

Solomon's Two "Satan" According to Josephus

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Introduction

1 Kgs 11,14-25 features the activities of two figures, Hadad the Edomite and Rezon son of Eliada, both of whom are called a "satan" (RSV adversary) of Solomon. The brevity of this passage leaves one with many unanswered historical questions, while the numerous divergencies between MT and LXX pose a variety of text-critical problems¹. In this essay, I propose to investigate Josephus' portrayal of the two "satanic" personages in *Antiquitates Judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 8.199-204² in comparison with its Biblical source as represented by the following major witnesses: MT (BHS), Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)³ and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or Antiochene MSS⁴ of the LXX and Targum Jonathan on the Former Prophets (hereafter TJ)⁵. My comparison aims to answer two overarching questions: 1) Given the divergences between MT and LXX (BL) 1 Kgs 11,14-25, on which text-form does Josephus depend in *Ant.* 8.199-204? 2) How and why has Josephus changed the data of the source⁶?

¹On 1 Kgs 11,14-25, see, in addition to the commentaries, J. R. BARTLETT, *An Adversary against Solomon, Hadad the Edomite*, ZAW 88, (1976) 205-226; D. V. EDELMAN, *Solomon's Adversaries Hadad, Rezon and Jeroboam: A Trio of "Bad Guy" Characters Illustrating the Theology of Immediate Retribution, The Pitcher is Broken: Memorial Essays for Gösta W. AHLSTRÖM (JSOTSup 90; S. W. HOLLOWAY and L. K. HANDY)*, Sheffield, 1995, 166-91.

²For the text and translation of the works of Josephus I use the edition of H. St. J. THACKERAY, R. MARCUS, A. WIKGREN, and L. H. FELDMAN, *Josephus (LCL)*, Cambridge, MA-London, 1926-1965 (*Ant.* 8.199-204 is found in Vol. V, 678-681 where the translation and notes are by Marcus). I have likewise consulted the text and apparatus of 8.199-204 in B. NIESE, *Flavii Josephi Opera*, II, Berlin, ²1955, 219-221.

³For B I use: A. E. BROOKE, N. MACLEAN, and H. St. J. THACKERAY, *The Old Testament in Greek, II:II I and II Kings*, Cambridge, 1930.

⁴For L I use: N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS and J. R. BUSTO SAIZ, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, II 1-2 Reyes (TECC 53)*, Madrid, 1992.

⁵For TJ I use the text of A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic II*, Leiden, 1959 and the translation of D. J. HARRINGTON and A. J. SADARINI, *Targum Jonathan on the Former Prophets (The Aramaic Bible 10)*, Wilmington, DE, 1987.

⁶With this question I have in view those elements shared by the various witnesses for 1 Kgs 11,14-25 which Josephus adapts in some way.

1 Kgs 11,14a directly appends its notice on God's arousal of Solomon's first opponent, Hadad, to the conclusion of the divine word of condemnation upon the king as reported in 11,11-13 (// Ant. 8.197-198). Between these two items, Josephus (8.199a) inserts a reference, peculiar to himself, about the impact of God's address upon Solomon: "when Solomon heard this, he was grieved and sorely troubled at the thought that almost all the good things for which he was envied were changing for the worse"⁷. He likewise expands (8.199b) on the content of 11,14a itself by way of both a transitional "preface" and an "afterword": "nor did a long time elapse after the prophet's announcement⁸ to him of what was coming, but immediately⁹ God¹⁰ set up (ἤγειρεν = BL) an enemy (πολέμιον)¹¹ against him, named Aderos ("Ἀδερὸν)¹², who had the following reason for enmity (ἐχθρας)¹³".

The second half of 1 Kgs 11,14 (MT) provides an additional detail concerning the figure of Hadad introduced in v. a, i. e. his being from the "seed of the king in Edom". BL, by contrast, present their equivalent to this item ("from the seed of the kingship in Idoumaia") only after an extended interlude comprising a parallel to MT 11,23-25aa (the Rezon story) which they situate between the two halves of MT 11,14. Josephus (8.200) in this instance aligns himself with the MT sequence, he too reserving mention of Rezon till the conclusion of the Hadad/Aderos story (see 8.204). At the same time, however, he works into his rendition of 11,14b (MT) an element

⁷For Josephus' overall treatment of Solomon, see: L. H. FELDMAN, *Josephus as an Apologist to the Greco-Roman World: His Portrait of Solomon, Aspects of Religious Propaganda in Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. E. SCHÜSSLER FIORENZA), Notre Dame, 1976, 69-88.

⁸In 1 Kgs 11,11-13 God speaks directly to Solomon. Josephus' above reference to the "prophet's announcement" picks up on his own earlier presentation in which Solomon is addressed rather by "a prophet sent by God" (see 8.197). On Josephus' penchant for introducing explicit mentions of "prophets" and "prophecy" where the Bible lacks such, see L. H. FELDMAN, *Prophets and Prophecy in Josephus*, JTS 41 (1990) 386-422, pp. 387-394. (The rabbinic tradition of *S. 'Olam Rab.* 20 agrees with Josephus in making the speaker of the words of 1 Kgs 11,11-13 a "prophet" to whom it, unlike Josephus, also gives a name, i. e. Ahijah the Shilonite).

⁹The above formulation goes beyond the Bible in underscoring the promptness ("nor did a long time elapse", "immediately") with which God began acting on his word of judgment upon Solomon. I italicize elements of Josephus' presentation like this which lack a parallel in the source as such (as also Biblical items to which Josephus has no counterpart).

¹⁰1 Kgs 11,14 reads "the Lord" (BL Κύριος). On Josephus' tendency to avoid the Biblical use of "Lord" as a divine title - a "non-Greek" usage - see C. T. BEGG, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (AJ 8,212-420) (BETL 108), Leuven, 1993, 45, n. 218 and the literature cited there.

¹¹This is Josephus' substitution for the term found in MT 1 Kgs 11,14 and transliterated in BL, i. e. "satan". Josephus never uses the Greek form of this Hebrew word, whether in relation to humans or to a malevolent supernatural figure, see A. SCHLATTER, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht von Josephus* (BFCT 2,26), Gütersloh, 1932, 36.

¹²This is the reading of the *editio princeps* which Niese and Marcus follow in place of the varying forms of the name found in the codices of Ant. Compare MT מַדְיָן, BL 'Αδερ. As will be noted, Josephus' form of the name as given above stands closer to that of BL than to MT's.

¹³With the above "appendix" to 1 Kgs 11,14, Josephus spells out the logical nexus between his following account of the earlier treatment of Hadad's people by David and the fact of Hadad's being an "opponent" of David's son as mentioned in 11,14.

"anticipated" from the end of 11,17, i. e. the fact of Hadad's being still "a child" at the time of the Israelite devastation of Edom and his own resultant flight to Egypt as described in 11,15-17a. The historian's "conflation" of 11,14b and 17b reads thus: "He was a child (παῖς, BL 11,17b παιδαριον μικρον) of royal lineage (ἐκ βασιλικῶν σπερματων, BL ἐκ τοῦ σπέρματος τῆς βασιλείας)¹⁴ of Idumean race (Ἰδουμαῖος γένος, compare ὁ Ἰδουμαῖος, BL 11,14b) when...".

The background to Hadad's flight (and subsequent enmity to Solomon) is related—rather circumstantially and repetitiously (e. g., Joab's killing of all the Edomites is mentioned twice) in 11,15-16¹⁵. Here as well, MT and BL go their own ways in a whole series of details¹⁶. Josephus simplifies: "(Aderos was a child when) Joab (Ἰωάβου)¹⁷, David's commander (στρατηγού, BL 11,15 τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς στρατιᾶς) subdued (καταστρεψαμένου) Idumea¹⁸ and within six months destroyed (διαφθείραντος, BL 11,16 ἐξωλέθρυνσεν) all those who were of fighting age and able to bear arms¹⁹".

The source story continues (11,17-18) with a rather circumstantial account of Hadad's flight to Egypt and initial reception there, MT and LXX once again diverging in details²⁰. Josephus, here

¹⁴ The phrase "of the royal seed(s)" occurs only here in Josephus.

¹⁵ This account, in turn, looks back the narrative of David's conquest of Edom in 2Sam 8,13-14 (// 1Chron 18,12-13 // Ant. 7.109), cf. Ps 60,1.

¹⁶ On these differences, see BHS and the commentaries.

¹⁷ This is the declined form of the general name's, i. e. "Joab" as found in both MT and BL.

¹⁸ The above is Josephus' generalizing replacement for the wording of 11,15a, i. e. "For when David was in Edom (so MT; BL was exterminating [ἐν τῷ ἐξολοθρεύσειν (L) / ἐξολοθρεῦσαι (B)]) and Joab the commander went up (MT, BL went) to bury the slain". Josephus' version, which leaves aside the source's mention of David's presence in (so MT) / extermination of (so BL) Edom, is in accord with his own earlier presentation in 7.109 where David does not personally conduct the campaign against Edom (see the paragraph's opening formula "now it was not only when he himself [David] fought and led the army that God granted him victory and success, but..."). On the other hand, in that previous text Israel's triumph over Edom is ascribed, not to Joab, as here in 8.200, but rather to his brother, Abishai, this attribution corresponding to 1Chron 18,12 (compare the parallel text, 2Sam 8,13, where it is David himself who subdues Edom). Such discordances between one context of Ant. and another are understandable given the long period of time it took Josephus to compose the work (L. H. FELDMAN, Josephus' Portrait of Saul, HUCA 53 [1982] 45-99, p. 97 estimates that he labored on it for "at least a dozen years (79/81-93-94)") as well as the fact that he was working with (Biblical) sources which differed among themselves regarding the Israelite campaign against Edom in the time of David.

Josephus' formulation likewise eliminates the seemingly irrelevant (and obscure) source detail about Joab's "burying the (whose?) slain", substituting an explicit statement concerning the more salient point, i. e. Joab's actual "subjugation" of Edom—a matter that is left merely implicit in 1 Kgs 11,15-16.

¹⁹ This notice represents Josephus' shortened and adapted version of the repetitive sequence of 11,15b-16: "he (Joab) slew every male in Edom (for Joab and all Israel remained there six months, until he had cut off every male in Edom)". In comparing Josephus' rendition with that of the source, one notes his "reduction" of the latter's double mention of Joab's extermination of the Edomites to a single one, as well as his omission of the presence of "all Israel" along with Joab in Edom, this last serving, in line with his earlier non-reference to David (compare 11,16a), to keep attention focussed on Joab as the conqueror of Edom. In addition, Josephus modifies the source's reference to Joab's killing all Edomite males, specifying that he only put to death those of an age to bear arms. This modification likely reflects Josephus' sensitivity regarding contemporary claims about Jewish xenophobia (on which see, e. g., L. H. FELDMAN, Josephus' Portrait of Gideon, REJ 152 [1993] 5-29, pp. 14-16). In response to such claims Josephus here endeavors to make clear that Joab's massacre did not extend to the Edomite male infants and young boys, but only to those actually capable of offering resistance to him.

On Josephus' overall, highly ambivalent of Joab, the (sole) conqueror of Edom in his presentation, see: L. H. FELDMAN, Josephus' Portrait of Joab, Estudios Biblicos 51 (1993) 323-351.

²⁰ See BHS and the commentaries for these.

too, compresses particularly for what concerns the flight itself: "and he (Hadad) fled (φυγών, BL 11,17 ἀπέδρα) to Pharaoh, king of Egypt²¹, who received him kindly (φιλοφρόνως)²² and gave (δίδωσι, BL 11,18ββ ἔδωκεν)²³ him a dwelling (οἶκον = BL 11,18) and land (χώραν, L γῆν)²⁴ to sustain him (εἰς διατροφήν)²⁵".

Pharaoh's benefactions to Hadad go still further according to 11,19 which relates the latter's marriage into the Egyptian royal family. Josephus' version appears to confuse the identities of the two women mentioned: "And when he grew up²⁶ Pharaoh loved (ἠγάπα) him so much²⁷ that he gave him in marriage (αὐτῷ δοῦναι πρὸς γάμον, BL ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ γυναῖκα) his own sister's wife (τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναίκος...τῆν ἀδελφῆν, BL [τὴν] ἀδελφὴν τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ)²⁸ named Thaphine (θαφίνην)²⁹".

Hadad's royal marriage eventuates (11,20) in the birth of his son "Genubath" (so MT, BL Γαυηθάθ) who takes his place in Pharaoh's court. Josephus, once again, shortens: "... and by her he had a

²¹The above phrase represents Josephus' highly compressed version of 11,17-18a (MT): "but Hadad fled to Egypt, together with certain Edomites of his father's servants, Hadad being yet a little child [recall that Josephus has "anticipated" the reference to Hadad's age to an earlier point in his own presentation]. They set out from (B + the city of) Midian and came to Paran and they took some men with them and they came to Pharaoh king of Egypt (+ and Ader entered to Pharaoh, BL)". Josephus, it will be observed, eliminates all source material standing between the double mention of an Edomite "move" to Egypt, i. e. vv. 17aβb-18ba. In so doing, he passes over the source's (extraneous) reference to the two "stations" (Midian, Paran) on Hadad's way to Egypt. He likewise keeps attention focussed on Hadad himself by leaving aside the Bible's allusions to his entourage (thereby he plays down the apparent discrepancy between 11,15-16 where all male Edomites are said to have been killed and 11,17-18 which represents Hadad being accompanied to Egypt by a force of some size). Compare his previous "Joab-centered" retelling of 11,15-16 from which he excises mention of both David and "all Israel".

²²This indication has no counterpart in the source as such. Josephus might, however, have readily inferred its content from the Biblical notice (11,18βδ), concerning the benefactions Pharaoh accorded Hadad, see above.

²³Note Josephus' historic present, a form often introduced by him where his Biblical source uses a past form, see BEGG, Josephus' Account, 10-11, n. 32.

²⁴In mentioning the "land" given Hadad by Pharaoh, Josephus goes together with MT and L against B 11,18ββ which lacks that indication.

²⁵This indication concerning the purpose of the land given Hadad takes the place of additional item in the Biblical catalogue of Pharaoh's benefactions in 11,18βδ, i. e. "he assigned him an allowance of food". At the same time, one might view the "substitution" as an kind of adaptation/conflation of the source's (MT, L) mention of two separate royal gifts (a supply of food, land): the land given Hadad was intended to provide him with the requisite food.

²⁶This opening indication has no equivalent in 11,19. It does, however, pick up on the earlier statement of 11,17 (// 8.200) about Hadad being but a "child" at the time of his flight to Egypt. In view of this statement Josephus wishes to make clear here that Pharaoh did not give his sister-in-law in marriage to a mere child, but waited until Ader had come of age.

²⁷Compare 11,19a "and Hadad found great favor (BL χάριν) in the sight of Pharaoh". On Josephus' various words for "love", see SCHLATTER, Theologie, 154.

²⁸Like MT, Josephus has no equivalent to the BL specification that Hadad's wife was "the older" (τῆς [B]/ τῆν [L] μεῖζον) sister of Pharaoh's consort. Conversely, in common with BL, he lacks a parallel to the title MT gives to the latter woman, i. e. הַמַּלְכָּה (RSV "the queen"; compare TJ בלסא). On the differences between MT and LXX here, see the commentaries.

²⁹As MARCUS, Josephus, V, 679, n. c points out, in 1Kgs 11,19 the proper name in question (MT חַפְנִיָּה [cf. חַפְנִיָּה, 11,20]), BL θεχεμίνος) is that of Pharaoh's own wife, not the one he gives to Hadad. Josephus' misconstrual of the matter is understandable given the fact that in the source the name appears immediately after the (second occurrence of the) term "sister" referring to the wife given Hadad by Pharaoh such that one might suppose that the name to be, in fact, that of this sister, rather than of the queen herself. In any event, Josephus' form of the woman's name (θαφίνην) stands closer to the חַפְנִיָּה of MT than to the θεχεμίνος of BL.

son³⁰, who was brought up together with (συνανετρέφθη)³¹ the children of the king (τοῦ βασιλέως παισί, BL υἱῶν Φαραώ)³².

The Biblical story takes a new turn in 11,21 with Hadad "hearing" of the deaths of David and Joab and so asking Pharaoh's leave to return to his own country. Josephus' rendition (8.202a) transposes Hadad's word into indirect address³³: "Now when Aderos heard in Egypt of the death of both David and Joab³⁴ he went to Pharaoh and asked him permission to go to his native country (βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα)³⁵". Pharaoh's response as related in 11,22a involves a question about what Hadad has lacked with him that he should now want to leave. Again switching to indirect discourse, Josephus (8.202b) - for once-amplifies: "But the king inquired (11,22a "and Pharaoh said to him [BL to Ader]...") what he lacked (τίνος ἐνδεής, 11,22a "what have you lacked (BL τι...ἐλαττωμένη) or what had befallen him (τί παθόν)³⁶ that he was now anxious (ἐσπούδακε) to leave (καταλιπεῖν) him³⁷".

1Kgs 11,22b mentions Hadad's persistence in the face of Pharaoh's refusal, though not, however, the latter's reaction to these continued importunities. Josephus both amplifies the appeal and supplies a notice on the Egyptian's (initial) response: "and, although Aderos frequently (πολλάκις) pressed (ἐνοχλῶν) and pleaded (παρκαλῶν) with him³⁸, he did not at that time obtain his release³⁹".

³⁰ Josephus' omission of the child's proper name perhaps reflects the fact that he will have no significance for the continuation of the story. Elsewhere too, Josephus frequently spares his Gentile readers the strange-sounding names of minor Biblical characters.

³¹ NIESE reads συνετρέφθη with the codices RO here. Josephus' use of this verb seems to reflect the reading of BL 11,20ba which states that "Thekemeina brought him (Ganebath) up (ἐξέθρεψεν) in the midst of the sons of Pharaoh" as opposed to MT where she rather "weans" (τρέφει) him.

³² Compare the repetitive sequence of 11,20b "Tahpenes weaned (so MT, BL raised) him in Pharaoh's house (so MT, BL in the midst of the sons of Pharaoh) and Genubath was in the house of Pharaoh (so MT, > BL) in the midst of the sons of Pharaoh".

³³ On Josephus' very frequent replacement of Biblical direct with indirect address, see BEGG, Josephus' Account, 12-13, n. 38.

³⁴ This formulation conflates the source's separate mentions of the demise of David ("he slept with his fathers") and Joab ("he was dead"). Josephus likewise leaves aside its renewed (see 11,15) designation of Joab as "commander of the army". In *Ecccl. Rab.* 7.1.4 various explanations are cited as to why the Bible uses different expressions in reference to the two deaths.

³⁵ Compare Hadad's word as cited in 11,21 "Let me depart, that I may go to my own country (BL καὶ ἀνασπέρσω εἰς τὴν γῆν μου)".

³⁶ This added question which Josephus attributes to Pharaoh serves to reinforce the historian's earlier emphasis (see on 8,201) on the king's "kindly reception" of the refugee.

³⁷ Compare 11,22b "... that you are now seeking to go to your own country". Josephus' formulation underscores the aggrieved feelings of Pharaoh who, after his own good treatment of Hadad, now finds the latter "eager to leave him".

³⁸ Josephus' formulation underscores the persistency of Hadad's appeal in contrast to 11,22b ("And he said to him, 'Only let me go'") which seems to refer to a one-time initiative on his part.

At this point in the flow of the narrative the textual witnesses diverge sharply. MT abruptly breaks off its account of Hadad with mention of his renewed importunings (11,22b) in order to begin its presentation of a new figure, i. e. Rezon (11,23). BL, on the contrary, round off the report of the Hadad-Pharaoh exchange with a notice on its eventual outcome, see their plus at the end of 11,22: "and Ader returned to his land". Josephus' version clearly aligns itself with the BL text in this instance. At the same time, however, the historian prefaces (8.203) his parallel to the justcited BL plus with an expansive transitional phrase of his own devising: "But at the time when things were already beginning to go ill (τὰ πράγματα κακῶς ἔχειν)⁴⁰ for Solomon because of the unlawful acts (παρανομίας)⁴¹ we have mentioned and God's anger (διὰ...τὴν οργὴν... τοῦ θεοῦ)⁴² on their account⁴³, Pharao gave his consent (συγχωρήσαντος)⁴⁴ and Aderos came (ἦκεν, BL 11,22 ἀνέστρεψεν) to Idumea (BL εἰς τὴν γῆν αὐτοῦ)⁴⁵".

Josephus follows his expanded version of the BL plus from the end of 11,22 with an equally lengthy notice that, as such, is without parallel in either MT or BL. The notice does, however, seem to have in view the MT (and TJ) reading which now stands at the end of its 11,25, i. e. "and he (Hadad) reigned over Syria (σῤα)⁴⁶". This MT indication is, of course, rather surprising, in

³⁹This phrase lacks a counterpart in the source whose lacuna concerning the (non-)effect of Hadad's urgings upon Pharaoh it fills. Its specification "at that time" has in view the continuation of Josephus' account where Pharaoh does subsequently grant permission, see above.

⁴⁰Note the echo here of 8.199a where Solomon is said to be grieved that "almost all the good things for which he was envied were changing for the worse (πάντα...εἰς μεταβολὴν ἐρχομένων πονηράν)". With the above indication Josephus intimates as well a "political" motivation for Pharaoh's eventually relenting and allowing Aderos to return to his homeland, i. e. the emerging weakening of Solomon's position which would allow Pharaoh to unleash a potential rebel against him in this way with impunity.

⁴¹This term echoes the prophetic word to Solomon as cited in 8.197 "his (Solomon's) unlawful acts (παρανομίᾳ) had not escaped Him (God)...".

⁴²This phrase might be seen as Josephus' "delayed" utilization of the wording of 1 Kgs 11,9 "and the Lord was angry (BL ὀργισθῆ) with Solomon" to which he was no equivalent in his rendering of 11,1-13 in 8.190-198 as such. On *Ant.* 8.190-198(199a), see C. T. BEGG, Solomon's Apostasy (1Kgs 11,1-13) According to Josephus (forthcoming in JSJ). On Josephus' terminology for divine "wrath", see SCHLATTER, Theologie, 39-40.

⁴³The above phrase serves to underscore the connection between Josephus' Hadad story (8.199b-204) and his previous account of Solomon's apostasy and God's response to this (8.190-199a) such that Hadad's eventual (being allowed to) return to Edom appears to have its ultimate cause in the divine "anger" at Solomon. In this connection, note the terminological links between the two narratives cited in nn. 40-41.

⁴⁴With this phrase Josephus fills in the narrative gap between the two juxtaposed notices with which BL 11,22 conclude: "and Ader said to him (Pharaoh) 'do let me go', and Ader returned to his land". The historian's insertion spells it out that Hadad's appeals did eventually have their desired effect and that it was with Pharaoh's permission that he left Egypt. As such, the item reflects a concern with upholding royal prerogatives/initiatives which surfaces frequently in Josephus' retelling of the Bible (compare, e. g., *Ant.* 9.379 with its source text, 1Kgs 20,23).

⁴⁵Josephus' specification concerning Hadad's "destination" here serves to remind readers of the latter's homeland (see 8.200). On Josephus' (standardized) use of ἰδουμ(α)ία to designate the country called "Edom" in MT and alternatively "Edom" and "Idumea" in LXX (see, e. g., 3Rgns 11,15), see his statement in 2.3 (Esau was nicknamed Adom [Edom] "...and that was what he called the country; the more dignified name of Idumaea it owes to the Greeks". Cf. C. H. F. DE GEUS, *Idumaea*, JEOL 26 (1979-1980) 53-74, esp. p. 55.

⁴⁶BL read rather "Edom" which reading is adopted by BHS and many commentators.

that one would expect rather a mention of Hadad's kingship over Edom, his homeland according to 11,15; and the place to which Hadad, in fact, returns from Egypt in Josephus' own presentation, see above. The historian apparently did know the problematic reading of MT 11,25. At the same time, however, he takes care to prepare his rendition of that item with the following interjected statement explaining how it was that Aderos ended up in Syria: "And not being able to cause it to revolt from Solomon (ἀποστήσαι τοῦ Σολομώντος)⁴⁷ - for it was occupied by many garrisons (κατείχετο...φρουραῖς πολλαῖς)⁴⁸ and because of them a revolution (νεωτερισμός)⁴⁹ was not a matter of free choice (ἐλεύθερος) nor without peril (ἀδείας), he removed from there [i. e. Idumea] and went to Syria⁵⁰".

Following the above insertion Josephus (8.204a) picks up the thread of the (MT) narrative from 11,23 which speaks of Solomon's other "satan", i. e. Rezon⁵¹. Whereas, however, 11,23 begins, rather abruptly, "God also raised up an adversary to him, Rezon", Josephus replaces this theological indication with one that smoothly dovetails with his immediately preceding reference to Aderos' coming to Syria: "There falling in with a certain person named Razos (Ράζος)⁵², who had run away (ἀποδεδρακοῦσι)⁵³ from his master (δεσποτην, BL κύριον) Adraazaros (Ἀδραάζαρον)⁵⁴, the king of Sophene (Σωφηνῆς)⁵⁵". The presentation of Rezon's activities proceeds in 11,24 where MT reads "and he gathered (BL has the plural, there gathered) men about him and he became leader of a maurading band after the slaughter by David (> BL); and they went to (BL he captured) Damascus

⁴⁷This phrase will be echoed in *Ant.* 8.209 (cf. 1Kgs 11,26-27) where Josephus speaks of Jeroboam's "attempting to persuade the people to turn away from Solomon (ἀφίστασθαί Σολομώντος)..."

⁴⁸This explanation of Aderos' inability to foment rebellion against Solomon even in his own country harks back to Josephus' notice on David's subjugation of Edom in 8.109 (// 2Sam 8,14): "the king then occupied the whole of Idumaea with garrisons (φρουραῖς)..."

⁴⁹Josephus uses this term, as he does other words of the xxx-stem, with clearly negative connotations of the activity of the Jewish rebels in, e. g., *BJ* 2.259; 6.343; *Ant.* 20.113; *Vita* 17. See further nn. 56, 59.

⁵⁰According to MARCUS, Josephus, V, 680, n. b the above sequence has an equivalent in codex Alexandrinus (A) of the LXX. This indication is incorrect, however. In fact, after the plus about Hadad's return to his own country at the end of 11,22 which it shares with BL, A. proceeds immediately to recount the Rezon story of 11,23-24aa (which it, in contrast to BL, situates in its MT position).

⁵¹Recall that in BL he "Rezon section", corresponding to MT 11,23-25aa, stands after 11,14a.

⁵²Compare רז; B Ἐσράμ, L Ἐσράν. On the origin of Josephus' form of the name, compare A. SCHLATTER, Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus (BFCT 16,3), Gütersloh, 1913, 102 and A. SCHALIT; Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus, Leiden, 1968, 100. Josephus omits the name of "Rezon's" father, i. e. Eliada (MT), Ἐλιαδάε (B), Ἐλιαδά (L).

⁵³Josephus' use of this verb corresponds to the reading "(Rezon) fled (ἴκα) from..." of MT 11,23b. BL seem to take the phrase as a designation of Rezon's homeland: τὸν ἐν Ραεμμάερ (B)/ τὸν ἐκ Ραεμμά (L).

⁵⁴Josephus' form of the name is the declined version of the Ἀδραάζαρ of L. Compare MT "Hadadezer", B Ἀδράζαρ.

⁵⁵Compare MT "Zobah", BL Σωβᾶ. Josephus mentioned "Adraazaros king of Sophene" already in 7.99 (//2Sam 8,3), cf. 105 (//2Sam 8,8). The place name "Sophene" figures also in 8.259 (// the BL plus in 1Kgs 14,26). On the form of the name, see SCHLATTER, Namen, 93 who qualifies it as "nach hellenistischem Vorgang" and SCHALIT, Namenwörterbuch, 117 who holds that the form represents a scribal substitution for Josephus' own Σωβᾶ or Σοβᾶ.

and they dwelt (> B, L he dwelt) in it, and they made him king (> B; L he was king) in Damascus". Josephus' rendition (8.204b) continues his earlier linkage of Solomon's two opponents, while likewise focussing attention on Aderos as opposed to Rezon: "... (Rezon) was pillaging (ληστεύοντι)⁵⁶ the country⁵⁷, he (i.e. Aderos) joined forces with (εις φίλιαν...συνάψας)⁵⁸ this man and with a band of robbers (στίφος ληπτικόν)⁵⁹ under him (i. e. Aderos)⁶⁰ went up country (ἀναβαίνει)⁶¹, and taking possession (κατασχών)⁶² of that part of Syria⁶³, was proclaimed (ἀποδείκνυται) king thereof⁶⁴".

1Kgs 11,25 (MT) rounds off the segment concerning Solomon's two opponents by first stating "he (Rezon) was an adversary of Israel all the days of Solomon". It then continues with the syntactically problematic phrase "and the evil which Hadad". BL, for their part, read the first element of the above sequence as part of their "Rezon interlude" in between the two halves of 11,14. Their equivalent to the second MT item follows directly after the plus which they attach to the end of 11,22 ("and Ader returned to his land". see above); they render this more intelligibly as "and this was the evil which Ader did". Both witnesses thereafter come together in speaking of Hadad's ill-will (MT γρη [RSV "he abhorred"], B ἔβαρυθύμησεν, L ἔβαρύθη) towards Israel and of his "reigning over" (so MT)/Edom (BL). Josephus (8.204c), in line with this previous presentation, eliminates all mention of Rezon (compare 11,25α, MT) in order to focus attention on Aderos. In addition, he provides a more specific content to the source's allusions to the "evil done" (so BL) by Hadad and

⁵⁶ This verb (and even more so its various nominal and verbal cognates) is frequently used by Josephus in reference to the activities of the Jewish rebels of his day, see K. H. RENGSTORF, A Complete Concordance to Flavius Josephus III, Leiden, 1979, s. v.

⁵⁷ The above phrase has no equivalent in 11,24 as such. It might, however, be seen as an anticipation of/inference from the reference to Rezon's being head of a "maurading band" in that verse.

⁵⁸ This phrase occurs only here in Josephus; it picks up on the reference to Aderos' "falling in with" Rezon at the beginning of 8.204.

⁵⁹ This phrase is used twice elsewhere by Josephus (BJ 3,450; Vita 21), both times in reference to the Jewish rebels. Note the wordplay with the verb ληστεύοντι employed earlier in 8.204.

⁶⁰ Compare 11,24 where it Rezon himself who is called the "leader of a maurading band" (BL ἄρχων συστρέμματος [B]/ συστρεμμάτων [L]).

⁶¹ Note the historic present, see n. 23. The subject continues to be Aderos; compare MT 11,24 where it is "they" (i. e. Rezon and his band) who "go" to Damascus.

⁶² This verb seems to echo the προκατέλαβeto of BL's version of MT 11,24. There, however, the one who "takes" Damascus is Rezon, not Aderos.

⁶³ This is Josephus' generalization for the "Damascus" of 11,24. The wording is seemingly inspired by that of MT 11,25 (fine) "Hadad reigned over Aram" (= Syria in Greek). See next note.

⁶⁴ With this phrase Josephus finally reaches the item, i. e. Hadad's becoming king of Syria (so MT 11,25bδ) which has inspired his whole preceding development/modification of the source text in 8.203b-204. As a result of that reworking the "contradiction" between MT 11,24b and 25bδ where two different individuals (Rezon and Hadad) are designated as "king" of what might be taken as the same area, i. e. Damascus/Syria is eliminated. Compare 11,24bδ where it is Rezon whom "they" (his robber band) make king in Damascus (so MT; L reads he [Rezon] ruled in Damascus; B lacks an equivalent to the phrase). See previous note.

his "abhorrence" of Israel. He does so by means of the following notice: "and he (Aderos) overran (κατατρέφων) the country of the Israelites, damaging (έποίηε κακώς)⁶⁵ it and plundering it while Solomon was still alive⁶⁶". Having just previously "anticipated" the notice of MT 11,25bβ about Hadad's kingship over "Aram", Josephus does not reproduce that notice at this juncture. In its place he introduces a generalizing closing formula for the account of 8.199b-204 which, has consistently highlighted the role of Aderos vis-à-vis that of Rezon: "Such, then, were the injuries which the Hebrews⁶⁷ were fated to suffer (συνέβαινε πάσχειν)⁶⁸ at the hands of Aderos⁶⁹".

Conclusions

Having now completed my detailed reading of Ant. 8.199-204 in relation to 1Kgs 11,14-25, I wish here to briefly summarize its results with regard to the questions with which this essay began. On the textual question, we have noted points of contact between Josephus' version and both MT and BL which, as pointed out, diverge rather markedly in this passage. In common with MT (see 11,23-25αα) Josephus, e. g., positions his reference to "Rezon" (8.204ab) at the end of the segment, rather than (so BL) already at its opening. Also in agreement with MT 11,25bβ he (8,204b) represents Aderos/Hadad as becoming king of Syria/Aram (compare BL Edom). Josephus likewise aligns himself with MT 11,23 contra BL in mentioning Razos/Rezon's "running away" from his master, see 8.204a. In addition, his forms of the names of Adero's Egyptian wife ("Thaphine", 8.201) and of his fellow opponent against Solomon ("Razos") appear closer to those of MT than to the names as cited in BL. On the other hand, Josephus' name for the segment's protagonist, i. e. "Aderos" is more reminiscent of BL's "Hader" than it is of MT's "Hadad". Moreover, Josephus' explicit mention that Aderos did, in fact, return to his homeland echoes the BL plus at the end of 11,22, just as his reference (8.201) to the "bringing up" rather than the "weaning" (so MT) of Aderos' son in the Egyptian court corresponds to the BL reading in 11,20. Thus, it would appear that Josephus had available texts comparable to those of both MT and BL 1Kgs 11,14-25 in composing his version.

My second opening question concerned the "rewriting techniques" employed by Josephus in 8.199-204. Of these, compression is especially in evidence in his handling of the material of

⁶⁵ Compare BL 11,25 ή κακία ήν έποίησεν. Note too the echo of Josephus' own 8.203 where he refers to things beginning to go ill (κακώς) for Solomon.

⁶⁶ Compare 11,25αα (MT) "all the days of Solomon" where, however, the phrase is used in reference, not to Hadad, but to Rezon, see above.

⁶⁷ Compare "the Israelites" earlier in 8.204. On Josephus' (oscillating) designations for the chosen people at various periods of their history, see A. ARAZY, *The Appellations of the Jews (Judaioi, Hebraioi, Israel) in the Literature from Alexander to Justinian*, Diss. New York University, 1973, 170-181.

⁶⁸ Josephus uses this collocation also in Ant. 5.175; 8.409; 10.276; 12.252; 15.283.

⁶⁹ Such closing formulas are a typical feature of Josephus' retelling of the Bible with its often abrupt transition from one topic to the next; they serve to clearly round off one narrative before the following one (in casu the account of Jeroboam's revolt, 8.205-210/1Kgs 11,26-40) begins. See BEGG, *Josephus' Account*, 280-281, and n. 1831.

11,15-20 in 8.200b-201. Here, Josephus seems to have deliberately set about eliminating/reducing the source's repetitions and excessive detail given the ultimately minor significance of the happenings in question. Thus, e. g., he confines himself to a single mention of Joab's massacre of the Edomite males (8.200, compare 11,15-16), passes over the notice on the general's purpose of "burying the slain" (11,15), and leaves aside the "stations" of Aderos' flight as recorded in 11,18. Similarly, he drops the name of Aderos' Egyptian son (i. e. "Genubath", 11,20a), and cuts out the repetition in 11,20b's notice on his presence in the Egyptian court. In the same line, the roles attributed to such minor characters as David (see 11,15a) and Hadad's entourage (11,17a) are excised so as to highlight those of more significant figures, i. e. Joab and Hadad himself, respectively⁷⁰.

Josephus' version of 1Kgs 11,14-25 also features a range of additions to/expansions of source data, however. These occur, in fact, over the whole course of his rendition. They begin with a Josephan prefatory remark (8.199b) which makes the transition from the story of Solomon's apostasy (8.190-199a) to the following Hadad/Rezon narrative, and make a final appearance with the historian's characteristic closing formula at the end of 8.204. In between the segment's opening and close, Josephus further interjects a sequence concerning Pharaoh's initial rebuff of Aderos' plea and the circumstances of his eventual assent to this (8.203a). Thereafter, in 8.203b and the first words of 8.204, he inserts a still longer piece of Sondergut relating how Aderos came to leave Idumea for Syria and his meeting up with Razos there. On a considerably smaller scale, the specification introduced by Josephus in 8.201 that it was only when Aderos "grew up" that Pharaoh gave him a royal marriage partner (so 11,19) resolves the difficulty that in 11,17b (// 8.200) the groom Hadad/Aderos is spoken of as a mere "child" at the time of his departure for Egypt. Finally, several other minor expansions insist on the good treatment accorded Aderos in Egypt: Pharaoh "receives him kindly" (8.201, compare 11,18) and expatiates on his reproachful question as to what Aderos has lacked in Egypt that he now wants to leave (see 8.202, compare 11,22).

Josephus also modifies source data in a variety of respects. Terminologically, he replaces (8.199b) the mentions of "the Lord" and "satan" (transliterated by BL) in 11,14 with alternative designations, i. e. "God" and "enemy", respectively. On the stylistic level, he thrice substitutes indirect for Biblical direct discourse (see 8.202a, compare 11,21b; 8.202b, compare 11,22 [bis]), just as he twice employs the historic present form so favored by him (see $\delta\acute{\iota}\delta\omicron\sigma\alpha\iota$, 8.201; $\alpha\nu\alpha\beta\alpha\acute{\iota}\nu\epsilon\iota$, 8.204). Still others of Josephus' modifications have a bearing on the story's content, these being inspired by a variety of considerations. Thus, Joab's indiscriminate massacre of all Edomite males is made to appear a militarily justified matter (8.200, compare 11,15-16). Even more noteworthy is Josephus' recasting (8.204) of the notices concerning Rezon in 11,24. Thereby, the leader of the

⁷⁰ Josephus' elimination (see 8.200) of the source reference to David's presence during the Edomite campaign (so MT 11,15a) or actual extermination of the Edomites (so BL) serves other purposes as well: harmonization with the earlier account in 8.109 (//2Sam 8,13) and disassociation of David from all involvement in the Edomite massacre.

"robber band" who occupies a part of Syria and is acclaimed its king is (re-)identified as Aderos. As noted above, the reason for this modification is to resolve the apparent conflict between 11,24b (Rezon becomes king in Damascus) and MT 11,25bβ (Hadad reigns over Aram/Syria)⁷¹. As part of this same highlighting of the figure of Aderos, Josephus likewise (8.204b) spells out the content of that "evil" done by him according to 11,25aβ in terms of his "damaging" the territory of Israel and "plundering" it.

The foregoing review of Josephus' omissions, additions and modifications in 8.199-204 suggest a further question: How does his version of the story of Solomon's two "satans" differ from the Biblical one as a result of his application of these rewriting techniques? Overall, it might be said that the historian's various sorts of changes serve to generate a story that is streamlined, smoother-reading, as well more internally self-consistent (there is but one king of "Syria", i. e. Aderos) and plausible (the "child" Aderos is given a marriage partner only when he has "grown up") in comparison with its Vorlage. Questions left unresolved by the source presentation are resolved: did and under what circumstances did Hadad gain Pharaoh's assent to his return? How did the Edomite Hadad end up as king in Syria (cf. 11,25bβ). In the Josephan version too Rezon is made emphatically subordinate to Aderos, being reduced to a mere confederate in the latter's ascent to kingship, rather a king in his own right⁷². The sensibilities of Gentile readers concerning Joab's apparent massacre even of the Edomite male children (so 11,15-16) are taken into account in Josephus' reformulation of the item (see 8.200). Contrary to his "detheologizing" tendency elsewhere in his retelling of Biblical history⁷³, Josephus does not decrease, but actually somewhat accentuates the divine role in the emergence of Solomon's two enemies. God acts "immediately" to arouse Aderos against him (8.199b, compare 11,14), while Pharaoh's eventual consent to Aderos' return has its ultimate ground in God's "anger" against the king (8.203a, no Biblical parallel as such, although cf. 1Kgs 11,9). Lastly, Josephus' application to Aderos and Razos of terminology he elsewhere employs of the Jewish rebels of his time (see nn. 49,56,59) suggests that he views these figures as prototypes of the former in their rebellion against established authority. Thereby, Josephus contrives to give a contemporary cast to the old source story⁷⁴.

⁷¹It is with this same end in view that Josephus likewise replaces the double mention of "Damascus" in 11,24 (MT and L) with the phrase "(taking possession of) that part of Syria".

⁷²Already in the Bible (both MT and BL) itself, of course, Rezon appears as a parenthetical interlude within the depiction of Hadad. Josephus carries the process of downplaying Rezon's role much further, however, doing so (see above) with a view to eliminating the problem of (MT) 11,24-25 which seems to make both figures "kings" of the same place, i. e. Damascus/Syria.

⁷³On this feature, see L. H. FELDMAN, *Use, Authority, and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Flavius Josephus*, Mikra (CRINT 2,1; ed. M. J. MULDER-H. SYSLING), Assen, 1988, 455-518, pp. 503-507.

⁷⁴Josephus introduces similar terminological links between the Jewish rebels and the third of Solomon's opponents, i. e. Jeroboam in his presentation of that figure which extends over *Ant.* 8.205-286 (//1Kgs 11-14). See L. H. FELDMAN, *Josephus' Portrait of Jeroboam*, AUSS 31 (1993) 29-51, pp. 43-46. By way of such paralleling of earlier and contemporary rebels, Josephus gives expression to his intense disapproval of the refusal to submit to established political (and religious) authority - whenever this happens and whoever may be involved. As FELDMAN further notes, such a stance would surely have met with the approbation of Josephus' Roman patrons, the current world-rulers.

In both the Bible itself and in Josephus the activities of Hadad and Rezon are, ultimately, of very limited significance. Our comparison of the two accounts suggests, nevertheless, that Josephus did read the Biblical story concerning them attentively and deliberately set out to "improve" upon it in the various ways we have identified above. The same could be said of his entire retelling of Scripture's history throughout *Ant.* 1-11⁷⁵.

⁷⁵ On the care and purposefulness with which Josephus, contrary to the claims of some authors, went about his task of retelling the Bible's history for a new time and audience, see the apropos remarks of FELDMAN, Saul, 97-98.