

DANIEL PROKOP

The Pillars of the
First Temple
(1 Kgs 7,15–22)

Forschungen
zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe
116

Mohr Siebeck

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Daniel Prokop

The Pillars of the First Temple (1 Kgs 7,15–22)

A Study from Ancient Near Eastern, Biblical,
Archaeological, and Iconographic Perspectives

Mohr Siebeck

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Rome, 2019

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Abbreviations

ÄAT	Ägypten und Altes Testament
AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	D.N. Freedman (ed.), <i>The Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> (New York 1992) I–VI
AcBib	Academia Biblica
ADPV	Abhandlungen des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins
AEL	E.W. Lane, <i>An Arabic-English Lexicon</i> (London 1863–1893) I–II
Aeth	Ethiopic version
AfO	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AH	Aegyptiaca Helvetica
AHw	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Wiesbaden ² 1985)
AIL	Ancient Israel and its Literature
AkF	H. Zimmern, <i>Akkadische Fremdwörter als Beweis für Babylonischen Kultureinfluss</i> (Leipzig 1917)
ALS	B.A. Taylor, <i>Analytical Lexicon to the Septuagint</i> (Stuttgart 2009)
ÄKM	Die Ältesten Kulturen des Mittelmeerkreises
ANESSup	Ancient Near Eastern Studies: Supplement Series
ANET	J.B. Pritchard (ed.), <i>Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament</i> (Princeton, NJ ³ 1969)
ANHTM	G. Dalman, <i>Aramäisch-neuhebräisches Handwörterbuch zu Targum, Talmud und Midrasch</i> (Frankfurt am Main 1922)
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series
AOTC	Apollos Old Testament Commentary
ArB	The Aramaic Bible
ARI	A.K. Grayson, <i>Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: Records of the Ancient Near East</i> (Wiesbaden 1972–1976) I–II
Arm	Armenian version
AT	Altsemitische Texte
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
AThANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ÄWb. I	R. Hannig, <i>Ägyptisches Wörterbuch I: Altes Reich und Erste Zwischenzeit</i> (HL 4; KAW 98; Mainz 2003)
ÄWb. II	R. Hannig, <i>Ägyptisches Wörterbuch II: Mittleres Reich und Zweite Zwischenzeit</i> (HL 5; KAW 112; Mainz 2006) I–II
AWSG	H. Wehr, <i>Arabisches Wörterbuch für die Schriftsprache der Gegenwart</i> (Leipzig 1952)
BA	<i>The Biblical Archaeologist</i>
BAH	Bibliothèque Archéologique et Historique
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>

BBB	Bonner Biblische Beiträge
BDB	F. Brown, S.R. Driver, C.A. Briggs, <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Oxford 1907)
BdE	Bibliothèque d'Étude
BE	Biblische Enzyklopädie
BEL	Biblical Encyclopaedia Library
BerO	Berit Olam
BG	Biblische Gestalten
BHH	B. Reicke, L. Rost (eds.), <i>Biblich-Historisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Göttingen 1962–1979) I–IV
BHS	<i>Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia</i>
Bib	<i>Biblica</i>
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblischer Kommentar: Altes Testament
BM	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica
BMB	<i>Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth</i>
BN	<i>Biblische Notizen</i>
Bo	Bohairic version
BSA	<i>Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture</i>
BWAT	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> (Chicago 1956–2011)
<i>CahByrsa</i>	<i>Cahiers de Byrsa</i>
CahRB	Cahiers de la Revue Biblique
CASAE	Cahiers Supplémentaires des Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte
CBC	The Cambridge Bible Commentary
CBQ	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CBSC	Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges
CC	Concordia Commentary
CCOT	Continental Commentaries: Old Testament
CD	W.E. Crum, <i>A Coptic Dictionary</i> (Oxford 1939)
CdE	<i>Chronique d'Égypte</i>
CDME	R.O. Faulkner, <i>Concise Dictionary of Middle Egyptian</i> (Oxford 1962)
CDOG	Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
CEG	J. Černý, <i>Coptic Etymological Dictionary</i> (London – New York – Melbourne 1976)
CEHHL	E.D. Klein, <i>A Comprehensive Etymological Dictionary of the Hebrew Language for Readers of English</i> (Jerusalem 1987)
CHANE	Culture and History of the Ancient Near East
CIS	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum</i>
ConBOT	Coniectanea Biblica: Old Testament
COS	W.W. Hallo (ed.), <i>The Context of Scripture</i> (Leiden 1997–2002) I–IV
CTN	Cuneiform Texts from Nimrud
CUF	Collection des Universités de France
DamF	Damaszener Forschungen
<i>DamM</i>	<i>Damaszener Mitteilungen</i>
DB	F. Vigouroux (ed.), <i>Dictionnaire de la Bible</i> (Paris 1895–1912) I–V
DCH	D.J.A. Clines (ed.), <i>Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> (Sheffield 1993–2012) I–VIII

DEI	L. Secco, <i>Dizionario Egizio-Italiano, Italiano-Egizio</i> (Roma 2011)
DELIC	W. Vycichl, <i>Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Copte</i> (Leuven 1983)
DFIFAO	Documents de fouilles de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale du Caire
DJBA	M. Sokoloff, <i>A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic of the Talmudic and Geonic Periods</i> (DTMT 3; Ramat-Gan – Baltimore – London 2002)
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DMWA	H. Wehr, J.M. Cowan, <i>A Dictionary of Modern Written Arabic</i> (London 1976)
DNWSI	J. Hoftijzer, K. Jongeling, <i>Dictionary of the North-West Semitic Inscriptions</i> (Leiden 1995)
DTMT	Dictionaries of Talmud, Midrash and Targum
DTTML	M. Jastrow, <i>A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature</i> (New York – London 1886–1903) I–II
DZA	Digitalisiertes Zettelarchiv, http://aaew.bbaw.de/tla/servlet/Dzaldx?u=8248&f=0&l=0
EB	T.K. Cheyne, J. Sutherland Black (eds.), <i>Encyclopaedia Biblica: A Critical Dictionary of the Literary, Political and Religious History, The Archaeology, Geography, and Natural History of the Bible</i> (London 1899–1903) I–IV
ECC	The Eerdmans Critical Commentary
EHAT	Exegetisches Handbuch zum Alten Testament
EI	<i>Eretz-Israel</i>
EuZ	Exegese in unserer Zeit
EWEO	K. Lokotsch, <i>Etymologisches Wörterbuch der europäischen Wörter orientalischen Ursprungs</i> (Heidelberg 1927)
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
FAT II	Forschungen zum Alten Testament 2. Reihe
FOTL	The Forms of the Old Testament Literature
FSTh	Friedensauer Schriftenreihe: Reihe A: Theologie
FzB	Forschung zur Bibel
GELS	J. Lust, E. Eynikel, K. Hauspie, <i>Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> (Stuttgart 2003)
GHwb.	R. Hannig, <i>Grosses Handwörterbuch Deutsch-Ägyptisch (2800-950 v. Chr)</i> (KAW 86; Mainz 2000)
GKC	W. Gesenius, E. Kautzsch, <i>Hebräische Grammatik</i> (Leipzig 281909)
GM	<i>Göttinger Miszellen</i>
GMis	Gießener Mischna
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record
HAIHw	W. Gesenius et al., <i>Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament</i> (Berlin 181987–2012) I–VI
HALOT	L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner, <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> (Leiden 2001) I–II
HAT	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament
HCOT	Historical Commentary on the Old Testament
HeBAI	<i>Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel</i>
Hebr.	Hebrew
HL	Hannig-Lexica
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies

HTHKAT	Herders Theologischer Kommentar zum Alten Testament
IAA	Israel Antiquities Authority
IAAR	Israel Antiquities Authority Reports
IAMS	Institute of Archaeology Monograph Series
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society</i>
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies</i>
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
JM	P. Joüon, T. Muraoka, <i>A Grammar of Biblical Hebrew</i> (SB 27; Rome 2006)
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism Supplement Series
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>The Journal of Theological Studies</i>
<i>KAI</i>	H. Donner, W. Röllig, <i>Kanaanäische und aramäische Inschriften</i> (Wiesbaden 1968– ⁵ 2002) I–III
KAW	Kulturgeschichte der Antiken Welt
KEL	Kregel Exegetical Library
KHAT	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament
<i>KHB</i>	W. Westendorf, <i>Koptisches Handwörterbuch</i> (Heidelberg 1965–1977)
LÄ	W. Helck, E. Otto, W. Westendorf (eds.), <i>Lexikon der Ägyptologie</i> (Wiesbaden 1972–1992) I–VII
LCL	Loeb Classic Library
LD	K.R. Lepsius (ed.), <i>Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien</i> (Berlin 1849–1859) I–VI
LHBOTS	Library of Hebrew Bible: Old Testament Studies
<i>LS</i>	C. Brockelman, <i>Lexicon Syriacum</i> (Halle ² 1928)
<i>LSJ</i>	H.G. Liddell et al. (eds.), <i>Greek-English Lexicon</i> (Oxford ⁹ 1996) I–II with revised supplement
<i>LSp</i>	F. Schulthess, <i>Lexicon Syropalaestinum</i> (Berlin 1903)
LXX	Septuagint
LXX ^A	<i>Codex Alexandrinus</i>
LXX ^B	<i>Codex Vaticanus</i>
LXX ^L	Lucianic Text of the Septuagint
MÄS	Münchener Ägyptologische Studien
MM	Mélanges Maspero
MMAF	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de la Mission Archéologique Française du Caire
MIFAO	Mémoires publiés par les Membres de l'Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire
MOS	Mittheilungen aus den Orientalischen Sammlungen
<i>MSL</i>	T. Muraoka, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint</i> (Louvain – Paris – Walpole 2009)
MSPC	Monografie Scientifiche: Patrimonio Culturale
MT	Masoretic Text
<i>Muse</i>	<i>Annual of the Museum of Art and Archaeology University of Missouri Columbia</i>
<i>MUSJ</i>	<i>Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph</i>

MVS	Münchener vorderasiatische Studien
NAC	The New American Commentary
NBE	Nueva Biblia Española
NCBC	The New Cambridge Bible Commentary
NEA	<i>Near Eastern Archaeology</i>
NEAEHL	<i>New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land</i>
NICOT	The New International Commentary on the Old Testament
NIDOTTE	W.A. VanGemeren et al. (eds.), <i>New International Dictionary of Old Testament Theology & Exegesis</i> (Grand Rapids, MI 1997) I–V
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis
OBOS	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis: Sonderband
OBOSA	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis: Series Archaeologica
OG	Old Greek
OL	Old Latin
OLB	Orte und Landschaften der Bibel
ORA	Orientalische Religionen in der Antike
OTL	Old Testament Library
OTM	Oxford Theological Monographs
OTS	<i>Old Testament Studies</i>
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PAT	D.R. Hillers, E. Cussini, <i>Palmyrene Aramaic Texts</i> (Baltimore – London 1996)
PEQ	<i>Palestine Exploration Quarterly</i>
PNAE	<i>The Prosopography of the Neo-Assyrian Empire</i>
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archeologie Orientale</i>
RB	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
RE	A. Pauly, G. Wissowa (eds.), <i>Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft</i> (Stuttgart 1893–1980) I–XXIV (first series), I–X (second series), I–XV (supplement)
RelArt	Religion and the Arts
RGP	<i>Review of General Psychology</i>
RINAP	The Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Period
RSF	<i>Rivista di Studi Fenici</i>
RSO	<i>Rivista degli Studi Orientali</i>
Sa	Saahidic version
SA	<i>Studia Antiqua</i>
SAA	State Archives of Assyria
SAIS	Studies in the Aramaic Interpretation of Scripture
SAO	<i>Studia et Acta Orientalia</i>
SB	Subsidia Biblica
SBL.ANEM	Society of Biblical Literature: Ancient Near Eastern Monographs
SBL.Diss	Society of Biblical Literature: Dissertation Series
SBL.WAWSup	Society of Biblical Literature: Writings from the Ancient World Supplement Series
SBL.SCSS	Society of Biblical Literature: Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series
SBL.SS	Society of Biblical Literature: Semeia Studies
SBOT	The Sacred Books of the Old Testament
SBS	Stuttgarter Bibelstudien
SBTS	Sources for Biblical and Theological Study
SCSt	Septuagint and Cognate Studies Series
SDAIAK	Sonderschriften des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo
SHANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East

SHR	Studies in the History of Religions
SL	M. Sokoloff, <i>A Syriac Lexicon</i> (Winona Lake, IN – Piscataway, NJ 2009)
SPB	Studia Post-Biblica
SRSF	Supplemento alla Rivista di Studi Fenici
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
STDJ	Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah
StR	Storia delle Religioni
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
SVTGG	Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum
TAD	B. Porten, A. Yardeni (eds.), <i>Textbook of Aramaic Documents from Ancient Egypt</i> (Jerusalem 1986–1999) I–IV
TECC	Textos y Estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” de la Biblia Políglota Matritense
TEFSG	Theological Education Fund Study Guide
Tg	Targum
THB	Textual History of the Bible
ThWAT	G.J. Botterweck, H. Ringgren, H.-J. Fabry (eds.), <i>Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament</i> (Stuttgart 1970–1995) I–VIII
TOTC	Tyndale Old Testament Commentaries
TRPOG	Travaux du centre de recherche sur le Porche-Orient et la Grèce antiques
TTC	T&T Clark Study Guides to the Old Testament
TTS	Tutʿankhamūn’s Tomb Series
TUAT	O. Kaiser et al. (eds.), <i>Texte aus der Umwelt des Alten Testaments</i> (Gütersloh 1982–1995) I–III and <i>Ergänzungslieferung</i> (2001)
UP.Diss	University of Pennsylvania: Dissertations
Urk.	K. Sethe et al. (eds.), <i>Urkunden des ägyptischen Altertums</i> (Leipzig – Berlin 1903–1957) I–VIII
UUA	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift
VA	<i>Varia Aegyptiaca</i>
VAT	<i>Vorderasiatische Abteilung Tontafel</i>
VE	<i>Verbum et Ecclesia</i>
VT	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
WA	<i>World Archaeology</i>
WAS	Wiener Alttestamentliche Studien
Wb.	A. Erman, H. Grapow, <i>Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache</i> (Leipzig 1926–1963) I–VII
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WTM	J. Levy, <i>Wörterbuch über die Talmudim und Midraschim</i> (Leipzig 2 ^o 1924; repr. 1963) I–IV
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
ZAW	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentar
ZDMG	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
ZDPV	<i>Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins</i>
ZKTh	<i>Zeitschrift für Katholische Theologie</i>

Chapter 1

Introduction

The columns referred to as Jachin and Boaz are certainly among the most controversial features of the First Temple of Jerusalem.¹ No other component of the temple has stimulated as many attempts at reconstruction or been the object of such repeated imitation and profound interpretation. The twin pillars flanking the entrance to the temple captured the imagination of artists in later periods and found expression in artistic representations such as tapestries and sculptures. J. Fouquet, Raphael and his school and G.L. Bernini, among others, depicted or in some instances actually created columns that were modeled on those of Solomon's Temple.² Although allegorical representations of the First Temple were virtually absent from early Christian art,³ by the thirteenth century CE Solomonic art forms were often found in European churches: in 1225 two monumental columns with the names of Iachim and Booz inscribed on their capitals stood in the cathedral of Würzburg.⁴ Over time, numerous reconstructions of the twin pillars emerged. However, the only evidence of their existence (the biblical descriptions) remained unchanged. These texts are surely among the most complicated in the Hebrew Bible since they are full of textual problems and use a specific architectural terminology.

¹ For the purpose of this study we use some terms synonymously (pillar/column; portico/vestibule/porch; temple/sanctuary), with full realization they are not exactly identical. The terms Palestine/Israel (unless otherwise indicated) refer to a geographical area.

² R.J. Bautch, "Yachin and Boaz in Jerusalem and Rome," *Beauty and the Bible: Toward a Hermeneutics of Biblical Aesthetics* (eds. J.R. Bautch – J.-F. Racine) (SBL.SS 73; Atlanta, GA: SBL Press 2013), 67.

³ S. Ferber, "The Temple of Solomon in Early Christian and Byzantine Art," *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art* (ed. J. Gutmann) (RelArt 3; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for American Academy of Religion 1976), 24.

⁴ W. Cahn, "Solomonic Elements in Romanesque Art," *The Temple of Solomon*, 51.

1.1. The State of Research

Over the years, countless attempts have been made to explain, describe and comprehend the twin pillars flanking the entrance to the First Temple. Their structure, dimensions, placement, elaborate ornamentation and enigmatic names, as well as various kinds of archaeological data have added to the range and complexity of the scholarly discussion. The scientific literature can be divided into four groups.

The first group represents the commentaries on four biblical books: 1–2 Kings, 2 Chronicles and Jeremiah. Particularly significant are the commentaries on First Kings, which contributed significantly to the discussion; these include the work of J.A. Montgomery,⁵ M. Noth,⁶ J. Gray,⁷ E. Würthwein,⁸ M. Cogan,⁹ M.J. Mulder¹⁰ and E.A. Knauf.¹¹ In addition to the commentaries, the pillars are discussed in various studies of the Jerusalem temple. These publications use biblical and extrabiblical literary and archaeological evidence to reconstruct the columns and their meaning. The most important monographs include those of

⁵ J.A. Montgomery, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1951), 167–172.

⁶ M. Noth, *Könige* (BKAT 9/1; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag 1968), 141–155.

⁷ J. Gray, *I & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; London – Philadelphia: Westminster Press 1970), 183–189.

⁸ E. Würthwein, *Das Erste Buch der Könige: Kapitel 1–16* (ATD 11/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1977), 74–77.

⁹ M. Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 10; New York: Yale University Press 2000), 259–273.

¹⁰ M.J. Mulder, *1 Kings* (HCOT; Leuven: Peeters 1998) I, 305–321.

¹¹ E.A. Knauf, *1 Könige 1–14* (HThKAT; Freiburg: Herder 2016), 245–248. Among the older commentaries may be noted those of C.F. Keil, *The Books of Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1872), 97–103; O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Leipzig: S. Hirzel 1873), 97–105; I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige* (KHAT 9; Freiburg – Leipzig – Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1899), 44–47; R. Kittel, W. Nowack, *Die Bücher der Könige* (HAT 1/5; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 1900), 60–63; C.F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Kings, with an Introduction and Appendix* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1903), 84–90; B. Stade, F. Schwally, *The Book of Kings: Critical Edition of the Hebrew Text* (SBOT 9; Leipzig: Hinrichs 1904), 93–94; W.E. Barnes, *The Two Books of the Kings* (CBSC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1908), 58–61; J.R. Lumby, *The First and Second Books of the Kings* (CBSC; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 1909), 70–73; A. Šanda, *Die Bücher der Könige* (EHAT 9; Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung 1911), 171–179; P.N. Schlögl, *Die Bücher der Könige (Drittes und Viertes, Hebr. Erstes und Zweites)* (Vienna: Mayer 1911), 55–58; S.K. Landersdorfer, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Bonn: Peter Hanstein 1927), 50–51; among the more recent ones, those of G. Hentschel, *1 Könige* (Würzburg: Echter Verlag 1984), 50–51; G.H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings: Based on the Revised Standard Version* (NCBC; Grand Rapids, MI – London: Eerdmans 1984) I, 179–183; M.A. Sweeney, *1 & II Kings: A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville, KY – London: Westminster John Knox 2007), 121–122; P. Zamora García, *El Libro de Reyes I: La fuerza de la narración* (NBE; Estella: Verbo Divino 2011), 163–164; S.J. DeVries, *1 Kings* (WBC 12; Nashville: Thomas Nelson 2003), 110–112; V. Fritz, *1 & 2 Kings: A Continental Commentary* (CCOT; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press 2003), 83–84.

P.L.-H. Vincent and P.A.-M. Steve,¹² T.A. Busink¹³ and W. Zwickel.¹⁴ To this group can be added articles that explore the pillars (and the First Temple) from a symbolic point of view.¹⁵ The third group consists of the entries in major encyclopedias that presented new evaluations of the biblical and extrabiblical evidence.¹⁶ Finally, there are comparative studies (mainly in journal articles) that either attempt to explain the pillars by referring to textual¹⁷ and/or archeological data,¹⁸ or explore the pillars from an ideological and symbolic point of

¹² P.L.-H. Vincent, P.A.-M. Steve, *Jérusalem de l'Ancien Testament: Recherches d'archéologie et d'histoire* (Paris: J. Gabalda 1956) II, 405–413.

¹³ T.A. Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem von Salomo bis Herodes: eine archäologisch-historische Studie unter Berücksichtigung des westsemitischen Tempelbaus* (Leiden: Brill 1980) I, 299–321.

¹⁴ W. Zwickel, *Der Salomonische Tempel* (KAW 83; Mainz: Peter Lang 1999), 113–125. See also proposal for the reconstruction of the pillars and the First Temple in Y. Garfinkel, M. Mumcuoglu, *Solomon's Temple and Palace: New Archaeological Discoveries* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society 2016), 185–187.

¹⁵ E. Bloch-Smith, "‘Who Is the King of Glory?’ Solomon's Temple and Its Symbolism," *Scripture and Other Artifacts: Essays on the Bible and Archaeology in Honor of Philip J. King* (eds. M.D. Coogan – J.Ch. Exum – L.E. Stager) (Louisville, KY: Westminster/John Knox Press 1994), 19; W. Zwickel, "Solomon's Temple, Its Cultic Implements and the Historicity of Solomon's Kingdom," *Solomon and Shishak: Current Perspectives from Archaeology, Epigraphy, History and Chronology: Proceedings of the Third BICANE Colloquium Held at Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge 26–27 March, 2011* (eds. P. James – P.G. van der Veen) (Oxford: Archaeopress 2016), 150–151; V.A. Hurowitz, "Yhwh's Exalted House – Aspects of the Design and Symbolism of Solomon's Temple," *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel* (ed. J. Day) (LHBOTS 422; London: T&T Clark 2005), 82–84.

¹⁶ Of particular significance are the articles by T.K. Cheyne, "Jachin and Boaz," *EB* II, 2304–2305; F. Vigouroux, "Colonnes du Temple de Jérusalem," *DB* II, 856–858; C.L. Meyers, "Jachin and Boaz," *ABD* III, 597–598.

¹⁷ W.E. Barnes, "Jachin and Boaz," *JTS* 5/19 (1904): 447–451; M. Görg, "Zur Dekoration der Tempelsäulen," *BN* 13 (1980): 17–21. See also G. Fischer, "Ich mache dich ... zur eisernen Säule (Jer 1,18)," *ZKTh* 116 (1994): 447–450; M. Görg, "Die 'ehernen Säulen' (1 Reg 7,15) und die 'eiserne Säule' (Jer 1,18): Ein Beitrag zur Säulenmetaphorik im Alten Testament," *Prophetie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im alten Israel: Festschrift für Siegfried Herrmann zum 65. Geburtstag* (eds. R. Liwak – S. Wagner) (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer 1991), 134–154; idem, "Jachin und Boaz: Namen und Funktion der beiden Tempelsäulen," idem, *Aegyptiaca-Biblica: Notizen und Beiträge zu den Beziehungen zwischen Ägypten und Israel* (ÄAT 11; Wiesbaden: O. Harrassowitz 1991), 79–98; M.J. Mulder, "Die Bedeutung von Jachin und Boaz in 1 Kön. 7:21 (2 Chr 3,17)," *Tradition and Re-Interpretation in Jewish and Early Christian Literature: Essays in Honour of Jürgen C.H. Lebram* (eds. J.W. van Henten et al.) (SPB 36; Leiden: Brill 1986), 19–26.

¹⁸ W.F. Albright, "Two Cressets from Marisa and the Pillars of Jachin and Boaz," *BASOR* 85 (1942): 18–27 [cf. W.R. Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (New York: Ktav 1889), 468–469]; J. Ouellette, "The Basic Structure of Solomon's Temple and Archaeological Research," *The Temple of Solomon: Archaeological Fact and Medieval Tradition in Christian, Islamic and Jewish Art* (ed. J. Gutmann) (RelArt 3; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press for American Academy of Religion 1976), 7–11; V. Fritz, "Die Kapitelle der Säulen des Salomonischen Tempels," *EI* 23 (1992): 36–42; H.G. May, "The Two Pillars before the Temple of Solomon," *BASOR* 88 (1942): 19–27; W. Kornfeld, "Der Symbolismus der Tempelsäulen," *ZAW* 74/1 (1962): 50–57; J.L. Myres, "King Solomon's Temple and Other Buildings

view, without any reference to specific features or reconstruction of the pillars (especially significant here is the study of C.L. Meyers).¹⁹

Among the voluminous literature dealing with the pillars Jachin and Boaz we discern different tendencies regarding the treatment of the basic literary sources. Those scholars who are mainly concerned with the study of traditions and editorial history of the biblical descriptions find little opportunity to discuss the relevant archaeological evidence. By way of contrast, a scholar like T.A. Busink, who strongly emphasizes the importance of archaeological evidence, fails to offer a penetrating exegesis of the ancient sources.²⁰

The problem is compounded by the fact that many specialists neither take into account the historical development of the biblical texts nor consider possible changes in the columns' appearance. Furthermore, most exegetes focus only on the MT while effectively ignoring the Greek textual witnesses of 3 Kgdms,²¹ which needs substantial exegetical analysis and must then be put into conversation with the MT.

Until now there have not been any monographs dedicated exclusively to the study of the twin pillars. Furthermore, the extrabiblical descriptions of the columns have not been used to attain a better understanding of their descriptions in the biblical texts. The Hebrew and Greek textual witnesses have not yet been compared comprehensively and systematically, and the rich iconographic evidence has not been fully employed in the quest for the meaning of the columns. Thus, there is considerable room for an innovative study in this field.

1.2. Aim and Method

The aim of this thesis is to set the evaluation of the textual sources within a greater and more comprehensive set of approaches necessary for reconstructing the appearance and the meaning of the twin pillars. Thus 1 Kgs 7,15–22

and Works of Art," *PEQ* 80 (1948): 22–29; R.B.Y. Scott, "The Pillars of Jachin and Boaz," *JBL* 58/2 (1939): 143–149; P.L. Garber, "Reconstructing Salomon's Temple," *BA* 14/1 (1951): 8–10; W. Zwickel, "Die Keramikplatte aus Tell Qasile: Gleichzeitig ein Beitrag zur Deutung von Jachin and Boas," *ZDPV* 106/1 (1990): 57–62.

¹⁹ C.L. Meyers, "Jachin and Boaz in Religious and Political Perspective," *CBQ* 45 (1983): 167–178; D. Shapira, "The Significance of the Pillars Jachin and Boaz in the Light of the Israeli Belief During the Time of the United Kingdom Period," *Beit Mikra* 56/2 (2011): 100*–128*.

²⁰ Busink, *Der Tempel von Jerusalem I*, 299–321. See also W.E. Mierse, *Temples and Sanctuaries from the Early Iron Age Levant: Recovery after Collapse* (HACL; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns 2012), 206–208.

²¹ Indeed, 3 Kgdms offers the most serious challenges for anyone who wishes to unravel the textual history [T.M. Law, "How not to Use 3 Reigns: A Plea to Scholars of the Books of Kings," *VT* 61/2 (2011): 280–281; P. Hugo, A. Schenker, "Textual History of Kings," *The Hebrew Bible* (eds. A. Lange – E. Tov) (THB; Leiden – Boston: Brill 2017) 1B, 313–314].

will be examined from various perspectives: extrabiblical, text-critical, redactional and archaeological (especially iconographic). Using multiple approaches we will be able to not only present a more robust picture of the twin pillars but also to examine more appropriately the difficulties in the biblical texts. First, ancient Near Eastern written sources will provide a point of reference for the descriptions of the twin pillars. Next, by comparing biblical sources, we will aim to identify the complex relationship between the various accounts about the columns. Textual and literary criticism will enable us to distinguish different layers within the text and thus provide hints about the oldest parts of the description. Finally, iconographic exegesis, known also as biblical iconography or an iconographic-biblical approach,²² will be especially valuable for understanding the columns and their symbolic meaning.

Taking into consideration iconographic exegesis, which (from the outset of the twenty-first century)²³ has gained a place at the table of well-accepted methods for studying the Hebrew Bible, and appears to be a very promising direction taken in recent biblical scholarship's use of the comparative method. Indeed, ancient visual representations were not only used for decorative purposes, but also had the capacity to convey complex ideas and messages, and thus should be seen as an indispensable resource for studying the religio-political background of the biblical world. This study will link the verbal image of the biblical text with the visual images from the same period and geographical context in order to explain the symbolic meaning of the object as described in 1 Kgs 7,15–22.²⁴ Image interpretation and “traditional” textual exegesis will

²² J.M. LeMon, *Yahweh's Winged Form in the Psalms: Exploring Congruent Iconography and Texts* (OBO 242; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2010), 9. About an iconographic approach to biblical texts see Bonfiglio, *Reading Images, Seeing Texts*; I.J. de Hulster, B.A. Strawn, R.P. Bonifiglio, “Iconographic Exegesis: Method and Practice,” *Iconographic Exegesis of the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: An Introduction to Its Method and Practice* (eds. I.J. de Hulster – B.A. Strawn – R.P. Bonifiglio) (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2015), 19–42; I.J. de Hulster, “Appendix: Practical Resources for Iconographic Exegesis,” *Image, Text, Exegesis: Iconographic Interpretation and the Hebrew Bible* (eds. I.J. de Hulster – J.M. LeMon) (LHBOTS 588; London – New York: Bloomsbury 2014), 285–295; idem, *Iconographic Exegesis and Third Isaiah* (FAT II 36; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 2009), 102–104; O. Keel, *Die Welt der altorientalischen Bildsymbolik und das Alte Testament: Am Beispiel der Psalmen* (Neukirchen-Vluyn – Zurich: Neukirchener Verlag ⁴1984); idem, *Deine Blicke sind Tauben: Zur Metaphorik des Hohen Liedes* (SBS 114/115; Stuttgart: Katholisches Bibelwerk 1984); idem, *Das Hohelied* (ZBK 18; Zurich: Theologischer Verlag 1986); O. Keel, Ch. Uehlinger, *Göttinnen, Götter und Gottessymbole: Neue Erkenntnisse zur Religionsgeschichte Kanaans und Israels aufgrund bislang unerschlossener ikonographischer Quellen* (Freiburg: Academic Press ⁶2010); B.A. Strawn, *What is Stronger than a Lion? Leonine Image and Metaphor in the Hebrew Bible and the Ancient Near East* (OBO 212; Fribourg – Göttingen: Academic Press/Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht 2005).

²³ Bonfiglio, *Reading Images*, 4.

²⁴ An important factor in determining the relevance of images is cultural contiguity. The closer that image and text are thematically, chronologically and geographically, usually the more relevant the image is for shedding light on the text under consideration [de Hulster, “Appendix: Practical Resources,” 285–286].

be conducted separately, before text and image are brought into dialogue as part of iconographic exegesis. The methodological procedure will be as follows: first, we will analyze the textual data relating to a studied element in the entire Hebrew Bible with special attention to the contexts close to our reading. Then (if possible) we will present iconographic evidence, taking into account the geographical and chronological proximity to the original setting of the passage (Iron Age II Levant). After that, we will combine textual data with material culture remains in order to provide the plausible meaning of the feature. On the one hand, this dissertation will reveal some nuances that only a text can preserve and no archaeologist could ever unearth. On the other hand, by employing iconographic exegesis, we will see certain aspects of the cultural, religious and political background of the object that are beyond the realm of written sources.

The particular focus of this study marks it primarily as a contribution to biblical scholarship. We will show: How a comparison with ancient Near Eastern descriptions contributes to the understanding of the pillars; in what way the biblical descriptions of the pillars are connected; what were the most ancient parts and different layers in the text; what was the possible architectural development of the pillars. At the same time, it contributes to the study of the religio-political background of Iron Age II Syria-Palestine and to iconographic exegesis. We will demonstrate how artistic representations provide a window into the cultural, religious and political world that lies behind the text and by what means it helps to understand the symbolic meaning of the described object.

1.3. Overview of Study

We have divided the body of this dissertation into four parts (Chapters 2–5). Chapter 2 investigates the epigraphic evidence from Egypt, Mesopotamia and Syria-Palestine. This chapter will provide a useful background for our study, since it will allow us to see how pillars in those regions were described. It will help to answer the question of the historicity of biblical descriptions: do they have something in common with extrabiblical texts or are they merely “verbal icons”? Since we are dealing with six different descriptions of the twin pillars in the Hebrew Bible, it is necessary to establish the relationship between them. This will be the purpose of Chapter 3. By comparing the biblical accounts, we will argue that 1 Kgs 7,15–22 should be considered the primary source describing the twin pillars. A question that arises is whether the text is preexilic or postexilic, and we will argue in favor of its preexilic date. The next step will be to compare the most important textual witnesses of 1 Kgs 7,15–22. This comparison will provide insight into the narrative development and transmission history of the texts. We will move both backwards and forwards in time – backwards to the earliest inferable textual form, and forwards to the plethora of changes and interpretations that occurred throughout the textual life

of the Hebrew Bible (Chapter 4). Then a solution as to the possible architectural development of the twin pillars will be proposed (synthesis in section 4.4). We will take into account a number of different facts, namely: that the columns were frequently rebuilt (cf. *KAI* 10); that certain details in the descriptions are hardly compatible with each other; and that some verses containing additional building details were added later to the text. The final (and most complicated) step of our investigation will concern the symbolic meaning of the pillars (Chapter 5). How were the columns flanking the entrance to the First Temple understood? This question will be studied *via* iconographic exegesis. Material culture remains will immerse us in the cultural milieu from which the description emerged, offering a unique way to achieve a better understanding of the material, dimensions, names, location and decoration of the pillars.

Chapter 2

Ancient Near Eastern Descriptions

In this chapter we will concentrate on the extrabiblical epigraphic sources that describe columns.¹ This will shed some light on the obscure biblical description of the twin pillars. It will also help to answer the question concerning the historicity of this account. It has sometimes been suggested that the biblical authors/redactors used either an old building inscription or archival records from which they drew some details of the Solomonic temple.² If this is the case, the description of the pillars in 1 Kgs 7,15–22 is derived from the temple archives,³ while 1 Kgs 7,41–42 represents the temple inventories.⁴ This notwithstanding, biblical accounts may equally reflect either a reality contemporary to the time of writing or an ideal to be striven for in that period.⁵ Some scholars go even further, claiming that the text of 1 Kings 6–7 is a “verbal icon” of the temple: “the description is ideological and not a physical description of the structure of the temple.”⁶

The aim of the chapter will be to demonstrate the similarities and differences between the biblical accounts of the twin pillars and the extrabiblical descriptions. This will support the idea that the columns of the First Temple as portrayed in the Bible can hardly be a mere literary invention.

¹ For the purpose of this study I will present translations of the texts, which can be found in appendix (ancient Near Eastern texts a–m). Translations are mine, unless otherwise indicated.

² V. Hurowitz, *I have Built You an Exalted House: Temple Building in the Bible in Light of Mesopotamian and Northwest Semitic Writings* (JSOTSup 115; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press 1992), 224–259, 311–321.

³ O. Eissfeldt, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament: Unter Einschluß der Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen sowie der apokryphen- und pseudepigraphenartigen Qumran-Schriften* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck 1964), 386–387.

⁴ J. van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press 1983), 301.

⁵ Auld maintains that even the earliest detectable sources were not contemporary architectural notes or observations, but rather an ancient (though post-exilic) scholar’s textual deductions [A.G. Auld, *Kings without Privilege: David and Moses in the Story of the Bible’s Kings* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark 1994), 27–28].

⁶ C.M. McCormick, *Palace and Temple: A Study of Architectural and Verbal Icons* (BZAW 313; Berlin: Walter de Gruyter 2002), 119.

2.1. Egyptian Texts

The first thing to note is that in Egyptian there are at least four words that denote a column: *iwꜛn*,⁷ *ꜛ*,⁸ *whꜛ*,⁹ *rmn*,¹⁰ *twꜛ*.¹¹ Besides these, there are other terms that could indicate a hall of columns: *wꜛhꜛj*,¹² *wꜛdj.t*,¹³ *whꜛ*,¹⁴ *rꜛjꜛd*,¹⁵ and a chamber of columns: *iwꜛnj.t*,¹⁶ *hꜛntꜛj*,¹⁷ *sdr.t*.¹⁸ We have also the word *šꜛk*, which describes a part of a pillar (“ring”).¹⁹ It appears among the list of precious items mentioned in the Papyrus Harris I: “one ring for the pillar of Amon” (13a,8).²⁰ Notably, some types of columns were specified in hieroglyphic writing: *nḥbw.t* (lotus style column),²¹ *wꜛꜛd* (papyrus style column).²²

Among the Egyptian documents we do not find a comprehensive description of the pillars. Nevertheless, when the columns are mentioned, there is often some sort of information about them. The table below shows different details as they appear in the Egyptian texts:²³

⁷ *Wb.* I, 53/10; *ÄWb.* I, 58; *ÄWb.* II/I, 143.

⁸ *Wb.* I, 164/10; *ÄWb.* III/I, 481.

⁹ *Wb.* I, 352/12-13; *ÄWb.* I, 369.

¹⁰ *Wb.* II, 420/10; *ÄWb.* II/I, 1473.

¹¹ *Wb.* V, 250/19.

¹² *Wb.* I, 259/12-13; *ÄWb.* II/I, 602.

¹³ *Wb.* I, 269/6-8.

¹⁴ *Wb.* I, 352/17; *ÄWb.* II/I, 602, 724.

¹⁵ *Wb.* II, 401/2-4.

¹⁶ *Wb.* I, 54/2; *ÄWb.* III/I, 144.

¹⁷ *Wb.* III, 307/10; *ÄWb.* I, 958; *ÄWb.* II/II, 1911.

¹⁸ *Wb.* IV, 371/4.

¹⁹ *Wb.* IV, 414/7. It was an ornament in the form of a ring or a metal bracelet adorning the object [J. Černý, *Hieratic Inscriptions from the Tomb of Tut'ankhamūn* (TTS II; Oxford: Griffith Institute 1965), 15, §63; J.J. Janssen, *Commodity Prices from the Ramessid Period* (Leiden: Brill 1975), 308-309; N.Ch. Grimal, *La stèle triomphale de Pi('ankhy) au Musée du Caire JE 48862 et 47086-47089* (MIFAO 105; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1981), 149, n. 456].

²⁰ P. Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I (BM 9999)* (BdE 109; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1994) I, 240.

²¹ *Wb.* II, 294/4; *ÄWb.* I, 642.

²² *Wb.* I, 264/8; *ÄWb.* I, 310; *ÄWb.* II/I, 605.

²³ The same sort of details we find in the texts dated to the postexilic period. See inscription from the temple of Kom Ombos speaking about columns of white rocks in a temple court (court, col. XII) [J. De Morgan et al., *Kom Ombos: Catalogue des monuments et inscriptions de l'Égypte antique* (Vienne: A. Holzhausen 1895) II, 116]; inscriptions from the temple of Horus at Edfu informing about: four golden columns in four corners (east staircase, frieze-text, right side i.e., north inscription, line 7) [E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* (MMAF 11/1; Paris Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1897) I, 554], golden columns (east staircase, terrace door inscription, line 2) [Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* I, 551], thirty-two columns in an open court of the temple (exterior wall, line 8) [E. Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* (MMAF 24; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1932) VII, 18], twelve columns serving as a support (exterior wall, line 3) [Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* VII, 17], eighteen columns (exterior wall, line 12) [Chassinat, *Le Temple d'Edfou* VII, 17].

Inscription	Column(s) specification				
	Number	Material	Colour	Place	Capitals
Amada stele (line 14) and Elephantine stele (line 18) ²⁴	—	Sandstone	—	Around the temple court	—
Tomb inscription from <i>Dêr Rîfeh</i> (Tomb VII, line 33) ²⁵	—	—	Green and Blue	—	—
Papyrus Harris I 46,8-9	—	—	—	—	<i>djed</i> -pillars (<i>ḏdw</i>) and pillars of unknown form (<i>mnwt</i>). ²⁶
Memorial stele of Amosis from Karnak (line 33) ²⁷	—	Cedar	—	—	—
Stele of Harsijotef (line 124) ²⁸	four	—	—	—	—

²⁴ LD III, 65a, 14; M.H. Gauthier, *Les temples immergés de la Nubie: Le Temple d'Amada* (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1913), 22; M.Ch. Kuentz, *Deux Stèles d'Aménophis II (Stèles d'Amada et d'Éléphantine)* (BdE 10; Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1925), 17; J.H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press 1906) II, 312.

²⁵ F.L. Griffith, *The Inscriptions of Siût and Dêr Rîfeh* (London: Trübner & Co. 1889), pl. 19.

²⁶ Grandet, *Le Papyrus Harris I I*, 287; idem, *Le Papyrus Harris I II*, 170, n. 688. See also L.A. Christophe, *Le vocabulaire d'architecture monumentale, d'après le papyrus Harris I* (MIFAO 66; MM 1/4; Le Caire: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale 1961), 26.

²⁷ Urk. IV, 23.

²⁸ Urk. III, 133.

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