitting introduction to chapter 10 and a transition between the genealogies and the historical narrative.... Thus the reader has been well prepared for the next episode: the demise of Saul.”

Pseudo-Rashi above, 8:29, suggests that Ezra intentionally incorporated two largely similar texts that he had found in order to provide a record of their minor discrepancies, which he could not resolve. In this connection, see above, introduction, 9.

373. Compare Radak’s remarks in his introduction concerning the motive for the book’s canonization.

374. This translation follows Radak at 1 Sam 14:22, where a similar formulation appears.

375. *Va-yadbiqu* and *va-yadrikhu* would be the standard *hif’il* forms. See *Mikhlol* 66a, and Ibn Janaḥ, *Riqmah*, 98 and 281. Compare also Radak at 1 Sam 31:2.

376. Compare Radak’s comment there.

377. See v. 12, which mentions only the bodies of Saul and his sons.

Ammonite (1 Sam 11:3), since it was during that time that they had been saved by Saul.<sup>378</sup>

(13) **For not having fulfilled the command of (*devar*) the Lord.** This refers to the matter of (*devar*) Amalek (1 Sam 15:8-9).<sup>379</sup>

(14) **And did not seek the advice of the Lord.** But in the book of Samuel it says, “And Saul inquired of the Lord, but the Lord did not answer him” (1 Sam 28:6), and that he sought the advice of the ghost only subsequently! Since he did subsequently seek the advice of the ghost, it was considered as if he had not sought the advice of the Lord—for he equated one inquiry with the other. Even though the Lord did not answer him, he should have reached out to the Lord again and repented fully before Him rather than compounding his sinful behavior with the transgression of seeking the advice of the ghost.<sup>380</sup>

**11 (8) From the *millo* until the *saviv*.** A *millo* is an area near the wall of a city; it is a plaza where the people assemble. This is why it is called a *millo*, as in *he’asefu mal’u* (“come together, assemble”; see Jer 4:5).<sup>381</sup> He built from there inward, until the area surrounding (*seviv*) the tower: this is the mean-

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378. Compare Radak at 1 Sam 31:13.

379. Scholars debate whether or not the reference here and the one in v. 14 are indeed to specific incidents. More recent treatments tend toward a more generalized understanding; see Dirksen (2005, 166).

380. Radak’s comments on vv. 13-14 do not appear in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably late. The comment on v. 14, in particular, he appears to have added after addressing the matter in his commentary on the parallel verse in Samuel.

Below, 1 Chr 13:13, in what is also apparently a later addition, Radak implies that our verse refers not to Saul’s reliance on the ghost but to his failure to seek Divine guidance in the context of his annihilation of the priests of Nob (compare the Targum on our verse). See his comment and our remarks there.

381. *Mal’u* actually appears before *he’asefu* in the verse in Jeremiah, with the word *ve-imru* (“and declare”) in between. See also Radak there, and in *Shorashim*, entry מלא. Radak’s interpretation of *mal’u* in Jeremiah as a command to assemble follows Rashi there. Contrast R. Joseph Kara, who provides a different explanation.

## 116 1 Chronicles 11:8

ing of “until the *saviv*.” This is also the meaning of “from the *millo va-bay-tah* (toward the house)” in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 5:9), that is, from the *millo* inward.<sup>382</sup> Solomon built upon this *millo*, as it says: “Solomon built upon the *millo*” (1 Kgs 11:27).<sup>383</sup>

**And Joab revived the rest of the city.** This means: He built the rest of the city, which was demolished.<sup>384</sup> The use of “reviving” for building is a metaphor;<sup>385</sup> the same is true of “Can they revive those stones out of the dust heap” (Neh 3:34). “He healed the damaged altar of the Lord” (1 Kgs 18:30) is similarly a metaphor.<sup>386</sup>

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382. Radak probably inserted this sentence, missing from mss Paris and Munich, after composing his parallel comment on the verse in Samuel.

383. The word *banah*, both in Radak’s assertion and in his subsequent citation of the verse in Kings, seems to mean “built upon,” not simply “built.” That is, Solomon constructed buildings *upon* the area that David had kept as an open plaza. Compare Radak’s comment on the verse in Kings.

Weisse observes the difficulty that the literal translation—“Solomon built the plaza”—posed for Radak: the word *banah* ought not to be used to describe the clearing of an area for assembly. In this connection, see Rashi at 2 Sam 5:9 for an alternative understanding of the term *millo*.

384. According to Radak’s previous comment, the first half of the verse seems to say that David built up the city all around, from the plaza—its outermost point—inward, until the area surrounding the tower, which was presumably its innermost point. It is unclear, therefore, what part of the city remained for Joab to build. In fact, in *Shorashim*, entry חיה, Radak explains that Joab merely walled in those parts of the city that remained exposed after David had built it up; compare Pseudo-Rashi and the North African commentary on our verse.

385. The technical term that Radak employs here and elsewhere for this kind of metaphoric usage—where one term merely substitutes for another—is *hash’alah*; see Cohen (2003, esp. chapter 3).

386. Compare the *Shorashim* of both Radak and Ibn Janaḥ, entry חיה, Radak on the verse in Kings, and R. Moses Kimḥi on the verse in Nehemiah (in the commentary mistakenly attributed to Ibn Ezra); and see Cohen (2003, 109). Both of Radak’s suggested parallels are cited in modern scholarship; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 242). But see the objections expressed by Williamson (1982, 100) and Dirksen (2005, 171).

(11) **Jashobeam (*Yashov'am*) son of Hachmoni.** But in the book of Samuel [it says], "*yoshev ba-shevet* Tahchemoni" (2 Sam 23:8)! Perhaps his father's name was Tahchemoni, as it says here "son of Hachmoni,"<sup>387</sup> while his name was Adino (2 Sam 23:8); and he used to sit in session (*yoshev ba-shevet*) with the king, for he was among his advisors.<sup>388</sup> This, then, is why he was called *Yashov'am*; for he would sit (*yoshev*) on the king's advisory panel opposite the people (*'am*) or on matters concerning the people. And when the text there says "against eight hundred" and here **against three hundred**, one refers to the father and the other to the son. Alternatively, they might both refer to one of them but to two different wars: in one he wielded his spear against three hundred, and in the other against eight hundred.<sup>389</sup>

(12) **He was one of the three war heroes.** The three war heroes were the son of Hachmoni, Eleazar son of Dodo, and Shammah son of Age (2 Sam 23:11). Even though the text does not mention Eleazar's heroic deed here, it does mention it in Samuel: "He struck down Philistines until his arm grew tired" (2 Sam 23:10).

But when it says here "He was with David at Pas Dammim" (v.13), it does not refer to Eleazar, but to Shammah, for it says in Samuel with respect to Shammah: "He took his stand in the middle of the plot and defended it" (2 Sam 23:12).<sup>390</sup> And even though it says "He" without mentioning Shammah, it is as if it had mentioned him;<sup>391</sup> for it refers to the three

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387. Radak assumes these names to be equivalent.

388. Radak provides no explanation why the term "son of" does not appear in Samuel before "Tahchemoni." Possibly, he considers the *yod* at the end to function as not only part of the name but also as a gentilic, so that it means "of the family of Tahchemoni." Compare, e.g., the NJPS translation: "a Tahchemonite." See also Weisse's multifaceted critique of Radak's reading of the verse in Samuel. In fact, in his commentary to Samuel, Radak changes his position, explaining both *ben hakhmoni* here and *tahchemoni* there as descriptive terms denoting wisdom (*hokhmah*), so that they do not mean "son of Hachmoni" and "Tahchemoni" as he indicates here.

389. This is the only interpretation that Radak provides in Samuel, where he denies that the father is mentioned in either context.

390. As Radak proceeds to indicate, this matches the description in v. 14 below.

391. That is, in Chronicles "He" refers to Shammah even though Shammah is not mentioned by name.



## 118 1 Chronicles 11:12-15

war heroes, and Shammah was the third. It might be, though, that Eleazar was with him; for it says here: “*they* took *their* stand in the middle of the plot” (v. 14).<sup>392</sup> Still, Shammah was the main one in that war, as it says in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 23:11-12).

(13) **At Pas (פס) Dammim.** In the book of Samuel, concerning the war of Goliath the Philistine, it says: “at Ephes (עפס) Dammim” (1 Sam 17:1), which is the same place as the location of this war. Concerning this war, it says in Samuel, “And the Philistines had gathered to the *hayyah*” (2 Sam 23:11), which means an open city, one without a wall.<sup>393</sup> So it was that place which was called Ephes Dammim, or Pas Dammim, for they are one and the same.

**There was a plot of ground full of barley there.** But in the book of Samuel [it says]: “full of lentils” (2 Sam 23:11)!<sup>394</sup> Perhaps the plot was filled with bundles because it had already been harvested, and they had gathered into it bundles from other fields also. The bundles thus consisted of both lentils and barley, and it was filled with them; so the text here says “full of barley,” and there “full of lentils.”

(15) **Three of the thirty chiefs went down**—of the thirty who were David’s chief warriors.<sup>395</sup>

**To the rock.** The text says, “they went *down* ... to the rock” because the place where they had been, from which they went down, was higher than

392. Radak opts for this possibility in his comment on the parallel verse in Samuel.

393. Both Ibn Janah and Radak, in their respective *Shorashim*, entry חיה, indicate that the root can denote a group, so that a collection of houses that are not walled in as a “city” may be called a *hayyah* (thus *Havvot Ya’ir* in Num 32:41). Compare also Radak on the verse in Samuel.

394. Compare Radak there.

395. It is not clear from the Hebrew formulation in the verse that all thirty were chiefs. Indeed, Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author explain that the “three” were chiefs over the “thirty.” On the parallel verse, 2 Sam 23:13, Radak cites the Targum there to support his view that all thirty were chiefs. The Targum, however, does not appear to connect the word “chief” to *sheloshim*, “thirty,” but to read *sheloshim* as *shelishim*, “supervisors.” Compare the Targum here, and note the variant *shelishim* in De Rossi.



this rock at **the cave of Adullam**. The same is true for “I will go down upon the hills” (Judg 11:37), and “and he went down to the rock” (1 Sam 23:25).<sup>396</sup>

(21) **Among the three, [Abshai] was more highly regarded than the other two (*ba-shenayim nikhbad*)**. For he was among the three warriors who brought water, and he was more highly regarded than his two colleagues: this is the meaning of *ba-shenayim nikhbad*. When the text in the book of Samuel says, “he was the most highly regarded among the three” (2 Sam 23:19), it is also referring to those three.

**But he did not attain to the three.** [This means:] to those other three: Tahchemoni, Eleazar, and Shammah.<sup>397</sup>

**The two *ari’el Mo’av***. [This means:] the two *gibborei Mo’av* (“Moabite warriors”). The Targum to the book of Samuel (2 Sam 23:20) similarly renders: “the two Moabite chiefs (*ravrevei Mo’av*).”<sup>398</sup> The text refers to warriors as *ari’el* because the lion (*ari*) is strong and powerful, and the sense of *el* is also strength.

(23) **A man of dimensions (*ish middah*)**. In the book of Samuel (2 Sam 23:21) [it says], “a man to behold (*ish mar’eh*),” which means that he had both a huge face and enormous dimensions.<sup>399</sup>

396. Compare Radak on this verse in Samuel, but see his alternative suggestions on the verse in Judges.

397. Pseudo-Rashi and the North African and Munich 5 commentators, unlike Radak, do not consider Abshai to have been one of the “three” mentioned in v. 20 but rather the chief over all three of them. They interpret our verse to mean that he was as highly regarded as two of those three put together, but not as all three. Radak, however, who maintains that Abshai himself is among the three, is compelled to interpret “but he did not attain to the three” to mean the earlier group of three. See the discussion of this option in Japhet (1993, 246). See also Radak’s citation of the Targum in his comment on the verse in Samuel.

398. Compare the Targum on our verse. See also Radak’s citation and rejection of an alternative interpretation from the Talmud in his comment on the parallel verse in Samuel.

399. The *ketiv* in Samuel is *asher mar’eh*, which Radak characteristically explains as amounting to the same thing. See his famous remarks con-

120 1 *Chronicles* 11:23–12:2

**Like a weaver's beam.** This is the piece of wood that a weaver uses for folding a garment.<sup>400</sup>

(25) [Benaiah] **was more highly regarded than the thirty.** He was not among the thirty but was even more highly regarded than they were.

**But he did not attain to the three.** [This means:] to the first three: Tahchemoni, Eleazar, and Shammah.<sup>401</sup>

**12 (2) *Nosheqei qeshet.*** [This means:] armed with bows (*qeshet*) and arrows.<sup>402</sup>

**They could use both the right hand and the left hand (*mayminim u-masmilim* וּמִשְׁמָאִילִים).** They had enough control over both hands for slinging stones and shooting arrows. The *alef* in וּמִשְׁמָאִילִים is quiescent.<sup>403</sup>

**They were kinsmen of Saul from Benjamin.** This is to say that relatives of Saul came to help [David], even though Saul was alive.

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cerning *qerei-ketiv* disparities toward the end of the introduction to his commentary to Joshua, and Talmage (1975, 93).

400. Compare *Shorashim*, entry מִנֵּי.

401. As in the case of Abshai above, v. 21, it appears that Radak considers Benaiah to have been among the three who brought water to David. Thus, it cannot be that he was not as highly regarded as those three; rather, the reference must be to the earlier three. Again as with Abshai, Radak's predecessors do not appear to consider Benaiah among the three who brought water; thus, for them, the ones to whom Benaiah "did not attain" are those very three. See, e.g., the comment of Pseudo-Rashi.

402. Compare Pseudo-Rashi, and *Shorashim*, entry נִשֶּׁק.

403. This last sentence, *u-masmilim* (וּמִשְׁמָאִילִים) *be-noah ha-alef*, is apparently a particularly late addition of Radak, appearing in only one branch of text witnesses. The first word in the sentence should likely read וּמִשְׁמָאִילִים, without a *yod* after the *alef*, just as in our biblical texts. In writing *be-noah ha-alef*, then, Radak probably means that the quiescent *alef*—rather than a *yod*—functions as the "nah" letter, signaling a lengthening of the *hireq*. Compare *Mikhlol* 83a.

(16) *Memallei*. This is an adjective: it is like *malei* (“full”).<sup>404</sup>

**And [the Gadites] drove away all the lowlanders.** When they passed through with a large army, they drove away the dwellers of the lowlands, who mistook them for enemies and fled.

(18) **But if to fool me (*le-rammotani*) *le-šaray*.** [This means:] for the sake of *šaray* (“my enemies”): since there were Benjaminites there, David was afraid.<sup>405</sup> The *tav* of *le-rammotani* has a *pataḥ* instead of a *šerei*.<sup>406</sup>

(19) **Then the spirit seized Amasai.** [This means:] the spirit of desire.<sup>407</sup>

(23) **As the camp of God.** This means that [the camp] was large. To compare something to God, may He be blessed, when one wants to indicate that something is particularly large, is a standard feature of the language, as in “like the mountains of God” (Ps 36:7), “a city of Godlike enormity” (Jonah 3:3), “a Divine flame (*shalhevetyah*)” (Song 8:6), and “Divine darkness (*ma’peleyah*)” (Jer 2:31).<sup>408</sup> Even though *shalhevetyah* is one word, as is *ma’peleyah*, its meaning is that of two words.<sup>409</sup>

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404. Compare *Mikhlol* 165a. Both comments on this verse are probably Radak’s later additions, as they do not appear in mss Paris and Munich.

405. That is, David feared those belonging to Saul’s tribe.

406. The first-person object suffix would normally begin with a *šerei*.

407. Radak follows the interpretation of Pseudo-Rashi (also appearing in the Munich 5 commentary), in opposition to the rabbinic view (Bavli *Megillah* 14b) that the reference is to the Divine Spirit. Modern scholars prefer the rabbis’ position; see, e.g., Dirksen (2005, 186).

408. Compare Radak’s comments on the examples from Psalms and Jonah and on Gen 10:9. A similar approach already appears in Rashbam at Gen 27:7. See also Lockshin (1989, 152 n. 3) for a list of modern scholars who follow Rashbam’s position. This is a standard interpretation among moderns on our verse; but alternatively, see Dirksen (2005, 23).

409. In this last sentence—missing from ms Paris and probably a later addition—Radak favors the reading *shalhevetyah*, found in most biblical manuscripts. But see the variant *shalhevet yah*—as two words—cited in Ginsburg (1926). On Radak’s pursuit of accurate biblical manuscripts, con-

## 122 1 Chronicles 11:28-33

(28) **Chief officer of Aaron (*ha-nagid le-Aharon*)**. [This means:] of the descendants of Aaron<sup>410</sup>—which means [Jehoiada] was the high priest.<sup>411</sup> He joined David along with **three thousand seven hundred** men. And his son Benaiah was head of the thirty warriors, as the text says above (11:24-25).

(29) **And Zadok, a young man**. At the time he was still a young man.<sup>412</sup> He was **valiant** and joined David together with **twenty-two** officers from his clan.

(30) **Until that point, many of them**. This means that these three thousand Benjaminites joined David in Hebron after the deaths of Abner and Ish-bosheth, when all of Israel joined David in Hebron (2 Sam 5:1). It was only then that these three thousand came; for until that point, “many of them” were with the House of Saul protecting his kingship, unlike those who joined David in Ziklag during Saul’s lifetime (1 Chr 12:1-2).<sup>413</sup>

(33) **Of the Issacharites, men who possessed the wisdom of times (*’ittim*), to determine how Israel should act**. Our Sages, of blessed memory, explained that they knew how to calculate leap years and to determine the beginnings of months.<sup>414</sup> This explains why it says “to determine how Israel

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sider the remark of Talmage (1975, 91): “If Ibn Ezra happened to find variants in his travels, Radak seems to have traveled in order to find variants.”

410. Compare Radak’s remarks at Ps 90:1 concerning R. Saadia Gaon’s interpretation of the phrase *tefillah le-Mosheh*.

411. Compare Radak below, 1 Chr 27:5. This is disputed by Pseudo-Rashi (and the Munich 5 author); see his comments in both contexts.

412. That is, the verse emphasizes that Zadok was still a young man—and not yet a high priest. Compare Pseudo-Rashi.

413. “Many of them,” for Radak, seems to mean many of the Benjaminites, including *all* of these three thousand; for he contrasts these “many” with those who had come to David earlier.

414. In extant midrashic sources of this, such as *Genesis Rabba* 72:5, there is no explicit reference to determining the beginnings of months, only to *’ibburin*, which generally refers to the calculation of leap years. A reference to both appears in Bavli *Megillah* 12b in connection with the phrase “possessors of the wisdom of *’ittim*” in Esther 1:13, but not concerning

should act,” as well as “who possessed the wisdom of times” (that is, of seasons); for they knew how to make calculations based on celestial cycles and constellations. The text mentions this matter here because the king needed to consult with them on [these matters]; for the declaration of leap years and [of new months] was done by royal decree, as is apparent in connection with the case of King Hezekiah (*b. San.* 12a).<sup>415</sup>

But R. Jonah [ibn Janah] (*Shor.*, entry עֵוֶה) interpreted [‘ittim (עֵתִים)] in the sense of “laws”; for the king needed to consult with them on legal matters. The same is true for “learned in ‘ittim” (Esth 1:13)—as it says: “before all who were versed in law and precedent” (Esth 1:13)—and for “the heart of a wise man knows ‘et (עֵת) and law” (Eccl 8:5).<sup>416</sup> But according to this interpretation, “to determine how Israel should act” does not fit; for the text should have said: “to determine how *the king* should act.”<sup>417</sup> According to the interpretation of our Sages, of blessed memory, however, “to determine how Israel should act”—meaning how to observe the holidays in their proper time—fits right in.

(34) **Of Zebulun, etc., *ve-la’ador be-lo lev va-lev*.** *Ve-la’ador* means *ve-la’arokh* (“and to carry out in an ordered fashion”), as in *‘oderei ma’arakhah* (“men who manned the battle lines,” v. 39). Similarly, “and *‘adarim* for the troughs” (2 Chr 32:28) means orderly storage places. This is why a flock (*ma’arekhet*) of sheep is called an *‘eder*. The meaning of the verse, then, is that these men would carry out battles against the enemies of David *be-lo lev va-lev* (“without being of one heart [on the one hand] and of another

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Issachar. (*Targum Rishon* on that verse, however, does draw a connection to Issachar. Compare also the Targum here.) The term *‘ibbur* can at times refer to the determination of months also; see, e.g., the Targum to 1 Sam 20:27, cited by Radak there.

415. The reference to Hezekiah is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently Radak’s later addition, based on the talmudic passage. See also Radak below, 2 Chr 30:2.

416. See Ibn Ezra’s objection on the verse in Ecclesiastes.

417. Ibn Janah actually cites the phrase as it appears in the verse in *support* of his interpretation: the Issacharites, as royal advisors on legal matters, effectively determined how Israel should act. Radak apparently considered this means of “determining” to be insufficiently direct to justify the use of the term.

## 124 1 Chronicles 11:34–13:3

heart [on the other]"); that is, they were not of two hearts, but of one heart in full solidarity with David.<sup>418</sup> But in *Genesis Rabba* [it says]:<sup>419</sup> "*Be-lo lev va-lev* ('without heart or with heart')—they would win whether or not they put their minds to it."

(39) **Likewise, all *sherit* ("the rest of") Israel.** This is like *she'erit*. Similarly, "shall grant you *shelatekh* ("your request)" (1 Sam 1:17) is like *she'elatekh*.<sup>420</sup>

**13 (1) To every officer.** This means: [David] *called* to every officer to consult with him.

(2) ***Nifreṣah nishleḥah* ("let us send far and wide") to our kinsmen.** This means: Let us send messengers in all directions, to every place, as in "*u-paraṣta* ('you shall spread out') to the west and to the east" (Gen 28:14): [the root *prš*] always has the sense of something spreading far.<sup>421</sup> This is what the text means when it says in the book of Samuel, "David again assembled" (2 Sam 6:1); that is, just as it says here, he gathered additional Israelites, beyond those who had been with him when he became king.

(3) **For during the days of Saul we did not seek Him.** For he wiped out Nob, the city of the priests (1 Sam 22:19), and the text says concerning him: "and he did not seek the advice of the Lord" (1 Chr 10:14).<sup>422</sup>

418. This is the consensus among moderns; see, e.g., Dirksen (2005, 190).

419. This does not appear in our texts of *Genesis Rabba* but rather in *Leviticus Rabba* 25:2.

420. That is, *sherit* and *shelatekh* exhibit quiescence of the *alef*. Compare Radak at Jer 15:11 and 1 Sam 1:17, and in *Shorashim*, entries שאר and שאל.

421. This is one of many interpretations suggested by modern scholars; for a recent discussion, see Dirksen (2005, 194). In *Shorashim*, entry פרץ, Radak writes concerning this usage: "it is as if, due to their large numbers, they break through (יפרצו) fences, for a fenced-in area cannot hold them." See also Pseudo-Rashi's creative alternative in his comment on our verse.

422. This comment, not attested in mss Paris and Munich and apparently Radak's later insertion, is not consistent with his comment at 1 Chr 10:14, where he interprets that verse to refer to Saul's reliance on the ghost, not to his killing the priests of Nob. See our remarks there and at 1 Chr 15:13.

**For the proposal *yashar* (“was well received”) by the people.** This is a verb in the past tense, since the latter syllable has a *pataḥ*.<sup>423</sup>

(6) **To Baalah, to Kiriath-jearim.** Kiriath-jearim is also called Baalah, as it says in the book of Joshua: “Then the boundary curved to Baalah—that is, Kiriath-jearim” (Josh 15:9), and also: “to Kiriath-baal—that is, Kiriath-jearim—a city of the Judahites” (Josh 18:14). Similarly, it says in the book of Samuel: “from Baalim of Judah” (2 Sam 6:2).<sup>424</sup> It was there that the Ark stayed for twenty years (1 Sam 7:2), from the time it returned from the territory of the Philistines until David brought it up from there.

**Which was called “Name.”** In the book of Samuel the text explains that “attached to [the Ark] was the name of the Lord of Hosts, who is enthroned on the cherubim” (2 Sam 6:2); that is why it was called “Name.” The reason it is called this here and not elsewhere is that when it was in the land of the Philistines, the name of the Holy One, blessed is He, was sanctified in connection with it (1 Sam 5:1-12).<sup>425</sup>

(9) **To the threshing floor of Kidon (“Chidon”).** In the book of Samuel (2 Sam 6:6) [this is called] “the threshing floor of Nacon”; it had two names. It might be that it was called *Kidon* because Uzza died there, in the sense of “Let his eyes see *kido* (‘his ruin’)” (Job 21:20).<sup>426</sup>

423. The word generally appears with a *qameṣ* in the latter syllable and functions as an adjective (a *shem* for Radak; see *Mikhlol* 143a-b).

424. The context of that verse too concerns the transfer of the Ark; compare Radak there.

425. Radak’s interpretation (appearing both here and in his comment to 2 Sam 6:2)—that the Ark was literally called “Name”—departs from the position of earlier commentators, for whom the verse means no more than that God’s “name” was associated with the Ark. See Pseudo-Rashi here, Rashi and Kara on the verse in Samuel, and the targumic renderings in both contexts. The Munich 5 author adds a reference to Bavli *Bava Batra* 14b, which indicates that all the names of God rested *inside* the Ark.

426. In *Shorashim*, entry כִּיד, Radak draws an equivalence between this root and אִיד, which, under its own entry, he understands to signify “pain and misfortune.” Compare Ibn Janah’s *Shorashim*, entry כִּיד, and R. Moses Kimḥi on the verse in Job; and see also Radak on the verse in Samuel.



(10) **Because [Uzza] laid a hand on the Ark**—for he was not a Levite. That was David’s mistake; for he should have had it brought by Levites, not on a cart, as it says: “But to the Kohathites he did not give any [carts]: since theirs was the service of the [most] sacred objects, their portage had to be by shoulder” (Num 7:9).<sup>427</sup> In fact, when he confessed his sin he decreed that only the Levites should carry the Ark of the Lord (1 Chr 15:2), and said: “the Lord ... burst out against us, for we did not show due regard for Him” (1 Chr 15:13).<sup>428</sup>

The reason David made this mistake—despite an explicit biblical verse—is that he thought there would be no infraction to carry it on a cart, even though it says, “their portage had to be by shoulder.” For he reasoned that it was for that time, in the wilderness, that God had commanded this; since the Tabernacle was transported on carts, He commanded that the Ark be carried by shoulder to show that the sanctity of the Ark is greater than the sanctity of the Tabernacle. But, [David] thought, should there come a time when there would be no Tabernacle with it, there would be no infraction to carry it on a cart. Furthermore, it had come by cart from the territory of the Philistines.<sup>429</sup> This, then, was his mistake.

(12) **Hekh (הֵךְ) can I bring here.** This is like *ekh* (אֵךְ, “how”), since the letters *alef*, *hei*, *vav*, and *yod* can interchange. “*Hekh* can this servant of my lord” (Dan 10:17) is also with a *hei*.

427. Radak’s reference to the cart and his citation of this verse do not appear in ms Paris. Evidently, at an earlier stage, he focused only on Uzza not being a Levite, adding only later that the Ark may not be placed on a cart. The verse in Numbers provides a source for both requirements—that it be carried by shoulder and by Levites.

428. Compare Radak there.

429. In place of this sentence, Radak’s parallel comment at 2 Sam 6:6 reads, “as it had come from the territory of the Philistines”—a continuation of the previous argument. Here also, then, Radak probably does not mean to present an independent reason for David’s error but rather an added, contributing factor. That is, seeing that the Ark was transported by cart from Philistine territory without incident, David drew support for his assumption that the Levites need not always carry it by shoulder.

Radak’s entire discussion of the reason why David erred does not appear in mss Paris and Munich, and his comment on the verse in Samuel might well have preceded it. See also the earlier discussions in Rashi at 2 Sam 6:3, based on Bavli *Sotah* 35a, and Pseudo-Rashi above, v. 7.



(13) **The house of Obed-edom the Gittite.** He was a Levite, one of the gatekeepers, as it says: “Obed-edom and Jeiel the gatekeepers” (1 Chr 15:18). Yet the text calls him a “Gittite,” because he made his home in Gath.<sup>430</sup>

**14 (2) Thus David knew that the Lord had established him**—for he saw that the other kings were sending him gifts.

(8) **In search of David**—to wage war against him.<sup>431</sup>

(14) **Opposite the *bekha'im*.** They have interpreted this to mean mulberry bushes.<sup>432</sup>

**15 (12) To *hakhinoti lo*.** This means: to the place *asher hakhinoti lo* (“that I have prepared for it”). Similarly, “from the spoil *hevi'u*” (2 Chr 15:11) means *asher hevi'u* (“that they brought”). And there are others like these, which I have cited in the *Mikhlol* in the first section of the book (50a).

(13) **For the first time not you (*ki le-ma-ba-rishonah lo attem*).** This means: You were not there the first time, when we carried [the Ark] out of Abinadab’s house.<sup>433</sup> So **the Lord our God burst out against us, since we did**

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430. Kara at 2 Sam 6:10 (see Radak’s parallel comment there) and Pseudo-Rashi here suggest that Obed-edom no longer lived in Gath, for it does not seem likely that David brought the Ark back to Gath at this point. The Munich 5 author, citing his mentor, suggests that Obed-edom might rather have been from Gath-rimmon, a Levite city mentioned above, 6:54. Kalimi (2005, 57 n. 76) cites a number of scholars who take this position and understands it to be Radak’s intention as well.

431. This is an inference from context; compare Radak at 2 Sam 5:17.

432. This interpretation is also cited in Radak’s *Shorashim*, entry בכא, and Ibn Janah’s *Shorashim*, entry בכה. I am unable to identify its original source. Compare also Radak at 2 Sam 5:24.

433. Radak suggests that the verb “to be” is elided, so that the phrase means: “the first time you *were* not [present].” Several of his predecessors provide similar explanations, including the North African commentator, the Targum, and an otherwise unattested midrash cited by the Munich 5 author. It is worth citing an alternative explanation, preferred by the Munich 5 author: “The first time ... when we improperly transported [the Ark] on a cart, ‘not you’? — ... [i.e.] was it not for your sake that this hap-

**not set out to obtain it (*lo derashnuhu*) according to the law**<sup>434</sup>—for the law provides that the Levites carry it on their shoulders with a carrying frame, as it says in the Torah of Moses (Num 6:9).<sup>435</sup>

The *mem* in *le-ma-ba-rishonah* has a *pataḥ*, though as a rule, it should properly take a *hireq*. The same is true for “they did not sanctify themselves *le-ma-day* (‘in great enough numbers’)” (2 Chr 30:3), and “His words were smoother *ma-ḥama’ot* (מחמאות, ‘than butter’)” (Ps 55:22).<sup>436</sup>

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pened, that the Lord burst out against us and killed Uzza? Therefore, purify yourselves so that what happened to Uzza will not happen to you.”

434. For Radak, the combination of the prefixes *lamed* and *mem* is the equivalent of *ba-’avur*, meaning “for the sake of” or “because of / since”; see *Mikhlol* 46a. Thus, the verse means that *since* on the earlier occasion the Levites were not there carrying the Ark, the Lord burst forth and killed Uzza, who touched it.

Radak departs from Ibn Ezra at Exod 20:17, who contends that this *lamed* is extraneous. The Targum and the Munich 5 author here imply the same. On the *lamed-mem* combination see also Radak at 2 Chr 30:3.

435. Where the phrase “*lo derashnuhu* in the days of Saul” appeared above at 13:3—when David first declared that “the Ark of the Lord” be brought to Jerusalem—Radak understood this to mean “we did not seek Him,” the latter pronoun referring to the Lord. Ironically, in our case, where the most immediate reference is to the Lord—the Ark having been mentioned only in the preceding verse—Radak takes the pronoun as a reference to the Ark: “we did not set out to obtain it according to the law.” Evidently, considerations of context were decisive for Radak (compare Dirksen 2005, 211): in our case, David is speaking of the failure to transport the Ark properly, not of any failure to seek the Lord, while the earlier verse, which refers to “the days of Saul,” is best understood as alluding to Saul’s decision to kill the priests of Nob without consulting God.

Nevertheless, the more straightforward reading of the earlier verse would appear to be that they failed to move the Ark to a more permanent, central location during Saul’s reign, as argued by the Munich 5 author.

436. A *mem* prefix that appears after a *lamed*, then, is fundamentally like any other *mem* prefix, normally taking a *hireq* but in rare cases a *pataḥ*. Compare Radak’s comments on the examples that he cites, as well as at Joel 1:17, in *Mikhlol* 38a, and in *Shorashim*, entry מן. In *Shorashim*, entry חמא, he considers the possibility that the *mem* at the beginning of מחמאות is not a preposition.

(18) **Their kinsmen of second rank.** [This means:] second in rank *to them* (as in “second in rank *to the king*”; Esth 10:3), as it says: “Asaph the chief, Zechariah the second *to him* in rank,” etc. (1 Chr 16:5).

**Zechariah, Ben.** That was his name: “Ben.” This is also how my master, my father, of blessed memory (*Sefer Ha-Galuy* responsum 11), interpreted *la-Ben* in the book of Psalms (9:1); that is, it refers to this musician, who played that psalm, composed by David on the death of Goliath and the defeat of the Philistines. Even though the *lamed* of *la-Ben* has a *pataḥ* that serves the function of a definite *hei* and a definite *hei* does not belong with the name of a person, the function of this particular definite *hei* is to clarify that [*Ben*] refers to the musician. For had the text said *le-Ben*, it would have seemed as though [the noun] was related to *banim* (“sons”).<sup>437</sup>

**The gatekeepers.** For they guarded the Ark after it was placed in the tent that David pitched for it (1 Chr 16:1). Alternatively, they had *originally* been gatekeepers, when the Ark was in Shiloh, Nob, and Gibeon.<sup>438</sup>

(22) **Yasor (יֶסֶר) *ba-massa* (“[Chenaniah] distinguished himself in prophetic inspiration”), for he was a master.** This means: Besides the musical talent that he had, he was a leader of distinction (*sar* [שָׂר] *ve-gadol*) in prophetic inspiration, for he was a master.<sup>439</sup> But some explain this to

437. This objection and resolution are part of the citation of R. Joseph Kimḥi. The intention is that had the text said *le-Ben*, the expected vocalization, this would have seemed like the singular of *banim*. Thus, the *pataḥ*—the equivalent of a definite *hei*—clarifies that the *ben* in question is definite; and as there is no identifiable *ben*—in the sense of a son—to whom this could refer, it must mean Ben the musician.

R. Joseph Kimḥi adds several other examples where a definite article is juxtaposed to a proper noun, including, fascinatingly, “I made the Israelites live *ba-Sukkot* when I brought them out of the land of Egypt” (Lev 24:43). For R. Joseph, *ba-Sukkot* does not refer to booths that provided shelter but rather to the location called *Sukkot* where the Israelites camped right after leaving Egypt (Num 33:5). See also Ibn Ezra and Radak on the verse in Psalms, and *Shorashim*, entry לָבַן.

438. Radak appears to understand the phrase “the gatekeepers” as a permanent job description. Thus, guarding the Ark must have been these Levites’ role either beforehand or afterward, when the Ark was in a fixed place. It is clear from his comment below, v. 24, that he understands this to refer specifically to Obed-edom and Jeiel.

439. In this view, the word *massa* refers to prophecy; compare the North African commentary.

130 1 Chronicles 15:22-24

mean “with the power of his voice,”<sup>440</sup> in the same sense as “*va-yissa* (‘he raised’) his voice” (Gen 29:11); that is, he distinguished himself above all the rest with the power of his singing voice. *Yasor* is spelled with a *samekh*; but it is as if it had a *sin*.<sup>441</sup> Similarly, “They are all *sarei* (סרי, ‘officers of’) deviance” (Jer 6:28) is like שרי, with a *sin*.<sup>442</sup>

(24) *Maḥserim* (מחצרים, “would sound”). This is spelled with two *shadeis*, the first pronounced, the second unpronounced.<sup>443</sup> The same is true for *Yis-sakhar* (יששכר, “Issachar,” Gen 30:18): the first *sin* is pronounced, the second unpronounced.<sup>444</sup> And the same for “*u-Mehiyya’el* (ומחיאל, ‘and Mehujael’) begot Methuseal” (Gen 4:18), and “*Yir’iyyah* (יריאה, ‘Irijah’) son of Shelemiah” (Jer 37:13); the first *yod* is pronounced, the second unpronounced.<sup>445</sup>

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440. Several text witnesses read: “But some explain *ba-massa* to mean....” Either way, this is indeed a new explanation of *ba-massa*—but not of *yasor*, which denotes leadership, just as in the first explanation.

This latter interpretation of *ba-massa* appears in Pseudo-Rashi and in the Munich 5 commentary, but they provide different explanations of the meaning of *yasor*. There does not appear, then, to be an extant source for the interpretation precisely as Radak cites it. Compare also Japhet (2003, 304), who writes that *ba-massa* refers either to the carrying of the Ark “or to the raising of the voice, probably also connected with ‘prophecy.’”

441. This is true specifically according to Radak’s view that *yasor* denotes leadership; contrast Pseudo-Rashi.

442. Compare Radak there, and contrast Rashi.

443. The two *shadeis* correspond to those in *ḥaṣoṣerot* (trumpets), of which this verb is a denominative; see *Shorashim*, entry חצר.

444. In his comment on Jer 37:13, Radak writes that this is the correct pronunciation of Issachar’s name “as it is read according to [the masoretic school of] ben Asher.” See Lipschutz (1965, 16-17) on the different masoretic pronunciations of the name, and pp. 10-12 concerning Radak’s relationship to the masoretic schools. As noted by Lipschutz, Radak, following Maimonides, considered ben Asher’s readings to be authoritative; see, e.g., Radak at Psalm 62:4.

445. Compare Radak on these two examples.

**And Jehiah.** This is the same as Jeiel mentioned above (v. 18): he had two names.<sup>446</sup>

**Gatekeepers for the Ark.** That is, even though they were gatekeepers, they also were musicians.<sup>447</sup>

(26) **As God helped (*be'zor ha-Elohim*) the Levites.** The *bet* of *be'zor* has a *segol*, though as a rule, it should properly take a *patah*. This “help” refers to their not having committed any violations when carrying the Ark, as they had earlier when Uzza died. (Our Sages, of blessed memory, though, explained midrashically that this implies that the Ark carries itself.<sup>448</sup>) In the

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446. Radak evidently understands the word “gatekeepers” in v. 18 to refer specifically to Obed-edom and Jeiel, so that this gatekeeper Jehiah must be the same as Jeiel.

This comment, apparently Radak’s later addition, does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is also missing from printed texts, which descend from ms Paris, since it was not inserted into the margins of ms Paris either. It appears in other manuscripts but only after Radak’s next comment—probably a result of an ambiguously placed insertion in an early manuscript that is no longer extant. I have presented it here in what would appear to be its proper place but based on no direct manuscript evidence.

447. It is quite possible that Radak intended to write, “even though they were musicians [better: were playing music] (*meshorerim*), they also were gatekeepers [better: were serving as guards] (*sho'arim*).” Indeed, such a variant appears in ms Vatican. Radak would then mean that even though, as in v. 21, Obed-edom and Jeiel played music during the transport, they simultaneously served as guards. (Compare Pseudo-Rashi at v. 18, who similarly applies the term *sho'arim*, literally, “gatekeepers/guarding gates,” to refer to the guarding of the Ark during the transport, despite the absence of “gates.”) Thus, while at v. 18—where the text states, “and Obed-edom and Jeiel the gatekeepers (*ha-sho'arim*)”—Radak had addressed the implication that these Levites were permanent gatekeepers (see above), here—where it states “and Obed-edom and Jeiel *sho'arim la-aron*” (without the definite article)—he explains that they were merely “guarding the Ark” at the time despite also playing music. In fact, if this is Radak’s intention, the near-precise repetition of the phrase—here and in v. 18—presents no difficulty: v. 18 identifies these Levites as permanent gatekeepers (*ha-sho'arim*),

132 1 Chronicles 15:26-27

book of Samuel, the text says that they would offer this sacrifice after walking six steps (2 Sam 6:13).<sup>449</sup>

(27) **Mekhurbal in a me'il buš ("linen cloak").** [*Mekhurbal* means that David was] wrapped; compare the Aramaic "*patteshohon ve-karbelatehon* ('their trousers and hats')" (Dan 3:21).<sup>450</sup> The *me'il buš* that the text mentions here is the same as the *efod bad* ("linen ephod") that it mentions in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 6:14). Targum Jonathan in fact renders *efod bad* as *kardot de-buš*, when on "for maiden princesses were customarily dressed in *me'ilim*" (2 Sam 13:18) he renders *kardotin*.<sup>451</sup>

**And Chenaniah ha-sar ha-massa.** The genitive noun is elided: *ha-sar sar ha-massa* ("the chief, chief for prophetic inspiration"). The same is true for

while our verse indicates that they in fact served guard duty during the transport (*sho'arim la-aron*).

Radak's comment as it appears in all other text witnesses (and as I have presented it in the translation), however, is probably best understood as follows: The verse means to say that despite being gatekeepers, Obededom and Jeiel also belong on this list of musicians. But it is unclear why Radak would have waited until now to provide this interpretation, rather than in an identical phrase in v. 23, which concerns two other Levites.

448. See Bavli *Sotah* 35a concerning the Ark carrying itself. I have not found a source that this is derived from *be'zor*.

449. This last sentence, not attested in mss Paris and Munich and apparently Radak's later addition, bears a loose connection to the rest of his comment in light of his remarks on the verse in Samuel. He writes there that they offered this sacrifice every six steps because Uzza died after holding the Ark for a distance of six steps—and Radak here considers our verse to allude to Uzza's death.

450. Compare Radak's citation of *Midrash Tanhuma* in his comment on Dan 3:21 near the end of the *Shorashim*.

451. That is, the Targum renders *me'il* and *efod* identically, lending support to Radak's contention that they are one and the same. Note, however, that on our verse, where both words appear, the Targum (which Radak did not possess) renders them differently.

The last two sentences of this comment are not attested in mss Paris and Munich, and might well have been added by Radak after he composed his parallel comment on the verse in Samuel; compare his remarks there.

*“ha-aron ha-berit* (*“the Ark, [the Ark of] the Covenant”*) (Josh 3:14), and others like these.<sup>452</sup>

(28) *Mashmi'im* (*“causing to be heard”*) on harps. This means: *mashmi'im qol* (*“causing sounds to be heard, playing music”*).

**16 (8) Praise the Lord; call out in His name.** They performed this psalm on that day, before the Ark. It also appears in the book of Psalms (105); there are just some small differences involving a few words, which do not affect the meaning.<sup>453</sup> There, [the psalm] extends until “do not harm my prophets” (Ps 105:15),<sup>454</sup> which is really the end of the psalm “Praise the Lord” here also (v. 22); for “Sing to the Lord, all the earth” (v. 23) is a new psalm.<sup>455</sup> That psalm appears in the book of Psalms also (96), albeit with some small differences that do not affect the meaning.<sup>456</sup>

**Praise the Lord.** These are the words of David to the musicians and to the congregation.

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452. See *Mikhlol* 43a, and compare Radak on the verse in Joshua.

453. Radak’s commentary on the poem in Psalms is more detailed, in keeping with his program in all the commentaries he composed after this one. See above, introduction, 12-17, and Berger (2006, 84-92).

454. That is, “Sing to the Lord ...,” which follows here in v. 23, does not appear in Psalm 105. That psalm does, however, have another, lengthy continuation; see Radak’s discussion there.

455. Pseudo-Rashi also considers these to be two poems; see his creative structural analysis at vv. 34-35 below. For the Munich 5 author, however, they comprise a single psalm, as implied by the reappearance of the phrase “Praise the Lord” in v. 34, which creates an *inclusio*. (On the use of *inclusio* in Chronicles see chapter 14 of Kalimi [2005].) Still, they appear in Psalms as distinct poems, for liturgical purposes (compare Radak’s citation of *Seder Olam* at v. 23). On the poetic sensitivity displayed in the Munich 5 commentary, on this chapter in particular, see Berger (2007b).

456. Nevertheless, here Radak interprets the poem primarily in reference to the salvation of the Ark from the Philistines, while in Psalms he connects it specifically to the ultimate redemption.



134 1 Chronicles 16:8-10

**Call out in His name (*qir'u bi-shemo*).** [This means] to cry out to Him in prayer, as in: “and I will call out in the name of (*eqra be-shem*) the Lord” (1 Kgs 18:24).<sup>457</sup> Alternatively, *qir'u bi-shemo* means to teach the ways of the Lord, as in: “and Abram spread knowledge of (*va-yiqra ... be-shem*) the Lord there” (Gen 13:4).<sup>458</sup> That, in fact, is the sense of “**proclaim His deeds among the nations**,”<sup>459</sup> “His deeds” referring to the ones He performed on the Philistines on the matter of the Ark (1 Samuel 5).<sup>460</sup>

(9) **Sing to Him, play music to Him**—vocally and on instruments.<sup>461</sup>

**Speak of all his wondrous acts.** Also, always speak to one another about His wondrous acts.<sup>462</sup>

(10) **Exult in His holy name.** You are able to exult over all the nations in His holy name, the sanctity of which is affirmed through you; thus, **let your hearts rejoice** that you are **seekers of the Lord**. Alternatively, [this means:] let the hearts of *all* the seekers of the Lord—even members of the other nations—rejoice in His name when they seek Him.<sup>463</sup>

457. This follows the Targum on the parallel verse in Psalms, as Radak notes there.

458. This is Ibn Ezra's interpretation of the parallel verse in Psalms. Compare also Radak at Isa 12:4, where he presents this explanation first.

459. That is, according to this latter interpretation, the meaning of the second half-line parallels that of the first.

460. The second half of this sentence does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition. The connection to the salvation of the Ark, which is based on context, already appears in Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 commentary.

461. That is, “Sing to him” (*shiru lo*) means vocally, and “play music to him” (*zammeru lo*) means on instruments. Compare Ibn Ezra on the parallel verse in Psalms.

462. In his Psalms commentary, Radak writes that the phrase “all his wondrous acts” serves to broaden the call for recognition of God's wonders beyond those performed in the context of the redemption of the Ark.

463. According to this second interpretation, the second half-line extends to all seekers of the Lord the ability to rejoice in His “name”—the



(11) **Seek the Lord, His might.** The Ark is called “His might,” as it says: “He let His might go into captivity” (Ps 78:61).<sup>464</sup>

(13) **O offspring of Israel, His servant.** In the book of Psalms [it says]: “O offspring of Abraham, His servant” (Ps 105:6). The text here says “offspring of Israel,” though, for when it says there “offspring of Abraham,” the intention is the offspring of Israel. For while Abraham had other offspring, the offspring of Israel includes us specifically; so when it says “offspring of Abraham,” it means to refer to the offspring of Israel.<sup>465</sup>

(14) **He is the Lord our God.** Even though **His judgments are throughout the earth**, He is our God and we are His nation.<sup>466</sup>

(15) **Be ever mindful of His covenant.** But in Psalms [it says]: “He is ever mindful of His covenant” (Ps 105:8), which means that He is ever mindful of the covenant that he made with Abraham, for the sake of his descen-

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term that appeared in the first half-line in connection with Israel alone. Compare Ibn Ezra on the parallel verse in Psalms.

464. Radak there cites the phrase “You and the Ark of Your might” (Ps 132:8) to support this interpretation, adding that the Ark showcases God’s might and glory. Ibn Ezra on Psalms, and Pseudo-Rashi and the North African commentator here, also assumes that the reference is to the Ark. The lone dissenter among Radak’s predecessors appears to be the Munich 5 author, who interprets our phrase to mean “Seek (*dirshu*) the Lord, the power of His wondrous deeds performed on behalf of Israel His nation,” without reference to the Ark.

While Radak here might literally be referring to “seeking” the Ark—for he interprets the poem in reference to its redemption from the Philistines—on Psalms, where his interpretation of the poem is broader, he explains: “*Dirshu* (“Turn to”) the dwelling place of the Ark and pray to Him there.”

465. See Kalimi (2005, 58 and n. 83), who notes that Radak’s observation, an example of the Chronicler’s inclination toward “verse precision,” anticipates Rudolph (1955, 120).

466. Compare the language of the biblical text in Pss 95:7 and 100:3.

467. The verb in Psalms is *zakhar*, in the perfect tense, which Radak there takes to refer to God’s having “remembered” his covenant by return-

## 136 1 Chronicles 16:15

dants.<sup>467</sup> And He **commanded** (*šivvah*) that the **matter** that was between them—the promise that He made to him—endure **for a thousand generations**.<sup>468</sup> Alternatively, *šivvah* means He decreed,<sup>469</sup> as in “unless the Lord *šivvah* (‘decreed so’)” (Lam 3:37), and [the phrase] means: the matter that He decreed between the halves (Gen 15:9-21) shall be for a thousand generations.<sup>470</sup> When the text says here “Be mindful,” it means: Always be mindful of His covenant, which is with you forever.<sup>471</sup>

ing the Israelites to the land after the exodus. Only the subsequent word *le-’olam* (“forever”) extends the meaning to include permanent remembrance of the covenant.

468. Radak is explaining the second half-line, apparently irrespective of whether the first half-line says “He is ever mindful ...,” as in Psalms, or “Be ever mindful ...,” as in Chronicles. The intention seems to be that God issued a command, either to His creation in general or to this “matter” itself, that the “matter”—that is, his covenant—endure forever.

469. Compare Ibn Ezra on the verse in Psalms. “Decreed” here has the sense of “promised”; compare *Shorashim*, entry גזר.

470. Radak appears to be paraphrasing the second half-line and interpreting it rather elliptically: the matter *that* He promised *shall be* for a thousand generations. In the Psalms commentary, however (where he presents only this latter interpretation of *šivvah*), Radak anticipates the modern consensus (see, e.g., the NJPS translation) that the verb *zakhar* (“He is mindful of”) in the first half-line governs the second half as well and produces a tighter parallel and a less elliptical reading: He is ever mindful of (in Chronicles: Be ever mindful of) His covenant—the matter that He decreed for a thousand generations.

The phrase “shall be with you for a thousand generations” in Radak, along with the following sentence, does not appear in ms Paris and is presumably his later addition. In its place, there appears the phrase “to give to their descendants the land of Canaan” (based on v. 18). Radak apparently deleted this phrase later. As the deletion was not noted by the scribe who emended ms Paris, the phrase does appear in printed texts, which descend from this manuscript. On the motive for the deletion, see our remarks on Radak’s next comment.

471. This is not to suggest that the word *le-’olam* (“forever”) in the verse refers to the covenant. Rather, it modifies the verb *zikhru* (“Be mindful”). Radak, in turn, explains that the reason to be forever mindful of the covenant is that it is indeed eternal.

(16-17) **That He made with Abraham**—as it says: “On that day the Lord made a covenant with Abram, saying: ‘To your offspring I assign,’ etc. (Gen 15:18). And that covenant **and oath** was *le-Yiṣḥaq*, which means for the sake of Isaac and not for the sake of Ishmael and the sons of Keturah; for when the text says “To your offspring” with a covenant and an oath, it means for Isaac, as it says: “For what will be called your ‘offspring’ will be from Isaac” (Gen 21:12). (The oath was at the binding of Isaac, as it says: “By Myself I swear, the Lord declares” [Gen 22:16]; and He said to Isaac: “and I will fulfill the oath that I swore to your father, Abraham” [Gen 26:3].)<sup>472</sup> The same oath and covenant He then confirmed **in a decree for Jacob, for Israel, as an eternal covenant**; for the oath and covenant were for his special offspring, not for Esau. Isaac, after all, said to Jacob: “May He grant the blessing of Abraham to you” (Gen 28:4).<sup>473</sup>

(18) **Saying: “to you [*sing*.] I will give.”** [God] said this to each one of [the patriarchs].<sup>474</sup>

472. Radak’s comment, until this point, does not appear in ms Paris and is apparently a later addition which he based on his comment on the parallel verse in Psalms. At a middle stage, attested in ms Munich, Radak had inserted a brief comment indicating that God indeed made a covenant with Abraham and an oath to Isaac “to give their descendants the land of Canaan,” as in v. 18. (It is probably at this stage that Radak chose to delete his now redundant reference to “giving their descendants the land of Canaan” toward the end of his previous comment; see our remarks above.) But later, Radak realized that there is in fact no biblical record of a direct oath to Isaac. He therefore amended his comment, citing the verses containing God’s covenant with and oath to Abraham and explaining that “His oath *le-Yiṣḥaq*” does not mean “to Isaac” but “for the sake of Isaac.” (Compare Eisemann [1987, 230] on Radak’s intention here.)

Radak’s subsequent clarification that *le-Yiṣḥaq* is to exclude Ishmael and the sons of Keturah appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is presumably an even later addition, which suggests that Radak’s comment progressed through at least four different stages. In connection with Radak’s citations of Gen 21:12; 22:16; and 28:4, compare his comments in all those contexts.

473. Here also, the citation of the verse and the explicit exclusion of Esau are apparently Radak’s later additions, because they are not attested in mss Paris and Munich.

474. That is, with or without an oath God informed each of the patriarchs directly that his descendants would take possession of the land. In

138 1 Chronicles 16:18-22

**As your [pl.] allotted heritage.** [This is said] addressing Israel.<sup>475</sup>

(19) **When you were.** This addresses the patriarchs. Indeed, in Psalms it says, “When *they* were” (105:12).<sup>476</sup>

(20) **Wandering from nation to nation.** [This refers to] Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob.<sup>477</sup>

(21) **He reproved kings on their account.** [This refers to] Pharaoh and Abimelech.

(22) **My anointed ones.** [This means:] My great ones, My princes. For [the patriarchs] were highly regarded by kings, as if they had themselves been anointed kings. Thus, the Hittites said to Abraham: “You are God’s elect among us” (Gen 23:6). Also, Abimelech came to Isaac to make peace and to make a covenant with him (Gen 26:26-29).

**U-bi-nevi’ay (“with my prophets”) do not act badly.** For [the patriarchs] were prophets: God would speak with them. He in fact said about Abraham: “Restore the man’s wife, for he is a prophet” (Gen 20:7). Now in Psalms (105:15) [it says] *ve-li-nevi’ay* (“to my prophets”), with a *lamed*. But

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the case of Jacob, see, e.g., Gen 28:13. The singular “you” thus refers to each individual patriarch. Compare Pseudo-Rashi, and Ibn Ezra on the parallel verse in Psalms.

475. This is in contrast to the singular pronoun earlier in this verse and to the plural pronoun in the next verse, both of which refer to the patriarchs. See Radak below and our remarks there.

476. Radak on Psalms, following Ibn Ezra, writes that the reference is to the patriarchs and their children, who were “few in number,” as the verse indicates. In principle, then, Radak here could have suggested that—in keeping with the end of the previous verse—“when you were few in number” addresses the people, who at one point consisted of the patriarchal family alone. This in fact seems to be the position of Pseudo-Rashi. But, apparently, Radak considered the evidence of the parallel verse in Psalms, which switches to a third person pronoun, to be decisive.

477. Radak’s basic interpretation of vv. 20-22 already appears in Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 commentary, and in Rashi and Ibn Ezra on Psalms.

it is one and the same; for what that means is: do not do anything harmful to them.<sup>478</sup>

(23-26) **Sing to the Lord, all the earth.** They recited this psalm too on that day.<sup>479</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory (*Seder Olam* 12), said that they recited “Praise the Lord” (v. 8) in the morning and “Sing to the Lord” in the afternoon, in which case they recited these two psalms every day before the Ark for the entire period prior to Solomon’s transfer of the Ark to the eternal Sanctuary.<sup>480</sup>

**Proclaim His salvation *mi-yom el yom* (“day after day”).** This is like *yom be-yomo* (“each day as required,” v. 37), which means: Proclaim His salvation every day, for He constantly saves you from your enemies.

The [specific] reference here is to the saving of the Ark—for the Philistines returned it against their will (1 Samuel 5-6).<sup>481</sup> And it is in reference to this that the text says, “Tell of His glory among the nations” (v. 24); for the episode of the Ark brought great glory, and it was through it that the nations were expected to recognize that **all the gods of the nations are mere idols, while the Lord made the heavens.** For even the service of those who worship the heavenly hosts is vanity<sup>482</sup> (since He made the heavens, their hosts, the earth, the sea, and all that is contained in them [cf. Exod 19:10], it is only sensible to worship the Master, not the servants), and [the

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478. This discussion of the disparity with the verse in Psalms appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is probably an especially late addition of Radak.

479. That is, they recited it on the day that the Ark was brought to Jerusalem.

480. This is not to suggest that they stopped reciting them at that point, but rather that the special connection between these psalms and the Ark specifically continued up until the Ark was concealed in the inner sanctuary of the permanent Temple.

481. That is, while the psalmist recognizes the salvation that God provides from constant threats by enemies, the psalm mainly alludes to the redemption of the Ark, which inspired its composition.

482. For Radak, the word *elilim* (“idols”) means “vanity”; see *Shorashim*, entry ללל.

## 140 1 Chronicles 16:26-28

Philistines'] god Dagon actually fell and broke apart before the Ark, while [the Ark] remained in its glory (1 Sam 5:3).<sup>483</sup> In fact, having seen His wonders, [the Philistines] did glorify it and raise it up (1 Sam 6:1-18).

**(27) Glory and majesty are before Him; strength and joy are in His place.** For when the Ark stayed in the territory of the Philistines, there was wailing and crying among them the entire time.<sup>484</sup>

**(28) Ascribe to the Lord, O families of the nations.** For all the nations who see and hear this shall ascribe to Him **glory** and **strength**: this is the sense of all the verses.<sup>485</sup>

This psalm, though said in connection with the episode of the Ark, also refers to the future, in connection with this exile:<sup>486</sup> when God performs His wonders when taking us out of this exile and gathering us in, He will do so to the point where all the families of the nations ascribe to Him glory and strength, in accordance with the verse: "And the Lord shall be king over all the earth" (Zech 14:9), as it says here: "let them declare among the nations: "The Lord is King" (v. 31). Similarly, it says: "Let the sea and all within it thunder, the fields and everything in them exult" (v. 32) (and so

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483. In the original version of the comment, attested in mss Paris and Munich, there is no reference to the heavenly hosts, only to Dagon, who fell before the Ark. Perhaps after working on the Psalms commentary (see his comment there), where he goes beyond his emphasis on the Ark, Radak expanded the reference beyond Dagon and drew a connection between "the gods of the nations" in the first half-line and "the Lord made the heavens" in the second: if the Lord made the heavens, then the heavenly hosts—*the gods of many of the nations*—cannot be legitimate. And if even these heavenly bodies are not worthy of being worshiped, then Dagon, who fell before the Ark, certainly is not.

484. That is, when the Ark was in "His place," in Israel, there was joy, whereas there was wailing and crying when it was among the Philistines. See 1 Samuel 5-6.

485. Radak is referring to the subsequent verses that speak of recognition of God, honoring Him and trembling before Him.

486. As noted, Radak on Psalms emphasizes this aspect of the psalm's meaning, as does Rashi there.

too in the context of the ingathering of the exiles: “Before you, mount and hill shall clap aloud, and all the trees of the field shall clap their hands” [Isa 55:12]<sup>487</sup>), and at that point one will say to another: “Praise the Lord for He is good; his steadfast love is eternal” (v. 34).<sup>488</sup>

(35) **Declare: Deliver us, God, our deliverer, etc.** This means: Declare “Deliver us” now also; that is, each and every day, pray for the future ingathering of the exiles.<sup>489</sup>

(36) **Blessed is the Lord, God of Israel.** This verse marks the end of the words of praise and acclaim: when the musicians completed these psalms, ending with the recitation of this verse, **all the people said “Amen” and “Praise the Lord.”**<sup>490</sup>

(37-40) **[David] left there before the Ark of the Covenant, etc.** He left **Asaph** and the rest of the musicians there to stand regularly **before the Ark**, to minister, sing, and play music **as each day required**, as well as to sacrifice burnt offerings, since a non priest can bring an offering on a small shrine. But he told **Zadok the priest and his fellow priests** to go to Gibeon **before the Tabernacle of the Lord** to process **burnt offerings morning and**

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487. The rejoicing of the mountains and trees in that verse recalls that of the sea and the fields in v. 32 here. Thus, just as that verse refers to the time of the ingathering of exiles, so does ours.

488. The phrase “one to another” (*elleh le-elleh*) is missing from mss Paris and Munich and was probably added by Radak to clarify that the reference is to people speaking to one another in praise of God, not to the trees praising Him.

489. See also Radak at Ps 106:47-48, where this verse and the next appear with subtle but significant differences appropriate for that context. The comment here is not attested in mss Paris and Munich, and Radak might well have added it only after composing the Psalms commentary, where he deals more fully with the allusion in these psalms to the ultimate redemption.

490. The words “And all the people said ...,” then, are not part of the psalm (this is also the position of the Munich 5 author), even as in Ps 106:48, where the phrase reads “and all the people *will say*,” it is very much a part of the psalmist’s prayer; see Radak there.



142 1 Chronicles 16:40–17:6

**evening**,<sup>491</sup> because the largest shrine was there, and only a priest may bring an offering on it.

(38) **Along with Obed-edom and their kinsmen.** This means: and his sons and their kinsmen; for that is what the text says below: “they and his sons and their kinsmen” (see 1 Chr 26:8<sup>492</sup>).

(42) **And with them, Heman and Jeduthun, there were trumpets.** This means: And with Heman and Jeduthun there were trumpets; but a pronoun appears before the specified nouns. The same is true for: “When she opened it, she saw him—the child” (Exod 2:6); “His spirit detests it—food” (Job 33:20); “shall bring them—gifts for the Lord”; and others, as we have cited in the *Mikhlol* (25a).

**17 (5) From Tent to Tent and from Tabernacle.** The text means to say, “and from Tabernacle to Tabernacle,” but since it says “From Tent to Tent,” it relies on the reader’s understanding. The meaning of “From Tent to Tent” is: from the Tent of Meeting in the wilderness to Gilgal, from Gilgal to Shiloh, from Shiloh to Nob, and from Nob to Gibeon.<sup>493</sup> In all those places, the altar and the Ark were under the cloths [of the Tabernacle]; and even when the Ark was in Kiriath-jearim, the altar was in Nob and Gibeon the entire time (2 Chr 1:3-5).

(6) **Any of the chieftains of Israel (*shofetei Yisra’el*).** In the parallel verse in the book of Samuel [the text says] “any of the *shiṭtei Yisra’el*” (2 Sam 7:7), because the chief official is called a *shevet*, as in “The *shevet* shall not depart from Judah” (Gen 49:10), and “your royal *shevet* (‘scepter’) is a *shevet* of equity” (Ps 45:7).<sup>494</sup>

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491. This half-sentence (“He told Zadok ...”) is the only part of this comment to appear in mss Paris and Munich. All the rest, which concerns the need for a priest to process offerings on the largest shrine, is evidently Radak’s later addition. On the halakhic matter itself, see Sifra *Aḥarei-mot* 9.

492. The text there reads, “they and *their* sons....” Radak too cites it this way at 1 Chr 26:5.

493. See the sources for the various transports of the Ark provided in Zevin (1951, 339-40 and notes).

494. In this latter citation, *shevet* refers to the scepter that is held by the ruler rather than to the ruler himself. In this connection, see *Shorashim*,

(7) **From the *naveh* (“abode”).** Folds for flocks are called a *naveh*, as it says: “*nevot* (‘abodes consisting of’) shepherds’ dugouts and folds for flocks” (Zeph 2:6).<sup>495</sup>

(8) **I will give you renown like that of the greatest men on earth**—as it says: “David became famous throughout the lands, and the Lord put the fear of him in all the nations” (1 Chr 14:17).<sup>496</sup>

(10) **Ever since, etc.** In the beginning [enemy nations] used to wear down [the Israelites], and also from the time I **appointed chieftains** over them, [enemy nations] would similarly cause them distress.<sup>497</sup> Even though the chieftains would save them, they have not been fully at peace until now.

(16) **Thus far.** For You have made me king even though I am belittled and despised (Ps 119:141).<sup>498</sup>

(17) **Yet even this has seemed too little for You**—to the point where You have spoken to **Your servant’s house concerning the future.** For You have

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entry שבט. On the more general matter, see also Radak on the verses in Samuel and Genesis.

This entire comment is evidently Radak’s later addition, as it does not appear in ms Paris and is placed incorrectly in most text witnesses.

495. Radak apparently considers the word *nevot* to refer to the “folds for flocks,” and not only to the shepherds’ dugouts; see also his comments there and at 2 Sam 7:8. Contrast Rashi and Kara on both Samuel and Zephaniah (and the Munich 5 author here), for whom the terms *naveh* and *navot* can refer only to abodes of the shepherds.

496. On the parallel verse in 2 Sam 7:9, Radak adds that “the greatest men” includes specifically kings.

497. The previous verse speaks of confrontations that the Israelites experienced early on, and Radak explains that our verse extends this to the period of the chieftains. This reading already appears in Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 commentary, and in Rashi and Kara on the parallel verse in 2 Sam 7:11.

The comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

498. See Radak’s more expansive comment at 2 Sam 7:18 concerning the text’s specific allusion to kingship.

## 144 1 Chronicles 17:17-21

promised my offspring to make them kings after me—forever, as it says: “I will install him in My house and in My Kingship forever” (v. 14).

**You regard me as having the *tor* of a person of distinction.** This means: You regard me as having the kind of great qualities that characterize a great person, even though I am belittled and despised. *Tor* has the sense of a set nature, as does “the *torah* of a person,” which is what the text says in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 7:19).<sup>499</sup> Similarly, “Your cheeks are comely with *torim*” (Song 1:10) refers to pearls that are neatly connected to one another according to a set arrangement.

**(21) Driving out, from the presence of Your people whom You redeemed from Egypt, nations.** This won You renown as One who performs great and marvelous deeds: Your having redeemed them from servitude in Egypt,<sup>500</sup> and Your having driven out nations—that is, the seven nations—from their presence.<sup>501</sup> In the book of Samuel it says: “whom You redeemed from Egypt, nations and their gods” (2 Sam 7:23), which means: *from* nations and *from* their gods, or: *and You defeated* nations and their gods.<sup>502</sup>

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499. Compare Radak there, and in *Shorashim*, entry תור.

500. For Radak, the “great and marvelous deeds” to which the text alludes include the exodus from Egypt, even though its syntax need not imply this.

501. Radak thus clarifies that the word “nations” is the object of the verb “driving out,” despite the gap between them.

502. The phrase “driving out” (*legaresh*) is elided in the verse in Samuel, which is probably what prevented Radak from explaining the syntax there as he did here; for it would be awkward for “nations and their gods” to be direct objects of a verb that is not provided explicitly. Rather, as Radak writes in the Samuel commentary, the text speaks there of the “marvelous deeds” that God performed “from the presence of” the Israelites, which refers elliptically to His driving out the Canaanites; and, as Radak writes here, the end of that verse means either that God redeemed Israel “from Egypt, from nations, and from their gods,” or that He redeemed Israel from Egypt and “defeated nations and their gods.” (See also a third option in the Samuel commentary.)

Radak is rather elusive in failing to explain here why he interprets the verse in Samuel differently from our verse in Chronicles; and indeed, it is possible that he inserted his interpretations of that verse into this com-

**18 (3) At Hamath.** [David] defeated [Hadarezer] in Hamath, when Hadarezer was on his way **to establish control (*lehashiv yado*) at the Euphrates River**; for [Hadarezer] had set out to conquer the land and establish his boundary at the Euphrates River, which was the boundary of the land of Israel. The reason this took place in Hamath is that the war in which [Hadarezer] had been involved was with King Toi of Hamath, as it says: “for Hadarezer had been at war with Toi” (2 Sam 8:10). In the book of Samuel, however, [it says] “to restore control (*lehashiv yado*)” (2 Sam 8:3), which means to retake (*lehashiv*) the land for himself.<sup>503</sup>

**(4) David captured from him one thousand chariots and seven thousand horsemen.** But in the book of Samuel [it says]: “one thousand seven hundred horsemen” (2 Sam 8:4)! It seems that there the text counts only the high-ranking officers of Hadarezer’s camp, while in this book it counts all the horsemen. Also, there it does not mention a number for the chariots, while here it does; and there it mentions the foot soldiers, while here it does not.<sup>504</sup>

mentary later and without perfect care, for they are not attested in ms Paris (nor in printed texts, which descend from it). It is at least equally likely, however, that they were omitted from that manuscript by homoioteleuton.

503. Radak appears to interpret *lehashiv yado* in the sense of *lehashiv el yado*—to retake for himself. Compare Kara on the verse in Samuel. Radak there, however, seems to take *yado* as a direct object of *lehashiv*—with no implied preposition in between—so that the phrase means “to extend his hand,” in the sense of extending the boundaries of the area under his control.

Notably, in other cases where the expression could easily just mean to extend one’s hand, Radak expands the sense of the verb to denote repeated action. For example, he interprets “and against their enemies *ashiv yadi*” (Ps 81:15) to signify the repeated battering of Israel’s enemies to the point of destruction. In fact, the North African commentator on our verse explains *lehashiv yado* in Samuel in this very sense of repeated assault, in keeping with his highly innovative claim that, in light of several inconsistencies, the passage in Samuel must refer to a different battle than does our passage in Chronicles. (This claim itself appears in the Munich 5 commentary also, adding to the likelihood of, at the very least, some common influence on the two commentaries; see above, introduction, 4 n. 11.)

Radak’s discussion of the verse in Samuel does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

504. This remark about the foot soldiers does not appear in mss Paris

146 1 *Chronicles* 18:4-12

**And David hamstrung all the chariot horses.** For it was forbidden for him to have many horses, as it says: “[The king] shall not have many horses” (Deut 17:16).

**But he retained a hundred of them**—in accordance with his needs.

(6) **David stationed in Aram of Damascus.** The text means to say that he stationed garrisons and officers there, as it says in the book of Samuel: “David stationed garrisons in Aram of Damascus” (2 Sam 8:6). There it says, “and from Betah (בֵּטָח) and Berothai” (2 Sam 8:8), while here it says, “and from Tibbath (טִבְחָת) and Cun” (v. 8), since the cities were called by both names. And טִבְחָת and בֵּטָח are one and the same, only the letters are transposed.<sup>505</sup>

(11) **King David dedicated to the Lord**—for the construction of the Temple.

(12) **Abshai son of Zeruiah, etc.** The question arises that in the book of Psalms the text attributes this war to Joab and says “twelve thousand” (Ps 60:2), while here it attributes it to Abshai and—as in the book of Samuel (2 Sam 8:13)—says “**eighteen thousand**”! [Furthermore], in two of the books it says “Edom,” while in the book of Samuel it says “Aram” (2 Sam 8:13)!

It appears that the Edomite war took place at the same time as the Aramean war, since that is what the text says in Psalms: “When he fought with Aram-Naharaim and with Aram-Zobah” (Ps 60:2). So these eighteen thousand were from Aram *and* Edom: when it says in one place “Aram,” it means together with those who were with them, namely, Edom, and when it says elsewhere “Edom,” it means together with those who were with them, namely, Aram. And the reason it says here that Abshai waged this war and says “eighteen thousand” while in Psalms it says “Joab” and

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and Munich, and it is likely that Radak added it when working with the Samuel material; for he seems simply to have overlooked the reference to foot soldiers here, which is identical to the one in Samuel. There is no evidence of a biblical variant.

In connection with this entire comment and those on the rest of the chapter, compare Radak on the parallel passage in 2 Samuel 8.

505. This last sentence is apparently Radak’s later addition, as it is not attested in mss Paris and Munich.

“twelve thousand” is that Abishai did battle first and killed six thousand of them, after which Joab came and killed twelve thousand of them. This, then, is the meaning of *va-yashov Yoav* (“and Joab [smote] once again”) in Psalms (60:2)—that is, after Abshai.<sup>506</sup> And the reason the text here attributes the entire war to Abshai is that he started it. In the book of Samuel, however, it attributes it to David (2 Sam 8:13), since he is the essential one.<sup>507</sup>

**19 (4) And he shaved them**—as it says in the book of Samuel: “and he shaved off one side of their beards” (2 Sam 10:4).

***Madvehem* (מדויהם).** [This means:] their garments—of [the root attested in] *middo* (מדר) *bad* (“his linen garment,” Lev 6:3).<sup>508</sup>

**Until the *mifsa’ah*.** This means the nakedness. It is of [the root attested in] *efse’ah bah* (“I will stomp on it,” Isa 27:4);<sup>509</sup> after all, the text even invokes

506. *Va-yashov*, then, does not signify Joab’s reappearance on the war-front but his having attacked the enemy after Abshai did.

507. This entire comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich. Radak might have added it after composing his commentary to Psalms or Samuel, where parallel comments appear (compare also Rashi on Psalms). To provide a sense of the development of Radak’s style, the three comments are presented side by side by Finkelstein (1926, XL-XLII), who was unaware that printed texts of the Chronicles commentary—like most text witnesses—reflect a significant amount of later revision.

Radak on Samuel cites an alternative, rabbinic view that there were two wars, one in Aram and another in Edom. The same appears in Rashi on Samuel, and in the Munich 5 commentary here in the name of R. Eleazar b. R. Meshullam.

508. Compare Pseudo-Rashi. On the parallel verse in 2 Sam 10:4 Radak’s position is different, as he writes that despite their similarity in meaning, *madvehem* and *middo* derive from separate roots. He means, apparently, that while *middo* is of the root מדר, *madvehem* is of דוה (see *Shorashim*, entries מדר and דוה).

Since the comment on Chronicles (along with the one before it) is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition, it cannot be stated with certainty that it precedes the one on Samuel.

509. On that verse, Radak refers to his comment at 1 Sam 20:3; see there, and especially *Shorashim*, entry פשע.

## 148 1 Chronicles 19:4-18

legs [themselves] as a euphemism for nakedness: “He had not cleaned up his legs” (2 Sam 19:25).<sup>510</sup> In the parallel verse in Samuel [it says], “until their foundations (*shetotehem*)” (2 Sam 10:4), which is also a euphemism for nakedness.<sup>511</sup>

**(8) And the whole army, the professional fighters.** This means the army *and* the professional fighters.<sup>512</sup>

**(18) Seven thousand charioteers and forty thousand footmen.** But in the book of Samuel [it says]: “seven hundred charioteers and forty thousand horsemen” (2 Sam 10:18)!<sup>513</sup> When the text in the book of Samuel says “seven hundred charioteers,” it means to say seven hundred elite charioteers—and it does not count the rest of them. But in this book it counts all the charioteers, who totaled seven thousand. And there, it provides a number for the horsemen—who totaled forty thousand—but not for the footmen, while here it does so for the footmen but not for the horsemen.

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510. On that verse, Radak follows the Targum, which renders “legs” literally. In *Shorashim*, entry רגל, Radak initially presents the view he takes here and then cites the Targum’s alternative.

511. Radak on Samuel indicates that this refers specifically to buttocks. See also *Shorashim*, entry שר, where he writes that the root literally denotes a “foundation.”

512. The biblical text reads *ve-et kol şava ha-gibborim*. Radak declines to render this “and the entire army of professional fighters,” because *şava* is not in the construct state. He prefers to assume the elision of both a definite article before *şava* and a conjunctive *vav*, so that the intention is *ha-şava ve-ha-gibborim* (“the army and the professional fighters”). On the elision of *vav*, see above, 1:1, and our remarks there. Radak cites examples of elision of the definite article in *Mikhlol* 42b, but all of them involve noun-adjective sequences. This example, then, which does not involve an adjective, remains anomalous.

The present interpretation appears as a second option in Radak on the parallel verse in 2 Sam 10:7, where the biblical text reads *ha-şava ha-gibborim*, with the definite article. Radak’s first suggestion there is that the genitive noun is elided, so that the expression means *ha-şava şeva ha-gibborim* (“the army, the army of professional fighters”). In this connection, see above, 15:27.

513. Compare Radak there.



**20 (2) [The crown] was placed on David's head.** They ask: How could he have withstood it, when it weighed a talent of gold? So they say that it was suspended above his head; he would sit under it on the throne, with it directly over his head.<sup>514</sup> There is a rabbinic source (*b. Avodah Zarah* 44a) that the precious stone in it was a drawing stone, which would keep it in the air. They also suggest (*b. Avodah Zarah* 44a) that a talent of gold is what the precious stone in it *was worth*.<sup>515</sup> But, possibly, one can explain that it was not always on his head. Rather, it was on his head once or twice, and he was able to withstand it for that brief period.

(3) ***Va-yasar with a megerah ("saw")***. [David] crushed [the people of Rabbah] with a *megerah*. *Va-yasar* is as in "Or a *massor* ('saw') magnify itself" (Isa 10:15), and [the *sin*] should in principle have been geminated.<sup>516</sup>

(5) **Elhanan son of Jair [killed] *et Lahmi* the brother of Goliath the Gittite**. But in the book of Samuel, [it says]: "Elhanan son of Jaare-oregim (*Oregim* ['weavers']) the Bethlehemite (*Bet ha-Lahmi*) [killed] Goliath the Gittite" (2 Sam 21:19). Now Goliath the Gittite is the same as Goliath the Philistine; for, after all, the text says there that "his name was Goliath, the Philistine of Gath" (1 Sam 17:23).<sup>517</sup> And it was not Elhanan who killed *him*, but David

514. While the subsequent rabbinic citation essentially corroborates this explanation—albeit with a midrashic twist—Radak's failure to mention the rabbis at the outset suggests that he is mainly citing medieval exegetes that preceded him. The explanation indeed appears in Pseudo-Rashi and the North African and Munich 5 commentaries. In fact, in place of "So they say," mss Paris and Munich read, "There are those who explain"—Radak's usual terminology when citing medieval commentators specifically—which suggests that at an earlier stage he was particularly swayed by the more simple version of the explanation as it appears in the medievals. Possibly, he opted later for the more inclusive terminology in order to acknowledge that, effectively, the rabbis had already made the suggestion. See also Radak's parallel comment at 2 Sam 12:30.

515. This additional rabbinic solution is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later insertion.

516. On the verse in Isaiah and on 2 Sam 12:31, Radak explicitly equates a *megerah* with a *massor*, the root of which he considers to be נָסַר, related to the word *nesarim* ("boards") and denoting a saw. Compare *Shorashim*, entry נָסַר, and R. Joseph Kimḥi, *Sefer ha-Zikkaron*, 15.

517. This verse refers to "Goliath the Philistine" and suggests that he is the same as Goliath the Gittite.

## 150 1 Chronicles 20:5

(1 Sam 17:49-50)! So there will remain something elusive about the verse in Samuel.<sup>518</sup>

“The Bethlehemite” who “killed Goliath the Gittite,” however, indeed refers to David. Here also, in fact, when the text says *et Lahmi*, it means: *with the Lehemite*, that is, David. Still, it was Elhanan who killed [Goliath’s] brother; perhaps the reason it mentions David also is that he assisted in the killing. So there it relates the death of Goliath, whom David killed, while here it relates the death of his brother, whom Elhanan killed.

But Targum Jonathan renders that verse in Samuel as follows: “David son of Jesse of Bethlehem, weaver of the curtains of the Holy Temple.”<sup>519</sup>

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518. That is, 2 Sam 21:19, when identifying the killer of Goliath the Gittite, makes reference to Elhanan, while 1 Sam 17:49-50 indicates that it was David who killed Goliath the Philistine. Since Radak equates the two Goliaths, this amount to a contradiction. Still, Radak proceeds to argue that 2 Sam 21:19 does *also* allude to David by the phrase “the Bethlehemite,” so that the only real problem is the additional, contradictory reference to Elhanan.

Pseudo-Rashi and the Munich 5 author, however, deny the identification of the two Goliaths, thereby avoiding any contradiction: in Samuel the text relates that Elhanan killed Goliath the Gittite; here it relates that Elhanan killed Lahmi, brother of Goliath the Gittite; and it was David who killed Goliath the Philistine. Compare the discussion in Knoppers (2004, 736) of the Chronicler’s harmonization of the texts in Samuel. See also Japhet (1993, 368) on these two general approaches in both early and recent exegesis. In the Samuel commentary, Radak himself provides an elaborate explanation that seeks to resolve all problems.

519. This assumes that Elhanan and David are one and the same. The explanation also appears in *Ruth Rabba* 2:2, Rashi and Kara on Samuel, and in the Munich 5 commentary here in the name of the rabbis. The midrash in *Ruth Rabba* explains that David is called Elhanan because God (*El*) favored him (*hanano*), and “son of Jaare (*Ya’rei*)” because he grew up in the woods (*ya’ar*). It also provides several alternatives for the relevance of the term *oregim*. See also Radak on Samuel, where he ultimately cannot account for why David would be called Elhanan.

In the *Haketer* Rabbinic Bible, the text of the Targum does not contain the words “of Bethlehem,” which leaves the impression that *bet maqdesha* (“the Holy Temple”) corresponds to the text’s *bet ha-lahmi*. All other editions corroborate Radak’s version.

(6) **A man of size (*middah*).** This means great size, as in “men of *middot*” (Num 13:32). In the book of Samuel, though, it says, “a man of *madon* (מִדּוֹן)” (2 Sam 21:20); the *nun* functions in place of the doubling [of the letter], like the *nuns* of *ma’uzneha* (“its strongholds,” Isa 23:11) and *ki lo tamnu* (“have not ended,” Lam 3:22).<sup>520</sup> Alternatively, the *nun* is like the *nun* of *zikkaron* (זִכְרוֹן, “reminder,” Exod 17:14);<sup>521</sup> and while the *dalet* should in principle have been geminated since it is not doubled, the vowel letter compensates for this.<sup>522</sup>

**Six and six—twenty-four.** Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Bek. 45b*), have said: “Why did the text have to say ‘twenty-four’? Because had it not said twenty-four, I might have understood: six on his two hands and six on his two feet<sup>523</sup>—so it says ‘twenty-four.’ And had it said ‘twenty-four’ but not ‘six and six,’ I might have understood that one hand had five and the other seven—so it says ‘six and six.’”<sup>524</sup>

520. Radak assumes that *madon* is of the root *mdd* and is the equivalent of *middah* in our verse. The *nun*, then, takes the place of the second *dalet*, just as a *nun* takes the place of a second *zayin* in *ma’uzneha* and of a second *mem* in *tamnu*. Compare Radak on the verse in Samuel (along with the Targum, Rashi, and Kara), and especially in *Shorashim*, entry מִדּוֹן. On the verse in Isaiah, Radak adds that the change to *nun* serves to ease pronunciation.

The Munich 5 author, however, takes *ish madon* to mean “a man of war,” apparently connecting it to the root דּוֹן, which yields a similar meaning in Prov 15:18 (compare Radak there). This latter suggestion also appears in Radak, *Shorashim*, entry דּוֹן.

521. The *nun*, then, does not take the place of a root letter but is part of the noun pattern.

522. That is, the length of the *holem*, signified by the vowel letter *vav*, compensates for the absence of gemination, which would normally have been employed to represent the second *dalet*. Radak’s intention, however, cannot be that this is the *sole* function of the long vowel; for it is standard in this noun pattern, as in the word זִכְרוֹן itself.

523. That is, it might have implied a total of twelve rather than twenty-four.

524. Radak offers the same explanation in the parallel verse in 2 Sam 21:20 without reference to the rabbis.

152 1 Chronicles 20:6–21:1

**Le-ha-rafa** (להרפא). My master, my father, of blessed memory, wrote (*Sefer Ha-Galuy*, entry רף) that this noun does not refer to a female but to a male; it is from *Refa'im*—[a people] consisting of giants (Deut 2:11)—the singular of which is *Rafa*.<sup>525</sup> And when the text says “*le-ha-rafa*,” it is as if it had said *la-'anaq* (“to the giant”),<sup>526</sup> with the *hei* functioning to make it definite.<sup>527</sup>

In two places in this context, [*rafa*] is spelled with an *alef* (vv. 6, 8), while in the book of Samuel it is spelled with a *hei* (2 Sam 21:20);<sup>528</sup> for the letters *alef*, *hei*, *vav*, and *yod* can interchange.

(8) **Nulladu** (נולדו, “were descended”). This is like *noledu*, with the gemination displacing [the lengthening suggested by] the vowel letter. Even though the *vav* is written, since the *lamed* is geminated here, the *vav* is ignored in pronunciation.<sup>529</sup>

**21 (1) Satan arose against Israel and incited David, etc.** This refers to what is ingrained in a person’s heart from his youth.<sup>530</sup> Now in the book of

525. That is, *rafa* is not a feminine form even though phonetically it ends with a *qames*. While here a quiescent *alef* follows the *qames*, not the quiescent *hei* that is generally appended to the feminine form, the parallel word in Samuel (as Radak notes below) does contain a *hei*, which makes Radak’s clarification that it is masculine especially necessary. Compare Radak at 2 Sam 21:16, and see R. Isaiah of Trani there who indeed takes *ha-rafa* as a reference to a female.

526. The point appears to be that just as *'anaq* means a giant, and need not refer to one of the Anakite people, so too *rafa* denotes a giant who does not need to be one of the *Refa'im*.

527. That is, the *hei* that appears before *rafa* signifies the definite article, even though with a *lamed* prefix, one would normally expect *la-rafa*, without the need for a *hei*. Compare Radak on the parallel verse in Samuel and in *Shorashim*, entry רפא.

528. Here Radak is referring to the *hei* at the end. This final sentence does not appear in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later addition.

529. See Radak above, 3:5, and our remarks there.

530. In connection with Radak’s conception of “Satan” here, see the brief remarks in Talmage (1968, 198). While Radak’s initial formulation sug-

Samuel it says, “The anger of the Lord again flared up against Israel, and He incited David against them” (2 Sam 24:1), from which it appears that the Lord is the one who did the inciting. And it is true: He incited him—through the Satan—because of Israel’s sinful behavior; for they deserved to be punished.<sup>531</sup> [Satan] is also called “the angel of the Lord”;<sup>532</sup> it was he whom David saw in the form of the angel of the Lord with a drawn sword in his hand (v. 16); for he is the one who leads people to err *and* the one who puts them to death.<sup>533</sup>

gests that the term merely denotes the evil impulse, the remainder of his comment makes clear that the source of this impulse takes the form of an angelic being.

Still, Radak’s remarks pointedly exclude the possibility that this Satan is a source of evil independent of God. Rather, it is God who provides the temptation to sin, by means of the Satan. Compare, e.g., the discussions of Williamson (1982, 144-45) and Johnstone (1997, 1:225), both of whom understand “Satan” here to be an embodiment of evil that is nonetheless controlled by God—in no way reflecting the influence of any dualistic conception on the thought of the Chronicler. Japhet (1993, 374-75) goes even further, suggesting that the term refers not to any definitive entity called “Satan” but to an anonymous “‘adversary’ [controlled by God] who acts against Israel by inciting the king to take the wrong action.” Compare also Knoppers (2004, 751).

531. Accordingly, Radak on the verse in Samuel writes that the evil impulse that God implanted in David is what our verse calls Satan. See also Radak there on the reason why Israel deserved punishment. The Munich 5 author cites an otherwise unattested rabbinic source that the punishment was for taking spoils from the Amalekites during the time of Saul.

532. Thus, the Satan’s incitement is really the Lord’s.

533. As this entire comment is attested in only one branch of text witnesses (it is evidently Radak’s later addition, as are most philosophically oriented comments in this work; see above, introduction, 14-15), it cannot be ruled out that *ha-memit* (“the one who puts them to death”) is a corruption of *ha-mesit* (“the one who incites them”), the *samekh* of *ha-mesit* having been mistaken for a *mem*. This is the verb in the lemma and one that Radak employs repeatedly in the comment in arguing that “the Lord is the one who did the inciting ... through the Satan.” His point, then, would be that since Satan “is the one who incites” on behalf of the Lord, it follows that he should be called “the angel of the Lord.”

154 1 Chronicles 21:5

**(5) One million one hundred thousand ready to draw the sword, while in Judah there were four hundred and seventy thousand men ready to draw the sword.** But in the book of Samuel [it says]: “In Israel [there were] eight hundred thousand” and “[the men of] Judah numbered five hundred thousand” (2 Sam 24:9)!

We find in an aggadah (*Pesiqta Rabbati* 44:1): “Rabbi Judah ben Levi said: The verses include in one place what is missing from the other, that is, two tribes that were not counted; for the text indeed says: ‘He did not record among them Levi and Benjamin’ (v. 6). He figured: I can get away with omitting these, on the grounds that the tribe of Levi is not counted with the rest of the tribes but rather from the age of one month and older (Num 3:15), and the tribe of Benjamin suffered enough loss and devastation on the matter of the concubine at Gibeah (Judg 20:35-48).”<sup>534</sup> But according to this interpretation, that verse—“He did not record among them Levi and Benjamin”—should have been written in Samuel; for the text provides the reason for the lower number recorded there but no reason for the lower number of Judahites in this book!

In the *Thirty-two Principles of Rabbi Eliezer Son of Rabbi Jose of Galilee* (Enelow, Principle 15) it says: “How does one apply [the principle of scriptural interpretation concerning] two texts that stand in contradiction to each other, [which provides that] a third text be invoked to decide between them? One text says, ‘All Israel comprised one million one hundred thousand ready to draw the sword, while in Judah there were four hundred and seventy thousand men ready to draw the sword’; and another text says, ‘In Israel there were eight hundred thousand men, and the men of Judah numbered five hundred thousand’ (2 Sam 24:9)—there emerges between them a difference of three hundred thousand men!”<sup>535</sup> What

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More likely, *ha-memit* is correct, and the reference is to the many Israelites who died in a plague when David saw the angel with the drawn sword. The intention, then, is to equate Satan not only with the evil impulse but also with the angel of death. As Weisse observes, this corresponds to the rabbis’ assertion in Bavli *Bava Batra* 16a: “Satan, the evil impulse, and the angel of death are all one and the same.”

534. The speaker is Joab, who believed, according to this view, that those not counted would be spared. Compare Pseudo-Rashi on v. 6.

535. This is the difference between the totals provided for the non-Judahite tribes. For Judah, there is a difference of thirty thousand, which Radak addresses below.

accounts for those three hundred thousand men? A deciding verse resolves this: ‘The number of Israelites—chiefs of clans, officers of thousands and hundreds and their clerks, who served the king in all matters of the divisions, who worked in monthly shifts during all the months of the year—each division, twenty-four thousand’ (1 Chr 27:1). Those three hundred thousand, then, were recorded in the king’s registry and did not need to be counted.<sup>536</sup> How so? Twenty-four thousand times twelve equals two hundred and eighty-eight thousand, with the remaining twelve thousand comprising the leaders of Israel.<sup>537</sup> So having left them out in one place, the text proceeds to include them elsewhere.”<sup>538</sup>

But this too does not provide any reason for the lower number of Judahites found here. For in the book of Samuel it says “five hundred thousand,” while here it says “four hundred and seventy thousand”—it emerges that thirty thousand are missing! Perhaps those thirty thousand died in the plague. For the casualties of the plague totaled seventy thousand (v. 14), thirty thousand of whom could have been from Judah.<sup>539</sup> Since Judah was David’s tribe, and he was the cause of it all, this would explain why so many Judahites died.<sup>540</sup>

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536. Radak below, 1 Chr 27:23, assumes this explanation to be correct; see our remarks there.

537. Out of necessity, the midrash speculates that there were twelve thousand governmental leaders who were also already recorded in the king’s registry. This has no biblical source.

538. That is, the text left them out in Samuel and included them in Chronicles.

539. If the text indeed subtracted these thirty thousand plague victims from the total number of Judahites, one would have expected that it would also subtract the remaining forty thousand victims from the non-Judahite total. Possibly, that total is so large that the difference of forty thousand was considered negligible.

540. Radak on the verse in Samuel adds: “or most of the sinners were of that tribe.” The majority of his comment there parallels the one here. Radak probably derived the two rabbinic solutions that he discusses here from Rashi’s comment on Samuel. On Rashi as a source of Radak’s rabbinic citations, see Grunhaus (2003b).

Pseudo-Rashi (here and at 1 Chr 27:24) provides a different solution, which draws on his emphasis on the Chronicler’s objective to honor David.



## 156 1 Chronicles 21:12-15

(12) **Either three years of famine.** But in the book of Samuel it says: “Shall a *seven*-year famine come upon you in the land” (2 Sam 24:13)! What [Gad] really told [David] was three years, but he said to him “seven” because there had already been three years of famine at that point, as it says: “There was a famine during the reign of David, year after year for three years” (2 Sam 21:1). So Gad told him: “Shall a seven-year famine come upon you in the land,” which means: Is this what you wish to choose?<sup>541</sup> After all, there have already been three years of famine, three more now will total six, and by the time produce arrives after six years of famine, the *seventh* year will not escape without famine, even though there will be rains, a plowing season, and a harvesting season.<sup>542</sup>

**Le-masseget (“overtaking you”).** The *lamed* is like the *lameds* of “*le-ammot hamesh*” (“five cubits,” 2 Chr 3:11), “make *le-kol kelav* (“all its utensils”) of copper” (Exod 27:3), and those like them, which are extraneous to the meaning.<sup>543</sup>

(15) **But as [the angel] was about to wreak destruction, the Lord saw and**

The Munich 5 author cites both rabbinic solutions that appear in Radak, but, in keeping with his own approach, he ultimately attributes the numerical discrepancies to conflicting variants discovered and canonized by Ezra.

541. Nathan’s remarks as they appear in Samuel are not prefaced by “Thus said the Lord,” as they are here; so they are less likely to be a direct quotation of God. This allows Radak to resolve the discrepancy by attributing to Nathan some editorializing: the option provided by God of three years of famine would really yield a far longer one.

542. Radak on the verse in Samuel is clearer: until its harvesting season, there would be famine during the seventh year also.

543. Radak appears to compare all of these *lameds* to that of *ve-ha-shelishi le-Avshalom* in 1 Chr 3:2, where he writes that the *lamed* signifies “the substance” of the noun that follows it; see his comments (and our remarks) there and at 2 Chr 3:11. This suggests that for Radak, the participle *masseget* functions here as a noun, and that he would literally render the clause: “and the sword of your enemies [shall be] one that overtakes you.” Contrast Ibn Janah, *Riqmah*, 53, for whom this *lamed* is among those that are to be disregarded, so that *masseget* may function as a verb. Radak cites a position that allows for that type of *lamed* in *Mikhlol* 194a.

The present comment is attested in only one branch of text witnesses and is apparently Radak’s later addition.

**renounced.** He saw that many had died, and renounced **further punishment.** But there is a rabbinic source (*b. Ber.* 62b) [that says]: “What did He see? He saw the ashes of Isaac; for on that very threshing floor Abraham brought his son Isaac as an offering.”<sup>544</sup>

(17) **Not *le-maggefah*.** Let Your hand not fall upon them *le-maggefah* (“bringing a plague”).<sup>545</sup>

(25) **So David paid Ornan for the site gold shekels valued at six hundred.** But in the book of Samuel [it says]: “So David bought the threshing floor and the oxen with fifty silver shekels” (2 Sam 24:24)!<sup>546</sup>

Our Sages, of blessed memory, said (*b. Zev.* 116b): “He collected fifty from each tribe, six hundred silver<sup>547</sup> [shekel pieces] all together.” But since their value in weight was that of shekels of gold, it says “gold shekels.”<sup>548</sup> (Indeed, they also said [Sifrei Deut 70]: “One verse says ‘in one of your tribal territories’ [Deut 12:14], and another verse says ‘from all your tribes’ [Deut 12:5];<sup>549</sup> it is in this connection that Rabbi Judah says: Money—from all your tribes;<sup>550</sup> the specially designated Temple—in the territory of one

544. That is, God remembered Abraham’s willingness to sacrifice Isaac, and in the merit of this He stopped the plague. Not surprisingly, this comment—consisting primarily of a rabbinic citation of a midrashic nature—does not appear in mss Paris and Munich: like many other midrashic citations in the commentary, it is presumably Radak’s later addition. Radak probably provided his initial, nonmidrashic and rather obvious interpretation only as a foil for the rabbinic one.

545. That is, “not *le-maggefah*” is linked to the earlier phrase “may Your hand be.” This comment as well is apparently late, appearing in only one branch of text witnesses.

546. Compare Radak there.

547. The word “silver” does not appear in our texts of the Talmud.

548. That is, these were not standard silver “shekel pieces” but were heavier, containing enough silver to be worth the same as gold shekels.

549. Both verses refer to “the place that the Lord shall choose,” that is, the Temple.

550. The original phrase, *maqom asher yivhar ... mi-kol shivtekhem*, is

158 1 Chronicles 21:25–22:8

tribe.”<sup>551</sup>) “Rabbi says in the name of Rabbi Jose son of Dustai: The oxen, the wood, and the place designated for the altar were for fifty, and the [area for] the entire Temple for six hundred.” And the language of the verses proves Rabbi correct. For in the book of Samuel it says. “the threshing floor and the oxen with fifty silver shekels,” from which it seems that the threshing floor and the oxen were for fifty; but here, it says, “So David paid Ornan for the site gold shekels,” etc., which means the entire site. For the altar was on the [site of] the threshing floor (v. 18), while the Temple was built on the entire field.<sup>552</sup>

(29) **In the shrine at Gibeon.** The entire construction that contained the Tabernacle and the altar was called a “shrine,” because the shrine—that is, the altar—was in it. The same is true for “before he goes up to the shrine to eat” (1 Sam 9:13); for they did not eat at the altar but rather in the constructions that housed the altar: that is what “the shrine” means.<sup>553</sup>

**22 (3) And for the clasps**—to connect one board to another, together with the nails.

(8) **You have shed much blood.** We do not find that the Lord told [David] this.<sup>554</sup> Rather, it was David who, in his heart, thought that God had prevented him from building the Temple because of this. Or the prophet Nathan told him so,<sup>555</sup> for even though the text does not say that in the

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more straightforwardly rendered “a place that God will select *among* all your tribes.” The rabbis render it “*from* all your tribes,” and infer that the Temple was built with money that came “from” every tribe.

551. This entire citation of the Sifrei, not attested in mss Paris and Munich and apparently Radak’s later addition, interrupts the citation of Bavli *Zevahim*. It provides partial support for the claim that “fifty shekels” means fifty from each tribe.

552. That the Temple was built on the whole field appears to be Radak’s interpretation of Rabbi’s position. I can find no explicit source for the claim.

553. In speaking of “constructions” in the plural, Radak is probably referring to those that housed the shrine in the various places where it was stationed, including Shiloh, Nob, Gibeon, and Jerusalem.

554. See above, 1 Chr 17:3-15 and 2 Sam 7:4-17. See also 1 Kgs 5:17 and Radak there.

555. This alternative, along with the entire remainder of the comment,

book of Samuel,<sup>556</sup> we find many cases like this, [such as] “and you said: ‘Let us send men ahead’” (Deut 1:22).<sup>557</sup>

When the text then says, “**you have shed much blood on the earth before Me**,” “before Me” seems to mean that among the blood that [David] shed was the blood of innocent people,<sup>558</sup> such as that of Uriah (2 Sam 11:14-17).<sup>559</sup> He was also the cause of the deaths of the priests, as it says: “I, then,

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is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

556. See 2 Sam 7:4-17, and Radak there on v. 12. Naturally, this does not appear in Chronicles either: Radak presumably considered the account in Chronicles to be of secondary importance to the one in Samuel. This does not mean, however, that Radak considered such material in Chronicles to have been *based* on parallel accounts in the Former Prophets. For as he writes in his introduction, Radak considers Chronicles itself to consist of historical accounts written at least in part at the time the events transpired and to have been excerpted from the Judean chronicles alluded to in the book of Kings itself. See above, introduction, 5-7.

557. Moses is speaking here to the nation, asserting that they had suggested sending scouts into the land. Yet there is no such indication in Numbers 13, where the actual story is related.

558. The phrase “you have shed much blood on the earth *before Me*” indeed seems to suggest that David did something less than ideal. (Accordingly, the words “before Me” appear specifically here, where a reason is provided for David’s unworthiness to build the Temple, and not in the similar phrase near the beginning of the verse that describes David’s military exploits more generally.) Nevertheless, the North African and Munich 5 commentators offer a curious interpretation of this verse, which absolves David not only of wrongdoing but of any unfavorable association with killing: the reason David could not build the Temple was merely that he was *worn out* from his involvement in wars. This is the most striking evidence of some common influence on these two commentaries, if not a more direct connection. See above, introduction, 4 n. 11.

For other means of absolving David that appear in the midrash as well as among moderns—and an attendant contrast to Radak’s position—see Japhet (1989, 476-77); and see the lengthy discussion of a range of options in Knoppers (2004, 772-75).

559. Weisse observes that, actually, David was told that he could not build the Temple *before* the events involving Uriah; see 2 Samuel 7 and 11.

## 160 1 Chronicles 22:8-14

am the cause of all the deaths in your father's house" (1 Sam 22:22).<sup>560</sup> It is also possible that among the gentiles he killed who were not engaging him in battle, there were good and righteous people, though he was not punished for this since his intent was to wipe out the wicked ones so that they not infiltrate Israel.<sup>561</sup> [Similarly,] when he was in the land of the Philistines, it was to save himself that "he would leave no man or woman alive" (1 Sam 27:9). But since he ended up shedding a great deal of blood, [God] prevented him from building the Holy Temple, which is for peace, atonement for sins, and intense prayer. This follows the same reason that He prohibited wielding an iron tool over the altar (Deut 27:5) and the Holy Temple (1 Kgs 6:7): since weapons for killing are made of iron, one should not generally make from it objects that are to be used for peaceful purposes.<sup>562</sup>

(14) **See, I have, in my penury (*be-'onyi*), laid aside, etc.** For [David] did not have extraordinary wealth, and had wartime expenditures. There is also the following midrashic interpretation (*y. Bava Metzia* 3a): "If he had already acquired these, then he *was* wealthy. If he had not acquired them—how can someone dedicate what does not belong to him?"<sup>563</sup> Apparently, they were resting within his immediate four cubits.<sup>564</sup> Rabbi Bun says: 'In

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560. David, speaking here to Abiathar the priest, takes indirect responsibility for Saul's murder of the priests of Nob.

561. It is not entirely clear in what context David killed gentiles who were not engaging him in battle. As for those whom he killed when living among the Philistines in Ziklag, in the very next sentence Radak provides an independent justification for this. Possibly, Radak has in mind those Philistines whom David killed in order to be able to marry Saul's daughter (1 Sam 18:27).

562. This analogy suggests that for Radak, the *main* problem was not the innocent blood that David shed. Rather, merely because he was involved in killing, he was not the appropriate choice to build the Temple. Compare the discussion in Japhet (1993, 396-98), who invokes the theology of 1 Kgs 6:7, as does Radak. For Japhet, in fact, the Chronicler does not suggest that David shed innocent blood at all, notwithstanding the phrase "before Me."

563. The rabbis here assume that if David "laid aside" these resources, this means he was legally empowered to dedicate them to the Temple.

564. While this means that David technically owned them, *Penei*

my penury’—for wealth is irrelevant before God. Another interpretation: *Be-’onyi*—for he used to fast (*mit’anneh*), and dedicate his meal to the [service of] God.”<sup>565</sup>

**23 (7) The Gershonites: Ladan and Shimei.**<sup>566</sup> Ladan is the same as Livni mentioned in the Torah (Exod 6:17).<sup>567</sup> He is in fact mentioned as Livni earlier in this book (6:5).

**(8) The sons of Ladan the chief Jehiel.** “Jehiel the chief” is [one] intended meaning, but there is no single, exclusive reading: [the word “chief”] refers both to what appears before it and to what appears after it; for Livni was Gershon’s firstborn, and Jehiel was the firstborn of Livni, that is, Ladan.<sup>568</sup> (Jehiel is the same as Jahath mentioned above [Exod 6:5].)

**Zetham and Joel** are also sons of Ladan; so here they total three. But below, the text says that Zetham and Joel are sons of Jehiel, for it says: “The sons of Jehiel: Zetham and his brother Joel” (see 1 Chr 26:22)!<sup>569</sup> It follows, then, that here it includes grandsons with sons: there are many cases like this in

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*Mosheh* on the passage in the Yerushalmi (included in standard editions) explains that the text nonetheless says “in my penury” because “they were not actually in his hands.”

565. The North African commentator, in keeping with his interpretation of v. 8, explains that *be-’onyi* refers to David’s having been worn down by his involvement in wars.

566. All of Radak’s comments from here through v. 10 appear in only one branch of text witnesses and are apparently his later additions.

567. Citing Radak, Japhet (1993, 414) suggests (if I understand her correctly) that at some point in the transmission of genealogies, in an effort at harmonization, these were indeed *taken* to be alternative names of a single individual—and that the Chronicler in fact presents them on the assumption that they are one and the same.

568. Apparently, for Radak, “chief” indicates firstborn status. On the type of literary principle that Radak invokes here, see 1 Chr 1:36 concerning Timna and our remarks there.

569. That verse reads not “Jehiel” but “Jehieli,” yet the consensus appears to be that these are indeed one and the same.

162 1 *Chronicles* 23:8-27

the book.<sup>570</sup> Alternatively, we can explain that it says below, “The sons of Jehiel: Zetham and Joel,” because his sons were named for his brothers. Or it elides a *vav*, and it means: The sons of Jehiel *and* Zetham (*ve-Zetam*) his brother were over the treasuries of the House of the Lord.<sup>571</sup>

(9) **The sons of Shimei.** This Shimei is not a son of Gershon.<sup>572</sup> Rather, one of the sons of Ladan that are mentioned had a name “Shimei,” and his sons were **Shelomith, Haziël, and Haran — three.**

(10) **And the sons of Shimei.** This is Shimei son of Gershon.

(26) **Also, the Levites need not carry the Tabernacle, etc.** This means: After the Tent was put in place in Jerusalem, the Levites were to have no more carrying duties.

(27) **Among the last matters of David.** This means: These were among the last of David’s acts—counting the Levites **who were twenty years old** and above,<sup>573</sup> appointing them to their shifts, and making all the necessary preparations for the sanctuary. For he had originally counted the ones who were thirty and above (1 Chr 23:3), in accordance with what it says in the Torah (Num 4:3); but at this point, he figured that since the Levites do not

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570. This would suggest that Jehiel was Ladan’s only son. At 1 Chr 26:21, Radak implies that there were others, which suggests that he favored the alternative explanations that he presents here below.

571. According to this last explanation, the meaning of 1 Chr 26:22—as Radak paraphrases it—is either that the sons of Jehiel and *the sons of* his brother Zetham supervised the treasuries or that the sons of Jehiel and *Zetham himself* supervised them. At 1 Chr 26:25, Radak appears to assume that Zetham himself was a supervisor of the treasuries. In either event, Radak curiously elides the name Joel in his paraphrase. With the name reinserted, this explanation yields: “The sons of Jehiel, and Zetham and his brother Joel [themselves], were over the treasuries of the House of the Lord.”

572. It is the Shimei in the next verse who is Gershon’s son, as Radak notes there.

573. This last clause, along with the entire second half of the comment—all of which addresses the matter of the age of the Levites—is not attested in mss Paris and Munich. Radak apparently became aware of the issue at a later point and inserted these remarks then.



have to carry anything by shoulder, he would appoint the ones who were twenty years old and above also.<sup>574</sup>

(28) **And over *tahorat le-kol qodesh*.** The Levites had to be prepared for *tahorat kol qodesh* ("the purification of all the holy things"),<sup>575</sup> as the text says in connection with Hezekiah: "The priests went into the House of the Lord to purify it," etc., "the Levites received [the unclean things], to take them outside to Wadi Kidron" (2 Chr 29:16).

***U-ma'aseh 'avodat the House of God.*** *U-ma'aseh* is not in the construct state, for it is vocalized with a *segol*. What this means is: *u-lemma'aseh ve-la-'avodat* ("for activities and for the service of") the House of God—they had to be prepared for it all.<sup>576</sup>

(29) **For *mesurah* and *middah*.** They also had to be prepared to fix the quantities (*middot*) needed for the sanctuary: one-third, one-quarter, or one-tenth of either a hin or an ephah.<sup>577</sup> *Mesurah* is a general term for smaller measurements, and *middah* is a general term for larger measurements.<sup>578</sup>

574. According to Radak, the reason the Levites below the age of thirty were not counted earlier is that they were not strong enough to carry materials and vessels for the Tabernacle; compare Ibn Ezra at Num 4:3. While the census of Levites mentioned in vv. 3-5, like the one here, was also performed when David was old—the Tabernacle having already been permanently stationed in Jerusalem—and the cutoff age was nevertheless thirty, Radak apparently means that David initially counted them from the age mentioned in the Torah "to comply with custom" (see the presentation of Radak's position in Knoppers [2004, 819]).

575. In Radak's reformulation of the phrase he removes the unexpected *lamed* prefix in *le-kol*. On this type of apparently extraneous prefix after a noun in the construct state (like *tahorat*), see Radak at 1 Chr 3:2 and our remarks there.

576. Radak gives no indication as to what "activities" the verse has in mind. In our texts, *u-ma'aseh* is in the construct state—with a *seret*—which yields the meaning: "and the activities of the service of the House of God." One variant cited by Ginsburg (1926) matches Radak's reading. This comment is probably Radak's later addition, as it does not appear in ms Paris.

577. That is, they had to prepare wine, oil, flour, and the like for offerings, in the quantities set by the Torah.

578. This last sentence is not attested in ms Paris and is probably late.

(31) **And whenever offerings were made to the Lord.** [The Levites] also had to be prepared to sing praises any time offerings were brought on **sabbaths, new moons, and holidays**, as well as to help the priests on those days,<sup>579</sup> since there were so many offerings. They were to help bring the animals, prepare them, slaughter them, and perform any other task up until the catching of the blood; for the priests were commanded to do everything from that point on (*b. Ber.* 31b).

**24 (3) David and Zadok divided them (*va-yehaleqem*), etc.** The *yod* has a *segol* and the *het* has a *qames*; but it is just like *va-yahalqem*, with a *pataḥ*.<sup>580</sup> The same is true for “*va-yehalqem* David” above (23:6), for they have the identical vocalization.<sup>581</sup> I have already provided the philological explanation of this in the *Mikhlol* (35b).<sup>582</sup>

What this means is that David changed the shifts from their prior alignment. For there were originally eight from the family of Eleazar and eight from the family of Ithamar. But David saw that the male heads among the descendants of Eleazar were more numerous than those of Ithamar (v. 4). So he took with him one representative from Eleazar and another from Ithamar<sup>583</sup> and added eight shifts. He thus established twenty-four shifts, sixteen from Eleazar and eight from Ithamar (v. 4).<sup>584</sup> This, then, is the

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579. This clause, along with the remainder of the comment, does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late.

580. *Va-yahalqem*, a *qal* pattern, has *pataḥ*’s under the *yod* and the *het*. Radak is probably calling attention to the one under the *yod*.

581. This sentence is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late.

582. Radak there explains that the *qames* under the *het* emerged after a *segol* replaced the preceding *pataḥ* (for that change he provides no explanation), apparently because *segol-qames* is a more standard vowel pattern than *pataḥ-qames* (particularly where the first of the two vowels is unstressed). But it is more commonly understood that the change to a *segol* followed the emergence of the *qames*, since a *segol* often appears before a guttural letter with a *qames*; see, e.g., the discussion of Radak’s explanation in Chomsky (1952, 120 n. 183).

583. Radak is referring to Zadok and Ahimelech, mentioned in the verse, who assisted in carrying out the realignment.

584. This follows the second of the two rabbinic positions that Radak cites in the latter part of the comment.

meaning of “there was a onefold increase in what was held by clans of Eleazar” (v. 6) (that is, above what had been beforehand), and “whatever Ithamar held they held” (v. 6)<sup>585</sup> (that is, what Ithamar had held beforehand they held at this point also, since no shifts were added to theirs).

There is the following debate among our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Taan.* 27a): Some of them say that Moses instituted eight shifts—four from the family of Eleazar and four from the family of Ithamar; Samuel then came and realigned them into sixteen—eight from Eleazar and eight from Ithamar; and David came and realigned them into twenty-four. And some of them say that Moses instituted sixteen—eight from Eleazar and eight from Ithamar; and then Samuel and David came and realigned them into twenty-four, as it says: “David and Samuel the seer established that they be set up like this” (1 Chr 9:22).

(5-7) **They divided them by lot, the one group together with the other.** The text means to say that [David] gave no preference to one over the other, **since they were all sanctuary officers and officers of God—the sons of Eleazar and the sons of Ithamar.** Thus, they followed whatever the lottery determined: he gave no preference to any one over another, except in the case of the high priesthood, which belonged to the descendants of Eleazar, as we have explained above (5:27).<sup>586</sup> **Shemaiah son of Nethanel, the scribe,** wrote down twenty-four shifts and [the names of] the male heads, put them into an urn for drawing lots, **and the first lot fell on Jehoiarib, etc.**

(31) **Avot the head opposite his younger kinsman.** That was his name—*Avot* (“Avoth”).<sup>587</sup> “Opposite his younger kinsman” means that an older one did not take precedence over a younger one. Rather, [the Levites] too

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585. In all text witnesses, “and whatever Ithamar held they held” is a new lemma, introducing a separate comment. *ms JTS Lutzki* 865 actually repositions the comment at v. 6, where the phrase appears. But the sense of Radak’s remarks strongly supports the reading presented here, in which this is part of a single long comment.

586. This exception concerning the restriction of the high priesthood to descendants of Eleazar is evidently Radak’s later addition; like his similar assertion at 1 Chr 5:27, it is not attested in *mss Paris* and *Munich*.

587. Compare *R. Moses Kimḥi* at Job 40:15, in the commentary mistakenly attributed to *Ibn Ezra*. According to the *Munich 5* author, *avot* means large clans.

## 166 1 Chronicles 24:31–25:1

would draw lots among themselves, just as in the case of the priests: both old and young followed whatever the lottery determined. In accordance with this, it says “young and old alike, the wise one with the student” (1 Chr 25:8), the wise one meaning the older one, and the student meaning the younger one.<sup>588</sup>

**25 (1) David set apart.** This means that he set apart **the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun** to be musicians, others to be gatekeepers (1 Chr 26:1-19), and still others to be in charge of the treasuries of the House of the Lord (1 Chr 21:20-28)—everything as the text says. And they were divided into subgroups based on a lottery.

**Who prophesied to the accompaniment of lyres, harps, and cymbals.** The sons of Asaph would play their instruments, and the Divine spirit would descend upon Asaph,<sup>589</sup> who would then perform the vocals accompanied by the lyres. The same was true for Heman and Jeduthun: all of them prophesied to the accompaniment of the musical instruments. For the book of Psalms was composed with Divine inspiration, and contains prophecies and predictions concerning the exile and the redemption.<sup>590</sup>

Asaph had four sons (v. 2), and Jeduthun six (v. 3). But the list contains only five: “Gedaliah, Zeri, Jeshaiiah, Hashabiah, and Mattithiah” (v. 3)—so it says “six” when there were only five!<sup>591</sup> In the account of the lottery, however, we find one not mentioned here, where it says: “the tenth, Shimei” (v. 17). There is thus an aggadah (*Ber. Rab.* 94:9) that when the text says

588. There also, the reference is to the Levites.

589. Radak uses the milder term *ruah ha-qodesh*, denoting Divine inspiration, even as the verse indicates that the Levites “prophesied” (*nibbe'im*). See Radak’s introduction to his Psalms commentary concerning the distinction between *ruah ha-qodesh* and what is generally termed “prophecy” (*nevu'ah*), and Talmage (1968, 191) on Radak’s tendency to allow for *nevu'ah* to mean *ruah ha-qodesh*. See also Radak on the next verse.

590. Compare Radak’s introduction to the Psalms commentary.

591. As will become clear, Radak’s primary objective here is to show that the sons of Asaph, Heman, and Jeduthun totaled twenty-four, in accordance with the number of shifts. If Jeduthun had only five sons, then, not only is this contradicted by the number “six” that is provided, but the combined total of sons would fall one short, numbering twenty-three.

“six,” this is because when David set them apart, Jeduthun had these five sons, and his wife was pregnant with Shimei; and by Divine inspiration, [David] foresaw that he also would be the head of a shift. It is also possible that he was young at the time and was not yet qualified to perform or to be head of a shift. Only when he grew older would he become head of a shift. But since they were training him and he was indeed destined to become head of a shift, it lists him in the account of the lottery.<sup>592</sup>

Heman had fourteen sons; for “Romamti-ezer” (vv. 4, 31) is one name. (Even though it appears here as two words, there are many cases like this.) So among the three of them there were twenty-four shifts, paralleling the twenty-four that the priests had. Thus, Joseph son of Asaph, the head of the first Levite shift (v. 9), served together with Jehoiarib, the head of the first priestly shift (1 Chr 24:7); and so for all of them. And since each of the twenty-four heads of the Levite shifts, together with his brothers and sons, totaled twelve (vv. 9-31), they totaled two hundred and eighty-eight all together, as it says (v. 7).

**(2) Who prophesied by order of the king.** This refers to the psalms that Asaph composed: he would compose them with Divine inspiration. The text says, “by order of the king,” because the king appointed him head of matters pertaining to singing and musical instruments and wrote his compositions in his book. It says similarly concerning Jeduthun: “who prophesied, praising and extolling the Lord” (v. 3). Concerning Heman too, who was a Korahite, it says, “the seer of the king, [who uttered] prophecies of God describing an exalted status” (1 Chr 25:5), a reference to the Psalms composed by the Korahites that contain predictions describing the exalting of Israel’s status and their redemption from exile.<sup>593</sup>

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592. With this explanation, Radak avoids the need to accept that David predicted Shimei’s future as the head of a shift by Divine inspiration. This is not, however, a rationalistically motivated *re*interpretation of the text. In this connection, see above, introduction, 14-15.

593. See Radak’s remarks on the various Psalms attributed to the Korahites, such as Psalm 42. Radak might well have composed this entire comment—not attested in mss Paris and Munich—when working on these issues in the context of composing his Psalms commentary.

Compare all of Radak’s remarks here to his introduction to the Psalms commentary. It emerges that for Radak, David was the compiler of the book of Psalms, while many individual poems that it contains were in fact composed by others by their own Divine inspiration. In this connection, see also the introduction of Ibn Ezra to his commentary to Psalms.

168 1 Chronicles 25:2-26:5

(5) **God gave Heman fourteen sons and three daughters.** The text says this<sup>594</sup> because Asaph and Jeduthun did not have so many children. Or perhaps [Heman] had initially been sterile; so he prayed to the Lord, who heard his prayers and gave him fourteen sons and three daughters.

(8) **One shift opposite.** This means to say: opposite *another shift*. The same is true for “from Tent to Tent and from Tabernacle” (1 Chr 17:5), as we have written (1 Chr 17:5).<sup>595</sup>

**26 (5) Peullethai the eighth, for God had blessed him**—as it says above: “And the Lord blessed the house of Obed-edom and all he had” (1 Chr 13:14).<sup>596</sup> Similarly, it says: “sixty-two of Obed-edom” (v. 8).<sup>597</sup> But above it says: “and Obed-edom and their brothers—sixty-eight” (1 Chr 16:38)!<sup>598</sup> It is possible that Obed-edom had six brothers, so that all together they totaled sixty-eight. The plural pronoun in “and *their* brothers” then refers to Obed-edom *and his sons*, for their father’s brothers may also be called *their* brothers, as if they were their own.<sup>599</sup> Here, though, the text says that “the *sons* of Obed-edom” (v. 8) totaled sixty-two. And when it says here,

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594. Radak is referring to the allusion to God and to the inclusion of daughters, neither of which appears in connection with Asaph and Jeduthun.

595. That is, this latter verse is to be read: “from Tabernacle [to Tabernacle].” Note that, in that case, an entire prepositional phrase is elided, while our verse elides only the noun *mishmeret* (“shift”).

596. The phrase “for God had blessed him” in our verse also refers to Obed-edom, not to Peullethai. Still, Radak includes “Peullethai the eighth” in the lemma. This is probably to indicate that Obed-edom was considered blessed precisely because he had an eighth son; for Meshelemiah’s sons, listed just before, numbered only seven.

597. That is, this number too reflects how blessed he was.

598. Ms Paris skips from the beginning of this sentence to the rabbinic citation at the end of the comment. Radak apparently added this material later.

599. On that verse, Radak indeed interprets: “and Obed-edom *and his sons* and their brothers.” “Their brothers” means Obed-edom’s brothers alone, even as the verse calls them “brothers” of his sons also.

“they and their sons and their brothers” (v. 8), “they” refers to the sons of Obed-edom, “and their sons” refers to those grandsons who are mentioned, and “and their brothers” to those not mentioned.<sup>600</sup> Finally, “man of ability” (v. 8) is like “men of ability.”

Our Sages, of blessed memory, explained midrashically (*b. Ber.* 63b) that “the Lord blessed the house of Obed-edom” in that his wife and eight daughters-in-law each gave birth to sextuplets, so that they amounted to sixty-two.<sup>601</sup>

**(6) Who were likened (*ha-mimshalim*) to their ancestral house, because they were men of great ability.** [Shemaiah’s sons] were similar to [the men of their ancestral house] in ability: their ancestral house consisted of men with great ability for service, and they were no different.<sup>602</sup> *Ha-mimshalim* is an adjective, with a *hireq* under the *mem*, like “the cities *ha-mivdalot* (‘marked off’)” (Josh 16:9), and “Athaliah *ha-mirsha’at* (‘the wicked one’)” (2 Chr 24:7).<sup>603</sup>

**(13-16) [The Levite gatekeepers] cast lots, young and old alike**—as we have explained above (24:31).

**For each gate.** This means that the lots they drew were not to determine who among them should serve first but to whom should be assigned the east gate, and to whom the west, south, and north gates. **The lot** for the east fell to **Shelemiah**, the north to **his son Zechariah**, to **Obed-edom the south**, and to **Shuppim and to Hosah the west**.

600. This option is available here precisely because some grandsons are mentioned and others are not. On the earlier verse, however, interpreted by Radak to mean “Obed-edom and his sons and their brothers,” the implied phrase “and his sons” alludes to all the sons of Obed-edom, so that there are no unmentioned ones to which “their brothers” could refer.

601. That is, the nine women each had six sons, which totals fifty-four, so that together with Obed-edom’s eight sons the total reaches sixty-two.

602. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi and the North African commentator, for whom *ha-mimshalim* denotes leadership rather than likeness.

603. Compare Radak at 2 Chr 24:7 and in *Shorashim*, entries מַשַּׁל and רָשַׁע. On the verse in Joshua, he also suggests that *mivdalot* could be a *hof’al* participle, the equivalent of *muvdalot*. This also appears to be the intention of his first suggestion in *Shorashim*, entry בָּדַל.



170 1 Chronicles 26:15

(15) **And to his sons, the chamber of the *asuppim*.** This means that his sons would guard the chamber of the *asuppim*,<sup>604</sup> which was outside the Temple court, to the south of it.<sup>605</sup>

“At the *asuppim*—two, two” (v. 17) has two<sup>606</sup> rabbinic interpretations (*b. Tam.* 27a): One is that each of the *asuppim* chambers had two Levites,<sup>607</sup> and the other is that each of the *asuppim* chambers had one, so that it means: at the *asuppim*, of which there were two, there were two Levites—one for each.<sup>608</sup>

These assignments, like the shifts, numbered twenty-four: six in the east, four in the north, four in the south, two and two at the *asuppim* totaling four, four in the west, and two at the *parbar*, for a total of twenty-four (vv. 17-18).<sup>609</sup> Our Sages divided these into twenty-four stations; for they said in the Mishnah (*Mid.* 1:1): “The priests guard the sanctuary at three

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604. Radak provides no explanation of the term *asuppim*; see also his comment at 2 Chr 23:4. In *Shorashim*, entry אֲסָפִי, he writes that “it was called this in connection with a matter known to them.”

605. Both here and in v. 17, this chamber is mentioned after a reference to the gatekeepers on the south side.

606. It is clear from the Hebrew formulation in Radak that there is comic intent to this: two interpretations of “two, two.”

607. That is, there were two *asuppim* with two Levites each. This is Radak’s preferred interpretation below, and in *Shorashim*, entry אֲסָפִי.

608. This translation follows ms Munich, which reads *le-kol eḥad eḥad*. All other text witnesses contain the more common expression *le-kol eḥad ve-eḥad* (“for each and every one”), clearly in error.

609. This assumes that the two *asuppim* indeed had two Levites each. According to the other rabbinic opinion that each had only one, the Levite gatekeepers would number only twenty-two. The Talmud reduces this to twenty-one, in keeping with the mishnaic passage that Radak cites below, claiming that according to this view, one of the two at the *parbar* was not included in the total. For the *parbar* was an isolated location, a chamber that jutted out of the Holy of Holies toward the west wall of the Temple mount (see Radak below and *Shorashim*, entry פֶּרֶבֶר), so that a second, extra-neous gatekeeper was added to provide company for the main one.

stations: at the chamber of Abtinas, at the chamber of the spark, and at the chamber of the fireplace; and the Levites at twenty-one stations: five at the five gates of the Temple mount and four at its four inner corners, five at the five gates of the Temple court and four at its four outer corners, one at the compartment for sacrifices, one at the compartment for the curtain, and one behind the chamber of the curtain.”<sup>610</sup> They raised an objection on the basis of these verses, however, which, speaking about the *Levites*, list twenty-four (*b. Tam.* 27a)! And they replied that in twenty-four places priests are called “Levites” (for example: “But the priests—the Levites—descended from Zadok” [Ezek 44:15]); so here also, three were priests and twenty-one were Levites.

They also resolved the verses in a different way, in accordance with what it says in tractate Tamid (*b. Tam.* 27a) and in *Zevaḥim* (55b).<sup>611</sup> [In this context] they said: “What is the meaning of ‘at the *parbar*’ (v. 18)? It is like the expression *ki-le-appai bar* (‘positioned toward the outside’).”

(21) **The sons of Ladan.** He is the same as Livni, as we have explained (23:7). Perhaps the reason the text says “**the sons of the Gershonite**”<sup>612</sup> is that there was another Ladan; so it says: The sons of Ladan who were Gershonites, that is, the six **clan chiefs of Ladan** mentioned above (23:7-9), those **of Ladan the Gershonite**, [etc.]. But all this is just extra elaboration, for the text could have said it only once.<sup>613</sup> And one of the sons of Ladan the

610. See the commentators on the Mishnah for explanations of all these locations. As for how this corresponds with the text’s assertion that there were “six in the east, four in the north,” etc., see the commentary of R. Asher b. Jehiel (“Rosh”) on the page in Bavli *Tamid*.

Our texts of both the Mishnah and the Bavli read, “behind the chamber of the Ark cover (*kapporet*),” not “the curtain (*parokhet*).” In either case, the chamber in question is the Holy of Holies, which contained the Ark and was separated from the sanctuary by a curtain.

611. See n. 609 for the content of the explanation. The passage in *Zevaḥim* does not contain the explanation itself, but rather the subsequent interpretation of the term *parbar*, which supports it.

612. That Ladan was a Gershonite is already known from 1 Chr 23:7. Radak apparently did not think that the identification here could function merely to distinguish these descendants of Gershon from those of his brothers Kohath and Merari, listed before and after (see vv. 19 and 23).

613. That is, the text could simply have identified this Ladan as the

172 1 *Chronicles* 26:21-25

Gershonite was **Jehieli**, who was the firstborn.<sup>614</sup> It then says that these were “in charge of the treasuries of the House of the Lord” (v. 22).<sup>615</sup>

(22) **The sons of Jehieli**. I explained this above (23:8).<sup>616</sup>

(25) **His son Rehabiah, his son Jeshaiah**. This means that Jeshaiah was a son of Rehabiah; for Eliezer’s only son was Rehabiah, as it says above (23:17). In fact, Jeshaiah, **Joram**, **Zichri**, and **Shelomith** were [all] sons of Rehabiah.<sup>617</sup> And while he had many sons, as it says, “the sons of Rehabiah were very numerous” (23:17), Shelomith was chief over all of them, as it says, “Shelomoth and his brothers were over all the treasuries of dedicated things” (v. 26). (Shelomoth is the same as Shelomith, for it says after “his

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one who was a son of Gershon, without mentioning that the sons of this Ladan are those very clan chiefs listed earlier as sons of Ladan son of Gershon.

614. This syntactically problematic verse then reads as follows: “The sons of Ladan, [that is,] the sons of [Ladan] the Gershonite—the [very] Ladanite clan chiefs who are [identified above as sons] of Ladan the Gershonite—[included] Jehieli [the firstborn].

615. It is specifically Zetham and Joel, mentioned in v. 22, who were in charge of the treasuries; see Radak at v. 25. This entire comment, as well as the next one, is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently Radak’s later addition.

616. See our remarks there.

617. This is true even though the phrase “his son” appears after each name: only in Jeshaiah’s case does it imply a new generation. It is possible that in assuming all these to be Rehabiah’s sons, Radak was influenced by 1 Chr 23:17, which indicates that Rehabiah had many sons; see Kiel (1986, 409).

As noted by Eisemann (1987, 532), the straightforward conclusion that emerges from Radak is that Shelomith lived just two generations after Eliezer son of Moses, which stands in contradiction to the implication of the next verse that Shelomith functioned during the time of David. This difficulty falls away if Radak assumed, as do several modern scholars, that Rehabiah was not Eliezer’s son but rather a later descendant of his; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 416). If that assumption is correct, then where the text states, at 1 Chr 23:17, that Eliezer had no “sons” besides Rehabiah, it must mean that Rehabiah was his only descendant who was a clan chief.

son Shelomith": "That Shelomoth and his brothers" [v. 26].) Furthermore, it says: "anyone who dedicated something did so through Shelomith and his brothers" (v. 28).

While here the text says that Ahijah was over the treasuries of the House of God and the treasuries of the dedicated things (v. 20), afterward it says that Zetham and his brother Joel were over the treasuries of the House of the Lord (v. 22); still later it says that Shebuel son of Gershon son of Moses was the chief officer over the treasuries (v. 24); and finally it says that Shelomith and his brothers were over all the treasuries of the dedicated things!

It would appear that initially Ahijah was appointed over the treasuries and that Zetham and Joel were also appointed over them. But the treasuries—which consisted of everything dedicated over the course of all the generations from the wilderness until David—were divided up; for some people would dedicate for offerings, some for the construction of the Temple and some for the furnishings of the House of the Lord. Each treasury, then, was independent, and there was an appointee over each.<sup>618</sup> Shebuel, however, was a chief officer in charge of all of them, as it says: "Shebuel son of Gershon son of Moses was the chief officer over the treasuries." And Shelomith was appointed over everything dedicated from [the time of] Samuel and on: whatever was dedicated by Samuel, Saul, David, Abner, Joab, and the clan chiefs who were over the officers of thousands and hundreds was dedicated through Shelomith (vv. 26-28).<sup>619</sup>

(29) **For outside tasks.** [This means:] the tasks performed outside the city—chopping wood in the forests, hewing stones,<sup>620</sup> and [working the] fields, vineyards, gardens, and orchards belonging to the sanctuary. It was over these that Chenaniah and his sons were appointed. The text says "**over**

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618. In stating that Ahijah was the "initial" appointee, seemingly in opposition to Zetham and Joel, Radak might be seeking to account for the breadth of Ahijah's responsibilities—"the treasuries of the House of God and the treasuries of the dedicated things." That is, only later were the various treasuries entrusted to different appointees.

619. This formulation suggests that Shelomith oversaw not only the treasuries themselves but also the dedication process.

620. This refers to stones needed for the Temple; see Radak at 2 Kgs 12:13 and in *Shorashim*, entry חצב.

174 1 *Chronicles* 26:29–27:5

**Israel**” because every year, there were many Israelites who volunteered to dedicate some of their fruit and other produce, and these men were appointed as supervisors and foremen over their subordinates, who were appointed to gather everything in and bring it to the House of the Lord.

(30) **Across the Jordan, on the west.** [This means on] the edge of the land that stands across the Jordan—that land’s western edge, which is near the Jordan. But the land of Gilead in its entirety stood to the east of the land of Israel, and it is regularly identified in those terms.<sup>621</sup>

(31) **They were investigated in the fortieth year of David’s reign.** This refers to those across the Jordan. In fact, the entire account leading up to this took place in the fortieth year; for the text says at the beginning: “When David reached a ripe old age, he made his son Solomon king,” etc. “And the Levites were counted,” etc. “And David formed them into divisions” (1 Chr 23:1-6). But the dividing of Israel took place at the beginning of his reign, as it says above, “And these were David’s chief warriors who strongly supported him in his kingdom, together with all Israel, to make him king” (1 Chr 11:10), listing the same warriors that it lists here.<sup>622</sup> Moreover, Asael the brother of Joab was the fourth one, for the fourth month (1 Chr 27:7), and he did not live much past the beginning of this reign, since Abner killed him (2 Sam 2:23).<sup>623</sup>

**27 (5) The third army officer.** Since Benaiah was chief over the thirty war-

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621. That is, the entire land of Gilead—the land “across the Jordan”—is east of Israel and is often referred to as the area “across the Jordan, on the east”; see, e.g., Deut 4:49. So here, where the text refers to an area “across the Jordan, on the west,” it does not mean to the west of Israel but rather on the western edge of that area itself.

This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

622. Radak is referring to the list of division chiefs in the next chapter. In truth, the earlier list omits some of these, such as Heldai the Netophathite (1 Chr 27:16), which raises the possibility that David formed these divisions only later, appointing “chiefs” consisting mostly—but not entirely—of the “warriors” who had helped him in his earlier years. But see Radak’s second, more decisive proof below.

623. Abner killed Asael when David was still in Hebron, where he reigned for the first seven of his forty years as king.

riors (v. 6), the text uses the expression “army officer” for him but not for the others.

**The chief priest.** Jehoiada was high priest, as the text says above in the account of the beginning of David’s reign: “Jehoiada, chief officer of the Aaronides” (12:28).<sup>624</sup>

(6) **And [Benaiah’s] division—his son Ammizabad.** This means that his son Ammizabad was also over his division, subordinate to him.<sup>625</sup>

(7) **And [Asael’s] son Zebadiah after him.** For Asael was killed at the beginning of David’s reign (2 Sam 2:23); so [David] appointed [Asael’s] son Zebadiah chief over his division, in his place.<sup>626</sup>

(11) **Sibbecai the Hushathite, of the Zerahite.** [This means:] from the family of Zerah.

(15) **Heldai the Netophathite, of Othniel.** [This means:] from the family of Othniel son of Kenaz.

(16) **Over the tribes of Israel: the chief officer of Reuben.** To this point the text had listed the warriors who were heads of the divisions, and now it lists the officers who served as tribal heads—one chieftain for each tribe.

(18) **Of Judah: Elihu, of the brothers of David.** He is one of the brothers of David mentioned above (2:13-15) and had two names; or he is a different one, additional to those mentioned, as our Sages, of blessed memory, said in the midrashic interpretation that we cited above (2:15).<sup>627</sup>

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624. Radak assumes that *ha-kohen rosh* describes Jehoiada rather than Benaiah and means “the chief priest” rather than “the priest, a chief.” This is the reading preferred by moderns; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 475) (but contrast the NRSV translation reproduced in Japhet, 467), as well as Kalimi (2005, 171-74) on the Chronicler’s “character creation” of Jehoiada. Contrast Radak’s reading to that of Pseudo-Rashi, who denies that Jehoiada was high priest, and compare their comments at 1 Chr 12:28.

625. This comment is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later addition.

626. This is an adaptation of Pseudo-Rashi’s formulation.

627. This comment too is not attested in ms Paris and is probably late.

176 1 *Chronicles* 27:23-25

(23) **David did not take a census of those under twenty years of age.** This means: Those whom David counted out—twelve divisions of twenty-four thousand each—consisted entirely of men twenty years of age and older.

(23-24) **For the Lord had promised to make Israel as numerous, etc.** And even when the Holy One, blessed is He, said to count Israel, He said to count only those twenty years of age and older (Num 1:2-3); for He had promised to make their numbers as incalculable<sup>628</sup> as that of **the stars in the sky**, as it says: “then your offspring too can be counted” (Gen 13:16).<sup>629</sup>

None of those whom David counted were among those counted by **Joab**, who **set out to count** all of Israel.<sup>630</sup> [Joab] **did not finish, though**; for there were two tribes that he did not count, “because the king’s command had become repugnant to Joab” (1 Chr 21:6). It says, after all: “**wrath struck Israel on account of this.**”<sup>631</sup>

(25) **Over the royal treasuries.** Here the text lists those whom [David] appointed as managers and administrators over the labor and over the storage areas, both in his house and out in the field.

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628. The verse suggests that David declined to count all of Israel because God had said that they are incalculable, and Radak adds that David set the cutoff point at twenty years of age, just as God had done.

629. That verse compares the quantity of Abraham’s offspring to that of the dust of the earth. Radak was probably thinking of Gen 15:5, which alludes to “the stars in the sky” and is cited by Pseudo-Rashi together with 13:16.

630. This appears to be based on the midrash cited by Radak at 1 Chr 21:5, according to which Joab did not count the members of the divisions counted by David here, since their names were already recorded in the king’s registry. It is not clear why Radak raises this here; for the verse mentions Joab’s census and the subsequent plague apparently to underscore the impropriety of his counting the people of Israel: whether or not Joab included the members of these divisions would seem to be entirely beside the point.

631. Joab did not count Levi and Benjamin. Radak probably does not mean that the plague prompted Joab’s concern; for the plague began only after Joab stopped counting, and furthermore, Joab objected to the census even before it was implemented (see 1 Chronicles 21 and 2 Samuel 24). Rather, the point is that the plague vindicated Joab’s resistance.



(27) **And over what was in the vineyards.** Shimei was appointed over the vineyards until the gathering of the grapes,<sup>632</sup> and **Zabdi** was appointed over whatever was in the vineyards at the time of the gathering of the fruit and grapes, from the harvest and on, as it says: “for the storage areas.”

(30) **The Ishmaelite.** The text calls [Obil] an Ishmaelite because he lived in the land of Ishmael. Similarly, “the Hagrite” (v. 31) means that [Jaziz] lived in the land of the Hagrites.<sup>633</sup>

(32) **Jehiel son of Hachmoni was with the king’s sons**—for he would raise them and teach them.<sup>634</sup>

(34) **And after Ahitophel: Jehoiada.** This means: After the death of Ahitophel, the advisor to the king, his advisors were Jehoiada **and Abiathar**. And **Joab** was the commander of the army.

**28 (2) King David rose to his feet.** He gathered his strength and rose up from the bed upon which he was lying, for he had already become bedridden, as it says in the book of Kings.<sup>635</sup> He then mustered the strength to walk to the place where he had commanded all of Israel to gather, rose up on his feet, and said all these things to them.

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632. For concerning Shimei the text says “over the vineyards,” not “over what was in the vineyards.” This comment and the next one are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak’s later additions.

633. Compare Radak above, 2:17.

634. This is based on the formulation in Pseudo-Rashi.

635. Radak at 1 Kgs 1:1, commenting on the text’s allusion to David’s old age, similarly writes that he had become bedridden; but there is no such explicit biblical formulation. At v. 2 there, the text does say that Abishag was to lie in David’s bosom but does not indicate that he was unable to rise. The Munich 5 author indeed suggests that David’s rising to his feet here signifies not his marshaling of strength but his desire to command attention and convey authority. In this connection, see Knoppers (2004, 925): “It is unlikely that the Chronicler thought of David as sickly or bedridden at this point (*pace* Qimhi, who refers to 1 Kgs 1:1-4).”

This comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition, as is the latter sentence of the next comment.

178 1 *Chronicles* 28:9-15

(9) **Know the God of your father.** This is like: Know the Lord *your* God. When the text says “the God of your father,” it means that [Solomon] should rely on the tradition until he comes to know Him on his own.

**He discerns the *yeşer* of every thought.** A creation of the heart is called a *yeşer*, because the heart produces and molds (*yoşer*) thoughts in the mind, be they good or bad.<sup>636</sup>

(11) **And *ganzakkav*.** [This means:] its storerooms.

(12) **All that he had by the spirit.** [This means] by prophetic inspiration,<sup>637</sup> for [David] knew the plan of all the storerooms by Divine inspiration, either on his own or through the prophet Samuel.

(15) **Of the gold lampstands.** These are the ten lampstands that Solomon made (2 Chr 4:7). We do not find that he made silver lampstands, however. To what, then, does “**and of the silver lampstands**” refer?<sup>638</sup> It appears that he made silver lampstands for the priests’ quarters in order to give them light, since they ate and slept there. But it was the gold ones that were in the Great Hall—ten of them: five to the right of the one that Moses made, and five to the left of it.<sup>639</sup>

Similarly, it was the gold tables (v. 16) that were for the bread of display, while the silver tables (v. 16) were used for slaughtering and for placing upon them the flesh of the burnt offering to be cut up. For even though the text does not mention this in the account of the construction of the Temple (2 Chr 3:1–4:22), we learn it from the construction of the Temple that Ezekiel witnessed in a prophetic vision.<sup>640</sup>

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636. Compare Radak at Gen 6:5 and in *Shorashim*, entry יצר. At Gen 8:21, however, he explains that the evil impulse in particular is called a *yeşer*, because a person is created (*yşr*) with it, while the impulse for good is not active until he matures.

637. See above, 25:2, and our remarks there.

638. This sentence does not appear in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later clarification.

639. This is based on Bavli *Menaḥot* 98b; see also below, 2 Chr 4:7, and Radak at 2 Chr 4:6.

640. Ezekiel 40:39-41 mentions tables used for slaughtering; so Radak

(17) **And of the keforei (כפורי) zahav ("keforim of gold").** Our Sages, of blessed memory, explained that these are dashing instruments. For they said (*b. Zev.* 25a): "And with what would he wipe away the blood from the knife? With the rim of the dashing instrument, as it says: 'And of the keforei zahav.'" They were called this because they were used for wiping the knife clean, as in "*mekhapper* (מכפר) it with a worn out cloth" (see *b. Hul.* 8b), which means "he wipes it off." This is always the sense of *kapparah* (כפרה).<sup>641</sup>

(18) **And the gold for the figure of the chariot—the cherubs.** This means: for the figure of the chariot of the holy creatures—for the faces of the cherubim were indeed on them.<sup>642</sup>

**Le-poresim ve-sokhekhim.** This means: *lihyot poresim* ("so that they might spread") their wings *ve-sokhekhim* ("and cover") **over the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord.**

(19) **Everything in writing from the hand of the Lord.** This means: You have here everything written down neatly, the way the Lord, by His hand that was **upon me**, made me understand **the plan of all the works (mal'akhot ha-tavnit)**. For as we have written (v. 12), it was all told to him by Samuel the seer through prophecy. *Mal'akhot* is a plural noun, the construct form of *melakhot*: the *alef* becomes vocalized in the construct state. It is the same when with a possessive ending: "that I may recount all *mal'akhotekha* ('your works') (Ps 73:28).<sup>643</sup>

suggests that those are the silver ones mentioned here in v. 16. The passage in Ezekiel says nothing about cutting up the burnt offering, and this alleged use of the tables appears to be no more than Radak's speculation. Similarly, Ezek 40:45-46 mentions the priests' quarters but makes no reference to any lampstands to be placed there.

641. In *Shorashim*, entry כפר, Radak interprets *koferei zahav* to mean "spoons of gold" before citing the rabbis' position.

642. Since the Temple contained a sculpture of the cherubs but not of the entire Divine chariot, the verse must be referring only to the cherubs themselves. Nonetheless, writes Radak, the text is justified in referring initially to the "figure of the chariot," since the cherubs are indeed *among* the creatures in the chariot (see Ezek 10:14).

643. The grammatical discussion in this comment appears in only one family of text witnesses and is presumably Radak's later addition. It also does not appear in printed editions.

180 1 Chronicles 28:21–29:1

(21) **And with you in all the work are all who volunteer, in their skill (*le-kol nadiv ba-ḥokhmah*) for any task**—in the sense of “anyone whose heart *yiddevennu* (‘prompts him to volunteer’) to undertake the performance of the task” (see Exod 36:2).<sup>644</sup> That is, skilled men<sup>645</sup> are with you in all the work and in anything they volunteer (*be-kol asher yitnaddevu*) to do.<sup>646</sup> **And the officers and the entire nation are prepared for anything you might need.**

29 (1) **An untried lad.** [The Sages] have said (*Seder Olam* 14) that Solomon was twelve years old when he became king. For in the immediate context of his birth the text recounts the story of Amnon and Tamar, and says: “Two years later, Absalom was having his flocks sheared” (2 Sam 13:23); he then killed Amnon, fled to Geshur, and stayed there three years (2 Sam 13:38), for a total of five; Absalom then returned to Jerusalem and remained there for two years (2 Sam 14:28), for a total of seven, at which point he rebelled against his father and was killed (2 Sam 15:18); after that “there was a famine during the reign of David for three years” (2 Sam 21:1), for a total of ten; the following year David counted the Israelites, and it says, “they

644. Radak’s intention might be that *nadiv* in our verse, like *yiddevenu* in Exodus, refers to one who volunteers to work, not to one who donates money. The verse in Exodus, however, properly reads *nesa’o* (“moves him”), not *yiddevenu*. The erroneous citation, then, would be critical to the desired parallel.

Alternatively, Eisemann (1987, 351) takes Radak to mean that the *lamed* prefix in *le-kol* is to be disregarded, so that *le-kol nadiv* means “anyone who volunteers” to work—just as the verse in Exodus speaks of “anyone” who is so moved. It is generally Radak’s practice, however, to be more explicit when suggesting that a *lamed* is extraneous; see, e.g., his comment at 1 Chr 3:2. Furthermore, Radak appears to provide a different syntactical analysis in the next line (however problematically), paraphrasing *le-kol nadiv* with the phrase *be-kol asher yitnaddevu*.

645. I translate “skilled men,” based on the Hebrew *ḥakhamim*, apparently the correct text but attested only in a secondary witness, the commentary of R. Samuel Masnut in ms Vatican 97. In most text witnesses an entire line is omitted here by homoioteleuton.

646. Radak’s formulation here, which suggests that skilled men were to help in “all the work” and “in anything [else?] they volunteer to do,” is rather unclear and does not seem justified by the verse, which, while syntactically enigmatic, seems to speak of just one category: tasks for which skilled men will volunteer and which involve every aspect of the work.

traversed the country ... nine months" (2 Sam 24:8), for a total of eleven; and in the year of David's death, the fortieth year of his reign (vv. 27-28), he instituted the shifts (1 Chr 26:31),<sup>647</sup> for a total of twelve.<sup>648</sup>

(2) **The gold for the gold and the silver for the silver.** This means: I laid aside the gold for whatever requires gold, and silver for whatever requires silver.

**Stones of *pukh* and *riqmah*.** This means: garments of *riqmah* ("woven colors") and stones of *pukh*.

**Every kind of precious stone**—for the walls of the Temple, as the text says concerning the construction of the Temple, "[Solomon] studded the Temple with precious stones" (2 Chr 3:6), and **marble** too for the walls of the Temple, and for the floor. *Pukh* is stibium: possibly, these were stibium stones; or they were precious stones that looked like stibium.<sup>649</sup>

(3) **Mi-kol hakhinoti.** [This means:] *Mi-kol* asher *hakhinoti* ("[in addition to] all that I laid aside").

(4) **For covering the walls of the houses.** But it was with *gold* that they covered the walls, as it says: "He overlaid the entire house with gold" (1 Kgs 6:22)! How then could the text say that he laid aside the *silver* to cover the walls? We can suggest that "for covering" refers to the thousands of gold talents that it mentioned. But in a rabbinic source (*Song Rab.* 3:9-10) [we find]: "For covering the walls of the houses" — was it really *kesef* ("silver")? It was gold! Why then was it called *kesef*? Because it would put to shame (*mekhassef*) all the gold dealers.<sup>650</sup>

647. See Radak there.

648. This entire comment is based on *Seder Olam*. See Milikowsky's forthcoming edition for a discussion of the calculations. Compare also Radak at 1 Kgs 3:7.

649. See *Shorashim*, entry פוך (compare also כהל), where Radak indicates that carbuncle looks like stibium.

650. That is, the quality of this silver made it more striking than gold. See Radak on the verse in Kings, where he adds an additional solution. This entire comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

182 1 *Chronicles* 29:7-11

(7) **Ten thousand *adarkhons*.** [This was] a coin known to them.

(10) **God of Israel our father.** “Our father” refers to Israel.<sup>651</sup> The text mentions our father Jacob in connection with the construction of the Temple because Jacob was the first to say to the Lord that the House of God ought to be built, as it says: “And this stone, which I have set up as a pillar, shall be the House of God” (Gen 28:22).

But in *Genesis Rabba* (70:1-2) it is explained that the text mentions “Israel our father” because of the donations that they pledged (v. 9), for he was the first to make vows, as it says: “Jacob then made a vow, saying (*lemor*)” (Gen 28:20): “What is *lemor*? *Lemor* (‘In order to convey’) to subsequent generations that they should make vows in their times of crisis. Since Jacob was the first to utter a vow, anyone who makes a vow should make it reliant on him only. [Accordingly,] Rabbi Abahu said: It says: ‘how he swore to the Lord, vowed to the Mighty One of Jacob’ (Ps 132:2). It does not say ‘to the Mighty One of Abraham, to the Mighty One of Isaac,’ just ‘to the Mighty One of Jacob,’ making the vow reliant on the one who first uttered one. Rabbi Huna said in the name of Rabbi Idi: It says: ‘The nation rejoiced over the donations they made,’ etc. ‘And David blessed the Lord,’ etc., ‘[and David said:] Blessed are You, Lord, God of Israel our father’ (vv. 9-10). It does not say ‘God of Abraham, God of Isaac,’ just ‘God of Israel,’ making the vow reliant on the one who first uttered one.”

(11) **Yours, Lord, are greatness and might, etc.** This means: All this greatness and might that I have had, and my triumph over all the nations and my attainment of splendor, majesty and glory over them, are entirely Yours, since I received the strength from You. And all the gold and silver that I took from them and dedicated to You is entirely Yours, as it says: “for all is from You, and it is Your gift that we have given to You” (v. 14).

**Because everything in heaven and on earth—to You, Lord, belongs king-**

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651. That is, “our father” does not refer to “God” but rather to “Israel,” the noun that is closer to it. The same is true according to Pseudo-Rashi and the midrash cited by Radak below and is the preference of several modern scholars; see the discussion in Dirksen (2005, 348). The Munich 5 author, however, suggests that it indeed refers to God, who is our father, as the verse concludes, “from eternity to eternity.” But the more accepted reading of this concluding phrase—and the one implied by Radak—is that it modifies not “our father” but the verb at the beginning of the sentence: “Blessed are You, Lord ... from eternity to eternity.”

**ship.** This means: Pertaining to whatever is in heaven and on earth, to You, Lord, belongs kingship; that is, in Your capacity as king, You rule over everything that is in heaven and on earth.<sup>652</sup>

**And *ha-mitnassei le-kol le-rosh*.** This means *le-kol ha-rashim* ("above all the leaders") and kings: You are *ha-mitnassei* ("the One who is preeminent") above them all.<sup>653</sup> (The *lamed* of *le-rosh* gives the meaning: above all who are appointed *le-rosh* ["to be leaders"].)<sup>654</sup> But our Sages, of blessed memory, interpreted:<sup>655</sup> Anyone *ha-mitnassei* ("who is preeminent") and *kol she-*

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652. Radak apparently disputes the masoretic punctuation of the verse, according to which "to You, Lord, belongs kingship" is a new thought, and "because everything in heaven and earth" is apparently an independent, elliptical assertion that everything is *Yours*. (See Dirksen [2005, 349] concerning the likelihood that the word *lekha*—"Yours"—dropped out by haplography.)

See Pseudo-Rashi, who follows the masorah, as does Ibn Ezra in his theological commentary on these verses (see Mondschein [2006, 40 and 50]). See also the marginal insertion incorporated into R. Joseph Bekhor Shor's comment on Gen 36:12, where it is suggested that this phrase serves a dual function, completing the previous thought (as for Radak) *and* comprising a new one.

653. For a list of early exegetes and poets who interpret "You are *ha-mitnassei*," and a discussion of Ibn Ezra's sharp rejection of this option and of his own creative alternative, see Mondschein (2006, 40-41 and n. 139). See also the rejection of the reading "You are *ha-mitnassei*" in Japhet (1993, 510), and her suggested translation, "to you the Lord belongs the kingdom and the *exaltation* as supreme above all."

654. *Le-rosh* appears to mean "those appointed to be leaders" also according to the rabbinic view that Radak cites below. The placement of this sentence here is therefore misleading, and gives the impression that it applies only to Radak's first explanation. The sentence, however, appears in only one branch of text witnesses, which suggests that Radak inserted it at a later point without careful regard for its position within the comment. On this reading of *le-rosh*, see also Ibn Ezra, and the remarks in Mondschein (2006, 8) concerning its difficulty.

655. Radak is inferring how the rabbis read the phrase based on the midrash that he cites at the end of the comment.



## 184 1 Chronicles 29:11-18

*hu rosh* ("anyone who is a leader")<sup>656</sup> over anything is "to You": what he has is all from You.<sup>657</sup> In their words (*b. Ber.* 58a): "Even the appointment of a foreman over cistern diggers is from heaven."

(15) **And inhabitants like all our fathers.** This means: If we are inhabitants of the world, we are inhabitants only as were our fathers, who died and are no longer. So we are really sojourners: like a **shadow**, which goes away quickly, so are **our days on earth**.

**And there is no source of hope.** There is no hope for a person to remain in the world for a long time, since his days are fixed.<sup>658</sup>

(16) **All this *hamon*.** This is like *mamon* ("assets"), that is, the masses of silver, gold, and other things. It is the same for "than much *hamon* for the wicked" (Ps 37:16).<sup>659</sup>

(17-18) **That You search the heart.** This means: You search hearts and desire uprightness of the heart; so You know **the uprightness of my heart**—for what **I donated** was with an upright heart. And it is also You who knows what is in the heart of **Your people** who (*asher*) **are present (*nimše'u*) here**.

656. In this paraphrase of the text, the word "and" appears to take the place of the *lamed* of *le-kol*. It is not clear what justifies such an interpretation.

657. *Ha-mitnassei*, then, refers to humans, not to God as it does in Radak's (and the Targum's) reading; and the phrase is connected to the word *lekha* ("to You"), which yields: "To You, Lord, belong kingship, and anyone who is preeminent, and all who are appointed to be leaders." This is also Pseudo-Rashi's reading. As above, Radak himself connects "to You, Lord, belongs kingship" to the phrase *before* it, in conflict with the masoretic tradition.

658. Radak here uses the expression *ki haruṣim yamav*, based on Job 14:5, which, in *Shorashim*, entry חרץ, he explains to mean that a person's lifespan is fixed by Divine decree. Compare this entire comment to Radak at Ps 39:13.

659. On the verse in Psalms, Radak adds that *hamon* there might carry its broader, more common meaning of a large amount, so that it need not be the equivalent of *mamon*, which denotes assets. His remarks in *Shorashim*, entry המן, also leave this impression. Our comment appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is presumably Radak's later addition, so that it is possible that it postdates the comment on Psalms.

I did however see the **joy** with which they donated **to You**, and it seems to me that they too donated with an upright heart. So just as their heart is upright today, **keep it like this forever**—that **the thoughts in their mind** and their **hearts** be steadfast **toward You**. The *hei* of *ha-nimše'u* ("who are present")<sup>660</sup> is in place of *asher*: the same is true for "*he-halekhu* ("who had gone") with him" (Josh 10:24),<sup>661</sup> and others besides these, as we have written in the *Mikhlol* (43b-44a).

(22) **They again proclaimed Solomon king.** For on a different occasion David had proclaimed him king—when Bathsheba came to him along with the prophet Nathan, who commanded him on that day to anoint him and proclaim him king, as it says in the book of Samuel (see 1 Kings 1:15-35).<sup>662</sup> But then, the only Israelites who were present were the people of Jerusalem. So David subsequently gathered all the officers of Israel from all the tribes, and in front of them proclaimed him king again.

**And they anointed before the Lord *le-nagid u-le-Šadoq* the priest.** This means: They anointed *him* before the Lord *le-nagid* ("as a ruler"), *u-le-Šadoq* ("and Zadok") they anointed as high priest. Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. San.* 20b-21a), used this verse as a source [for their claim] that of the spoils that the Israelites took from their enemies, half went to the king and half to the people: "The text juxtaposes 'Zadok' to 'ruler': just as in the case of Zadok half went to him and half to his fellow priests, as it says 'They shall belong to Aaron and his sons' (Lev 24:9),<sup>663</sup> so too in the case of the ruler, half went to him and half to the people."

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660. The biblical text contains the word *ha-nimše'u*, which Radak had paraphrased as *asher nimše'u*.

661. Compare Radak there.

662. Radak's reference to the book of Samuel appears to be in error. One branch of text witnesses indeed says "Kings" instead of "Samuel," but this is probably a scribal correction.

This entire comment and all but the first sentence of the next one are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak's later additions.

663. Zadok, like Aaron, was a high priest. The rabbis here deduce from the verse in Leviticus that the high priest received a portion of the bread of display equal to those of the rest of the priests combined. On the midrashic principle that generates this inference, see the discussion in Epstein (1903-4, *ad loc.*).

186 1 *Chronicles* 29:25

(25) **And He endowed [Solomon] with regal majesty.** For the whole world feared him and exalted him. The text in the book of Daniel says in the negative: “and they did not endow him with regal majesty” (Dan 11:21).<sup>664</sup>

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<sup>664</sup>. The reference there is to “the king of the north,” not to Solomon. Radak is merely drawing attention to the terminological similarity.

## 2 Chronicles

**1 (2-3) *Va-yomer* Solomon to all Israel, etc., and Solomon and all the assemblage went.** This means: He told them (*amar la-hem*) to go **to the shrine at Gibeon**, the copper altar that **Moses had made**, and they went.<sup>665</sup> This is similar to “*Va-yomer* the Lord to the fish and it spewed Jonah out” (Jonah 2:11): He told it to spew him out, and it did so.<sup>666</sup> And the same for “*Va-yomer* the Lord to the angel and he returned his sword to its sheath” (1 Chr 21:27).<sup>667</sup>

**(6) And on it [Solomon] sacrificed a thousand burnt offerings**—before he returned from there to Jerusalem, but not all at once.<sup>668</sup>

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665. That is, in this case, *va-yomer*—generally translated “said”—is not followed by any standard type of indication of what was said. Rather, this is a rare example where it combines with a subsequent verb, in this case “went,” which produces the meaning: “Solomon told all Israel [to go] . . . and they went.”

Radak’s identification of the shrine that “Moses had made” as the copper altar—a later addition not attested in mss Paris and Munich—is based on the reference to the “copper altar that Bezalel had made” in v. 5, for Bezalel built it under Moses’ direction. Note that the phrase “that Moses had made” in our verse refers to the Tent of Meeting, which housed the altar, not to the altar specifically, as in Radak’s formulation.

666. Radak’s formulation in his comment there is that God “provoked its desire to spit him out,” not that He told it to do so.

667. That is, He prompted the angel to return his sword to its sheath.

668. Compare the end of Radak’s remarks at 1 Kgs 8:64; and contrast the position of the rabbis in Bavli *Zevahim* 59b, cited by Radak at 1 Kgs 3:4,

(13) **Solomon went *la-bamah asher be-Giv'on* to Jerusalem.** The *lamed* of *la-bamah* is not in place of a *mem*, as R. Jonah [ibn Janah] has written (*Riqmah* 55-56),<sup>669</sup> for one is the opposite of the other! After all, *lamed* indicates movement toward, while *mem* indicates movement away from—so how could one be in place of the other?<sup>670</sup> Rather, the meaning is as follows: Solomon went—that is, he [first] went—*la-bamah asher be-Giv'on* (“to the shrine at Gibeon”); he [then] went to Jerusalem, [that is,] **from before the Tent of Meeting** that was in Gibeon he went to Jerusalem;<sup>671</sup> **and he reigned over Israel.**

In a midrashic vein, our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Yoma* 53a), explained [the phrase] as follows: When Solomon went from Gibeon to Jerusalem, his face was *la-bamah asher be-Giv'on* (“toward the shrine at Gibeon”), just as it was when he went *there*; that is, out of respect for the shrine, when he left the building that it was in, he walked backward, fac-

who contend that Solomon indeed sacrificed all these offerings at once. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich, and Radak probably added it later after considering (and rejecting) the rabbis’ view.

669. For Ibn Janah, the phrase reads: “Solomon went *from* the shrine at Gibeon to Jerusalem.” Some modern scholars indeed insert a *mem* prefix, based on the Greek; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 521). But see Dillard (1987, 8-9), who, like Radak, makes a creative effort to account for the *lamed*.

670. A similar formulation appears in Radak at 2 Sam 6:2, where he argues that *mem* cannot appear in place of *lamed*.

671. The verb “went” in the text then governs both “to the shrine at Gibeon” and “to Jerusalem from before the Tent of Meeting.” Perhaps Radak had in mind that a conjunctive *vav* is elided, so that the verse means that Solomon went to one place “and” to the other. The masoretic punctuation marks (*te’amim*), which provide for a longer pause after “to Jerusalem” than before it, appear to be at odds with Radak’s reading; but see Radak at Hos 12:12, where he expresses his willingness to depart from masoretic punctuation. (See also the Targum, which supports Radak’s reading that Solomon “went” to both places and renders the phrase “from before the tent of meeting” in a way that might justify the substantial pause that precedes it.)

Eisemann (1992, 6) presents a different understanding of Radak, but his interpretation is based on the corrupt text found in printed editions.

ing the shrine.<sup>672</sup> They derived from this (*b. Yoma* 53a) that the same was true when the priests would take leave of their service, the Levites their stands, and the Israelites their posts:<sup>673</sup> they would not turn back their faces and go but would turn them sideways. And the same holds true for a student taking leave of his mentor (*b. Yoma* 53a).

(14) **And he placed [the charioteers] in the chariot towns.** [This means:] in towns where horses were raised, that is, cattle country.<sup>674</sup>

(15) **As stones.** This is not referring to the value. Rather, it is that the gold and silver in Jerusalem was as plentiful as its stones—it is an exaggeration.<sup>675</sup> In a midrashic source (*y. San.* 13a) [we find]: “‘As stones’—and they did not get stolen?<sup>676</sup> Rabbi Jose says: [They were like] stones of ten or eight cubits.”<sup>677</sup>

(16) **And Solomon’s holdings in the exportation of horses from Egypt.** On the book of Kings, my master, my father, of blessed memory, explained

672. Thus, the verse means that Solomon traveled to Jerusalem—but still facing Gibeon, just as when he had gone there. If Radak means to present this as a new syntactic alternative, the *exclusive* meaning of *la-bamah asher be-Giv’on* would have to be “[while facing] the shrine at Gibeon.” According to Rashi’s comment on the talmudic passage, however, the rabbis see two independent clauses here, just as Radak does in his preferred reading: Solomon went to Gibeon, and then—as the awkward formulation implies—while still facing Gibeon he proceeded to go to Jerusalem.

673. These are standard terms used to indicate these groups’ respective roles in the service of the Temple.

674. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 10:26.

675. This last phrase and the remainder of the comment are not attested in all text witnesses and appear to be Radak’s later addition. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 10:27.

676. The midrash apparently understood that gold and silver were so plentiful that they lined the streets “like stones.” If this is the case, then in contrast to Radak’s first explanation, the midrash might not have considered the analogy to the quantity of stones to be an exaggeration.

677. This is based on 1 Kgs 7:10. The point is that the gold and silver were too heavy to steal.

190 2 *Chronicles* 1:16–2:1

that Pharaoh transferred to him the expenses and profits generated by Egypt's exportation of horses, which [Solomon] would then lease to merchants on a yearly basis. This, then, is [the meaning of] "they would purchase the collection rights (*miqveh*) for a price" (1 Kgs 10:28)—the sense of *miqveh* is collection.<sup>678</sup> In Kings *miqveh* is spelled with a *hei*, and here with an *alef*, because the letters *alef*, *hei*, *vav*, and *yod* can interchange.

**(17) A chariot for six hundred [shekels of] silver, and a horse for one hundred and fifty.** From here we derive that a chariot consists of four horses.<sup>679</sup>

**By their hand (*be-yadam*) they would take out.** [This means:] with their permission; that is, all the kings that took horses out of Egypt would do so through (*'al yad*) the merchants who purchased the exportation rights from King Solomon, and they would pay one hundred and fifty [shekels of] silver per horse.

**2 (1) Solomon counted out seventy thousand porters.** All these—the porters, the hewers, and the **supervisors**—were alien converts, as it says just below: "Solomon counted all the alien converts," etc. (v. 16).<sup>680</sup>

**Three thousand six hundred.** But in Kings [it says] "three thousand three hundred" (1 Kgs 5:30)! Rashi, of blessed memory, explains that the three hundred [not included] were prefects over all of them. For the three thousand three hundred were appointed over the porters and hewers, who numbered one hundred and fifty thousand combined—one thousand one hundred for each fifty thousand, as it says "and their supervisors: three thousand six hundred"—and three hundred of the six hundred were over all of them.<sup>681</sup>

678. Radak discusses this at greater length at 1 Kgs 10:28. See also *Shorashim*, entry קנה. The intention is that there was an export tariff on horses taken out of Egypt, but that Pharaoh transferred the entire responsibility, along with the revenues, to Solomon, who in turn transferred it to independent businessmen. If Radak's father provided this explanation in a written work, it is one that we do not possess.

679. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 10:29.

680. These alien converts included those who performed the tasks mentioned here, as the text states explicitly in v. 17. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 5:29. I translate *gerim* "alien converts," as it is used in rabbinic parlance, based on the end of Radak's comment at v. 16. See also *Shorashim*, entry גר.

681. See Rashi at 1 Kgs 5:30, and compare Radak there. See also Radak below, 2 Chr 8:10.



(3) **This is Israel's duty forever.** This means: This commandment—that of the offerings—is Israel's duty forever not just for a limited period; so I must build a good and strong Temple.<sup>682</sup> In a midrashic vein, our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Men.* 110a), explained that this refers to scholars immersed in the laws of service: the text considers it to be as if the Sanctuary were built in their days.<sup>683</sup>

(6) **And in argevan.** This is like *argaman*; the Targum renders *argaman*: “*argevana*” (Exod 25:4). It is a reddish color. *Karmil* is also a reddish color; but while *argaman* is the reddish color called *laque* (“lacquer”),<sup>684</sup> *karmil* is the worm-color *shani*, that is, crimson.<sup>685</sup>

(7) **And alummim.** This is like *almuggim* (1 Kgs 10:11). It refers to the red-colored wood called ‘*al baqam*’ in Arabic, and *Brasil* in the vernacular.<sup>686</sup> But some explain it to mean coral.<sup>687</sup>

(8) **Will be great and wondrous.** This means: [The Temple] will be great, and wondrous in its greatness.

(9) **Makkot for your servants.** This is like “as food (*makkolet*) for his household” in Kings (1 Kgs 5:25).<sup>688</sup> R. Jonah [ibn Janah] (*Shorashim*, כחת) writes that it is of the root *kt* (“to grind”), so that it means ground wheat. But my

682. Compare the language of Pseudo-Rashi.

683. This is among the midrashic citations not attested in mss Paris and Munich, which Radak apparently added later.

684. This rendering of *argaman* is one of two options presented by Radak in *Shorashim*, entry ארגמן. See also entries חלע and שן.

685. Compare *Shorashim*, entry כרמל.

686. In English, this wood is known as pernambuco or Brazilwood; compare, respectively, the two foreign words cited by Radak. The reference to the Arabic term does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late. As noted by Talmage (1975, 63), Arabic was not Radak's most familiar language.

687. This is the view of Rashi and Kara on the verse in Kings. See also Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry לגם.

688. According to Radak there, *makkolet* is related to *ma'akhal*, which means food.

192 2 *Chronicles* 2:9-13

master, my father, of blessed memory (*Zikkaron*, p. 15), writes that it is from *nkt*, as in *ve-nakkitu*, the Targum of *va-yenashekhu* (“and they bit,” Num 21:6). [So it means] “a bite for your servants,” as if to say “food.”<sup>689</sup>

This was food for the woodcutters; but what is mentioned in Kings was food for Hiram’s household, compensation for the use of his servants (1 Kgs 5:20, 25).<sup>690</sup>

(13) **The son of a Danite woman.**<sup>691</sup> But in Kings [it says]: “[The craftsman] was the son of a widow, from the tribe of *Naphtali*” (1 Kgs 7:14)! It was his father who was from the tribe of Naphtali:<sup>692</sup> the reason [his father] is called **a Tyrian** is that he *lived* in Tyre. Compare “Obed-edom the Gittite” (2 Sam 6:10): he was in fact a Levite (1 Chr 15:18), but was called a Gittite because he lived in Gath. So this man, too, was called a Tyrian because he lived in Tyre. The mother was from the tribe of Dan, though, as it says: “a Danite woman.”

**He is skilled at working in gold.** It is either that *he* was, or that his father was as well. The same is true in Kings for “And his father had been a Tyrian, a coppersmith” (1 Kgs 7:14): “a coppersmith” might refer to him or to his father.<sup>693</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Ara.* 16b), interpreted this to refer to his father and cited it to support [the principle] that a person is obligated to engage himself in his father’s craft. For the reason the text mentions his father is that he was a craftsman also—and his son learned his craft.

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689. Compare *Shorashim*, entry כֹּתֵךְ.

690. Indeed, here the text says that Solomon gave this food to the workers, while there it indicates that he sent food to Hiram for his household. The specific foods and amounts mentioned in the two contexts are also not the same, which suggests that they refer to different matters.

691. One family of text witnesses adds “a widow” to this lemma. This is also the way Radak cites this verse at 1 Kgs 7:14, in keeping with the language in that parallel verse. Such a variant of the biblical text does appear in Ginsburg (1926).

692. Thus, he too was a Naphtalite, and the verse in Kings refers to him when saying “from the tribe of Naphtali” (see Radak there).

693. Concerning this verse, Radak writes above, “or that his father was *as well*,” also his formulation in the Kings commentary regarding the verse

(15) **Rafsodot (“rafts”).** This is the same as *doverot* in Kings (1 Kgs 5:23): they consist of logs tied to one another at the front, which were guided along rivers and the sea.<sup>694</sup> That is why they are called *doverot*, which has the sense of guiding (*hanhagah*): the Targum of *va-yinhag* (Gen 31:18) is *u-devar*. They were also called *rafsodot*, though. In the Mishnah’s terminology [this is called] an *asda*: [concerning the phrase] “If he was sitting in a boat or an *asda*” (*Ber.* 4:6), the Talmud Yerushalmi [explains] (*Ber.* 35b): *Asda, akhsera*,<sup>695</sup> and *rafsodot* are one and the same.

(16) **The *sefar* (“census”).** This is a noun, in the pattern of *eyal* (“strength,” Ps 88:5), *serad* (“service,” Exod 39:1), and *she’ar* (“remnant,” Isa 10:21).<sup>696</sup>

**By which [Solomon’s] father David had counted [the alien converts]**—as it says above: “David gave orders to assemble the alien converts living in the land of Israel, and assigned them to be hewers” (1 Chr 22:2).<sup>697</sup> But later on Solomon counted them again, because their numbers had grown since the time he became king. It is possible that these alien converts<sup>698</sup> were the remnant of the Amorite, Hittite, Perizzite, and Jebusite nations, in accordance with what the text says just below (8:7); for Solomon subjected them

there. The intention appears to be that even if these descriptions relate primarily to this individual’s father, they relate to himself also by implication, as the context would seem to suggest.

This entire comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition. At 2 Chr 4:16, in what is also apparently a later addition—but perhaps not inserted at precisely the same time as this one—Radak takes for granted that these descriptions do relate to the father.

694. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entries דבר and רפסד.

695. Our editions of the Yerushalmi read *akhsarya*.

696. See also *Shorashim*, entry ספר. On this noun pattern in general, see *Mikhlol* 145a-146a.

697. There is no actual indication there that David counted them, only that he assembled them and put them to work. But Radak assumes that the census mentioned here took place at that point.

698. This means all the alien converts, not just the additional ones that Solomon needed to add to the total.

194 2 *Chronicles* 2:16–3:2

to forced labor “to this very day” (2 Chr 8:8) to perform his tasks, and [to work on] the cities he arranged to have built.<sup>699</sup>

They are called alien converts because they were not idol worshipers, for in the days of David and Solomon, when the Israelites had the upper hand, they did not permit them to worship idols. It was on this condition that they permitted them to reside in the land; and David and Solomon made them into hewers, porters, and general laborers (v. 17).

**3 (2) In the second month, *ba-sheni* (“on/in the second”).** This means: on the second day of the week.<sup>700</sup> Alternatively, it is a repetition, as in: “until the tenth month; in the tenth [month], on the first of the month” (Gen 8:5).<sup>701</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Rosh Hash. 3a*), said that the reason the text says *ba-sheni* is to convey that [the number of years of the reign of] Israelite kings is counted from Nisan. That is, it says “In the second

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699. While Radak indicates below that David had already put them to work, possibly it was Solomon who made this into a permanent arrangement.

700. In Bavli *Rosh Hashanah 3a*, part of which Radak cites below, this possibility is rejected on the grounds that nowhere else does such a number signify a day of the week. Radak was apparently unpersuaded by this objection. Radak does not, however, allow for the suggestion that *ba-sheni* means on the second day of the month. While this would seem to be an attractive explanation—it is in fact how the Targum renders it—the Talmud rejects this too on the grounds that the text does not say “on the second of the month.” It is likely that Radak did find this objection compelling. It should be noted, however, that Radak’s citation of the talmudic passage does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently his later addition, so that it is not absolutely certain that he had its arguments in mind when offering his initial explanation.

701. The full verse reads: “The waters went on diminishing until the tenth month; in the tenth [month], on the first of the month, the tops of the mountains became visible.” It can be argued that the repetition of “the tenth” is necessary in that case, in order to clarify that it was indeed on the first day of the tenth month when the tops of the mountains emerged. Otherwise, “on the first of the month” might have referred to an earlier month, and, as Radak himself observes there, “the tenth month” could have meant when the waters receded completely. See Pseudo-Rashi, whose application of this parallel appears to be somewhat different from Radak’s.

month, in the second” because the month that is second in the yearly cycle is also second for counting [the years] of Israelite kings.<sup>702</sup>

(3) **It is these with which Solomon *husad* to build the House of God.** This means: These are the characteristics and the dimensions with which Solomon *husad* to build the House of God. *Husad* means “was advised,” similar to *yissad ha-melekh* (“the king established,” Esth 1:8), *yissadta ‘oz* (“You have established strength,” Ps 8:3), and *nosedu yahad* (“plotted with one another,” Ps 2:2): they all have the sense of *yesod* (“a foundation”), since advice and guidance (*sod*) for action is like a *yesod* (“foundation”) for a building.<sup>703</sup> Solomon received the advice and guidance for the construction of the Temple from his father David, as it says above: “David gave his son Solomon the plan of the porch” (1 Chr 28:11).

**By the former measure.** This means: by the measure<sup>704</sup> by which the Tabernacle and its furnishings were made—this cubit is equal to that one. It says in the Mishnah (*Kel.* 17:10): “The cubit was six fistlengths for the building, and five for the furnishings.”

**Sixty cubits.** The inner Sanctuary was included in this.<sup>705</sup>

(4) **The porch that, spanning the length, spanning the width of the Temple.** This means: The porch that was positioned along the width of the Temple spanned **twenty** cubits in length, because its length spanned the width

702. This rabbinic citation is among those not attested in mss Paris and Munich and apparently was added by Radak at a later point.

703. These analogies, as well as the form of the verb itself, might suggest that the root of *husad* is יסד; and indeed, this is the impression given by Radak in *Shorashim*, entry יסד. In entry סוד, however, he writes that the root of *husad* is in fact סוד, which can denote advice. Such roots are often closely related (such as יצר and צור; יטב and טוב), as Radak writes in *Mikhlol* 88b-89a. Thus, it is probably his intention effectively to equate יסד and סוד—for as he writes here, a “*sod* (סוד) for action is like a *yesod* (יסוד) for a building”—even though this pair is not among the examples he cites in the *Mikhlol*.

704. Printed editions, based on ms Paris, read, “This means: The cubits were by the former measure—by the measure....” This might well be original.

705. As Radak clarifies at 1 Kgs 6:2, the measurement includes the *Hekhal* (Great Hall) and the *Devir* (inner Sanctuary; Holy of Holies).

of the Temple. Since the longer surface is called the length and the shorter one the width, the “length” of the porch spanned the “width” of the Temple.<sup>706</sup>

**And the height [of the porch] was one hundred and twenty [cubits].** In the book of Kings, the text does not mention the height of the porch but does mention the height of the Temple: “and the height was thirty cubits” (1 Kgs 6:2).<sup>707</sup> It is possible that the porch alone was this tall and that it extended above the Temple. Alternatively, the entire Temple was the same height;<sup>708</sup> and when it says in Kings “and its height was thirty cubits” it means from the floor of the Temple to the ceiling, but above the ceiling there were upper stories ninety cubits high,<sup>709</sup> as it says “its storerooms and its upper chambers” (1 Chr 28:11). Indeed, it says [here]: “and the upper chambers he overlaid with gold” (v. 9).

But what I consider most likely is that the porch alone was this tall, because *it* contained the upper chambers. That is why the text relates the upper chambers to the porch when it says: “David gave his son Solomon the plan for the porch and its chambers, its storerooms, and *its upper chambers* and inner rooms” (1 Chr 2:9). After all, the description of the porch is not included with [that of] the Temple, nor is [the description of] the Temple included with [that of] the porch, either in the book of Kings or in this book. When it says “and the height was one hundred and twenty,” therefore, it refers to the porch alone. There cannot be an objection on the grounds that since it says “and *the* height was one hundred and twenty” rather than “and *its* height,” it seems to refer to the entire Temple; for after all, it says “spanning *the* length,” not “spanning *its* length.”<sup>710</sup>

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706. The porch, situated to the east of the Great Hall, spanned the entire width of the Temple, from north to south. Its length was therefore twenty cubits, equal to the Temple’s width. Its own width, from east to west, was just ten cubits; see 1 Kgs 6:3 and Radak there.

707. Compare Radak there.

708. That is, the entire Temple, like the porch, was one hundred and twenty cubits high. Compare Pseudo-Rashi.

709. One branch of text witnesses reads, “*three* upper stories, ninety cubits high,” which suggests that each one alone was thirty cubits high. But there does not appear to be an extant source that there were precisely three.

710. That is, even though the text does not say “spanning *its* length,” the reference is to the porch specifically.

When it says “David gave his son Solomon the plan for the porch,” this does not include the Great Hall and the inner Sanctuary. Rather, they are included in “and its chambers.” The text relates the Great Hall to [the porch] even though the Great Hall was longer than it: since the porch was the outer chamber, the text relates the inner chambers—that is, the Great Hall and the recesses in its walls—to [the porch]. It then mentions “the chamber of the Ark cover” (1 Chr 2:9)—that is, the *Devir*, where the Ark was—which was the innermost one.

But from what our Sages, of blessed memory, have said, it appears that there were upper chambers above the Great Hall and the inner Sanctuary also.<sup>711</sup>

(5) **The large chamber he paneled with cypress wood.** This is the Great Hall, which was the largest chamber, for its length was forty cubits.<sup>712</sup>

**Timorim.** [This means:] figures of *temarim* (“palms”).

(6) **Parvayim.** This is the name of a place. But our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Yoma* 45a), have said that [the gold] was red like the blood of bulls (*parim*).<sup>713</sup>

**The Holy of Holies.** This is the inner Sanctuary.

(10) **Sculptures of *ša’aṣu’im*.** This is like *še’eṣa’im* (“offspring”), as our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Suk.* 5b), have said: “*Keruv* (‘cherub’)—... *ke-ravia* (‘like a baby’),” for [the cherubim] had faces of children.<sup>714</sup> But some

711. Radak is probably referring to Mishnah *Middot* 4:5-6, which states that in the Second Temple, there was an upper chamber of forty cubits above the Great Hall and inner Sanctuary. This is yet another rabbinic allusion not attested in mss Paris and Munich and apparently Radak’s later addition.

712. That is, forty of the sixty cubits mentioned in v. 3 consisted of the length of the Great Hall; see 1 Kgs 6:17 and Radak there.

713. Again, the rabbinic citation does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and can be assumed to be late.

714. In *Shorashim*, entry כרוב, Radak cites this view of the origin of *keruv* only as a secondary possibility (see also Ibn Ezra’s longer commentary to Exod 25:18). Here also, in his effort to explain the word *ša’aṣu’im*, his intention is not necessarily to accept the assertion of origin but to draw support for his assumption that the cherubim had childlike faces.



198 2 Chronicles 3:10-13

explain that they were sculpted in a *karkov*-like (“rounded”) form, known in Arabic as *ṣan’at kharrat*.<sup>715</sup>

(11) **Le-ammot ḥamesh (“five cubits”).** The *lamed* is like the *lamed* of *ve-ha-shelishi le-Avshalom* (“and the third one Absalom,” cf. 1 Chr 3:2).<sup>716</sup>

(13) **Spread across twenty cubits**—as was the length of the Temple.<sup>717</sup> But there was no need for the bodies of the cherubim to stand miraculously, since the bodies were under the wings.<sup>718</sup>

**And they stood on their feet**—not like the ones Bezalel made, which were on the Ark at the two ends of its covering (Exod 37:6-9); for these stood on their feet on the floor of the Temple.<sup>719</sup>

**Facing the Temple.** But concerning the ones Bezalel made it says: “facing one another” (Exod 37:9)! It is possible to explain that they were altered in this respect, just as they were altered in that they stood on their feet and

715. In the editorial note on *Shorashim*, entry **צַעֲצַע**, it is explained that this Arabic expression refers to a vessel sculpted in a round shape. See also entry **כִּרְכַּב**. Radak’s explanation here is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

716. That is, the *lamed* signifies the “substance” of *ammot* and could have been left out. See our remarks at 1 Chr 3:2. The phrase there actually reads *ha-shelishi*, without a *vav*.

717. This either means the *width* of the Temple or the “length” of the inner Sanctuary (its span from north to south), which was the same twenty cubits as the width (i.e., north to south) of the Temple (v. 8).

718. In Bavli *Bava Batra* 99a, it is claimed that since the wingspan of the cherubim occupied the entire twenty-cubit length of the inner Sanctuary, there remained no room for their bodies. The bodies, then, must have miraculously occupied no space. Radak counters that the bodies were simply under the wings (compare the position of Abbaye in the talmudic passage). Like other rationalist reactions in the commentary, this is apparently Radak’s later addition, as it is not attested in mss Paris and Munich; see above, introduction, 14-15. See also Radak’s similar comment at 2 Chr 5:9 concerning the Ark and our remarks there.

719. See Bavli *Sukkah* 5b and Rashi s.v. *bi-shelish ha-bayit*.

were of olive wood overlaid with gold (1 Kgs 6:23, 28).<sup>720</sup> But our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Bava Batra* 99a), harmonized the two verses, and said that [the cherubim] faced sideways, like a student taking leave of his mentor.

(14) **[Solomon] made the curtain.** He made a curtain even though the inner Sanctuary had doors (1 Kgs 6:31-32); for they were not closed, in order that the poles be visible at the front of the inner Sanctuary.<sup>721</sup>

**And he worked cherubim into it.** There were designs of cherubim on the curtain. The text says the same thing concerning the curtain in the Tabernacle: “he shall work cherubim into it” (Exod 26:31).

(15) **Thirty-five cubits in length.** This refers to the measurement of the two columns together; for the height of one column was only eighteen (1 Kgs 7:15), and the same for the other—for a combined total of thirty-six. The reason the text says just thirty-five, though, leaving out one cubit, is that half a cubit of each was inserted into a capital.

The reason the text provides the height of the two columns together is that when they were cast, they were cast as one. The proof is that it says “length,” implying that it is providing the measurement at the time of the casting; for when they were cast, their height was in fact length.<sup>722</sup> In the book of Kings, however, the text provides their measurement after they were stood up in place, at which point they were vertical—so it provides their height. That is why it provides the measurement of each column independently—in height.<sup>723</sup>

**And the *sefet*.** This is the *koteret* (“capital”) mentioned in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 7:16), for there was a capital on top of each column (1 Kgs 7:16).

720. Those made by Bezalel were of pure gold (Exod 37:7). This clause is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late. See Radak at 1 Kgs 6:27, where he provides a different solution.

721. See Radak below, 5:9, and compare his remarks at 1 Kgs 6:32. This comment and the next are not attested in all text witnesses and are presumably Radak’s later additions.

722. That is, they are cast in a mold that lies in a horizontal position.

723. That is, they were divided into two before being lifted into a vertical position. Compare Radak on the verse in Kings.

200 2 *Chronicles* 3:15-16

It was five cubits, as the text says here: “**five cubits.**” But at the end of the book of Kings it says: “the capital was *three* cubits” (2 Kgs 25:17)! Our Sages, of blessed memory (*Baraita of the Forty-nine Principles*<sup>724</sup>), said: “The two bottom cubits of the capitals, which had no design, were identical to the columns, while the top three [cubits] extended outward by virtue of their surrounding design, as it says: ‘nets of meshwork’ (1 Kgs 7:17)—they were surrounded by the likeness of palm branches.”<sup>725</sup> At the end of Kings, then, it only counts the three upper cubits that had the meshwork on them. That is why it says right afterward, “and there was a meshwork [decorated] with pomegranates about the capital” (2 Kgs 25:17)—for it is speaking only of the three upper cubits that had the meshwork on them.

The reason the capital was called the *şefet* was that it was *şafuy* (“laid over”) the column.<sup>726</sup>

**(16) [Solomon] made chainwork upon the inner Sanctuary and he placed on top of the columns.** This is not saying that he placed the chainwork that was upon the inner Sanctuary on top of the columns, for the columns were on the porch in front of the Great Hall! What it means, rather, is that he made chainwork upon the inner Sanctuary, as it says in Kings, “He inserted bars of gold chainwork in front of the inner Sanctuary” (1 Kgs 6:21);<sup>727</sup> and, the text proceeds to say, “he placed on top of the columns,” which means that he placed [more] chainwork on top of the columns. But since it had

724. See p. 296 of *Oşar Midrashim* (Eisenstein 1915).

725. According to Rashi and Kara on 2 Kgs 25:16, the baraita means that the top two cubits of the columns were inserted into the bottom two cubits of the capitals. Radak above, however, indicated that only one-half cubit was inserted. As for the problem that generated Radak’s assumption, see the alternative solution of Rashi and Kara at 1 Kgs 7:15 (and see Radak there and at 1 Kgs 7:17). The presentation in the baraita seems more favorable to Radak’s reading: the bottom two cubits of the capitals stood above the columns (with the exception, for Radak, of the uppermost half-cubit of each column), and were equal in width to the columns because they were not ornamented by meshwork.

726. This assumes that the root of *şefet* (צפת) is צפה. In *Shorashim*, entry צפה, Radak cites an opinion that a *şefet* is a container and is of an independent root פת.

727. That is, he placed chainwork upon the east wall of the inner Sanctuary, on the outside; see Radak there.

already mentioned “chainwork,” it leaves [the word] out and relies on the reader’s understanding. Such is the method of the text in many places.

(17) **And [Solomon] called the [column] to the right *Yakhin*, and the one to the left *Bo’az*.** In the manner of straightforward interpretation, he called them this as a good omen: *Yakhin* in the sense of *hakhanah* (“securing”), which means that the Temple should be secured forever, and *Bo’az* in the sense of ‘oz (“strength”)—it is a compound word: *bo’oz* (“there is strength in it”)—which means that God should give [the Temple] strength and endurance.<sup>728</sup> Since the columns were at the entrance to the Temple, he called them names that would be a good omen for it.

**4 (2) Ten cubits from brim to brim.** That is, [the basin’s] diameter was ten cubits. And its circumference was thirty cubits, as it says, “**a perimeter of thirty cubits encircled it**,”<sup>729</sup> for anything with a circumference of three fistlengths has a diameter of one fistlength (*b. Eruv*. 14a).<sup>730</sup>

(3) **Figures of oxen were beneath it (*taḥat lo*), all around.** The word *lo* (“it”) refers to *sefato* (“its brim”), mentioned [above] (v. 2), as it says in Kings: “below the brim” (1 Kgs 7:24). Even though *safah* (“brim”) is feminine,<sup>731</sup> we nevertheless find *safah yihyeh* (“there shall be a binding,” Exod 28:32) in the masculine.<sup>732</sup> Alternatively, *lo* refers to *ha-yam* (“the basin”; v. 2),<sup>733</sup> and [*taḥat lo*] does not mean beneath it literally. Rather, it is that the figures of oxen were crafted into its lower portion.

728. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 7:21. For a similar modern perspective on the meaning of these names, see the discussion in Johnstone (1997, 1:322), and contrast the alternatives cited in Dillard (1987, 30). Contrast also Radak’s “straightforward interpretation” to the midrashic suggestions in Pseudo-Rashi and the Targum (and in *Yalqut Shimoni* on 1 Kings, 165).

729. This clause does not appear in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later addition.

730. Radak thus understands the measurements provided in the verse to conform to a rounded approximation of *pi*. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 7:23, and see the summary of modern perspectives in Dillard (1987, 35), who confirms that Radak’s reading is probably correct.

731. Thus, it would not appear to agree with *lo*, which is masculine.

732. That is, *safah* governs the masculine verb *yihyeh*.

733. *Yam* is a masculine noun, which would agree with *lo*.

202 2 *Chronicles* 4:3-4

The oxen mentioned here are the *peqa'im* mentioned in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 7:24)—and Targum Jonathan renders *peqa'im* “egglike figures.” So we are compelled to explain that their bodies were rounded in the shape of eggs, while their faces were in the likeness of oxen.<sup>734</sup>

**Ten cubits surrounded the basin, all around.** Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Eruv*. 14b), explained that the three lower cubits were square shaped, and that the two upper ones were round—for the height of the basin was five cubits (v. 2).<sup>735</sup> So the meaning of “ten cubits” is that the oxen were on the three lower cubits where the basin was square shaped; [that is,] the text says “ten cubits” because each of the sides—upon which were the oxen—was ten cubits.<sup>736</sup> The perimeter of the square-shaped portion of the basin was thus forty cubits, while the circumference of its upper portion was thirty cubits.<sup>737</sup>

**Cast in its mold (*be-mušaqtō*).** The noun is *mušequet*, in the pattern of *moledet* (“birthplace,” Gen 24:8), even though one is with a *holem* and the other with a *shureq*.<sup>738</sup> What is meant here is that these oxen were cast together with the basin—not emblazoned upon it afterward.<sup>739</sup>

(4) **It stood above twelve oxen.** This verse too suggests that the basin was

734. In *Shorashim*, entry פקע, his comment here, and on the verse in Kings, respectively, Radak presents this explanation with increasing measures of confidence. See an alternative definition of *peqa'im* cited in the *Shorashim*.

735. This last clause, not attested in ms Paris and probably a later addition, merely affirms that the division of the basin into sections of three and two cubits is consistent with its total height of five cubits.

736. This equals the diameter of the round, upper part of the basin.

737. On 1 Kgs 7:23, Radak adds that this rabbinic interpretation seems like the straightforward meaning of the text.

738. On this noun pattern see *Mikhlol* 168b, and compare *Shorashim*, entry יצק. The analogy to *moledet* is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak's later addition.

739. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 7:24.

square shaped at the bottom, for it enumerates four sides for it, like any square. On each side there were **three** oxen, with **the basin** standing **above them**.<sup>740</sup>

(5) **At capacity, it held three thousand baths.** But in the book of Kings [it says]: “Its capacity was *two* thousand *baths*” (1 Kgs 7:26)! Our Sages, of blessed memory (Tosefta [Zuckerman] *Kelim* [middle chapters] 5:2), explained: “Two thousand of liquids and three thousand of solids”:<sup>741</sup> any vessel holds one-third<sup>742</sup> more heaping solids than it does liquids, which cannot be heaped; for what extends above the vessel amounts to one-third of the vessel.<sup>743</sup> They said similarly in the Mishnah (*Kelim* 15:1): “A chest, a box, a cupboard, or a straw basket ... even with a flat bottom, is not sus-

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740. That is, the round, upper part of the basin rested upon its square base, on which were emblazoned these figures of oxen.

741. This language matches that of the Tosefta. Radak, however, is clearly also working with Bavli *Eruvin* 14b (the source he cited at v. 3), where this interpretation appears along with the proof from Mishnah *Kelim* that he cites at the end of the comment. On the verse in Kings, Radak observes that the Targum there also supports this interpretation.

742. This translation is based on the Hebrew *shelish*, undoubtedly the original text. The syntax of the Hebrew is easy to misconstrue and prompted the erroneous *ha-shelish* in all text witnesses, which violates the sense of the entire comment and provoked still more textual errors.

743. In modern terms, this additional “one-third” is really one-half: it means “one-third” of the sum of the liquid capacity and the additional half itself.

mss Vatican and Marucelliana contain a qualification also found in Radak on Kings: the ratio presented here is true for “any vessel *whose depth is half of its width*,” such as the basin, which was five cubits high and ten cubits wide. This appears to be based on Rashi on *Eruvin* 14b s.v. *she-hen kurayim*. On Rashi’s influence on Radak, see Grunhaus (2003b). In a written communication, Grunhaus noted a small number of examples where, as in this case, Radak’s source is Rashi’s Talmud commentary; for instance, compare Radak at Mic 5:10 to Rashi on *Ketubbot* 110b s.v. *yeshivat kerakhin*. Whether or not the qualification here is Radak’s own addition, it is inarguable that if the ratio of depth to width were indeed different, this would also yield a different ratio of liquid capacity to heaping solid capacity.

ceptible to ritual impurity if it holds forty *se'ahs* of liquid, which is equivalent to two *kors* of solid"—and two *kors* of solid is sixty *se'ahs*.<sup>744</sup>

(6) **Five to the right and five to the left.** This means: to the right of Moses' laver and to the left of it. And the same for the lampstands—five to the right of the lampstand that Moses made, and five to the left of it (v. 7); as well as for the tables—five to the right of Moses' table, and five to the left of it (v. 8). Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Men.* 98b), explained it like this on the grounds that all of the lampstands were to the south, and all the tables to the north.<sup>745</sup> This, after all, is where Moses placed them in the Tabernacle—the lampstand to the south (Exod 40:24) and the table to the north (Exod 40:22).

But they have this debate (*b. Men.* 99a):<sup>746</sup> Some of them say that they would kindle Moses' lampstand only and set up the rows [of bread] on Moses' table only, as it says: "they kindle the golden lampstand with its lamps burning [each] evening" (2 Chr 13:11).<sup>747</sup> And some of them say that they would kindle all of them, as it says, "the lampstands and their lamps,

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744. The ratio of forty to sixty supports the claim in question. The Mishnah's point is that a vessel which is so large that it cannot be moved when full—such as one that can hold forty *seah's* of liquid—is not susceptible to ritual impurity.

*Melekheth Shelomoh* on the Mishnah (included in many editions) explains what is meant by "even with a flat bottom": if a vessel does *not* have a flat bottom and cannot stand on its own, it cannot become impure even if it is small. Most texts of the Mishnah, and of Bavli *Eruvin* 14b where it is cited, do not contain the word "even"; but see Rabinovich, *Sefer Dikduqei Soferim*, on the talmudic passage.

745. The rabbis contend that "five to the right and five to the left" cannot mean five on the right (north) side of the Great Hall and five on the left (south) side, since all the lampstands and tables had to be on the side where Moses' lampstand and table stood in the Tabernacle. Radak extends this argument to the lavers as well.

746. The entire discussion from this sentence onward is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently among the rabbinic citations that Radak added later.

747. This is the source that they would kindle Moses' lampstand only. The source that they set up bread on Moses' table only is 1 Kgs 7:49: "the table on which was the bread of display...."



to burn as prescribed" (2 Chr 4:20), and set up the rows [of bread] on all of them, as it says, "the tables, with the bread of display upon them" (2 Chr 4:19). And even though each one reconciles his view with the verses, it is this [latter view] that appears correct:<sup>748</sup> they would kindle or set up the rows [of bread] upon all of them. When the text says "the golden lamp-stand," this is to convey that even though he made ten of them, they would kindle Moses' also.<sup>749</sup>

**To wash with them; the parts of the burnt offering they would rinse off in them.** "The parts of the burnt offering" is an elaboration of "to wash with them"; that is: What did they wash with them? They rinsed off the parts of the burnt offering in them.<sup>750</sup> Alternatively, the text elides a conjunctive *vav*: "and the parts of the burnt offering." That is, the lavers were for washing, which means for the priests' washing their hands and feet (like the laver Moses made, concerning which it says, "and let Aaron and his sons wash their hands and feet [in water drawn] from it" [Exod 30:19]); and they would *also* rinse off the parts of the burnt offering in them.<sup>751</sup>

**And the basin, for the priests to wash in it.** This means: The laver was for the immersion of the priests, for they would immerse themselves in it [to cleanse themselves] from their impurity. The Talmud Yerushalmi (*Yoma* 19a) asks: "But was it not a vessel?" That is, how could they have immersed themselves in it? After all, it is a vessel, and immersion is ineffective in a vessel! And it replies: "Rabbi Joshua son of Levi said: A stream of water extended to it from the spring of Etam, and the feet of the oxen had openings the size of pomegranates." That is, the water came to it from underground and would enter and rise up through the feet of the oxen, which were open and hollowed at the bottom.<sup>752</sup>

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748. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 7:49. In truth, all the Talmud does is to reconcile 2 Chr 4:19 with the view that the bread was set up on Moses' table only.

749. This is Radak's own defense—the Talmud does not provide one. At 1 Kgs 7:48, where Radak cites the verse allegedly implying that bread was set up only on Moses' table, he provides a counterargument to that as well.

750. The entire second part of the lemma is then an elaboration of "to wash with them." But note that "the parts of the burnt offering" remains the object of "rinse"; Radak does not mean that it is the object of "wash."

751. At 1 Kgs 7:39 this is the sole explanation that Radak provides.

752. Thus, the basin was not considered a vessel for the purpose of

206 2 Chronicles 4:7-16

(7) **As prescribed.** This means: as prescribed for the lampstand made by Moses, with its cups and calyxes (Exod 36:17-22).

(8) **[Solomon] made one hundred gold dashing instruments.** The text is not saying that they were for the sake of the tables. They were, rather, for dashing the blood on the altar. The only reason it mentions them with the tables is that it is listing the items that he made out of gold.

(9) **And the large 'azarah.** This is the large court in which the Israelites would stand. It is called an 'azarah because when they prayed there, they would be *ne'ezarim* ("helped").<sup>753</sup>

(13) **And the four hundred pomegranates.** But above it says: "he made *a hundred* pomegranates and set them into the chainwork" (2 Chr 3:16)! The hundred that the text mentions were for one row; and it had four rows of pomegranates, for a total of four hundred.<sup>754</sup> Alternatively, there were pomegranates installed on the chainwork in addition to those installed on the pieces of network; and the pomegranates on the chainwork numbered one hundred, and those on the network four hundred.

(16) **Huram his father (*aviv*) made for King Solomon.** This means: Hiram made all these furnishings beautiful and of good quality *as* his father would have (*ke-aviv*), that is, just as they would have been made by his father, who was widely known for his craftsmanship, as it says above: "skilled ... in gold, silver," etc. (2 Chr 2:13).<sup>755</sup> In *aviv*, then, a prepositional *kaf* is elided.

immersion; for with holes the size of pomegranates, it could not hold its contents the way a vessel would (see Mishnah *Kelim* 17:1). Rather, water rose up through holes at the bottom by means of the pressure of the spring to which it was connected.

753. Compare *Shorashim*, entry עזר.

754. This is the interpretation that Radak accepts at 1 Kgs 7:20.

755. For Radak, this Hiram is the same as Hiram the craftsman mentioned in 1 Kgs 7:13. (Hiram is also the name of the Tyrian king who sent this craftsman, and of this king's father; see above, 2 Chr 2:10, 12.) Here, Radak considers the craftsman's father to have been a craftsman also, as in the second of his two explanations of 2 Chr 2:13; see our remarks there.

This entire comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

There are many cases like this, such as “A joyful heart enhances [one’s health] *gehah*” (Prov 17:22), which means *ke-gehah* (“as does medicine”).<sup>756</sup>

(17) **In the ‘*avi ha-adamah* (“thickness of the earth”).** This means: He cast them in the ‘*avi ha-qarqa*’ (“depth of the ground”)—not that he made smelting pots in which to cast them,<sup>757</sup> for that would not be possible for such large vessels.<sup>758</sup> Targum Jonathan renders, “in the *ma’aveh ha-adamah* (“thickness of the earth”)” (1 Kgs 7:46)—[*be-’ovi* (“in the thickness of”)] *gargishta*, which is a red-colored soil from which smelting pots are made, for the purpose of casting metals.<sup>759</sup>

**Between Succoth and Zeredathah.** In the book of Kings [it says], “and Zarethan” (1 Kgs 7:46): “Zeredathah” and “Zarethan” are phonetically similar.<sup>760</sup>

(21) ***Mikhlot* gold.** This is like “*kelei* (‘items of’) gold,” which means: All the items on the lampstand were gold. But some explain “*mikhlot* gold” to mean “*kelil* (‘of pure’) gold,” that is, highly refined gold.<sup>761</sup> The same appears in a rabbinic source (*b. Men.* 29a): “Solomon made ten lampstands:

756. Compare Radak in *Mikhlot* 50b, in *Shorashim*, entry נה, and at Prov 15:13. At Prov 17:22, he explains *gehah* to mean radiance, apparently from the root נה; see the references cited in Talmage’s editorial note. On the authenticity of Radak’s commentary to Proverbs, which I endorse, see Berger (2008) and Grunhaus (2003c).

757. That is, the phrase does not mean that he cast them in smelting pots made of thick earth but rather that he cast them in the thickness of the earth itself.

758. These would include, e.g., the lavers mentioned in v. 14.

759. In *Shorashim*, entry עבה, Radak understands the Targum to mean that the vessels were in fact cast in smelting pots, not in the ground. But on the verse in Kings, he implies that according to the Targum, the vessels were cast in the ground—in thick earth *used* for making smelting pots. Here also, having presented his own position that the reference is to the earth itself, Radak gives no clear indication that he sees the Targum as disputing this.

760. On the verse in Kings, Radak writes that “it had two names,” implying that they were interchangeable due to their similarity.

761. See Pseudo-Rashi.

208 2 *Chronicles* 4:21–5:5

for each one he brought one thousand [talents of] gold, and placed it in a smelting pot one thousand times, turning it into one talent of gold.”<sup>762</sup>

(22) **Of the Great Hall—gold.** This means: overlaid with gold; for as it says in the book of Kings, the doors were of wood, but were overlaid with gold (1 Kgs 6:34–35).

**5 (1) Solomon brought the things that his father David had consecrated.** This refers to whatever was left over after all the work had been done.<sup>763</sup>

(4) **The Levites carried the Ark.** But in the book of Kings it says: “The priests carried the Ark” (1 Kgs 8:3)! It was the priests who carried it: the “Levites” to whom the text refers *are* the priests. For the priests were Levites, and our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Yev.* 86b), have said that they are called “Levites” in twenty-four places; for example: “But the priests—the Levites—descended from Zadok” (Ezek 44:15). When the text says just below “the priests the Levites” (v. 5), however, it means the priests *and* the Levites. That, after all, is how it appears in Kings: “the priests and the Levites brought them up” (1 Kgs 8:4)—the priests carried the Ark, and the Levites the Tent of Meeting.<sup>764</sup>

(5) **They brought up the Ark and the Tent of Meeting.** This means: the Ark from Zion and the Tent of Meeting from Gibeon, where it had been. That is what it says in Kings: “Then Solomon convoked ... to bring up the Ark of the Covenant of the Lord from the City of David, that is, Zion” (1 Kgs 8:1).<sup>765</sup> They hid away the Tent of Meeting in the treasuries of the House of the Lord, with the consecrated things (v. 1); but they brought the Ark into its place—into the inner Sanctuary of the Temple (v. 7).

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762. That is, this is the extent to which it was refined. This is among the rabbinic citations not attested in mss Paris and Munich and presumably late.

763. That is, Solomon brought what was left over from what David had collected and consecrated for the purpose of building the Temple.

764. This entire comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late.

765. The verse cited here concerns only the Ark, not the Tent of Meeting, even though Radak had alluded to both. This awkwardness results from the fact that Radak apparently added the sentence later, as it does not appear in mss Paris and Munich.

(9) **They extended (*va-ya'arikhu*) the poles.** If these are the poles that had been on the Ark initially, it is a wonder how they could have been visible **upon the front of the inner Sanctuary.** After all, the poles were no more than ten cubits long. For the Holy of Holies in the Tent of Meeting was only ten,<sup>766</sup> and the Ark was placed in it; and it does not say in the Torah that the poles were visible from outside the curtain. So if the width of the inner Sanctuary [of Solomon's Temple] was *twenty* cubits (2 Chr 3:8), how could [the poles] have been visible upon the front of it?<sup>767</sup> Possibly, they made other poles for the Ark that were longer than those, in order that they be visible upon the front of the inner Sanctuary. This, then, is why the text says *va-ya'arikhu*, which is a transitive verb, and not *va-ya'arkhu*.<sup>768</sup>

It is also possible to explain that these *were* the same poles that were on the Ark initially. It might be that they were ten cubits long, and that before they brought the Ark into the inner Sanctuary, the poles were inserted into the Ark symmetrically, extending behind it the same distance as in front of it. But when they brought the Ark into the inner Sanctuary as is—with its poles—and it was no longer to be carried by shoulder, they extended the poles,<sup>769</sup> pulling them outward until their tips were visible upon the front of the inner Sanctuary, in order that the high priest enter there on the Day of Atonement to offer incense between the poles<sup>770</sup> without shifting in one direction or the other. For this reason, then, they extended the poles up to the front of the inner Sanctuary; **but they could not be seen from the outside**—[that is,] outside the front of the inner Sanctuary. And if you will ask: Still, since the poles were only ten cubits long, and the width of the inner Sanctuary was twenty, then how could they have been visible upon the

766. See Rashi at Exod 26:32, and chapter 4 of *Baraita di-Melekhet ha-Mishkan* (Greenbaum 1954).

767. Radak, following biblical terminology, refers to the Holy of Holies in Solomon's Temple as the inner Sanctuary (*Devir*). The width here refers to the distance from east to west, the direction in which the poles extended.

768. *Va-ya'arkhu* is a *qal* form of the root אָרַךְ and is intransitive; compare Ezekiel 12:22. *Va-ya'arikhu* is a transitive, *hif'il* form.

769. Thus, the transitive verb is again justified.

770. See Mishnah *Yoma* 5:1. The remainder of this sentence, and the entire following one, is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

210 2 *Chronicles* 5:9

front of it? Possibly, they did not place the Ark close to the west wall, but far from it.<sup>771</sup>

The way the wingspread of the cherubim extended over the Ark and its poles (v. 8) is that it was twenty cubits wide, just as it was [twenty cubits] long (2 Chr 3:13).<sup>772</sup> Alternatively, the width of the wings was equal to the width of the Ark and its poles.<sup>773</sup>

771. The rabbis, cited by Radak at 2 Chr 35:3, contend that the Ark stood on the west side of the inner Sanctuary. Radak's formulation here suggests that he is reacting to their claim, since it conflicts with his present explanation. For if the poles were extended outward to reach "the front" — that is, the *east* edge of the inner Sanctuary — then the Ark must actually have stood closer to the east. Only in this way could the two rings attached to the west half of the Ark, which helped to hold the poles (Exod 25:12-15), have been within ten cubits of the east edge of the room.

772. Having provided two explanations of the position of the poles, Radak turns to explain how the wingspread of the cherubim extended over the Ark and the poles. According to this suggestion, the wingspread covered the entire inner Sanctuary from east to west (its twenty-cubit "width"). Such an expansive wingspread is particularly compatible with Radak's first explanation of the poles' positioning, which states that when the Temple was built, longer poles were inserted so that they would reach the east edge of the room. For if the rabbis are correct that the Ark stood on the west side — which, for this explanation, should be an entirely acceptable proposition — then the poles would need to have extended over a substantial majority of the room, from the west side all the way to the east edge. The wingspread, then, would need to have been at least this wide.

773. This suggestion is more compatible with Radak's second explanation of the position of the poles. That explanation implies that the majority of the Ark was on the east and that the original ten-cubit poles extended from the room's east edge to its midpoint. This means that the wingspread need only have covered the east half of the room, and the small part of the west half into which the Ark extended — but nowhere near the room's entire east-west span.

This appears to be the solution that Radak eventually preferred. For at 1 Kgs 8:5-7 (see also the rest of his comments in that parallel context), he states that the wings grazed the majority, but not all, of the north and south walls, indicating that the wings did not extend all the way to the west edge as in his first suggestion. Indeed, at 1 Kgs 8:8, Radak adopts the second explanation of the positioning of the poles, which accords with this.

In a midrashic vein, our Sages, of blessed memory, said (*b. Yoma* 54a): “It says: ‘the tips of the poles were visible,’ and: ‘but they could not be seen from the outside.’ How so? They pressed up against the curtain and protruded outward, so that they looked like the two breasts of a woman, as it says: ‘he sleeps between my breasts’ (*Song* 1:13).”<sup>774</sup> But we have no need for this midrashic interpretation; for the text says that they were visible *upon the front* of the inner Sanctuary. They were not, however, visible from outside of its wall.

Nor do I know why they said (*b. Meg.* 10b) that the space occupied by the Ark is not part of the dimensions and that it was situated there miraculously. For the text says that the wingspread of the cherubim extended over the Ark (v. 8). The Ark, then, was under the wings of the cherubim and need not be included in the calculation. So what reason is there to impose a miracle where it is not necessary?<sup>775</sup> What they had said (*b. Meg.* 10b) was that there were ten cubits to each side of the Ark.<sup>776</sup> But we do not find that, nor is it possible according to the verses!<sup>777</sup> Those who said this, however, knew what they were saying, for their intellect ranged beyond ours.<sup>778</sup>

In the present commentary, this latter conception of the wingspread is not attested in mss Paris and Munich, which suggests that Radak thought of it later—and came to favor it. The remainder of the comment, which concerns a rabbinic assertion, also does not appear in these manuscripts and is apparently late. The entire subsequent comment appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is probably an even later addition. Accordingly, in that comment—as in the Kings commentary—Radak favors his second explanation concerning the poles.

774. The male in the Song of Songs is seen as a metaphor for God, whose Presence dwells where the Ark stands in the inner Sanctuary, between the poles that protrude from the east edge of the room to form the image of breasts.

775. See Radak above, 2 Chr 3:13 (and our remarks there), and at 1 Kgs 6:27. See also below, n. 778.

776. This leaves no space for the Ark itself, thereby necessitating a miracle.

777. Radak appears to mean that there could not have been ten cubits on each side of the Ark *without* a miracle. Beyond this, there is no apparent incompatibility between the rabbis’ position and the text.

778. Radak makes a similar statement at Josh 4:11 after contesting the



**It has remained there.** [This means:] the poles have remained there; “it has” is meant in a collective sense.<sup>779</sup> In Kings, [the text indeed says] “*they* have remained there” (1 Kgs 8:8). It is saying that the poles remained there in that they were not subsequently removed—as it says: “they shall not be removed from it” (Exod 25:16)—and also that they were not moved back toward the other side. Rather, they remained extended to the front of the inner Sanctuary forever—that is the meaning of “**to this day**.”

It emerges, then, that the doors on the opening to the inner Sanctuary were not closed.<sup>780</sup> That it why [Solomon] had to make a curtain (2 Chr 3:14)—to serve as a partition.

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rabbis’ claim that “the Ark carried its bearers.” In connection with the present comment, see Berger (2007a) on the tension Radak felt in challenging rabbinic authority on matters relating to halakhah, theology (including the prevalence of miracles), and the transmission of historical traditions, and his tendency in such cases to acknowledge the rabbis’ position and justify his resistance to it.

Rejecting the rabbis’ assertion that the Ark took up no space appears to have made Radak especially uneasy, since it concerns both a theological matter *and* a historical tradition; for the relevant passage in the Bavli reads: “We have a *tradition* from our ancestors that the Ark took up no space.” In fact, in three late additions to the Kings commentary, at 1 Kgs 6:27; 8:4-6; and 8:8, Radak goes out of his way to indicate that this position of the rabbis is not necessitated by the text. (Dr. Bryna Levy, in data shared with me, first noted several manuscripts that reflect earlier versions of the commentary to Kings. The additions in question do not appear in ms Oxford Bodleian 305, which attests to an especially early version of that work.)

779. See *Mikhlol* 7a and 140b-142b. The cases that Radak cites in the *Mikhlol* involve collective nouns in singular forms; for he tends to explain singular verbs governed by plural nouns, like our case, in a different way (see *Mikhlol* 6b-7a). There are, however, examples similar to this one in Radak, such as at 1 Sam 12:10.

780. See 1 Kgs 6:31-32 for a description of these doors. Even if the doors opened away from the inner Sanctuary, so that the poles would not have blocked their movement, every time they were closed they would have grazed the poles, which were flush up against the east edge of the room. As Radak proceeds to argue, this accounts for the need for a partition made of softer material.

(11) **Without keeping to the set divisions.** For while [the priests] had already been divided into shifts, there were at that point so many sacrifices and such a large gathering that every single one of the priests and Levites was needed to serve or to sing praises.

**6 (1-2) To dwell in the ‘arafel.** This means: [God] said that He would dwell among the Israelites in the ‘arafel, that is, the cloud (‘anan), as it says: “I will dwell among the Israelites” (Exod 29:45). That is, His Presence would descend in the cloud upon the site of the Sanctuary, to be worshiped.

Our Sages, of blessed memory, have said that when [God] said “because I appear in the ‘anan over the Ark cover” (Lev 16:2), He in fact hinted to them that He would appear in the ‘anan in the eternal Temple.<sup>781</sup> Even though they also interpreted “in the ‘anan” to mean in the smoke of the incense offering, the straightforward meaning of the verse is that it refers to the cloud of the Divine Presence. Indeed, in the Tabernacle, His Presence appeared in the cloud constantly, as it says: “The Presence of the Lord appeared in a cloud” (see Deut 31:15),<sup>782</sup> and: “and there, in a cloud, appeared the Presence of the Lord” (Exod 16:10).

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781. According to Bavli *Yoma* 53a, when God affirms that he appears in the ‘anan, this extends to the eternal Temple, based on the later phrase “and He shall do the same for the Tent of Meeting which abides with them” (v. 16). It is this same talmudic passage which says that the ‘anan is the smoke of the incense, the position that Radak cites subsequently; so it is likely that this is Radak’s source. On Radak’s parallel comment at 1 Kgs 8:12, however, the *Haketer* Rabbinic Bible plausibly cites as Radak’s source a passage in Mekhilta *Pisha* 12, which states explicitly that Solomon is alluding to the phrase in Leviticus mentioned by Radak. Note that the term for “I appear” in the verse in Leviticus is *era’eh*, an imperfect form that could also mean “I will appear”; and indeed, Radak’s formulation might suggest that he attributes to the rabbis such a reading: God *will* appear in an ‘anan in the future, eternal Sanctuary.

This rabbinic citation does not appear in mss Paris and Munich, which pick up only with the last sentence of the comment, where Radak continues to paraphrase Solomon’s remarks. With the additional, apparently later material, the first-person reference to Solomon in that sentence emerges rather awkward.

Compare Radak’s comments on Solomon’s speech here to his remarks at 1 Kgs 8:12-40.

782. The verse actually says: “The Lord appeared in the Tent, in a pillar of a cloud.”

214 2 *Chronicles* 6:1-20

And [God] did as He said, for He caused His Presence to dwell in the **stately Temple** that I built for Him—descending in the cloud.

(2) **Forever.** For Shiloh, Nob, and Gibeon were not forever: none of them were the chosen site, about which it says: “to the site that the Lord will choose” (Deut 12:26). Rather, it was this site—Mount Moriah—on which Abraham bound his son Isaac (Gen 22:9), which he called “the Lord will see” (Gen 22:14), and [concerning which] he said, “the mountain upon which the Lord shall appear” (Gen 22:9),<sup>783</sup> which means that He will appear on that mountain for all generations. When David saw the response he received there—the fire that descended there from the heavens on his burnt offerings—he knew that it was the chosen site, and said: “This is the abode of ... God, the altar of burnt offerings for Israel” (1 Chr 22:1).

(13) **For Solomon had made a copper laver.** The word “for” signals an explanation of the phrase “opposite the *entire* congregation of Israel” (v. 12): How could [Solomon] have been opposite all of them, so that all of them could see him? For he had built a copper laver and stood upon it.

(18-20) **After all, *ha-umnam* (“is it really true that”).** The *hei* has a *pataḥ* because it marks a rhetorical question.<sup>784</sup> That is, is it really true that **God dwells with man on earth**? That is impossible to believe—for You are blessed and raised up over everything! You could not have a place that would contain You; for the world is contained in You, not You in the world. It is only in a metaphoric sense, then, that I built the Temple *for You*: it is so that Your glory should be in **this Temple**, along with Your readiness **to heed the prayers that** shall be offered to You **in this place**.<sup>785</sup>

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783. Radak’s assumes that Abraham is the one who said this; see his comment there.

784. Had it been a definite *hei*, the vowel would have lengthened to a *gameṣ* because of the *alef* that follows it.

785. Radak is connecting vv. 18 and 19: since the Temple cannot literally be God’s dwelling place, the concept is to be understood metaphorically; that is, it is a place where God is especially receptive to prayer. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi, for whom *ha-umnam* is an expression of wonder at the reality that God indeed constricts his Presence so that it *can* dwell in the Temple. Radak’s reading—unsurprising given his rationalist bent—is the more straightforward one and anticipates the consensus of modern scholars; see, e.g., De Vries (1989, 259), Japhet (1993, 593), and Johnstone (1997, 1:344).

Even though [God] readily heeds the prayers of those who cry out to Him with a sincere heart anywhere, Solomon requested of God that this chosen place help along the prayers of those who offer them, as if the Temple were a mediating angel: May You heed the prayers of all those who offer them in this Temple more quickly than those offered elsewhere.

(22) **And *nasha* upon him an imprecation.** [This means:] if the law obligates him to swear—in the sense of “When *tasheh* (‘you make a loan’) to your countryman, *masha’at me’umah* (‘any kind of loan’)” (Deut 24:10), which has the sense of obligation.<sup>786</sup>

**The imprecation shall come.** This means: The one who must swear shall come<sup>787</sup> to receive the imprecation **before Your Altar in this Temple.**

(23) **And judge.** This means: Despite the fact that You withhold Your anger even from one who swears falsely—and do not exact punishment from him at the time of his transgression—if he swears in this Temple do not withhold [Your anger] from him, so that people will recognize that this chosen place contributed to the quickness of the punishment, and will be in awe of this Temple and in fear of it. All this is for Your honor. God too commanded so: “You shall be in awe of My Sanctuary” (Lev 19:30).

**Requiting him who is in the wrong by bringing down the punishment of his conduct on his head and vindicating him who is in the right.** [“Him who is in the wrong” refers to] whichever one it might be: the one who swears—falsely; or the one who compels him to swear—needlessly, in which case the oath is taken truthfully and the punishment falls on the one who compels it.

(27) **By showing them the proper way.** This means: May You advise them regarding which transgression the heavens have been stopped up, show them the proper way, **and provide rain.**

(28-30) **In any malady and in any disease.** This means: Even though I have made specific mention of certain needs of Your nation Israel concerning which they might offer prayers before You, I am similarly referring to any

786. The parallel is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition. Compare *Shorashim*, entry נִשָּׂא.

787. As Radak notes in his parallel comment at 1 Kgs 8:31, according to the Targum there (as here), the verb “come” refers to the party who compels his adversary to swear.

216 2 *Chronicles* 6:30–7:6

malady or disease they might have. **Any prayer or any supplication** they offer before You, **pertaining to the concerns of any person or of Your nation Israel**—that is, for individuals or for the masses—**may You heed**, each and every man according to his malady or disease.

(31) **So that they may revere You.** Seeing that You forgive them when they return to You and pray to You in this Temple, they will know that they contracted the malady or disease in punishment for a transgression, not by chance, and as a result will revere You. This is also the meaning of “Yours is the power to forgive, so that You may be held in awe” (Ps 130:4).<sup>788</sup>

(41) **Advance, O Lord God, to Your resting place.** This means that this shall be the abode in which You and the Ark of Your Strength rest forever. And **may Your priests ... be clothed in salvation**, that is, may You accept their offerings willingly and save them; and similarly, **may Your loyal ones** who stay in Your Temple to pray and to learn Your ways [**rejoice in the good**]. Alternatively, “and Your loyal ones” refers to the Levites who would perform music in the Sanctuary.<sup>789</sup>

(42) **Do not reject Your anointed one.** [This means to say:] May all the prayers that I have offered before You be accepted by You.

7 (3) **On the *riṣpah*.** The entire floor of the Temple is called a *riṣpah*, because it was *raṣuf* (“tiled”) with marble. The point of mentioning that they knelt with their faces to the floor is that Solomon had been kneeling upon the laver, the place where he had been standing (2 Chr 6:13); thus, they too bowed where *they* were—with their faces to the *riṣpah*.

(6) **With the *hallel* of David *be-yadam* (“in/with their hands”).** [This refers to] the musical instruments that David had made *le-hallel* (“to offer praise”).<sup>790</sup> Alternatively, “the *hallel* (‘praising’) of David” means that they

788. See the alternative explanations that Radak mentions on that verse and in *Shorashim*, entry ירא.

789. This would parallel the reference to the priests earlier in the verse. The “rejoicing” of these “loyal ones” would presumably refer to the Levites’ musical responsibilities. Radak adopts this interpretation in the Psalms commentary; compare his comments on vv. 41–42 to those on Ps 142:8–9.

790. *Hallel*, then, is a noun that refers to these musical instruments, and *be-yadam* means “in their hands.”

would utter the psalms composed by David, and “with their hands” means that they would do so following the music of the instruments.<sup>791</sup>

(7) **Solomon consecrated the center of the court.** There is a debate on this among our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Zev.* 59a-60a). Some say that due to the large number of burnt offerings, he temporarily consecrated the floor of the court to make burnt offerings on it in addition to on the altar. And some say that he built another altar there to meet the temporary demand.<sup>792</sup>

(9) **For [the Israelites] observed the dedication of the altar seven days.** Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Moed Qatan* 9a), said that they ate on the Day of Atonement;<sup>793</sup> for the seven days prior to the Feast of Booths include the Day of Atonement, and the dedication was an occasion of celebration with peace sacrifices, food and drink. But this was not considered a transgression for them; for a heavenly voice burst forth and said: You are all designated for life in the World to Come.

(10) **On the twenty-third day of the seventh month [Solomon] dismissed the nation.** But in the book of Kings it says, “On the eighth day he dismissed the nation” (1 Kgs 8:66), which is the twenty-second of the month!<sup>794</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Moed Qatan* 9a), explained that on the eighth day they obtained his permission, but they did not set out on that day because it was a holiday. And the next day, that is, the twenty-third of the month, when they did set out, they obtained his permission again.

(19) **But should you turn away.** This means: you and the Israelite nation.

(21) **Which was once so exalted to all who would pass it by.** This means: which was once so exalted and wondrous *in the eyes of* all who would pass it by. In its destruction, passersby will **be appalled** and will hiss over it.<sup>795</sup>

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791. “With the praising of David” and “with their hands,” then, are unrelated adverbial phrases, each of which modifies the earlier verb “to offer praise”; they offered praise by singing David’s psalms and by playing hand-held musical instruments. To the two options presented by Radak for “*hallel* of David,” compare, respectively, the translations in NRSV and NJPS.

792. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 8:64.

793. See Radak at 1 Kgs 8:65-66, where he provides an alternative to this.

794. Compare Radak there.

795. Radak does not explicitly address the problematic syntax of the

218 2 *Chronicles* 8:2-10

**8 (2) The cities that Hiram had given to Solomon.** But in the book of Kings the text says that *Solomon gave Hiram* twenty cities in the region of Galilee, and the only things it says Hiram gave to Solomon are cedar timber, cypress timber, and gold (1 Kgs 9:11)!<sup>796</sup> It is possible to explain that Hiram gave cities in his land to Solomon, who settled **Israelites in them** in order to secure them, and that Solomon too gave cities in the Galilee to Hiram: all this was to secure the treaty between them. In Kings, then, it mentions what Solomon gave to Hiram, and in this book it mentions what Hiram gave to Solomon.<sup>797</sup>

**(3) And [Solomon] marshaled his power against [Hamath-zobah]** —until he conquered it.<sup>798</sup>

**(10) These were King Solomon's prefects—two hundred and fifty foremen over the people.** But in the book of Kings it says, "five hundred and fifty" (1 Kgs 9:23)!<sup>799</sup> The [additional] three hundred were alien converts, who were prefects over three thousand three hundred [others], as we have written above (2 Chr 2:1). These two hundred and fifty, however, were Israelites, who were prefects over those three hundred, who were [them-

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verse, which would seem to require an additional reference to passersby: "This Temple, which was once so exalted to all who would pass it by—*passersby* will be appalled [by its destruction]." Had Radak meant that the one reference to passersby serves a double function (compare Radak at 1 Chr 23:8 on "The sons of Ladan the chief Jehiel"), he would probably have said so openly.

Radak's phrase "will be appalled and will hiss" (*yishom ve-yishroq*) appears in several places in Jeremiah; see, e.g., 19:8.

796. Compare Radak there.

797. Japhet (1993, 621) recognizes the validity of Radak's suggestion that the accounts in Kings and Chronicles are complementary, even as she believes that the Chronicler's objective is to "replace rather than complement his source-text" in an effort to present Hiram as a subordinate of Solomon.

798. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

799. Compare Radak there, Rashi and Kara there and at 1 Kgs 5:30, and Pseudo-Rashi on our verse.



selves] prefects over the rest. In the book of Kings, then, the text counts all the prefects together—Israelites and alien converts—who numbered five hundred and fifty. But in this book it does not count the alien-convert prefects, just the Israelite ones. For in saying “three thousand six hundred” (2 Chr 2:1), it counts the alien-convert prefects among the rest of the alien converts: since the workers numbered only three thousand three hundred, as it says in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 5:30), it emerges that the [additional] three hundred were the prefects.

(11) **In David’s house**—in a collective sense.<sup>800</sup> The text means to say: in any of David’s houses.

**For they are sacred.** Even though the Ark was in just one of the houses, which was consecrated for it, [Solomon] nonetheless considered all the houses to be consecrated, since the Ark had entered the area.<sup>801</sup> So he declared: [Pharaoh’s daughter] “may not dwell with me” from this day on, now that I have built her a house. This, in fact, is the reason he built her a house—in order that she not dwell in the sacred area. But even so, she did dwell there for twenty years, until the work on his house was completed.<sup>802</sup>

**The Ark of the Lord has entered (*ba’ah*) them.** The text refers to the Ark in the feminine. The same is true for “And the Ark of God *nilqehah* (‘has been captured’)” (1 Sam 4:17).<sup>803</sup>

800. The verse refers to “David’s house” by means of a plural pronoun, prompting Radak to provide this explanation.

801. Only this first sentence appears in mss Paris and Munich. The remainder of the comment is presumably Radak’s later addition.

802. Verse 1 indicates that the building process took twenty years. See 1 Kgs 3:1 and Radak there, from which it emerges that Solomon married Pharaoh’s daughter in the fourth year of his reign and that she indeed remained in the city of David until all the construction was completed. See also Radak at 1 Kgs 9:24.

In saying here that she remained in the sacred area “until the work on his house was completed,” Radak is not implying that *her* house was already completed and that she resisted going there. “His house” is just a means of referring to the entire construction project; see Radak’s previous comment and the language of 1 Kgs 3:1.

803. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry ארן.

220 2 Chronicles 8:15–9:10

(15) **They did not depart *mišvat ha-melekh*.** This elides a prepositional *mem*: it means *mi-mišvat ha-melekh* (“from the commandment of the king”).<sup>804</sup>

(16) ***Musad* the House of the Lord until its completion.** This also elides a prepositional *mem*, so that it means *mi-musad* (“from the founding of”); that is, from the day of its founding until its completion all the work was well executed.<sup>805</sup>

(17) **At that time Solomon went to Ezion-geber and to Eloth.** This refers to his conquest of these cities and his construction of a ship there, as it says in the book of Kings (1 Kgs 9:26).<sup>806</sup>

(18) **Four hundred and fifty talents of gold.** But in the book of Kings it says “four hundred and twenty” (1 Kgs 9:28)!<sup>807</sup> It might be that they used the thirty [additional] talents of gold for travel expenses.

**9 (4) And his *‘aliyyah*, upon which [Solomon] ascended to the House of the Lord.** This is a stairway that he made<sup>808</sup> to ascend from his house to the House of the Lord.

(10) ***Algummim*.** I have explained this (2 Chr 2:7).<sup>809</sup>

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804. Compare *Mikhlol* 50a.

805. The verse reads, “*ad ha-yom musad* the House of God until its completion.” *Ad ha-yom*, which literally means “until the day,” remains problematic, for, as Radak notes, the verse seems to mean “from the day of the founding of the House of God....” The North African commentator suggests reading *ha-yom musad* as if it were *mi-yom husad*, switching the places of the *hei* of *ha-yom* and the *mem* of *musad*, so that the phrase indeed means “from the day of the founding of.” He does not indicate whether he would see such an option as suggesting textual corruption or reflecting a legitimate transposition.

806. The ships mentioned in the next verse are additional ones, as Radak notes in his parallel comment on Kings. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

807. Compare Radak there.

808. The term Radak uses is *ma’alah*. In light of his parallel comment at 1 Kgs 10:5, it appears that he means a stairway.

809. This comment is not attested in ms Paris or in printed editions, which are based on it. It is probably Radak’s later addition.

(11) **Mesillot for the House of the Lord.** In the book of Kings, however, it says: “*mis’ad* (‘support’) for the House of the Lord” (1 Kgs 10:12). So what it means is the pillars that supported the ceilings.<sup>810</sup>

(12) **In addition to what she had brought to the king.** But in the book of Kings [it says]: “in addition to what *Solomon gave her* in amounts befitting his royal affluence” (1 Kgs 10:13). What the verse means, then, is the following: King Solomon gave the queen of Sheba everything for which she expressed a desire, in addition to *what he gave her on his own to reciprocate for* what she had brought him.<sup>811</sup> After all, he had to give her precious items on his own also, since she had brought him a large amount. So he did so: in amounts befitting his royal affluence, he reciprocated for what she had brought him, with items available in the land of Israel that were not available in her land.

It is possible to explain, however, that what he gave the queen of Sheba was everything for which she had expressed an interest that pertained to [the resolution of] difficult questions and to matters of wisdom.<sup>812</sup>

**Va-tahafokh (“and she turned around”) and went back to her land.** This is like “and she turned and went back to her land” in Kings (1 Kgs 10:13); it means that she turned her face around to go. The same is true for “a man *hafakh* (“turned around”) to meet you, descending from his chariot” (2 Kgs 5:26).

(14) **Besides that which the *tarim* and *soḥarim*.** *Tarim* are small-scale merchants, who have little merchandise or business. Since they have little business, they seek large profits when buying and selling; that is why they are called *tarim* (“seekers”).<sup>813</sup> *Soḥarim* are large-scale merchants.

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810. Compare Radak on the verse in Kings. This is the last of several interpretations of *mesillot* that he provides in *Shorashim*, entry סלל, and is apparently the one that he eventually preferred. But he offers no additional evidence that the root can mean a supporting pillar.

811. Japhet (1993, 637-38) notes that such a reading conforms to the Targum’s rendering, which she suggests might reflect a better variant of the biblical text.

812. Radak adopts this position on the verse in Kings. Note that this is not connected to the resolution of the contradiction that Radak addresses.

813. See *Shorashim*, entry תור, concerning this meaning of the root, and compare Radak at 1 Kgs 10:15.

(16) **Three hundred [shekels of] gold.** In the book of Kings [it says], “three *minas*” (1 Kgs 10:17), since a *mina* is one hundred [shekels] of gold.<sup>814</sup>

(18) **Attached to the throne.** This means: The stairs were attached to the throne and flush up against it, and the *kevesh* (“ramp”), which was of gold, was in front of the stairs.<sup>815</sup> *Kevesh* is to be understood as something like a stair. But it is not built like stairs of stones or of wooden beams placed one above another. Rather, it is just one stair, which is on an incline, ascending continually from the ground until the place up to which it leads.<sup>816</sup> That is why they made a *kevesh* for the altar: it was for the purpose of ascending to it, as it says in the Mishnah “He would ascend the *kevesh*” (*Zev.* 5:4), and it was forbidden to make stairs for it, as it says: “Do not ascend by stairs” (*Exod* 20:23).

(21) ***Shenhabbim ve-qofim ve-tukkiyyim.*** On [the parallel verse in] the book of Kings (1 Kgs 10:22), Targum Jonathan renders: “elephant tooth,<sup>817</sup> apes, and peacocks.”<sup>818</sup>

(25) **Four thousand stalls of horses.** But in Kings [it says]: “*forty* thousand stalls of horses” (1 Kgs 5:6)!<sup>819</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory, have explained (*b. San.* 21b): There were forty thousand stalls, each with four thousand horses; or there were four thousand stalls, each with forty thousand horses.

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814. This comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

815. Possibly, Radak means that the stairs mentioned at the beginning of the verse *and* the ramp mentioned after this are both subjects of the subsequent passive verb “attached,” which is in a plural form: the stairs were directly attached to the throne and “flush up against it,” and indirectly to the ramp, which led up to the stairs. Alternatively, he means that the stairs are the only subject of the verb and that the reference to the ramp is parenthetical.

816. Compare *Shorashim*, entry כבש.

817. *Shenhav*, then, appearing here in a plural form, refers to ivory, as in later Hebrew.

818. Compare Radak on the verse in Kings and in *Shorashim*, entry תכה. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

819. Compare Radak there, and see also Bavli *Sanhedrin* 21b.

(30) **Over all Israel for forty years.** Since David did not reign over all Israel for forty years—after all, for seven years he reigned in Hebron only,<sup>820</sup> over Judah (2 Sam 2:11)—the text says that Solomon did reign over all Israel for forty years.

**10 (6) How are you advised.** This means: [When deliberating] among yourselves, what advice occurs to you to relay to me?<sup>821</sup>

(7) *Le-ha-‘am ha-zeh* (“to this nation”)—with a definite *hei*, as is warranted, even though it is usually omitted to ease [pronunciation].<sup>822</sup>

(14) **And said: Akhbid et ‘ullekhem.** [Rehoboam] should have said: “My father *hikhbid et ‘ullekhem* (‘made your yoke heavy’), **and I will add to what he did!**”<sup>823</sup> This needs to be interpreted, then, on the assumption that something is elided. This is the proper meaning: *Akhbid ‘ullekhem* (“I will make your yoke heavy”) just as my father did, only I will add to what he did. Alternatively, the *alef* in *akhbid* (אֲכַבִּיד) is in place of a *hei*, and this is an infinitive—similar to *avrekh* (אֲבַרֵךְ, “to kneel,” Gen 41:43)<sup>824</sup> and *ashkem* (אֲשַׁכֵּם, “persisting,” Jer 25:3)<sup>825</sup>—so that the meaning is: My father decided *le-hakhbid ‘ullekhem* (“to make your yoke heavy”), and I will add to what he did.<sup>826</sup>

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820. Possibly, Radak means that David was genuinely in control of Hebron only, even as he was recognized by all of the Judeans. Alternatively, “reigned in Hebron only” is an imprecise formulation that focuses on David’s location and is meant in contrast to Jerusalem, where David reigned over all Israel. Radak’s basic explanation appears in Pseudo-Rashi.

821. Radak is reacting to the passive voice of the verb. His formulation on the parallel verse in 1 Kgs 12:6 is less elliptical.

822. That is, the word is usually *la-‘am*. Compare *Mikhlol* 41a.

823. There is such a biblical variant here, and in the parallel verse in 1 Kgs 12:1 this is clearly the intention.

824. On the verse in Genesis, Radak explains this infinitive to mean that “it is worthy to kneel before him.” See also his alternative assessment of the word there and in *Shorashim*, entry בִּרְךְ.

825. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry שָׁכַם.

826. If *akhbid* is an infinitive, then the subject of the verb cannot be determined by the form. This enables Radak to suggest that the reference is

224 2 *Chronicles* 10:15–11:18

(15) **For it was *nesibbah* from God.** In the book of Kings [it says], “For it was *sibbah* (‘an orchestrated occurrence’)” (1 Kgs 12:15), which is a noun. But this is a *nif’al* that does not denote an action, which is like an adjective: the text means to say that there was a *gezerah nesibbah* (“a preordained decree”) on the part of God that [Rehoboam] would listen to the advice of the young ones.<sup>827</sup>

**11 (18) Abihail daughter of Eliab, etc.** The text elides a conjunctive *vav*, as in *shemesh yareah* (“sun and moon,” Hab 3:11), and *Re’uven Shim’on* (“Reuben, Simeon,” Exod 1:2).<sup>828</sup> It means: [Rehoboam] married the daughter of Jerimoth son of David, *and also married* Abihail daughter of Eliab.<sup>829</sup> While this Jerimoth is not listed among the sons of David (1 Chr 3:1-8), perhaps he is the same as one of those listed, and he had two names.<sup>830</sup>

to Rehoboam’s father, even though he is not mentioned. (Weisse speculates that Radak’s text here was *avi* [“my father”] *akhbid et ‘ullekhem*, but this appears to be unwarranted.) If Radak is correct, however, one would have expected the infinitive absolute *akhbed*, like *avrek* and *ashkem*, rather than the infinitive construct *akhbid*. Moreover, since these parallels are indeed infinitive absolutes, they do not prove that an infinitive construct can begin with *alef* instead of *hei*. But see *Mikhlol* 21a-33b and 65-65b, from which it appears that Radak does not draw a sharp distinction between these different types of infinitives. Note that among his examples in *Mikhlol* 65a, he cites the infinitive construct *ha’avir* in Josh 7:7, which indeed functions as an infinitive absolute just as *akhbid* does according to the present explanation.

827. Radak perceives *nesibbah* to be a *nif’al* participle (see *Mikhlol* 129b), which imparts the adjectival meaning “preordained.” In our terms, as it is used here it is really a noun, since it denotes “a preordained decree.” In *Shorashim*, entry סבב, Radak suggests that it is fundamentally a noun, the equivalent of *sibbah* only with an added *nun*, but he ultimately rejects this.

828. See our remarks above, at 1 Chr 1:1.

829. Scholars indeed assume that a *vav* is missing, but it is alternatively suggested that Abihail is not Rehoboam’s wife but Mahalath’s mother; that is, Mahalath is a daughter of Jerimoth *and* Abihail. See, e.g., Japhet (1993, 670), who rejects the possibility that Mahalath and Abihail are both Rehoboam’s wives because of the unspecified singular verb in the next verse (see Radak there).

830. This last sentence is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

(19) **She bore him.** This refers to one of [these wives]; for the other one had died, or he did not have sons by her.

(22) **Because to make [Abijah] king.** This means: because [Rehoboam] *had decided* to make him king. He thus designated him as leader among his brothers.

(23) **[Rehoboam] understood, and so he distributed all his sons.** This means: He understood the situation and feared a rebellion,<sup>831</sup> and so he distributed all his sons, scattering them **throughout the regions of Judah and Benjamin**, in order to secure the kingship in his hands.

**He provided them with abundant food**—so that they should not have to ask the people.

**And he sought many wives.** This means for his sons, in order to multiply his offspring. After all, concerning himself the text had [already] said that he took eighteen wives and sixty concubines (v. 21).<sup>832</sup> “And he sought many wives,” therefore, means for his sons.

**12 (11) To the ta of the guards.** [This means:] to the room of the guards.<sup>833</sup>

(15) **Le-hityahes.** This means: The chronicles of the prophets Shemaiah and Iddo concerned the deeds of the kings *u-be-hityahsam* (“and their genealogical relationships”).

**13 (1) In the eighteenth year of King Jeroboam, Abijah became king.** We do not know why his assumption of the kingship was delayed one year. After all, Rehoboam reigned for just seventeen years (2 Chr 12:13), and

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831. Rehoboam presumably feared a rebellion on the part of the people in connection with his choice of a successor.

832. The sequence of events described in vv. 21-23 is then as follows: Rehoboam took many wives, loving Maacah more than the others; he in turn chose Abijah son of Maacah to be the next king; he then feared a rebellion by the people concerning this choice; and so he took steps to secure his kingship, including finding many wives for his sons. As explained in *Mešudat David's* paraphrase of Radak, the fathers of these wives, now part of the royal family, would add strength to it.

833. See Radak's more elaborate discussions in *Shorashim*, entries תא and יצע.



226 2 *Chronicles* 13:1-10

Rehoboam and Jeroboam began their reigns in the same year.<sup>834</sup> Perhaps it can be explained that Rehoboam continued into the eighteenth year, yet it is not counted for him since he did not complete it, while appropriately, the text does count it for Jeroboam.<sup>835</sup>

(2) **His mother's name was Micaiah daughter of Uriel.** She is the same as Maacah daughter of Absalom, mentioned above (2 Chr 11:20), for she and her father had two names each. "Micaiah" and "Maacah" are in fact phonetically similar. Many such cases can be found in this book, where the text refers to one person by two [different] names.<sup>836</sup>

(7) **A boy, faint of heart, etc.** But [Rehoboam] was forty-one years old when he became king (2 Chr 12:13)! What this means, rather, is that he was *like* a boy, in that he did not have the courage to fight.<sup>837</sup>

(10) **And the Levites are on the job (*ba-melakhet*).** [This means:] on the job appropriate for them, involving the musical instruments.<sup>838</sup> The *mem* of *ba-melakhet* should in principle have been geminated,<sup>839</sup> but it softened to ease [pronunciation]. The same is true for "fresh skin *ba-se'et* ('on the elevation') (Lev 13:10), and those besides these, as we have written in the *Mikhlol* (41a).<sup>840</sup>

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834. See 1 Kings 12. Abijah, then, should have taken over for Rehoboam in what was the seventeenth year of both Jeroboam and Rehoboam.

835. That is, Jeroboam did complete the eighteenth year (and more). Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 15:1.

836. This is true, according to Radak, both for names that are phonetically similar, such as Micaiah and Maacah, and those that are not like Uriel and Absalom.

837. Compare Japhet (1993, 692), who contends that this is a metaphor for "an immature, submissive personality."

838. Radak is reacting to the definite article: the text must be referring to a specific job. The remainder of the comment and the entire following one are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak's later additions.

839. Gemination typically follows the definite article, signifying an assimilated consonant.

840. In truth, it is standard for a *mem* with a *sheva* to lose the gemina-

(17) **Abijah and his army inflicted a severe defeat on them.** According to the straightforward sense, the meaning of this follows it—**five hundred thousand men of Israel fell slain**. But it has the following midrashic interpretation (*y. Yev.* 82b): “Why does the text say ‘a severe defeat’? It means: Beyond killing them, [Abijah’s army saw to it] that their wives would be unable to marry.”<sup>841</sup> They say: “Rabbi Abba son of Kahana says: It is that they mutilated their faces beyond recognition. It is in connection with this that it says: ‘The extent to which their faces are recognizable (*hakarat penehem*) accuses them’ (Isa 3:9),<sup>842</sup> referring to the nose.”<sup>843</sup> Rabbi Ammi says: It is that he positioned guards over them for three days until they lost their form. It is in connection with this that it says: ‘To my chagrin, their widows have outnumbered the sand of the seas’ (Jer 15:8).”<sup>844</sup>

(20) **The Lord inflicted harm upon him and he died.** It is not that [Jeroboam] died in the days of Abijah. For Abijah, who became king in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam (v. 1), reigned for just three years (v. 2), at which point, in the twentieth year of Jeroboam, his son Asa became king (1 Kgs 15:9); so it emerges that when Asa became king, Jeroboam was still alive. He even lived for two years after Asa became king, for Jeroboam reigned for twenty-two years (1 Kgs 14:20). The text means, rather, that the

tion expected after a definite article (see Radak’s own examples in *Mikhlol* 41a), whereas the case of *ba-se’et* is genuinely exceptional.

841. This is Radak’s elaboration of the rabbis, whom he cites verbatim only subsequently.

842. In the Isaiah commentary, Radak explains this phrase to mean that “one can tell from their faces that they are evil.” The rabbis’ explanation is homiletic.

843. According to Mishnah *Yevamot* 16:3, if the nose of a corpse is mutilated, the deceased cannot be identified as the husband of a particular woman for the purpose of permitting her to remarry.

844. It is not clear how this verse connects to R. Ammi’s position specifically. The formulation in a parallel midrash in *Bereshit Rabba* 65:20 suggests that it refers more generally to the wives’ inability to remarry. But see *Qorban ha-’Edah* (on the page of standard editions of the *Yerushalmi*), who suggests that R. Ammi interprets the word *yammim* (יָמִים, “seas”) midrashically to mean *yamim* (יָמִים, “days”) so that it refers to the three days during which guards blocked access to the bodies in accordance with R. Ammi’s claim. His attempt to read the rest of the verse so that it fits into this explanation seems highly speculative.

228 2 *Chronicles* 13:20–14:10

Lord inflicted harm upon him in his battles—as it says: “God inflicted harm upon Jeroboam and all Israel before Abijah” (v. 15)—“and he died,” which means that he died in that lowly state, unable to muster any more strength from the time that Abijah reigned.<sup>845</sup>

But in *Genesis Rabba* (65:20) and in *Seder Olam* (16) “inflicted harm upon him” is interpreted on Abijah, and it is explained that this was for the sin of conquering Bethel (v. 19) without purging it of idolatrous entities—for he had found one of the calves there.<sup>846</sup>

There is another midrashic interpretation (*y. Yev.* 82b), which is improbable: “‘The Lord inflicted harm upon him’—you think this means Jeroboam? No—it means Abijah! And why was he harmed? Because he shamed Jeroboam publicly, as it says: ‘and you possess golden calves’ (v. 8).”<sup>847</sup>

(22) **In the *midrash* of the prophet Iddo.** His book was called a *midrash* because it was regularly *nidrash* (“sought out”) for the purpose of looking up matters pertaining to the kings.<sup>848</sup>

**14 (10) *Al ya’sor any man with You.*** This means: *Al yimlokh* (“there does not reign”), as in *yoresh e’sher* (“an heir to the kingship,” Judg 18:7); that is,

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845. This does not mean from the very beginning of Abijah’s reign, for Jeroboam was wounded only after Abijah became king and did battle with him.

846. According to 1 Kgs 12:28-29, Jeroboam had placed one of his idolatrous calves in Bethel. The remainder of this comment, a citation of the Yerushalmi, is not attested in mss Paris and Munich. Like the entire previous comment, which is largely based on the same talmudic passage, it is presumably Radak’s later addition.

847. This is “improbable” for at least two reasons. First, there is no indication that Abijah was among those who criticized Jeroboam. Second, there would appear to be little reason to consider such criticism objectionable, particularly since it was directed toward those who participated in Jeroboam’s rebellion.

848. Compare *Shorashim*, entry דרש, and see our remarks below, 24:27.

no others can contend with Your rule.<sup>849</sup> Alternatively, it means: *Al ya'sor koah* ("there does not muster strength").<sup>850</sup>

**15 (3) Without the true God (*Elohei emet*).** For [the Israelites] will be in exile among idol worshipers, [and thus be] like idol worshipers, as in "and you will serve other gods there" (Deut 28:36), following Onkelos's rendering: when one serves people who serve [other gods], it is as if one serves [these gods themselves].<sup>851</sup> Alternatively, this means: without *shofetei emet* ("truthful judges"), as in "his master shall take him before the *elohim*" (Exod 21:6), which means the judges; for in exile, the nations are Israel's judges.<sup>852</sup>

849. Compare Radak on the verse in Judges. In *Shorashim*, entry עצר, Radak adds an explanation of the connection between this root and kingship: a king prevents (*'oşer*) the people from doing anything without his approval.

850. This is based on 2 Chr 13:20. See also Radak at 2 Chr 20:37. In *Shorashim*, entry עצר, addressing the phrase *lo 'aşarti koah* in Dan 10:8, Radak explains: "I did not retain for myself any strength"; that is, I did not prevent (עצר) it from ebbing away. In keeping with this, according to Radak's second explanation, the phrase that appears here technically means: "there is no man who retains his strength as you do." See Japhet (1993, 711-12), who allows for both of Radak's suggestions.

851. *Onkelos* renders the phrase in Deuteronomy: "and you will serve *idol worshiping peoples* there." In ms Vatican, Onkelos's words are cited in the text of Radak, but this is probably not original. The straightforward meaning of the text, which suggests the absence of God himself, apparently troubled Radak. Other traditional commentators presumably understood this to refer to Israel's lack of initiative to seek God; consider, e.g., the Targum's paraphrase: "they did not worship the true God but would bow to golden calves."

852. This second explanation, not attested in mss Paris and Munich and presumably Radak's later addition, is the one he adopts in the *Shorashim* in the second אלה, entry: "The verse means: Israel will be in exile for a long time during which they will not have truthful judges or a priest who teaches righteousness." According to both of Radak's explanations, this verse refers to the future. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi and the Targum, according to whom it refers to the past, as is commonly assumed by moderns.

(8) **And the prophecy, the prophet Oded** (*‘Oded ha-navi*). The noun in the construct state is elided. [The phrase] means: and the prophecy, *the prophecy of the prophet Oded* (*nevu’at ‘Oded ha-navi*).<sup>853</sup> The same is true for “The Ark, [the Ark of] the Covenant” (Josh 3:14), and others like it.<sup>854</sup> Alternatively, it means: and the prophecy of the prophet Oded (*le-‘Oded ha-navi*).<sup>855</sup>

Now the prophecy was of Azariah son of Oded—so how could the text say “and the prophecy ‘Oded ha-navi”? It means the son of ‘Oded ha-navi, as in “in the presence of my uncle Hanamel” (Jer 32:12), which means the son of my uncle—*notwithstanding the alternative explanation I have provided* (Jer 32:12; *Shorashim*, entry דוד).<sup>856</sup> Alternatively, [Azariah’s] father could have relayed a prophecy like this to [Asa] on another occasion—or, for that matter, on this occasion, since he was still alive, for we even encounter him in the days of Ahaz (2 Chr 28:9). So when [Asa] heard this speech from the son and heard the prophecy yet again from his father, the effect of it all was that **he motivated himself to remove the abominations**.<sup>857</sup>

853. Compare Japhet (1993, 723). Despite her citation of Radak, Japhet undoubtedly means, with other scholars, that the elliptical formulation resulted from textual corruption and is not a mere stylistic feature.

854. See *Mikhlol* 43a, and compare R. Moses Kimḥi on Job 19:29.

855. A *lamed* would then be elided, and the word *asher* would also be assumed: “the prophecy [*asher* (that was) *le-*]‘Oded ha-navi.” In this connection, see *Mikhlol* 50a-b.

856. See Radak there. Even in these other contexts, the explanation he provides here appears first. This reference to Radak’s other explanation is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

857. This translation corresponds to what appears in one branch of text witnesses of Radak, which attests to several especially late additions. The formulation “and heard the prophecy yet again from his father” (*ve-shama’ ha-nevu’ah me-aviv pa’am aheret*) probably implies that Radak prefers his second option above, which provides that the son and the father presented the prophecy on the same occasion, not that the father had presented it at an earlier time.

In other text witnesses, however, that second option appears to interrupt the flow and even contradict the line that follows it: “Or his father could have relayed a prophecy like this to [Asa] on another occasion—or, for that matter, on this occasion (*be-otah pa’am*), since he was still alive, for we even encounter him in the days of Ahaz—so that when [Asa] heard this speech from the son, hearing his father’s prophecy yet again (*ve-shama’ ha-*

(16) **Also Maacah mother of Asa.** She was his *father's* mother, for Maacah daughter of Absalom was the mother of his father Abijah (2 Chr 11:20). Indeed, when the text says in the book of Kings “his mother’s name was Maacah daughter of Absalom” (see 1 Kgs 15:2),<sup>858</sup> it means his father’s mother. It is a standard feature of the language to refer to a paternal grandfather as a father—as in “to their father Reuel” (Exod 2:18)—and to a paternal grandmother as a mother. In Asa’s case, the text mentions his father’s mother because she was an idol worshiper—as it says “**because she had made an item for the idolatrous worship of an *asherah* tree**”—and he nonetheless did what was pleasing to the Lord and did not follow in her footsteps.

It is also possible to explain that this was a different woman, Asa’s mother, who was also named “Maacah daughter of Abishalom,” just like his father’s mother.<sup>859</sup>

(19) **There was no war until the thirty-fifth year of the reign of Asa.** This refers to a war against Israel.<sup>860</sup> The war against the Cushites (2 Chr 14:8-14), however, was in the fifteenth year of the reign of Asa.<sup>861</sup>

*nevu’ah shel aviv pa’am aheret*), the effect of it all was that he motivated himself to remove the abominations.” In all likelihood, “hearing his father’s prophecy yet again” was Radak’s original formulation and implies that the father had presented the prophecy on an earlier occasion, in keeping with Radak’s initial suggestion. The awkwardly inserted alternative suggestion that the father and son prophesied on the same occasion is probably a later addition, even though it appears in all text witnesses (see above, introduction, 2-3). This insertion prompted Radak, still later, to change *ha-nevu’ah shel aviv* to *ha-nevu’ah me-aviv*. This alters the sense of his final sentence so that it means, “and heard the prophecy yet again from his father,” which favors the possibility that the two of them prophesied within the same context.

858. The text there says “Abishalom,” the version of the name used by Radak below.

859. On the verse in Kings, Radak indeed assumes that Maacah was Asa’s mother.

860. The reference is to the specific war mentioned in 2 Chr 16:1, an actual physical battle. But as Radak notes there, Baasha and Asa were technically in a state of war all the time (1 Kgs 15:32).

861. This date is mentioned in v. 10 as the time when people gathered to offer sacrifices and enter into a covenant with God. This took place in the

**16 (1) In the thirty-sixth year of the reign of Asa, Baasha initiated a war.**

How could this be? After all, it says in the book of Kings: “In the twenty-sixth year ... of Asa ... Elah son of Baasha became king” (1 Kgs 16:8). Also, it says there that Baasha became king over Israel in the third year of Asa and reigned over Israel for twenty-four years (1 Kgs 15:33). It emerges, then, that [Baasha’s] reign *ended* in the *twenty*-sixth year of Asa!<sup>862</sup>

It is possible to explain that when the text provides these numbers in the book of Kings, it does not count from the beginning of Asa’s reign but from the beginning of his wars—and in the beginning of his reign, there was peace in the land for ten years, as it says: “During his days, there was peace in the land for ten years” (2 Chr 13:23).<sup>863</sup> After all, the book of Kings discusses matters pertaining to the kings of Israel also; so it does not make reference to Asa’s reign from its beginning, just from the time he began to fight, leaving out the ten years during which there was peace in the land.<sup>864</sup>

context of Asa’s purification of the land, which was prompted by Azariah’s prophecy, mentioned in the text right after the account of the war with the Cushites. For no clear reason, Radak assumes that *all* this, beginning with the war, took place in the fifteenth year of Asa.

862. From 1 Kgs 15:33, it would appear that Baasha’s reign ended in the twenty-*seventh* year of Asa, for he became king in Asa’s third year and reigned for twenty-four years. Radak actually writes this in his parallel comment there and ignores the earlier verse stating that Elah son of Baasha became king in Asa’s twenty-*sixth* year. Here, though, Radak does take that earlier verse into account and deduces that Baasha’s reign in fact ended in that twenty-sixth year. Indeed, if one assumes that Baasha became king after just a part of Asa’s third year had elapsed (year 2½) and that his own twenty-four years were really just twenty-three and a fraction (see below concerning Nadab), then he need not have reigned beyond Asa’s twenty-sixth year ( $2\frac{1}{2} + 23\frac{1}{2} = 26$ ).

863. The biblical citation is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later addition.

864. That is, since the book of Kings, unlike Chronicles, also discusses non-Judean kings and their dealings with their Judean counterparts, it is possible that it counts Asa’s years only from the point when he began to do battle with the Northern Kingdom. Based on a careful reading of the dates provided in Kings, it emerges from this approach that where the text says in 1 Kgs 15:9 that Asa became king in the twentieth year of Jeroboam, it means when he ascended to the throne; but beginning from 1 Kgs 15:10,



Two of those ten years were in the days of Jeroboam;<sup>865</sup> and during the remaining eight years, either Nadab had not yet taken over as king of Israel or, if he had, the text does not count them for him because his reign was not yet secured. But in the second year after that ten-year period, Nadab became king in the full sense<sup>866</sup> and fought against Asa.<sup>867</sup> So when it says there “In the third year of Asa,” what it means is in the third year from when he began to fight the Israelite kings. He first fought against Nadab son of Jeroboam,<sup>868</sup> and, three years later, Baasha became king and fought against Asa, as it says: “There was a war between Asa and Baasha ... all their days” (1 Kgs 15:32). And this war that Baasha initiated, during which **he built up the highland**, was in the twenty-third year of Baasha’s reign, which was the thirty-sixth year since the beginning of Asa’s reign and the twenty-fifth or twenty-sixth year of Asa’s wars.<sup>869</sup> For the text counts the

where it states that Asa reigned for forty-one years, it counts from when his wars began.

865. Jeroboam reigned for twenty-two years (1 Kgs 14:20), and, as noted, Asa became king in Jeroboam’s twentieth year.

866. Nadab became king after Jeroboam’s death (1 Kgs 14:20) in Asa’s “second year” (1 Kgs 15:25), which for Radak means the second year of Asa’s wars, the twelfth of his reign. Thus, from Jeroboam’s death in the second year of Asa’s reign until Nadab assumed control in the second year of Asa’s wars, there was no full-fledged king of Israel.

867. That is, he continued the fight against Asa which had begun after these ten peaceful years.

868. Radak appears to assume that even before he became a full-fledged king, Nadab was already leading the battle against Asa.

869. If Asa’s wars began after the eleventh year of his reign had already begun (year 10½), and not immediately after the ten peaceful years, then the thirty-fifth year of his reign would have ended before the end of the twenty-fifth year of his wars ( $35 - 10\frac{1}{2} = 24\frac{1}{2}$ ). Thus, this war, which took place in the thirty-sixth year of his reign, might have taken place in the latter part of this twenty-fifth year but might also not have begun until the twenty-sixth year.

Based on similar reasoning, it seems that the war could have taken place in the twenty-fourth year of Baasha’s reign rather than the twenty-third year mentioned by Radak. For if, as Radak suggests below, Baasha became king in the middle of Nadab’s second year, that is, the third year of

234 2 *Chronicles* 16:1-10

second year of Nadab son of Jeroboam for Baasha also, perhaps because [Nadab] did not make it through the whole year.<sup>870</sup>

But in *Seder Olam* (16) it says that this war was in the sixteenth year of Asa, one year after the Cushite war; and when the text refers to the thirty-sixth year, it is counting from the death of Solomon. For when Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter—in the fourth year of his reign<sup>871</sup>—it was decreed that the Davidic kingship be divided for thirty-six years, equaling the thirty-six years during which Solomon was Pharaoh's son-in-law.<sup>872</sup> The Davidic kingship was destined, though, to return in the sixteenth year of Asa, at which point there had elapsed thirty-six years since Solomon. But because Asa acted wrongly in the war against Baasha, relying on the king of Aram and sending him treasures from the House of the Lord (v. 2) and not relying on the Lord (v. 7), the Davidic kingship did not return but remained divided as it was.<sup>873</sup>

(9) **With *levavam shalem*.** [This means:] with *asher levavam shalem* ("those whose hearts are true"). There are many cases like this.<sup>874</sup>

(10) **Asa inflicted harm on some of the people at that time**—because he felt anger at everything as a result of the prophecy he had heard.

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Asa's wars and the thirteenth of his reign (year 12½), then Baasha's twenty-third year would have ended in what was still the thirty-sixth year of Asa's reign ( $12\frac{1}{2} + 23 = 35\frac{1}{2}$ ), and the war could have taken place then, at the beginning of year twenty-four.

870. In 1 Kgs 15:25, the text states that Nadab became king in Asa's second year and reigned for two years, and in 15:33 it states that Baasha became king in Asa's third year. Baasha's years thus include the second year of Nadab's reign (compare Radak's calculation above), apparently, as Radak suggests, because Nadab died in the middle of that year.

871. See 1 Kgs 2:39 and 3:1, and Radak at 3:1.

872. Solomon reigned for forty years; see 2 Chr 9:30.

873. See Radak's objection to this approach at 1 Kgs 15:33. See also the notes in Milikowsky's forthcoming edition of *Seder Olam*.

874. See *Mikhlol* 50a.

(14) **And *zenim*.** This means: and *minim* (varieties); the Targum renders *le-minehu* (“of its kind,” Gen 1:12)—*li-zenohi*.<sup>875</sup>

**They made a fire for [Asa].** This refers to the burning of the spices and blends. But our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Avodah Zarah* 11a), explained that when kings would die, it was customary to burn their bed and the items that they used.<sup>876</sup>

**17 (3) Because [Jehoshaphat] followed in the ways of his father David—the earlier ones,** in which he did not sin. But later [David] sinned in the matter of Bathsheba (2 Samuel 11) and in counting Israel (2 Samuel 24).

Alternatively, the text says “the earlier ones” in reference to other Judahite kings, *each* of whom sinned toward the end; and this is what it means: because he followed in the ways of his father David, which were the earlier ways of *each* of the Davidic kings.<sup>877</sup> They ended up sinning, however—for Solomon’s wives led his heart astray in his old age (1 Kgs 11:3-4); Rehoboam [sinned] as well, [as it says]: “when he grew strong, he abandoned the Teaching of the Lord” (2 Chr 12:1); so did Abijah according to the midrash we recorded (2 Chr 13:20);<sup>878</sup> and Asa sinned at the end when he

875. In *Shorashim*, entry זון, Radak, citing this interpretation in the name of Ibn Janah, writes that the root of *zenim* is זנה (see Ibn Janah’s *Shorashim*, entry זנה). See also Radak at Ps 144:13 and in *Shorashim*, entry מזה, and his treatment of Dan 3:5 in the appendix to the *Shorashim*.

876. Compare Radak at Jer 34:5, and see also his remarks in *Shorashim*, entry שרף, and at 1 Sam 31:12.

877. According to this second (rather speculative) explanation, the phrase means: “because he followed in the ways of his father David—the earlier [ways of each of his ancestors].” “The earlier ones,” then, modifies only “ways” but not “ways of his father David,” as it does for the first explanation. Both suggestions also appear in Pseudo-Rashi.

878. Radak is undoubtedly referring to the midrash that asserts that Abijah was punished for not purging the idolatrous calf in Bethel. Radak’s subsequent citation of the Yerushalmi, according to which Abijah was punished for shaming Jeroboam, is his later addition to that comment and was considered by him to be “improbable.”

## 236 2 Chronicles 17:3–18:1

relied on the king of Aram (2 Chr 16:2-3), and also when he did not turn to the Lord when he was ill (2 Chr 16:12).<sup>879</sup>

(7) **To Ben-ḥayil (“Man-of-strength”).** That was his name.

(11) **And silver—in loads.** [This means:] loads carried by animals, of silver and other gifts.<sup>880</sup> Since the text says “they would bring”<sup>881</sup> and not “they brought,” it appears that [foreign emissaries] would bring this to [Jehoshaphat] every year. The same is true for “**would bring him rams,**” etc.—they would bring them to him every year.

(12) **Biraniyyot (“palaces”).** This is similar to *birah* (“palace”):<sup>882</sup> the *nun* and the *yod* are like those in *raḥamaniyyot* (“merciful,” Lam 4:10) and *qadmoniyyot* (“happenings of yore,” Isa 43:18).<sup>883</sup>

(16) **Who made a donation to the Lord.** Perhaps [Amasiah son of Zichri] had made a donation of silver and gold to the treasuries of the House of the Lord, and there was someone else whose name was the same as his; thus, the text says “who made a donation to the Lord.”<sup>884</sup>

**18 (1) And [Jehoshaphat] married le-Aḥ'av (“to Ahab”).** He married *into Ahab's family*, taking the daughter of Ahab for his son Jehoram (2 Kgs 8:18).

879. This additional sin of Asa does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

880. The word “loads,” then, characterizes both the “gifts” and the “silver” mentioned in the verse. Pseudo-Rashi, in contrast, appears to read: “gifts and loads of silver.” This comment is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak's later addition.

881. That is, the verse uses the participle *mevi'im*.

882. That is, it is like *birot*, the plural of *birah*.

883. In *Shorashim*, entry בִּיר, Radak writes that the *nun* is extraneous and explains that as in *raḥamaniyyot* and *qadmoniyyot* the *yod* in *biraniyyot* gives it an adjectival meaning. Technically, then, the word would probably mean “palace-like structures” and not simply “palaces.” Compare also Radak at 2 Chr 27:4.

884. In this way, the text clarifies which Amasiah son of Zichri it means.

(19) **Who will entice Ahab.** We have explained this matter in [the commentary to] the book of Kings (1 Kgs 22:20-23).<sup>885</sup>

(31) **Va-yesitem God from [Jehoshaphat].** He swayed [the Arameans] (*hesitem*), putting it in their minds to turn away (*she-yasuru*) from him, much as the text says in the book of Kings *va-yesirem* (“and he diverted them”).<sup>886</sup>

(34) **Was holding upright (*ma’amid*) in the chariot.** This means: [Ahab] was mustering the strength to hold himself upright so that the Arameans would not think that he was wounded,<sup>887</sup> and also so as not to undermine the resolve of the Israelites.<sup>888</sup> In the book of Kings [the text says] *mo’omad* (“being held upright,” 1 Kgs 22:35).

**19 (6) And with you in judicial matters.** This means: and may God be with you in judicial matters; that is, you should fear Him to the point where it is as though He is with you in judicial matters.<sup>889</sup> Alternatively, it means: He will be with you to help you in judicial matters as long as you fear Him.

885. These first two comments on chapter 18 are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak’s later additions. The second one, in particular, he clearly added after composing the Kings commentary, to which he refers explicitly; see above, introduction, 3. In the course of his comments there, Radak explains that God induced false prophets to entice Ahab but that they did not actually prophesy.

886. This reference to Kings appears in only one branch of text witnesses and might be Radak’s later addition (compare the citation of Kings in the next comment). Alternatively, it is original but was later deleted by Radak or someone else—for there is no such verse in Kings. In his parallel remarks in *Shorashim*, entry סִיח, Radak indeed does not cite such a reference (compare his discussion there to R. Moses Kimḥi on Job 36:15). It is possible that here he was influenced by the phrase *va-yasuru ‘alav* in 1 Kgs 22:32, parallel to *va-yasobbu ‘alav* in our verse, both of which mean “and they turned toward him,” and that he did not recall the verse in Kings with precision.

887. This would embolden the Arameans.

888. Radak adopts this second explanation at 1 Kgs 22:35. In his comment here, this explanation does not appear in ms Paris and is presumably his later addition, as is the following sentence, which is not attested in ms Munich either.

889. That is, in judicial proceedings, they should be in fear of God as if His Presence were before them. This explanation fits the hortatory context and is preferred by moderns; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 775).

238 2 Chronicles 19:8–20:1

(8) **Then they returned to Jerusalem.** [This refers to] those who appointed the judges in all the cities, following [Jehoshaphat's] command.<sup>890</sup>

**20 (1) Together with some 'Ammonim (עמונים).** It says in a midrash that these are descendants of Seir, since that is how the text refers to them at the end of the story.<sup>891</sup> But it calls them 'Ammonim because they concealed their identity, disguising themselves by wearing clothes of Ammonites so that the Israelites should not recognize them; for [the Edomite descendants of Seir] were under the rule of the Judean kings until they rebelled in the days of Jehoram son of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr 21:8–10).<sup>892</sup>

But it is possible to explain that they were a separate nation called 'Ammonim, for nowhere are the Ammonites called 'Ammonim, only *benei 'Ammon*.<sup>893</sup> The 'Ammonim, then, were a different nation, who were called that because of where they were located. The same applies for "The 'Ammonim presented a gift to Uzziah" (2 Chr 26:8), in the account pertaining to Uzziah.

It might be, however, that they are the same as the Meunites (מעונים) mentioned there (26:7) and that there was a transposition [of letters].<sup>894</sup>

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890. Even though these individuals are not mentioned, the plural formulation can only refer to them.

891. See vv. 10, 22–23.

892. There does not appear to be such an extant midrash. But compare the Targum, and a similar explanation in Pseudo-Rashi.

893. 'Ammonim are mentioned in Deut 2:20 immediately following a verse that speaks of *benei 'Ammon*. Radak would probably argue that the text changes the terminology precisely because these are two different peoples. More problematically, 1 Kgs 11:5 speaks of Milkom, an idolatrous deity of the 'Ammonim, yet in 11:33, he is called the god of *benei 'Ammon*. Possibly, as Radak suggests below, the 'Ammonim lived in Ammonite territory, so that they worshiped the same god as the *benei 'Ammon*.

894. That is, מעונים became עמונים. While this basic suggestion was, as far as we know, in the original version of the commentary, Radak's explanation that a metathesis of letters took place—along with the remainder of the comment—does not appear in ms Paris and is presumably his later addition. Compare a similar comment at 2 Chr 26:7 that is also unattested in ms Paris.

This, in fact, is the correct option, the name of their location having been Maon (מעון). We indeed find in the book of Judges: “The Sidonians, Amalek, and Maon oppressed you” (Judg 10:12).

(5) **At the front of the new court.** Perhaps it needed repairs, and so they renovated it. In a midrashic vein, our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Pes. 92a*), explained that they introduced new legislation in it, declaring that one who has immersed himself in the daytime may not enter the Levite camp.<sup>895</sup> That is, in the court,<sup>896</sup> they introduced new [legislation] that did not derive from the Torah, and this is what it was.

(9) **Shefot (“vengeful judgment”).** This is a noun, in the pattern of *se’or* (“leaven,” Exod 12:15), and *yeqod* (“a burning,” Isa 10:15).<sup>897</sup>

(20) **And te’amenu.** [This means:] *tihyu ne’emanim* (“be faithful”) to the Holy One, blessed is He.

(34) **Which was included with the book of the kings of Israel.** *The book of*

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This option is generally adopted by modern scholars, based on a biblical variant reflected in the Greek; see Japhet (1993, 785), who credits Radak for the initial suggestion. In keeping with his general position on such matters, Radak undoubtedly means that the corrupted form of the name became a legitimate option before it was canonized.

895. In certain cases of impurity, ritual immersion during the day cleanses the individual in part, but he/she is not fully pure until the evening. According to this midrash, “the Levite camp,” which refers here to an area within the Temple, was given added sanctity, so that one could not enter it before attaining full purity.

896. The original term here is *be-ḥaṣer*, by which Radak seems to mean “in the court,” which corresponds to the word *bah* in the rabbinic citation, which he would most likely render “in it.” According to Rashi on the talmudic passage, however, *bah* appears to mean “concerning it”; that is, they introduced this legislation *concerning* the Levite camp—which was part of the court—but not necessarily *in* it.

This entire comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

897. At Ezek 23:10, Radak explains that *shefot* is the singular form of *shefutim*, which means “vengeful judgments.”



240 2 *Chronicles* 20:34–21:12

Jehu son of Hanani was written together with the book of the Kings of Israel.<sup>898</sup>

(35) *Eṭḥabbar* (אתחבר, “entered into a partnership”). This is like *hithabbar* (התחבר), with the *alef* in place of a *hei*. Similarly, [in the phrase] “And all my clothing *eg’alti* (אגאלתי, “I have dirtied”)” (Isa 63:3), [*eg’alti*] is like *heg’alti* (אגאלתי).<sup>899</sup>

(37) *Ve-lo ‘ašeru to go to Tarshish*. This means: *ve-lo ‘ašeru koaḥ* (“and they could not muster the strength”).<sup>900</sup>

21 (7) **To give him a *nir***. This is like *ner* (“lamp”), for a king is like a lamp that gives light.<sup>901</sup> The same is true for *bin* (“son of,” Exod 33:11) and *ben*, and for *rish* (“poverty,” Prov 28:19) and *resh* (Prov 13:18).

(8) **The Edomites rebelled against Judah’s rule and set up a king of their own**. For from the days of David—who subdued them and ruled over them—until this point, they remained in the same situation, under the rule of the Judean kings. They could not set up a king of their own because they were under [the rule of] the Judean king, who would appoint prefects over them.<sup>902</sup>

(12) **A letter from Elijah the prophet came to him**. This was after [Elijah] had ascended (2 Kgs 2:11). What happened here is that Elijah revealed himself to one of the prophets by means of prophetic inspiration; placed the content of this letter in his mouth; and instructed him to write it down in the form of a letter, bring it to Jehoram, and tell him that Elijah is sending him this letter, so that Jehoram would think it came to him from the heav-

898. The verse speaks of “the words” of Jehu, not his book. Radak is reacting to the singular verb “was included.”

899. Compare Radak on the verse in Isaiah and in *Shorashim*, entry חבר.

900. See our remarks at 2 Chr 14:10.

901. Compare Radak at 1 Kgs 11:36 and 2 Kgs 8:19, and in *Shorashim*, entries אין, חנן, and נור. The second half of this sentence does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late.

902. Compare Radak’s introduction and his comment at 1 Chr 1:35.

ens and humble himself with the knowledge that he had done a terrible evil.<sup>903</sup>

How do we know that this was after [Elijah] had ascended? Because in the days of Jehoshaphat he had already ascended. For when Jehoshaphat allied himself with Jehoram son of Ahab to go to war against Moab, it says, “But Jehoshaphat said, ‘Is there not a prophet here,’” etc., “and [one of the courtiers of the king of Israel] said, ‘Elisha son of Shaphat, who poured water on the hands of Elijah, is here’” (2 Kgs 3:11)—and Elisha did not separate from Elijah until his ascent.<sup>904</sup> Also, it says “who poured,” and had he not ascended yet it would have said: “who *pours* water.” In fact, it says in *Seder Olam* (17) that Elijah had already been concealed for seven years when the letter came to Jehoram from him.

(19) **Of two *yamim*.** This means two years.<sup>905</sup>

**22 (2) Ahaziah was forty-two years old when he became king.** But in the book of Kings it says: “Ahaziah was *twenty*-two years old when he became king” (2 Kgs 8:26)! Moreover, his father Jehoram’s entire lifespan was only forty years, for the text says as follows: “Jehoram was thirty-two years old when he became king, and he reigned in Jerusalem eight years” (1 Chr 21:5)—so how could [Ahaziah] have been forty-two years old when his father died? That would be impossible!

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903. As Dr. Bryna Levy noted in a written communication, Radak, who contends that Elijah did not have a physical essence after his ascent (see Radak at 2 Kgs 2:1,11), could not explain that Elijah returned to earth and approached Jehoram himself. Furthermore, on rational grounds, Radak evidently could not accept that Elijah sent a letter directly from the heavens. Therefore, he suggests that in a vision Elijah instructed another prophet to compose the letter. As in most cases of rationalistic reinterpretation in the commentary, the lengthy sentence containing this suggestion is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition. The citation of *Seder Olam* at the end also does not appear in these manuscripts, and it too is apparently late.

904. Thus, had Elijah not yet ascended, he would have been with Elisha and would have been mentioned also. While it is clear from 2 Kings 2 that Elisha was with Elijah at the time of the ascent, there does not appear to be an explicit source for Radak’s claim that the two were together at all times.

905. That is, *yamim* here means years, even though it usually means days.

242 2 *Chronicles* 22:2

It says in *Seder Olam* (17): “Once Asa married off his son Jehoshaphat to Omri’s daughter, this decree was issued—that the royal family of David be wiped out along with the house of Ahab.” And that is what happened:<sup>906</sup> King Ahaziah of Judah died together with the king of Israel—for Jehu killed them—and Athaliah, Ahaziah’s mother, saw that her son was killed and killed off all the potential royal heirs. So that is why the text counts forty-two—from the time the decree was issued. [How so?] It was in the thirty-first year of Asa that [Jehoshaphat] married [Omri’s daughter]. For it says: “In the thirty-first year of King Asa of Judah, Omri became king over Israel” (1 Kgs 16:23)—but he had already reigned for four years prior (1 Kgs 16:15-16)! What it means, rather, is that he became king in the full sense: he married into the family of Asa, grew in stature, and killed Tibni and reigned over Israel (1 Kgs 16:22). And from the thirty-first year of Asa until King Ahaziah of Judah died there are in fact forty-two years. How so? Nine years of Asa; twenty-five of Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:42), for a total of thirty-four; and eight years of Jehoram, for a total of forty-two. But this midrash is very far from the way of straightforward interpretation.

It is possible to explain<sup>907</sup> that Jehoram lived for more than forty years, but the text only counts toward the time he was king the eight years during which he ruled at full strength. The years from the time he fell in the hands of the Arabs (2 Chr 21:16-17) and also fell ill (2 Chr 21:18-19), however, it does not count toward his reign. In fact, they made his son Ahaziah king in his place while his father was still alive, at the time of his fall, from

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906. This is Radak’s elaboration of the rabbinic passage. On the interpretation itself and on Radak’s explanation of it, see the notes in Miliukowsky’s forthcoming edition of *Seder Olam*.

907. On the verse in Kings, Radak writes that this is the “correct interpretation.” In his commentary on the passage in *Seder Olam*, R. Jacob Emden sharply criticizes Radak’s alternative without specifying his objections.

In this connection, it should be noted that R. Emden was ideologically committed to the reliability of *Seder Olam*; e.g., at the beginning of its nineteenth chapter, he again vigorously objects to an opposing interpretation of Radak and writes that “anyone who diverges from the words of *Seder Olam* is like one who diverges from life itself.” For a list of relevant passages in the works of R. Emden and references to scholarly discussions, see Schacter (1988, 612 n. 81).

A lengthy, ideologically motivated defense of the chronology in *Seder Olam* and an attendant critique of Radak’s departures appear in the final chapters of Shlez (1879).

which point he continued on having lost all desire (2 Chr 21:20); and those years totaled twenty.<sup>908</sup> So it was when they made him king during his father's lifetime that he was twenty-two, which is what the text means in Kings when it says, "Ahaziah was twenty-two years old when he became king"; and it was when his father died that he was forty-two. And he reigned for only **one year** after his father's death.<sup>909</sup>

**His mother's name was Athaliah daughter of Omri.** She was Ahab's daughter, as the text says above (2 Chr 21:6); but it relates her to father's father. The same is true for "They then returned to their father Reuel" (Exod 2:18)—for he was their father's father.<sup>910</sup>

(5) **And *ha-Rammim* wounded.** This elides an *alef*—it is like "*ha-Arammim* ("the Arameans"). The same is true for *mi-bet ha-surim* ("from jail," Eccl 4:14).<sup>911</sup>

(6) **Because *ha-makkim*.** This is a noun, like *ha-makkot* ("the wounds"). [The phrase] means: because he had to recover from the wounds.<sup>912</sup>

**And King Azariah son of Jehoram of Judah.** He is the same as King Ahaziah of Judah;<sup>913</sup> he had two names.

(7) **The *tevusah* of Ahaziah.** This is like *mehumah* ("degradation"), as in "a

908. That is, the remaining years until his death totaled twenty.

909. Thus, when the text says here and in Kings that Ahaziah reigned for one year, it means for one year after his father's death. This is true even though in that same verse in Kings the text says that Ahaziah became king when he was twenty-two, referring to his initial ascent to the throne when his father was still alive.

910. Compare Radak at 2 Kgs 8:26, and Rashbam and the longer commentary of Ibn Ezra on the verse in Exodus. This comment and the next two are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak's later additions.

911. That is, *ha-surim* is like *ha-asurim*. Compare *Shorashim*, entry אסר.

912. Compare Radak at 2 Kgs 8:29. Radak does not address the syntax of this verse, where "because" (*ki*) oddly seems to mean "because of."

913. That is what he is called in the parallel verse in 2 Kgs 8:29.

day of *mehumah* and *mevusah*" (Isa 22:5). [The verse] means: God prompted Ahaziah's degrading visit to Jehoram, so that he would die with him.<sup>914</sup>

**(8) And the sons of Ahaziah's brothers, acting in the service of Ahaziah.**

This refers to what the text says in Kings: "Jehu came upon the brothers of Ahaziah" —that is, the sons of his brothers—"and said 'Who are you?' [And they replied: 'We are the brothers of Ahaziah], and have come to ensure the safety of the sons of the king and the sons of the queen mother'" (2 Kgs 10:13).<sup>915</sup> For here as well, when it says "acting in the service of Ahaziah," it means that they were going on behalf of Ahaziah to help the sons of the king of Israel.

**(9) [Ahaziah] had been hiding in Samaria.** But in Kings it says, "and he fled along the road to Beth-haggan, and Jehu pursued him and said, 'Kill him too!'" etc. (2 Kgs 9:27), from which it appears that they killed him on the road, when he was fleeing! It might be that they pursued him but did not catch up to him; for the text does not say "*they killed him on the chariot,*" but "*kill him.*" So they did not actually catch up to him but rather shot arrows at him, while he managed to flee, as it says: "He fled to Megiddo" (2 Kgs 9:27).

Perhaps he then left Megiddo; and when the text says "and he died there" (2 Kgs 9:27), it does not mean that he really died. Rather, the arrows struck him on the road while he was fleeing, and he fled to Megiddo and "died" there, in the sense of having been knocked out because of his wounds—just as the text says "and he died" concerning Nabal (1 Sam 25:37) when he did not die until ten days later (2 Kgs 9:38).<sup>916</sup> Then afterward, [Ahaziah's] servants carried him to hide in Samaria, which he did.

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914. See Radak on the verse in Kings and in *Shorashim*, entries הים and בוס. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably late.

915. Compare Radak there.

916. As Radak notes in his parallel comment at 2 Kgs 9:27 (see also Rashi and Kara there), what the text says concerning Nabal is that "his heart died within him." (On the verse in Samuel, Radak explains this to mean that Nabal was silenced by grief.) All this proves, then, is that the verb "died" need not *always* mean actual death. But where the subject of the verb is the individual himself, as it is here, there remains no clear example where it means something else.

But Jehu's servants found him there **and brought him to Jehu and killed him**—for he had not yet died.

When the text then says here **“They then buried him, for it was said, ‘He is a son of Jehoshaphat,’”** it means that they designated him for burial, allowing his servants to carry him to Jerusalem, as it says in Kings: “His servants conveyed him in a chariot to Jerusalem, and they buried him in his grave with his fathers, in the city of David” (2 Kgs 9:28).

**The house of Ahaziah could not then muster the strength to rule.** From the time he died, there was nobody left in the house of Ahaziah who could muster the strength to rule; for he did not have a son old enough to rule. Indeed, all the potential royal heirs were minors—that is why Athaliah had the ability to kill off all the potential royal heirs of the house of David (v. 10).

(10) ***Va-tedabber***. [This means:] and she killed, in the sense of “a very severe *dever* (‘pestilence’)” (Exod 9:3).<sup>917</sup> In the parallel verse in Kings it in fact says, “and she killed off” (2 Kgs 11:1).<sup>918</sup>

(11) **In the bedroom**. [This is to be understood] as Targum Jonathan renders it in Kings (2 Kgs 11:2): “in the sleeping quarters,” that is, in the room in which Jehoiada and his wife Jehoshabeath slept.<sup>919</sup>

**23 (4) The gatekeepers of the *sippim***. This is as the text says above when discussing the shifts: “The chamber of the *asuppim*” (1 Chr 26:15).<sup>920</sup> This gate was at the south of the court.

917. In *Shorashim*, entry דבר, Radak indeed writes that *dever*, the word for pestilence, fundamentally denotes death.

918. This comment and the next do not appear in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak's later additions. The citation of Kings appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is apparently an even later insertion.

919. The Aramaic term cited by Radak is *bet mashkeva*. Our texts of the Targum read *bet 'arseta* (“the bedroom”). This is also the term that Radak cites on the verse in Kings. See also Radak's additional explanation there.

920. See our remarks in that context, where we noted Radak's assertion that the meaning of *asuppim* is no longer known.

246 2 Chronicles 23:5-11

(5) **At the *Yesod* (“Foundation”) Gate.** In Kings [it says], “at the *Sur* Gate” (2 Kgs 11:6).<sup>921</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory (*y. Eruv*. 33a), explained that this is the east gate and that it had seven names.

(6) ***Ha-mesharetim la-Leviyyim* (“the ministering Levites”).** The *lamed* is in place of a definite *hei*.<sup>922</sup> The same is true for “on whose arm *la-melekh* (‘the king’) was leaning” (2 Kgs 7:2)—it is like *ha-melekh*.<sup>923</sup>

**Shall carry out the guard duty.** This means that the priests and the Levites shall guard the inside of the Temple, [that is], the porch and the Great Hall, “because they are sanctified,”<sup>924</sup> and [non-Levite] Israelites may not enter them; but the *whole* nation shall carry out the guard duty of **the Lord** outside.

(8) **For Jehoiada the priest had not dismissed the divisions.** This means: He withheld all the divisions—the ones set up into weekly shifts since the days of David (1 Chr 23:6–27:34). He did not dismiss the shift whose week had ended but withheld them all to carry out guard duty for the king—“the ones whose week was beginning along with the ones whose week had ended.”

(10) **Each man with *shilho* in his hand.** [This means] his armaments, as in “they shall perish by *shelah*” (Job 36:12).<sup>925</sup>

(11) **The *nezer*.** This means the royal crown.

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921. Compare Radak there.

922. In *Mikhlol* 46a, this is the only example of such a *lamed* for which Radak could not find an alternative explanation. See also Radak at Ps 141:1.

923. Both in the *Mikhlol* and on the verse in Kings Radak provides a different explanation of this. This comment appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is probably a particularly late addition; so it cannot be ruled out that it reflects his latest thinking on the matter.

924. Even though the porch and the Great Hall are not mentioned explicitly, Radak claims that the plural pronoun must refer to them. He evidently did not think that it could refer to the priests and the Levites, since people are not usually described by the term *qodesh* (“sanctified”).

This comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is also apparently late.

925. See Radak at 2 Chr 32:5 and in *Shorashim*, entry שלח.



**And the *'edut*.** [This means] the royal garments, from *ve-'adita 'edi* ("and donned your finery," Ezek 23:40).<sup>926</sup> *'Edut* is in the pattern of *ge'ut* ("exalted acts," Isa 12:5).

(13) **Was standing on his stand.** In Kings [it says], "on *the* stand" (2 Kgs 11:14), and Targum Jonathan renders "on *ištevana*," which means on the *setav* ("bench") on which the king stands in the House of the Lord.<sup>927</sup>

(14) **Take [Athaliah] out to the chamber of the *sederot*.** [This is] a place that was *nisdar* ("set up") for officers to sit.<sup>928</sup>

**And anyone who follows her—to help her.**

(15) **They made for her *yadayim* ("hands").** This means: They cleared an area for her to flee and to proceed **into the entrance of the Horse Gate**.<sup>929</sup>

**24 (6) *Mas'at* (מִשְׁאָת) Moses, the servant of the Lord.** This refers to the money from the shekels—the half-shekels that all the Israelites would give once a year, as it says in the Torah: "When *tissa* (תִּשָּׂא, 'you take a census of') the Israelite people" (Exod 30:12). That it why the text calls it a *mas'et*—based on "When *tissa*."<sup>930</sup>

926. See also Radak at 2 Kgs 11:12, and compare *Shorashim*, entries נִיר and עֵדִי.

927. Radak on the verse in Kings explains that a *setav* is "a bench on which high-level officers sit," and that the "stand" was a prominent place on this bench on which the king would stand. See also Radak at 2 Kgs 23:3.

This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich, and Radak probably added it after coming across the targumic rendering in Kings. See also Radak at 2 Chr 34:31, also a later addition, where he introduces a new suggestion.

In some manuscripts, Radak at 2 Chr 34:31 cites the relevant word in the Targum as *istevana*, with a *samekh*, as it appears in our targumic texts on both Kings and Chronicles.

928. That is, *sederot*, spelled with a *sin*, is related to the root סָדַר, which is normally spelled with a *samekh*; see *Shorashim*, entry סָדַר. On 2 Kgs 11:15, Radak explains that it refers to a place where guards were lined up.

929. Compare Radak at 2 Kgs 11:16.

930. *Mas'at* is the construct form of *mas'et*. The phrase thus means, "the census money of Moses." This last sentence is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

## 248 2 Chronicles 24:6-7

In Kings, the text makes reference to three kinds of *keseḥ* (“[donations of] money,” 2 Kgs 12:5).<sup>931</sup> *keseḥ* ‘over, as it says: “Everyone who is ‘over ‘al *ha-pequdim* (‘entered into the records’)” (Exod 30:13); “*keseḥ* a man pays as the value of persons,” which refers to someone who says “I pledge my value” or “I pledge so-and-so’s value”;<sup>932</sup> and “any *keseḥ* that a man should decide,” which refers to one who donates for the upkeep of the Temple.

**And the congregation, to Israel.** [The latter part of the verse] means: the money of Moses, the servant of the Lord, and of the congregation, which Moses commanded to Israel to bring **to the Tent of Testimony** in the wilderness (Exod 30:16).<sup>933</sup>

(7) **For Athaliah *ha-mirsha’at* (“the wicked”).** *Ha-mirsha’at* — the *mem* with a *hireq* — is an adjective, as is the case for *he-‘arim ha-mivdalot* (“the marked-off cities,” Josh 16:9).<sup>934</sup>

**Her sons had violated the House of God.** This means: She and her sons<sup>935</sup> had violated the house of God, and that is why it needed reinforcement and repair. “Her sons” refers to sons she had by another man and not by the king.<sup>936</sup>

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931. Radak is referring to the parallel context in Kings, where King Joash mentions three specific kinds of donations. Compare Radak there.

932. See Mishnah *Arakhin* 5:2, 4.

933. The verse as it stands is enigmatic: the king asked Jehoiada why he did not instruct the Levites to bring “*mas’at* Moses the servant of the Lord and the congregation to Israel to the Tent of Testimony.” For Radak, *ma’sat* connects to both “Moses” and “the congregation,” and the remainder of the sentence is highly elliptical: “*mas’at* (‘the census money of’) Moses the servant of the Lord and the congregation, [which Moses commanded] to Israel [to bring to] the Tent of Testimony.” This appears to be at odds with the masoretic punctuation, which places the longest pause after “to Israel.”

The comment does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

934. See our remarks at 1 Chr 26:6.

935. The verse elides the word “and.”

936. That is, it stands to reason that Athaliah violated the Temple after her son Ahaziah had died and she had wiped out all the royal heirs, which enabled her to rule the land herself (2 Chr 22:10-12). At that point, then,

**And had also used *kol* the sacred things of the House of the Lord for the Baals.** For had [Athaliah's sons] not removed the sacred things from the House of the Lord for the Baals, they would have sufficed to repair the Temple. But since they did use them for the Baals, it was necessary to collect money from all Israel.

Athaliah and her sons did not remove all the sacred things of the House of the Lord, only most of them. That is why the text says *kol*, which is to be understood as "most of," as in "*kol* the bounty of his master" (Gen 24:10).<sup>937</sup> The proof that some of the sacred things of the House of the Lord remained is that in the book of Kings, when Hazael initiates a battle on Jerusalem, it says: "King Joash of Judah took all the objects that had been consecrated by Jehoshaphat, Jehoram," etc. (2 Kgs 12:19).<sup>938</sup> But Joash did not want to spend that remnant for the work, in order that the treasury of the Lord not be left empty.<sup>939</sup>

Had Athaliah and her sons not violated the Temple, it would still have been standing. For from the time the Temple was built until Joash repaired it, only one hundred and fifty-five years had passed; and a strong building like that would have stood far longer had they not violated it.<sup>940</sup>

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she could not have had sons who were fathered by the king and were themselves royal heirs.

937. Compare Radak there, and see *Shorashim*, entry כּלל. *Kol* usually means "all." Radak is probably implying that had Athaliah indeed removed all the sacred things, the word *kol* would have been better omitted: "and had also used the sacred things...." It is precisely because she did not take them all that it says *kol*, indicating "most," in accordance with the term's secondary meaning.

938. The verse proceeds to say that some of these consecrated objects were in the treasuries of the House of the Lord, which suggests that they had been there since the time of Jehoshaphat and Jehoram and that Athaliah did not remove them.

939. That is, those objects remained in the treasuries until Hazael's campaign against Jerusalem—which took place *after* Joash's renovation of the Temple—apparently because Joash had not wanted to use everything in the treasuries and thereby empty them completely. This last sentence is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak's later addition.

940. From Radak's formulation here, it appears that he perceived

250 2 *Chronicles* 24:8-14

(8) **Aron *ehad*.** [This means:] *aron ish ehad* ("someone's box").<sup>941</sup> *Va-ya'asu* means that they fixed it up so that the money could be placed in it, as it says in Kings: "and bored a hole in its lid" (2 Kgs 12:10).<sup>942</sup>

(11) **Vi-'aru ("and they would empty") the box.** This is like "*va-te'ar* ('and she emptied') her jar" (Gen 24:20).<sup>943</sup>

(13) **And the work found good health ('*arukhah*).** This is metaphoric. The same is true for "that healing ('*arukhah*) had come to the walls of Jerusalem" (Neh 4:1), as well as for "and he healed (*va-yerappei*) the damaged altar of the Lord" (1 Kgs 18:30).<sup>944</sup>

(14) **[The remaining silver] was made into utensils for the House of the Lord—service vessels.** But in Kings it says: "However, no silver vessels were made at the House of the Lord," etc. (2 Kgs 12:14)!<sup>945</sup> Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Ket.* 106b), noted the discrepancy between these verses and replied that one verse refers to where the amount that they raised

Athaliah's violations of the Temple to have been so severe that before Joash's repairs, it was no longer "standing" in the usual sense of the term.

Compare Radak's comment to that of Pseudo-Rashi, who counts one hundred and twenty-five years from the construction of the Temple until the end of Ahaziah's reign. Radak counts an additional thirty years until the Temple was repaired, as follows: Athaliah reigned for six years (2 Chr 22:12); in the seventh year Jehoiada rebelled and Joash became king (2 Chr 23:1-24:1); and in Joash's twenty-third year, Joash instructed the priests to repair the Temple (2 Kgs 12:7).

941. For Radak, this cannot mean *aron ehad* in the sense of "one box" (as the Targum renders it), since *aron* is in the construct state. It must, rather, mean "a box of one."

942. Compare Radak there. *Va-ya'asu*, of the root עשה, normally means "they made." In our case, that would suggest that they made a new box, which contradicts the verse in Kings. For this reason, Radak proposes that *va-ya'asu* here means "they fixed." See *Shorashim*, entry עשה, where Radak writes that "fixing" is in fact the fundamental meaning of the root.

943. See Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry ערה.

944. See our remarks at 1 Chr 11:8.

945. Compare Radak there.

yielded a surplus and the other to where it did not. That is the point when the text says: "When they had finished, they brought to the king and Jehoiada...." For prior to the completion of the work they did not make vessels, as it says in Kings: "because they gave it to the workers" (2 Kgs 12:15). But once it was done, as the text says here, "and they restored the House of God to its original form and reinforced it; and *when they had finished*," etc. (vv. 13-14), they made what was left into service vessels.

**And *ha-'alat* and spoons.** Some explain that this is like *'eli*, which is a pestle, as in "together with the grain, with the *'eli*" (Prov 27:22), and that they were made to grind the spices for the incense.<sup>946</sup>

But in my opinion this is a small utensil used to draw water from the *hin*,<sup>947</sup> for libations. We find it in a rabbinic source (*b. Eruv.* 53b): "When speaking cleverly, the maidservants<sup>948</sup> in the house of Rabbi would say to him: 'The *'alat* is banging on the jar.'" That is, the small vessel with which they would draw wine from the jar was called an *'alat*, and they would tell him that the *'alat* was hitting the bottom of the vessel, which means that there was no wine in the jar. They also said (*b. Shab.* 119a): "He found a jewel in it and sold it for thirteen *'alita*<sup>949</sup> of *dinars*."<sup>950</sup> That is, he sold it for

946. See Pseudo-Rashi, and compare *Shorashim*, entry עלה. According to both this explanation and the next one, the *hei* in *ha-'alat* appears to be a definite *hei*, even though its vowel is a *pataḥ*. Generally, a *qameṣ* is expected under a definite *hei* that is followed by *'ayin*. For other exceptions, see *Mikhlol* 47b.

The verse in Proverbs is referring to grinding in a grinding vessel. According to this explanation, the *'eli* mentioned there refers to the pestle used to perform the grinding itself. Compare the marginal comment incorporated into Talmage's edition of R. Joseph's Kimḥi's commentary to Proverbs (1990, 139).

947. This refers to a vessel that holds a measurement called a *hin*; compare Leviticus 19:36.

948. This plural form is consistent with one variant cited in Rabinovich, *Sefer Diqduqei Soferim*, on the talmudic passage. Our texts contain a singular form.

949. Our texts read *'ilita*, which is less clearly related to *'alat*.

950. This is a different aggadic tale, referring to a certain Joseph known for honoring the Sabbath, who merited finding a jewel in a fish that he had bought for the Sabbath feast.

252 2 *Chronicles* 24:14-25

thirteen vessels—of this small variety called an *'alat*—filled with *dinars*. In the singular it is called an *'alat* or an *'alah*, and in the plural, *'alot*.

**(17) And [the officers of Judah] bowed to the king, at which point the king listened to them.** They bowed to him and persuaded him with their words, saying, among other things, that they would obey any command of his and that he too should listen to them and worship *asherah* trees like all the nations. So at that point, the king listened to them, and they left the service of the Temple and worshiped idols.

But in a midrashic source [it says] (cf. *Tanḥuma* [Buber] *va-Era* 16): “‘And they bowed to’ him—that is, they made him into a god. They said to him: It says: ‘any outsider who encroaches shall be put to death’ (Num 18:7), and you were in the Temple for six years (2 Chr 22:12) and are still alive! Since a wondrous thing has been seen in connection with you, you are worthy of our worshiping you as a god.”<sup>951</sup>

**(23) And [the Arameans] wiped out all the officers of the people (*sarei ha-'am*), *me-'am*.** The king, the officers of Judah, and a large army went out to do battle with them, and the Aramean army wiped out all the officers of the people (*sarei ha-'am*)—and some of the people (*u-min ha-'am*) they wiped out also.<sup>952</sup>

**(25) Because of the murder of the sons of Jehoiada the priest.** Perhaps when [the people] killed Zechariah (vv. 21-22) they also killed the rest of Jehoiada's sons.<sup>953</sup> Alternatively, Jehoiada had no sons then except for Zechariah, since the rest of his sons—to whom the text alludes when it says “and he fathered sons and daughters” (v. 3)—had already died. So the only one of Jehoiada's sons left was Zechariah, whom they killed; and it says, “because of the murder of the *sons* of Jehoiada” in the same sense as “The *sons* of Dan: Hushim” (Gen 46:23).<sup>954</sup>

951. This comment and the next one are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably Radak's later additions.

952. *'Am* means a people, and *me-'am* technically means “from / of / some of a people.” According to Radak, both a *vav* and a definite *hei* are elided, so that it means *u-me-ha-'am* (= *u-min ha-'am*) (“and some of the people”).

953. Thus, the text refers to “sons” in the plural.

954. In his comment there, Radak explains this to mean: “All the sons of Dan amounted to Hushim [alone].” If this is his intention here, then he

(27) **And his sons *yirev* (יִרֵב) *ha-massa* concerning him.** The spelling is יִרֵב (*ve-rov*, “and the large amount of”), which is a noun, as in *ve-rov banav* (“and his large number of sons,” Esth 5:11), meaning *rov ha-massa* (“the large amount of prophecy”) that the prophets prophesied concerning him, as it says: “He sent prophets among them” (v. 19). It is read *yirev*, though, a variation of *yirbeh* (“will abound”): it is a future-tense form appearing in place of a past-tense form.<sup>955</sup> What it means is: “the prophecies that abounded concerning him.”<sup>956</sup>

“His sons” refers to Joash. [The verse] means: A record of his sons and<sup>957</sup> of how *massa*—that is, prophecy—abounded concerning him, and an account of his repair of the **foundation of the House of God**, are all written down **in the midrash book of the kings**. We have already explained why it is called a *midrash* (2 Chr 13:22).<sup>958</sup>

is taking our verse to mean that Zechariah, before his death, was the only son whom Jehoiada had left.

955. Compare *Mikhlol* 37a.

956. The entire comment up to this point is not attested in mss Paris and Munich. While there is a small possibility that this is due to homoioteleuton, it is far more likely that these lines are Radak’s later addition. For in the original version of this commentary, he did not attempt to account for *qerei-ketiv* disparities as he does his later works; see above, introduction, 15.

957. According to the *yirev* reading, with which Radak is operating, the verse elides the word “and.” Since this is a list containing three components, Radak might have considered the appearance of “and” before the final component to suffice. See our remarks above, 1 Chr 1:1.

958. See Radak there (and in *Shorashim*, entry דָּרַשׁ), where he writes that a *midrash* “was regularly *nidrash* (‘sought out’) for the purpose of looking up matters pertaining to the kings.” Compare the remarks of Japhet (1993, 854), who notes that the term “has received great attention in scholarly works, with a growing awareness that the sense of ‘midrash’ here cannot be learned from the much later rabbinic usage. Following the sense of the root דָּרַשׁ in biblical Hebrew (‘search’, ‘seek’, and then ‘study’), one may conceive of this work as one in which the acts of the king were recorded in more detail.”

ms Oxford 125 contains a lengthy elaboration in place of Radak’s last sentence as presented here, but it is probably a later gloss adapted from the *Shorashim*.



254 2 *Chronicles* 25:7-24

**25 (7) Then a man of God came to [Amaziah].** [The Sages] have said (*Avot de-Rabbi Natan* [Schechter] B:37) that this is Amoz, the father of the prophet Isaiah.<sup>959</sup>

**(8) God will make you fall before the enemy.** This means: If the army of Israel comes with you, then God will make you fall, and if not, then He will help you—**for in God there is power to help one or to make one fall.**

**(17) Let us meet each other**—to do battle.

**(19) And you are ambitious *lehakhbid*.** [This means:] to wage more wars, as in “*ve-hikhhadtim*; they will not become few” (Jer 30:19), which means: I will multiply them.<sup>960</sup>

**(23) Until the *Poneh* (“Facing”) Gate.** In Kings, however, [it says], “until the *Pinnah* (“Corner”) Gate” (2 Kgs 14:13). A *pinnah* is called a *poneh* because the corner of a wall, which catches the eye, is its striking part.<sup>961</sup>

**(24) Was with Obed-edom.** What this means is that [Obed-edom] had been chief officer over the treasuries, and so were his sons, after him.<sup>962</sup>

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959. On the seriousness with which Radak took such rabbinic identifications, see Berger (2007a). In this chapter, Radak’s entire comments to vv. 7, 19, and 23 are not attested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably his later additions.

960. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry כָּבַד. Contrast Pseudo-Rashi, for whom *lehakhbid* means “to seek honor,” in accordance with the standard meaning of *kbd*. This latter view conforms to the general scholarly consensus; see the translations cited in Japhet (1993, 868), as well her own intriguing alternative that the verb refers to the hardening of Amaziah’s heart, as it does in the case of Pharaoh (Exod 7:14 and throughout the exodus narrative).

961. On the verse in Kings, Radak states explicitly that this gate was at the corner of the wall. It would thus have been eye catching, giving rise to the name *Poneh* Gate.

962. This is all Radak’s inference from our verse, for Obed-edom is not among the supervisors of the treasuries listed in 1 Chr 26:22-28. Since Obed-edom himself lived at the time of David, Radak deduces that this is really referring to his descendants.

**And the intermingled sons.** [This means:] sons of officers, whom kings give to one another as security for a peace agreement between them—*outagi* (“hostage”) in the vernacular.<sup>963</sup>

**26 (5) During the time of Zechariah, *ha-mevin bi-re’ot Elohim*.** This means that he was a prophet.<sup>964</sup>

**(8) The *Ammonim* (עמונים) presented.** These are the *Me’unim* (מעונים, “Meunites”) whom the text mentioned (v. 7); there was a transposition [of letters], as we explained above (2 Chr 20:1).<sup>965</sup>

**(9) And on the *miqsoa’*.** This means: on the corner, as in “in the four *miqso’ei* (‘corners of’) the court” (see Ezek 46:22).<sup>966</sup>

**(19) And in his hand was a *miqteret* to burn incense (*lehaqtir*).** *Miqteret* is a name for the coal pan.<sup>967</sup>

963. This would prevent one king from attacking the other. Compare Rashi and Kara on the parallel verse in Kings (2 Kgs 14:14). In the Kings commentary and in *Shorashim*, entry ערב, Radak understands these to be sons of the king’s own officers, who were confined to the house of the king as “hostages” to deter the officers from rebelling. Pseudo-Rashi here indeed prefers this explanation.

Beyond his reference to the term in the vernacular, Radak’s comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition. It is possible, then, that it postdates his conflicting comment on Kings.

964. *Ha-mevin bi-re’ot Elohim*, then, means “who understood/conveyed Divine visions,” and *re’ot* is an infinitive form of ראה (“to see”). According to both the Targum and Pseudo-Rashi, however, *re’ot* derives from ירא and refers to fear of God. Japhet (1993, 878) notes that Pseudo-Rashi’s view is consistent with some biblical variants and with the versions, and argues that Radak’s reading, which implies that a prophet provided instruction to the king, is not consistent with the Chronicler’s general conception of the function of prophets.

965. This comment is not attested in ms Paris and is apparently Radak’s later addition; see our remarks at 2 Chr 20:1. Compare also Japhet (1993, 880).

966. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry קצע. The relevant word in Ezekiel is actually *miqso’ot*.

967. Compare *Shorashim*, entry קטר.

256 2 *Chronicles* 26:21–27:4

(21) **[Uzziah] lived *bet ha-ḥofshit* (“[in] the house of freedom”).** This elides a prepositional *bet*, as in *ha-nimṣa bet Adonay* (“found in the House of the Lord,” 2 Kgs 12:11).<sup>968</sup> *Ha-ḥofshit*, as it is explained in the Talmud Yerushalmi,<sup>969</sup> indicates that he built himself a house in the cemetery, as it says: “When among the dead, *ḥofshi* (‘one is free’)” (Ps 88:6).<sup>970</sup>

**27 (2) But [Jotham] did not enter the Temple of the Lord.** That is, concerning this matter, he did not follow his father Uzziah, who went into the Temple of the Lord to offer incense (2 Chr 26:16). Alternatively, “But he did not enter the Temple of the Lord” means: Since his father Uzziah faltered there, he did not want to go inside to pray or to bring his offerings; so he offered them on shrines. For that is the meaning of “**the people still acted corruptly**,” as is made explicit in the book of Kings: “the people continued to sacrifice and make offerings at the shrines” (2 Kgs 15:35).

(3) **And on the wall of the ‘*ofel*.** This is like “‘*ofel* and fortress” (Isa 32:14)—a high place.<sup>971</sup>

(4) **And in the *ḥorashim* he built palaces and towers.** [This means:] in the forests. The Targum of *ya’ar* (“forest,” Deut 19:5) is *ḥuresha*.<sup>972</sup>

***Biraniyyot*.** This is like *birot*, as in “the *birah* is not for a man” (1 Chr 29:1), which means a palace.<sup>973</sup>

968. See *Mikhlol* 50b-51a. This sentence, which does not appear in mss Paris and Munich (or in printed editions, which descend from ms Paris), was either omitted by homoioteleuton or is Radak’s later addition.

969. Pseudo-Rashi also cites this from the Yerushalmi, but it does not appear in our texts.

970. See Radak’s additional explanation of *bet ha-ḥofshit* at 2 Kgs 15:5. Concerning the verse in Psalms, see his comment there.

971. Compare Radak on the verse in Isaiah and in *Shorashim*, entry עפל. The phrase “a high place” does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

972. Compare *Shorashim*, entry חרש.

973. See our remarks at 2 Chr 17:12. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

**28 (15) And they clothed all *ma'arummehem*.** This is either an adjective (“the naked people among them”), or a noun (“their nakedness”).<sup>974</sup> The singular form of this is *ma'arom*, in the pattern of *migdol* (“great matters,” 2 Sam 22:51).<sup>975</sup>

**(19) For *hifria'* in Judah.** This is in the sense of “for Aaron *pera'oh* (‘exposed them’)” (Exod 32:25)—the sense is one of exposing.<sup>976</sup> It means: [Ahaz] revealed [things] in Judah; that is, through him, their evil deeds became publicly revealed.

**(20) And [Tillegath-pilneser] caused [Ahaz] trouble, *ve-lo hazaqo*.** Some explain this in a transitive sense, as in “to apply a bandage in order to wrap it *u-le-hozqo* (‘and to strengthen it’)” (Ezek 30:21).<sup>977</sup> If, in fact, [*hazaqo*] is transitive, we can explain [the verse] as follows: *Ve-lo hazaqo melek Ashur* (“And the Assyrian king did not support him”)—and since Ahaz had sent to him for help, the text says that he not only did not support him, but he marched against him and caused him trouble.<sup>978</sup> Indeed, it says “but it was of no help” (v. 21); that is, even though [Ahaz] bribed him (2 Kgs 16:8), while this worked to take care of Rezin and Pekah whom he had feared,<sup>979</sup> [the Assyrian king] marched against him also and caused him trouble.

974. Compare *Shorashim*, entry ערם. The first option appears in Ibn Janah, *Riqmah*, 154.

975. The *patahs* in *ma'arom* are because of the guttural *'ayin*. Radak on the verse in Samuel, on its parallel verse in Ps 18:51, and in *Shorashim*, entry גרל writes that *migdol* is an “adjective,” which suggests that it means “great matters” rather than “greatness.” The last sentence of his comment here is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

976. Compare *Shorashim*, entry פרע. This clause and the sentence that follows it do not appear in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably late.

977. This is the position of Ibn Janah in his *Shorashim*, entry חזק. The verse in Ezekiel provides evidence that the root in the *qal*, as it appears here, can be transitive.

978. In *Shorashim*, entry חזק, Radak indicates that this is the correct interpretation. He also suggests an alternative: *ve-lo hazaqo* means that God did not give Ahaz the strength to withstand the Assyrian king.

979. That is, Ahaz successfully bribed the Assyrian king to defeat King Rezin of Aram and King Pekah of Israel, who were threatening Judah.

258 2 *Chronicles* 28:20–29:11

If [*hazaqo*] is intransitive, however, [the verse] means: *ve-lo hazaq mim-mennu* (“and he did not gain strength from him”),<sup>980</sup> that is, Ahaz gained no strength from the Assyrian king.<sup>981</sup> Rather, after destroying Damascus and Samaria, [the Assyrian king] caused him trouble also.

(27) **For they did not bring [Ahaz] to the tombs of the kings of Israel.** Since among the kings of Judah there were those who were kings over all Israel, namely, David and Solomon, the text calls them “kings of Israel.”<sup>982</sup> It means to say that [Ahaz] was unworthy to come into their space.<sup>983</sup>

29 (5) **And remove the *niddah* from the holy place.** [This means] the repulsiveness, that is, the idolatry—the altar that Ahaz had placed there.<sup>984</sup> In “The waters of *niddah* (‘detachment’)” (Num 19:9) also, [*niddah*] is a noun.<sup>985</sup>

(11) **Do not *tishalu*.** This is from *shalu*, the Targum’s rendering of *shegagah*

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980. The remainder of the comment is not attested in several text witnesses and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

981. In the *Shorashim*, Radak adds the possibility that this means that Ahaz did not muster adequate strength *in the face of* the Assyrian king. But he provides no evidence that a pronominal suffix can be appended to an intransitive verb such as *hazq*, regardless of the suggested meaning. See also the example he cites from Jer 20:7, and his comment there.

In *Shorashim*, entry צור, Radak adds that *va-yasar*, which I have here translated “he caused trouble,” could also be a *qal* intransitive (rather than a *hif’il* transitive), and mean that Ahaz *endured* trouble.

982. That is, it refers to them all with the more general term “kings of Israel.”

983. If there is any connection between this sentence and the previous one, it would be that Ahaz was unworthy to be buried with his predecessors *because* they include David and Solomon, who ruled over all Israel. It is more likely that the two parts of the comment are unrelated.

984. See 2 Kgs 16:10–11. Radak assumes that Ahaz made idolatrous offerings on this altar, even though this is not explicit. Radak’s reference to the altar is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably his later addition.

985. Compare *Shorashim*, entry גרה.

(“error,” Lev 4:2). [The phrase] means: You should not commit any errors or oversights in the matter of the purification of the House of God (v. 15).<sup>986</sup>

(19) **That *hizniah*.** [This means:] that [Ahaz] caused to be distanced; that is, he used them for idolatry.

***Hekhannu* (“we have made ready/have designated”) *ve-hiqdashnu* (“and we have consecrated”); they are standing in front of the altar of the Lord.** According to the straightforward explanation, “we have made them ready” in the sense of having purified them and “have consecrated” them for the Lord as in the beginning. Our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Avodah Zarah* 52b), however, explained *hekhanu* to mean “we have hid them away” — for they were no longer worthy to be used in the service of the Lord — and *hiqdashnu* to mean “we have consecrated others in their place.”<sup>987</sup>

(21) **For the kingdom and for the Sanctuary and for Judah**—in order to atone for them, for they all required atonement.

(24) **Because *le-kol* Israel.** [This means:] *For the sake of* all Israel,<sup>988</sup> [Hezekiah] said to bring the burnt offering and the sin offering.

(28) **The song *meshorer* and the trumpets *mahşerim* (מחצרים, “were playing”).** The second *şadei* in מחצרים is not pronounced.<sup>989</sup> [When the text says]

986. Compare *Shorashim*, entry שלה.

987. On halakhic grounds, the Talmud rejects the “straightforward explanation” that the vessels were purified and reused. According to the Talmud, *hekhanu* apparently means “we designated [them for hiding away].”

988. Thus, the *lamed* in *le-kol* does not mean “to,” which would have suggested that the king said something “to Israel.” Rather, the expression means “for the sake of Israel”; and, as Radak continues, what the king said was to bring the offerings on their behalf—even as the verse elides the verb “to bring.” That continuation of Radak does not appear in mss Paris and Munich and is probably his later addition. Alternatively, it was omitted by a scribe because it looks deceptively like an extraneous lemma, notwithstanding Radak’s crucial addition of the elided verb.

989. This sentence is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is apparently Radak’s later addition. Compare his more elaborate parallel comment at 1 Chr 15:24, and see above, introduction, 15 and n. 37.

260 2 *Chronicles* 29:28–30:2

“the song,” it means that the *one designated for song meshorer* (“was singing”). Alternatively, the word *meshorer* refers to the song and is an intransitive verb: it is as if the text had said *mishtorer* (“was being sung”).<sup>990</sup> The same applies for “and the trumpets *maḥṣerim*.”<sup>991</sup>

(31) **And all those charitably inclined — burnt offerings.** Since burnt offerings are not like [peace] offerings and offerings of thanksgiving, for [the latter two] are eaten by their owner while burnt offerings are burnt in their entirety,<sup>992</sup> the text says concerning the bringing of burnt offerings, “all those charitably inclined.”<sup>993</sup>

(34) **[The priests’] kinsmen, the Levites, motivated them.** They helped [the priests] with the flaying and in this way motivated them, prompting them to hurry and sanctify themselves.<sup>994</sup> For even though the priests are commanded to do everything from the catching of the blood onward (*b. Ber.* 31b), this was an emergency. The Levites helped the priests with the flaying since they *had* sanctified themselves, as it says: “**The Levites were more conscientious about sanctifying themselves than the priests.**”

(36) **Over *ha-hekhin ha-Elohim la-‘am*.** This is the equivalent of *asher hekhin* (“that which [God] enabled [the nation] to accomplish”).<sup>995</sup>

**30 (2) The king came to an agreement.** *After* he came to an agreement, he sent word to all Israel and Judah; for when the text says, “Hezekiah sent word to all Israel and Judah ... to observe Passover” (v. 1), this was *because*

990. Compare *Shorashim*, entry צור.

991. That is, this could mean either that the trumpet blowers were blowing or that the trumpets were being blown.

992. See Mishnah *Zevaḥim* 5:4-7.

993. A similar explanation appears in Pseudo-Rashi. Among moderns, compare, e.g., Japhet (1993, 929).

994. Radak appears to mean that by assisting in the process, the Levites motivated the unprepared priests to sanctify themselves quickly in order to be able to participate also. This entire comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

995. In connection with this meaning of the *hei* prefix, see Radak’s examples in *Mikhlol* 43b-44a.



he had come to an agreement with the officers and the congregation to observe Passover in the second month.<sup>996</sup>

I wonder about what our Sages have said (*b. Ber.* 10b)<sup>997</sup> that [Hezekiah] added another Nisan during Nisan [itself] and that [the rabbinic authorities] did not accede to this.<sup>998</sup> For it says: “The king came to an agreement **with his officers and the entire congregation in Jerusalem**”—so the text says that they did accede to it! They also have no proof from the verse that he added another Nisan during Nisan; for this agreement could have taken place in Adar—to make a second Adar in place of Nisan and to observe Passover in the second month, that is, Iyyar: it would be turned into Nisan so that they could observe Passover in it. Also, concerning what they said (*b. San.* 12a-b) in debating why Hezekiah sought mercy (v. 18),<sup>999</sup> it is explicit, after all, that this was because many of them had eaten the paschal sacrifice in an unclean state, as it says: “yet they ate the paschal sacrifice in violation of what was written” (v. 18)!<sup>1000</sup>

996. Chronologically, then, the events described in v. 2 preceded those of v. 1. Compare the discussion in Japhet (1993, 936-37).

997. This is part of a baraita that is also appended to the end of chapter 4 of Mishnah *Pesahim*.

998. Nisan, the first month of the biblical year, is when Passover is observed. According to the rabbis, the reason Hezekiah observed it in the “second month” is that *after Nisan had already arrived*, he realized, as below, that the people were not prepared. He therefore declared a leap year in which the present Nisan would be additional and observed Passover in the following month, now the real Nisan.

999. According to one view in the Talmud, Hezekiah’s alleged decision to add another Nisan during Nisan itself was the reason why he sought mercy. The other view is that he was not confident of the legitimacy of his having added a month for the reason that he did.

1000. At v. 17, Radak acknowledges that they had no choice but to eat the sacrifice in an unclean state, even as he writes here that Hezekiah sought mercy for this. The rabbis probably understood the violation in connection with the illegality of the leap year: the people ate the sacrifice at the wrong time. See Rashi on the talmudic passage (and compare Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Laws of Entering the Temple 4:18). For responses to all of Radak’s objections, see Eisemann (1992, 241).

Radak’s two lengthy comments on this verse are both unattested in mss Paris and Munich and are presumably his later additions.

**To observe Passover in the second month.** This was not like a “second Passover,” for they did not observe Passover in the month of Nisan at all.<sup>1001</sup> Rather, they changed Nisan into Adar: they made it a leap year because of the uncleanness and because of the people who would not have been able to reach Jerusalem.<sup>1002</sup> For their hearts had not yet acquiesced to serve God, and they had not wanted to come to Jerusalem to make the paschal sacrifice, as the text says: “because *la-rov* they did not do as was written” (v. 5). That is, to this point, *rov* (“most”) of Israel had not done as was written, for they had been worshiping idols and did not care to come to Jerusalem for the service of God—hence the need to make it a leap year and extend the time. For even though Hezekiah had sent couriers (v. 6), most people had mocked them (v. 10); and even those who came did not all sanctify themselves but ate the paschal sacrifice in an unclean state (vv. 17-18), to the point where Hezekiah had to seek mercy on their behalf, as it says (v. 18). Thus, they were compelled to make it a leap year: they assigned the second month the status of Nisan, made the paschal sacrifice in it, and made the seven-day Feast of Unleavened Bread.<sup>1003</sup>

**(3) For the priests had not sanctified themselves *le-ma-day* (“in great enough numbers”).** This is like *le-min day*, with a *patah* under the *mem*, as in *le-ma-ba-rishonah* (“the first time,” 1 Chr 15:13). [The phrase] means: for not enough priests had sanctified themselves for there to be enough (*day*) of them to bring the offerings.<sup>1004</sup>

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1001. That is, it was not a make-up paschal sacrifice, of the kind offered in Iyyar by individuals who, for legitimate reasons, missed the first one (Num 9:9-13).

1002. This is all based on v. 3, and the uncleanness refers specifically to the priests. The leap year did not provide adequate time for all the unclean people to purify themselves; see vv. 17-18 and Radak there.

1003. Radak is emphasizing that this was the primary paschal observance: in the case of a “second Passover,” the individuals involved would bring the offering but not observe the seven-day festival.

1004. According to Radak, the combination of the prefixes *lamed* and *mem* is the equivalent of *ba'avur*, which often means “for the sake of.” (See Radak’s comment on *le-ma-ba-rishonah* and our remarks there.) Technically, then, Radak probably means to render this phrase: “for the priests had not sanctified themselves [adequately] *for the sake of* [there being] enough [of them to bring the offerings].” In *Mikhlol* 46a, Radak cites what appears to be a similarly elliptical example from Job 39:29.

(16) **The priests dashed the blood [which they received] from the Levites.** For the priests are commanded to do everything from the receiving of the blood onward (*b. Ber.* 31b).

(17) **Because *rabbat* (“many”) in the congregation.** This is a noun, as in “*rabbat* (‘many’) have assailed me” (Ps 129:1); that is, there were many in the congregation who **had not sanctified themselves**.

**For anyone not clean.** This means: The Levites were prepared to slaughter the paschal sacrifice for the sake of any Israelite who was not clean. For even though many of them *ate* the sacrifice in an unclean state, they had no other choice: they were compelled to do so because they had had no opportunity to become clean. But they received no dispensation to enter the court unclean, since the Levites could act on their behalf.

(18) **Yet they ate the paschal sacrifice in violation of what was written.** This means: not in accordance with its regulations. For an unclean person who eats of sacred things is cut off, in keeping with the verse: “any man among your offspring who approaches [any sacred donation] that [the Israelite people] may consecrate,” etc., “[that person] shall be cut off” (Lev 22:3); and our Sages, of blessed memory (see *b. Zev.* 45b), interpreted approaching to mean eating.<sup>1005</sup> (For one does not incur the punishment of being cut off by touching alone. Rather, [the phrase] means: [any man] who approaches and eats.) And the paschal sacrifice is indeed a sacred thing (of lesser stringency).<sup>1006</sup>

**The good Lord will provide atonement for.** This is connected to the beginning of the next verse—*kol levavo hekhin* (“anyone who sets his mind”).<sup>1007</sup> But the scholar Rabbi Abraham ibn Ezra (Ps 73:15) explained that it is not connected: *kol levavo* (“his entire heart”) refers to Hezekiah,<sup>1008</sup> and “will

1005. This is implied by the Talmud’s discussion. See also Rashi on the verse in Leviticus.

1006. See Mishnah *Zevahim* 5:8. This final sentence is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later clarification.

1007. As noted by Pseudo-Rashi, this is cited in the *Midrash of Thirty-two Hermeneutic Rules* (ed. Enelow) as an example of *siddur she-neḥelaq* (“a broken-up sequence”), that is, a phrase that traverses a verse break. On the Munich 5 commentator’s expansion of the principle, see Berger (2007b). See also *Shorashim*, entry עב.

1008. That is, Hezekiah set his entire heart on seeking God.

264 2 *Chronicles* 30:18–31:5

provide atonement for” means that He will provide atonement for those who ate the paschal sacrifice in an unclean state.

(19) **And in violation of the standard of cleanness associated with sacred things.** This means: Even though they ate in violation of the standard of cleanness associated with sacred things, Hezekiah prayed on their behalf that God should provide atonement for them, on the grounds that they had set their minds on worshipping God.<sup>1009</sup>

(20) **And [God] healed the people.** That is, He forgave their transgression.<sup>1010</sup> “Heal me for I have sinned against you” (Ps 41:5) is also in the sense of forgiveness.<sup>1011</sup>

(21) **With instruments of ‘oz (“vitality”) for the Lord**—in the sense of “dancing with full ‘oz (‘vitality’)” (2 Sam 6:14).<sup>1012</sup>

(22) **And they ate the *mo’ed*.** This means the sacrifices of the *mo’ed* (“festival”).<sup>1013</sup>

(24) **Contributed to the congregation.** [Hezekiah] set [the animals] aside for the congregation and gave them to be used for burnt offerings and peace offerings.

(27) ***Va-yishama’ be-qolam* (“and their voice was heard”).** [God] heeded them, as in: “The moment they hear Me, *yishame’u* (‘they will obey’)” (2 Sam 22:45).<sup>1014</sup>

**31 (5) *Ve-ki-peros ha-davar* (“when the matter spread”).** [This means:] when [the Israelites] started bringing the gifts and the tithes. In a midrashic

1009. This accords with Radak’s own position in the previous comment, in opposition to that of Ibn Ezra.

1010. On the healing metaphor, see Cohen (2003, 164).

1011. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry רפא.

1012. See Radak there. Here, he probably means that “instruments of ‘oz” refer to those utilized in the context of energetic dancing.

1013. This comment is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later addition.

1014. Both verses use a *nif’al* form of the verb שמע in a nonstandard fashion, and in both cases it gives the sense of heed/obey.

vein, our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Ned.* 55a), explained that the reason the text says *ve-ki-peroš* is that they went above and beyond (*parešu*) when it came to bringing the tithes: they brought even of the produce of trees and of greens, which are not included in the biblical mandate.<sup>1015</sup>

**The first of the grains.** [This refers to] “first fruits,”<sup>1016</sup> or [to] the basic priests’ share, which is “first” (*Deut* 18:4).<sup>1017</sup> And **honey** refers to dates, since one does not bring first fruits or [set aside] a priests’ share from [bee] honey. Indeed, our Sages, of blessed memory (*Sifrei Deut* 297), explained that “a land of olive oil *and honey*” (*Deut* 8:8) refers to dates, since it is from the very seven products mentioned in [that] verse that one brings first fruits (*Mishnah Bik.* 1:3).<sup>1018</sup>

**And all kinds of agricultural produce.** [This means:] fruit of the rest of the trees from which first fruits are brought—the grape,<sup>1019</sup> fig, and pomegranate.

(6) **And tithes of sacred things consecrated to the Lord.** They brought tithes even from the sacred things they had consecrated, even though these are exempt from tithes.<sup>1020</sup>

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1015. The biblical mandate includes only grains, grapes, and olives. This is among the rabbinic citations not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

1016. That is, it refers to the first produce to emerge in the field, which, according to Deuteronomy 26, must be brought to the Temple and handed to one of the priests.

1017. Radak employs the rabbinic term *terumah gedolah*: according to rabbinic interpretation, the verse in Deuteronomy mandates that a portion of every batch of grain, grapes, or olives be given to the priests. This is the “first” of the gifts that must be taken from the batch.

1018. That is, since the rabbis considered the list of products in that verse to be a parameter for the obligation of first fruits, they interpreted “honey” to refer to dates rather than to bee honey, which they did not perceive to be appropriate for the category.

1019. Since the verse does make explicit reference to wine, it is not clear why Radak considers the grape to fall under this miscellaneous category.

1020. This comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

266 2 *Chronicles* 31:7-13

(7) **The heaps began to accumulate** (*lissod* [ליסוד]). The *yesod* (יסוד, “foundation”) of the heaps means their beginning. *Lissod* is an infinitive form. The gemination strengthens the pronunciation of the *samekh* for euphonic purposes and does not reflect the assimilation of a letter—for the *yod* of the root is written.<sup>1021</sup>

(10) **Lavi (“to be brought”) to the House of the Lord.** This is like *lehavi*.<sup>1022</sup>

**Eating to satiety.** That is, let the priests and Levites eat of the gifts and the tithes to satiety.

**And whatever is left over et this large group.** This means: and let whatever is left over be *for* this large group; that is, let them keep it and distribute it among themselves, old and young alike on a daily basis (vv. 15-16).<sup>1023</sup> The text calls this a “large group” because the priests and Levites gathered together there from all over.

(13) **Be-mifqad Hezekiah.** [This means:] by order of [Hezekiah].<sup>1024</sup>

1021. In Radak’s biblical text, the word was apparently *lissod*, as confirmed by his discussions in *Mikhlol* 59b and 94a (noted by *Minḥat Shay*). Most of our texts read *le-yissod*.

According to Radak’s formulation here, it follows that the *yod* in *lissod* contributes to the length of the *hireq*, so that the gemination in the *samekh* is only for euphonic purposes and not to compensate for any consonant that has been neutralized. Radak in the *Mikhlol*, however, compares *lissod* to *nulledu* (נולדו) at 1 Chr 3:5 (see our remarks there), where he considers the first *vav*—representing the initial root letter—to have fallen out of pronunciation entirely, and the gemination in the subsequent *lamed* to compensate for it. This suggests that in the *Mikhlol*, he considered the *yod* of *lissod* likewise to be inconsequential and the gemination of the *samekh* to have a similar compensatory function. In this connection, see Chomsky (1952, 100 n. 129 and 184 n. 214); and Khan (2000, 31-32) concerning the Karaite Ibn Nūḥ’s comment on our verse.

1022. Compare *Mikhlol* 65a.

1023. See *Shorashim*, entry נח, concerning this usage. The remainder of this comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

1024. Compare *Shorashim*, entry פקד.

(16) **Besides [what was allocated to] male family members, from three years old and up.** For males under three were not eligible to come to the House of the Lord, and the females did not come either way. Alternatively, the text says “from three” because [a child] under three does not know how to watch what is in his hand. One does not, then, give the priests’ share to him, lest he make it unclean, since he tends to dabble everywhere<sup>1025</sup> — among dead reptiles or anything else. But from three years old and up he knows how to watch his hands, since he has been taught and trained.

“Family members” indicates that fathers would come together with their sons; and “besides” alludes to the allocations that the text says would be made to them in the priestly cities (v. 15) *besides* what would be allocated to them when they would come to **the House of the Lord**.<sup>1026</sup>

(17) **And the Levites from twenty years old and up.** But in the Torah it says: “From twenty-*five* years old and up they shall participate in the work force in the service of the Tent of Meeting” (Num 8:24)! [Hezekiah] called on them before they came of age so that they would become adept and well trained in the service of the Lord, since everything had been forgotten when the service of the House of the Lord was discontinued during the days of the wicked kings.<sup>1027</sup>

(19) **To every male priest.** [This means] portions *fit to be eaten* by male priests.<sup>1028</sup>

**And to every Levite family member.** [This means] to their wives and children.

**32 (1) After these faithful deeds.** After Hezekiah and the Judeans performed all these faithful deeds and returned to the worship of the true God,

1025. This formulation is based on Mishnah *Toharot* 8:3.

1026. This comment and the next one do not appear in ms Munich and are presumably Radak’s later additions. From this point onward, the evidence of ms Paris is generally indecisive; see above, introduction, 2 n. 4.

1027. Compare Rashi on the verse in Numbers, who offers a similar explanation for the discrepancy between the twenty-five-year age mentioned there and the thirty-year age indicated in Num 4:3.

1028. For Radak, this cannot refer to the portions of the males themselves, for that is the subject of vv. 15-17. Verses 18-19 refer specifically to the portions given to other family members.



268 2 *Chronicles* 32:1-5

**Sennacherib invaded** them. For even though Hezekiah's heart was sincere, there were improper things going on in Judah, where not everyone was wholeheartedly committed to the Lord, as the prophet Isaiah indicates in his many admonitions to them.<sup>1029</sup>

**And resolved to take them over.** And so [Sennacherib] did, as it says in Kings: "and he seized them" (2 Kgs 18:13).<sup>1030</sup> Similar cases include: "to lie with Jacob's daughter" (Gen 34:7), "to kill him treacherously" (Exod 21:14), and those like them.<sup>1031</sup>

(4) **And the wadi that flowed through the land.** This is Gihon.<sup>1032</sup> It had been full and flowing at that point, and [the Judeans] stopped it up.

(5) **Great quantities of *shelah*.** [This is just like] *herev*: it is a collective term

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1029. These include, e.g., the prophecies in chapters 1-8 of Isaiah. Radak is responding to the peculiar juxtaposition of "these faithful deeds" and the account of Sennacherib's invasion.

The first three comments on this chapter are not attested in ms Munich and are presumably Radak's later additions.

1030. Compare Radak there.

1031. In *Mikhlol* 31b, Radak explains that in such cases, the infinitive form signifies both the intent to perform the action and its realization. In Exod 21:14, the full text reads: "When a man schemes against another to kill him treacherously, you shall take him from My very altar to be put to death." Since the verse calls for the death penalty, the perpetrator must not only have "schemed ... to kill" another but to have carried out the murder. In the example from Genesis also, the full phrase makes it clear that Shechem's intent was realized: "because he had committed an outrage in Israel to lie with Jacob's daughter." Even though in that case, the preceding phrase "committed an outrage" clarifies that the act was done, Radak is arguing that this is *also* implied by the infinitive "to lie" in and of itself: he intended to lie with her and he did so. For in standard biblical syntax, the expression "to lie with Jacob's daughter" could not function solely as an abstract description of the outrage ("an outrage—to lie with Jacob's daughter—he had committed in Israel"). See also Radak at 2 Chr 36:6.

1032. See v. 30. At *Berakhot* 10b, Rashi writes: "This is not the great river Gihon, for that one is not in the land of Israel. Rather, it is a small spring near Jerusalem...."

for all armaments.<sup>1033</sup> The same applies for “each man with his *shelah*” (2 Chr 23:10).<sup>1034</sup>

(23) **Thereafter, *va-yinnassei* (“he boasted”) before all the nations.** This would normally be *va-yitnassei*. It is similar in meaning to *mitnassei lemor* (“went about boasting,” 1 Kgs 1:5):<sup>1035</sup> [Hezekiah] boasted over all the greatness and honor he had attained. It is with reference to this that the text says: “for he grew arrogant” (v. 25).

(28) **And *uravot* (אורות).** [This means] troughs; the Targum renders “the trough of its master” (Isa 1:3)—*orya* (אוריא) *de-marohi*.<sup>1036</sup> The same applies for “and ‘*adarim* for the *averot* (אורות)”<sup>1037</sup>—this is a metathesized form of אורות.<sup>1038</sup> The meaning of ‘*adarim* is *ma’arakhot* (“orderly storage places”); compare “*oderei marakhah* (‘men who manned the battle lines’) with whole heart” (1 Chr 12:39).<sup>1039</sup>

(30) **The upper one.** It appears that Wadi Gihon had two courses, and it was the top one that [Hezekiah] stopped up.

1033. In *Shorashim*, entry חרב, Radak writes that anything that cuts may be called a *herev*.

1034. It is clear from v. 9 there that some were carrying other armaments.

In a gloss to ms Vatican, there is an additional, partially unclear comment inserted here that corresponds to v. 21: “*Va-yakhhed every mighty warrior*. This means: he cut down [and removed?].” The absence of other witnesses to this comment makes its authenticity doubtful.

1035. This reference to Kings was not included by the scribe who initially transcribed the commentary in ms Paris and is probably Radak’s later addition. The verb in that context refers to Adonijah’s royal posturing; see also Radak there.

1036. According to Pseudo-Rashi—and the modern scholarly consensus—*uravot* are stalls/stables, in keeping with the modern use of the term.

1037. In mss Paris and Munich this is its own lemma. The targumic reference before it is unattested (it is presumably Radak’s later addition), and the explanation of *uravot* to mean troughs appears after the present sentence.

1038. Compare *Shorashim*, entry ארה.

1039. Compare Radak at 1 Chr 12:34 and in *Shorashim*, entry עדר.

## 270 2 Chronicles 32:30-31

I am surprised that our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Ber.* 10b), say that when he stopped up the flow of Gihon, the [religious authorities] did not accede to this.<sup>1040</sup> For the text says above, “he consulted with his officers (*sarav*) and warriors about stopping up the flow of the springs” (v. 3), and *sarav* include the scholars of Israel; for it says, “*sarei* (‘chiefs of’) thousands” when referring to the scholars of the judiciary (Exod 18:21-22)! In fact, I found in an aggadic source (*Avot de-Rabbi Natan* [Schechter] A:2) that when he stopped up the flow of Gihon, his will corresponded with that of God.

**And he directed it (*va-yasherem* [וַיַּשְׁרֵם] underneath, toward the west (*ma'ravah*)).** In principle this should have been *va-yeyasherem* (וַיַּשְׁרֵם), but when the *yod* representing the first root letter quiesced, its vowel shifted to the preformative *yod*.<sup>1041</sup> *Ma'ravah* is stressed on the penultimate syllable and has an added [directional] *hei*,<sup>1042</sup> so it means: he directed it underground through openings,<sup>1043</sup> and led it westward **toward the City of David.**

**(31) In the matter of *meliṣei sarei* (“the officers and chiefs of”) Babylon.** These are two consecutive [synonymous] nouns in the construct state.<sup>1044</sup> The same is true for “*naharei naḥalei* (‘rivers and brooks of’) honey and cream” (Job 20:17), and “*mivḥar ve-tov* (‘the choicest and best’) of Lebanon” (Ezek 31:16).<sup>1045</sup> *Meliṣei* is in the sense of *meliṣah*.<sup>1046</sup>

1040. See also Radak at 2 Chr 30:2. Like that one, this comment is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

1041. Compare *Shorashim*, entry ישר.

1042. This is in contrast to the word as it appears in 2 Chr 33:14; see Radak there.

1043. This clause is not attested in mss Paris and Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

1044. Thus, *meliṣei*, like *sarei*, is connected to “Babylon.” Radak’s point is that this is syntactically legitimate only where the two nouns in the construct state are synonymous.

1045. On that verse, Radak cites an additional example from 2 Sam 24:9, and writes, as he often does, that the doubling is for emphasis.

1046. See also Radak at Isa 43:27 and in *Shorashim*, entry מליץ. Radak here is curiously silent about the meaning of *meliṣah* and, in turn, how

**To know *kol bi-levavo*.** [This means:] *kol asher bi-levavo* ("all that was in his heart"). [Hezekiah] was thrilled when [the Babylonian officers] came, and he showed them his entire treasurehouse (2 Kgs 20:13). All this was for his own honor:<sup>1047</sup> he boasted in this respect, and God considered that he had sinned.<sup>1048</sup> "To know" means: so that *people* should know.<sup>1049</sup>

(33) **In the *ma'aleh* of the tombs of the descendants of David.** [This means:] in the *maqom ha-me'uleh* ("choicest place") among them, that is, with the best of them.<sup>1050</sup> Similarly, our Sages, of blessed memory (*b. Bava Qamma* 16b), have said: "With the choicest members of the family. Who are they? David and Solomon."<sup>1051</sup>

*meliṣei* emerges as a synonym for *sarei*. In the *Shorashim*, he clarifies the matter somewhat: if *meliṣah* is of the root מלץ, which appears in Ps 119:103 in the sense of a powerfully sweet taste, then *meliṣei* can mean *sarei*. The point, it would appear, is that a chief is a powerful individual.

Nevertheless, on the verse in Psalms, Radak connects מלץ to sweetness in a different way, without reference to "power." Ibn Ezra also, who, on the verse in Isaiah, precedes Radak in asserting that *meliṣei* denotes authority, writes on the verse in Psalms that מלץ merely denotes sweetness, and that *meliṣei* is of the root לרץ, not מלץ.

Radak himself, in *Shorashim*, entry לרץ, appears to suggest that *meliṣei* could be of the root לרץ and denote "intermediaries," as in Gen 42:23 (see also Radak at v. 21 there). If that is the case, then the phrase in our verse would mean "the intermediaries of the chiefs of Babylon," so that *meliṣei* would in fact not be directly connected to "Babylon."

1047. See Radak on the verse in Kings.

1048. See 2 Kgs 20:16-18 and Isa 39:5-7. On Radak's conception that Hezekiah failed to meet God's challenge in comparison to the views of the rabbis and of modern scholars, see Japhet (1989, 194).

1049. For Radak, "to know" cannot mean "so that [God] should know," since God does not need a test to know what is in the heart of a person. Like most philosophically oriented comments in this work, this sentence, not attested in ms Munich, is presumably Radak's later addition.

1050. Compare *Shorashim*, entry אלה. Compare also Japhet (1993, 997): "although this may be merely a description of location, it is likely that *ma'alēh* is also an expression of distinction."

1051. This rabbinic citation is not attested in ms Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

272 2 Chronicles 33:7-19

33 (7) *Le-‘eylom*. This is like *le-‘olam* (“forever”).<sup>1052</sup>

(14) *Ma’ravah le-Gihon* (“west of Gihon”). [*Ma’ravah*] is stressed on the final syllable; it is like *ma’arav*, with the *hei* ending that marks a feminine noun. The same is true for *mi-mizraḥ ha-shemesh u-mi-ma’aravah* (“in the east, where the sun rises, and in the west,” Isa 45:6).<sup>1053</sup>

Alternatively, it might be that in both cases, the *hei* is a feminine pronoun and should really have had a *mappiq*.<sup>1054</sup> We have previously listed similar cases, in the *Mikhlol* (26b-27a).<sup>1055</sup> The meaning of *ma’ravah le-Gihon*, then, would be that the west side of the wall was toward Gihon,<sup>1056</sup> in the wadi. Likewise, [*mi-mizraḥ ha-shemesh*] *u-mi-ma’aravah* would mean [from the place of the rising of the sun] to that of its setting—for *shemesh* (“sun”) can be either masculine or feminine.<sup>1057</sup>

And it encircled the *‘ofel*. [*‘Ofel* means] a high place, which was within the wall.<sup>1058</sup>

(19) In the words of *hozay*. This is like *hozim* (“prophets”). The same is true for *va-ḥasufay shet* (“with exposed buttocks,” Isa 20:4), and “and he builds *ḥallonay* (‘windows’) into it” (Jer 22:14).<sup>1059</sup>

1052. See *Shorashim*, entry עלם, where Radak adds two additional possibilities.

1053. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry ערב.

1054. A *mappiq*, a masoretic dot placed in a *hei* at the end of a word, indicates that the *hei* is a consonant, as when it represents a feminine pronoun, rather than a *mater lectionis*, as when it marks a feminine noun.

1055. This refers to cases where an expected *mappiq* does not appear.

1056. That is, *ma’ravah* means “its west side,” the feminine pronoun alluding to the *ḥomah* (“wall”); and the *lamed* of *le-Gihon* means “toward.”

1057. That is, the feminine pronoun in *ma’aravah* (“its setting”) refers to the *shemesh*, which is sometimes treated as a feminine noun.

1058. Compare *Shorashim*, entry עפל.

1059. That is, *va-ḥasufay* is like *va-ḥasufim*, and *ḥallonay* is like *ḥallanim*. The *-ay* ending is thus a variation of the plural form. See Radak’s comments on these examples, and his remarks in *Mikhlol* 10b and in *Shorashim*, entry חזה.

(20) **And [Manasseh] was buried *beto*.** This is like *be-beto* (“in his *bayit*”). The same is true for *ha-nimša bet Adonay* (“found in the House of the Lord,” 2 Kgs 12:11). *Beto* means in the garden that he had in the *bayit* (“house”), much as it says in Kings: “in the garden of his *bayit*” (2 Kgs 21:18). *Bayit* is an inclusive term for the houses and the garden.<sup>1060</sup>

**34 (3) In the eighth year, when [Josiah] became king.** [This means:] in the very year that he became king, which was his eighth.<sup>1061</sup>

**In the twelfth year he began to purge.** But he did not finish until the eighteenth year of his reign, after finding the scroll (vv. 8, 14):<sup>1062</sup> it was then that he finished purging everything (v. 33).

(4) **Onto the graves, *ha-zoveḥim la-hem* (“those who sacrificed to them”).** The noun in the construct state is elided: the graves, *qivrei ha-zoveḥim la-*

1060. These last two sentences are not attested in ms Munich and are presumably Radak’s later addition.

1061. The biblical text reads *u-bi-shemoneh shanim le-molkho*, which is more simply translated “and in the eighth year of his reign.” Radak apparently rendered it “and in the eighth year [of his life], when he became king,” as above in the lemma. See the commentary of Kiel (1986) on this verse, where he cites *Eikhah Eli*, a lamentation composed by Eleazar Kalir, as a source for Radak’s assumption that Josiah began seeking God at the age of eight, as well as Josephus’s account in chapter 10 of *Antiquities*, which also appears to corroborate this. (On Josephus’s use of the book of Chronicles, see Kalimi [1998, 17].)

Possibly, according to this opinion, had the phrase meant the eighth year of Josiah’s reign, it would more likely have read *u-bi-shenat shemoneh le-molkho*, using the construct form of the number. This is probably Kiel’s intention when he states that according to Radak, the phrase *u-bi-shetem ‘esreh shanah* (“in the twelfth year”) later in the verse also refers to Josiah’s age, while *u-bi-shenat shemoneh ‘esreh le-molkho* in v. 8, which uses the construct form, refers to the eighteenth year of his reign. Note, however, that in 2 Chr 35:19, the text refers to that same eighteenth year as *shemoneh ‘esreh shanah* of his reign, rather than *shenat shemoneh ‘esreh*. (Compare also 2 Kgs 22:3 and 23:23.)

In this chapter, Radak’s comments on vv. 3, 8, 19, 31, and 33 are not attested in ms Munich and are presumably his later additions.

1062. It was Hilkiah the high priest who actually found it, but the entire effort was spearheaded by Josiah.

274 2 Chronicles 34:4-19

*hem* ("the graves of those who sacrificed to them"). This is like *ha-aron ha-berit* ("the Ark, [the Ark of] the Covenant," Josh 3:14), and *ha-'am ha-milhamah* ("the people, [the people of] the battle," Josh 8:11), and those like it.<sup>1063</sup>

(6) **With their *ḥaravot* ("instruments of destruction").** These are the hatchets with which they would smash the altars. The same is true for "and will smash your towers with *ḥaravot*" (Ezek 26:9).<sup>1064</sup>

(7) **He ground *le-hedaq* ("into fine bits").** This is like *le-hadeq*, or it is a form of the *nif'al*.<sup>1065</sup>

(8) **In the eighteenth year of his reign, to purge the land and the Temple.** This means: *he decided* to complete the purging of the land and the Temple and **commissioned Shaphan son of Azaliah to repair** the Temple.

(19) **[Josiah] tore his clothes.** [The Sages] have said (see *b. Yoma* 52b) that the scroll was found rolled to the chapter of the admonitions: "The Lord will drive you and the king whom you have set over you," etc. (Deut 28:36).<sup>1066</sup>

1063. Compare Radak at 2 Chr 15:8 and in *Mikhlol* 43a. This last sentence is not attested in ms Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

1064. Compare Radak there and in *Shorashim*, entry חרב.

1065. See *Mikhlol* 130b-131a and *Shorashim*, entry להדק. להדק (lehādēq) is the common form of the *hif'il* for geminate roots, and that is probably the proper vocalization in Radak's first suggestion. The vocalization להדק (lehaddēq) that appears in the standard edition of the *Shorashim*, with gemination of the *dalet* preceded by a short vowel, represents a less common form of the *hif'il* and was probably inserted in error.

The model Radak provides in the *Shorashim* (citing R. Jacob ben Eleazar) for *le-hedaq* as a *nif'al* form is *le-heḥallo* ("for him to become profaned") in Lev 21:4. Note, however, that if not for the guttural *het* in *le-heḥallo*, the first root letter would have been geminated to compensate for the assimilated *nun*, and the vowel before it would have shortened. This would seem, then, to be a problematic paradigm for *le-hedaq*, where the vowel remains long even in the absence of such a guttural letter.

In neither of Radak's suggestions does he explain the syntactic relationship between *le-hedaq* and the verb before it, and how the two together produce the apparent meaning "he ground [them] into fine bits."

1066. There does not appear to be an extant source indicating that



(22) *Va-asher ha-melekh*. This means: *va-asher šivvah ha-melekh* (“and those whom the king *ordered*”) to go with Hilkiyah to seek the advice of the Lord.

**In the *mishneh*.** [This means:] in the house of study.<sup>1067</sup> Similarly, *et mishneh ha-Torah* (Deut 17:18) means the teachings of the Torah.<sup>1068</sup>

(31) **In his place.** In the book of Kings, however, [it says]: “on the ‘*ammud*” (2 Kgs 23:3). What is meant, then, is that [Josiah] stood on his feet, *near* the ‘*ammud*’ (“pillar”).<sup>1069</sup> But Targum Jonathan renders “the ‘*ammud*” as *iste-vana* (“the stand”). We have already explained this above (2 Chr 23:13).<sup>1070</sup>

(33) **And he imposed on all who were in Israel to worship.** The text then continues to explain the worship he imposed on them—to **worship the Lord**.

**35 (3) Put the Holy Ark.** Perhaps Manasseh removed it from there when he placed the idol in the House of God (2 Chr 33:7). But there is a problem: How could he have failed to return it there after he had humbled himself and removed the image from the House of the Lord (2 Chr 33:12, 15)? Our Sages, of blessed memory (see *b. Yoma* 52b, *Hor.* 12a<sup>1071</sup>), explained that [Josiah] ordered that the Ark be hid away so that it not be taken away with

Josiah tore his clothes in reaction to hearing this verse specifically, even as this seems to be Radak’s intention.

1067. Compare Radak at 2 Kgs 22:14.

1068. See *Shorashim*, entry שנה, where Radak cites this explanation of *mishneh ha-Torah* only after presenting an alternative rabbinic suggestion.

1069. See *Shorashim*, entry עמד. According to this suggestion, the word ‘*omdo* in our verse, while related to ‘*ammud*, appears to mean “in his place” (as presented in the lemma), and does not refer to any particular object.

1070. This is Radak’s preferred interpretation there and at 2 Kgs 23:3. At 2 Kgs 11:14 he cites both options. In place of Radak’s reference to his earlier comment, ms Oxford 125 contains the following: “And according to his explanation, ‘on the ‘*ammud*’ means on it literally.” It is not clear whether or not this reflects Radak’s own emendation.

1071. Aspects of this rabbinic interpretation appear in these two places in the Bavli, but it does not seem to be attested in full in any extant source. Radak’s citation of it does not appear in ms Munich, which suggests that he added it at a later point.

276 2 *Chronicles* 35:3-18

the exile. They said: There was a stone in the Holy of Holies, at its west side: the Ark was placed on top of it, and the container of manna and the staff of Aaron in front of it. For when Solomon built the Temple, knowing that it would eventually be destroyed, he built an area underneath in which to hide away the Ark—in deep and windy hidden compartments; and this stone was the cover for that place. So on King Josiah's order, the Ark was hidden away in that area **that Solomon had built**—as it says, “Put the Holy Ark,” etc.—and the staff of Aaron, the container of manna, and the anointing oil were hidden away with it.<sup>1072</sup>

(13) **They roasted (*va-yevashelu*) the paschal sacrifice in fire, as prescribed.** Nowhere else do we find the term *bishul* for roasting,<sup>1073</sup> so to indicate that it was in fact roasted, the text says “in fire.” But the rest of **the sacred offerings they cooked** in water, in pots.

**In sirot, devadim, and *ṣelahot*.** These are types of pots.

(18) **Since the time of the prophet Samuel, no Passover like that one had ever been kept in Israel.** In Kings it says, “since the days of the chieftains” (2 Kgs 23:22), because Samuel was a chieftain (1 Sam 7:15).<sup>1074</sup>

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1072. See Japhet (1993, 1048), who rejects the suggestions in Radak's comment in favor of an emendation of the biblical text.

1073. Compare *Shorashim*, entry *בשל*. As noted by R. Elijah Levita Bahur in his glosses on the *Shorashim* (included in the standard edition), the root is employed in connection with the paschal sacrifice in Deut 16:7, where Radak would undoubtedly acknowledge that it denotes roasting. Modern scholars suggest that the Chronicler writes “*va-yevashelu* ... in fire” precisely in order to clarify that the verb in Deuteronomy means to roast, in keeping with the rule for the paschal sacrifice that appears in Exod 12:8-9; see, e.g., Japhet (1993, 1053), and Knoppers (2004, 736) who provides this as an example of harmonization on the part of the Chronicler. (On various types of harmonization in Chronicles, see chapter 7 of Kalimi [2005].) It is mildly tempting to suggest that this itself is Radak's intention here (“Nowhere else [i.e., nowhere other than in connection with the paschal sacrifice] do we find the term *bishul* for roasting ...”); however, his formulation in the *Shorashim* does not allow for such an option.

The remainder of this comment does not appear in ms Paris (or in printed texts, which descend from it) and is probably Radak's later addition.

1074. Compare Radak on the verse in Kings. This last clause is not attested in ms Paris and is probably Radak's later addition.

When the text says that no Passover like that had ever been kept, it means in which all Israel was of one mind to worship the Lord. Indeed, it says in Samuel: “and all the house of Israel came together<sup>1075</sup> to devote themselves to the Lord” (1 Sam 7:2), and: “And the Israelites removed the Baals and the Ashtoreths, and they served the Lord alone” (1 Sam 7:4).<sup>1076</sup> For even in the context of the Passover that Hezekiah made, there were many Israelites who were not there. Not only that, but they mocked the couriers whom Hezekiah had sent (2 Chr 30:10). And even many of those who were in Jerusalem were unclean and ate the paschal sacrifice in their unclean state (2 Chr 30:17-18).

(20) **Neco (*Nekhoh*) came up.** “Neco” is a nickname, as it says in Kings: “Pharaoh Neco” (2 Kgs 23:29).<sup>1077</sup> He was called this because he was *nekheh raglayim* (“crippled in his feet”).<sup>1078</sup> That is how Targum Jonathan (2 Kgs 23:29) renders it: “Pharaoh the lame.”

(21) **And *Elohim* (“God”) said that I should hurry; refrain, then, from interfering with *Elohim* who is with me.** In the rabbinic literature there is a debate; some say (Tractate *Soferim* 4:9) that both [references to the Divine] are to the Holy One—and it indeed appears so when the text says: “and he did not listen to the words of Neco from the mouth of *Elohim*” (v. 22).<sup>1079</sup>

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1075. The Hebrew verb here is *va-yinnahu*. On the verse in Samuel and in *Shorashim*, entry נהה, Radak provides two interpretations: either it means “they cried [and repented],” or “they came together.”

1076. These verses provide evidence that all Israel was indeed “of one mind to worship the Lord” during the time of Samuel.

1077. That is, like other Egyptian kings, he was a “Pharaoh”—and that would have been considered his real name.

1078. Compare Radak on the verse in Kings. In *Shorashim*, entry נכה, he presents this as a mere possibility. This comment and the next two are not attested in ms Munich and are presumably Radak’s later additions.

1079. That is, v. 22 suggests that God conveyed, through Neco, that Josiah should not create a confrontation. This is best understood if both appearances of *Elohim* in v. 21 refer to God: God was encouraging Neco to “hurry,” so that confronting Neco would mean “interfering” with God Himself. As noted by *Minḥat Shay*, this view appears in Tractate *Soferim* 4:9. Other rabbinic positions, which Radak does not cite explicitly, appear in Bavli *Taanit* 22b and in *Lamentations Rabba* 1:53. For a brief discussion of the general matter in both ancient and modern interpretation, see Japhet (1993, 1056-57).

278 2 *Chronicles* 35:22–36:6

(22) **For [Josiah] had changed in order to fight [Neco].** He had changed his clothes, dressing in clothes of war in order to fight him.

**To the words of Neco from the mouth of God.** Perhaps the prophet Jeremiah had indicated that [Neco] was to fight in Carchemish.<sup>1080</sup> And while he was still there, fighting in Carchemish on the Euphrates (v. 20), God, may He be blessed, exacted King Josiah's revenge, when Nebuchadnezzar attacked [Neco]. That is the point when Jeremiah prophesies, "Concerning Egypt, about the army of Pharaoh Neco, king of Egypt, which was at the Euphrates River near Carchemish, and which was defeated by King Nebuchadnezzar of Babylon," etc. (Jer 46:2), and then says: "That day shall be for the Lord ... of Hosts a day when He exacts revenge on His enemies" (Jer 46:10), that is, the revenge of King Josiah.<sup>1081</sup>

(25) **And [Jeremiah] made them an institution for Israel.** This refers to the book of Lamentations, in which there appears a eulogy for Josiah,<sup>1082</sup> that is: "The breath of our life, the Lord's anointed, was captured in their traps" (Lam 4:20).

**36 (3) The king of Egypt deposed [Jehoahaz] in Jerusalem.** This means *from reigning* in Jerusalem. Indeed, in Kings it says: "from reigning in Jerusalem" (2 Kgs 23:33). But it was "in Riblah in the region of Hamath" where he imprisoned him (2 Kgs 23:33) and deposed him from the kingship.

(6) **In order to bring [Jehoiakim] to Babylon.** But [Nebuchadnezzar] did not in fact bring him, for [Jehoiakim] died on the way: it is about him that the text says: "He shall have the burial of an ass, dragged out and cast aside," etc. (Jer 22:19).<sup>1083</sup> However, it says in Daniel: "The Lord delivered

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1080. Radak writes "perhaps," since in the prophecy he cites below Jeremiah does not state explicitly that Neco was expected to fight (see also Radak on the passage in Jeremiah). *Lamentations Rabba* 1:53 also indicates that our verse refers to a prophecy of Jeremiah; but while Radak, in his previous comment, implies that Jeremiah related it to Neco, the midrash contends that he related it to Josiah himself.

1081. ms Vatican adds: "from him, when Nebuchadnezzar attacked him and killed him." This probably reflects a later gloss.

1082. See Bavli *Taanit* 22b. The comment up to this point is not attested in ms Munich and is presumably Radak's later addition.

1083. With the exception of this sentence, all of Radak's comments from the beginning of the chapter through v. 10 are not attested in ms

King Jehoiakim of Judah into his hands, together with some of the vessels of the House of God, and he brought them to the land of Shinar" (Dan 1:2)! If this is the case, then [Nebuchadnezzar] *did* bring him to Babylon, together with the vessels.<sup>1084</sup> But afterward he brought him back to Jerusalem ([Jehoiakim] did, after all, reign for eleven years [v. 5]<sup>1085</sup>), and toward the end of his life, [Jehoiakim] started up again and rebelled.<sup>1086</sup> The troops then captured him there (2 Kgs 24:1-2), and he died on the way while in their hands, as it says: "dragged out and cast aside." "In order to bring him," then, means that they did bring him, just as "to kill him treacherously" (Exod 21:14) means that he did kill him.<sup>1087</sup>

(8) **In the books of the kings of Israel and Judah.** This is the book of Jeremiah;<sup>1088</sup> it is there where [Jehoiakim's] abominable deeds are recorded, in the section "Woe to him who builds his house" (Jer 22:13).<sup>1089</sup> For in the book of Kings, not one of his abominable deeds is recorded, just the general "He did what was displeasing to the Lord" (2 Kgs 23:37).

Munich and are presumably his later additions. Indeed, in what follows, upon consideration of Dan 1:2, Radak retracts his claim that Nebuchadnezzar did not bring Jehoiakim to Babylon. (Contrast Weisse, who was unaware that Radak had composed this comment in two stages and presumed that Radak included his initial suggestion as no more than a foil for the one that follows it.)

Concerning the suggestion that Nebuchadnezzar did not actually bring Jehoiakim to Babylon, compare Pseudo-Rashi and the discussion of his position in Japhet (1993, 1065).

1084. This means with some of the vessels, but not all of them; see vv. 7 and 10. In this view, the verse is describing an earlier capture of Jehoiakim, in the fourth year of his reign, when Nebuchadnezzar ascended to the throne; see Radak at 2 Kgs 24:1 (and on the verse in Jeremiah), and compare Ibn Ezra's lengthy discussion on the verse in Daniel.

1085. Thus, he could not have been permanently exiled in the fourth year of his reign.

1086. Radak assumes that Jehoiakim must have rebelled the first time. There is no explicit biblical source for this.

1087. See Radak at 2 Chr 32:1.

1088. Radak provides no explanation why the book of Jeremiah would be called this.

1089. In the Jeremiah commentary, Radak indeed explains that the prophecy refers to Jehoiakim.

(9) **Jehoiachin was eight years old.** But in the book of Kings it says, “eighteen years old” (2 Kgs 24:8)! It might be that his father Jehoiakim, in the first year of his own reign, designated him to be king, to reign after him in his place.<sup>1090</sup> So it was then that he was eight years old; but at this point, when he took over for his father as king, he was eighteen years old.

(10) **[Jehoiachin’s] brother Zedekiah.** He was really his uncle, as is recorded in the genealogies at the beginning of this book (1 Chr 3:15-16), as well as in the book of Kings (2 Kgs 24:17). But relatives can be called “brothers,” as in “for we are brothers” (Gen 13:8), and in “[Abraham’s] brother Lot” (Gen 14:16)—who was really the son of [Abraham’s] brother (Gen 12:5).<sup>1091</sup>

(16) **Mal’ivim**—as if to say: *mal’igim u-mitta’tē’im* (ומתעתים, “mocking and playing tricks”):<sup>1092</sup> on “and I shall appear to him *ki-meta’tēa’* (‘as a trickster’)” (Gen 27:12), the Targum renders *ke-mitla’av*.<sup>1093</sup>

**On the agents of God.** These are the prophets, who are messengers of God, may He be blessed.<sup>1094</sup>

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1090. As for Jehoiakim’s motive for this, see Radak’s elaboration on the verse in Kings.

1091. Both verses in Genesis refer to Abraham and Lot.

1092. The word *u-mitta’tē’im* does not appear in ms Munich or in Radak’s parallel remarks in *Shorashim*, entry לעב, and is probably his later addition. He seems to mean that *mal’ivim* means *mal’igim* (“mocking”), paralleling *mitta’tē’im* (“playing tricks”), which appears later in the verse (compare the citation of ms Oxford in the next note).

Alternatively, *ומתעתים* in Radak is in fact not a citation of the *hitpa’el* verb *u-mitta’tē’im* in the text. Rather, it should be vocalized *u-meta’tē’im*, an active verb that Radak added to his definition of *mal’igim* in order to clarify the connection that he subsequently draws to the word *ki-meta’tēa’*.

1093. *Ke-mitla’av* is of the root לעב, as is *mal’ivim*. ms Oxford 125 adds, “and it is a double formulation (*kefel lashon*),” a standard phrase of Radak, referring here to the synonymous words *mal’igim* and *mitta’tē’im*. But it is not at all certain that this reflects Radak’s own addition. ms Vatican adds an unclear Arabic parallel, also not necessarily from Radak’s pen.

1094. This comment is not attested in ms Munich and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

**U-mitta'te'im** (ומתעצמים, "and playing tricks"). In theory this should have had a *tav* for the *hitpa'el*: ומתעצמתיים.<sup>1095</sup>

**To the point where it was beyond remedy.** [The Judeans] sinned so much that the option for repentance, which is the remedy, was taken away.<sup>1096</sup>

(17) **Elderly or yashesh ("aged")**—with a *şerei*, the equivalent of *yashish*—with a *hireq*.<sup>1097</sup>

(20) **For [Nebuchadnezzar] and for his sons.** [This means] his son and his son's son.<sup>1098</sup>

**Until the rise of the Persian kingdom.** This amounts to fifty-two years from the day [the Judeans] were exiled, until the land paid back its sabbaths (v. 21). For it was not until the second year of Darius, when the seventy-year term for Jerusalem's destruction was fulfilled (Dan 9:2), that they were fully remembered.<sup>1099</sup>

1095. Compare *Mikhlol* 135a and *Shorashim*, entry תעצם. Where the first root letter is a *tav*, it is standard for the *tav* of the *hitpa'el* to assimilate into it as it does here. It is not Radak's intention to suggest otherwise.

1096. This reflects Radak's Maimonidean mindset; see *Mishneh Torah*, Laws of Repentance 6:3, and the last of Maimonides' Eight Chapters, which comprise his introduction to Mishnah *Avot*. This comment is attested in only one branch of text witnesses, and, like other philosophical comments in the work, is apparently Radak's later addition. On the strong influence of Maimonidean philosophy on Radak, see especially the characterization in Talmage (1975, 27).

1097. See *Shorashim*, entry ישש, where Radak explains that a *yashish* is someone especially old, for whom *yeshut* ("existence") has persisted for a long time.

1098. Compare Jer 27:7. There, Radak identifies the son as Evil-merodach and the son's son as Belshazzar (compare *Seder Olam* 28). As noted by many scholars, the latter identification does not withstand historical scrutiny.

1099. Radak is referring to the "remembrance" of Judah mentioned in Jer 29:10. His point is that the seventy years during which "the land paid back its sabbaths" begin from Nebuchadnezzar's ascent to the throne—well before the actual exile and destruction—and continue until the fifty-



282 2 *Chronicles* 36:22-23

(22) **And in writing.** [Cyrus] had this proclaimed orally throughout his kingdom and also sent documents.

(23) **And [God] *paqad 'alay*.** [This means:] And He commanded me. Where, though, did [God] command [Cyrus]? It is rather that He inspired him<sup>1100</sup> and prompted him to decide to let the exiled people go and **build Him a Temple in Jerusalem.**

Alternatively, He commanded him through His prophets. Indeed, Isaiah prophesied: “Thus said the Lord to Cyrus, His anointed one,” etc.; “‘It was I who inspired [Cyrus] to do the righteous thing, and made all his ways just; he shall rebuild My city and let My exiled people go, not for any price or incentive,’ said the Lord of Hosts” (Isa 45:1, 13).<sup>1101</sup>

**Any one of you of all His people, the Lord his God be with him and let him go up.**<sup>1102</sup>

The commentary to *Chronicles* is thus completed.<sup>1103</sup>

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second year of the exile, Radak’s date for the rise of the Persian kingdom. The verse in Daniel, on the other hand, explicitly refers to a seventy-year period during which Jerusalem was in an actual state of destruction. Compare Radak at Jer 25:12 and 29:10, and especially his lengthy discussion of these calculations at Hag 1:1, based on *Seder Olam* 29. See also the notes in Milikowsky’s forthcoming edition of *Seder Olam*.

This comment appears in only one branch of text witnesses and is presumably Radak’s later addition.

1100. This terminology appears to be influenced by Isaiah 45:13, cited by Radak below to support his second interpretation.

1101. Radak appears to mean that Isaiah’s prophecy itself is the “command” in question.

1102. This corresponds to the layout in ms Escorial.

1103. This represents the last sentence in the commentary as it appears in ms Escorial. Text witnesses contain a wide disparity of readings.

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Note: Entries appear in author-date fashion, except in the case of medieval works, where the date of the edition utilized generally appears at the end. Collections of medieval commentaries, however, as well as editions of medieval and other classical works containing extensive annotation, may be listed under the name of the editor followed by the date. Standard rabbinic texts and classical commentaries are listed only when a particular edition is essential. For Hebrew titles, English translations are presented only where one is provided in the original source. Otherwise transliteration is employed.

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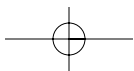
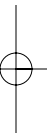
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## Index of Passages

<b>Bible</b>		15:5	176n629	30:18	130
Genesis		15:9-21	136	31:18	193
1:1	55n141	15:18	137	34:7	268
1:12	235	17:5	33, 33n46	35:23	85-86
4:1	63	20:7	138	36:9-12	72
4:17	92	21:12	137,	36:11	35
4:18	130		137n472	36:11-12	36
5	22n7	22:9	214	36:12	35, 35n52,
5:29	22n6, 63,	22:14	214		36n54,
	63n173	22:16	137,		36n56,
5:32	30		137n472		37n58,
6:5	178n636	23:6	138		183n652
8:5	194	24:2	48n107	36:19	22n9
10	22n7	24:8	202	36:21	37
10:2	30	24:10	249	36:22	36, 37
10:3	10n26, 30	24:20	250	36:23	37
10:3-5	30	25:1	34, 34n49	36:24	80
10:4	7, 30n29, 31,	25:6	34, 35n49	36:26	37, 38
	31n30	25:12	23n9	36:27	38
10:6	30n27,	25:17	23n9	36:28	38
	30n28	25:19	34n47	36:31	23n9
10:7	8, 31	26:3	137	36:39	38
10:9	121n408	26:26-29	138	38:5	68
10:21	30, 30n27	27:7	121n408	39:14	71
10:23	33, 33n41	27:12	280	41:15	36
11:26	33n45	28:4	137,	42:21	271n1046
12:2	33		137n472	42:23	271n1046
12:5	280	28:13	138n474	44:4	102
12:8	76n227	28:14	124	46	46n94
13:4	134	28:20	63, 182	46:8	42
13:8	106n342,	28:22	182	46:10	70
	280	29:11	130	46:12	42
13:16	176	30:4	93	46:17	36
14:16	280	30:9	93	46:18	93n291

290 *Index of Passages*

Genesis ( <i>cont.</i> )	28:32	201	4:3-5	163n574
46:21	92, 100, 101, 101n319	29:45 213 30:12 247	4:4-15 109 4:16 109n356	
46:23	39, 91, 252	30:13 248	4:20 109	
46:25	93	30:16 248	4:47 87	
48:22	73n215	30:19 205	6:9 128	
49:6	87	32:25 257	7:9 126	
49:7	70	33:11 240	8:24 267	
49:10	23, 74n217, 142	36:2 180 36:17-22 206	9:9-13 262n1001 13 159n557	
49:26	66, 66n184	37:6-9 198	13:32 151	
50:23	97, 98	37:7 199n720 37:9 198	14:29-30 98 16:1 88	
Exodus		38:9 75n223	18:7 252	
1:2	29, 224	39:1 193	19:9 258	
1:10	71	40:22 204	21:2 64	
2:6	142	40:24 204	21:6 192	
2:18	231, 243		21:14 85n259, 86n262,	
6:5	161	Leviticus	106	
6:15	70	4:2 259	21:21-35 77n 230	
6:17	161	6:3 147	21:33 77	
6:24	84	7:36 75n223	25:7-8 110	
6:25	110	8:32 75, 75n223	25:13 81	
7:14	254n960	13:10 226	26:8 39	
9:3	245	16:2 213	26:12 70	
9:29	43, 102	19:30 215	26:29-31 93	
10:8	55n141	19:36 251n947	26:29-33 95	
12:8-9	276n1073	21:4 274n1065	26:29-35 94	
12:15	239	22:3 263	26:31 96	
16:10	213	24:9 185	26:32 96	
17:14	151	24:43 129n437	26:35 96	
18:21-22	270	27:20-21 112n366	26:37 99	
19:10	139		26:38 100	
20:17	128n434	Numbers	26:38-39 100	
20:23	222	1:2-3 176	26:40 101	
21:14	268, 268n1031, 279	1:14 8, 31 1:33 99	26:44 52	
21:6	229	1:50 88	26:58 83	
21:8	40n67	2:14 8, 31	26:59 94	
25:4	191	2:17 100	27:14 106n342	
25:12-15	210n771	3:6-8 88	32:12 41	
25:16	212	3:15 154	32:19 76	
25:18	197n714	3:32 109n356	32:34 75	
26:31	199	4:1-49 88	32:35 53	
26:32	209n766	4:3 162, 163n574,	32:41 43, 44n84, 92n287,	
27:3	56, 156	267n1027	118n393	

## Index of Passages 291

33:5	129n437	15:16	42n75	1:9	81
36:11	95	15:17	41	4:17	219
		15:20-36	70	5	134
Deuteronomy		15:24	49	5-6	139,
1:22	159	15:32	70n204		140n484
2:11	152	16:3	99	5:1-12	125
2:20	238n893	16:5	99	5:3	140
3:4	77	16:9	169, 248	6:1-18	140
3:13	76, 77	17:1	98	7:2	125, 277
3:14	43, 44	17:4	95	7:4	277
4:49	174n621	17:8-11	100	7:15	276
8:8	265	18:14	125	8:2	85
11:24	76	18:25	104	9:1	104, 105
12:5	157	19:1-6	70	9:13	158
12:14	157	19:9	70	11:1-11	114
12:26	214	21:11-38	89	11:3	115
16:7	276n1073	21:15	89n273	12:10	212n779
17:16	146	21:16-17	89n273	13:1	23
17:18	275	21:18	93n288	14:3	81n246
18:4	265	21:20-26	90	14:22	114n374
19:5	256	21:22	90	14:47	23, 23n10
23:8-9	48	21:24	90	14:49	105
24:10	215	22:7	77	14:50	104
26	265n1016			14:51	104
27:5	160	Judges		15:8-9	115
28:36	229, 274	6:32	105, 105n341	16:9	40
31:15	213	10:8	75	16:10	40
32:8	32, 32n39	10:12	239	16:11	40
33:7	23	11:2	47	17:1	118
		11:30-40	110n360	17:12	40, 40n69
Joshua		11:37	119	17:14	41
3:14	133, 230, 274	13:25	52	17:23	149
4:11	211n778	17:4	54	17:49-50	150,
7	39n63	18:7	228		150n518
7:1	38, 38n63	18:12	52	18:27	160n561
7:7	224	19-21	110	20:27	123n414
7:20	64n175	20:21-30	110	20:3	147n509
7:24-25	39n63	20:28	103n329, 110	21:3	81
8:11	274	20:35-48	154	22:19	124
10:13	106	26:7	72n211	22:20	81
10:20	113			22:22	160
10:24	185	1 Samuel		23:25	119
13:27	75n224	1:1	85, 85n258,	25:37	244
13:33	89		88	25:39-42	55
13:35	75n224	1:17	124,	27:9	160
14:7	42		124n420	28:6	115
15:9	125	1:20	63, 63n173	31:2	105,
					114n375

292 *Index of Passages*

1 Samuel ( <i>cont.</i> )	8:10	145	24:1	153
31:10 114	8:13	146, 147	24:8	181
31:12 235n876	8:14	22, 23	24:9	154,
31:13 115n378	9:12	106		270n1045
	10:4	147,	24:13	156
2 Samuel		147n508,	24:24	157
2:8 105		148		
2:11 223	10:7	148n512	1 Kings	
2:23 174, 175	10:18	148	1:1	177n635
3:3 54	11	159n559,	1:1-4	177n635
3:16 93n288		235	1:2	177n635
3:30 55	11:3	56	1:5	269
4:2 44	11:14-17	159	1:6	94
4:4 105	11:21	105	1:15-35	185
5:1 14, 122	12:24	57	1:34	81
5:9 116, 116n383	12:30	149n514	2:27	81, 81n246
5:14-16 57	12:31	149n516	2:35	81n246
5:17 127n431	13:18	132	2:39	234n871
5:24 14, 127n432	13:23	180	3:1	219n802,
6:1 124	13:38	180		234n871
6:2 125,	14:28	180	3:4	187n668
	15-18	180	3:7	181n648
	15:19	102	5:6	222
6:3 126n429	17:25	41	5:17	158n554
6:6 125,	19:17	92, 93n288	5:20	192
	19:38	83	5:23	193
6:10 127n430,	19:41	83	5:25	191, 192
	21:1	156, 180	5:29	190n680
6:13 132	21:16	152n525	5:30	190,
6:14 132, 264	21:19	149,		190n681,
6:17 87		150n518		218n799,
6:23 56	21:20	151,		219
7 159n559		151n524,	6:2	195n705,
7:4-17 158n554,		152		196
	22:45	264	6:3	196n706
7:7 142	22:51	257	6:7	160,
7:8 143n495	23:8	117		160n562
7:9 143n496	23:10	117	6:17	197n712
7:11 143n497	23:11	117, 118	6:21	200
7:18 143n498	23:11-12	118	6:22	181
7:19 144	23:12	117	6:23	199
7:23 144	23:13	118n395	6:27	199n720,
8 146n504	23:19	119		211n775,
8:3 145	23:20	119		212n778
8:4 145	23:21	119	6:28	199
8:6 146	24	176n631,	6:31-32	199,
8:8 146		235		212n780

*Index of Passages* 293

6:32	199n721	10:13	221	22:42	242
6:34-35	208	10:15	221n813	22:48	35n50
6:38	82n247	10:17	222	6:31-32	
7:10	189n677	10:22	222	2 Kings	
7:13	206n755	10:26	189n674	2	241n904
7:14	71, 192,	10:27	189n675	2:1	241n903
	192n691	10:28	190,	2:11	240,
7:15	199,		190n678		241n903
	200n725	10:29	190n679	3:11	241
7:16	199	11:3-4	235	5:26	221
7:17	200,	11:5	238n893	6:9	113
	200n725	11:16	72	7:2	246
7:20	206n754	11:27	116	8:18	236
7:21	201n728	11:33	238n893	8:19	240n901
7:23	201n730,	11:36	240n901	8:26	241,
	202n737	12	226n834		243n910
7:24	201, 202,	12:1	223n823	8:29	243n912,
	202n739	12:6	223n821		243n913
7:26	203	12:15	224	9:27	244,
7:39	205n751	12:28-29	228n846		244n916
7:46	207	13:28	85	9:28	245
7:48	205n749	14:20	227,	9:38	244
7:49	204n747,		233n865,	10:13	244
	205n748		233n866	11:1	245
8:1	208	14:29	24	11:2	245
8:3	208	15:1	226n835	11:6	246
8:4	208	15:2	231	11:12	247n926
8:4-6	212n778	15:9	227,	11:14	247,
8:5-7	210n773		232n864		275n1070
8:8	210n773,	15:10	232n864	11:15	247n928
	212,	15:25	233n866,	11:16	247n929
	212n778		234n870	12:5	248
8:12	213n781	15:32	231n860,	12:7	250n940
8:12-40	213n781		233	12:10	250
8:31	215n787	15:33	232,	12:11	86, 256, 273
8:64	187n668,		232n862,	12:13	173n620
	217n792		234n870,	12:14	250
8:65-66	217n793		234n873	12:15	251
8:66	217	16:8	232	12:19	249
9:11	218	16:15-16	242	14:13	254
9:23	218	16:22	242	14:14	255n963
9:24	219n802	16:23	242	14:18	7n16, 24n15
9:26	220	18:24	134	14:23	78
9:28	220	18:30	116, 250	15:1	78, 78n233
10:5	220n808	22:20-23	237	15:1-8	79n235
10:11	191	22:32	237n886	15:2	78
10:12	221	22:35	237,		
			237n888		

294 *Index of Passages*

2 Kings ( <i>cont.</i> )	23:11	151	41:2	48n111
15:5 256n970	25:1	111	46:2	278
15:16 78	27:1	83	46:10	278
15:29 75	27:4	147	49:31	85, 85n260
15:35 256	32:14	256		
16:8 257	33:6	111	Ezekiel	
16:10-11 258n984	39:5-7	271n1048	2:10	53
17 106	43:18	236	6:14	8, 31
17:24 72n210	43:27	270n1046	10:14	179n642
18:13 268	45:1	282	12:22	209n768
20:13 271	45:6	272	23:10	239n897
20:16-18 271n1048	45:13	282,	23:24	85
21:18 273		282n1100	23:40	247
22:3 273n1061	55:12	141	23:42	85n260
22:14 275n1067	56:10	56n143	26:9	274
23:3 247n927,	63:3	240	29:3	83, 83n252
275,			30:21	257
275n1070	Jeremiah		31:16	270
23:22 276	2:31	121	37:22	6, 25
23:23 273n1061	4:5	115	37:24	6, 25
23:29 277	6:28	130	40:39-41	178n640
23:30 58n151,	9:2	114	40:45-46	179n640
59n154	11:13	105	44:15	171, 208
23:31 58	15:8	227	46:22	255
23:31-34 58	15:11	124n420		
23:33 278	19:8	218n795	Hosea	
23:34 58	20:7	258n981	2:22	111
23:36 58	22:11	58n151, 59,	9:10	105
23:37 279		59n154	12:12	188n671
24:1 279n1084	22:13	279		
24:1-2 279	22:14	272	Joel	
24:8 280	22:19	278	1:17	128n436
24:17 280	22:30	60		
25:7 7, 31	25:5	55n141	Obadiah	
25:16 200n725	25:12	282n1099	1:18	72
25:17 200	27:1	58n151		
25:25 47	27:1-3	58n151	Jonah	
	27:7	281n1098	3:3	121
Isaiah	29:10	281n1099,		
1-8 268n1029		282n1099	Micah	
1:3 269	30:12	55n141, 56	5:10	203n743
3:9 227	30:19	254		
10:15 149, 239	32:12	230	Habakkuk	
10:21 193	34:5	235n876	3:11	78, 224
12:4 134n458	35:2	54		
12:5 247	37:13	130,	Zephaniah	
20:4 272		130n444	2:6	143
22:5 244	41:1	47n101		

*Index of Passages* 295

Haggai		142:8-9	216n789	8:8	79
1	80	144:13	235n875	9:32	111
1:1	60, 282n1099	Proverbs		10:3	129
		13:18	240	Daniel	
Zechariah		15:13	207n756	1:1	58n151
14:9	140	15:18	151n520	1:2	279, 279n1083
		17:22	207, 207n756	3:5	235n875
Psalms		27:22	251	3:21	132, 132n450
2:2	195	28:19	240	9:2	281
8:3	195	Job		10:8	229n850
9:1	129	3:2	66n184	10:17	126
18:51	257n975	14:5	184	11:21	186
36:7	121	19:29	230n854	Ezra	
37:16	184	20:17	270	2:2	29n26
39:13	184	21:20	125	2:61	44n84
41:5	264	33:20	142	3:2	60
42	167n593	36:12	246	7:1-5	81
43	167n593	36:15	237n886	Nehemiah	
45:7	142	39:29	262n1004	3:34	116
55:22	128	40:15	165n587	4:1	250
60:2	146, 147	Song		9:9	5
62:4	130n444	1:10	144	11:3	107
73:15	263	1:13	211	11:4	107
73:28	179	8:6	121	11:4-6	107
78:9	97n306	Ruth		11:8	108n349
78:61	135	1:1	102n324	11:12-14	108n349
81:15	145n503	1:2-4	68n192	1 Chronicles	
88:5	193	Lamentations		1	22n7
88:6	256	3:22	151	1:1	78n232, 148n512, 224n828, 253n956
90:1	122n410	3:37	136	1:1-2:15	21
94:10	27	4:10	236	1:5	6n15, 8
95:7	135n466	4:20	278	1:6	10
96	133	Ecclesiastes		1:6-7	7
100:3	135n466	4:14	243	1:7	30n29, 35n51, 38, 39n66, 113n371
105	133	8:5	123	1:9	8, 31
105:6	135	Esther		1:12	39n65
105:8	135	1:8	195		
105:15	133, 138	1:13	122n414, 123		
106:47-48	141n489	5:11	253		
106:48	141n490				
119:103	271n1046				
119:141	143				
129:1	263				
130:4	216				
132:2	182				
132:8	135n464				
141:1	246n922				



296 *Index of Passages*

1 Chronicles ( <i>cont.</i> )	2:26	16n40	4:10	98n308
1:17 36	2:31	47	4:11	65, 68
1:23 7n17	2:32	47n104	4:12	50n118,
1:24 6n15	2:34	16n40,		52n129, 65
1:27 6n15, 23n9		99n311	4:15	41n72
1:28 34n47	2:35	48	4:17	67
1:32 6n15	2:42	43n79,	4:18	66, 66n188,
1:33 66n187		51n119, 67,		67n188
1:34 30n28, 34,		67n190	4:22	69
34n47	2:46	66	4:23	68
1:35 23n9,	2:49	42n75	4:24	33n42, 73
240n902	2:50	52, 61,	4:24-8:40	21
1:36 33n41,		62n169,	4:28-43	70
38n62,		104n332	4:32	62n166
59n154,	2:50-51	62	4:38	71n206
161n568	2:51	50, 52	4:39-42	70
1:38 6n15, 22n9	2:52	4n10, 61	4:40-41	71
1:39 36	2:53	51n124, 62,	4:41	72n210
1:43 35		62n165	5:2	23n12
1:43-54 22	2:54	51	5:4	75
1:51 37n58	2:55	7	5:12	75n222
2:3 61n163, 91	3	61n162	5:17	3n7
2:3-4:23 21	3:1	61n163	5:18	91n279
2:6-7 61n163	3:1-8	224	5:19	78
2:9 43n80, 196,	3:2	68n195, 90,	5:21	79
197		156n543,	5:23	77
2:10-17 46, 54		163n575,	5:24	72
2:13-15 175		180n644,	5:26	106
2:15 21, 175		198,	5:27	165,
2:17 177n633		198n716		165n586,
2:18 16n41, 39,	3:5	151n529,		82n248
43n82, 49,		266n1021	5:28-41	84n255
50n116,	3:6-8	57	5:29	36n56
63n170, 66,	3:10	66n186	5:29-41	80
66n182,	3:15	16n41,	5:34	66n183
67n188		36n57,	5:36	46n96
2:18-20 48		59n156	5:40	81n242
2:18-55 66	3:15-16	280	6:3	84
2:19 42, 42n76,	3:16	59	6:5	84n255, 88,
43	3:19	25, 60, 62		88n269
2:20 50	3:19-24	24n14	6:6	88
2:21 42, 44, 46,	3:21	61	6:7	83n253
47n100, 49	3:23	61	6:7-13	88
2:22 45	3:24	25n19	6:8	96n301
2:23 2n3, 16n41,	4:1	50n116,	6:11	88, 88n268
98n309		61n163	6:12	88
2:24 43n80, 62,	4:2	51n124,	6:16	88n270,
63, 66		52n127,		89n271, 108
		75n220		

## Index of Passages 297

6:16-38	80	7:40	91n279	11:10	174
6:17	89n271	8:1	16n41, 92,	11:13	117
6:18	84n256,		103	11:14	117, 118
	84n257, 85,	8:6	51	11:20	119n397
	89, 101	8:6-7	103	11:21	120n401
6:18-22	109n353	8:7	102n322,	11:24-25	122
6:18-23	83, 84n256		106n345	12	91n279
6:19	88	8:8	94n294	12:1-2	122
6:20	88	8:9	102	12:24-39	91
6:20-21	85n257	8:9-11	102	12:28	175n624
6:22	84, 108	8:27	16n41,	12:34	269n1039
6:23	87		109n357	12:39	123, 269
6:24	87	8:28	102	13:3	128n435
6:24-28	83	8:29	107n348,	13:5-14	87n264
6:26	88		108n349,	13:7	126n429
6:27	88		113, 114n372	13:13	115n380
6:28	87	8:29-38	9	13:14	168
6:29	87	8:34	105	14:4-7	57
6:29-32	83	9	104n332	14:17	143
6:32	87	9:1	91	15:2	126
6:39-66	80	9:1-2	108n350	15:11-12	87n265
6:43	89n273	9:3	9, 11,	15:13	124n422,
6:54	127n430		104n333,		126, 262
7:1	11n29, 22n5,		107n347	15:16-17	87n265
	93n290	9:9	108n349	15:16-16:1	86
7:4	92	9:13	108n349	15:18	127, 131,
7:5	22n5,	9:18	107n348		131n446,
	91n279	9:20	103n329		131n447,
7:6	91n279, 100,	9:22	108, 165		192
	101n320	9:25	112,	15:21	131n447
7:7	93		112n367,	15:23	132n447,
7:7-11	91n279		112n368		133n455
7:8-9	101	9:35	104	15:24	15n37,
7:12	91, 91n281,	9:35-44	9		129n438,
	94, 95	9:36	104, 105		259n989
7:13	22n5, 91,	9:39	105n340	15:27	148n512
	91n282,	10	114n372	16	13
	91n283, 92	10:1	21n2	16:1	129
7:14	95	10:12	114n377	16:5	129
7:14-15	96	10:13-14	115n380	16:8	139
7:16-17	96n299	10:14	115n379,	16:18	136n470,
7:19	95		115n380,		137n472
7:20	88n268		124,	16:20-22	138n477
7:20-21	100		124n422	16:22	133
7:21	46n96,	11:1	14	16:23	133
	64n175	11:4	14	16:24	139
7:22	98	11:6	14	16:31	140
7:30	62	11:8	250n944	16:32	140,
					141n487

298 *Index of Passages*

1 Chronicles ( <i>cont.</i> )	25:1	52n125	28:12	179
16:34 141	25:2	166,	28:16	178,
16:37 139		178n637		179n640
16:38 168	25:3	166, 167	28:21	257
17:3-15 158n554	25:4	52, 167	29:1	256
17:5 168	25:5	167	29:9	182
17:14 144	25:7	167	29:9-10	182
18-20 46	25:8	166	29:14	182
18:3 4n11	25:9	167	29:22	82, 17n42
18:8 146	25:9-31	167	29:27-28	181
20:6 152	25:17	166	34-35	133n455
20:8 56n145, 152	25:31	167		
21 176n631	26:1-19	166	2 Chronicles	
21:1 15n36	26:5	142n492	1:3-5	142
21:5 176n630,	26:6	248n934	1:5	187n665
241	26:8	142, 168, 169	1:11-12	26n20
21:6 154,	26:15	245	2:1	218, 219
154n534,	26:17	170,	2:7	220
176		170n605	2:9	46n99
21:12 55n141	26:17-18	170	2:10	206n755
21:14 155	26:18	171	2:12	206n755
21:16 153	26:19	171n612	2:13	71n207, 206,
21:18 158	26:20	173		206n755
21:20-28 166	26:21	162n570	2:16	190,
21:27 187	26:22	161,		190n680
22:1 214		162n571,	2:17	190n680,
22:2 193		172,		194
22:8 4n11		172n615,	3:1-4:22	178
22:12 159n556		173	3:2	201
23:1-6 174	26:22-28	254n962	3:3	197n712
23:3 162	26:23	171n612	3:6	181
23:6 164	26:24	173	3:8	198n716,
23:6-27:34 246	26:25	162n571,		209
23:7 83, 171n612		172n615	3:9	196
23:7-9 171	26:26	172, 173	3:11	55n141, 156,
23:8 36n54, 172,	26:26-28	173		156n543
218n795	26:28	173	3:13	210,
23:9-11 83	26:31	181		211n775
23:10 83, 161n566	27:1	155	3:14	212
23:17 172,	27:5	122n411	3:16	206
172n617	27:6	175	4:2	202
24:3 81n246	27:7	174	4:3	203n741
24:4 164	27:16	174n622	4:6	17n42,
24:6 165,	27:18	40		178n639
165n585	27:23	155n536	4:7	178,
24:7 167	27:30	41n71		178n639,
24:31 169	27:31	177		204
25 87n265	28:11	195, 196	4:8	204

## Index of Passages 299

4:14	207n758	15:10	231n861	26:8	72n211, 238
4:16	193n693	15:11	127	27:4	236n883
4:19	205,	16:1	231n860	28:9	230
	205n748	16:2	234	29:15	259
4:20	205	16:2-3	236	29:16	163
5:1	208	16:7	234	29:28	15n37
5:5	208	16:12	236	30	107n347
5:7	208	17:12	256n973	30:1	260,
5:8	210, 211	18:19	3, 15n36		261n996
5:9	15n36,	20:1	72n211, 255,	30:2	16n41,
	16n41,		255n965		17n42,
	198n718,	21:6	243		123n415,
	199n721	21:8-10	238		261n996,
5:27	83	21:8-11	35		270n1040
6:12	214	20:10	238n891	30:3	128,
6:13	216	20:22-23	238n891		128n434,
6:18	214	20:37	229n850		262n1002
6:18-20	15n36	21:12	15	30:5	262
6:19	214	21:16-17	242	30:6	107n347
6:41-42	216n789	21:18-19	242	30:10	262, 277
7:9	17n42	21:20	243	30:11	107n347
8:7	193	22:2	16n41	30:17	261n1000
8:8	194	22:10	245	30:17-18	262,
8:10	190n681	22:10-12	248n936		262n1002,
8:14	89n271	22:12	250n940,		277
9	55n139		252	30:18	107n347,
9:30	234n872	23:1-24:1	250n940		261, 262
11:6	62n166	23:4	170n604	31:10	82-83
11:18	29n26	23:10	269	31:13	2n4
11:20	226, 231	23:13	275	31:15	267
11:21	225	24:3	252	31:15-16	266
11:21-23	225n832	24:7	169,	31:15-17	267n1028
12:1	235		169n603	31:18-19	267n1028
12:13	225, 226	24:9	253	32:1	279n1084
13:1	227	24:13-14	251	32:5	246n925
13:2	227	24:21-22	252	32:9	269n1034
13:8	228	24:25	39n64	32:21	269n1034
13:11	204	24:27	15, 228n848	32:25	269
13:15	228	25:7	17n42,	32:28	123
13:19	228		254n959	32:30	16n41,
13:20	229n850,	25:19	254n959		17n42,
	235	25:23	254n959		268n1032
13:22	253	25:26	24n15	32:31	15n36
13:23	232	26:7	72n211, 238,	33:7	275
14:8-14	231		238n894,	33:12	275
14:10	240n900		255	33:14	270n1042
15:8	3n5,	26:16	256	33:15	275
	274n1063	26:17-18	82	34:3	273n1061

300 *Index of Passages*

2 Chronicles ( <i>cont.</i> )		<i>b. Bekhorot</i>		<i>b. Rosh Hashanah</i>	
34:8	273, 273n1061	45b	151	3a	194, 194n700
34:14	273	10b	261, 270		
34:19	273n1061	31b	164, 260, 263	<i>b. Shabbat</i>	
34:31	247n927, 273n1061	58a	184	119a	251
34:33	273, 273n1061	62b	157		
35:3	210n771	63b	169	<i>b. Sanhedrin</i>	
35:19	273n1061	<i>b. Eruvin</i>		12a	123
35:20	278	14a	201	12a-b	261
35:21	277n1079	14b	202, 203n741, 203n743, 204n744	19b	67
35:22	277, 277n1079		251	20b-21a	185
36:5	279	53b		21a	56
36:6	268n1031	<i>b. Horayot</i>		21b	222, 222n819
36:7	279n1084	11b	58	37b	60
36:10	278n1080, 279n1084	12a	275	92b	99
36:21	281	<i>b. Hullin</i>		<i>b. Sotah</i>	
		8b	179	11a	54
		<i>b. Ketubbot</i>		11b	41, 66n188
		106b	250	12a	62n170
		<i>b. Megillah</i>		35a	126n429, 132n448
		10b	211	<i>b. Sukkah</i>	
		12b	122n414	5b	197, 198n719
		13a	67	<i>b. Taanit</i>	
		14b	121n407	22b	277n1079, 278n1082
		<i>b. Menahot</i>		27a	165
		29a	207	<i>b. Tamid</i>	
		98b	204	27a	170, 171
		99a	204	<i>b. Yevamot</i>	
		110a	191	62b	44n85, 45n90
		<i>b. Moed Qatan</i>		86b	208
		9a	217	<i>b. Yoma</i>	
		<i>b. Nedarin</i>		45a	197
		55a	265	52b	274, 275
		<i>b. Pesahim</i>		53a	188, 189, 213n781
		68a	77n231	54a	211
		92a	239		
		113b	48		
<b>Rabbinic Writings</b>					
BABYLONIAN TALMUD					
<i>b. Arakhin</i>					
16b	192				
<i>b. Avodah Zarah</i>					
11a	235				
44a	149				
52b	259				
<i>b. Bava Batra</i>					
14b	125n425				
15a	6, 23				
16a	154n533				
91b	68				
99a	198n718, 199				
112a	44				
121b	98n308				
123b	72				
<i>b. Bava Qamma</i>					
16b	271				

## Index of Passages 301

<i>b. Zevaḥim</i>		<i>Kelim</i>		60:3	110
25a	179	15:1	203	65:20	227n844,
45b	263	17:1	206n752		228
55b	171	17:10	195	70:1-2	182
59a-60a	217			71:9	103
59b	187n668	<i>Middot</i>		72:5	122n414
116b	157	1:1	170	82:12	35n52
		4:5-6	197n711	82:14	37n58
JERUSALEM TALMUD				94:9	166
<i>y. Berakhot</i>		<i>Pesaḥim</i>		98:5	87
35b	193	4	261n997		
				<i>Exodus Rabba</i>	
<i>y. Bava Metzia</i>		<i>Toharot</i>		1:17	42n77
3a	160	8:3	267n1025	40:4	103
<i>y. Eruvin</i>		<i>Yevamot</i>		<i>Leviticus Rabba</i>	
33a	246	16:3	227n843	9:2	105
				10:5	60
<i>y. Horayot</i>		<i>Yoma</i>		25:2	124n419
19a	48	5:1	209n770		
				<i>Numbers Rabba</i>	
<i>y. Sanhedrin</i>		<i>Zevaḥim</i>		14:18	77n231
11b	47	5:4	222	21:8	101
13a	189	5:4-7	260n992		
		5:8	263n1006	<i>Song Rabba</i>	
<i>y. Sukkah</i>				3:9-10	181
26b	111	TOSAFOT			
		<i>Bava Metzia</i>		<i>Ruth Rabba</i>	
<i>y. Taanit</i>		114b	103n331	2:2	150n519
4:2	9n22				
		<i>Yoma</i>		<i>Lamentations Rabba</i>	
<i>y. Yevamot</i>		9a	82n248,	1:53	278n1080,
82b	227, 228		82n249		277n1079
<i>y. Yoma</i>		TOSEFTA		<i>Avot de-Rabbi Natan</i>	
5a	110	<i>Kelim</i> [middle chapters]		A:2	270
19a	205	5:2	203	B:37	254
MISHNAH		<i>Makkot</i>		<i>Baraita di-Melekhet</i>	
<i>Arakhin</i>		3:2	90	<i>ha-Mishkan</i>	
5:2	248n932			4	209n766
5:4	248n932	OTHER RABBINIC			
		LITERATURE		<i>Bereshit Rabbati</i>	
<i>Berakhot</i>		<i>Genesis Rabba</i>		46:25	93n291
4:6	193	26:3	30n27		
		37:1	7n18, 32n37	<i>Mekhilta Pisha</i>	
<i>Bikkurim</i>		37:7	7n17	12	213n781
1:3	265	39:10	5		

302 *Index of Passages*

<i>Mekhilta Yitro</i>		<i>Seder Olam</i>		<i>Tanḥuma va-Era</i>	
2	53n131	12	139	16	252
		14	180		
<i>Midrash Tehillim</i>		16	228, 234	<i>Tanḥuma va-Yeshev</i>	
119:81	40	17	241, 242	1	35n52
		28	281n1098		
<i>Midrash Zuta Ruth</i>		29	282n1099	<i>Tanḥuma Yitro</i>	
1:12	47	<i>Sifra Aḥarei-mot</i>		4	53n131
		9	142n491		
<i>Pesiqta Rabbati</i>		<i>Sifrei Beha'alotekha</i>		<i>Tractate Soferim</i>	
44:1	154	78	53n131	4:9	277, 277n1079
<i>Seder Eliyyahu Rabba</i>		<i>Sifrei Deuteronomy</i>		<i>Yalqut Shimoni Qorah</i>	
4-7	103n328	70	157	754	82
18	103	297	265		
<i>Seder Eliyyahu Zuta</i>		<i>Tanḥuma Toledot</i>			
15	103n330	6	54		



## Index of Subjects

- Aaron, 81, 82n248  
     and atonement, 89  
     chief officer of, 122  
     as head of priesthood, 89  
     as high priest, 185n663  
     leadership of, 88n267  
     progeny of, 80, 81, 82n248, 89  
     sons of, 89, 185, 205  
     staff of, 276  
 Abiathar, 81, 81n246, 177  
 Abiel, 104, 105, 105n337  
 Abihail daughter of Eliab, 224, 224n829  
 Abijah, 46, 46n98, 85, 225, 227, 228,  
     228n845, 228n847, 231, 235,  
     235n878  
 Abimelech, 138  
 Abinadab/Ishvi, 105  
 Abishag, 177n635  
 Abner, 105, 105n337, 105n338, 174n623  
 Abram/Abraham, 30, 33, 33-34n46, 34  
     blessing of, 137  
     and concubines, 34, 34n48, 34-35n49,  
     37n59  
     covenant with, 135, 137, 137n472  
     as the famous one, 33  
     as father of many nations, 33, 33n46  
     household of, 35  
     and Isaac, 22-23n9, 34n47  
     and sacrifice of Isaac, 157, 157n544,  
     214  
     and slave Eliezer, 48  
 Abravanel, Don Isaac, 12  
 Absalom, 55, 55n141, 231  
 Absalom/Abishalom, 231, 231n858  
 Abshai, 119, 119n397  
 Abshai son of Zeruiah, 146, 147  
 Achar/Achan, 38, 38-39n63  
 Adaiah/Iddo, 88  
 Adar, 261, 262  
 advisors: of the king, 117, 123n417, 177  
 agents of God, prophets as, 280  
 Ahab, 236, 237, 241, 242  
 Ahaz, 230, 257, 258  
     idolatry of, 259  
 Ahaziah, 241, 242, 243, 243n909, 244,  
     245  
 Aher, 93  
 Ahijah, 173, 173n618  
 Ahimelech, 81, 81n246  
 Ahitophel, 177  
 Ahitub, 81n246  
*alef/hei* interchange, 31, 32  
*alef/yod* interchange, 76  
 Alemeth, 92, 92-93n288  
*algummim*, 191, 191n686, 220  
 alien converts, 190, 190n680, 193,  
     193n698, 194, 218, 219  
 all Israel, 14n34  
 altar  
     of Ahaz, 258, 258n984  
     and the Ark, 142  
     of burnt offerings, 214, 217  
     damaged, 116, 250  
     dashing blood on, 206  
     dedication of, 217  
     at Gibeon, 158, 187, 187n665  
     and *kevesh*, 222  
     no iron tools over, 160

304 *Index of Subjects*

- altar (*cont.*)  
     smash the, 274  
     in Temple, 215, 217, 259  
 Amaziah/Amasiah son of Zichri, 236, 236n884  
 Ammiel/Eliam, 56  
 Amminadab/Izhar, 84  
 Ammizabad, 175  
 'Ammonim, 238, 238n893, 255  
 Ammonites, 238, 238n893  
 Amoz, father of prophet Isaiah, 254  
 Anathoth, 92, 92n287  
 angel(s), 156, 187, 187n667  
     of death: as Satan, 153-54n533  
     of the Lord, 153, 153n533  
     of the Lord: Satan as, 153  
     mediating, 215  
     with sword, 154, 187  
 anointed one(s), 138, 216  
     Cyrus as, 282  
     patriarchs as, 138  
 Aram, 44, 44n86  
 Aramean war, 146, 147n507  
 argevan, 191  
 Ark  
     at Baalah, 125  
     carried by Levites, 126, 126n427, 208  
     and Dagon, 140, 140n483  
     and David, 126, 126n429, 128, 141  
     and David's houses, 219  
     hidden compartment for, 276  
     "his might" as, 135, 135n464  
     and Josiah, 275, 276  
     in Jerusalem, 139n480  
     location in inner Sanctuary, 210, 210n771, 211, 211n774  
     and Name, 125, 125n425  
     and names of God, 125n425  
     and the nations, 139  
     placement in Jerusalem, 86, 86n264, 87, 88  
     prayer before, 139  
     redemption by, 139n481  
     sanctity of, 126  
     saving of, 139  
     space occupied by, 211, 211nn776, 211n777, 211-12n778, 212  
     transfer to Jerusalem, 208  
     transport of, 126, 126n427, 126n429, 127, 127n433, 128, 131, 131n447, 132n448, 142, 142n493  
     and Uzza, 126, 126n427, 127n433, 132n449  
 Aroer, 75, 75n224, 76  
 arrows, 120, 244  
 Asa, 227, 230, 230n857, 231, 231-32n861, 232, 232n862, 232n864, 233, 233n865, 233n866, 233n867, 233-34n869, 234n870, 234, 235, 242  
 Asael, 174, 174n623, 175  
 Asaph, 141, 166, 166n591, 168  
     sons of, 166, 166n591  
 ascension: of Elijah, 240, 241, 241n903, 241n904  
 Ashbel, 100  
 Asher, 100  
 asherah tree(s), 231, 252  
 Ashhur, 62  
 Ashhur/Caleb, 62-63n171  
 Asriel, 93, 94, 95, 96  
 Assir, 59, 60  
 asupim  
     chamber of, 170, 170n604, 245  
     and Levites, 170, 170n607, 170n609  
 Atarah: as Israelite or Gentile, 46, 47, 46-47n100  
 Athaliah, 247, 248  
     daughter of Omri, 243  
     sons of, 248, 249  
 atonement, 89, 110, 160, 259, 263, 264.  
     *See also* Day of Atonement  
 Atroth-beth-joab, 53  
 authorship: of Chronicles, 5, 6  
 avi, 52n129, 104n332  
     as ruler/father, 50, 65n180  
 Avot, 165  
     as large clans, 165n587  
 'azarah, 206  
 Azariah/Ahaziah, 243  
 Azariah son of Oded, 230  
 Azariah/Uzziah, 78, 82, 82n251  
     as priest, 81, 82, 82n247  
 Azel/Azal, 106  
 Azubah, wives/daughters of, 42, 42n76, 43, 43n79

## Index of Subjects 305

- Baal(s), 104, 105, 249, 277  
*baal/boshet*, 105  
 Baalah/Kiriath-jearim, 125  
 Baara, 102  
 Baasha, 231n860, 232, 232n862, 233, 233-34n869, 234  
 Bahurim, 92, 92-93n288  
*banah*, 116n383  
 Bashan, 76, 77, 78  
 basin (Temple), 201, 202, 203, 205, 205-7n752  
 Bathsheba/Bathshua, 56, 185  
     and David, 235  
 beards, shaving of, 147  
 Becher, 100, 101, 101n318  
*bekhor*: for kingship, 58  
 Bela, 100  
 Belshazzar, 281n1098  
 ben Judah, R. Benjamin, 26n21  
 Benaiah, 120, 120n401, 122, 174, 175, 175n624  
 bench, 247, 247n927  
 Benjamin, sons of, 92, 92n286, 100, 101  
 Bered/Becher, 96, 96n301  
*be-rov*, 5n12, 27n24  
*bet*, elided, 47, 47n104  
     as *be-bet*, 86, 86n263  
     use of, 75n223  
 Bethel, idolatrous calves at, 228, 228n846  
 Beth-horon, 90  
     Upper and Lower, 99  
 Bethlehem, 50, 51, 52, 52n129, 68  
     father of, 62  
 Bethlehemite: as David, 149, 150, 150n518, 150n519  
 Beth-shean, 100, 114  
 Bezalel, 187n665, 198, 199n720  
 Bible, unified theology of, 18  
 biblical text, integrity of, 18  
 Bilhah, descendants of, 93  
*biraniyyot* (palaces), 236, 256  
 Bithiah  
     daughter of Pharaoh, 67, 66-67n188  
     sons of, 67, 67n189, 67n191  
 blood, shedding of: and David, 158, 159, 159n558, 160, 160n561, 160n562  
 Bo'az, 201  
*Book of Jashar*, 106  
 book of Jehu, 239, 240  
 book of the kings of Israel, 106, 239, 240  
 books of the kings of Israel and Judah, 279, 279n1088  
*Book of the Wars of the Lord*, 106  
 Booths, Feast of, 217  
 Boshet, 105  
*boshet/baal*, 105  
 bows, 120  
 box: for money, 250, 250n941, 250n942  
 bread, 205, 205n749  
     of display, 178, 185, 204n747, 205  
     on Moses' table, 204, 204n747, 205n728, 205n729  
 brothers, 280  
 burial: of Ahaz, 258, 258n983  
 burnt offering(s), 141, 178, 179, 187, 205, 205n750, 214, 217, 259, 260, 264  
 Caleb, sons of, 48, 49, 50  
 Caleb son of Hezron, 41, 41n73, 42, 42n75, 43, 50n116, 61n163, 61n164, 66, 66n182  
 Caleb son of Hur, 50, 50n117, 61, 62n169  
 Caleb/Ashhur, 62-63n171  
 Caleb-ephraiah, 45, 45-46n94  
 Caleb/Mered, 66-67n188, 67  
 camp  
     of Dan, 52  
     of God, 121  
     of the Levites, 239, 239n895, 239n896  
     of the Lord, 109, 109n354  
     of the *Shekhinah*, 109n354  
 Canaan, sons of, 32, 32n40  
 capitals: on Temple columns, 199, 200, 200n725  
 Carmi, 61, 61n163  
 cave of Adullam, 119  
 Cehub, 65  
 census, 193  
     money: of Moses, 247, 247n930, 248, 248n933  
     of Israel: by David, 176, 176n628  
     of Israel: by Joab, 176, 176n630, 176n631

306 *Index of Subjects*

- chainwork, 200, 200n727, 201, 206
- chamber
  - of Abtinias, 171
  - of the *asuppim*, 245
  - of the curtain/Ark cover, 171, 171n610, 197
  - of the fireplace, 171
  - of the *sederot*, 247, 247n928
  - of the spark, 171
- chariot
  - Divine, 179n642
  - figure of, 179, 179n642, 197. *See also* cherubs, cherubim
  - four horses of, 190
  - towns, 189
- Chelubai/Caleb, 39, 46n99
- Chenaniah, 129, 132, 173
- cherubim, 198, 198n718, 199, 210, 210n772, 211
  - faces of, 197, 197n714
- cherubs, 179, 179n642, 197
- chief: as firstborn, 162n568
- chieftains, over Israel, 143, 143n497
- Chilion, 68
- Chronicles (biblical book)
  - contradictions in, 10, 26
  - early dating of, 18
  - Ezra as author, 5, 6, 23, 23n13, 24, 24n14
  - focus on Davidic kingship, 23, 25, 38
  - and Former Prophets: and Radak's treatment of, 12-17
  - genealogical material in, 5, 6
  - imprecision in, 9
  - inconsistencies in, 9
  - midrashic approach to, 26, 26n24
  - obscurity of, 26
  - purpose of, 5, 26
- Chronicles (commentary of Radak)
  - and development of Radak's exegesis, 3
  - exegetical program of, 12-17
  - manuscripts of, 2-3, 17
  - motive for composition, 3, 4
  - and motives of characters, 14
  - printed editions, 17, 17n43
- chronicles
  - of Israelite kings, 24
  - of Judean kings, 23, 24, 24n14, 24n15, 25, 25n16, 38
  - of Judean kings: canonization of, 24n14, 25, 25n16
  - prophetic endorsement of, 25, 25n19
- city, open, 118
- cloud, of Divine Presence, 213, 214
- coal pan, 255
- columns: of the Temple, 199, 200, 200n725, 201
- commentaries on Chronicles
  - midrashic, 4, 5
  - Munich 5, 4, 4n11
  - Pseudo-Rashi, 4
  - student of Saadia Gaon, 4, 4n10
- concubines: of Abraham, 34, 34n48, 34-35n49
- copper altar, 187, 187n665
- copper laver, 214
- coppersmith, 192
- covenant
  - with Abraham, 135, 137, 137n472
  - for the sake of Isaac, 137, 137n472
- Cozeba, men of, 68, 69
- crown, weight of, 149
- cubit, 195
- curtain(s): of the Temple, 109, 150, 171, 199, 209, 211, 212
- Cushites, war against, 231, 231n860
- Cyrus, 282
  - as God's anointed one, 282
- Dagon
  - and the Ark, 140, 140n483
  - temple of, 114
- daleth/resh* confusion, 77, 8, 30, 30n29, 31, 38
- Dan, sons of, 91
- Daniel, 278, 279, 279n1084
- Daniel/Chileab, 54, 55, 54n138, 54n139
- Danites, cities of, 90
- Darius, 281
- dashing instruments, 179, 179n641, 206
- dates: as honey, 265

- David, 40  
 and the Ark, 126, 126n429, 127n430, 128, 141  
 and Bathsheba, 235  
 as composer/compiler of Psalms, 129, 167n593  
 and the crown, 149, 149n514  
 and Edomites, 22, 23  
 and Elhanan, 150, 150n518, 150n519  
 and Goliath, 150, 150n518, 150n519  
 in Hebron, 223, 223n820  
 and horses, 146  
 as Israel's first king, 23, 23n12  
 in Jerusalem, 223n820  
 and Nahshon, 39  
 old age of, 177, 177n635  
 and realignment of Levites, 164, 165  
 and Satan, 152, 153, 153n531  
 sons of, 54, 56, 57, 57n148, 57n149  
 and the Temple, 159-60n559, 160, 160n562  
 wealth of, 160  
 and Zadok, 164  
 Davidic ancestry, primacy of, 21n4  
 Davidic kingship, 23, 24, 25  
 Day of Atonement, 17, 209, 217  
 death: as freedom, 256  
*Devir*, 195n705, 197, 209n767. *See also*  
 inner Sanctuary  
 "died," not meaning death, 244, 244n916  
 Dishan/Dishon, 37, 38  
 sons of, 37, 37n60  
 Divine inspiration, 11n28, 25n19, 166, 166n589, 167, 167n592, 167n593, 178  
 Divine Presence, 110, 213, 214  
 Divine Spirit, 111, 121n407, 166  
 Divine visions: and prophecy, 255, 255n964  
 division chiefs, 174, 174n622, 175  
 doors: to inner Sanctuary, 212, 212n780  
 Ebiasaph, 108, 108-9n353  
 Edom, kings of, 22, 22-23n9, 35, 35n50  
 Edomite war, 146, 147n507  
 Edomites  
 and Davidic kingship, 22, 23  
 rebellion of, 240  
 'edut (royal garments), 247  
 Eglah/Michal, 56, 56n144  
 Elah son of Baasha, 232, 232n862  
 Eleazar, 81, 109, 110, 164, 165  
 Eleazar son of Dodo, 117, 118, 119, 120  
 Elhanan  
 and David, 150n518, 150n519  
 and Goliath's brother, 150  
 Elhanan son of Jare-orgim, 149, 150, 150n518, 150n519  
 Eli, 81, 81n246  
 eligibility: for coming to the Temple, 267  
 Elihu, 175  
 Elijah the prophet, 240, 241, 241n903  
 four names of, 103  
 Eliphaz, sons of, 35  
 Eliphelet, 57  
 Elisha son of Shaphat, 241, 241n904  
*emunah*, 111, 112  
 Ephraim, sons of (Ephraimites), 96, 96n301, 97, 97n305, 97-98n306, 98, 99, 99n312, 100  
 Esau, sons of, 35  
 Escorial G II 6, 17  
 Eshbaal/Ish-boshet, 105, 106n343  
 Eshtaolite clans, 52  
*et/min*, 102  
 Etam, 62, 62n166  
 father of, 62, 62n167  
 Ethan, sons of, 39  
 Ethan/Joah, 88  
 Ethni/Jeatherai, 88  
 Evil-merodach, 281n1098  
 exegesis of Radak, characteristics, 1  
 exile, 106, 107, 229  
 end of, 282  
 Ezra  
 as author/editor of Chronicles, 5, 6, 10n25, 11, 21-22n5, 23, 23n13, 24n14, 61n163, 69, 91, 91n282, 93  
 and the canon, 25, 25n16  
 and recording of conflicting data, 11, 12, 101n320, 108n349, 114n372, 156n540

308 *Index of Subjects*

- family members, 267
- "father of," 67
- fire: for Asa, 235
- first fruits, 265, 265n1016
- firstborn, 49, 58, 61, 73, 73n213, 85, 86, 100, 161, 172
  - chief as, 162n568
- floor: of the Temple, 216, 217
- food: for workers, 191, 191n688, 192, 192n690
- forgiveness: as healing, 264
- foundations: as euphemism for nakedness, 148
- freedom, death as, 256
- gadol*, meaning of, 30, 30n27
- ganzakkav*, 178
- Gaon, Saadia, 4, 4n10, 55n139, 75n223, 82n249, 122n410
- gatekeepers, 108, 108n351, 108-9n353, 111, 112, 112n367, 127, 129, 129n438, 166, 169
  - as musicians, 131, 131-32n447
  - of the *sippim*, 245
- Gath, men of, 96, 97, 97n305, 99
- gederah*, 69, 69n198
- Gedor, 67
- Ge-harashim, 65, 65n181
- genealogical lists: focus on, 13
- genealogical material
  - and Pseudo-Rashi, 5
  - and Radak, 6
- genealogies, 106
  - abridgment of, 39
  - in Chronicles, 21, 21n5, 22, 22n7
  - of the tribes, 91
- Gershom/Gershom, 83
- Gershonites, 161
- Geshur, 44, 44n86
- Gezer, 90
- giants, 152, 152n526
- Gibeon, 104, 104n332
  - shrine at, 141, 142, 158, 187, 188, 188n669, 188n671
- Gideon, 105
- gifts: beyond biblical mandate, 264, 265, 265n1015
- Gihon, stopping up, 268, 268n1032, 269, 270
- Gilead, 76, 76n227, 77, 78
  - cities of, 43, 45
  - land of, 174, 174n621
- glh*, 101, 102, 101n322
- God
  - absence of, 229n851
  - comparison with, 121
  - and Cyrus, 282
  - dwelling in the cloud, 213, 213n781
  - kingship of, 182, 183, 183n652
  - as the male in Song of Songs, 211n774
  - and patriarchs, 137, 137-38n474
  - and Pharaoh Neco, 277, 277n1079, 278
  - and Satan, 152-53n530, 153, 153n531, 153n532, 153n533
  - as searcher of the heart, 184
- gods: of the nations, 139, 139n482, 140n483
- gold
  - chainwork, 200
  - on cherubim, 199, 199n720
  - dashing instruments of, 179, 206
  - for figure of chariot, 179
  - lampstands, 178, 204, 205, 207, 208
  - ramp, 222
  - red, 197
  - shekels, 157, 158, 222
  - tables, 178
  - talent of, 149, 208
  - walls of, 181, 181n650
- gold and silver
  - for construction of Temple, 181
  - in Jerusalem, 189, 189n676, 189n677
- goldsmith, 192, 206
- Goliath the Gittite, 149
- Goliath the Philistine, 149
  - death of, 129
- Gomer, sons of, 30
- grandfather: as father, 231
- grandmother: as mother, 231
- grandsons: and sons, 45, 45n90, 45n91, 45n92, 60, 61, 93, 161, 162
- Great Hall, 195n705, 196n706, 197,

## Index of Subjects 309

- 197n711, 197n712, 200, 208, 246,  
246n924  
greatest men, 143, 143n495  
guards  
  priests and Levites as, 246, 246n924  
  of the threshold of the Tent, 109  
  whole nation as, 246
- horashim* (forests), 256  
Hadarezer, 145  
Hagith, 94n294  
Hagrite(s), 76, 177  
Hamath, 145  
*ha-mitnassei*, 183, 183n653, 184, 184n657  
Hammath, 54  
*ha-molekhet*, 96n300  
*hamon/mamon*, 184, 184n659  
Haroeah, 51, 51n124  
harps, 133, 166  
Havvoth-jair, 43  
Hazeah, 249, 249n939  
Hazarmaveth, 33, 33n43  
Hazi-hammenuhoth, 51, 52  
Hazi-manahathites, 53, 53n130  
Hazeleponi, 62  
healing: and forgiveness, 264  
Heber, 100  
Heldai the Netophathite, 174n622, 175  
Heman, 142, 166, 166n591, 167, 168  
Hepher, 95  
hewers, 190, 193, 194  
Hezekiah, 264  
  boast of, 269, 270  
  and Nisah, 260, 261, 261n999, 262  
  and Passover, 260, 261, 262, 277  
  and Sennacherib, 268  
  sincerity of, 268  
Hezron, 43, 46, 46n98, 61, 61n163  
high priest(s), 81, 81n246, 82, 82n247,  
  82n248, 122, 175, 175n624,  
  185n663, 273n1062  
  and bread of display, 185n663  
  on Day of Atonement, 209  
  descendants of, 81  
high priesthood, 81, 165  
  and descendants of Eleazar, 165,  
  165n586
- Hilkiah, 275  
  and finding the scroll, 273n1062  
Hodesh, 102  
Hodiah, 68  
Holy of Holies, 109, 109n355, 170n609,  
  171n610, 195n705, 197, 209,  
  209n767, 276  
honey: as dates, 265  
Horse Gate, 247  
horses, 222  
  and David, 146  
  exported from Egypt, 189, 190,  
  190n678  
Hosah, 169  
house  
  of freedom, 256  
  of God, characteristics and dimen-  
  sions of, 195, 195n703  
  of the Lord, treasuries of, 173, 271  
  of study, 275  
Huppim, 94, 95  
Hur, 61, 62, 62n169  
Huram/Hiram, 206, 206n755, 218  
  and Solomon, 218  
Hushim, 91, 93, 102
- 'ibburin*, 122-23n414  
Ibn Ezra, R. Abraham, 1, 18n46, 26n22,  
  29n26, 30n27, 37n58, 40, 40n67,  
  40n69, 44n84, 44n85, 55n141,  
  58n151, 66n184, 75n223, 81n245,  
  85n259, 86n262, 94n293, 97n304,  
  101n319, 113n370, 116n386,  
  122n409, 123n416, 128n434,  
  129n437, 134n458, 134n461,  
  135n463, 135n464, 136n469,  
  138n474, 138n476, 138n477,  
  163n574, 165n587, 167n593,  
  183n652, 183n653, 183n654,  
  197n714, 243n910, 264n1009,  
  271n1046, 279n1084  
Ibn Janah, R. Jonah, 18n46, 40, 40n67,  
  50n114, 64n175, 64n176, 64n178,  
  66n184, 71n207, 75n223, 76n226,  
  80n240, 83n252, 94n296, 114n375,  
  116n386, 118n393, 123, 123n417,  
  125n426, 127n432, 156n543, 188,



310 *Index of Subjects*

- Ibn Janaḥ (*cont.*)  
 188n669, 191, 235n875, 257n974,  
 257n977
- Ibn Melekh, 55n141
- Iddo, midrash of, 228
- idols, worshippers of, 194, 229,  
 229n851, 231
- incense, 255, 256  
 offering, 209, 213, 256  
 smoke, 213, 213n781  
 spices for, 251
- inner Sanctuary, 195, 195n705, 197,  
 197n711, 198n717, 198n718, 199,  
 200, 208, 209, 212
- instruments of destruction, 274
- interchange of *alef, hei, vav, and yod*, 39,  
 152, 152n525, 190
- intransitive verbs: and passive partici-  
 ples, 79n236
- Ir/Iri, 93
- Ir-nahash, 65
- Isaac  
 and Abraham, 34n47  
 oath to, 137, 137n472  
 sacrifice of, 157, 157n544, 214
- Isaiah (prophet), 254, 282, 282n1101,  
 268, 268n1029
- ishah*, 34, 34-35n49
- Ishi, sons of, 72
- Ishmael, 48, 48n111
- Ishmaelite, 177
- Israel  
 sons of, 38  
 as our father, 182, 182n651
- Issachar, 130, 130n444  
 families of, 92
- Issacharites, 122, 123
- Ithamar, 81, 81n246, 109, 164, 165
- 'ittim*, 122, 122n41, 123
- Jabesh-gilead, 114
- Jabez, 63  
 vow of, 63, 63-64n174, 64, 64n175
- Jacob  
 as father: and construction of  
 Temple, 182  
 vow of, 182
- Jahath/Jehiel, 161, 162, 162n570,  
 162n571, 83
- Jahdai, sons of, 49
- Jair, 43, 44, 44n84, 44n85, 45
- Jamlech, 71
- Japheth, sons of, 30
- Japhlet, 100
- Jarha, 47, 48, 48n106
- Jashobeam, 117
- Javan, sons of, 30
- Jeconiah, sons of, 59, 60
- Jediael/Ashbel, 92, 92n286
- Jeduthun, 142, 166, 166n591, 167, 168
- Jehiah/Jeiel, 131, 131n446, 131n446
- Jehiel son of Hachmoni, 177
- Jehieli, 161, 161n569, 172
- Jehoahaz, 278
- Jehoiachin, 280
- Jehoiada, 122, 175, 175n624, 177, 245,  
 246  
 murder of sons of, 252
- Jehoiakim, 278, 279, 278-79n1083,  
 279n1084, 279n1086, 280
- Jehoiarib, 167
- Jehoram, 236, 238, 241, 241n903, 242,  
 243, 244, 249, 249n938
- Jehoshabeath, 245
- Jehoshaphat, 235, 236, 237, 238, 241,  
 242, 245, 249, 249n938
- Jehu, 242, 244, 245
- Jeiel, 104, 127, 129n438, 131n446,  
 131n447
- Jeitteles, Judah, 19, 29n26, 45n90, 45n92,  
 55n141
- Jephtah, vow of, 110, 110n360
- Jerahmeel, 48  
 sons of, 46, 46n100
- Jeremiah, 278, 278n1080  
 book of, 279, 279n1088
- Jerimoth son of David, 224
- Jeroboam, 78, 79n235, 225, 226, 227, 228,  
 228n845, 228n846, 228n847,  
 232n864, 233, 233n865, 233n866,  
 235n878
- Jerubbaal/Jerubbesheth, 105, 106,  
 106n343

## Index of Subjects 311

- Jerusalem, 10  
     and Ark, 86, 86n264, 87n265, 88n270, 128, 139n479  
     construction in, 116, 116n383, 116n384  
     gold and silver in, 189  
     inhabitants of, 104, 107n348  
     Levites in, 109n353, 112, 112n368, 113  
     return to, after exile, 107, 107n348  
     and Temple, 81, 282  
     term of destruction for, 281, 282n1099  
     as tranquility, 51  
 Jeshaiiah, 172, 172n617  
 Jesse, 39, 39n65113, 150  
     sons of, 40, 40n67, 40n69, 40-41n70, 41  
     as weaver of Temple curtains, 150  
 Jether the Ishmaelite/Jithra, 41, 41n71  
 Joab, 146, 147, 174  
 Joash, 68  
     sons of, 253  
     and renovation of the Temple, 249, 249n938, 249-40n940, 253  
 Joel the chief, 77  
     sons of, 74  
 Joel, 161, 162, 173, 173n618  
 Johanan/Jehoahaz, 58  
 Jokim, 68  
 Jokmeam/Kibzaim, 90  
 Joktan, 33  
 Joram, 172  
 Joseph, 74  
 Josiah, 273, 273n1061, 274  
     and the Ark, 275, 276  
     eulogy for, 278  
     and finding the scroll, 273, 273n1062  
     reform of, 273, 274  
     sons of, 58, 59  
     and tearing of garments, 274, 274-75n1066  
 Jotham, 256  
 Jotham, king of Judah, 78, 79n235  
 JTS Lutzki 865, 17  
 Judah, 61, 74, 74n218  
 Judahites, 107  
 Judean monarchy  
     history of, 21  
     Pseudo-Rashi on, 21n2  
 Judeans, sins of, 281  
 judicial matters, 237, 237n889  
*karmil*, 191  
 Kara, R. Joseph, 93n687, 115n381, 125n425, 127n430, 143n495, 143n497, 145n503, 150n519, 151n520, 191n687, 200n725, 218n799, 244n916, 255n963  
 Kaspi, R. Joseph, 8, 9n20  
 Kenaz, sons of, 65  
 Kenites, 53, 53n134, 54, 54n137  
*ketiv-qere*i distinctions, 11, 12, 15, 120n399, 253n956  
 Keturah, sons of, 34, 34n47, 34n48  
*kevesh* (ramp), 222, 222n815  
 Kidon/Nacon, 125, 125n426  
 Kimḥi, R. David. *See* Radak  
 Kimḥi, R. Joseph, 18n46, 41n71, 80n240, 129n437, 149n516, 251n946  
 Kimḥi, R. Moses, 18n47, 29n26, 32n36, 44n84, 55n141, 66n184, 67n188, 75n223, 116n386, 125n426, 129n437, 165n587, 230n854, 237n886  
 King's Gate, 108  
 Kiriath-jearim, 86, 90, 125, 142  
     families of, 52, 62n165  
     father of, 50, 51  
 Kish, 104, 104n336, 105, 105n337  
 Kohath, sons of, 84, 84n255, 90  
 Korahites, 109  
     and Psalms, 167, 167n593  
 Korathite/Kohathite, 109  
 Kore, son of, 108  
 Ladan/Livni, 161, 171, 171n612, 171-72n613, 172n614  
*lamed*  
     prepositional, elision of, 44  
     use of, 55, 55n141, 56, 56n143, 56n145, 68n195, 90, 94, 94n296, 112n370, 129, 156, 156n543, 163n575, 183, 188, 198, 198n716, 246, 246n922, 259n988

312 *Index of Subjects*

- Lamentations, book of, 278  
 lamp, king as, 240  
 lampstands, 178, 179, 204, 204n745,  
     204n747, 205, 206, 207  
 laver(s), 204, 205, 207, 216  
 laws, learned in, 123, 123n417  
 legs: as euphemism for nakedness, 148  
*lemudei*, 79  
*le-rosh*, 183, 183n654  
 letters  
     change in position of, 61  
     changing, in names, 70  
     interchangeability, 8, 31, 39, 39n63,  
         126, 152, 190, 207n760  
     transposition of, 63, 63n171, 238,  
         239, 255  
 Levi, sons of, 80, 80n241, 81, 83  
 Levites, 88, 89  
     and activities in the House of God,  
         163, 163n576, 163n577  
     age of, 162, 162n573, 163n574  
     age requirements for service, 267  
     and *asuppim*, 170, 170n607, 170n609  
     and carrying the Ark, 126, 126n427,  
         128, 131, 162, 163, 208  
     census of, 162, 163, 163n574  
     cities of, 89, 89n273, 90  
     duties of, 164  
     and guard stations, 170, 171  
     as guardians of the Ark, 129n438  
     and musical instruments, 226  
     as musicians, 216  
     and preparation of offerings, 163,  
         163n577, 164  
     and priests, 171, 208, 260, 260n994  
     and priests: eating to satiety, 266  
     as prophets, 166n589  
     and purification of holy things, 163  
     realignment by David, 164, 165  
 Libni, 83, 88, 88n269  
 lifespan, human, 184, 184n658  
 linen  
     factory, families of, 68  
     garment, 132, 147, 147n508  
 loads, 236, 236n880  
 Lotan, sons of, 37  
 Maacah, 49, 50, 94  
 Maacah/Micaiah, 225n832, 226  
     daughter of Absalom/Abishalom,  
         231  
     mother of Asa, 231  
 Machir, 93, 94  
     sons of, 44, 45  
 Mahalath, 224n829  
 Maharsha, 45n90  
 Mahlon, 68  
 Maimonides, 1, 130n444, 261n1000,  
     281n1096  
 Malbim, 40n68, 42n75, 55n141  
 Malchiel, 100  
 Malchiram, 60  
 man/men  
     of ability, 169  
     of dimensions, 119, 119-20n399  
     of size, 151, 151n520  
     of war, 151n520  
 Manahath, 51  
 Manasseh, 275  
     burial of, 273  
     sons of, 93  
 Manassites, 100  
 manna, 276  
*mappiq*, 272, 272n1054, 272n1055  
 Mareshah/Mesha, 49, 49n113  
 Masnut, R. Samuel, 35n52, 55n139,  
     180n645  
*mem/nun*, 83, 83n252  
 men: of ability, 169  
 Mendelssohn, Moses, 19  
 Mephibosheth/Merib-baal, 105, 106,  
     106n343  
 merchants, 221  
 Mered/Caleb, 66-67n188, 67  
 Meshah, 49  
 Meshech, 33  
 Meshobab, 71  
 Meshullam, 61  
 Meunim, 72, 72n211  
 Meunites, 238, 238-39n893, 239, 255  
 Micah, 106  
 Micaiah daughter of Uriel, 226  
 Michal/Eglah, 56

## Index of Subjects 313

- midrash, midrashic, 7, 7n17, 7n18, 35,  
 40, 55n139, 65n181, 77, 103,  
 103n331, 110n358, 150n519,  
 155n537, 159n558, 189n676, 238,  
 253, 253n958, 278n1080,  
 explanations/approach, 26, 26-  
 27n35, 42, 47, 53, 54, 60n158,  
 65n181, 67, 67n191, 68, 87, 90, 93,  
 93n291, 94, 99, 103n328, 110, 131,  
 157n544, 160, 169, 175, 188, 189,  
 189n676, 191, 211, 227, 228, 239,  
 242, 264  
 of prophet Iddo, 228  
 Pseudo-Rashi and, 7, 7n17, 7n18, 10,  
 39n66, 43n81, 55n140, 201n728  
 rabbinic, 1, 2  
 Radak and, 1, 4, 5, 5n12, 7, 8, 16,  
 34n47, 47n100, 48, 48n108,  
 101n321, 103n329, 105n338,  
 110n358, 176n630, 182n651,  
 183n655  
 midrash book of the kings, 253,  
 253n958  
*millo*, 115, 116, 116n383  
 miracles, 15, 211, 211n776, 211n777  
 Miriam, 66  
*mishneh*, 275  
 Moab, 68, 99, 102, 103, 241  
 Moabite(s), 68, 110, 119  
 money, donations of, 248  
 Moses, 67  
     census money of, 247, 247n930, 248  
     and copper altar at Gibeon, 187,  
     187n665  
     lampstands of, 178, 204, 204n745,  
     204n747, 205, 206  
     laver of, 204, 205  
     and shifts of Levites, 165  
     tables of, 204, 204n747, 205n748,  
     205n749  
 Mount Moriah, 214  
 Munich 5 author, *passim*  
 Munich 363, 2-3  
     omissions in, 3  
 music, supervisors of, 84n255, 86, 87,  
 108  
 musical instruments  
     of David, 216, 216n790  
     and the Levites, 226  
 musicians, 88, 89n271, 113, 129, 131,  
 131-32n447, 132n448, 133, 141,  
 166, 216  
 Naaman, 101, 101n319  
 Nabal, 244, 244n916  
 Nadab, 104, 105, 233, 233n866, 234,  
 234n870  
*nahot*: as vowel letters, 31-32n35  
 Nahash the Ammonite, 114-15  
 Nahshon: and David, 39  
 nakedness, 147, 148, 257  
     euphemisms for, 147, 148  
 Name: and Ark, 125, 125n425  
 names  
     alternative forms of, 10, 11  
     discrepancies in, 7, 8, 10n25, 10n26,  
     70, 88, 101, 101n320, 146, 149,  
     149n517, 162n567, 207, 207n760,  
     224, 226, 243  
     interpretation of, 7  
     midrashic explanations for, 7, 7n17,  
     7n18  
     same for males and females, 66,  
     66n186, 66n187, 66-67n188  
     as standing for generations, 29,  
     29n26, 61  
     transposition of letters in, 75  
 Naphtali, sons of, 93  
 narrative, exposition of: by Radak, 13,  
 14  
 Nathan, 81, 158, 185  
 nations: as judges of Israel, 229  
*naveh*, 143, 143n495  
 Nebuchadnezzar, 278, 278n1081, 278-  
 79n1083, 279, 279n1084  
     and sons, 281, 281n1098  
 Neco, Pharaoh, 277, 277n1077,  
 277n1079, 278  
     and God, 277, 277n1079, 278  
     and Josiah, 277, 277n1079, 278  
 Nemuel/Jemuel, 70  
 Ner, 104, 104n336, 105, 105n337,  
 105n338

314 *Index of Subjects*

- neta'im*, 69, 69n198  
 Netophathites, 52  
*nezer* (royal crown), 246  
 Nisan  
     added to Nisan, 261, 261n999  
     and Passover, 261, 261n998, 262, 262n1001  
 Nob, priests of, 124, 124n422, 128n435  
 North African commentary/commentator, passim  
 nose, mutilated, 227, 227n843  
 numbers  
     discrepancies in, 107, 108, 108n349, 145, 154, 154n535, 155, 155n539, 156, 220, 222, 232, 267n1027  
  
 oaths, 137, 215  
 Obed-edom, 127, 129n328, 131n446, 131n447, 142, 168, 168n599, 169, 192, 254, 254n962  
 Oded, prophecy of, 230  
*'ofel*, 256, 272  
 offerings  
     cooked in pots, 276  
     and priests, 141, 142  
     of thanksgiving, 260  
     *See also* burnt offerings, peace offerings, sin offerings, incense offerings  
 officers and chiefs, of Babylon, 270, 270-71n146, 271  
 Og, kingdom of, 76, 77, 77n229  
 Omri, 242, 243  
 Othniel, 65  
 Othniel son of Kenaz, 175  
 outside tasks, 173  
 oxen, figures of, 201, 202, 203  
 Oxford Bodleian Opp. Add 125, 17  
  
*parbar*, 170, 170n609  
 Paris National Library 198, 2-3  
     omissions in, 3  
     and Radak's additions, 2, 3, 2n3, 2n4  
*parvayim*, 197  
 Pas Dammim, 118  
 paschal observance, 106-7n347  
  
 paschal sacrifice  
     roasting of, 276, 276n1073  
     violation of, 261, 261n1000, 262, 263  
 Passover  
     and Hezekiah, 260, 261, 262, 277  
     and Nisan, 261, 261n998, 262, 262n1001  
     at time of Josiah, 276, 277  
 patriarchs  
     as anointed ones, 138  
     and God, 137n472, 137-38n474  
     as prophets, 138  
 peace offerings, 260, 264  
 Pedaiah, 60  
     sons of, 60  
 Pekah, 257, 257n979  
 Peresh, 95, 95-96n298  
 Perez, 61, 61n163  
 Persian kingdom, 281, 281-82n1099  
*peshat* interpretation, 5, 7, 8, 16  
*peshat* school, Northern European, 1  
 pestilence, 245, 245n917  
 pestle, 251, 251n946  
 Peullethai, 168, 168n596  
 Philistines, 97, 114, 117, 118, 129, 134, 135n464, 160, 160n561  
     and the Ark, 125, 126, 126n429, 133n456, 139, 140, 140n484  
     and Dagon, 140  
     defeat of, 129  
 philological commentaries: of the Andalusians, 1  
 Phinehas son of Eleazar, 81, 109, 110n361, 110n362, 111, 111n363  
     as Elijah, 103, 109, 110  
     and Moabite women, 110n361  
 pillars, for the Temple, 221, 221n810, 275, 275n1069  
 Pinnah (Corner) Gate, 254, 254n961  
 play music (on instruments), 134n461  
 plurals: for individuals, 71  
 poles: and the Ark, 209, 209n767, 210n771, 210n772, 210n773, 211, 211n774, 212  
 pomegranates, 206, 206n752  
 Poneh (Facing) Gate, 254  
 porch: of the Temple, 195, 196, 196n706, 196n708, 196n710, 197, 200, 246, 246n924

## Index of Subjects 315

- porters, 190, 194  
 potters, 69  
 prayer: and the Temple, 214, 214n785, 215, 216  
 precious stones: for construction of Temple, 181  
 prefects: of Solomon, 218, 219  
 priests  
   and dashing the blood, 263  
   divisions of, 111, 112, 112n366, 213, 246  
   duties of, 260, 263  
   first fruits for, 265, 265n1016, 265n1017, 267  
   and Levites, 171, 208, 260, 260n994  
   and Levites: eating to satiety, 266  
   and offerings, 141, 142  
   uncleanness of, 262, 262n1002, 262n1004  
 prophecy, 129, 129n349, 130n440, 132, 166, 166n589, 179, 253  
   and Divine visions, 255, 255n964  
   with instrumental accompaniment, 166  
   of Isaiah, 282n1101  
   of Jeremiah, 278n1080, 279n1089  
   of Oded/Azariah, 230, 230n855, 230-31n857, 232n861  
   by order of the king, 167  
   pre-Davidic, 23, 23n12  
   of Samuel, 179  
   of Solomon, 26n20  
 prophet(s)  
   as agents of God, 280  
   endorsement of Chronicles, 25, 25n19  
   function of, 255n964  
 prophetic inspiration, 178  
*prš*, 124  
 psalm(s)  
   and Asaph, 167  
   of David, 217, 217n791  
   performed before the Ark, 133-41  
 Pseudo-Rashi, *passim*  
   on inconsistencies in scriptural text, 9  
   use by Radak, 4, 5, 10  
 Pul of Assyria, King, 106  
*qerei-ketiv* distinctions, 11, 12, 15, 120n399, 253n956  
 queen of Sheba: and Solomon, 221  
 rabbinic authority: and Radak, 211-12n778  
 rabbinic citation  
   and later additions, 16, 17, 16n41  
   by Radak, 16-18, 18n46  
 Radak  
   exegetical program of: in Chronicles, 12-17  
   focus on obscurities and contradictions, 13  
   and masoretic schools, 130n444  
   philosophy and rationalism in interpretation, 14, 15  
   on *qerei-ketiv* disparities, 15  
   and rabbinic authority, 211-12n778  
   and rabbinic citation, 16-18, 18n46  
   and resolution of contradictions, 11, 12  
   and scriptural integrity, 8-12  
   Spanish ancestry of, 21, 21n1  
   and use of Pseudo-Rashi, 4, 5, 10  
 rafts, 193  
 Ralbag, 39n63  
 Ramban, 35n49, 36n56, 37n58  
 Rashbam, 32n39, 36n54, 121n408, 243n910  
*rashei*, 100  
 Rashi, 1, 4, 15, 18n46, 26n22, 30n27, 34n47, 35n52, 40n69, 45n90, 64n174, 93n288, 112n366, 115n381, 116n383, 125n425, 126n429, 130n442, 138n477, 140n486, 143n495, 143n497, 147n507, 150n519, 151n520, 155n540, 189n672, 190n681, 191n687, 198n719, 200n725, 203n743, 209n766, 218n799m, 239n896, 244n916, 255n963, 261n1000, 263n1005, 267n1027, 268n1032  
 rationalism: of Radak, 15  
 Reaiah/Haroeh, 61  
 Recah, men of, 65

316 *Index of Subjects*

- Rechab, house of, 54  
 Refa'im, 152, 152n526  
 Rehabiah, 172, 172n617  
 Rehoboam, 58, 223, 223-24n826, 224, 224n829, 225, 225n831, 225n832, 226  
     sons of, 225, 225n832  
 Rekem, 95, 95-96n298  
 remarriage: and widows, 227, 227n844  
 Rephaim country, 77, 77n229  
*resh/nun* interchange, 39n63  
 Rashash, 44n85  
 resumptive repetition, 74n219, 113n372  
     and Munich 5 author, 9, 10  
 Reuben, sons of, 73  
 Rezin, 257, 257n979  
 Romamti-ezer, 167  
 royal treasuries, administrators over, 176
- Salma, 52, 62, 62n169  
 Samuel: and realignment of Levites, 165  
 Saraph, 68  
 Satan, 152, 152-53n530, 153  
     as angel of death, 153-54n533  
     as angel of the Lord, 153  
     and God, 152-53n530, 153, 153n531, 153n532, 153n533  
 Saul, 104n336, 105n337  
     and advice of the ghost, 115, 115n380, 124n422  
     and advice of the Lord, 124  
     House of, 122  
 scroll, found by Josiah, 273  
 scribe(s), 53, 165  
 scripture, integrity of, 8-12  
 Segub, 43, 44, 45  
 Seir  
     descendants of, 22n9  
     sons of, 37  
 Seled, 47  
 Sennacherib, invasion of, 268  
 service: of the king, 69, 69n199, 69n200  
 service vessels, 250, 251  
 Shaharaim, 102  
 Shallum, 108, 108-9n353  
 Shallum/Jehoahaz, 58, 58n151, 59, 59n156  
 Shalmaneser, 106n346, 107n347  
 Shammah son of Age, 117, 118, 119, 120  
 Shaphan son of Azaliah, 274  
 shaving: of beards, 147  
 Shealtiel, 59, 60  
 Shebuel, 173  
 Shechem, 90, 96  
 shekels, gold and silver, 157, 157n548, 158, 222  
 Shelah, sons of, 68  
 Shelemiah, 169  
 Shelomoth, 172, 172n617, 173, 173n619  
 Shem  
     and Abraham, 33, 33n44  
     sons of, 33, 33n41  
 Shema son of Joel, 75  
 Shemida, 96  
 Sheresh, 95, 95-96n298  
 Sheshan, sons of, 47  
*shevet*, 142, 142n494  
*shillho* (armaments), 246  
 Shilho Otam, 102, 103n327  
 Shimea/Shammah, 40  
 Shimeathites, 53  
 Shimei, 60, 83, 161, 162, 162n571, 162n572, 167, 167n592, 177  
 ship construction, 220, 220n806  
 Shobal, 61  
 Shuppim, 94, 95, 169  
 Shuthelah, 96  
 Sibbecai the Hushathite, 175  
 Simeon, sons of, 69, 70  
 Simeonites  
     and Amalekites, 72  
     and Judahites, 70, 71  
 sin  
     of Abijah, 228  
     of Asa, 236  
     of David, 126, 235  
     offerings, 259  
     temptation to, 153n530  
 sing (vocally), 134, 134n461  
 sins, of the kings, 235  
 skilled men, 180, 180n645, 179n646  
 slave(s), 47, 48



*Index of Subjects* 317

- smelting pots, 207, 207n757, 207n759, 208  
 smiths, 54  
 Soco, 67  
 sojourners in the world, 184  
 Solomon, 180, 181, 185, 187,  
     and construction of the Temple, 195-220  
     and Hiram, 218  
     and Pharaoh's daughter, 219, 219n802  
     and queen of Sheba, 221  
     and ship construction, 220, 220n806  
     wives of, 235  
 songs, 259, 260  
 sons  
     and grandsons, 45, 45n90, 45n91, 45n92, 60, 61, 93, 161, 162  
     of officers: and peace agreements, 255  
     use of plural, 39, 39n64  
 spirit: of desire, 121  
 spoons, 179, 251, 251n947  
 St. Petersburg National Library II A 6, 17  
 stairs (to the throne), 222, 222n815  
 stairway (to the Temple), 220, 220n808  
 stand, 247, 247n927, 275  
 stones  
     compared to silver and gold, 189, 189n676  
     hewing, 173  
     slinging, 120  
     for the Temple, 173, 173n620  
 Sucathites, 53  
 Sukkoth, 129n437  
 supervisors, 118n395, 174, 190  
     of musicians, 84n255  
     of the treasury, 254n962  
 Sur Gate, 246  
 sword: of the angel, 187, 187n667  
  
 Taanach, 100  
 tables, 204, 204n745, 204n747, 205, 206  
     for bread of display, 178  
     for preparing offerings, 178, 178-79n640  
  
 Tahath/Tahan, 96, 96n301  
 Tahchemoni/son of Hachmoni, 117, 117n388, 119, 120  
 Tarshishah/Tarshish, 31  
 Tekoa, father of, 62, 63  
 Temple  
     construction of, 146  
     God's presence in, 213, 214, 214n785  
     place of, 157, 157n549, 157-58n550, 158, 158n552  
     and prayer, 214, 214n785, 215, 216  
     precious stones for construction of, 181  
     priests in, 82, 82n247, 82n248  
     to be rebuilt in Jerusalem, 282  
     repair of, 274  
     violated by Athaliah, 248, 248n936, 249, 249n937, 249n938, 249-40n940  
 Tent of Meeting, 142, 187n665, 188, 188n671, 208, 208n765, 209, 267  
     God's presence in, 213n781  
 Tent of Testimony, 248, 248n933  
 text, discrepancies in, 148  
 thickness of the earth, 207, 207n757  
 Tibni, 242  
 Tillegath-pileser (Tiglath-pileser), 75, 106, 257  
 Timna  
     as misbegotten, 35, 35n52, 35n53  
     Radak on, 35, 36, 36n54, 37n58, 37n59  
*timorim*, 197  
 Tirathites, 53  
 tithes, of sacred things, 265  
 Toi of Hamath, 145  
 Tola, 91, 92  
 tombs  
     of the descendants of David, 271  
     of kings of Israel, 258  
*tor*, 144  
 tradition  
     reliable transmission of, 68, 69, 69n196  
     unassailable, 23, 23n11  
 tribal chiftains, 175  
 trumpets, 142, 259, 260

318 *Index of Subjects*

- Uknaz, 66  
 Ulam, 95, 95-96n298  
 uncleanness, 262, 262n1002, 263, 264  
 Unleavened Bread, Feast of, 262  
 Uriah, 159, 160n559  
 Uzza: and the Ark, 126, 126n427, 127n433, 132n449  
 Uzzen of Sheerah, 99  
 Uzzi, 91, 92  
 Uzziah, 256  
 Uzziah/Azariah, 78
- Vashni/Joel, 85, 86  
*va-tahar*, 66  
 Vatican 89, 17  
*vav*  
   use of, 56, 56n145, 80, 80n240, 112-13n370, 148n512  
   use in lists, 29n26  
*vav/yod* interchange, 31, 32, 35, 37, 38  
 vessel(s)  
   brought to Babylon, 279, 279n1084  
   for drawing water, 251  
   purification of, 259, 259n987  
 volunteers, 180, 180n644  
 vow  
   of Israel, 64  
   of Jabez, 63, 63-64n174  
   of Jacob, 63, 182  
   of Jephthah, 110n360
- warriors  
   of David, 118, 174n622  
   as lions, 119  
   of Moab, 119  
 weapons: of iron, 160  
 weaver's beam, 120  
 Weisse, Joseph, 19, 29n26, 42n75, 43n79, 44n85, 45n90, 45n92, 46n96, 46n100, 48n109, 50n114, 54n137, 59n156, 62n167, 65n178, 67n188, 67n189, 68n195, 72n211, 75n224, 85n259, 116n383, 117n388, 154n533, 159n559, 224n826, 279n1083
- widows: and remarriage, 227, 227n844  
 wife/concubine, 46, 47  
 wings, of cherubim, 198, 198n718, 210, 210n772, 210n773, 211, 211n773  
 wisdom of times, 122, 122n414  
 words, classification of, 32, 32n36  
 world history, 22, 22n6
- Yakhin, 201  
*yasor*, 129, 130, 130n441  
*yeşer*, 178, 178n636  
 Yesod (Foundation) Gate, 246  
*yhs*, 71  
 yoke, heavy, 223
- Zabdi, 177  
 Zadok, 81, 81n246, 82, 82n247, 122, 122n412, 141  
   and David, 164  
   as high priest, 82, 82n247, 185, 185n663  
 Zebadiah, 175  
 Zebulun, 123  
 Zechariah, 169, 252  
   as prophet, 255  
 Zechariah/Ben, 129  
 Zedekiah, 58, 59, 59n156, 280  
 Zelophehad, 95, 95n297, 96  
 Zenoah, 67  
 Zerah, sons of, 38  
 Zeredathah/Zarethan, 207  
 Zerubbabel, 60  
   in Chronicles, 25, 25n18  
 Zetham, 161, 162, 173, 173n618  
 Zichri, 172  
 Zimri/Zabdi, 38  
 Ziph, 49, 49n113  
 Zorathite(s), 52, 62, 62n165  
 Zorites, 53, 53n130