

# Solomon's Post Temple-Dedication

## Initiatives according to Josephus

Christopher Begg

### 1. Introduction

1Kgs 9,15-28 tells of a range of initiatives undertaken by Solomon subsequent to his completion of the temple-palace complex, i.e. his city building, *corvée*, housing arrangements for his wife, the daughter of Pharaoh, cultic measures, and maritime venture. This sequence recurs, with much difference in detail, in 2Chr 8,3-18. This essay will focus on a third, extrabiblical account of Solomon's activities, i.e. that of Josephus in his *Antiquitates judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 8.150-164.<sup>1</sup> More specifically, my study aims to address the following questions: (1) Did Josephus limit himself to one of the above biblical passages or did he draw rather on both of them?; (2) which text-form(s) of 1Kgs 9,15-28 and / or 2Chr 8,3-18 did he utilize?;<sup>2</sup> and finally (3) what rewriting techniques has Josephus applied to the data of his source(s) and what is distinctive about his presentation of Solomon's initiatives as a result of his doing so?

For purposes of my comparison I divide up the segment *Ant.* 8.150-164 into four sections as follows: Solomon's city-building (8.150-154; see 1Kgs 9,15-19 and 2Chr 8,3-6); Excursus on Egyptian matters (8.155-159; no parallel in Kings

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<sup>1</sup> For the text and translation of *Ant.* 8.150-164 I use Marcus, Josephus 652-661. I have likewise consulted the relevant text, translation of and notes on the passage in Nodet, Flavius 46-50 and the annotated translation in Begg, Flavius 41-44.

<sup>2</sup> This question arises particularly given the fact that the key LXX witnesses for 1Kgs 9,15-28, i.e. Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B) and the Antiochene or Lucianic (hereafter L) manuscripts lack this sequence, 9,26-28 excepted, in its MT position. (Qumran evidence for the text of both 1Kgs 9,15-28 and 2Chr 8,3-18 is lacking.) The material in question is not, however, simply absent from the LXX witnesses. Rather, they present its component parts at various points in their narrative of King Solomon, likewise giving a double version of several of those component parts, once in the main text, and again in the so-called "Miscellanies" (3Rgns 2,35<sup>a-o</sup> and 2,46<sup>a-1</sup>). See the convenient presentation of the relevant data in DeVries, 1 Kings lxiii and the discussions concerning the relative originality of the two text-forms in Gooding, Text-Sequence, Schenker, Septante 45-59, and van Keulen, Versions 62-81.181-201 (Gooding and van Keulen hold for the originality of MT, Schenker rather for that of LXX.) For the B text of Kings and Chronicles, see respectively, Brooke / Maclean / Thackeray, I and II Kings and I and II Chronicles; for the L text of Kings and Chronicles see, respectively, Fernández Marcos / Busto Saiz, 1-2 Reyes and 1-2 Crónicas.



or Chronicles); Solomon's *corvée* (8.160-162; see 9,20-23 and 8,7-10); and Solomon's maritime venture (8.163-164; see 9,26-28 and 8,17-18).

Before I turn to my comparison of them, a word should be said concerning the immediate contexts of the materials to be discussed. With respect to the different placement of the notices on Solomon's enterprises in MT and LXX 1 Kings (3 Reigns) (see n. 2), Josephus follows the arrangement of the former witness (and of MT LXX 2 Chronicles 8). In particular, his equivalent to 1Kgs 9,15-28 follows his account of the cities that Solomon gave to King Hiram of Tyre (1Kgs 9,10-14 // *Ant.* 8.141-149;<sup>3</sup> cf. 2Chr 8,1-2<sup>4</sup>). Thereafter, in agreement with both 1Kgs 10,1-13 (MT and LXX) and 2Chr 9,1-12 (MT and LXX), Josephus makes the narrative of the visit of the Queen of Sheba (*Ant.* 8.165-175)<sup>5</sup> the immediate continuation of his version of 1Kgs 9,15-28.

## 2. Solomon's City-building

The MT segment 1Kgs 9,15-19 concerning Solomon's city-building initiatives begins (9,15a) by listing four edifices constructed by him within Jerusalem itself: the temple, the palace, the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem.<sup>6</sup> Josephus' version (8.150) confines itself to the last of these structures,<sup>7</sup> while also markedly expatiating on the summary biblical mention of this:

Now when the king *saw* that the walls of Jerusalem *needed towers and other defences for security* – *for he thought that even the surrounding walls*

<sup>3</sup> Josephus' actual equivalent to 1Kgs 9,10-14 is *Ant.* 8.141-143; to this he appends a long excursus (8.144-149) that cites (purported) extrabiblical testimonies concerning the interaction between Solomon and Hiram.

<sup>4</sup> In 2Chr 8,2 the cities are not (as in Kings and Josephus) those that Solomon gives to Hiram, but rather ones that "Hiram" entrusts to Solomon.

<sup>5</sup> On this text, see Begg, *Visit*.

<sup>6</sup> The LXX BL equivalents to this sequence (which has no equivalent in 2Chr 8) occur in the plus numbered 3Rgns 10,23a; see also the reference to Solomon's building the temple "and the wall of Jerusalem in a circle" in LXX B's 3Rgns 2,35<sup>ka</sup>. In 3Rgns 10,23a the sequence of the third and fourth edifices according to MT 9,15 (the Millo and the wall of Jerusalem) is reversed, while mention of the "citadel" (ἄκρα = MT the Millo) is expanded with the phrase "to fortify the city of David."

<sup>7</sup> The historian's non-mention of Solomon's building of the temple and the palace at this point is understandable since he has already described their construction at length; see *Ant.* 8.61-98,130-140. As for the "Millo" (MT)/ citadel (LXX; see previous note), he might have thought of this as a component of Jerusalem's walls whose erection he is about to relate. Josephus' version of 1Kgs 9,15 (MT) likewise leaves aside its opening reference to the "forced labor" that Solomon used for building purposes – a reference that will be resumed only subsequently in 9,20 (see 8.160).



*should be in keeping with the dignity of the city – he repaired them and raised them higher with great towers.*<sup>8</sup>

1Kgs 9,15 (LXX B 3Rgns 10,23 = 2,35<sup>ia</sup>) concludes with a list of three extra-Jerusalem cities also built by Solomon, i.e. Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer. Josephus (8.151a) prefaces his rendering of the list with a qualification of the three sites that suggests a motivation for Solomon's making them in particular the object of his building endeavors: "*He also built cities which are counted among the most powerful, Asōr, and Magedō, and a third, Gazara ...*" The last of the three cities cited in 9,15 ("Gezer") becomes the focus of a parenthetical notice in MT 9,16-17aa.<sup>9</sup> This notice relates that Pharaoh captured and burned the city, killed its inhabitants, and gave the site as a dowry to his daughter, the wife of Solomon, who himself (re-)built it. The historian elaborates (8.151b-152a) on the notice, appending, e.g., a motivation for its rebuilding by Solomon:

(8. 151b) (Gazara) which had belonged to the country of the Philistines<sup>10</sup> and against which Pharaō had marched, and *after a siege* had taken it by storm and after killing *all* its inhabitants had razed it the ground<sup>11</sup> and then had given it as a gift to his daughter who had been married to Solomon.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>8</sup> The above sequence (in which I italicize – as I do generally throughout this essay – those elements which lack a direct biblical counterpart) is Josephus' elaboration of the summary reference in 9,15a to Solomon's "building the wall of Jerusalem." In *Ant.* 8.21b (// 1Kgs 3,1 [*in fine*]). Josephus has already referred to Solomon's "making the walls of Jerusalem much greater and stronger than they had been before." Perhaps, the wording of 8.150 with its reference to the walls' need of repair and the king's concern that the walls match the dignity of the city – which in the meantime he has endowed with a splendid temple and palace complex –, is meant to provide an answer to the question of why Solomon at this point should, once again, be concerning himself with Jerusalem's walls.

<sup>9</sup> LXX B's equivalent to this notice appears as 3Rgns 4,32-33 (where it is attached to B's rendering [4,31] of MT 1Kgs 3,1, the notice on Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter and his bringing her into the city of David). In LXX L, B's sequence 4,31-33 is numbered 5,1-3.

<sup>10</sup> In MT 9,16 Gezer's inhabitants whom Pharaoh kills are called "Canaanites who dwelt in the city." The LXX B version (3Rgns 4,32) speaks of "the Canaanite who dwelt in Mergab (LXX L in Aroab)." Josephus associates "Gazara" with the Philistines also in *Ant.* 7.77, 301.

<sup>11</sup> In 9,16 Pharaoh "burns" Gezer. The alternative initiative Josephus attributes to him ("razing it to the ground") better prepares the subsequent mention of Solomon's (re-)building the city. Josephus' version likewise reverses the sequence of Pharaoh's actions in 9,16 where he first burns the city and then kills the inhabitants.

<sup>12</sup> Josephus relates this marriage in *Ant.* 8.21a (= MT 1Kgs 3,1).



(8.152a) The king therefore rebuilt it also, *for it was naturally strong and could be useful in war or in times of sudden change.*<sup>13</sup>

Following the parenthesis of 9,16-17a $\alpha$ , the catalogue of cities built by Solomon begun in 9,15 resumes in 9,17a-18a with mention of two further such cities. In MT these are called “Lower Beth-horon” and “Balath.” LXX B 2,35<sup>ib</sup> designates them as “upper Baithōrōn” and “Balaath,”<sup>14</sup> while 2Chr 8,5-6 appears to conflate the readings of both witnesses with its listing of “Upper Beth-horon,” “Lower Beth-horon,” and “Balath.” The biblical texts provide no indication concerning the location of the above sites. Josephus’ rendering (8.152b) fills the gap: “*And not far from it [Gazara, 8.151-152a] he built two other cities, the name of one being Bēthchōra,*<sup>15</sup> while the other was called Baleth.”

The list of named individual cities built by Solomon (1Kgs 9,15b $\beta$ -18) concludes in 1Kgs 9,18b (cf. 2Chr 8,4a) with mention of “Tamar” (MT). Thereafter, 1Kgs 9,19<sup>16</sup> (// 2Chr 8,6a $\beta$ b) sums up the listing with an allusion to the totality of the king’s store-cities, chariot-cities, and cities for his horsemen throughout his domains. Josephus reverses this sequence in 8.153-154. In so doing he gives his modified version of 9,19 in first place in 8.153a: “*In addition to these he built still others, which were conveniently placed for enjoyment and pleasure and were naturally favoured with a mild temperature and seasonable fruits and irrigated with streams of water.*”<sup>17</sup>

As noted above, Josephus “delays” mention of the last of the cities (called “Tamar” in 9:18b *ktiv*) cited in the sequence of 9,15b $\beta$ -18. In addition, however, he uses the alternative name for the city found in the *qere*, the Targum and

<sup>13</sup> Josephus’ above appendix to the notice on Solomon’s rebuilding of Gezer in 9,17a $\alpha$  highlights the military / political prescience that inspires the king’s initiative.

<sup>14</sup> Compare the plus numbered 10,23 in LXX B which speaks of “Baithōram the upper” and “Ieremath” (LXX L 10,23 mentions only the first of these sites).

<sup>15</sup> In confining himself to this name for the first city, Josephus leaves aside the divergent biblical indications as to whether it was the “upper” or “lower” site of this name that Solomon built.

<sup>16</sup> LXX BL’s parallel to MT 9,19 (with which it exhibits a number of differences) appears in the plus that follows MT 10,22 as 3Rgns 10,24a. MT 9,19 has a close parallel in 2Chr 8,6a $\beta$ b.

<sup>17</sup> The above indications concerning the natural advantages of the sites where Solomon built his “other cities” take the place of the specifications concerning the kinds of cities (store-cities, chariot-cities and cities for his horsemen) built by him and the areas (Jerusalem, Lebanon [ $>$  LXX] “and in all the land of his domain” [LXX in all the land in order that there might not be rule over him...]) where he constructed them cited in 1Kgs 9,19.



2Chr 8,4b, i.e. “Tadmor.”<sup>18</sup> In introducing Solomon’s construction of this Syrian site Josephus draws on the *Sondergut* notice of 2Chr 8,3 (Solomon goes to “Hamath-zobah” and takes it), rendering this (8.153b) with the transitional phrase “He also advanced into the desert<sup>19</sup> of Upper Syria and, having taken possession of it ...”

Thereafter, he presents (8.153c-154) a much elaborated version of the reference to the city (“Tadmor”) built in the captured region by Solomon according to 2Chr 8,4a:

(8.153c) ... [Solomon] founded there a very great city at a distance of two days’ journey from Upper Syria and one day’s journey from the Euphrates, while from the great Babylon the distance was a journey of six days. (8.154) Now the reason for founding the city so far from the inhabited parts of Syria was that further down there was no water anywhere in the land and that only in this place were springs and wells to be found.<sup>20</sup> And so, when he built the city and surrounded it with very strong walls,<sup>21</sup> he named it Thadamora, as it is still called by the Syrians, while the Greeks call it Palmyra.<sup>22</sup>

### 3. Excursus on Egyptian Matters

At this point in his reproduction of 1Kgs 9,15-28 (// 2Chr 8,3-18), Josephus interjects an extended interlude (8.155-159),<sup>23</sup> intended to display his know-

<sup>18</sup> LXX B 3Rgns 2,46<sup>i</sup> calls the city “Themai” (θερμαί), LXX L 3Rgns 10,23 (LXX B 10,23 lacks an equivalent) and LXX L 2Chr 8,4 name it “Thodmor” (θοδμόρ), while in LXX B 8,4 the name appears as “Thoedomor” (θοεδομορ). In the Vulgate of both 9,17 and 8,4 the name used is “Palmyra,” a name that Josephus also employs for the site; see below.

<sup>19</sup> Josephus anticipates this indication concerning the character of the region into which Solomon advances from 2Chr 8,4a where “Tadmor” is localized “in the wilderness.”

<sup>20</sup> With this (non-biblical) rationale for Solomon’s constructing “Tadmor” in the isolated site he does, compare Josephus’ previous reference (8.153a) to the construction sites for Solomon’s other cities being “irrigated with streams of water.” In both instances, the Josephan Solomon appears as one who chooses the sites for his cities not haphazardly, but rather with attention to their natural endowments.

<sup>21</sup> 2Chr 8,4 does not mention Solomon’s walling of “Tadmor.” It does, however, refer to “all the store-cities that he built in Hamath” – an initiative not cited by Josephus.

<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere as well Josephus supplies contemporary Greek names for biblical sites; see below on 8.163 and 8.164. As mentioned in n. 18, the Vulgate of 8,18 and 2Chr 8,4 gives the city’s name as “Palmyra,” supplying the same “updating” of the biblical name as does Josephus.

<sup>23</sup> Given that this entire, lengthy segment is Josephus’ own creation, I leave it unitalicized; cf. n. 8.



ledge of things Egyptian that itself reads like an afterthought to the mention of “Pharaō” in 8.151. The interlude opens in 8.155a with a formula that serves as a provisional conclusion to his foregoing account (8.150-154) of Solomon the city-builder: “Such, then, were the activities which King Solomon at that time was carrying on.”

Next in 8.155b, Josephus formulates an elaborate question that he ascribes to potential readers but which seems, in fact, to serve more as a pretext for the display of his own erudition:

Now to those who ask why all the Egyptian kings from Minaias, the builder of Memphis,<sup>24</sup> who lived many years before our<sup>25</sup> forefather Abraham, down to Solomon – an interval of more than one thousand three hundred years<sup>26</sup> – were called Pharaōthai, taking this name from Pharaōthēs, the first king to reign after the period intervening, ...<sup>27</sup>

By way of response to the above question, Josephus goes on (8.155c-156a) to explain the meaning of the title “Pharaoh” and its use as a throne-name by a series of ancient Egyptian rulers:

(8.155c) ... I thought it necessary to explain – in order to dispel their ignorance and make clear the reason for the name – that *Pharaō* in Egyptian signifies “king.” (8.156a) But I believe that from childhood they had other names, and that when they became kings they changed them for that name which in their ancestral tongue signifies their authority.

In support of his above surmise about the use of “Pharaoh” as the shared throne name of the Egyptian kings of old, Josephus thereafter (8.156b-157a) adduces two analogous cases from closer to his own time:

(8.156b) For so also the kings of Alexandria were first called by other names, but when they assumed the kingship, were named Ptolemies after

<sup>24</sup> Josephus will return to this figure at the end of 8.157 in his allusion to Herodotus (from whom he draws the name of the king and his status as builder of Memphis here).

<sup>25</sup> With this possessive form Josephus explicitly identifies himself as a Jew – as he does frequently throughout his writings; see, e.g., 8.159.

<sup>26</sup> In *Ant.* 8.61 Josephus avers that 1,020 years elapsed between Abraham’s coming from Mesopotamia to Canaan and Solomon’s starting work on the temple. Modern scholarship would posit a shorter interval between Abraham and Solomon than does Josephus in either 8.61 or 8.155, i.e. *ca.* 800 years.

<sup>27</sup> As Marcus, *Josephus* V 655, n. 3 points out, the meaning of this chronological indication is unclear. He suggests that it refers to the period before “Minaias,” the Egyptian king cited earlier in 8.155 (on this understanding “Minaias” would be the first Egyptian king to have used the throne name “Pharaōthēs”).



the first king.<sup>28</sup> (8.157a) And the Roman emperors (αὐτοκράτορες)<sup>29</sup> also, who from their birth are known by other names, are called Caesars (Καίσαρες), receiving this title from their princely office and rank, and do not keep the names by which their fathers called them.

Having offered his surmise about the use of “Pharaoh” as an Egyptian throne name, Josephus proceeds (8.157b-158) to apply that surmise to the elucidation of several features of Herodotus’ presentation of Egyptian history:

(8.157b) And I think it was for this reason that Herodotus of Halicarnassus,<sup>30</sup> when he says,<sup>31</sup> that there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Mīnais, who built Memphis,<sup>32</sup> did not mention their names, because they were all in common called Pharaōthai.<sup>33</sup> (8.158) For, after the death of these kings, a woman ruled as queen, and he gives her name as Nikaulē,<sup>34</sup> making it clear that while the male kings could all have the same name, the woman could not share this, and for that reason he mentioned her by the name that naturally belonged to her.<sup>35</sup>

Josephus concludes his excursus (8.155-159) with a series of notices (8.159) that relate his preceding statements there both to the Bible’s usage of the Pharaoh title and the continuation of his own work, and articulate the purpose of his foray into Egyptian history. This concluding complex reads:

<sup>28</sup> The series of kings Ptolemy 1-XI ruled Egypt in the period 323-80 B.C.

<sup>29</sup> This is the Greek equivalent of the Latin title “imperator.”

<sup>30</sup> On Josephus’ allusions (that are both critical and also inaccurate on occasion) to Herodotus, see Begg, Josephus’ 71, n. 421 and Bowley, Josephus’ 210-211.

<sup>31</sup> The reference here is to *Histories* 2.100; see Godley, Herodotus I 386-387.

<sup>32</sup> Josephus introduced this figure and his building of Memphis in 8.155. In *Hist.* 2.99 Herodotus calls him “Min” and reports that he first separated the site of Memphis from the Nile by means of a dam and then built a city there.

<sup>33</sup> In *Hist.* 2.100 (see n. 31) Herodotus states “After him [Min] came three hundred and thirty kings, whose names the priests recited from a papyrus roll.” This formulation suggests, contrary to Josephus’ above claim, that the kings in fact had distinct, individual names. Conversely, Herodotus (2.101) himself suggests an alternative rationale for his not giving the names of the 330 kings, i.e. the fact that none of them, according to his Egyptian priestly informants, did anything of particular note. Moreover, in the continuation of 2.101 Herodotus actually does name one of the 330, i.e. “Moeris,” to whom he attributes an array of building activities.

<sup>34</sup> In *Hist.* 2.100 Herodotus calls her “Nitocris” and does not specify that her reign came after that of the 330 kings.

<sup>35</sup> The above remark, appended by Josephus to Herodotus’ mention of Nitocris / Nikaulē, suggests a reason why Herodotus mentioned her name, even as he omits those of her male counterparts, i.e. the throne name “Pharaoh” was reserved to male kings of Egypt.



And I myself have discovered in the books of our [see n. 25] own country that after the Pharaōthēs who was Solomon’s father-in-law<sup>36</sup> no king of Egypt was ever again called by this name,<sup>37</sup> and that later the aforementioned woman [Nikaulē] as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon. Now about her we shall write very shortly.<sup>38</sup> But I have mentioned these matters at this point in order to make plain that our books in many things agree with those of the Egyptians.<sup>39</sup>

#### 4. Corvée

Following the lengthy excursus of 8.155-159, Josephus in 8.160 resumes his reproduction of the biblical accounts of Solomon’s initiatives. The initiative featured in 1Kgs 9,20-23<sup>40</sup> // 2Chr 8,7-10 // *Ant.* 8.160-162 concerns the king’s labor arrangements, both for his non-Israelite and Israelite subjects.

The biblical notices on the topic begin (9,20-21 // 8,7-8) by listing five<sup>41</sup> pre-Israelite peoples who had continued to live on in the land upon whom Solomon imposed the *corvée*. Josephus’ version (8.160) differs in several

<sup>36</sup> On this figure see *Ant.* 8.21,151.

<sup>37</sup> As Marcus, Josephus V 657, n. e points out, in making this claim Josephus overlooks the fact that, e.g., in 2Kgs 23,29 Necho, the Egyptian king of Josiah’s time, does bear the “Pharaoh” title.

<sup>38</sup> Josephus’ version of the biblical Queen of Sheba story (1Kgs 10,1-10.13 // 2Chr 9,1-9.12) appears in *Ant.* 8.165-175. In making Solomon’s visitor “queen of Egypt and Ethiopia” here in 8.159, Josephus bases himself on the notice of Herodotus in *Hist.* 2.100 that “Nitocris” was an Ethiopian queen of Egypt (18 of whose kings were also Ethiopians) in the period of the 330 monarchs that followed “Min.”

<sup>39</sup> Josephus’ wording here is open to various cavils. In the first place, the purported “agreements” are not with between the Jewish Bible and the Egyptian books as such, but rather between the former and Herodotus’ report about the Egyptians. In addition, it is not clear just what the alleged “agreements” themselves might be: Herodotus does not say that the 300 unnamed kings all bore the title “Pharaoh” (this is Josephus’ own explanation for Herodotus’ failure to name them); he does not end the series with a Egyptian contemporary of Solomon (as the Bible allegedly does), and does not report a visit to Solomon by Nitocris the Ethiopian queen of Egypt (to whom the Bible itself attributes a different homeland, i.e. “Sheba”).

<sup>40</sup> LXX BL’s rendering of this passage appears as a part of a long plus that follows MT 1Kgs 10,22 and is numbered 10,24-25. In addition, MT 9,23 (Solomon’s overseers) has a counterpart in the LXX B plus designated 2,35<sup>h</sup>. In MT 1Kgs 9, the subject of the *corvée* already introduced in v.15 via the opening phrase “and this is the account of the forced labor which King Solomon levied to build...,” is subsequently resumed in 9,20. Josephus, like 2Chr 8, has no equivalent to this introductory phrase, beginning his treatment of the *corvée* rather with his version of 9,20 in 8.160.

<sup>41</sup> In LXX BL 3Rgns 10,24 (see previous note) the number is seven.



significant respects: “King Solomon *also reduced to subjection those of the Canaanites*<sup>42</sup> *who were still unsubmitive, that is those who lived on Mt. Libanos*<sup>43</sup> *and as far as Amathē,*<sup>44</sup> *and imposed a tribute upon them*<sup>45</sup> *and raised a yearly levy from them to be his serfs and perform menial tasks and till the soil.*”<sup>46</sup>

1Kgs 9,22(MT)<sup>47</sup> // 2Chr 8,8 establishes a contrast between Solomon's treatment of the non-Israelites spoken of in what precedes and the Israelites themselves: the king made no slaves of the latter, utilizing them rather in various military capacities. The Josephan rendition (8.161) appends a rationale for the king's disparate handling of the two groups:

But of the Hebrews<sup>48</sup> no one was a slave (ἑδούλευεν) – *nor was it reasonable, when God had made so many nations subject to them, from among whom they ought to raise their force of serfs, that they themselves*

<sup>42</sup> The Canaanites do not appear in the five-member list of peoples in MT 9,20 // 8,7. On the other hand, “the Canaanite” is mentioned in the more expansive listing of LXX BL Rgns 10,24 (see n. 40).

<sup>43</sup> “Lebanon” appears in MT 9,19 // 8,6 as one of the places where Solomon built his cities. A closer parallel to Josephus' formulation in 8.160a is, however, the LXX B plus in 3Rgns 2,46<sup>c</sup> which states that “Solomon began to capture the strongholds of Libanon.”

<sup>44</sup> This reference might be seen as Josephus' re-utilization (see 8.153) of the notice of Solomon's taking “*Hamath-zobah*” in 2Chr 8,3 (cf. the notice on his building store-cities “in Hamath” in 8,4b). The entire above sequence diverges notably from 9,20-21 // 8,6-7 regarding the identity of those on whom Solomon imposes his *corvée*. In the Bible these are remnants of pre-Israelite peoples living within the land of Israel who do not need to be first subdued by Solomon. For Josephus, by contrast, it is a question of peoples located outside the land of Israel whom the king must first bring under his dominion. Josephus' modification – partially inspired, it would appear by 2Chr 8,3 (see above in this note) – allows him to highlight Solomon's military achievements.

<sup>45</sup> Josephus goes beyond 1Kgs 9,20-21 // 2Chr 8,6-7 in mentioning here that Solomon exacted not only labor but also financial contributions from the non-Israelite populations.

<sup>46</sup> Josephus' formulation elucidates the “forced levy” Solomon imposed on the non-Israelites according to 9,21 // 8,7. On the other hand, he leaves aside the statement that Solomon's levy continued “to this day” with which both biblical verses conclude, given that by his own time that state of affairs had long since come to an end.

<sup>47</sup> In LXX BL this verse has its equivalent in the plus of 3Rgns 10,25.

<sup>48</sup> 1Kgs 9,22 // 2Chr 8,8 speak of “the people of Israel” whom Solomon exempts from the *corvée*. On Josephus' use of the designation “Hebrews,” see Harvey, Israel 124-129.



*should be reduced to that condition* – but they all bore arms and served in the field on chariots and horses<sup>49</sup> rather than lead the lives of slaves (δουλεύοντες).<sup>50</sup>

The biblical accounts (9,20-23 // 8,7-10) of Solomon's *corvée* conclude (9,23<sup>51</sup> // 8,10) with a notice on the royal overseers. Whereas, however, MT 9,23 numbers these as 550, 8,10 gives the figure as 250, and LXX B 2,35<sup>h</sup> as 3,600. Josephus' version (8.162) reproduces the MT 9,23 figure, while also specifying the nature of the overseers' task: "And over the Canaanites, whom he had reduced to domestic slavery,<sup>52</sup> he appointed five hundred and fifty officers, who received full charge of them from the king, so as to instruct them in those tasks and activities for which he needed them."

Following their accounts of Solomon's *corvée* (1Kgs 9,20-23 // 2Chr 8,7-10), Josephus' biblical sources proceed to relate two further initiatives by the king, i.e. the transfer of his Egyptian wife from the city of David to a house he had built for her (9,24<sup>53</sup> // 8,11)<sup>54</sup> and the king's various cultic undertakings (9,25<sup>55</sup> // 8,12-16).<sup>56</sup> Perhaps because mention of both these Solomonic initia-

<sup>49</sup> Compare 9,22 // 8,9 "... they [the Israelites] were soldiers, and his officers, the commanders of his chariots, and his horsemen."

<sup>50</sup> In the wider context of both Kings and Josephus there is a problem with their respective claims that Solomon did not "enslave" the Israelites themselves. That claim, in fact, seems at variance with the notice of 1Kgs 5,27-28 (// *Ant.* 8.58-59) concerning Solomon's imposing a levy on the Israelites in connection with his temple-building project (the discrepancy is absent in Chronicles where [see 2Chr 2,16-17] only non-Israelites are mobilized for this enterprise). Perhaps, the author of Kings and / or Josephus envisaged the labor imposed on the Israelites as a temporary (and honorable) affair that as such differed in kind from the permanent (and menial) work to which the non-Israelites were subjected.

<sup>51</sup> LXX B's rendering of this MT verse appears within its great plus following MT 1Kgs 2,35 (MT) as 2,35<sup>h</sup>.

<sup>52</sup> This specification concerning the identity of the overseers' charges recalls the notice on Solomon's "reducing to subjection those Canaanites, who were still unsubmissive" in 8.160. In 9,23 the overseers are set over "Solomon's work," while in 8,10 they "exercise authority over the people."

<sup>53</sup> LXX B's rendering of this notice appears in the plus of 2,35<sup>f</sup>, and again in a plus attached to MT 9,9 (the conclusion to God's word [9,6-9] to Solomon on the consequences of infidelity); this latter plus is shared by LXX L as well.

<sup>54</sup> The Chronicler (8,11b) attaches a statement by Solomon ("My wife shall not live in the house of David. ... for the places to which the ark of the Lord has come are holy") to the mention of the queen's transfer he shares with 1Kgs 9,24a that supplies a motivation for the transfer. Conversely, he lacks an equivalent to the notice of 9,24b ("then he [Solomon] built the Millo").

<sup>55</sup> LXX B's equivalent is 3Rgns 2,35<sup>g</sup>.



tives appears extraneous in the context – the notice on the housing arrangements for his Egyptian wife would seem to fit better after 1Kgs 3,1 which treats the same topic, while the king's temple-building and sacrificial activity has been dealt with at length in what precedes – Josephus passes over this entire source complex. In so he doing, he moves directly from the notice on Solomon's overseers (9,23 // 8,10 // 8.162) to the royal maritime venture related in 9,26-28<sup>57</sup> // 8,17-18 // 8.163-164.

### 5. Royal Maritime Venture

1Kgs 9,26 tells of Solomon's building a fleet at "Ezion-geber, which is near Eloth (Hebrew עִזְיוֹן גְּבֵר; LXX BL Αἰλάθ) on the shore of the Red Sea (literally Sea of Reeds; LXX τῆς ἐσχάτης θαλάσσης [literally the last sea]), in the land of Edom." In 2Chr 8,17, by contrast, Solomon "goes to Ezion-geber and Eloth (LXX B Αἰλάμ, LXX L Αἰλάθ) on the shore of the sea in the land of Edom (so MT and LXX L; LXX B Idoumaia)." Josephus' rendition (8.163a) clearly follows Kings here, even while evidencing several peculiarities with regard to the locale: "The king also built many ships *in the Egyptian gulf of the Red Sea* (τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης) *at a certain place called Gasiōn-gabel* (Γασιωνγάβελ)<sup>58</sup> not far from *the city of Ailanē* (Αἰλαῆς),<sup>59</sup> *which is now called Berenikē* (Βερενίκη).<sup>60</sup> *For this territory formerly belonged to the Jews.*"<sup>61</sup>

The continuations of the biblical accounts of Solomon's maritime venture show further differences. In 9,27 King Hiram dispatches experienced seamen to accompany Solomon's servants, while in 8,18a "Huram" sends Solomon "by

<sup>56</sup> The above passages concerning Solomon's cultic initiatives are rather different. 1Kgs 9,25 refers to the king's thrice annual sacrifices and concludes "so he finished the house." 2Chr 8,12-16 elaborates on Solomon's sacrifices in v.12-13, interjects a notice on his assigning their duties to the various categories of cultic officials (v.14-15), and ends with an expanded version of 9,25b (the completion of the house) in v.16.

<sup>57</sup> Exceptionally, LXX BL do give their equivalent to this segment in its MT position.

<sup>58</sup> Compare Ezion-geber (MT 9,26 // 8,17); Ἐσμοσειών (LXX B 9,26); Γεσειών Γάβερ (LXX L 9,26 and LXX L 8,17); Γασιωνγάβερ (LXX B 8,17).

<sup>59</sup> Compare Eloth (MT 9,26 // 8,17); Αἰλάμ (LXX B 8,17); Αἰλάθ (LXX BL 9,26 and LXX L 8,17).

<sup>60</sup> On Josephus' penchant for supplying contemporary Greek names for biblical sites, see n. 20 on 8.154. The indication takes the place of the concluding geographical reference in both 9,26 and 8,17, i.e. "in the land of Edom."

<sup>61</sup> This appended remark provides an implicit answer to the question of how Solomon was able to use a site far beyond the boundaries of the land of Israel to build his fleet as stated in 9,26. With its use of the designation "Jews," compare the reference to the "Hebrews" in 8.161.



his servants ships and servants familiar with the sea.” Josephus’ rendition (8.163b) reads like an expanded version of Kings’ account of Hiram’s contribution with which it shares its non-mention of the ship(s) he provided to Solomon according to Chronicles: “*Moreover he obtained a present suitable to the needs of his ships from Eirōmos,<sup>62</sup> the king of Tyre, who sent him pilots and a goodly number of men skilled in seamanship....*”

In 1Kgs 9,28b // 2Chr 8,18b Solomon and Hiram’s seamen jointly proceed to “Ophir,” whence they bring back 420 (MT and LXX L 9,28; 120 LXX B 9,28; 450 MT and LXX BL 8,18) talents of gold to Solomon. In reproducing this notice Josephus (8.164), e.g., highlights Solomon’s directive role in the proceedings and supplies a figure of his own for the sum brought to the king: “... and these [i.e. the pilots and sailors sent by Hiram] *Solomon ordered* to sail along with his own stewards to the land<sup>63</sup> *anciently called Sōpheir (Σώφειραν),<sup>64</sup> but now called the Land of Gold; it belongs to India.<sup>65</sup>* And when they had amassed a sum of *four hundred<sup>66</sup>* talents they returned to the king.”

## 6. Conclusion

In concluding this essay I return to its opening questions in order to summarize my findings concerning them. The first of those questions asked whether Josephus based his presentation in *Ant.* 8.150-164 on both 1Kgs 9,15-28 and 2Chr 8,3-18 or rather restricted himself to one of these sources. My study yielded evidence favoring the former alternative. On the one hand, Josephus has a parallel to the *Sondergut* of 1Kgs 9,15-17a (Solomon’s building of the wall of Jerusalem as well as Hazor, Megiddo and Gezer) in 8.150-152, just as his narrative of Solomon’s maritime venture (8.163-164) stands closer to the version of 9,26-28 than to that of 8,17-18. On the other hand, in speaking of

<sup>62</sup> Josephus derives this form of the name of Solomon’s royal ally (called “Hiram” in Kings and “Hiram” in Chronicles) from the non-biblical authors Menander and Dios whose testimonies concerning his dealings with Solomon he cites in *Ant.* 8.144-149 (and *Ag. Ap.* 1.112-116).

<sup>63</sup> In both 9,28b and 8,18b the combined crews simply proceed to “Ophir” without any prior directive by Solomon concerning their destination.

<sup>64</sup> Josephus’ form of the name corresponds to that found in LXX B 9,28 and LXX BL 8,18. Compare “Ophir” (MT 9,28 and 8,18); Σώφειρά (LXX B 9,28). The location of “Ophir” remains uncertain; among the suggested identifications are the Horn of Africa, southern Arabia, and India (so Josephus; see above).

<sup>65</sup> For the third time in our pericope Josephus supplies a contemporary identification for a biblical place name. See n. 22,60.

<sup>66</sup> This figure is peculiar to Josephus; it stands closest to the 420 talents cited in 1Kgs 9,28 (MT and LXX L); see above in the text.



Solomon's occupation of northern Syria (8.163), Josephus goes together with 2Chr 8,3 (to which 1Kgs 9 lacks a parallel).

My second question concerned the text-form(s) of his biblical sources utilized by Josephus in 8.150-164. Our most significant finding in this regard is that Josephus presents the content of 1Kgs 9,15-28 in its MT position, rather than in various other contexts, as do B and L 3 Reigns.<sup>67</sup> Similarly, Josephus' figure for Solomon's overseers (550, 8.162) agrees with the number cited in MT 9,23 against those of 8,10 (MT and LXX: 250) and LXX B 3Rgns 2,35<sup>ha</sup> (3,600). On the other hand, Josephus' place name ("Thadamora") in 8.154 reflects the reading, not of the *ketiv* in MT 9,17b ("Tamar"), but rather the site-name ("Tadmor") of the *qere* and Targum in 9:17b and of MT LXX 8:4a, even as his alternative Greek name for the city ("Palmyra") has a counterpart in Vulgate's 9,17b and 8,4a (see n. 22). Moreover, whereas Josephus does generally follow MT rather than LXX BL for the content of 1Kgs 9,15-28, we noted that his reference to Solomon's subjection of those Canaanites living "on Mt. Libanos" in 8.160 is reminiscent of LXX B's *Sondergut* notice on the king's capture of "the strongholds of the Lebanon" in 3Rgns 2,46<sup>c</sup> (see n. 43). Likewise, the form of the name for the maritime expedition's destination ("Sōpheir") in 8.164 corresponds precisely to that used in LXX L in 9,28 and 8,18 (see n. 64). Finally, in the case of the number of talents brought to Solomon, Josephus gives an amount (400, 8.164) that differs from those mentioned in all the various witnesses for 9,28 and 8,18. These data, limited as they are, at least suggest that Josephus made use of various and differing text-forms of 1Kgs 9,15-28 and 2Chr 8,3-18.<sup>68</sup>

My final opening question dealt with the rewriting techniques that Josephus applies to the data of his sources in 8.150-164 and the distinctiveness of his version that results from their application. Among the historian's rewriting techniques in our passage, additions to and elaborations of source items are clearly the most conspicuous throughout. Elements of the biblical text affected by this procedure include: Solomon's building of the Jerusalem wall (compare 8.150 and 9,15); his rebuilding of Gezer (compare 8.152a and 9,17a); his expedition into Syria and building of "Tadmor" there (compare 8.153b-154 and 8,3-4; cf. 9,18b); the excursus on Egyptian history in 8.155-159; the different status assigned Solomon's non-Israelite and Israelite subjects (compare 8.160-

<sup>67</sup> In this connection note that Josephus has no equivalent to the extended pluses (in which one finds renderings of some of the component notices of MT 1Kgs 9,15-28) that follow MT 1Kgs 2,35 and 2,46 in LXX B.

<sup>68</sup> Matters are not so clear with regard to Josephus' text-form(s) for 2Chr 8,3-17 given the wide-going agreement between the MT and LXX in this passage. On the question of Josephus' text for the Books of Kings and Chronicles overall, see Spottorno, *Josephus*; and Spottorno, *Book*.



162 and 9,20-22 // 8,7-9); the overseers' role (compare 8.162 and 9,23 // 8,10); and the geographical indications cited in connection with Solomon's maritime venture (compare 8.163-164 and 9,26-28 // 8,17-18).

In comparison with Josephus' omnipresent amplifications of his source material in 8.150-164, his omissions and abbreviations of biblical data are not so prominent in this passage. He does, however, leave aside three of the four Jerusalem structures cited in 9,15 in 8.150. Subsequently, he likewise passes over the segments concerning the transfer of Solomon's Egyptian wife (see 9,24 and 8,11) and his cultic measures (9,25 and 8,12-16) common to both Kings and Chronicles.

A third Josephan rewriting evidenced by 8.150-164 is his rearrangement of the biblical sequence. A first example of this phenomenon occurs in 8.151 where he mentions Pharaoh's slaughter of the inhabitants of Gezer before his destruction of their city (compare 9,16). Thereafter in 8.153-154 he reverses the order of 9,18b // 8,4a (building of Tamar / Tadmor) and 9,19 // 8,6 (building of additional, unnamed cities). Finally, Josephus' version introduces still other sorts of modifications / adaptations of the biblical material. Thus, whereas 9,16 designates the inhabitants of Gezer as "Canaanites," Josephus makes it a "Philistine" town (8.151). The indications concerning the advantages of the sites where Solomon builds his "other cities" (8.153a) replace the notices on the nature and localization of those cities found in 9,19 and 8,6. Solomon occupies "Upper Syria" (8.153b) rather than "Hamath-zobah" (8,3). The non-Israelites upon whom Solomon imposes the *corvée* are Canaanites situated beyond the northern borders of Israel, not the five (3 Reigns: 7) pre-Israelite peoples still living within the land listed in 9,19 // 8,7. Lastly, in comparison with both 9,26-28 and 8,17-18, Solomon's direction of the maritime venture is accentuated in 8.164.

Given Josephus' application of the above four categories of rewriting techniques, what now is distinctive about his account of the later Solomon's activities vis-à-vis the biblical ones? A first such distinctiveness lies in the above-noted fact of Josephus' combining elements of both Kings and Chronicles into a composite narrative. The historian's many additions to / expansions of source data in 8.150-164 also serve, in various ways, to give Josephus' version a quality of its own. Many of these elaborations provide answers to questions suggested by the biblical presentation(s): Why, e.g., did Solomon undertake work on the walls of Jerusalem after having done this earlier (compare 8.150 and 9,15; cf. n. 6). Why, too, did he rebuilt the recently destroyed city of Gezer (compare 8.152 and 9:17a)? What motivated Solomon to build the city of "Tadmor" in the far-off Syrian desert (compare 8.154 and 9,18b // 8,3-4), and where does that site stand in relation to other geographical entities (see 8.153)? For what reason did the king exempt the Israelites from the *corvée* he



imposed on his non-Israelite subjects, and was it appropriate for him to do so (compare 8.161 and 9,22 // 8,9)? What was the intended role of the royal “overseers” (compare 8.162 and 9,23 // 8,9)? How was it that Solomon could build his fleet at the site indicated in 9,26 // 8,17 (see 8.163 and cf. n. 61)? Other of the additions / expansions in 8.150-164 aim to update the biblical narrative for the benefit of Graeco-Roman readers (see the contemporary place names supplied in 8.154.163.164). The long excursus in 8.155-159 also seems to have been composed with such readers in mind. Therein, Josephus presents himself to his Gentile audience<sup>69</sup> as a historian whose knowledge extends far beyond the narrow confines of the Jewish Bible and its story to encompass Egyptian history, Herodotus’ testimony concerning this, and the interplay between the biblical and Egyptian records. As for Josephus’ omissions of source items in 8.150-164, his non-utilization of the opening notice on the *corvée* in 1Kgs 9,15 that is then resumed only in 9,20 has the effect of making a sharper distinction between Solomon’s city-building (8.150-154) and his forced-labor arrangements (8.160-162) than is the case in 9,15-23, a distinction that is further underscored by the long intervening excursus in 8.155-159. His leaving aside the sources’ notices on the transfer of Solomon’s Egyptian wife (9,24 // 8,11) and the king’s cultic measures (9,25 // 8,12-16), for its part, eliminates material that seems extraneous to the context (the transfer) or has been treated in detail previously (the cultic measures).

Finally, Josephus’ rewriting stands out in its positive retouching of the portrait of Solomon offered by the source accounts. Throughout, the historian emphasizes the purposefulness with which the king acts (see the appended notices on the reasons for his rebuilding Gezer [8.152] and on his choice of sites for “other cities” [8.153a] and for “Tadmor” [8.154]). He highlights as well the successful military initiatives undertaken by Solomon first in 8.153 (compare 8,3) and then again in 8.160 (compare 9,20-21 // 8,7-8), just as he accentuates Solomon’s direction of the maritime venture (compare 8.163-164 and 9,26-28 // 8,17-18).<sup>70</sup>

*Ant.* 8.150-164 is, of course, only a tiny, contentually rather minor, portion of the entire, 20-book work. Still, as I have tried to show in this essay, even so short a passage has much to tell about Josephus’ multi-faceted approach to the biblical data.

<sup>69</sup> On cultivated Gentiles as Josephus’ primary target audience in the *Antiquities*, see Feldman, Josephus’s 46-49.

<sup>70</sup> On Josephus’ portrayal of Solomon overall, see Feldman, Josephus’s 570-628.



### Summary

This article studies Josephus' version (*Ant.* 8.150-164) of the complex of notices concerning Solomon's initiatives subsequent to the dedication of the temple found in 1Kgs 9,15-28 and 2Chr 8,3-18. The article focusses on three features of Josephus' version: (1) its use of both biblical parallel passages; (2) the text-form(s) of these passages utilized by him; and (3) the rewriting techniques the historian applies to the data of his sources and the distinctiveness of his rendition that results from their application.

### Zusammenfassung

Dieser Artikel untersucht jenen Komplex der Version des Josephus (*Ant.* 8.150-164), in der er sich mit den Tätigkeiten Salomons beschäftigt, die auf die Einweihung des Tempels folgen, wie sie in 1Kön 9,15-28 und 2Chr 8,3-18 überliefert sind. Der Artikel konzentriert sich auf drei Aspekte der Darstellung des Josephus: (1) Sein Gebrauch beider biblischen parallelen Passagen, (2) die textliche(n) Ausgangsform(en), welche er für diese Abschnitte verwendet hat, und (3) die Techniken bei der Neudarstellung, welche der Historiker an den Fakten seiner Vorlagen anwendet, und die Unterschiede bei der Wiedergabe, die sich aus seiner Anwendung ergeben.

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Prof. Dr. Christopher Begg  
 The Catholic University of America  
 School of Theology and Religious Studies  
 Washington, D.C. 20064  
 USA  
 E-Mail: [Begg@cua.edu](mailto:Begg@cua.edu)