

KING DAVID'S DOUBLE RECOGNITION AT HEBRON ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS

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1. Introduction

2 Sam 5,1-3 and 1 Chr 11,1-3 tell a largely similar story of David's recognition as king by a group of Israelites at Hebron. Whereas this is the only such happening in Samuel, the Chronicler goes on, after an extended interlude (11,4–12,22) dealing with other matters,¹ to relate a similar such happening in 12,23–40. Josephus too, in his *Antiquitates judaicae* (hereafter *Ant.* 7.53-60)² narrates a two-stage pan-Israelite acclamation of David's kingship at Hebron. In contrast to the Chronicler, however, the historian recounts the two moments of the king's recognition back-to-back, just as his presentation of both moments evidences numerous differences *vis-à-vis* the biblical account(s). In this essay then I wish to focus on the Josephan version of David's encounters with the Israelites who come to him at Hebron. More specifically, my study will address several wider questions: (1) In recounting the initial Hebron happening did Josephus draw on both (slightly different) accounts in 2 Sam 5,1-3 and 1 Chr 11,1-3 or rather did he limit himself to one of these to the exclusion of the other? (2) Can anything be ascertained about the text-form(s) of 2 Sam 5,1-3 and/or 1 Chr 11,1-3; 12,23-40 used by Josephus? And (3) What sort of rewriting techniques has Josephus

1. Within 1 Chr 11,4–12,22 one may distinguish the following segments: 11,4-9 (// 2 Sam 5,6-10: David captures Jerusalem); 11,10-47 (// 2 Sam 23,8-39: David's heroes and their exploits); 12,1-22 (*Sondergut*: lists of those who attached themselves to David already during Saul's lifetime).

2. For the text and translation of *Ant.* 7.53-60 I use: R. Marcus, *Josephus V* (LCL), Cambridge, MA – London: Heinemann, 1934, pp. 386-391. I have further consulted the relevant text, translation and notes in E. Nodet, *Flavius Josèphe III: Les Antiquités Juives Livres VI et VII*, Paris, 2001, pp. 130-133* and the annotated translation of C.T. Begg, *Flavius Josephus Judean Antiquities 5-7* (Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary), Leiden, 2005, pp. 218-220.

applied to the data of his biblical *Vorlage(n)*, and what is distinctive about his own presentation as a result of their application?

2. *First Hebron Encounter*

As noted above, 2 Sam 5,1-3 and 1 Chr 11,1-3 —to which Josephus' equivalent is *Ant.* 7.53-54— run largely parallel in their respective accounts of an approach to David at Hebron by a large-scale Israelite delegation. In fact, the biblical passages seem to tell of a double visit to Hebron, first by «all the tribes of Israel» (5,1a) / «all Israel» (11,1a) and then by «all the elders of Israel» (5,3 // 11,3). Josephus (7.53a), by contrast, speaks of a single such (initial) visit made by the Israelite authorities: «*When these matters had thus been brought to an end,*³ there came to David at Hebron all the principal men of the Hebrew people,⁴ the captains of thousands and their leaders...»⁵

In limiting himself to the leaders' approach to David, Josephus likewise transfers to those leaders the words which in 2 Sam 5,1b-2 // 1 Chr 11,1b-2 are ascribed to «all (the tribes of) Israel». Biblically, the Israelites open their address to David in 2 Sam 5,1b // 1 Chr 11,1b with a statement of their solidarity with the king-to-be: «behold, we are your bone and flesh». Thereafter (2 Sam 5,2a // 1 Chr 11,2a), they focus on David's past military role as the one who «led out and brought in» Israel already during Saul's reign. Josephus' version (7.53b) of the leaders' words expatiates on their long-standing attachment to David,⁶ while also turning the biblical Israelites' allusive language and direct address discourse in a more prosaic and indirect address formulation: «... [they] offered themselves to him while reminding him of the loyalty they had always shown him when Saul was alive, and the honour which they had not ceased to show him since he had become captain of a thousand...»⁷ The

3. Josephus supplies this transitional phrase (I italicize such items that lack a counterpart in the biblical account). «These matters» to which the phrase refers are the assassination of Ishbosheth and David's punishment of the assassins recounted by Josephus just previously in *Ant.* 7.46-52 (// 2 Samuel 4).

4. Throughout 2 Sam 5,1-3 // 1 Chr 11,1-3 the reference is to «Israel». On Josephus' use of the designation «Hebrew(s)» for his people, see G. Harvey, *The True Israel: Uses of the Names Jew, Hebrew, and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (AGJU 35), Leiden, 1996, pp. 124-129.

5. Josephus' mention of the above three categories of Hebrew chiefs is his (anticipated) elaboration of the reference to «all the elders of Israel» in 2 Sam 5,3 // 1 Chr 11,3.

6. By means of this focus, Josephus supplies an implicit motivation for the leaders' current approach to David: their doing so is only the culmination of the favorable stance they have consistently entertained towards him.

7. Josephus mentions Saul's appointment of David as a «chiliarch» in *Ant.* 6.195 (// 1 Sam 18,12).

Israelites conclude (2 Sam 5,2b // 1 Chr 11,2b) their address to David by affirming that the Lord had told him that he was to be Israel's «shepherd» and «prince».⁸ As the commentators point out, the difficulty with this declaration is that neither Samuel nor Chronicles has previously recorded such a divine promise to David that would provide a point of reference for the Israelites' current declaration. In the face of this difficulty Josephus (7.53c) has the leaders allude to a comparable, previously cited word of God to David: «they also declared that he had been chosen king⁹ by God *through the prophet Samuel*,¹⁰ *together with his sons*,¹¹ and that God had given him power to save the Hebrews' country¹² *by conquering the Philistines*».¹³

In the biblical accounts David makes no response to the Israelites' address (2 Sam 5,1b-2 // 1 Chr 11,1b-2). Instead, in 2 Sam 5,3 // 1 Chr 11,3 the presentation shifts abruptly to mention of the elders' coming to him (see above). Josephus, for his part, supplies (7.54) a response by David of which the conclusion further serves to set up the appearance of the tribal contingents that he will relate immediately thereafter (see 7.55-60) on the basis of 1 Chr 12,23-40. This reads: «David commended them for their devotion¹⁴ and urged them to

8. The Lucianic (or Antiochene) manuscripts of the 1xx (hereafter 1xx 1) lack the reference to David's being Israel's future «leader» in their version of 2 Sam 5,2b.

9. In mt 2 Sam 5,2b // 1 Chr 11,2b the reference is to God's telling David that he will be Israel's «leader» (Hebrew מֶלֶךְ). Josephus' substitute term («king») reflects the wording of Samuel's statement to David on the occasion of the latter's anointing in *Ant.* 6.165 (see n. 13), just as it corresponds to the notice of 2 Sam 5,3b // 1 Chr 11,3b that David was anointed, not «leader», but rather «king» by the Israelite elders.

10. Neither 2 Sam 5,2b nor 1 Chr 11,2b mentions Samuel as the conduit of the divine promise to David that the Israelites cite. Josephus likely found inspiration for his interjected reference to the prophet's role in the concluding words of 1 Chr 11,3b (no parallel in 2 Sam 5,3b) where the Israelite elders anoint David «according to the word of the Lord by Samuel».

11. The divine promise as cited in 2 Sam 5,2b // 1 Chr 11,2b speaks only of David's own future role. Josephus amplifies the promise to encompass David's descendants as well, doing so on the basis of Samuel's word to David at his anointing as cited in 6.165; see n. 13.

12. This component of the divine promise might be seen as Josephus' clarifying rendering of the «shepherd language» used of David in 2 Sam 5,2b // 1 Chr 11,2b. In addition to rewording that source item, Josephus reverses the biblical order of God's two declarations concerning David where what he is to do (pasture Israel) is mentioned prior to the position (Israel's «leader») that he is to hold.

13. The divine promises for David cited in 2 Sam 5,2b // 1 Chr 11,2b make no mention of the Philistines. The item (like the foregoing, biblically unparalleled reference to David's «sons» [see n. 11] and the allusion to David as Israel's future «king» [see n. 9]) does, however, find a counterpart in the earlier passage to which Josephus' leaders are alluding here. That passage, i.e. *Ant.* 6.165, records the words that the Josephan Samuel addressed to David on the occasion of his anointing: «God had chosen him to be king [...] his house would become splendid and renowned [...] he would subdue the Philistines...» (this whole address is Josephus' elaboration of 1 Sam 16,13aα where Samuel anoints David without saying a word to him).

14. David's praising the leaders for their devotion to him here picks up on and acknowledges the latter's own emphasis on their long-standing «loyalty» to David in *Ant.* 7.53b.

continue in it, for, he said, they would have no regrets for so doing.¹⁵ Then, after entertaining them and treating them hospitably,¹⁶ he sent them away to bring all the people to him.»¹⁷

3. *Second Hebron Encounter*

The Chronicler supplies his account (12,23-40) of the tribal contingents' visit to Hebron with a heading (12,23) that distinguishes the account as a new, distinct unit within 1 Chronicles 12, i.e. «these are the numbers of the divisions of the armed troops, who came to David in Hebron to turn the kingdom of Saul over to him, according to the word of the Lord» (RSV). Given his immediate juxtaposition of the two Hebron encounters via David's dispatching the leaders to summon the whole people to him at the end of 7.54 (see n. 17) as well as his non-utilization of the material of 12,1-22, Josephus dispenses with this heading. Instead, he turns immediately (7.55) to the first of the tribal groups featured in the Chronicler's listing, i.e. Judah. In so doing, he amplifies the notice of 1 Chr 12,24 in view of the fact that he has previously mentioned this tribe's

15. This reply by David to the leaders has no direct counterpart in the biblical accounts. It might, however, be seen as Josephus' version of the notice of 2 Sam 5,3aβ // 1 Chr 11,3aβ according to which David «made a covenant» with the Israelite elders «at Hebron before the Lord.» The historian's reformulation of the source reference to a «covenant» is in line with his consistent avoidance of Lxx's peculiar use of the term *διαθήκη* in the sense of «covenant» as its regular translation of Hebrew *ברית*. On the topic see C.T. Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (BETL 108), Leuven, 1993, pp. 100-101, n. 609.

16. This element of the Josephan David's response to the leaders is likely inspired by 1 Chr 12,39-40 where the tribal contingents enjoy three days of feasting with their new king. By means of the insertion Josephus accentuates the parallelism between David's two encounters with those who approach him, just as he highlights the king's munificent hospitality. On Josephus' portrayal of David overall, see L.H. Feldman, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, Berkeley, 1998, pp. 537-569.

17. This concluding directive by David prepares for the coming of the tribal contingents to Hebron that Josephus will relate in *Ant.* 7.54-60 on the basis of 1 Chr 12,23-40. By means of the directive Josephus directly links the two Hebron episodes of 1 Chr 11,1-3 (// 2 Sam 5,1-3) and 12,23-40 that in 1 Chronicles itself are separated by an extended segment, i.e. 11,4-12,22 (see n. 1). The directive further makes the coming of the tribal contingents a response to David's summons, thereby highlighting his authority *vis-à-vis* 12,23-40 where the tribesmen appear to come to Hebron on their own initiative. Finally, note that the above injunction by David takes the place of the mention in 5,3b // 11,3b that the Israelite elders «anointed David king over Israel». In leaving aside the source reference to the elders' king-making initiative, Josephus avoids the seeming duplication between this notice and 1 Chr 12,38a where there is mention of the tribal contingents' coming to Hebron to «make David king over all Israel» —something that has already happened through the agency of the elders according to 5,3b // 11,3b. In Josephus' presentation there is only one mention of the Israelites' investing David with the kingship, i.e. in his parallel to 12,38a in 7.60 (see below).

acknowledgement of David as king in *Ant.* 7.8 on the basis of 2 Sam 2,4.¹⁸ His expanded version of 12,24 thus runs: «Thereupon there came to him from the tribe of Judah *about* six thousand eight hundred armed men carrying as weapons long shields and barbed lances, *who had remained loyal to the son of Saul* [i.e. Ish-bosheth] *and had not joined the tribe of Judah in proclaiming David king.*»¹⁹ Next on the Chronicler's list are the 7,100 Simeonites (see 12,25). Josephus' parallel (7.56a) omits the biblical qualification of them as «mighty men of valor»: «From the tribe of Simeon came seven thousand one hundred.»

1 Chr 12,26 mentions 4,600 Levites. Thereafter, 12,27 cites «prince Jehoiada of the house of Aaron» with his 3,700 men, while 12,28 features «Zadok» and the «twenty-two commanders from his own father's house» who accompany him. The Josephan version (7.56b) of this sequence differs in several particulars: «From the tribe of Levi came four thousand *seven hundred*²⁰ with Jōdamos²¹ commanding;²² among them were the *high priest* Sadok²³ and twenty-two kinsmen as leaders.»

18. The problem that Josephus' appendix to 1 Chr 12,25 seeks to address does not arise in the Chronicler's own presentation, where is no mention of a previous, separate submission of the Judeans to David such as one finds in 2 Sam 2,4 and *Ant.* 7.8.

19. In addition to explaining why Judeans come to David at this point, given the tribe's earlier submission to him (see n. 18), this appended notice also provides an implicit explanation concerning a matter that has long troubled commentators, i.e. why is the number of the Judeans (6,800) who approach David here so low in comparison with that of many of the other tribes (see, e.g., 50,000 Zebulunites in 1 Chr 12,33) cited in 12,23-40? Josephus' implicit answer to this question is that the only Judeans who came to David at this point were those who had hitherto given their allegiance to (the recently murdered) Ish-bosheth. (At the same time, the contrived, *ad hoc* nature of this explanation should be noted: Josephus has not previously mentioned supporters of Ish-bosheth among the Judeans, while in *Ant.* 7.8 he even avers that «*all* the people of the aforesaid tribe [i.e. Judah] gathered to him [David] and made him king; cf. also 7.9 where Abner proclaims Ish-bosheth «king of all the multitude *except the tribe of Judah*».)

20. Josephus' figure for the Levites is 100 higher than that given in 1 Chr 12,26. Nodet (see n. 2), *ad loc.* suggests two possible explanations for the discrepancy: (1) the historian's 700 may reflect the figure, i.e. 3,700, cited for Jehoiada's contingent in 12,27, or (2) a copyist might have misread Josephus' original figure, ἑξακόσιοι (600) as the graphically similar ἑπτακόσιοι (700).

21. Greek Ἰόδαμος. mt יהי"ד (Eng.: Jehoiada); Codex Vaticanus (hereafter Ixx b) Ἰωαδάς; Ixx l Ἰωαδά.

22. Josephus conflates the indications of 1 Chr 12,26 (4,600 Levites and 27 (Jehoiada with his 3,700 retainers), making «Jōdamos» commander of the Levites themselves and omitting mention of his being «prince of the house of Aaron.»

23. In 1 Chr 12,28 «Zadok» is called «a young man mighty in valor». The title Josephus uses for him here when mentioning him for the very first time is an anticipation of *Ant.* 7.110 (// 2 Sam 8,17) where Zadok, alongside Abiathar, is cited as «high priest» in the listing of David's officials. Josephus likewise makes more explicit than does 12,28 itself the connection between Zadok and the previously mentioned Levites and the figure of Jehoiada by representing Zadok as one of those Levites commanded by «Jōdamos».

Next to appear in the Chronicler's list are the 3,000 Benjamites cited in 1 Chr 12,29 which further states that the majority of these had remained faithful to the Saulides, their kinsmen, until this moment. Josephus (7.56c) gives a higher figure for the tribe's delegation, likewise explaining why, even now, the other Benjamites refrained from coming to David: «From the tribe of Benjamin came *four thousand*²⁴ *armed men; for (the rest of) the tribe hesitated in the expectation that someone of the family of Saul would still be king.*»²⁵

Following the Benjamites according to 1 Chr 12,30 were 20,800 Ephraimites, all renowned warriors. The historian formulates equivalently in 7.57a: «From the tribe of Ephraim came twenty thousand eight hundred of the ablest and exceptionally powerful men.» Thereafter (12,31), the mention is of 18,000 from the half-tribe of Manasseh «who were expressly named to come and make David king». Josephus' rendering (7.57b) omits the (self-evident) qualification of the group, simply stating «From the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand». In next citing Issachar's delegation, 1 Chr 12,32 calls them «men who had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do», further distinguishing between their 200 «chiefs» and «all their kinsmen under their command» (RSV). Josephus (7.57c) supplies a (large, round) figure for the latter group: «From the tribe of Isachar came two hundred who could foretell the future,²⁶ and *twenty thousand*²⁷ *armed men.*»

The largest single tribal contingent to appear at Hebron is the Zebulunites. According to 1 Chr 12,33 this numbered 50,000 armed warriors who came «to

24. Nodet (see n. 2) *ad loc.* suggests that Josephus himself wrote τρισχίλιοι (3,000 as in 1 Chr 12,29) which, at some stage in the transmission of the text was misread as the abbreviation for τετρακισχίλιοι (4,000).

25. In 1 Chr 12,29 all attention goes to the 3,000 Benjamites who finally do approach David, notwithstanding the earlier allegiance to the Saulides on the part of most of these. Josephus enlarges the perspective to encompass the remaining Benjamites who, even at this point, have not abandoned their Saulide loyalty.

26. This is Josephus' interpretation/specification of the phrase used of the Issacharites in 1 Chr 12,32 (see above). With it compare the extended paraphrase of the *mt* formulation found in Targum Chronicles, where calendrical and astrological expertise is attributed to the delegation's leaders. The Targum further qualifies the 200 Issacharite chiefs as «the heads of the Sanhedrins».

27. This figure has nothing corresponding to it in 1 Chr 12,32. Scholars offer various speculations as to how Josephus arrived at the number he gives for the Issacharite troops. Marcus (see n. 2), *ad loc.* suggests that Josephus might have taken the words attached to the mention of the chiefs' «kinsmen» at the end of Mt 12,33 (i.e. עַל־פִּיהֶם, RSV «at their command»; compare ΙΧΧ μετ' αὐτῶν, «with them»; Targum: «who were putting into practice the decrees of the Lord and who were wise according to the word of their mouth») in the sense «in proportion to them» and assumed that this proportion was 100 to 1 (i.e. 20,000 men corresponding to the 200 chiefs). In addition, he notes the earlier proposal of J. Weill that Josephus read the *mt* phrase rather as עֲשָׂרִים אֱלֶּף (20,000). Nodet (see n. 1), *ad loc.* proffers yet another surmise, i.e. Josephus simply invented a figure for the Issacharite men-at-arms as a parallel to those given for Ephraim and half-Manasseh.

help [David] with singleness of purpose» (RSV's rendering of the obscure **mt** phrase בלא לבלב, literally «not with a heart and a heart»). The Josephan rendition (7.58a) takes the concluding biblical formulation as a reference to the entire tribe and its distinctive initiative: «From the tribe of Zabulon came fifty thousand picked men, *for this tribe was the only one which joined David as a whole.*» The biblical mention of the Zebulunites further qualifies them as «equipped for battle with all the weapons of war». Josephus (7.58b) turns this indication into a notice that their equipment was identical with that of another tribe: «All these had the same armour as the tribe of Judah.»²⁸ The numerous Zebulunites of 1 Chr 12,33 are themselves complemented by another large tribal group, i.e. Naphtali with its 1,000 commanders and 37,000 troops outfitted with shield and spear in 12,34. The historian's version (7.58c) accentuates the size of the Naphtalite delegation still further: «From the tribe of Nephthali came a thousand eminent men and leaders whose weapons were shield and spear,²⁹ and (the rest of) the tribe which followed *was innumerable.*»³⁰

The Danite contingent featured in 1 Chr 12,35 consists of 28,600 men according to **mt** and **lxx l**, while in **lxx b** the figure is 28,800. Josephus' indication on the matter (7.59a) diverges from both these numberings: «From the tribe of Dan came twenty-seven thousand six hundred³¹ picked men.» Juxtaposed to the Danites of 12,35 are the 40,000 «seasoned troops ready for battle» from Asher in 12,36. Josephus (7.59b) leaves aside the source emphasis on the latter tribe's military expertise: «From the tribe of Asher came forty thousand.»

The Chronicler's listing of David's tribal supporters concludes in 1 Chr 12,37 with mention of 120,000 men «armed with all the weapons of war», representing the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and Transjordanian Manasseh. Of the three tribes, Josephus' rendition (7.59c) cites only the third by name, even while making the reference to their weaponry more specific: «From *the two tribes across the Jordan* and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh [see 7.57b] came

28. «Judah» here is the emendation of T. Reinach which Marcus follows; it refers back to the mention of Judah's «long shields and barbed lances» in 1 Chr 7.55 (// *Ant.* 12,24). Nodet, *ad loc.*, by contrast, retains the reading of the codices in 7.58b i.e. «Gad» (cf. 12,37 where this tribe, along with Reuben and the Transjordanian Manassehites, are said to be «armed with all the weapons of war»). (Nodet further proposes that the wording of Josephus' notice in 7.58b is intended to cover, not simply Zebulun, but the whole series of tribes extending from Judah in 7.55 to Naphtali in 7.58c.)

29. In 1 Chr 12,34 the Naphtalites' shields and spears are borne, not by the «commanders» themselves, but rather by their troops.

30. 1 Chr 12,34 specifies 37,000 troops. Josephus' formulation serves to assimilate the Naphtalites to the just mentioned Zebulunites as tribes that gave unlimited support to David.

31. This is the figure given in the codices RO and the Latin translation that Marcus follows. Nodet prefers the round number read by the codices MSP, i.e. 27,000.

a hundred and twenty thousand, armed with *shield, spear, helmet and sword*. *The other tribes also used swords.*³²

The Chronistic account of the appearance of the «second wave» of David's supporters at Hebron terminates with a closing formula (1 Chr 12,38) which, along with the corresponding opening notice of 12,23, frames the intervening listing of the individual tribes in 12,24-37. To that formula, in turn, is attached (12,39-40) a detailed description of the joyful, three-day feast shared by David and the tribes at Hebron. Josephus (7.60) both compresses and rearranges the sequence 1 Chr 12,38-40, while likewise attaching a concluding notice that makes the transition to the next episode of his history. His version reads:

All this multitude, then, assembled before David at Hebron, with a great supply of grain, wine and all sorts of food,³³ and with one voice confirmed David as king.³⁴ For three days the people feasted and made good cheer at Hebron,³⁵ and then David with all of them departed from there and came to Jerusalem.³⁶

32. This conclusion to Josephus' listing of the tribal delegations (*Ant.* 7.55-59 // 1 Chr 12,24-37) lacks an equivalent in 12,37 itself. It might, however, be seen as his anticipation of the phrase used in the following summarizing verse 12,38 where «all these,» i.e. the series of tribal contingents listed in 12,24-37 are qualified as «men of war, arrayed in battle order.»

33. This listing of provisions both anticipates and drastically abridges the more detailed notice of 1 Chr 12,40aba: «And also their [the tribal delegations'] neighbors, from as far as Issachar, Zebulun and Naphtali, came bringing food on asses and on camels and on mules and on oxen, abundant provisions of meal, cakes of figs, clusters of raisins, and wine and oil, oxen and sheep...»

34. Compare 1 Chr 12,38a: «All these, men of war, arrayed in battle order [on Josephus' possible anticipation of this phrase in 7.59c, see n. 32] came to Hebron with full intent to make David king over all Israel.» Josephus has no equivalent to the appended notice of 12,38b («likewise all the rest of Israel were of a single mind to make David king») which would seem to conflict with his reference in 7.56 to the «hesitation» of the remaining Benjamites to acknowledge David, given their ongoing hopes for a Saulide king.

35. This notice combines (elements of) 1 Chr 12,39 («And they were there with David for three days, eating and drinking, for their brethren had made preparation for them») and 12,40bβ («for there was joy in Israel»).

36. This notice serves to introduce Josephus' immediately following account of David's capture of Jerusalem (*Ant.* 7.61-69). The historian draws the content of the notice from 1 Chr 11,4 (// 2 Sam 5,6a). At the same time, he differs from Chronicles in his placing of the episode of Jerusalem's capture. In the Chronicler's presentation this occurs (11,4-9) immediately after the coming of the «first wave» of David's supporters to Hebron (11,1-3; compare the sequence of 2 Sam 5,1-10 where the city's seizure [5,6-10] is separated from David's anointing at Hebron [5,1-3] by the chronological notices of 5,4-5 concerning the two periods of the king's rule). Josephus, by contrast, «delays» David's move against Jerusalem until after he has amassed the necessary troops whose coming to David is related in 7.55-60 (// 1 Chr 12,23-40) —a procedure which seems to make better military sense.

4. Conclusion

Having now completed my detailed comparison between *Ant.* 7.53-60 with 1 Chr 11,1-3 (// 2 Sam 5,1-3) and 12,23-40, I shall briefly sum up on its results in regard to my three opening questions. The first of those questions asked about Josephus' biblical source(s) for the first Hebron episode in 7.53-54: was this 1 Chr 11,1-3 or 2 Sam 5,1-3 or both? Our study yielded only one relevant indication on the matter, i.e. the reference to Samuel's agency in designating David in 7.53c might, I suggested, have been inspired by the concluding words of 1 Chr 11,3b, unparalleled in 2 Sam 5,3b, about the elders' anointing David king «according to the word of the Lord by Samuel» (see n. 10). On the other hand, we also found that Josephus' presentation in both 7.53-54 and 7.55-60 does allude to portions of the wider Samuel context that lack a parallel in Chronicles. Thus, the transitional phrase «when these matters had been brought to an end» at the start of 7.53 refers back to the preceding story of David's punishment of Ish-bosheth's assassins (*Ant.* 7.46-52 // 2 Samuel 4). Similarly, the characterization of the Judeans who approach David at Hebron as those who did not join their tribesmen's earlier acclamation of David's kingship, which Josephus appends (7.55) to the notice of 1 Chr 12,24 concerning Judah's contingent, has in view the *Sondergut* presentation of 2 Sam 2,4 (// *Ant.* 7.8) about the tribe's separate, previous recognition of David (see n. 19). *Ant.* 7.53-60, then, supplies evidence —whether direct or indirect— of Josephus' utilization of both Samuel and Chronicles for his version of the two Hebron scenes.

My second opening question concerned the text-form(s) of the biblical materials utilized by Josephus in composing *Ant.* 7.53-60. This study did not, in fact, yield clear-cut indications on the matter —understandably so, given the brevity of the segment itself, the overall convergence between *mt* and *lxx* 1 Chr 11,1-3 and 12,23-40, and Josephus' own consistent paraphrasing tendency. The one finding of note in this regard was a negative one: the historian's distinctive figures for several of the tribal groupings in 7.55-60 (see 7.56a [the Levites]; 7.56b [the Benjamites]; 7.57c [Issachar]; and 7.59a [Dan]) could suggest that Josephus worked with a text-form of 1 Chr 12,23-40 different from any of those known to us.³⁷

More can be said concerning my third initial question regarding Josephus' rewriting techniques in *Ant.* 7.53-60 and the distinctiveness of his account of the two Hebron happenings these generate. A first such rewriting technique is

37. On the overall question of the text of Chronicles utilized by Josephus, see M.V. Spottorno, «The Book of Chronicles in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities*», in B.A. Taylor (ed.), *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Cambridge 1995* (Septuagint and Cognate Studies 45), Atlanta, 1997, pp. 391-390 (She concludes [p. 389] that Josephus textual affinities are above all with the *lxx* I text of Chronicles.)

represented by the historian's additions to / amplifications of source items. Examples include: the transitional phrase at the opening of 7.53 linking this to the preceding story of Ish-bosheth's assassination; the notice (7.54), unparalleled in either 2 Sam 5,1-3 or 1 Chr 11,1-3, on David's response to the Israelites' address and his entertaining of them; the appended characterization of the Judeans who now approach David (7.55a, compare 12,24); and the remark about the «armour» worn by «all these» tacked on to the presentation of the Zebulunite delegation in 7.58a (compare 12,33).

Conversely, Josephus also omits or compresses *Vorlage* elements. The double coming of Israelite groups spoken of in 2 Sam 5,1 // 1 Chr 11,1 and 5,3 // 11,3 respectively is reduced to a single one in *Ant.* 7.53a. The heading given by the Chronicler to his list of the tribal delegations (12,23) is passed over. Within that list itself, the data of 12,26-28 concerning the Levites, Jehoiada and Zadok are conflated (see 7.56a). The descriptive phrases used of half-Manasseh and the Asherites in 12,31 (// 7.57b) and 12,36 (// 7.59b) respectively are both dropped, as is the reference to the remaining Israelites unanimously supporting David's kingship (compare 12,38b and 7.60; see n. 34). Likewise the elaborate account of the provisioning of the Hebron assembly given in 12,39-40 is markedly shortened in 7.60a.

Yet another rewriting technique evidenced by *Ant.* 7.53-60 is its rearrangement of the biblical sequence. The most noteworthy example of this technique is the historian's direct juxtaposition of the two Hebron happenings which, in 1 Chronicles 11-12, are separated by a long stretch of intervening material, i.e. 1 Chr 11,4-12,22 (see n. 1). Thereafter at the end of our pericope the summarizing reference (12,38a) to the delegations' martial appearance is anticipated in 7.59 (*in fine*; see n. 32), while the component parts of 12,39-40 are rearranged in 7.60a. To this category pertains as well the fact that Josephus situates his version (7.61-69) of the story of David's capture of Jerusalem at a different point within his wider presentation (i.e. immediately after the two Hebron happenings) from that of either 2 Samuel 5 or 1 Chronicles 11-12 (see n. 36).

Finally, Josephus modifies and adapts the biblical data in still other ways: the style, terminology and the content. The Israelites' opening words to David as cited 7.53b are formulated in indirect address, employ a more prosaic language and focus on the callers' long-standing attachment to David, as compared with the direct address, allusiveness and emphasis on David's own activity of their counterparts' speech in 2 Sam 5,1b-2a and 1 Chr 11,1b-2a. In the continuation of their words in *Ant.* 7.53c Josephus substitutes a reminiscence of Samuel's address to the newly anointed David, as reported—without biblical basis—by him in 6.165, for the callers' invocation (5,2b // 11,2b) of a word spoken by God to David that has not previously been cited either in Samuel or Chronicles (see n. 13). Subsequently, the first Hebron scene ends, not with the anointing of David by the Israelite elders as in 5,3b // 11,3b, but

rather with the former's dismissing the leaders to bring «all the people to him» (7.54 *in fine*). In his rendering of 1 Chr 12,23-40, Josephus (7.56a) characterizes Zadok differently (i.e. as «high priest») differently than does 12,28 («a young man mighty in valor») with a eye to that figure's later role (see n. 23). The earlier attachment to the Saulides attributed to the majority of the Benjamites who now approach David in 1 Chr 12,29 is reapplied by him in 7.56b to those members of the tribe who, even now, persist in their loyalty to Saul's line. The qualification of the Issacharites as «men who had understanding of the times, to know what Israel ought to do» (12,32) becomes a reference to their ability to «foretell the future» in 7.57. The allusive reference to the Zebulunites' approaching David «without a heart and a heart» at the end of (mt) 12,34 is turned into the immediately intelligible statement (7.58a) that they were «the only tribe that joined David as a whole». In place of the figure (37,000) given for the troops of Naphtali in 12,34, these are said to be «innumerable» in 7.58. Finally, the mention of Reuben and Gad in 12,37 is generalized in 7.59c while the summary reference to «all the weapons of war» carried by the Transjordanians in that same verse is rendered more concrete.

Josephus' application of the above four categories of rewriting techniques to the data of 1 Chr 11,1-3 (// 2 Sam 5,1-3); 12,23-40 results in a version of the two Hebron happenings that is distinctive in many respects. One notes, first of all, the historian's streamlining of the biblical presentation(s), especially at the beginning and end of his own account. Thus, the redundancy involved in the two-fold, back-to-back «coming» first of the Israelites *en bloc* (2 Sam 5,1a // 1 Chr 11,1a) and then of their elders in 2 Sam 5,3a // 1 Chr 11,3a is eliminated in 7.54a where there is a single approach to David on the part of the leaders. Similarly, Josephus' rendition of 12,39-40 in 7.60a discards many of the minor, superfluous details reported in those verses.

Josephus further endeavors to render the sometimes allusive, figurative language of his source(s) more straightforward and unambiguous (compare 2 Sam 5,1b-2a // 1 Chr 11,1b-2a and *Ant.* 7.53b; 12,33 and 7.58a). In the same line, he resolves the problem of the missing referent for the Israelites' «quotation» of God's prior word to David of 5,2b // 11,2b in his formulation of this in 7.53c (see n. 13). A further apparent problem in 5,1-3 and 11,1-3 is these verses' failure to mention any response by David to the Israelites' extended address to him. The historian resolves this problem as well by means of his inserted reference (7.54a) to the king's commendation of his interlocutors and the entertainment he gives them. Whereas in 1 Chronicles 11-12 the connection between the two Hebron happenings (11,1-3 and 12,23-40) is obscured by the intervening material of 11,4-12,22, Josephus underscores the connection in various ways: On both occasions, rather than only on the second one, those who come to David to Hebron enjoy entertainment there (see 7.54a, 60a // 1 Chr 12,38-39). Likewise the anointing of David by the elders recounted in 1 Chr 11,3b (// 2 Sam 5,3b) that might seem to make the subsequent coming of the tribal dele-

gations to appoint him king (see 1 Chr 12,38a) otiose is replaced by Josephus (7.54b) with David's command to the leaders that they assemble the whole people to himself, just as the heading of 12,23, which signifies the start of a new unit after the long intervening segment 1 Chr 11,4-1,22, is omitted by him. Yet another biblical problem addressed by Josephus in 7.53-60 is the question of why Judeans should be among those who now come to David given the tribe's earlier recognition of his kingship and why, moreover, the tribe's delegation should have been as small—relatively speaking—as it is (compare 12,24 and 7.55a; see n. 19). In not reproducing the reference of 1 Chr 12,38b to the «stay-at-home» Israelites who also unanimous endorse David's kingship, Josephus avoids an internal contradiction with his own earlier affirmation (7.56c) that certain of the Benjamites, even at this point, retained their hopes for a Saulide king (see n. 34). And finally, in repositioning the story of David's capture of Jerusalem to a later point than that of 1 Chronicles 11-12 (and 2 Samuel 5), i.e. subsequent to the coming of the tribal warriors to him at Hebron (and by modifying the conclusion of his version of 12,23-40 accordingly), Josephus offers a sequence of events that seems (militarily) more plausible than do the sources' presentation, namely, it was only after, rather than before, he has amassed the sizable body of troops represented by the tribal contingents that David ventured to move against Jerusalem (see n. 36). Throughout 7.53-60 then, one finds Josephus reworking his source material both to eliminate its difficulties and to ensure the inner coherence of his own version and the connectedness of this with its wider context in the *Antiquities*.

Ant. 7.53-60 is but a minute speck within the vast expanse of the *Antiquities*' twenty component books. Nevertheless, as this study has, I hope, made clear, the historian brought to bear a good deal of thought and care in composing his version of the events featured in that tiny portion. His exertions, in turn, call for (and repay) like exertions on the part of contemporary students of Josephus' rewritten Bible.

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Summary

2 Sam 5,1-3 tells of David's recognition as king by representatives of the Israelite tribes at Hebron. The Chronicler gives his parallel to this account in 1 Chr 11,1-3. Subsequently, the Chronicler reports a second approach to David at Hebron on the part of tribal military delegations in 1 Chr 12,23-40, with a long segment (11,4–12,22) relating to other matters intervening. This essay studies Josephus' handling of the biblical accounts of these events in his *Ant.* 7.53-60. In particular, the essay addresses the questions of the text-form(s) of the Samuel and Chronicles passages used by Josephus and of the various rewriting techniques he has applied to the biblical data and the distinctiveness of his own presentation that results from the application of those techniques.

Resum

2 Sa 5,1-3 parla del reconeixement de David com a rei per part dels representats de les tribus Israelites a Hebron. El Cronista ofereix el seu paral·lel a aquesta versió en 1Cr 11,1-3. Seguidament, el Cronista aporta una segona aproximació a David en Hebron per part de les delegacions militars tribals en 1Cr 12,23-40, amb un llarg fragment (11,4–12,22) referit a d'altres assumptes intermedis. Aquest assaig estudia el tractament que Flavi Josep dona als relats bíblics d'aquests esdeveniments en la seva obra *Ant.* 7,53-60. En particular, l'assaig afronta les qüestions relatives al(s) tipus de text(s) dels passatges de Samuel i Cròniques usats per Flavi Josep i de les varies tècniques redaccionals que ell va aplicar a les dades bíbliques; així com de la peculiaritat de la seva pròpia presentació com a resultat de l'aplicació d'aquestes tècniques.