

An inadequately explored area of present biblical scholarship is the character of Joab.¹ The biblical accounts of Joab present a multi-faceted character, who may have been the real power behind David's throne. He is the general par excellence—ambitious, heroic, successful, decisive, and yet fiercely loyal to his sovereign. Nevertheless, as D.G. Schley notes, "Where modern scholarship has assumed that one can reconstruct the history of Israel from the biblical text at all, the tendency has been to neglect Joab and so to exaggerate and romanticize David's

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¹ A notable and welcome contribution is Sophia Bietenhard, *Des Königs General: Die Heerführertraditionen in der Vorstaatlichen und Frühen Staatlichen Zeit und die Joabgestalt in 2 Sam 2–20, 1 Kön 1–2* (OBO 163; Freiburg and Göttingen: Universitätsverlag and Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998); cf. Frank H. Polak, "Joab and David in Double Vision..." (review of Sophia Bietenhard, *Des Königs General: Die Heerführertraditionen in der Vorstaatlichen und Frühen Staatlichen Zeit und die Joabgestalt in 2 Sam 2–20, 1 Kön 1–2*), *Bib* 82 (2001): 264–269. As with Bietenhard's monograph, most scholarly work on Joab relates to passages in Samuel-Kings, see e.g. Roy Battenhouse, "The Tragedy of Absalom: A Literary Analysis (2 Samuel 13–18)," *ChriLit* 31, no. 3 (1982): 53–57; F.H. Cryer, "David's Rise to Power and the Death of Abner: An Analysis of 1 Samuel xxvi 14–16 and its Redaction-Critical Implications," *VT* 35 (1985): 385–394; Frank Charles Fensham, "Battle between the Men of Joab and Abner as a Possible Ordeal by Battle (2 Sam 2:12f)," *VT* 20 (1970): 356–357; Marcia L. Geyer, "Stopping the Juggernaut: A Close Reading of 2 Samuel 20:13–22," *USQR* 41, no. 1 (1986): 33–42; Moshe Greenberg, "Rabbinic Reflections on Defying Illegal Orders: Amasa, Abner, and Joab," *Judaism* 19 (1970): 30–37; Steven W. Holloway, "Distaff, Crutch or Chain Gang: The Curse of the House of Joab in 2 Samuel 3:29," *VT* 37 (1987): 370–375; George G. Nicol, "The Death of Joab and the Accession of Solomon: Some Observations on the Narrative of 1 Kings 1–2," *SJOT* 7 (1993): 134–151; "The Wisdom of Joab and the Wise Woman of Tekoa (2 Sam 14)," *ST* 36, no. 2 (1982): 97–104; D.G. Schley, "Joab and David: Ties of Blood and Power," in *History and Interpretation: Essays in Honour of John H. Hayes* (ed. Matt Patrick Graham et al.; JSOTSup 173; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1993), 90–105; J. W. Wesseliuss, "Joab's Death and the Central Theme of the Succession Narrative (2 Samuel 9–1 Kings 2)," *VT* 40 (1990): 336–351. Studies of Joab in Chronicles have largely been restricted to discussions of the archaeological or historical significance of the Chr's presentation of the conquest of Jerusalem, see e.g. Svend Holm-Nielsen, "Did Joab climb 'Warren's Shaft?'," in *History and Traditions of Early Israel* (eds. A. Lemaire and Benedikt Otzen; VTSup 50; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1993), 38–49; Isaac Kalimi, "The Capture of Jerusalem in the Chronistic History," *VT* 52 (2002): 66–79; Terence Kleven, "Up the Waterspout: How David's General Joab got Inside Jerusalem," *BAR* 20 (1994): 34–35; Von Manfred Oeming, "Die Eroberung Jerusalems durch David in Deuteronomistischer and Chronistischer Darstellung (II Sam 5,6-9 und I Chr 11,4-8): Ein Beitrag zur Narrativen Theologie der Beiden Geschichtswerke," *ZAW* 106 (1994): 404–420; Hershel Shanks, "I Climbed Warren's Shaft (But Joab Never Did)," *BAR* 25 (1999): 31–35. Only the articles by Oeming and Kalimi attempt a literary characterization of Joab. There are two notable studies of Joab in the works of Josephus, see Christopher T. Begg, "David's Capture of Jebus and its Sequels According to Josephus," *ETL* 74 (1998): 93–108; Louis H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Joab," *EstBib* 51 (1993): 323–351.

power and authority as king."² This tendency also exists among scholars reconstructing literary characterizations within the biblical narrative and perhaps most acutely felt in studies of the books of Chronicles. Here scholars have focused almost exclusively on the Chronicler's portraits of David and Solomon.³ One of the primary reasons for this scholarly tendency may be that omitting a sizeable portion of the Davidic narratives in which Joab figures prominently, the Chr has left a somewhat exiguous witness to Joab. Aside from his inclusion in the Davidide genealogy in 1 Chr 2:16 and brief anecdotal references in 1 Chr 11:20, 26, 39, 18:15, 26:28, 27:7, 24, 34, there are only three pericopes in Chronicles in which Joab figures prominently: 1 Chr 11:4–9, 19:1–20:3 and 21:1–22:1. These three pericopes are reconstructions of parallel texts in 2 Samuel.⁴ Interestingly, a closer examination of each pericope reveals that the Chr's redaction directly concerns the characterization of Joab. This present study will investigate and elucidate the Chr's portrait of Joab, focusing primarily on these pericopes, and then briefly consider the implications that this portrait has in evaluating the Chr's ideology.

² "Joab and David," 90–91.

³ By referring to the Chronicler (Chr), I essentially mean the author or final redactor of the books of Chronicles, excluding the books of Ezra-Nehemiah. In this paper, I also employ the term "Chronistic" to refer to a quality characteristic of this author or final redactor. See Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 3–7, for sources on and an overview of the debate concerning the unity and disunity of Chronicles and Ezra-Nehemiah.

⁴ The precise relationship between the books of Chronicles and Samuel-Kings is debated. In my opinion, Frank Cross and the Harvard School have laid down a convincing, though not entirely homogenous, theory of recensional development, which in its most basic form argues that the Chr utilized a Palestinian text-type, attested in 4QSam^a. McKenzie, in particular, argues that the Chr may also have been using an early version of Samuel-Kings. See Frank M. Cross, "The Contributions of the Qumran Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 81–95; "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judean Desert," *HTR* 57 (1964): 281–289; Werner E. Lemke, "The Synoptic Problem in the Chronicler's History," *HTR* 58 (1965): 349–363; Steven L. McKenzie, "The Chronicler as Redactor," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (eds. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 70–90; *The Chronicler's Use of the Deuteronomistic History* (HSM 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1985); Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978); cf. A. Graeme Auld, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible's Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1994); "What was the Main Source of the Books of Chronicles?," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (eds. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 91–99; Baruch Halpern, "Sacred History and Ideology: Chronicles' Thematic Structure-Indications of an Earlier Source," in *The Creation of Sacred Literature: Composition and Redaction of the Biblical Text* (ed. Richard Elliott Friedman; NES 22; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 35–56. See also Leslie C. Allen, "Further Thoughts on an Old Recension of Reigns in Paralipomena," *HTR* 61 (1968): 483–491; *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Masoretic Text* (2vols.; VTSup 25, 27; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), on the relationship of the LXX Chronicles to the MT Chronicles.

Joab: Chief, Paradigm and Builder

The account of the conquest of Jerusalem in 1 Chr 11:4–9 is the Chr's inceptive narrative on Joab. His role in this pericope is unique to the Chr; the parallel text in 2 Sam 5:6–10 does not mention him.⁵ In the account, Joab is prominent in conquering Jerusalem in v.6 and in the subsequent rebuilding of the city in v.8.

The Chr reveals his purpose for including Joab in v.6 through the creative literary structure of this verse:

וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד
כָּל־מַכָּה יְבוּסִי בְּרֵאשֹׁנָה יִהְיֶה לְרֹאשׁ וּלְשָׂר
וַיַּעַל בְּרֵאשֹׁנָה יוֹאָב בֶּן־צְרוּיָה וַיְהִי לְרֹאשׁ:

The repetition of the wordplay between רֵאשֹׁן (first) and רֹאשׁ (chief) emphasizes Joab's rise to prominence as commander in David's army and also serves to introduce him in relation to David's mighty men, who are listed in the subsequent pericope in 11:10–47. In the list of David's mighty men, Joab is absent just as in the parallel list of 2 Sam 23:8–39.⁶ In 2 Samuel, his absence is not as conspicuous as it is in 1 Chronicles; he is already a well-established character in 2 Samuel. Reading Chronicles on its own terms, the references to Joab in this list (11:20, 26, 39) would make little sense without this introduction to his role. This purpose is accentuated by 11:10. With

⁵ It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine whether the Chr is relying on sources for the interpolation of the Joab material in v.6 or if it is the Chr's own invention. Gary Knoppers, *I Chronicles* (AB; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, forthcoming), 381, writes, "the structure of the Samuel and Chronicles texts bears some resemblances—protasis (introduced by a ptc.; GKC, § 116w), apodosis, explanatory comment—even though their content is dissimilar. The texts of Samuel and Chronicles both preserve material (in the shared protasis) that has been developed in very different ways." Auld appeals to this passage as possible evidence that the Chr employed "source material no longer available to us" (*Kings*, 14), possibly a "not yet completed version of Samuel" (*Kings*, 35; see also Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* [OTL; Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1964], 268–269, 269n³; P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes, and Commentary* [AB 9; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984], 137–140). A. A. Anderson, *2 Samuel* (WBC 11; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1989), 84, adds, "it is well known that in 2 Samuel there is a noticeable anti-Joab tendency (see 2 Sam 3:29, 39; 16:10) which may account for the omission of Joab's exploit and for the abbreviated (?) form of the report." He also notes that there is probably a lacuna in the Samuel text at v.8 where the Samuel text and the Chronicles text begin to diverge; David's charge, כָּל־מַכָּה יְבוּסִי, is simply left hanging (*2 Samuel*, 84; see also Kalimi, "Capture of Jerusalem," 71–74; cf. NJB). In my opinion, this plot element or "blind motif," the similar structure, and a plausible *Tendenz* may well point to literary dependence on a common source shared by the Dtr and the Chr (whether as an earlier version of the Samuel text or an independent source); a source the Dtr has emended with somewhat imperfect precision but the Chr may preserve (cf. Kalimi, "Capture of Jerusalem," 75–78). On the "blind motif" as evidence of literary dependence, see Marc Brettler, "The Book of Judges: Literature as Politics," *JBL* 108 (1989): 411.

⁶ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 240–241.

no corresponding parallel in 2 Samuel, this verse introduces the mighty men as ראשי הגבורים. The recurrence of ראש almost certainly refers back to the wordplay in v.6 and affirms that Joab is "chief among chiefs."⁷ In effect, the conquest of Jerusalem becomes Joab's heroic exploit, akin but also immeasurably superior to the exploits of Jashobeam, Eleazar, the anonymous three, Abishai, and Benaiah in 11:11–25.⁸

Literary queues in this verse may point to an even more meaningful purpose served by the Chr's treatment of Joab in this verse, at least as it concerns the Chr's appeal to his post-exilic readership. In 2 Chr 36:23 (par. Ezra 1:1–5), Cyrus of Persia, issues a charge to the people of Israel to go up to Jerusalem:

כה־אמר כודש מלך פדס
כל־ממלכות הארץ נתן לי יהוה אלהי השמים
והוא־פקד עלי לבנות־לו בית בירושלם אשר ביהודה
מי־בכם מכל־עמו יהוה אלהיו עמו ויעל

Reading עלה as a "Programmwort," the Chr may intend to allude to Joab as a paradigm for the post-exilic community.⁹ David's charge in 1 Chr 11:6 prefigures the edict of Cyrus. Joab answers David's charge, goes up first, and becomes chief of chiefs. In the same way, the Chr may hope members of the post-exilic community will choose to answer Cyrus's charge and go up to Jerusalem. Three points strengthen this allusion: (1) The Chr changes the Samuel text to read "all Israel" (1 Chr 11:4 par. 2 Sam 5:6) so that David's charge, like Cyrus's, addresses all Israel,¹⁰

⁷ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 241. The exact structure of David's military hierarchy is debated. See Japhet, *Chronicles*, 242–252; Brian A. Mastin, "Was the salis the third man in the chariot?," in *Studies in the Historical Books of the Old Testament* (ed. John A. Emerton; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1979), 125–154; Benjamin Mazar, "The Military Elite of King David," *VT* 13 (1963): 310–320; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 499–501; Nadav Na'aman, "The List of David's Officers (*šalīšim*)," *VT* 38 (1988): 71–79; Ze'ev Weisman, "The Nature and Background of bahur in the Old Testament," *VT* 31 (1981): 441–450; Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands: In the Light of Archaeological Study* (2 vols.; New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963), 2:275–290, for further discussion.

⁸ So also Jacob Martin Myers, *I Chronicles: Introduction, Translation, and Notes* (AB 12; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1965), 84–85, who cites "Biography of Amen-em-heb," translated by John A. Wilson (*ANET*, 241) as a non-biblical, extant example of "a heroic exploit comparable to Joab."

⁹ Oeming, "Eroberung," 418.

¹⁰ Obviously, there is a more primary purpose for this change, namely that it conforms to the Chr's consistent "pan-Israel" interest (McKenzie, *Chronicles*, 43). Even so, that does not obviate its effect in strengthening the allusion. On the Chr's theology of Israel and use of the phrase "all Israel," see Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles*

(2) The Chr composes Cyrus's charge to Israel, like David's, in the singular rather than plural, and
 (3) The importance of עלה as the "Programmwort" is emphasized in 2 Chr 36:23 by placing it at the end of the verse and entire book (cf. different word order in par. Ezra 1:3). The case for this reading, however, is not without its weaknesses given that עלה as well as these grammatical and stylistic changes are not remarkable alterations in themselves. It is only the convergence of these changes and its congruence with the Chr's ideology that make it plausible.

Expanding on the image of Joab as hero, chief, and possible paradigmatic figure, the compositional activity of the Chr in v.8 of the narrative unit again affects Joab. In this verse, the Chr mentions Joab in connection with building activities in the city of Jerusalem after its successful capture:¹¹

ויבן העיר מסביב מן־המלוא ועד־הסביב
 ויואב יחיה את־שאר העיר

This verse is somewhat enigmatic because the Chr uses חיה to describe Joab's activities; a word not normally used in this context. Difficulty with respect to determining the meaning of חיה creates syntactical uncertainty, specifically in assessing the relationship between the clause describing Joab's activities and the whole of the pericope of 1 Chr 11:4–9. Traditionally, the verse has been understood as "and Joab rebuilt the rest of the city." Two significant alternative readings of this verse, though, have been proposed: (1) Joab kept alive the remnant of the city (referring to the inhabitants of the city),¹² and (2) Joab preserved the rest of the city.¹³ These readings qualify the actions of Joab in his initial attack on the city as described in v.6.

and its Place in Biblical Thought (2nd rev. ed.; BEATAJ 9; New York: P. Lang, 1997), 257–393; H. G. M. Williamson, *Israel in the Books of Chronicles* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 87–131.

¹¹ LXX^{A,B} reads και επολεμησεν και ελαβεν την πολιν with David as the subject. See Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, 1:129–130, for a possible explanation of the development of this rendering. Many variant readings of this verse share in common the absence of any mention of Joab. It is, therefore, unlikely that any of these variants (regardless of textual strength) are original readings; there is simply no plausible reason for a scribe to emend the text to include Joab and suppress information about David. The opposite tendency, on the other hand, is understandable.

¹² Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 21; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1955), 94; H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (NCB; Grand Rapids and London: Eerdmans and Marshall Morgan & Scott Publishing, 1982), 100. Ehud Ben Zvi, Private Communication, favors this reading, arguing that שׂאר almost always qualifies a living being. The noun appears 27x in the HB (Isa 7:3, 10:19, 20, 21 [2x], 22, 11:11, 16, 14:22, 16:14, 17:3, 21:17, 28:5; Zeph 1:4; Mal 2:15; Esth 9:12, 16; Ezra 3:8, 4:3, 7; Neh 10:29, 11:1, 20; 1 Chr 11:8, 16:41; 2 Chr 9:29, 24:14). In Isa 10–28, it functions primarily in a highly specialized sense to refer to the community of exilic and post-exilic Israelites. It does take a non-living referent in Isa 21:17. In Mal, Esth, Ezra, and Neh, it is a more generic term denoting the rest or the other parts,

Despite the conceptual support of some MT manuscripts, the first reading is an unlikely alternative.¹⁴ While *שאר העיר* can refer to the inhabitants of a city, as Williamson and Rudolph point out, the context does not support such a reading in this case. The primary purposes of v.6 are an aetiology explaining how Joab became chief as well as offering him as a paradigm for the post-exilic community. There is no indication of the number of people killed in the attack. The continuing narrative in v.7 also shows no interest in battle casualties. *שאר*, therefore, would not stand in relation to any previously identified group of people. On the other hand, in v.8a the narrator recounts that David (re)built certain parts of *העיר* and so the most natural reading of *שאר העיר* in v.8b is that it refers to the physical structures of the city not encompassed by David's rebuilding activities.

The second reading, the reading Williamson ultimately adopts, is somewhat more compelling. Williamson correctly identifies v.8b as a circumstantial clause with the subject, Joab, fronted.¹⁵ Therefore, the information concerning Joab is an explanation of why David did not (re)build the rest of the city or put another way, what happened to the parts of the city David did not (re)build. In much the same way as the Chr fills out a lacuna in v.6 (see n.5 above), the Chr now completes the report of the reconstruction of Jerusalem. Being circumstantial rather than consecutive allows that the explanation can reflect an action occurring in the past and in this respect lends weight to Williamson's argument. Even so, it does not necessarily demand

usually with respect to groups of people. In Zeph 1:4, it may refer either to the priests or idols of *הבעל*. In Chr, it appears 4x and, militating against Ben Zvi's argument, the Chr is even less restrictive in his application of the term. It is used in relationship to *דבר* in 2 Chr 9:29 and *הכסף* in 2 Chr 24:14; only in 1 Chr 16:41 does it refer unequivocally to people. As such, though Ben Zvi makes a valid argument, it is not decisive.

¹³ Williamson, *Chronicles*, 100.

¹⁴ According to *BHS*, *העם* occurs in 3–6 mss in place of *העיר*.

¹⁵ *Chronicles*, 100. The syntax actually permits three readings: (1) as adversative, reading the waw as "but" with the subject fronted for emphasis, (2) as consecutive, reading the waw as "and" with the subject fronted to reactivate Joab after a series of waw-consecutive prefix verbs with David as the subject, or (3) as circumstantial, allowing the fronting of the subject to determine the syntactical relationship and reading the waw as "while" or "because." In agreement with Williamson, the adversative and consecutive constructions are the least likely of these three potential readings. In adversative clauses, fronting of the subject typically occurs in both clauses that are joined by the waw, which does not occur in this instance (*IBHS* §8.3b). Syntactically, there is no determinative reason to reject the consecutive (over against circumstantial); however, given that the Chr's underlying source for 1 Chr 11:4-9 presumably contained v.8a but not v.8b, it seems more likely that the Chr provides an explanation for David's limited rebuilding activities rather than adds a sequential event. See *BHRG* §47.2; *GKC* §142, 156; *Joüon* §155nb-nc, 159; *IBHS* §39.2.3.

Williamson's reading of חיה . Furthermore, Williamson incorrectly claims that "preserved" is more consistent with the semantic range of חיה than the RSV "repaired."¹⁶ In the piel, חיה can denote either "to keep alive"¹⁷ (preserved) or "to make alive"¹⁸ (repaired).¹⁹ In its present context, the modest evidence that helps decide the case points preponderantly in one direction: (1) Every biblical occurrence of the verb, acting metaphorically, presumes the latter meaning (Hos 14:7 [14:8]; Hab 3:2; Eccl 7:12; Neh 4:2 [3:34]), (2) Non-biblical extant evidence attests חיה with reference to building activities (KAI 1:4.2; perhaps, KAI 1:26.A.I.3–4),²⁰ and (3) Japhet observes that רפא , a word belonging to the "same semantic field" as חיה , is used, in the piel, with reference to building in 1 Kgs 18:30.²¹ This evidence provides a relatively solid basis for reading חיה as "to make alive" and consequently that Joab is actively involved in rebuilding the city.

Even so, how does חיה relate to בנה ? Although בנה is the most common word the Chr uses to denote building activities (appearing 90x), there are several other words used by the Chr, including חדש (2 Chr 15:8, 24:4, 24:12), יסד (2 Chr 24:27, 31:7), קום (1 Chr 21:18; 2 Chr 3:17, 33:3), קרה (2 Chr 34:11), and חזק (1 Chr 26:27; 2 Chr 11:11, 24:5, 24:12, 26:9, 29:3, 32:5, 34:10). Except in the case of קום , used exclusively for erecting altars, and קרה , used only once for laying beams in the Temple, all these verbs refer to restoration rather than original building projects. Given this evidence and the extant usage of חיה , it probably refers to an act of restoration rather than original building.²² This distinction, however, while significant, does not

¹⁶ *Chronicles*, 100.

¹⁷ See Gen 7:3, 12:12, 19:32, 19:34; Exod 1:17, 1:18, 1:22, 22:18 [22:17]; Num 31:15; Deut 20:16; Josh 9:15; Judg 21:14; 1 Sam 27:9, 27:11; 2 Sam 12:3; 1 Kgs 18:5, 20:31; 2 Kgs 7:4; Is 7:21; Jer 49:11; Ez 3:18, 13:18, 13:19, 18:27; Pss 22:29, 33:19, 41:2 [41:3], 138:7, 143:11; Job 36:6. The references in 2 Sam 12:3 and Is 7:21 refer to raising animals. Many references in Pss are difficult to classify; they might also fit in the group below in n.13.

¹⁸ See Deut 32:39; 1 Sam 2:6; Hos 6:2, 14:7 [14:8]; Hab 3:2; Pss 30:3 [30:4], 71:20, 80:18 [80:19], 85:6 [85:7], 119:25, 37, 40, 50, 88, 93, 107, 149, 154, 156, 159; Job 33:4; Eccl 7:12; Neh 4:2 [3:34], 9:6. As in n.12 above, many references in Pss are difficult to assess, particularly those references in Ps 119 and the one in Eccl; one might also group them above in n.12. In all references, except only Neh 4:2 [3:34], God is the one responsible "to make alive." In Neh 4:2 [3:34], חיה is probably used sarcastically to deride the Jews (Williamson, *Chronicles*, 100).

¹⁹ Selected translations are "restored" (NAB, NIV, NJB, TEV), "repaired" (ASV, KJV, NASB, NRSV), "renewed" (DRBY), or "rebuilt" (JPS, NLT); cf. BDB 310–312 (#2425); *HALOT* 1:309–310; *NIDOTTE* 2:108–113 (#2649); *TLOT* 4:324–344; *TLOT* 1:411–417; *TWOT* 1:279–282.

²⁰ *TLOT* 1:411–417; Knoppers, *I Chronicles*, 382.

²¹ *Chronicles*, 242.

²² Rudolf Mosis, *Untersuchungen zur Theologie des chronistischen Geschichtswerkes* (FTS 92; Freiburg: Herder, 1973), 46, sees חיה as pointing to the complete destruction of the city and therefore serving to intensify the extent of the

imply that restoration is a lesser activity; *בנה* is often used for restoration projects too. Also, these verbs are applied almost indiscriminately to all types of projects, including the Temple, cities, fortresses, and the Millo. In the light of a post-exilic readership concerned with the restoration of Jerusalem and its temple, it seems reasonable to assume that an act of restoration was as significant as an original building project.

Even putting aside Oeming's suggestion, which draws a connection between Joab's actions in v.6 and the concerns of the post-exilic community, vv.6 and 8 present a highly favourable portrait of Joab. In the Chr's ideology, successful military action and (re)building activities are a sign of faithful behaviour to Yahweh and primarily credited to kings whom the Chr judges positively.²³ Japhet suggests that these references to Joab reflect the Chr's tendency to describe the king's officers as "cooperating with the king and helping him in his enterprises."²⁴ But, in the case of building activities, aside from the mention of some of the artisans or overseers involved in building the temple (2 Chr 2:13-14, 4:11-16, 34:12-13) and inclusive statements of the involvement of unnamed people in building activities (2 Chr 2:18, 24:12-14, 34:10-11), Joab is the only leader of Israel other than a king to whom such activities are explicitly ascribed.²⁵ And the Chr does so at the expense of David, who might otherwise receive credit for these activities (as in 2 Samuel or variants). Furthermore, the Chr does not attribute a minor project to Joab but ascribes to him the rebuilding of significant parts of Jerusalem, the city central to the Chr's ideology concerning Yahweh and the cult.²⁶ Taken together with the prominent role attributed to

rebuilding undertaken by Joab. He also suggests a possible parallelism with Ezra 9:8 and the aspirations of the post-exilic community: "Vielleicht könnte auch die seltsame Wortwahl von *hjh* zur Bezeichnung der Bautätigkeit Joabs mit dem Bezug zur nachexilischen Zeit, insbesondere zur chr Esrageschichte zusammenhängen. In Esr 9,8f wird nämlich die Bewahrung des Volkes im Exil sowie die Wiederaufrichtung der Trümmer des Tempels and die Wiedereinsetzung der Gemeinde Israels am Heiligtum als *mihjah* ‚Wiederaufleben‘ bezeichnet" (Untersuchungen, 47).

²³ Ralph Klein, "Chronicles, Book of 1-2," *ABD* 1:997. On building activities, see Peter Welten, *Geschichte und Geschichtsdarstellung in den Chronikbüchern* (WMANT 42; Tübingen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973), 9-78, and Japhet, *Ideology*, 436-437. On wars, see again Welten, *Geschichte*, 115-172, and Japhet, *Ideology*, 191-197.

²⁴ *Chronicles*, 242. See also Japhet, *Ideology*, 416-428.

²⁵ One notable exception to this tendency is Sheerah, a woman, who the Chr credits with building Lower and Upper Beth-horon and Uzzan-sheerah (1 Chr 7:24; cf. 2 Chr 8:5). The other exception is the sons of Elpaal, who "built Ono and Lod with its towns" (1 Chr 8:12). However, both of these occurrences are pre-monarchical and are genealogical anecdotes.

²⁶ See e.g. Pancratius C. Beentjes, "Jerusalem in the Book of Chronicles," in *The Centrality of Jerusalem* (eds. Marcel Poorthuis and Chana Safrai; Kampen: Kok Pharos, 1996), 15-28; Gary Knoppers, "Jerusalem at War in Chronicles,"

Joab in the conquest of the city, the emerging portrait of Joab already places him among a select group of prominent people in the books of Chronicles.

Joab: Successful and Pious General

Joab next comes to the fore in Chronicles as the successful general of David's army in the war against the Ammonites and Arameans (1 Chr 19:7–14, 20:1). The source of the Chr's narrative is the Dtr but its redaction and placement within Chronicles significantly alters its original form and function. In the Dtr, the Ammonite and Aramean wars provide the backdrop for David's affair with Bathsheba. As has been repeatedly pointed out, the Chr omits these narratives in view of his tendentious portrait of David. Thus, rather than moving back and forth between the war front and the home front, the Chr reworks 2 Sam 10:1–11:1 and 12:26–31 into a unified pericope:

	1 Chronicles	Action	2 Samuel
1.	19:1–5	Provocation	10:1–5
2.	6–8	Preparations for War	6–8
3.	9–15	Initial Battle	9–15
4.	16–19	David defeats Arameans	16–19
5.	20:1–3	Defeat of the Ammonites	11:1, 12:26–31

Joab appears in the latter part of the second scene and remains the central figure in the third and fifth scenes. Throughout these scenes, slight Chronistic redaction heightens the role of Joab in comparison to the Dtr's account.

Joab's actions and words in the initial battle of Israel's war against the Ammonites and the Arameans, as reported by both the Dtr and the Chr, highlights his military acumen and his attention to sacred traditions within Israel. In response to the debasement of a royal envoy and the mobilization of the Ammonite army, David sends Joab and the mercenary army to engage the Ammonites. Unbeknownst to David and Joab, the Ammonites hire the Arameans, who encamp in

in *Zion: City of Our God* (eds. Richard Hess and Gordon Wenham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 57–76; Martin J. Selman, "Jerusalem in Chronicles," in *Zion: City of Our God* (eds. Richard Hess and Gordon Wenham; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 43–56.

the open country at Medeba to trap the advancing Israelite army.²⁷ The Arameans amass the largest chariot division referenced in the Hebrew Bible, commanded by the king of Maacah, which is one part of a force that also consists of “cavalry from Mesopotamia, from Aram-maacah and from Zobah” and forces from the Ammonites themselves (vv.6–7).²⁸ As Joab approaches, he realizes he is outflanked, possibly stemming from David sending him into battle precipitously (19:8) though the text does not lay blame. Undaunted, Joab redeploys his army in two divisions. He reorganizes “the picked men of Israel” (v.10) under his command to face the Arameans and “the rest of his troops” (v.11) under his brother’s command (Abishai) to face the Ammonites. The two divisions are therefore back-to-back. The Israelite position remains vulnerable as Joab gives voice to the seriousness of the army’s predicament in his charge to Abishai in v.13:

חֹזֶק וּנְתִיחוּקָה
 בַּעַד־עַמְנוּ וּבַעַד עַרֵי אֱלֹהֵינוּ
 וַיְהוּהָ הַטּוֹב בַּעֲיֵנָיו יַעֲשֶׂה

The charge highlights a key term חֹזֶק, which recalls the words of Moses to Joshua (Deut 3:28; 31:6, 7, 23; Josh 1:6-7, 9, 18; 10:25) and also recalls and exemplifies the role of the army to

²⁷ The Chr identifies Medeba as the site of this initial battle (v.7, 9) while the Dtr is silent on the issue. Some scholars suggest that this location is highly improbable. John Bright, *A History of Israel* (3rd ed.; WASS; Philadelphia: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1981), 202, see esp. n.240, and Martin Noth, *The History of Israel* (2nd ed.; London: A. & C. Black, 1960), 195, for instance, identify the city as Rabbath-ammon, arguing that Medeba is too far south. Moreover, both Roddy Braun, *1 Chronicles* (WBC 14; Waco, TX: Word Books, 1986), 207, and Japhet, *Chronicles*, 359, note the orthographic possibility that Medeba could read Me-Rabbah. Yadin, *Warfare*, 2:273–275, however, makes a convincing argument in favour of accepting Medeba. In particular, he notes that Medeba is only 40 kilometres south of Rabbath-ammon and the “Syrian army, coming from the north, continued southward past Rabbath-ammon and chose this site not only because its level ground was ideal for the maneuver of chariots, but primarily because this put them at the rear and flank of Joab’s force” (*Warfare*, 2:273).

²⁸ The Chr reports 32,000 chariots, which is unparalleled in 2 Sam MT where all of 1 Chr 19:7 is absent. The number, however, could have been in the Chr’s *Vorlage*. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 637, reconstructs the fragmentary 4QSam^a with שְׁנַיִם וּשְׁלֹשִׁים אֲלָפֵי רֶכֶב. For other significant chariot divisions reported in the Hebrew Bible, cf. 30,000 in 1 Sam 13:5; 7,000 killed in 1 Chr 19:18 (cf. par. 700 in 2 Sam 10:18 MT; according to Knoppers, *1 Chronicles*, 641, 4QSam^a is fragmentary with only שֶׁבַע [ע] extant); Solomon’s 1,400 in 1 Kgs 10:26 par. 2 Chr 1:14; 1,200 in 2 Chr 12:3; 1,000 captured in 1 Chr 18:4 (cf. par. 2 Sam 8:4); 900 in Judg 4:3, 13; 600 in Exod 14:7. See also William Johnstone, *1 and 2 Chronicles* (2vols.; JSOTSup 253–254; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1997), 1:217, on this point. Johnstone also points out that the king of Maacah sets up “another potential rival [to David] as divinely designated leader” (*Chronicles*, 1:217). See also 1 Chr 19:9 (cf. 2 Sam 10:8 MT).

strengthen David "according to the word of the LORD" (1 Chr 11:10).²⁹ These words reveal Joab understands the sacral dimension of Israelite warfare as he entrusts the course of the battle to Yahweh.³⁰ This same sacral approach to war is evinced, in more dramatic fashion, in the Chr's redaction of Sennacherib's siege of Jerusalem (2 Chr 32), where the Chr places similar words to those of Joab on the lips of Hezekiah (2 Chr 32:7–8).³¹ Flowing from an understanding of these words as standing within the tradition of holy war, the Chr may have made slight emendations to his source that confirm this battle belongs to Yahweh: (1) in v.14 the Chr adds לַפְּנֵי, which conveys that the Arameans fled as Joab approached for battle before them rather than as a result of a battle with him, (2) וַיִּבֶן, added in v.15, intensifies the fact that Joab's victory over the Arameans causes the Ammonites to flee (not an engagement with Abishai), and (3) again in v.15 the Chr omits that Joab returned from battle against the Ammonites. Each of these changes contributes to the depiction of a battle won without actual engagements, which is consistent with the Chr's presentation of Israelite wars fought by Yahweh.³² The victory over the Ammonite-Aramean coalition therefore is reported within a sacral tradition towards warfare where Joab is Yahweh's faithful general.

That this battle is a victory over the Ammonite and Aramean armies is emphasized by the thrice-repeated וַיִּבֶן in vv.14-15.³³ Following the victory, Joab returns to Jerusalem, presumably to

²⁹ So also Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:18, 218. קָוָה appears 52x in the books of Chronicles. It is used as part of a charge in 1 Chr 22:13, 28:20; 2 Chr 15:7, 19:11, 25:8, 32:7. On the Chr's use of Joshua, see e.g. A. Graeme Auld, "Joshua and 1 Chronicles," in *Studies in Historical Geography and Biblical Historiography* (ed. Moshe Weinfeld; VTSup 81; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 2000), 132–140; Roddy Braun, "Solomon, The Chosen Temple Builder: The Significance of 1 Chronicles 22, 28, and 29 for the Theology of the Chronicles," *JBL* 95 (1976): 581–590; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 15–16.

³⁰ The classic explication of this tradition within Israel is, of course, Gerhard von Rad, *Holy War in Ancient Israel* (trans. Marva J. Dawn; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1991), see esp. p.78, where von Rad refers to the par. text of 1 Chr 19:13 in 2 Sam 10:12. On 1 Chr 19:13 as holy war, see also Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:218, 227–229. Two relatively recent sources on the presentation of holy war in Chronicles are Knoppers, "Jerusalem," 57–76; Susan Niditch, *War in the Hebrew Bible: A Study in the Ethics of Violence* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 123–149. I have purposely chosen to avoid citing this war as "holy war" as some significant elements are missing. Nevertheless, I believe the Chr picks up on Joab's charge in v.13 and confirms it as standing within this tradition.

³¹ The most incredible account of holy war in Chronicles is the war of Yahweh during the reign of Jehoshaphat as reported in 2 Chr 20:1–30.

³² Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:218. 4QSam^a is not extant for 2 Sam 10:8–17 (par. 1 Chr 19:9–17) and therefore it is impossible to know if these emendations are Chronistic. However, as I find the changes consistent with the Chr's tendency to distance combatants in a war of Yahweh and as they are not found in the MT, I am inclined to see them as Chronistic emendations. See Niditch, *War*, 139–149.

³³ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 360.

advise David of the unforeseen alliance between the Ammonites and Arameans and reassess the situation (v.15b). David subsequently launches an offensive with "all Israel" against the Arameans, who are regrouping beyond the Euphrates. He defeats them, effectively nullifying their alliance with Ammon.³⁴

With the defeat of the Arameans, the stage is set for the final scene of this narrative unit. The reader undoubtedly expects that David will now lead "all Israel" against the Ammonites. The first verse affirms this very expectation: "In the spring of the year, the time when kings go out to battle. . ." (20:1a). But, the narrator informs us "David remained in Jerusalem" (v.1b). It is this unexpected conduct on David's part that creates the tension so central to the Dtr's subsequent report of David's affair with Bathsheba. In the Chr's narrative, however, it clearly loses this function and instead emphasizes Joab's role in the defeat of the Ammonites. What is more, David does not send Joab to battle against the Ammonites (1 Chr 20:1; cf. 2 Sam 11:1).³⁵ This minor emendation, when taken together with the Chr's decision to retain the introduction that it is the time when kings (as opposed to when generals) go out to battle as well as the element that David remained in Jerusalem, creates an even sharper incongruity in David's actions than suggested by the Dtr's account. It appears as if David disregards his duty, requiring Joab to take the initiative in overcoming the lingering threat against Israel.³⁶

³⁴ The suggestion by McCarter, *II Samuel*, 274, that the battle was "only a qualified victory" leaving Joab incapable of laying siege to Rabbah, "having been too weakened by battle," is not consistent with the description of the battle (in Chronicles or Samuel). Joab returns to Jerusalem not out of weakness but out of strategic necessity. Joab almost certainly recognizes that the Arameans are capable of mustering more support for the Ammonites and this escalation requires a greater mobilization on the part of Israel if they are to secure victory and ultimately achieve their aims of redressing Hanun's insult. A siege is normally a lengthy process that would have left Joab's flank exposed again to the Arameans. Moreover, even if Joab had been able to capture Rabbah before an Aramean counter-attack, he may not have had the strength to hold the city in the face of that counter-offensive. By returning to Jerusalem, Joab is able to inform David of the Aramean complicity, allow David to lead "all Israel" to defeat the Arameans, and in that way isolate Ammon in preparation for a siege by the mercenary army. Indeed, this is the strategy reflected in the Chr's (and the Dtr's) account.

³⁵ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 363, suggests that the Chr does not omit this reference but rather preserves the original version of the story, apparently from an independent source. In addition, both Braun, *1 Chronicles*, 210, and Japhet, *Chronicles*, 363, agree that minimizing David's initiative seems contrary to the Chr's normal *Tendenz*. Even so, this would not change the expository force of the passage. Unfortunately, 4QSam^a does not have 2 Sam 11:1, 12:26–29 extant.

³⁶ The Chr's decision to retain the notice that David remained in Jerusalem is another example of the blind motif (Brettler, "Judges," 411; cf. my n.5 above). Setting aside the popular scholarly position that the Chr is concerned with sanitizing David, might not the retention of this detail be the Chr's way of asking his readers to recall the Bathsheba affair? After all, Bathsheba is Solomon's mother (1 Chr 3:5). If this is case, is the Chr's reconstruction of the siege of

Also arising from the Chr's omission of David's affair with Bathsheba and David's complicity in the death of Uriah, the account of the siege of Rabbah is appreciably shortened, textually and conceptually, creating the impression of a swift and decisive campaign by Joab. The Dtr's narratives imply a lengthy and protracted campaign against the Ammonites taking at least a period of nine months (as Bathsheba conceives and delivers a child during that time). The Dtr supplies information regarding the deployment of the army (and the ark) at Succoth (1 Sam 11:11) and there is the indication that the siege of Rabbah involved multiple assaults, attacks and counter-attacks (1 Sam 11:14-25). Even when the Chr returns to his source, he omits Joab's appeal to David to complete the assault against Rabbah (1 Chr 20:1; cf. 2 Sam 12:27).³⁷

Rabbah, with its ultimate result of attributing the capture of the city to Joab, the Chr's way of giving Joab the credit he deserves but is denied by the Dtr, a sort of historiographical reparation? It is certainly strange that the Chr often feels no compunction about making drastic changes to his source but here is apparently constrained to keep an intrusive detail that recalls an unsavoury story in the life of David. In my opinion, this supports an argument that the Chr omits this story and others not out of a desire to whitewash his portrait of David but because this story concerns itself with essentially domestic, or de-unifying, rather than state or cultic affairs.

³⁷ LXX cursives i and y attest a plus between ραββα and και κατεσκαψεν αυτην: και απεστειλεν ιωαβ αγγελους προς δαδ λεγων προκαταλαβον την ραββα συ οπως μη προκαταλαβωμαι αυτην εγω και κληθη το ονομα μου επ αυτην και σονησαγε δαδ τον λαον και επορευθη εις ραββα και προκατελαβετο αυτην. BHK reconstructs the Hebrew as וילכדה יואב מל אכבים אל דוד לאמר לכד אתה את רבבה פן אלכדה אני ונקרא שמי עליה ויאסף דוד את העם וילך רבתה וישלח (cf. 2 Sam 12:26–29; Josephus, *Ant* 7.160). The process of homoioteleuton from ραββα (=רבה) to ραββα (=רבה), in Greek and a reconstructed Hebrew, is inexact due to the addition of και προκατελαβετο αυτην (=וילכדה) after the final ραββα (=רבה) of the plus. BHK suggests and Knoppers, *I Chronicles*, 657, 658–659, inserts the plus after ויהרסה (=και κατεσκαψεν αυτην) rather than רבה (so also LXX g with a slightly different plus). In doing so, BHK and Knoppers create a conjectural, non-extant reading. Furthermore, while the reading explains the corruption in most mss of the LXX as homoioteleuton from αυτην to αυτην (so also LXX g), the process of textual corruption in the MT becomes virtually inexplicable (although not as problematic as a Hebrew reconstruction of LXX g). After copying the first רבה, the scribe would have continued on to transcribe ויהרסה and only then his eyes would have skipped down to the second רבה at which point he would have immediately and curiously skipped over וילכדה to move into v.2. In view of such an unlikely series of errors, Rudolph, *Chronikbücher*, 138, and BHS also construct a conjectural, non-extant reading to resolve the difficulties. They omit the last verbal clause of the plus (וילכדה = και προκατελαβετο αυτην) and emend רבתה to רבה. BHS suggests and Rudolph inserts the emended plus between רבה and ויהרסה, creating an unproblematic case of homoioteleuton from רבה to רבה. If LXX g, i, and y translate a Hebrew text with this emended reading, the additions of the verbal clause in i and y as well as two verbal clauses in g could be explained as a scribal expansion loosely assimilating to parallel verbal clauses in 2 Sam 12:26–29. Apart from these facts, it should be noted that the plus itself is not strictly parallel to 2 Sam 12:26–29 and reading with Rudolph and BHS, the clause subsequent to the plus replaces וילכדה בה וילהם of 2 Sam 12:26 with ויהרסה; all of which requires that the Chr significantly altered his *Vorlage* or possessed an appreciably different *Vorlage* than MT 2 Sam 12:26–29 whether one accepts or rejects the plus. Personally, I find it unconvincing that three late LXX cursives, g (13th century), i (10th century) and y (11th century), retain an original reading against the MT and the majority of the LXX witnesses. It is more likely that g, i and y have observed the incongruity of David's sudden appearance in v.2 and attempted to rebuild the narrative in view of 2 Sam 12:26–29 (so also Allen, *Greek Chronicles*, 1:87; cf. Japhet, *Chronicles*, 362–363; Myers, *I Chronicles*, 136). Certainly the

Complementing these omissions, the Chr intensifies the scale of Joab's siege of Rabbah by the use of נכבה instead of לחם (1 Chr 20:1; cf. 2 Sam 12:26) and he also changes the consecutive verbs that describe the campaign in the Samuel text from the plural to the singular (1 Chr 20:1; cf. 2 Sam 11:1). Although the Chr's use of the singular could be understood as a collective singular, and therefore still referring to both Joab and the army, the expositional effect of changing to the singular places greater emphasis on the role of Joab. As a result, the expositional force of the entire verse is that Joab initiates the campaign against the Ammonites and it is he, not David, who captures the Ammonite capital of Rabbah (1 Chr 20:1; cf. 2 Sam 12:26–29). His victory over the Ammonites is an imperious display of military efficiency.

In 1 Chr 19:7–14, 20:1, the Chr builds upon the portrait of Joab that began in 1 Chr 11:4, 8. There is confirmation of Joab's heroism but it is elaborated within the context of Joab performing the duties of the office granted him in 11:6. His heroism as a soldier is now complemented by his military astuteness as chief and his conformity to Israel's sacral traditions. He acts not only on behalf of his king but also on behalf of Yahweh, his God. Joab proves he is fully deserving of the honor that was bestowed upon him in 11:6. The Chr also enhances the excellence of Joab's initiative. In 11:6, Joab's initiative comes in response to a charge given by David. In 20:1, he acts apart from any command from David, doing so in the best interests of Israel. His initiative comes without reward this time; the reward accrues only to David (vv.2–4). Though he conquers the city, he is given no further title or even, so far as the Chr presents it, a share in the spoils of the victory he accomplished. This pericope also hints at Joab's attitude towards the cities of Israel, specifically Jerusalem. In 11:8, Joab restored parts of Jerusalem. In 19:13, Joab charges his army to be strong in defense of the cities of God (as opposed to the

incongruity between vv.1 and 2 allows for the possibility that g, i, y, Rudolph and Knoppers are correct in attempting to rebuild the text but the lack of any significant textual support and the fact that the Chr often allows incongruities to stand when he appropriates his sources (e.g. 1 Chr 10:13, 15:29, 20:5, 29:27; 2 Chr 10:15, 22:7–8) leads me to read with the MT. Whether the suppression of this information reflects positively or negatively on Joab is not easily discernable. The end result of the suppression is to credit Joab with taking the city, which considering the information supplied by the proposed plus and 2 Sam 12:27–29 regarding the prestige of capturing the city is quite significant. The suppression also restores the hierarchy of command so that Joab is not seen commanding the king. This can be seen as limiting Joab's power or it could redound to him by not recalling his strained relationship with David, Yahweh's chosen king, as represented by the Dtr.

nation or the king). These character traits, taken up from 1 Chr 11:6, 8 and now built upon in 1 Chr 19:7–14, 20:1, are advanced and developed in the last of three major pericopes concerning Joab.

Joab: Prophet and Protector

The census narrative of 1 Chr 21:1–22:1 and its parallel text in 2 Sam 24:1–25, have been the subject of many studies, primarily centering on the occurrence of שׂטן in Chronicles.³⁸ Notwithstanding the significance of this difference, there are also several important Chronistic modifications in the census narrative that come to bear upon the portrait of Joab.

The redactional activity of the Chr in the opening verses of the census narrative is significant. Replacing Yahweh with an adversary, the Chr bridges this narrative with the preceding accounts of Israel's wars against its enemies in 1 Chr 18–20. An anonymous adversary of Israel now stands up against Israel and incites David to count the people (v.1). David's response to this adversary is in stark contrast to his response to the Philistine invasions when he "inquired of God" (1 Chr 14:8–17) and more directly Joab's response in the Ammonite-Aramean conflict (1 Chr 19:8–15, esp. v.13). Heightening David's personal responsibility in the events to come, by using his personal name rather than his title (cf. 2 Sam 24:2), the Chr reports David's command that Joab carry out a census (1 Chr 21:2). He orders that Joab count everyone who could wield a sword, presumably to raise an army against this adversary (v.7). Although David's obedient servant in 1 Chr 11:6 and 1 Chr 19:8–15, Joab objects to this command in 1 Chr 21:3:

וַיֹּאמֶר יוֹאָב^a

יֹסֵף יְהוָה עַל־עַמּוֹ כְּהֵם מֵאֵה פַעֲמִים^a

הֲלֹא אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ כָּל־מִן לְאֲדֹנָי לְעַבְדִּים^b

לִמָּה יִבְקֹשׁ זֹאת אֲדֹנָי^c

לִמָּה יִהְיֶה לְאִשְׁמָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל^d

³⁸ On the identity of the adversary, I follow Japhet, Knoppers, and Wright, who argue that שׂטן is a human adversary. See Japhet, *Chronicles*, 373–375; *Ideology*, 139–143, 145–149; Knoppers, *I Chronicles*, 677, 679, 689; Gary Knoppers, "Images of David in Early Judaism: David as Repentant Sinner in Chronicles," *Bib* 76, no. 4 (1995): 449–470; John W. Wright, "The Innocence of David in 1 Chronicles 21," *JOT* 60 (1993): 87–104; cf. Paul Evans, "The Chronicler's Increased Roles for Divine Intermediaries as Demonstrated from 1 Chronicles 21" (paper presented at the annual meeting of the Pacific Northwest Region of the SBL, Edmonton, Alta., May 2001).

Joab's speech to David consists of four elements (cf. 2 Sam 24:3). He invokes a blessing from Yahweh that the number of Yahweh's people should increase "hundredfold," hinting at Yahweh's promises to Abraham (v.3a–a; cf. Gen 13:16, 15:5, 22:17; 1 Chr 16:15–22). He then disputes the necessity of the census (v.3b–b), calls into question David's purposes in demanding a census (v.3c–c), and prophetically warns that David's actions will bring אשמה upon Israel (v.3d–d). David does not heed his general and instead, where once the chiefs of the army strengthened (חזק) David (1 Chr 11:10), David's command is strong (also חזק) against Joab (1 Chr 21:4 par. 2 Sam 24:4), the chief of chiefs, and he is forced to count the people. Even so, David's command becomes abhorrent (העב) to Joab and consequently he does not finish the census (cf. 1 Chr 27:23–24).³⁹ The Chr's emendations in the census narrative heighten dissonance. There is dissonance expressed in the adversary against Israel, the adversary against David, David against Joab (and Israel, who are embodied in Joab by synecdoche), and Joab against David.⁴⁰ This dissonance is articulated by the Chr, through his portrait of Joab, in expressly cultic terms—as אשמה (cf. 2 Chr 24:18, 28:10, 13, 32:23) and העב (cf. 2 Chr 28:3, 33:2, 34:33, 36:8, 14).⁴¹ At least in part, the Chr seems to view David's decision to take this census as a violation of sacral laws, perhaps motivated as it was by an adversary and carried out without seeking Yahweh.⁴²

³⁹ Wright, "Innocence," 87–104, uses 21:6–7 to exonerate David of any guilt or sin in taking a census and instead shift the blame to Joab. Wright's arguments are contrived from a Wellhausenian conviction that the Chr's only concern is presenting an idealized portrait of David. See Japhet, *Ideology*, 473–478 who refutes this scholarly tendency. In my opinion, Noel Bailey, "David's Innocence: A Response to J. Wright," *JSOT* 64 (1994): 83–90, successfully counters Wright's rather novel interpretation. Bailey observes that Wright's argument is illogical—why would Joab, the commander of the army, oppose a military census if there is not a pre-existing "legal or cultic prohibition" to this census?—and it is based on questionable syntactic interpretations ("David's Innocence," 87–89). To this, Knoppers, "Images," 453, adds the obvious fact that Wright has seemingly ignored, namely that "there is no clear indication that the Chronicler blames Joab for the disaster that befalls Israel [and the Chr] actually accentuates David's stigma over against the narrative of 2 Samuel 24."

⁴⁰ Noel Bailey, "David and God in 1 Chronicles 21: Edged with Mist," in *The Chronicler as Author: Studies in Text and Texture* (ed. Matt Patrick Graham and Steven L. McKenzie; JSOTSup 263; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 345–346, 354.

⁴¹ So also Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:229–230.

⁴² So also Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:226–230 who makes his argument on the basis of Exod 30:11–16. Knoppers, *I Chronicles*, 691, however, correctly points out that Johnstone's allusion falters as no other census in Chronicles explicitly conforms to all the directives laid out in Exod 30:11–16 (1 Chr 23:3, 27:1–34; 2 Chr 25:5, 31:12–19) and some do not seem conform at all (1 Chr 9:1, 11:11, 12:24; 2 Chr 2:1, 17:14–19, 26:11–13).

As it pertains to the portrait of Joab, the Chr's most important changes to his *Vorlage* are the additional question in v.3d–d and the note in v.6. As Japhet proposes, Joab's question is not only an objection meant to convince David to alter his course of action but it is also a warning that foreshadows the disastrous consequences that the census will bring about.⁴³ For the Chr, warnings are a crucial component of prophetic speech.⁴⁴ They establish the culpability of an action before it occurs and therefore justify Yahweh's judgments regarding the individual who either ignores or heeds them. In this way, the Chr preserves the impeccability of Yahweh's judgments. Joab assumes this significant prophetic function in his dispute with David. His question makes it explicit that David's act of census-taking will be a cause of guilt for Israel. As such, David's actions will demand a response from Yahweh. The plague that follows the census is a necessary consequence of David's failure to heed the warnings of Joab.

The Chr supplements this prophetic image with the note in v.6 that Joab did not complete the census, excluding Levi and Benjamin, because it was abhorrent (תעב) to him. The exclusion of these tribes is notable as they are both closely associated with Jerusalem in the books of Chronicles. The city is the center of Levi's cultic responsibilities (e.g. 1 Chr 9:10–34, 1 Chr 23–27) as well as the promised inheritance of the tribe of Benjamin (1 Chr 8:28, 32; cf. 1 Chr 9:3, 38; 2 Chr 34:32; Josh 18:28).⁴⁵ Given the plague is a punishment for guilt accrued in the census, as v.3d–d forewarns, it logically follows that it is Joab's decision not to enumerate these tribes, rather than David's repentance in vv.16–17, which spares Jerusalem. Although vv.16–17 describe David repenting out of a desire to save Jerusalem from the destroying angel and v.22 relates David's own conviction that his actions will save Jerusalem, his repentance does not actually serve this purpose in the narrative. David's repentance, even if he does not realize it, is superfluous as it pertains to the renunciation of punishment. It is plain from v.15 that Yahweh has already stopped the destroying angel before David makes his petition.⁴⁶ Instead, David's

⁴³ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 376–377.

⁴⁴ Japhet, *Ideology*, 176–180.

⁴⁵ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 378, makes the same observations and notes that taken together with 1 Chr 11:6, 8, the Chr's portrait of Joab portrays a bond between him and the city of Jerusalem. Is the Chr perhaps motivated by the tradition in 2 Sam 14:30 that Joab owned land in (or in the near vicinity of) Jerusalem?

⁴⁶ N.B. David's repentance is introduced by a consecutive clause (verb-subject) not a circumstantial clause (subject-verb). See *IBHS* §33.2.1. I am inclined to see the census loosely divided in three sections: (1) 1 Chr 21:1–15a,

repentance serves the purpose of restoring his relationship with Yahweh.⁴⁷ Therefore, Yahweh stays the destroying angel before it strikes Jerusalem not in response to David's repentance but because Yahweh sees the city (this being the unspecified object of הַשָּׁמַיִם in v.15; cf. 2 Sam 24:16) and the innocence of its inhabitants, Levi and Benjamin.⁴⁸

This last narrative that shapes the image of Joab contributes to an already impressive picture of this person in the book of Chronicles. Taking up Joab's awareness of the sacral traditions of Israel, the Chr now presents Joab as defending these traditions before the king. He opposes a military census that reflects distrust in Yahweh's ability to overcome the adversaries of Israel. Whereas in 11:6 he demonstrates his loyalty and obedience to David and in 19:13 he demonstrates his loyalty to Yahweh in an act in accord with the wishes of David, in 21:3, 6 he

(2) 1 Chr 21:15b–27, and (3) 1 Chr 21:28–22:1. In the first section, the Chr is concerned with retelling the census narrative of his Vorlage so that it is more amiable to his theology. This concern has three objectives: (1) To clearly portray this census as a sin that justifies Yahweh's punishment (as opposed to 2 Sam 24, which is less emphatic on this count, and in view of the many other positive censuses the Chr reports—the argument that this census can not be sinful simply because the Chr is normally positive about censuses is overall simplistic; the Chr usually casts a positive portrait of cultic activities, wars, and building activities and yet each one, at some point in Chronicles, incurs Yahweh's anger when improperly performed), (2) To rework the negativity of the census with respect to David so that it presents him, in spite of his sin, as a paradigmatic penitent (Knoppers, "Images," 449–470), and (3) To excuse the Levites and Jerusalem (by way of Benjamin) from any participation and therefore culpability in this census. These objectives are primarily achieved through the change in the characterization of Joab. In the second section, the Chr concentrates more extensively on the portrait of David as a paradigmatic penitent, whose repentance and obedience now culminates with divine forgiveness and concomitantly divine sanction of what will become in the third section the Temple site. The two initial sections of the narrative have similar elements: a threat, David's response, David's repentance, a divine message mediated through Gad, and an end to the threat. In the first section, David acts unfaithfully and incurs Yahweh's wrath. In the second section, David acts obediently and receives Yahweh's blessing. In this way, the two sections mirror two episodes covering David's attempts to bring the ark to Jerusalem (1 Chr 13; 1 Chr 15). The third section preserves an aetiology that connects this census with David's choice of the Temple site. This aetiology serves as a bridge between the census narrative and the subsequent narratives that center on the Temple.

⁴⁷ Japhet, *Chronicles*, 383. See also Bailey, "David and God," 337–359. Admittedly, it is probably not totally superfluous but has the effect of confirming Yahweh in his preceding decision to stop the punishment. Hence, Yahweh only orders the angel to sheath his sword in v.27. Presumably, if David had once again failed to submit to Yahweh's sovereignty, the angel may have been asked to carry out some further act of punishment (just likely not the destruction of Jerusalem).

⁴⁸ So also Johnstone, *Chronicles*, 1:230. In this case, the plus, $\text{וְיִהְיֶה הַשָּׁמַיִם}$, is the third consecutive addition the Chr makes relating to Joab in the census narrative. Interestingly, within early midrash the tendency has been to connect the object of הַשָּׁמַיִם with something other than David's repentance in vv.16–17. Jon Douglas Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 180–182, observes that Jewish midrash draws a connection with the aqedah or the binding of Isaac (cf. Derek R. G. Beattie and J. Stanley McIvor, *The Targum of Ruth and the Targum of Chronicles: Introduction, Apparatus, and Notes* [ArBib; Colledgeville: Liturgical Press, 1994], 116).

reveals the primacy of his fealty to Yahweh to the extent that he would even countermand an order of his king. Joab, as prophetic spokesperson, warns his king of the guilt he will bring upon Israel and then when his king does not listen, he still acts to protect at least Levi and Benjamin from that guilt. In protecting Levi, he protects Yahweh's (and the Chr's) chosen priesthood. The preference he shows towards both these tribes evinces again how the Chr closely connects the heightened role of Joab with his ideology of Jerusalem. Joab went up to Jerusalem, restored the city (1 Chr 11:8), he defended it (1 Chr 19:7–15), and in 21:6 he acts to protect it from complicity in the sin of David. In the census narrative, the Chr culminates a distinctive portrait of Joab that stands in remarkable contrast with the Dtr.

The Chr's Joab

In all three pericopes in which Joab appears in Chronicles, he is presented favourably and without flaws. He is heroic, sensitive to Israel's cult, and a significant character in Israel's storied past. Each of the pericopes also contributes to a portrait that reveals a unique relationship between Joab and Jerusalem. Joab is the conqueror (11:6), builder (11:8), defender (19:13), and protector (21:6, 15) of the city. At the same time, the Chr's portrait of Joab lacks the rich characterization and complexity of the Dtr's Joab. The Dtr's Joab is at one time a loyal servant to David but at the same time in constant struggle with him. There is a constant tension in the Dtr between David and Joab. There is a sense that David's power depends on the loyalty, shrewdness, and perspicacity of Joab. Yet, David loathes the ruthlessness and autonomy with which Joab asserts and defends that power. Indeed, Joab murders rivals, Amasa and Abner, and executes the king's own son, Absalom. He also finally and fatally supports Adonijah's claim to succession over against Solomon. D.G. Schley observes:

The old king's deathbed order to Solomon—to bring Joab down to the grave 'with blood'—was David's final revenge on the man he could never control and his final move to secure the throne for Solomon. The evidence of Joab's value to David's administration, however, can be seen in the fate of Solomon's kingdom: the military under Benaiah's command was unable to preserve David's conquests, and consequently, the empire fell apart during Solomon's later years. . . . Despite Joab's tragic end, he had rendered David indispensable, if bitter, service. . . .

David provided Solomon with a loyal servant in Benaiah, but never again would one be found to serve the Davidic throne who had the strength to defy an errant royal will when necessary, yet who would not covet the throne for himself.⁴⁹

This multi-faceted portrait has no parallel in Chronicles. Even so, the Chr does share with the Dtr a recognition of Joab's enormous value to the Davidic throne and in some respects builds upon it.

A cursory observation might suggest that this idealized portrait of Joab is only a reflection of the Chr's overall *Tendenz* to idealize David and his officers. This conclusion, however, would fail to account for the most striking tendency of the Chr's portrait of Joab, which is that Joab's prominence comes at the expense of enhancing David's glory. In the conquest of Jerusalem, Joab draws attention from David with an heroic exploit. He is made chief of the army, which according to 1 Chr 11:2 is the position held by David under Saul and ironically one of the reasons Israel accedes to David's rule. Along with the mention of "all Israel" in v.4 (cf. 2 Sam 5:6), this denies David the more or less exclusive credit the Samuel text assigns him. Though it is still David who captures the "stronghold of Zion" and becomes "greater and greater," David's greatness now rests on not only the presence of Yahweh Sabaoth but also on the explicit agency of Joab, the new chief and commander of the army (11:5, 9).⁵⁰ Subsequently, David builds the Millo; Joab rebuilds the rest of the city. In the Ammonite-Aramean wars, Joab turns a sure defeat, possibly stemming from David sending him into battle precipitously (19:8), into a victory in defense of the cities of God. When it comes time to launch a major offensive against Ammon the next spring, David remains in Jerusalem while Joab conquers Rabbah. In the census narrative, Joab is the prophetic spokesperson, who warns David against taking the census. David's obstinacy, however, causes a plague throughout all Israel; only Joab's decision not to number Levi and Benjamin spares the inhabitants of Jerusalem of any guilt or complicity in the census, thereby saving them from destruction at the hand of the angel of the Lord. While these observations might be overstated, there can be little doubt the portrait of Joab encroaches upon a program of glorifying David and as such may point to a wider ideological purpose for the Chr.

⁴⁹ "Joab and David," 103.

⁵⁰ It is also worth noting that the Chr does not report that David named the city after himself as in 2 Sam 5:9 but instead it comes to be called the city of David as a result of his occupation (1 Chr 11:7).

Although the Chr's Joab draws glory or at least prestige away from David, his character and actions do redound positively to the Davidic house in a more general sense. In the Judahite genealogy (1 Chr 2:3–4:23), the Chr lists Joab as David's nephew and a member of the Davidic house; he is one of the three sons of David's sister Zeruah (1 Chr 2:16; cf. 2 Sam 17:25).⁵¹ In contrast to the Dtr, the Chr declares that not only David but also his father's house and the house of Judah are chosen:

ויבחר יהוה אלהי ישראל בי מכל בית-אבי לתיות למלך על-ישראל לעולם

כי ביהודה בחר לגניד ובבית יהודה בית אבי (1 Chr 28:4a)

Japhet writes, "The course of events in Samuel, including the story in 1 Samuel 16, makes it clear that it was David, and David alone, who was chosen by God . . . In Chronicles, choosing Judah and the house of Jesse has meaning in and of itself."⁵² Joab, therefore, is a member of a chosen house. Understood within this context, it is clear why the Chr is willing to attribute activities to Joab normally reserved for Davidic kings. In comparison with Sumerian and Assyrian king lists, Knoppers reveals that "there is a relative dearth of titles, epithets, explanations, and anecdotes in the Davidic genealogy" and so "the genealogy does not privilege Davidides who became monarchs over against those later Davidides who did not."⁵³ The Chr reveals an interest in anyone whose heritage is connected with the house of David. By joining Joab to that house, the Chr is motivated to present a portrait of Joab consistent with his view of the Davidic dynasty, which especially during the unified monarchy is predominantly positive.

The portrait of Joab also points to the fact that the Chr is not only concerned to recast individuals but to recast the entire nation of Israel. If David was the Chr's primary concern, there

⁵¹ As a result of his death at the hands of Abner before the reign of David begins (2 Sam 2:18–32), Asahel obviously does not figure prominently in Chronicles. Nevertheless, he is named among the mighty men (1 Chr 11:26) and oddly the Chr does mention Asahel as a commander of the army in 1 Chr 27:7 in a list purportedly describing the organization of the army after David has become king (1 Chr 27:1). Abishai is mentioned in the list of mighty men (1 Chr 11:20) as well as the Ammonite-Aramean conflict (1 Chr 19:11, 15). In addition, the Chr makes a significant change to his *Vorlage* affecting the character of Abishai; he gives him credit for slaying 18,000 Edomites in the Valley of Salt (1 Chr 18:12), which the Dtr ascribes to David (2 Sam 8:13; cf. 1 Kgs 11:15–16) and the superscription of Psalm 60 ascribes to Joab (though in this latter case the number is 12,000). So, although the Chr contains no sustained narrative about Asahel and Abishai, he has made redactional changes or additions to add to their accomplishments.

⁵² *Ideology*, 447, 449.

⁵³ "The Davidic Genealogy: Some Contextual Considerations from the Ancient Mediterranean World," *Transeu* 22 (2001): 45–46.

are many things that could still have been omitted or altered to enhance the image of David. Yet, as Knoppers argues, the Chr has chosen his narratives not simply to make David praiseworthy but make all Israel praiseworthy.⁵⁴ Moreover, the Chr is particularly concerned to recast the period of the unified monarchy as simply that, a period of unity within the history of Israel, a “normative age.”⁵⁵ Joab, as member of the Davidic house (1 Chr 2:16), the leading general during David’s reign (1 Chr 11:6, 18:15, 19:8–15, 20:1, 21:2, 27:34) and a contributor to the Temple (1 Chr 26:28), is drawn in terms consistent with that *Tendenz*. Furthermore, the Chr employs him as paradigm of initiative, courage, and faith; he stands characteristically but also distinctively in Israel’s celebrated age.

⁵⁴ *I Chronicles*, 673.

⁵⁵ Knoppers, *I Chronicles*, 675.

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