

## Solomon Secures his Kingdom According to Josephus

Christopher Begg

Within the Solomon Narrative of 1 Kings 1–11, the notice of 2:12 (“So Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was firmly established”) marks a transitional point: David is now dead (2:11) and Solomon begins functioning in full independence. The notice of 2:12 is itself picked up in 2:46b (MT): “So the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon.” Between the inclusion constituted by 2:12 and 2:46b stands a narrative (2:13–46a) which tells of how Solomon did “establish his kingdom” at the very start of his reign, i.e. by disposing of four potential trouble-makers, doing so either by execution (as in the case of Adonijah, Joab and Shimei) or by life-long banishment (in the case of the priest Abiathar).

In this essay I purpose to examine the retelling of 1 Kgs 2:12–46 in Josephus’ *Antiquitates Judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.*) 8.1–21a.<sup>1</sup> In comparing the biblical and Josephan versions of the beginnings of Solomon’s reign, I shall focus on two over-arching questions. Firstly, given the many differences between MT (BHS)<sup>2</sup> on the one hand and Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> For the text and translation of *Ant.* 8.1–21a I use R. Marcus, *Josephus V* (Loeb Classical Library; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press; London: Heinemann, 1934) 573–583. I have likewise consulted the older text of the passage (which Marcus generally follows) found in B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, Vol. II (2nd ed.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1954) 177–184. See also the recent translation of and notes on the passage in C.T. Begg and P. Spilsbury, *Flavius Josephus. Judean Antiquities 8–10* (Leiden: Brill, 2005) 3–7 and the text, French translation and notes in E. Nodet, *Flavius Josephe IV: Les Antiquités Juives Livres VIII et IX* (Paris: Cerf, 2005) 2–9.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kgs 2:12–46 is not extant in the known Qumran materials.

<sup>3</sup> For the text of B 1 Kgs (3 Kdms) 2:12–46 I use: A.E. Brooke, N. McLean and H. St. John Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek II:II: I and II Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930) 208–214. 3 Kdms 2:12, the opening verse of our segment, constitutes the beginning of one of the so-called “non-kaige segments” of this manuscript in Samuel-Kings (i.e. 3 Kdms 2:12–21:43 [= MT 20:43]). In these

and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or Antiochene manuscripts<sup>4</sup> of the LXX<sup>5</sup> on the other, with which of these textual witnesses does Josephus' own account show greater affinity? Secondly, how does Josephus work with his biblical material in this instance, i.e. what rewriting techniques does he employ in developing his own version of Solomon's initiatives and what are the distinctive features of his presentation that result from his application of these?

In carrying out my comparison between them, I divide up the material of *Ant.* 8.1–21a and 1 Kgs 2:12–46 as follows: (1) Summary (8.1, no biblical equivalent); (2) Solomon's kingdom established (8.2 // 2:12); (3) Adonijah eliminated (8.3–9 // 2:13–25); (4) Abiathar dismissed (8.10–12 // 2:26–27); (5) Joab executed (8.13–16 // 2:28–35); (6) Shimei punished (8.17–20 // 2:36–46a); and (7) Solomon's kingship confirmed (8.21a // 2:46b [MT]).

---

segments (the other is 1 Kdms 1:1 – 2 Kdms 11:1), B has not undergone the same degree of assimilation to the text of (proto-)MT as it has in its "*kaige*-sections" (2 Kdms 11:2–3 Kdms 2:11; 3 Kdms 22:1–4 Kdms 25:30), and so constitutes a particularly important witness for the "Old Greek" text of these segments. See D. Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup 10; Leiden: Brill, 1963) 34–41, 91–143.

<sup>4</sup> For the L text of 1 Kgs (3 Rgns) 2:12–46 I use N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega*, Vol. II: 1–2 *Reyes* (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 53; Madrid: C.S.I.C., 1992) 3–7. In L the Book of "3 Reigns," corresponding to MT 1 Kings, begins with 3 Rgns 2:12, MT's 1 Kgs 1:1–2:11 being reckoned to "2 Reigns."

<sup>5</sup> The overall relationship between the MT and LXX texts of 1 Kgs 2:12–46 and of its wider context, i.e. 1 Kings 2–11 as a whole, has been differently evaluated in recent scholarship. According to A. Schenker, *Septante et texte massorétique dans l'histoire la plus ancienne du texte de 1 Rois 2–14* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 48; Paris: Gabalda, 2000) throughout 1 Kings 2–11, LXX reflects a Hebrew *Vorlage* that is (generally) more original than our MT. By contrast, P.S.F. van Keulen, *Two Versions of the Solomon Narrative: An Inquiry into the Relationship between MT 1 Kgs. 2–11 and LXX 3 Reg. 2–11* (VTSup 104; Leiden: Brill, 2005) reaches the opposite conclusion. I shall refer to these authors' discussions of the individual pericopes of 1 Kgs 2:12–46 at the appropriate points in my own presentation.

### Summary

*Ant.* 8.1 constitutes a segment without biblical equivalent in which Josephus sums up the content of his story of King David to which he devoted the whole of *Antiquities* Book 7 (= 2 Sam 1:1–1 Kgs 2:11). It reads:

Concerning David and his prowess and the many benefits which he conferred upon his countrymen and how, after successfully conducting many wars and battles, he died at an advanced age,<sup>6</sup> we have written in the preceding book.

### *Solomon's Kingdom Established*

Following the above summary of Book 7, Josephus, in 8.2, presents a greatly elaborated version of the notice of 1 Kgs 2:12 (“so Solomon sat upon the throne of David his father; and his kingdom was firmly established”):

Now when his son Solomon, *whom he had while yet alive, in accordance with the will of God* (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν),<sup>7</sup> proclaimed sole ruler of the people,<sup>8</sup> took over the kingship, being still a mere youth,<sup>9</sup> and sat upon the throne, the entire multitude, as is usual at the beginning of a king's reign, greeted him joyfully with the prayer that his affairs might have a fortunate issue and that he might end his rule in a rich and happy old age.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>6</sup> In *Ant.* 7.389 Josephus supplies a figure, lacking in the Bible itself, for David's age at death, i.e. seventy years.

<sup>7</sup> With this editorial formulation Josephus anticipates the words attributed to Adonijah in 1 Kgs 2:15b where he tells Bathsheba: “... it [the kingship] was his [Solomon's] from the Lord”; see n. 20. On “the will of God” as a key Josephan theological concept, see H.W. Attridge, *The Interpretation of History in the Antiquitates Judaicae of Flavius Josephus* (Missoula, MT: Scholars, 1976) 74–76.

<sup>8</sup> On David's designation of Solomon as his successor, see *Ant.* 7.354–358// 1 Kgs 1:32–40. (In this essay I italicize elements like the above which have no parallel in the biblical passage Josephus is reproducing, *in casu* 1 Kgs 2:12.)

<sup>9</sup> Josephus anticipates this indication concerning Solomon's age at accession from the king's word to the Lord in 1 Kgs 3:7 (“I am but a little child”). In light of the figures cited in *Ant.* 8.211 (Solomon died at 94, having reigned for 80 years), Solomon would have begun to reign at age 14.

<sup>10</sup> This acclamation of Solomon following David's death has no biblical basis. It does, however, recall the earlier popular response to Solomon's anointing as described in *Ant.* 7.358// 1 Kgs 1:40. As things turn out, the people's prayer here in

*Adonijah eliminated*

The measures taken by Solomon against his older (half) brother Adonijah as described in *Ant.* 8.3–9 (/ / 1 Kgs 2:13–25)<sup>11</sup> are themselves set in motion by an exceedingly ill-advised initiative on Adonijah's part, i.e. his appeal to Solomon's mother Bathsheba to use her influence with her son in support of Adonijah's desire to marry Abishag, the attendant of the aged David (see 1 Kgs 1:1–4/ / *Ant.* 7.343–344). The interview scene between Adonijah and the queen mother (8.3–6/ / 2:13–18) opens in 2:13a with mention of the former's approach to the latter. Josephus (8.3) (re-)introduces the prince with a *Rückverweis* to his earlier foiled coup (see 1 Kgs 1:5–10/ / *Ant.* 7.345–347), whereas MT and LXX L 1 Kgs 2:13 mention his mother, i.e. "Haggith" (LXX B lacks this indication): "But Adōnias,<sup>12</sup> who even in his father's lifetime had attempted to seize the royal power,<sup>13</sup> went to the king's mother Bersabē...."<sup>14</sup> In MT 1 Kgs 2:13 Adonijah neither says nor does anything once he appears before Bathsheba (v. 13a), who herself immediately initiates the exchange between them (v. 13b). By contrast, in the plus of LXX BL the prince "pays homage to her (καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῇ); in the line of this LXX formulation Josephus speaks of his "greeting her in a friendly manner" (καὶ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενος)."

1 Kgs 2:13b–14 relates a two-fold exchange between Bathsheba and Adonijah: the queen mother asks whether he has come "in peace" and is

---

8.2 is only partially fulfilled: Solomon did live to be a very old man (see previous note), but the end of his reign was marred by a series of revolts, both external and internal, that came as divine punishment for the aged king's apostasy (see 1 Kgs 11/ / *Ant.* 8.190–211). Cf. the formula with which Josephus introduces his account of Solomon's latter reign in 8.190: "... he came to an end not at all like what we have already said about him....".

<sup>11</sup> For a comparison of the MT and LXX (B) texts of this passage, see Schenker, *Septante*, 60–68.

<sup>12</sup> Greek: Ἀδωνίας. MT אדוניאָה (Eng.: Adonijah); LXX B Ἀδωνείας; LXX L Ὀρνεία.

<sup>13</sup> Josephus' added allusion to Adonijah's past attempt to arrogate the rulership of his aged father puts the prince's new initiative in a bad light from the start—what is such a person up to now?

<sup>14</sup> Greek: Βερσάβη. MT בת-שבע (Eng.: Bathsheba); LXX BL Βηρσάβεε.

assured that he has (v. 13b), whereupon Adonijah states that he has something to say to her and is told to proceed (v. 14). Josephus passes over these preliminaries,<sup>15</sup> likewise “delaying” his rendition of Adonijah’s statement (2:15; see below) about his and Solomon’s rulership. In so doing he moves directly to the crucial moment of the dialogue (2:16) in which Adonijah announces that he has a request to make of Bathsheba who directs him to disclose this. At the same time, he also transfers the initiative in the exchange concerning Adonijah’s request from Adonijah to Bathsheba herself: “... *when she inquired whether he had come to her with any request*<sup>16</sup> and bade him make it known,<sup>17</sup> *as she would gladly grant it...*”<sup>18</sup>

Having utilized the content of 2:16b (Bathsheba gives Adonijah permission to make his request) in 8.3, Josephus (8.4–5) proceeds to present his conflated version of 2:15 (Adonijah’s statement about the rulership issue) and 2:17 (his request for Bathsheba’s assistance in getting Solomon’s permission to marry Abishag):

<sup>15</sup> Josephus’ omission of the sequence of 2:13b, in which Bathsheba asks whether her visitor has come “in peace” and is informed that he has, is understandable, given that his reference to Adonijah’s “friendly greeting” of Bathsheba (see above) would seem sufficient to make Adonijah’s “peaceful” intentions clear to her. His non-reproduction of the pair’s further exchange in v. 14 can be accounted in terms of his delayed use of the content of Adonijah’s statement of v. 15 (see above), for which this exchange serves as a lead-in.

<sup>16</sup> This opening inquiry by Bathsheba takes the place of Adonijah’s combined declaration-appeal in 1 Kgs 2:16a: “And now I have one [LXX L + small] request to make of you; do not refuse me.”

<sup>17</sup> Compare 1 Kgs 2:16b: “She [Bathsheba] said to him [Adonijah] ‘say on.’”

<sup>18</sup> With this appended statement Josephus, as he does throughout his version of 1 Kgs 2:13–25 in 8.3–9, depicts Bathsheba as more overtly well-disposed towards Adonijah and solicitous to assist him than is her biblical namesake. At the same time, like the Bible itself, Josephus leaves ambiguous the motivations behind Bathsheba’s response to Adonijah’s request: is she sincere in her desire to help him (and without premonition as to how Solomon will react to her transmittal of the appeal), or does she foresee the king’s reaction and so agree to pass on the request precisely with the intention of bringing about Adonijah’s destruction in order to assure Solomon’s (and her own) grip on power?

(8.4)... he began by saying that she herself knew that the kingship belonged to him *both by reason of his age* and the people's preference,<sup>19</sup> but since in accordance with the will of God (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν),<sup>20</sup> it had gone to her son Solomon, *he was willing and happy to serve under him and was satisfied with the present state of affairs.*<sup>21</sup> (8.5) He requested her, however, to intercede for him with his brother and persuade him<sup>22</sup> to give him in marriage Abisakē,<sup>23</sup> *who had lain with his father; for, he said, his father by reason of his age had not had intercourse with her, and she still remained a virgin.*<sup>24</sup>

<sup>19</sup> The above italicized phrase is Josephus' amplification of Adonijah's opening words to Bathsheba in 2:15a: "You know that the kingdom was mine, and that all Israel fully expected me to reign." The inserted reference to Adonijah's having a greater claim to the throne in virtue of his being older than Solomon reinforces the validity of his right to rule. (According to 2 Sam 3:4// *Ant.* 7.21 Adonijah was the fourth of the first group of David's sons born while he was still at Hebron; of these the first and third, Amnon and Absalom, both met violent deaths during David's lifetime, while David's second-born Chileab [2 Sam 3:3]/ Daniel [*Ant.* 7.21; see 1 Chr 3:1] is not further mentioned, presumably because he died young, thus leaving Adonijah as David's oldest surviving son at the end of the king's reign.)

<sup>20</sup> Adonijah's acknowledgement here recalls Josephus' editorial remark in 8.2 that David's nomination of Solomon as king of the whole people was "in accordance with the will of God (κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν)." The acknowledgement likewise corresponds to the biblical Adonijah's admission as cited in 1 Kgs 2:15b: "... however, the kingdom has turned about and become my brother's, for it was his from the Lord." See n. 7.

<sup>21</sup> This Josephan appendix to Adonijah's words in 1 Kgs 2:15 functions as a *captatio benevolentiae* vis-à-vis Bathsheba—one which sounds, however, rather ironic given Adonijah's history.

<sup>22</sup> Josephus expatiates on the opening words of Adonijah's appeal to Bathsheba in 1 Kgs 2:17 ("pray ask Solomon"), even while leaving aside his appended parenthetical assertion "he will not refuse you."

<sup>23</sup> Greek: Ἀβισάκη. MT אַבִּישָׁג (Eng.: Abishag); LXX B Ἀβεισά; LXX L Ἀβεισάκ. Josephus leaves aside the gentilic attached to her name in 1 Kgs 2:17, i.e. "the Shunammite."

<sup>24</sup> This appended characterization of Abishag harks back to the description of the relationship between her and the aged David in *Ant.* 7.343–344 (// 1 Kgs 1:1–4); compare the similar *Rückverweis* to Adonijah's own earlier activities inserted by Josephus in 8.3. The addition here in 8.5 suggests a motivation for Adonijah's request—which the Bible leaves without any such motivation—i.e., given her virginal state, Abishag would make a desirable wife for Adonijah (and one whom, given the fact that David had never been sexually united to her, he could marry

1 Kgs 2:18 records Bathsheba's brief response to Adonijah's plea: "Very well; I will speak for you to the king." Josephus (8.6a) expatiates considerably, highlighting her willingness to do as asked and adding mention of the effect of her reply on Adonijah himself: "And Bersabē promised to intercede for him *zealously and to bring the marriage about, both because the king would wish to do him a favour and because she would earnestly entreat him. And so he departed with high hopes* (ἐὕελπις) *of the marriage....*"<sup>25</sup>

The second scene of the Adonijah episode (1 Kgs 2:9-25// *Ant.* 8.6b-9) opens with Bathsheba's coming to the king in 2:19a. Josephus' rendition (8.6b) accentuates the alacrity with which she undertakes her mission: "... while Solomon's mother *straightway hastened* to her son to tell him of the promise she had made to Adōnias at his request." 1 Kgs 2:19b tells, quite circumstantially, of Solomon's reception of his mother: "and the king rose to meet her, and bowed down to her [MT; LXX BL kissed her]; then he sat on his [MT LXX L; LXX B the] throne, and had a seat brought for his mother, and she sat on his right." Josephus (8.7a) reproduces this sequence with minor modifications: "And her son came forward to meet her and embraced<sup>26</sup> her, and when he had led her to the chamber where, at that time, his royal throne was,<sup>27</sup> and had taken his seat upon it, he ordered another throne to be placed for his mother at his right hand. When Bersabē was seated...."

---

without violating the prohibition of Lev 18:20). Also elsewhere, Josephus makes a point of calling attention to the fact of a future wife's being a virgin; see *Ant.* 7.196 (Michal, future wife of David); *Vita* 414 (the woman whom Josephus marries at Vespasian's command).

<sup>25</sup> The above sequence, with its highlighting of both Bathsheba and Adonijah's confidence that they will obtain the desired permission from Solomon, makes the king's eventual refusal all the more of a surprise and shock—both for them and for Josephus' readers.

<sup>26</sup> This verb stands closer to LXX's "kissed" than to the "bowed down" of MT 2:19b; see above.

<sup>27</sup> This inserted phrase has in view the fact that the palace complex, including "the Hall of the Throne," was only built later in Solomon's reign; see 1 Kgs 7:1-12 (/ / *Ant.* 8.130-139). Thus at this point ("at that time") Solomon's throne—which itself seems to be a provisional one, later superseded by that whose fashioning is

The above preliminaries concluded, Bathsheba proceeds (2:20a) to address Solomon: “I have a small request to make of you; do not refuse me.” In the Josephan rendition of her words (8.7b) Bathsheba highlights the odium Solomon would bring upon himself by refusing his own mother: “... I have, *my son*, one favour to ask: *grant me this and do not act disagreeably or angrily* (δύσκολον μηδὲ σκυθρωπόν)<sup>28</sup> by denying it.”<sup>29</sup>

Solomon replies courteously, but briefly to his mother’s appeal in 1 Kgs 2:20b: “Make your request, my mother; for I shall not refuse you.” Josephus’ version (8.8a) accentuates the king’s stated readiness to grant whatever might be asked of him, given the identity of the asker: “And, as Solomon bade her command<sup>30</sup> him, *for, he said it was a sacred duty to do everything for a mother*,<sup>31</sup> *and added a word of reproach for the way she had begun, in that she had not spoken with a sure hope* (ἐλπίδος . . . βεβαίως)<sup>32</sup> *of obtaining what she requested but had been fearful of being denied....*”<sup>33</sup>

---

described in 1 Kgs 10:18–20// 2 Chr 9:17–19// *Ant.* 8.140—is housed in temporary quarters.

<sup>28</sup> This collocation occurs only here in Josephus.

<sup>29</sup> Josephus accentuates the importance of Bathsheba’s request by retaining the direct discourse used for this in 1 Kgs 2:20a, whereas in what precedes, as very often in his reproduction of biblical characters’ words, he recasts the dialogue in indirect address. On this feature of Josephan style, see C. Begg, *Josephus’ Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (AJ 8,212–420) (BETL 108; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993) 12–13, n. 38.

<sup>30</sup> In 1 Kgs 2:20 both Bathsheba and the king refer to her “request.” Josephus highlights Solomon’s willingness—for the moment—to do whatever he is being asked by having him speak of her “command” to him.

<sup>31</sup> Josephus transposes Solomon’s address to Bathsheba “my mother” of 1 Kgs 2:20b into an explanation (“for”) of how it is Bathsheba should be in a position to “command” the king himself.

<sup>32</sup> This phrase echoes the mention of Adonijah’s departing “with high hopes (ἐὐελπίς) of the marriage” in 8.6. In fact, the “hopes” of both Adonijah and Bathsheba are about to be dashed by Solomon.

<sup>33</sup> The whole above amplification of Solomon’s brief word of assurance to Bathsheba of 1 Kgs 2:20b is part of Josephus’ literary strategy of building up the hopes of Adonijah and Bathsheba (and of his readers) for a successful outcome to



In response to Solomon's encouragement, Bathsheba (1 Kgs 2:21) asks that Abishag be given to Adonijah in marriage. Josephus (8.8b) closely follows the Bible's wording of her request, even while recasting this in indirect discourse: "... she asked him to give the virgin [see 8.5]<sup>34</sup> Abisakē to his brother Adōnias in marriage."

Solomon's initial reply to Bathsheba's request in 1 Kgs 2:22 consists of a query as to why she has made such a request, followed by the sarcastic suggestion that she also ask the kingdom for Adonijah, given his status as Solomon's older brother and the support of Abiathar and Joab he enjoys. The historian (8.9a) prefaces his reproduction of the king's words with a series of additional items that highlight the negative effect of Bathsheba's request upon him: "*But the king took offence at her words and sent his mother away,*<sup>35</sup> *saying that Adōnias was aiming at greater things,*<sup>36</sup> and that he wondered she did not ask him, when seeking the marriage with Abisakē for Adōnias, to yield up the kingdom also to him, on the ground that he was his elder brother and had *powerful* friends in Joab the commander<sup>37</sup> and Abiathar the priest."

Solomon's response to Bathsheba continues in 1 Kgs 2:23–24 in which he twice swears to execute Adonijah. Josephus has no equivalent to this

---

their request, only to confront all parties with the surprise of Solomon's reaction, once Bathsheba finally voices her request; see n. 25.

<sup>34</sup> In MT 1 Kgs 2:21 Abishag is qualified as "the Shunammite"; this designation is absent in LXX BL and replaced by the designation of her as a "virgin" in Josephus.

<sup>35</sup> This angry, unceremonious dismissal of Bathsheba by the Josephan Solomon contrasts dramatically with the courtliness of his preceding reception of her and highlights the jolting reversal of her (and readers') expectations that occurs at this point.

<sup>36</sup> Greek: *μειζόνων ὀρέγεσθαι πραγμάτων*. Solomon's charge concerning Adonijah's intentions in asking for marriage with Abishag here is reminiscent of the characterization of Cataline as one who *nimis alta semper cupiebat* in Sallust, *Bel. Cat.* 5.

<sup>37</sup> MT 1 Kgs 2:22 designates Joab as "son of Zeruiah" and mentions him after, rather than before Abiathar. In LXX BL Joab also appears in second place, but bears a more expansive title: "son of Zeruiah, the commander-in-chief [see Josephus' designation] (and) friend."

sequence. His omission of it reflects the historian's regular practice of not reproducing the wording of biblical oath formulas—likely out of a concern to preclude any misuse of the divine name. In addition, the omission “keeps God out” of Solomon's upcoming fratricide (which, in contrast to the cases of Joab and Shimei whom he will also put to death in our passage, has no warrant in the instructions [see 1 Kgs 2:5-9 // *Ant.* 7.388-391] given him by his dying father). In place of the omitted biblical sequence, Josephus moves directly (8.9b) to the execution of Adonijah at the hands of “Benaiah” as narrated in 1 Kgs 2:25. In relating that execution, he limits himself to citing Solomon's order for it, in contrast to the biblical verse which mentions both the order and its realization<sup>38</sup>: “Then *having sent for Banaias*,<sup>39</sup> *who was in charge of the bodyguard*,<sup>40</sup> he ordered him to kill *his brother*<sup>41</sup> Adōnias.”

#### *Abiathar dismissed*

Solomon's dealings with his next victim, Abiathar the priest, are related in 1 Kgs 2:26-27 // *Ant.* 8.10-12. The king's verdict concerning the offending priest in 2:26 consists of a command that he retire to his country estate, a declaration about his deserving death, and mention of Abiathar's past services (bearing the ark, sharing David's afflictions) that prompt Solomon not to execute him. Josephus' version (8.10) both rearranges and amplifies the components of the royal address:

And *he called* Abiathar the priest and said: “You owe your life to the hardships you shared with my father and to the ark which you brought over

<sup>38</sup> 1 Kgs 2:25 reads: “So King Solomon sent Benaiah... and he struck him [Adonijah] down and he died (LXX BL add on that day).”

<sup>39</sup> Greek: Βανάϊας (= LXX BL). MT בניהו (Eng.: Benaiah).

<sup>40</sup> Josephus made earlier mention of Benaiah and his above office in *Ant.* 7.110 (compare 2 Sam 8:18 where he is said to be “over the Cherethites and the Pelethites”). 1 Kgs 2:25 identifies Benaiah as “son of Jehoiada (MT; LXX B ἰωάδ, LXX L ἰωάδ).”

<sup>41</sup> Josephus' insertion of this qualification of Adonijah underscores the fact that his death was not simply an ordinary execution, but an act of fratricide.

with him<sup>42</sup>; but I impose the following punishment upon you for having gone over to Adōnias's side and sympathized with him<sup>43</sup>: you shall not remain here nor ever come into my presence,<sup>44</sup> but go to your native place<sup>45</sup> and live in the fields and continue so to live until your death,<sup>46</sup> for you have sinned too greatly to remain justly in office any longer."<sup>47</sup>

1 Kgs 2:27 rounds off Solomon's speech dismissing Abiathar (2:26) with an editorial comment, noting that Abiathar's removal was the fulfillment of "the word of the Lord which he had spoken concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh" (see 1 Sam 2:27-36; 3:11-14). Josephus, himself a priest (see *Vita* 2), takes the occasion offered by this notice to expatiate at length on the history of the priesthood, alluding, in particular, to his earlier remarks on the subject in *Ant.* 5.350, 361-362. His elaboration of 2:27 in 8.11-12 reads thus:

<sup>42</sup> In the above segment Josephus turns the conclusion of Solomon's biblical address to Abiathar (1 Kgs 2:26b: "But I will not at this time put you to death, because you bore the ark [LXX BL add of the covenant] of the Lord God [LXX BL have simply Lord] before David [> LXX B] my father, and because you shared all his afflictions") into the opening words of his own version. He likewise reverses the order in which Solomon cites Abiathar's two past merits.

<sup>43</sup> Josephus here has Solomon supply a specific charge against Abiathar in contrast to 1 Kgs 2:26aβ where the king declares that Abiathar "deserves death" without specifying in what his guilt consists. The addition picks up on Solomon's previous reference (8.9; cf. 1 Kgs 2:22) to Abiathar's being, along with Joab, one of Adonijah's "powerful friends." On Abiathar's backing of Adonijah to succeed David, see further 1 Kgs 1:7 (/ / *Ant.* 7.346).

<sup>44</sup> These prohibitions amplify Solomon's command to Abiathar in 1 Kgs 2:26 that he is to "go to Anathoth," underscoring the perpetual character of the banishment Solomon is imposing on him.

<sup>45</sup> 1 Kgs 2:26a specifies "to Anathoth, to your estate" (LXX L adds: and to your house).

<sup>46</sup> These appended directives spell out what Abiathar is to do once he has gone off to his estate, as Solomon commands him in 1 Kgs 2:26a.

<sup>47</sup> This formulation takes the place of Solomon's statement to Abiathar: "for you deserve death" of 1 Kgs 2:26aβ, while also recalling the king's more specific charges made earlier in his address to the priest; see n. 43. The Josephan version of the king's words likewise has Solomon make explicit that Abiathar's banishment entails the loss of his official position as priest (cf. the editorial remark in 1 Kgs 2:27a: "so Solomon expelled Abiathar from being priest to the Lord...").

(8.11) And so *the house of Ithamar* was deprived of the priestly privilege<sup>48</sup> for the afore-mentioned reason,<sup>49</sup> just as God had foretold<sup>50</sup> to Eli, *the grandfather of Abiathar*,<sup>51</sup> and it was transferred to the family of Phinees [Bible: Phineas], to Sadok.<sup>52</sup> (8.12) Now the members of the family of Phinees who lived as private persons after the time when the high-priesthood passed over to the house of Ithamar – of whom Eli was the first to receive it<sup>53</sup> – were as follows: Bokkias the son of the high priest Jesus,<sup>54</sup> Jôthamos the son of Bokkias, Maraiôthos the son of

<sup>48</sup> 1 Kgs 2:27 speaks of the deposition of the individual priest Abiathar. Josephus generalizes, extending the loss of “the priestly privilege” to the entire “house of Ithamar” (Aaron’s younger surviving son) of which, according to *Ant.* 5.361, Eli, Abiathar’s ancestor (see the continuation of 8.11), was a scion.

<sup>49</sup> The reference is to Abiathar’s support for Solomon’s rival Adonijah as mentioned in 8.9–10.

<sup>50</sup> This formulation replaces the phrase “... (thus fulfilling) the word of the Lord which he had spoken...” of 1 Kgs 2:27b. Josephus almost invariably reformulates biblical references to a divine “word,” likely because such a use of the term “word” was not current in secular Greek. On the point, see Begg, *Josephus’ Account*, 20, n. 90.

<sup>51</sup> In 1 Kgs 2:27b the divine “word” referred to is the one spoken by the Lord “concerning the house of Eli in Shiloh” (in fact, the Bible records two such words, i.e. that delivered by an anonymous man of God to Eli in 1 Sam 2:27–36 [no parallel in Josephus] and the one pronounced by God himself to Samuel in 1 Sam 3:11–14 // *Ant.* 5.350). According to the Bible’s own indications (see 1 Sam 14:3; 22:9, 20) Eli was not Abiathar’s “grandfather” as Josephus calls him here, but rather a much more distant ancestor, i.e. his great-great grandfather.

<sup>52</sup> With this notice Josephus anticipates the mention of the replacement of Abiathar by Zadok from 1 Kgs 2:35b. His further reference to Zadok’s belonging to the family of Phineas has a biblical basis in the high-priestly genealogy of 1 Chr 5:27–41 (Eng. 6:1–15) in which Zadok appears as a descendant of Eleazar, son of Aaron and father of Phineas. The divine announcement whose fulfillment Josephus speaks of here in 8.11 where the priestly office is transferred to Zadok of the line of Eleazar-Phineas is the prediction which Josephus has God make to Samuel in *Ant.* 5.350: “... the priesthood [i.e. that currently vested in the line of Eli] shall pass to the house of Eleazar.”

<sup>53</sup> Josephus here alludes to his earlier account of the (high-)priestly succession in *Ant.* 5.361–362, where he reports—without biblical warrant—that Eli was the first descendant of Ithamar to exercise the high priesthood and that it was held by his descendants “down to the times of the reign of Solomon.”

<sup>54</sup> In the genealogy of Eleazar’s line in 1 Chr 5:27–41 (Eng. 6:1–15), “Bukki” appears (5:30) as the son, not of “Jesus” as here in 8.12, but rather of “Abishua,” son of Phineas. In *Ant.* 5.362 the name of “Bokki’s” father appears as “Abiezer.”

*Jōthamos*,<sup>55</sup> *Arophaios* the son of *Maraiōthos*,<sup>56</sup> *Achitōb*, the son of *Arophaios*,<sup>57</sup> and *Sadok* the son of *Achitōb*,<sup>58</sup> who was the first to become the high priest in the reign of *David*.<sup>59</sup>

### *Joab executed*

Having dismissed Abiathar (*Ant.* 8.10–12 // 1 Kgs 2:26–27), Solomon (8.13–16 // 2:28–35) next proceeds to deal with Adonijah’s other key backer, i.e. the general Joab.<sup>60</sup> According to 1 Kgs 2:28 Joab set in motion the process that leads to his own execution by seeking refuge at the altar of “the tent of the Lord.” Josephus (8.13) expatiates considerably on the general’s move, highlighting the feelings and thoughts that prompt his action: “Now when Joab<sup>61</sup> the commander [see 8.9]<sup>62</sup> heard that *Adōnias* had been put to death<sup>63</sup> he

<sup>55</sup> In 1 Chr 5:32 “Meraioth” is the son of “Zeraiah,” who is himself son of “Uzzi.” Josephus’ genealogy passes over a generation.

<sup>56</sup> The name of Meraioth’s son in 1 Chr 5:33 is “Amariah.”

<sup>57</sup> 1 Chr 5:33 gives the name of “Ahitub’s” father as “Amariah”; see previous note.

<sup>58</sup> With his mention of “Sadok” as the son of “Achitōb” (Bible: Ahitub), Josephus finally rejoins the high priestly genealogy of 1 Chr 5:27–41; see v. 34. As the previous notes have indicated, Josephus’ listing of the descendants of Phineas in 8.12 differs not only from the Chronicler’s enumeration, but also from the catalogue of names in his own *Ant.* 5.362. Such anomalies are not infrequent in the *Antiquities* where they reflect the sprawling vastness of the work and the prolonged time it took Josephus to write it (some 12 years according to the calculations of L.H. Feldman, *Josephus’ Interpretation of the Bible* [Hellenistic Culture and Society 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998] 668).

<sup>59</sup> Josephus’ above formulation refers to the fact of Zadok’s being the “first” of the line of Phineas to regain high-priestly status after the long interlude, rehearsed in 8.12, during which it was solely in the hands of Ithamar’s descendants. David’s choice of Zadok of the house of Phineas to be co-high priest along with Abiathar is mentioned by Josephus in *Ant.* 7.110, where, just as in the source text 2 Sam 8:17, the figure of Zadok surfaces unexpectedly alongside the already familiar Abiathar.

<sup>60</sup> On the differences between MT and LXX 1 Kgs 2:28–35, compare the divergent evaluations of Schenker, *Septante*, 69–76 and van Keulen, *Versions*, 26–35.

<sup>61</sup> Greek: Ἰωάβος. MT יואב (Eng.: Joab); LXX BL Ἰωάβ. On Josephus’ overall treatment of this figure—who, in contrast to the Rabbis, he generally depicts still more negatively than does the Bible itself—see L.H. Feldman, *Studies in Josephus’ Rewritten Bible* (JSJSup 58; Leiden: Brill, 1998) 203–214.

was greatly afraid,<sup>64</sup> for he had been more friendly to him than to King Solomon,<sup>65</sup> and, as he not unreasonably expected that danger threatened him because of his goodwill to Adōnias,<sup>66</sup> he fled for refuge to the altar (θυσιαστήριον),<sup>67</sup> where he imagined he would secure safety for himself because of the king's piety (εὐσεβείας) towards God."<sup>68</sup>

Informed that Joab is "beside the altar," Solomon dispatches the trusty Benaiah to Joab with orders to "strike him down" (1 Kgs 2:29, MT);<sup>69</sup> thereupon Benaiah does go to the Lord's "tent," where, however, instead of smiting Joab, he commands him in Solomon's name, "come forth" (2:30a). Josephus' version (8.14a) conflates this sequence of command and execution, likewise avoiding the source discrepancy between them: "But

---

<sup>62</sup> LXX BL add the phrase "son of Zeruiah" to the mention of Joab's name in MT 1 Kgs 2:28.

<sup>63</sup> Josephus spells out what it was that Joab "heard" that occasioned his resultant "fear" and subsequent action. In 1 Kgs 2:28 the content of "the news" that comes to Joab is left unspecified.

<sup>64</sup> Josephus supplies this reference to Joab's emotional state upon hearing "the news." Conceivably, the reference is inspired by the LXX BL plus at the end of 1 Kgs 2:29 where Joab, responding to the question of Solomon's envoy Benaiah about why he has fled to the altar, states: "because I feared your [Solomon's] face...."; see n. 69.

<sup>65</sup> With his allusion to Joab's non-support for Solomon, Josephus aligns himself with the reading of LXX L 1 Kgs 2:28 (Joab had supported Adonijah, but not Solomon), against MT and LXX B (Joab backed Adonijah, but not Absalom).

<sup>66</sup> This reference to Joab's "expectations" is a further Josephan addition that serves to elucidate the general's motivations in acting as he does.

<sup>67</sup> Josephus compresses the two stages of Joab's move as cited in 1 Kgs 2:28: "he fled to the tent of the Lord and caught hold of the horns of the altar." He uses the same word for "altar" (θυσιαστήριον) as do LXX BL 2:28.

<sup>68</sup> This conclusion to the notices on Joab's psychology introduced by Josephus in 8.13 likewise casts Solomon in a good light with its mention of the king's "piety." On Josephus' accentuation of this attribute in his portrayal of Solomon overall, see Feldman, *Interpretation*, 593–602.

<sup>69</sup> In the more expansive LXX, by contrast, Solomon learns that Joab has "taken hold of horns of the altar" (just as he is said to do in 2:28), whereupon he sends Benaiah to ask why he has fled to the altar and Joab responds "because I feared your face and fled to the Lord." See n. 64.

when the king was told of Joab's plan,<sup>70</sup> he sent Banaiah with orders to *remove him and bring him to the judgement-hall to make his defence.*"<sup>71</sup>

In 1 Kgs 2:30b Joab states his intention of dying where he is and Benaiah reports back to the king. Josephus (8.14b–15a) expatiates on the general's reply: "Joab, however, said that he would not leave *the temple* (τὸ ἱερόν),<sup>72</sup> but would die there *rather than in any other place*. When Banaiah reported his answer to the king...."<sup>73</sup>

Solomon responds to Benaiah's report at repetitious length in 1 Kgs 2:31–33. Josephus' version of the royal reply (8.15b) both abbreviates and rearranges the source's components:

<sup>70</sup> 1 Kgs 2:29a spells out what Solomon was told concerning Joab's whereabouts, re-utilizing the language of 2:28, and with MT and LXX differing on the point (see n. 69). Josephus' generalization avoids the verbal repetition and the necessity of choosing between MT and LXX. Josephus further lacks an equivalent to the LXX plus at the end of 2:29, where Benaiah is sent to ask Joab the reason for his flight and the latter attributes this to his "fear" of Solomon (see n. 69; and cf. n. 64).

<sup>71</sup> In 1 Kgs 2:29b (MT) Solomon tells Benaiah to "strike Joab down." Josephus' alternative version of his mandate might be inspired by 2:30 where, rather than smiting Joab, Benaiah commands him in the king's name to "come forth." In any case, Josephus' allusion to the "trial" to which Solomon summons Joab makes the king appear less arbitrary than he does in 2:29 where Benaiah is commanded to kill Joab without his being given any chance to answer the charges against him. Compare the similar case of *Ant.* 6.215 where Josephus, in his version of 1 Sam 19:11 (Saul sends his henchmen to bring him the [supposedly] sick David so that he might "kill him"), states: "Saul's intent was to come before the court and deliver him [David] to justice to be put to death." Rabbinic tradition (see, e.g., *b. Sanh.* 48b–49a) narrates an actual trial of Joab before Solomon in which the latter interrogates the former about his assassinations of Abner and Amasa (i.e. the crimes mentioned by Solomon in his condemnation of Joab in 1 Kgs 2:32).

<sup>72</sup> Josephus' use of this word for Joab's whereabouts seems anachronistic in that "the temple" has not yet been built. In 1 Kgs 2:28–29 the general's place of refuge is called "the tent of the Lord." The Josephan Joab's refusal "to leave" has a counterpart in the plus with which his reply begins in LXX BL 2:30bα, i.e. "I will not come forth."

<sup>73</sup> Compare the more expansive wording of 1 Kgs 2:30bβ: "Then Benaiah brought the king word again, saying, 'Thus said Joab, and thus he answered me.'"

... Solomon ordered his [Joab's] head to be cut off there, as Joab wished it,<sup>74</sup> *this being the penalty exacted* for the two generals he had impiously slain<sup>75</sup> and his body to be buried,<sup>76</sup> in order that his sins<sup>77</sup> might never leave his family in peace, while Solomon himself and his father should be blameless for Joab's death.<sup>78</sup>

Following the extended negotiations related in 1 Kgs 2:28–33, 2:34 relates the execution and burial of Joab in accordance with Solomon's orders (2:31); 2:35 then rounds off the two-part segment (2:26–34) concerning the elimination of Abiathar and Joab with mention of their replacements, i.e. Zadok and Benaiah, respectively. Josephus' version (8.16) of these

<sup>74</sup> Compare 1 Kgs 2:31aβ: "Do as he (Joab) has said, strike him down...." Josephus rearranges the sequence of the royal command and has Solomon specify the mode of Joab's execution.

<sup>75</sup> Solomon cites the pair's names in 1 Kgs 2:32b, i.e. "Abner the son of Ner, commander of the army of Israel and Amasa the son of Jether, commander of the army of Judah," further declaring that they were "two men better and more righteous than himself [Joab]" and that Joab killed them without David's knowledge.

<sup>76</sup> In 1 Kgs 2:31a this command is attached directly to that about Joab's execution. Josephus interjects the motivation for Joab's punishment, drawn from 2:32b, between the king's two commands concerning him.

<sup>77</sup> Compare the phrase "the blood of his iniquity" which Solomon states the Lord will bring upon Joab's head in LXX BL 1 Kgs 2:32a (MT reads simply "his [Joab's] blood").

<sup>78</sup> This concluding contrast between the fates of Joab's family on the one hand and that of David and Solomon on the other which the king expects to result from the execution and burial of Joab conflates Solomon's statements in 1 Kgs 2:31b (Joab's demise and burial will "take away from me and my father's house the guilt for the blood which Joab shed without cause") and 2:33 ("so shall their [Abner and Amasa's] blood come back upon the head of Joab and upon the head of his descendants for ever; but to David and his descendants, and to his house, and to his throne, there shall be [MT; LXX let there be] peace for evermore"). In his rendition of Solomon's words of 2:31–33 Josephus eliminates both source mentions of "the Lord" (see vv. 32a, 33b), thereby "keeping God out" of Joab's slaying (compare his similar non-utilization of Solomon's invocation of the Deity as cited in 1 Kgs 2:23–24 in 8.9, in connection with the execution of Adonijah). He likewise dispenses with Solomon's confident assertion (MT)/ prayer (LXX BL) about there being "peace... for evermore" for David's house (2:33b), given the fact that the Davidic dynasty, in fact, eventually came to a bad end.



concluding notices compresses: “And so Banaïas, after having carried out these orders,<sup>79</sup> was himself appointed commander of the entire army,<sup>80</sup> and the king made Sadok sole (μόνον)<sup>81</sup> high priest in place of Abiathar, whom he had removed.”<sup>82</sup>

### *Shimei punished*

The final malcontent with whom Solomon deals in 1 Kgs 2:12–46 is “Shimei,” who had cursed David during his flight before Absalom (see 2 Sam 16:5–14// *Ant.* 7.207–210) and whom the dying David had instructed Solomon to requite appropriately (see 1 Kgs 2:8–9// *Ant.* 7.388). The segment concerning Shimei’s punishment (2:36–46a<sup>83</sup>// 8.17–20) opens (vv. 36–37) with Solomon issuing him a series of instructions, whose violation will bring destruction upon him. Josephus (8.17a) formulates equivalently: “As for Sūmūisos,<sup>84</sup> he ordered him<sup>85</sup> to build a house and remain in

<sup>79</sup> This summary allusion takes the place of the more detailed account of Joab’s end given in 1 Kgs 2:34: “Then Benaiah... went up [> LXX B] and struck him down and killed him; and he was buried [LXX BL he (Benaiah) buried him (Joab)] in his own house [LXX L: grave] in the wilderness.” Josephus’ formulation shifts attention from the actions of Benaiah to the authority of Solomon on whose behalf he acts.

<sup>80</sup> Josephus has no equivalent to the plus which in LXX BL 1 Kgs 2:35 supervenes between Solomon’s appointments of Benaiah and Zadok, i.e. “and the kingdom was strengthened in Jerusalem.” He likewise has no counterpart to the long appended plus 2:35a–o in LXX B.

<sup>81</sup> With this specification concerning Zadok’s status, compare the LXX BL plus in 1 Kgs 2:35b where Solomon makes him “first (πρῶτον) priest.”

<sup>82</sup> Unlike the Bible where Zadok makes his first appearance within 1 Kgs 2:12–46 only in v. 35b, Josephus has already introduced Zadok as Abiathar’s replacement in the context of his account of the latter’s dismissal in 8.12: “... (the priesthood) was transferred to the family of Phinees, to Sadok.”

<sup>83</sup> On the differences between MT and LXX 1 Kgs 2:36–46a, see Schenker, *Septante*, 77–82.

<sup>84</sup> Greek: Σουμούισος. MT שמעי (Eng.: Shimei); LXX BL Σεμεί. In *Ant.* 7.207 Josephus calls the figure “Samūius” (Σαμούις), while in 7.388 he uses the same form as here in 8.17.

<sup>85</sup> Josephus leaves aside Solomon’s preliminary measure of “summoning” Shimei cited at the start of 1 Kgs 2:36.

Jerusalem *in attendance upon him*,<sup>86</sup> and did not give him permission to cross the brook Kedron,<sup>87</sup> *saying that if he disobeyed the commands*,<sup>88</sup> death would be the penalty.”<sup>89</sup> LXX BL 1 Kgs 2:37 round off Solomon’s words to Shimei with the plus “and the king adjured him on that day” to which Josephus has his own equivalent in 8.17b: “*To the severity of this threat*”<sup>90</sup> he added the obligation of taking an oath.”

The biblical Shimei responds to Solomon’s admonition by affirming this to be “good” and promising to abide by it (2:38a). He then settles down in Jerusalem for an extended period (many days [MT]/ three years [LXX BL, which anticipate their figure from 2:39] 2:38b. Josephus reproduces this sequence (8.18a) with several additional details: “So Sūmūisos, saying that he was pleased with Solomon’s commands, *and also swearing to observe them*,<sup>91</sup> *left his native place*”<sup>92</sup> and made his home in Jerusalem.”<sup>93</sup>

<sup>86</sup> Josephus appends this indication about how Shimei is to spend his time of confinement in Jerusalem to Solomon’s order of 1 Kgs 2:36aβ. He lacks an equivalent to the king’s generalized prohibition of 2:36b: “and do not go from there (Jerusalem) to any place whatever.”

<sup>87</sup> Compare 1 Kgs 2:37a: “For on the day you go forth and cross the brook Kidron....”

<sup>88</sup> This formulation generalizes Solomon’s statement in 1 Kgs 2:37 in which it is Shimei’s act of crossing the Kidron in particular that will bring destruction upon him.

<sup>89</sup> Josephus leaves aside the figurative phrase (“your blood shall be upon your own head”) which Solomon attaches to his warning (“know for certain that you shall die”) in 1 Kgs 2:37b.

<sup>90</sup> This Josephan addition to the LXX BL plus in 1 Kgs 2:37 underscores the seriousness with which Solomon intends his words to Shimei to be taken.

<sup>91</sup> This Josephan addition has Shimei act on the “obligation of taking an oath” which Solomon imposes on him in 8.17b. While LXX BL do mention Solomon’s “adjuring Shimei” in 1 Kgs 2:37 (see above), they do not report Shimei’s actual swearing, as Josephus does here.

<sup>92</sup> Josephus inserts mention of this preliminary to Shimei’s resettlement in Jerusalem. According to 2 Sam 19:16; 1 Kgs 2:8 Shimei hailed from “Bahurim.” The plus of LXX B 1 Kgs 2:35<sup>m</sup> states that came “from Hebron” (this reading may reflect a metathesis of the first two consonants of MT’s form “Bahurim” in the *Vorlage* of LXX B). LXX L 2:35<sup>m</sup> reads ἐκ Γαβαθῶ.

1 Kgs 2:39–40 tells of Shimei’s fatal offense: when three years have passed, two of his slaves run off to Gath (v. 39a); when informed of this Shimei follows them to Gath and brings the runaways back with him (vv. 39b–40). Josephus’ rendering (8.18b plus the opening words of 8.19) eliminates some of the Bible’s superfluous details: “But after three years had passed, upon hearing that two of his slaves who had escaped from him were in Gitta,<sup>94</sup> he set out after the men.<sup>95</sup> And when he returned with them....”

The story of Shimei’s end (1 Kgs 2:36–46a) culminates with Solomon’s extended denunciation of the culprit in 2:41–45. This sequence opens with the king’s hearing of Shimei’s excursion, summoning him, and beginning his address to him (2:41–42aα). Josephus elaborates (8.19a) on this opening, inserting mention of Solomon’s state of mind upon learning of Shimei’s initiative: “... the king heard of it<sup>96</sup> and, holding that he had made light of his commands and—what was worse—had shown no regard for the oaths sworn to God,<sup>97</sup> he was angered<sup>98</sup> and having called him, said....” The biblical Solomon

---

<sup>93</sup> Josephus here omits the indication concerning the duration of Shimei’s stay in Jerusalem with which 1 Kgs 2:38 concludes, i.e. “many days” (MT)/ “three years” (LXX BL; cf. 2:39). He will, however, cite the three years Shimei passed in Jerusalem in his version of 2:39 in 8.18b; see above.

<sup>94</sup> Greek: Γίττα. MT נָא (Eng.: Gath); LXX BL Γέθ. Josephus conflates the notices on the slaves’ escape to “Gath” (2:39a) and the report of this to Shimei (2:39b). He likewise omits the name of the king of Gath (Achish, son of Maacah) to whom the slaves are said to go in 2:39a, but who, in fact, plays no role in the story.

<sup>95</sup> Josephus leaves aside various minor details cited in 1 Kgs 2:40aβbα: Shimei arises, saddles his ass, and goes to Achish (see previous note) at Gath, seeking his slaves.

<sup>96</sup> In 1 Kgs 2:41 Solomon is informed that Shimei “had gone from Jerusalem to Gath [LXX B lacks from Jerusalem to Gath] and returned [MT; LXX B: and brought his slaves with him from Gath; LXX L and returned his slaves].” Presuming this information to be known from what precedes, Josephus simply mentions Solomon’s being informed of what has happened.

<sup>97</sup> Solomon’s two “considerations” in the face of Shimei’s deed here recall the double component of the latter’s response to the king as cited in 8.18: “... he was pleased with Solomon’s commands, and also swearing to observe them....”

<sup>98</sup> The king’s “anger” is natural given the fact that Shimei has disregarded both affirmations made by him 8.18; see previous note. Josephus’ inserted reference to

addresses Shimei with an extended accusation (2:42aβ–43) in question form that draws on the language of their previous agreement. Josephus (8.19b) reduces the king's accusatory word to its opening allusion (2:42aβbα) to Shimei's oath: "... Did you not swear not to leave me nor ever go out from this city to another?"<sup>99</sup> To this abbreviated accusation he then attaches a biblically unparalleled announcement of punishment which serves to introduce a further charge against Shimei, itself drawn from 2:44: "*You shall not, therefore, escape the penalty for your perjury, but I shall punish you as a miscreant both for this crime and for your insolence to my father at the time of his flight....*"<sup>100</sup>

Solomon concludes his words to Shimei with an expression of confidence (see 1 Kgs 2:45) that he himself will be "blessed" and that the throne of David "shall be established before the Lord forever." As he did with the king's similar declaration of 2:33b (see 8.15; cf. n. 78), Josephus does not reproduce this portion of the king's speech, given, one might suppose, Solomon's own eventual "unblessed" end and the fall of the Davidic dynasty itself. In its place he has Solomon spell out (8.20a) the lesson Shimei's punishment is designed to teach him (and others as well):

---

Solomon's emotional response here recalls his—likewise inserted—mention of the king's "taking offence" at Bathsheba's request in 8.9.

<sup>99</sup> Compare Solomon's question to Shimei in 1 Kgs 2:42aβbα: "Did I not make you swear by the Lord and solemnly admonish you, saying, 'Know for certain that on the day you go forth to any place whatever, you shall die?'" Josephus leaves aside the continuation of the king's accusatory query in 2:42bβ–43: "And you said to me, 'What you say is good [> LXX B]; I obey.' Why then have you not kept your oath to the Lord and the commandment with which I charged you?"

<sup>100</sup> Compare Solomon's word to Shimei in 2:44a: "You know in your own heart all the evil you did to David my father; so the Lord will bring your evil upon your own head." Josephus' formulation makes more specific allusion to Shimei's crime against David, i.e. his cursing the king during the latter's flight before Absalom (see 2 Sam 16:5–14// *Ant.* 7.207–210). Josephus likewise turns Solomon's declaration about the Lord's requiting Shimei into a statement about his own intention of punishing him (as he had been directed to do by the dying David; see 1 Kgs 2:8–9// *Ant.* 7.388); cf. his similar handling of Solomon's words concerning Joab's punishment (1 Kgs 2:31–33) in *Ant.* 8.15; see n. 78.

*... in order that you may know that evildoers gain nothing by not being punished at the time of their crimes,<sup>101</sup> but during the whole time in which they think themselves secure because they have suffered nothing, their punishment increases and becomes more severe than that which they would have paid at the very moment of their wrongdoing.<sup>102</sup>*

Solomon's confrontation with Shimei ends in 1 Kgs 2:46a with the king's "commanding" Benaiah with the result that the latter goes out and strikes the culprit who himself dies (LXX B lacks the mention of Shimei's dying). Josephus (8.20b) conflates the royal order and its execution: "Then Banaiaś at the king's command put Sūmūisōs to death."

Following 1 Kgs 2:46a, MT and LXX BL diverge markedly. The former witness rounds off the whole unit 1 Kgs 2:12–46 with a notice (2:46b) corresponding to 2:12 (see above) on the "establishment" of Solomon's kingdom. LXX BL lack an equivalent to this notice; their rendering of 2:46a is followed by a second, lengthy "miscellany" of notices drawn from other contexts of the Solomon narrative (LXX B: 2:46<sup>a-1</sup>; compare 2:35<sup>a-o</sup> cf. n. 80).<sup>103</sup> Josephus, like MT, has no parallel to the complex of 2:46<sup>a-1</sup>, while, conversely, he does offer a counterpart to MT's 2:46b.

Whereas, however, in MT the notice of 2:46b ("so the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon") serves to conclude the entire unit 2:12–46, Josephus turns his version into a transition to the following reference (1 Kgs 3:1, MT) to Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter and his building activities;<sup>104</sup> see below.

<sup>101</sup> This, in fact, is what happened with Shimei himself: David prevented Abishai from slaying him during his cursing of the king (see 2 Sam 16:10–11// *Ant.* 7.209) and later promised not to execute him (2 Sam 19:23// *Ant.* 7.266).

<sup>102</sup> On Josephus' penchant for attaching such philosophical reflections to the biblical episodes he relates, see Feldman, *Studies*, 565–566.

<sup>103</sup> On 1 Kgs (3 Rgns) 2:46<sup>a-1</sup>, see Schenker, *Septante*, 8–9, 17–35.

<sup>104</sup> This verse has no equivalent in LXX BL which follow the plus of 1 Kgs 2:46<sup>l</sup> with their rendering of 1 Kgs 3:2 (the people's burning incense on the high places).

*Solomon's kingship confirmed*

As mentioned above, MT rounds off the unit 1 Kgs 2:12–46 concerning Solomon's consolidation of power with the brief notice "So the kingdom was established in the hand of Solomon" (2:46b). Josephus (8.21a) expatiates: "Solomon, having now firm possession of the kingdom, *and his enemies having been thus chastised...*"<sup>105</sup>.

*Conclusion*

In this conclusion to my essay, I shall briefly summarize my findings regarding the two questions with which I began. The first of those questions concerned the textual affinities of Josephus' version of 1 Kgs 2:12–46 in *Ant.* 8.1–21a. Over the course of my comparison among them, I noted, first of all, several instances of agreement between Josephus and the readings of LXX BL against MT. Thus, in having Adonijah "greet Bathsheba in a friendly manner" (8.3), he aligns himself with LXX BL 1 Kgs 2:13 where he "does her homage" *contra* MT which does not mention any demonstration of respect by the prince and where their interchange is (verbally) initiated by the queen mother. Again, the action which Josephus ascribes to Solomon upon the approach of his mother (he "embraces" her, 8.7) is more similar to LXX BL's 2:19 ("he kissed her") than to MT's "he bowed down to her." His use of the title "commander" for Joab in 8.9 agrees with LXX BL's more expansive designation for this figure in 2:22 (see n. 37). Josephus likewise has an equivalent (see 8.14; and cf. n. 72) to the plus of LXX BL 2:30 where Joab declares "I will not come forth," whereas MT's Joab makes no such affirmation. Finally, in line with LXX BL 2:37, he (8.17) depicts Solomon concluding his admonitions to Shimei by imposing an oath on him. In all these instances, as will be noted, Josephus' agreement is with the combined witness of LXX BL against MT. In only one case, i.e. the reference to Joab's support for Adonijah rather than Solomon (8.13), does Josephus' wording

<sup>105</sup> The above appended phrase makes summary reference to the four figures (Adonijah, Abiathar, Joab, and Shimei) and Solomon's dealings with them featured in *Ant.* 8.1–20 (// 1 Kgs 2:12–46).

suggest dependence on a distinctive reading of LXX L (1 Kgs 2:28) against that of LXX B (and MT as well); see n. 65.<sup>106</sup> At the same time, as we have also noted, Josephus, in agreement with MT, lacks a parallel to a number of LXX BL pluses in 2:12-46, e.g., the phrase “and the kingdom was strengthened in Jerusalem” of 2:35 and the extended “miscellanies” of 2:35<sup>a-°</sup> and 2:46<sup>a-1</sup>, just as, positively, he has a version of the MT’s plus of 1 Kgs 2:46b (and 3:1) in 8.21. It thus appears that the textual affinities of *Ant.* 8.1-21a are mixed, the unit evidencing points of contact with the distinctive readings of both MT and LXX BL 1 Kgs 2:12-46.

My second opening question asked about the rewriting techniques applied by Josephus to his biblical material in 8.1-21a and the distinctive features of his presentation that result from their application. The rewriting techniques that I have noted are additions, omissions, rearrangements and (other) modifications. Here I limit myself to recalling representative examples of each technique identified in the foregoing study.

Throughout *Ant.* 8.1-21a Josephus makes additions of greater or lesser extent to the Bible’s account of Solomon’s consolidation of power. These include: the prefatory summary of Book 7 (8.1), the amplification of 1 Kgs 2:12 in 8.2, Adonijah’s claim about being satisfied with Solomon’s rule (8.4) and his characterization of Abishag (8.5), the elaborations of Bathsheba’s statement of her readiness to assist Adonijah (8.6; compare 2:18) and of Solomon’s assurance to his mother (8.8; compare 2:20b), the excursus on the priestly succession in 8.11-12 (compare 2:27),<sup>107</sup> Joab’s motives in fleeing to

<sup>106</sup> This finding of a very limited use by Josephus of distinctive readings of LXX L in our segment only holds, of course, for our particular segment. According to M<sup>a</sup> V. Spottorno, “Josephus’ Text for 1-2 Kings (3-4 Kingdoms),” in *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Paris 1992*, (SBLSCSS 41; ed. L. Greenspoon and O. Munnich; Atlanta: Scholars, 1995), 145-152, for his text of 1-2 Kings overall Josephus did draw in first place on a Greek, proto-Antiochene (Lucianic) text-form.

<sup>107</sup> As pointed out in n. 52, Josephus’ listing of the succession of priests from Phineas to Zadok in 8.11-12 seems to draw (in part) on the priestly genealogy given in 1 Chr 5:27-41. This observation is of relevance *vis-à-vis* the provocative thesis of Nodet, *Flavius Josephus IV*, xlix-lii that Josephus in composing *Antiquities* 8-9 did not

the altar (8.13; compare 2:28), and Solomon's state of mind upon hearing of Shimei's transgression (8.19; compare 2:41–42aβ).

Conversely, the historian, just as frequently, omits or abbreviates source elements. He simply passes over, e.g., the opening two-part exchange between Bathsheba and Adonijah (2:13b–14) and Solomon's double oath to execute Adonijah (2:23–24). In addition, he regularly conflates separate biblical mentions of an order and its execution (compare 2:25 and 8:9; 2:29–30a and 8.14; 2:45 and 8.20b) and dispenses with superfluous source details (compare, e.g., 8.18b–19a and 2:39–40; cf. nn. 94–95).

Josephus likewise takes liberties with the sequence of the Bible's narrative. Instances of such rearrangements are: the order in which Solomon mentions Adonijah's two supporters (8.9; compare 2:22), the king's citing Abiathar's past services prior to—rather than following—his announcement of punishment for the guilty priest (8.10; compare 2:26), and the insertion of Solomon's accusation concerning Joab's killing of Abner and Amasa (2:32) within his directives to Benaiah about executing and burying Joab (2:31a) in 8.15.

I called the final category of Josephan rewriting techniques in 8.1–20 “(other) modifications.” On the stylistic/terminological level, the modification technique is exemplified by his recurring substitution of indirect for biblical direct discourse (see n. 29) and his avoidance of the term “word” in reference to a divine utterance (compare 8.11 and 2:27; see n. 50). As for modifications affecting source content, Josephus generalizes Abiathar's personal dismissal to encompass the whole priestly line to which he belongs (compare 8.11 and 2:27). He makes Solomon's initial order to Benaiah concerning Joab to bring him “to the judgement-hall to make his defence” rather than to “strike him down” (compare 8.14 and 2:29b, MT), while in 8.20a he has the king spell out the lesson Shimei's punishment is designed to teach; compare 1 Kgs 2:44b–45 where Solomon concludes his

---

have before him a text of 2 Chronicles, but rather a expanded Hebrew form of 1–2 Kings that contained some of the material that was later incorporated into the book of 2 Chronicles as we know this. Nodet's thesis calls for detailed examination, which, however would require an article of its own.



words to Shimei by averring that the Lord will bring his evil upon his head, even while he and David's house will enjoy divine favor.

My second initial question also concerned the distinctiveness of Josephus' account of Solomon's initiatives that results from his application of the above rewriting techniques. In fact, my study identified a whole series of distinctive features in Josephus' presentation. Overall, he streamlines the biblical account with its frequent seemingly extraneous details, repetitiousness, and spelling out matters readers might readily infer for themselves. Conversely, characters' feelings, motivations and thought processes are explicated; see 8.6 (Adonijah), 8.9 (Solomon), 8.13 (Joab), and 8.19 (Solomon). Bathsheba's (unexplained) willingness to assist Adonijah is accentuated (see 8.3–8). Likewise the biblical portrait of Solomon receives a number of positive retouchings at Josephus' hands: Joab himself recognizes the "piety" of the king (8.13), who is himself ready to give the fugitive a trial (8.14) and evidences a particular solicitude for the inviolability of oaths (8.19).<sup>108</sup> Josephus, a priest himself, takes care to situate the dismissal of Abiathar (2:26–27) within the wider history of the priesthood (8.11–12). A certain "detheologizing" tendency makes itself felt throughout Josephus' version in which biblical references to the Deity both as a source of punishment for malefactors and of blessing for the Davidic line (see n. 78) are left aside.<sup>109</sup> Source allusions to the perpetuity of David's dynasty (see 2:33b, 45) are passed over or reworded, presumably in view both of the dynasty's eventual fate and of Roman sensibilities concerning resurgent Jewish messianism.<sup>110</sup> The discrepancy between Solomon's directive to Benaiah (2:29 MT, i.e. strike Joab down) and the latter's instead addressing

<sup>108</sup> On Josephus' recurrent emphasis on the sanctity of biblical characters' oaths and the apologetic significance of this emphasis, given contemporary canards about the Jews as an untrustworthy people, see L.H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrayal (*Antiquities* 5.136–174) of the Benjamite Affair of the Concubine and its Repercussions (Judges 19–21)," *JQR* 90 (2000) 255–292, esp. 283–284.

<sup>109</sup> On such "detheologizing" as a hallmark of Josephus' retelling of biblical history in the *Antiquities*, see Feldman, *Interpretation*, 205–214.

<sup>110</sup> On "anti-messianism" as a feature of Josephus' presentation of Jewish history, see Feldman, *Studies*, 554–55.

himself to Joab, summoning him to “come forth” (2:30), is resolved in Josephus’ handling of the matter in 8.14. Finally, in his rendering of the “Adonijah episode” of 2:13–25 in 8.3–9, Josephus heightens the irony and the reader’s eventual surprise by stressing the confidence of Adonijah and Bathsheba in a favorable outcome, only to have Solomon react in a way completely contrary to their expectations.

In composing the extended biblical portion of his *Antiquities* (1.1–11.296) Josephus pursued a wide range of objectives in his retelling of scriptural history and used a variety of techniques to accomplish those objectives. As this essay has attempted to show, *Ant.* 8.1–21a, brief as it is, provides noteworthy examples of both these features of Josephus’ rewritten Bible.<sup>111</sup>

<sup>111</sup> I wish to express my sincere thanks to the anonymous evaluators of an earlier draft of this article whose many helpful comments concerning it contributed significantly to its improvement.