

SOLOMON'S INSTALLATION OF THE ARK IN THE TEMPLE ACCORDING TO JOSEPHUS

Christopher T. BEGG

1. Introduction

The high point of Solomon's forty-year reign occurs when the king solemnly dedicates the newly-constructed temple to the Lord. The significance of this event is highlighted by the fact that the Bible records it twice, both times *in extenso*; see 1Kgs 8,1-66 and 2Chr 5,2-7,10. Within the multi-phrase dedication ceremony described in the biblical accounts, the first stage, recounted with various differences of detail in 1Kgs 8,1-11 and 2Chr 5,2-14, concerns the installation of the ark within the temple's inner sanctuary. In this essay I wish to examine yet a third narration of the ark's installation, i.e. that of Josephus in his *Antiquitates judaicae* (hereafter Ant) 8,99-106.¹ In particular, my essay will address several broader questions regarding Josephus' version in relation to the two biblical accounts of the event. Firstly, given the differences between 1Kgs 8,1-11 and 2Chr 5,2-14, as well as among the various ancient versions of each of these texts, i.e. MT (BHS)², Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)³ and the Antioch-

1. For the text and translation of Ant 8,99-106 I use R. MARCUS, *Josephus*, V (LCL), Cambridge, MA – London, 1934, pp. 624-629. See also the translation of and notes on the passage in C.T. BEGG, *Flavius Josephus Judean Antiquities 8-10* (Flavius Josephus Translation and Commentary 5), Leiden, 2005, pp. 28-30.

2. 4QKgs preserves a Hebrew text of 1Kgs 8,1-9 which is virtually identical with that of MT; see M. ABEGG, jr. – P. FLINT – E. ULRICH, *The Dead Seas Scrolls Bible*, San Francisco, 1999, pp. 263-264. 2Chr 5,2-14 is not extant in the manuscript finds from Qumran.

3. For the B text of 1Kgs (3Rgns) 8,1-11 I use A.E. BROOKE – N. MACLEAN – H.ST.J. THACKERAY, *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, II:II I and II Kings, Cambridge, 1930, pp. 234-235, and for that of 2Chr (Par) 5,2-14, II:III I and II Chronicles, Cambridge, 1932, pp. 483-484. 3Rgns 8,1-11 is significantly shorter than MT 1Kgs 8,1-11, lacking an equivalent to longer portions of the latter's vv. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 8.

ene or Lucianic (hereafter L)⁴ of the LXX, the Vulgate (hereafter Vg)⁵, and the targumic renderings, i.e. *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (hereafter TgJon)⁶ and the *Targum of Chronicles* (hereafter TgChr)⁷, where do Josephus' textual affinities in Ant 8,99-106 lie? In other words, did Josephus use one or both of the biblical accounts and which text-form(s) of the account(s) used by him did he draw on? Secondly, in developing his own version of the installation event, what rewriting techniques did Josephus apply to the biblical data and what is distinctive about his rendering as a result of their application? Thirdly and finally, how does Josephus' handling of the biblical accounts compare with the treatment of these found elsewhere in Jewish tradition?⁸

2. *The Ark Installed*

Before I undertake my study of Ant 8,99-106 itself, a brief word is in order concerning the passage's immediately preceding context in relation to those of 1Kgs 8,1-11 and 2Chr 5,2-14.

4. For the L text of 1Kgs (3Rgns) 8,1-11 I use the edition of N. FERNÁNDEZ MARCOS and J.R. BUSTO SAIZ, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, II 1-2 Reyes* (TECC 53), Madrid, 1992, p. 23, and for 2Chr (Par) 5,2-14, *idem*, III 1-2 Crónicas (TECC 60), Madrid 1996, pp. 82-83. Like B 3Rgns 8,1-11 (see previous note), the L text of 3Rgns 8,1-11 is markedly shorter than that of MT.

5. For the Vg texts of 1Kgs 8,1-11 and 2Chr 5,2-14 I use the edition of R. GRYSON, *Biblia sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, Stuttgart, 1994, pp. 470 and 591-592, respectively.

6. For TgJon's text of 1Kgs 8,1-11 I use the text of A. SPERBER, *The Bible in Aramaic*, II, Leiden, 1959, pp. 231-232 and the translation of this by D.J. HARRINGTON and A.J. SALDARINI, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible, 10), Wilmington, DE, 1989, pp. 227-228.

7. For the text of TgChr 2Chr 5,2-14 I use the edition of R. LE DÉAUT and J. ROBERT, *Targum des Chroniques*, II (AnBib 51), Rome, 1971, pp. 90-91 and for the translation of this J.S. MCIVOR, *The Targum of Chronicles* (The Aramaic Bible 19), Collegeville, MN, 1994, pp. 151-152.

8. Of particular interest in connection with this final question is the summary version of 1Kgs 8,1-11//2Chr 5,2-14 preserved in «Fragment 2» of the Hellenistic Jewish historian Eupolemus, dating sometime to the last two centuries B.C. This passage is preserved in the *Praeparatio Evangelica* (9.34.12-13) of Eusebius (who himself quotes the passage from the lost work *On the Jews* of Alexander Polyhistor). It reads: «After having completed the temple and enclosed the city with walls, he [Solomon] went to Shiloh and offered a sacrifice to God, a thousand oxen as a holocaust [cf. 1Kgs 3,1-15//2Chr 1,1-13]. He also took the tent and the altar of sacrifice and the vessels which Moses had made and brought them to Jerusalem and placed them in the House (i.e. the temple). He also placed there the ark, and the golden altar and the lampstand and the table and the other vessels, as the prophet [Nathan] had commanded him. He also brought to God an innumerable sacrifice, [including] two thousand sheep, [and] three thousand five hundred oxen.» The translation is that of F. FALLON, *Eupolemus*, in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, II, Garden City, NY, 1985, p. 870. For more on this text, see B.Z. WACHOLDER, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature*, Cincinnati, 1974, pp. 208-213.

In 8,95a Josephus gives his equivalent to the notice of 1Kgs 7,51//2Chr 5,1 concerning Solomon's depositing of objects in the temple treasuries. This reads: «All these things⁹ Solomon prepared *with great expense and magnificence to the glory* (τιμῆν) of God, *sparing no cost, but acting with the utmost munificence in adorning the temple*,¹⁰ and he deposited them [Hiram's artifacts; see n. 9] in the treasuries of God.» In both biblical accounts, the notice on Solomon's «deposit» (7,51//5,1) is immediately followed by the opening of the account concerning the installation of the ark in the temple at the king's initiative (8,1ff.//5,2ff.). Josephus, by contrast, interposes a segment (8,95b-98) of his own composition concerning the temple courts that reflects his personal knowledge of the Herodian temple complex and that has more extended parallels in Ant 15,398-402 and *Bellum judaicum* (hereafter Bell) 5,185-206. Following the excursus of 8,95b-98, Josephus rejoins the sequence of the biblical accounts at 8,99a. More specifically, he now seems to pick up on, while also adapting and embellishing the opening plus of LXX B L 8,1 («and it came to pass when Solomon finished building the house of the Lord and his own house after twenty years») in the following summation of Solomon's (sacral) building activities:¹¹

9. In Josephus' presentation the «things» deposited by Solomon in the temple treasuries are the metal sacral objects fabricated by «Hiram» (Josephus: «Cheirōmos») as described in the preceding segment Ant 8,76-94 (= 1Kgs 7,13-50 [MT; LXX B L 7,1-37]//2Chr [2,12-13; 3,15-4,22]). In 7,51//5,1, what Solomon deposits are rather precious objects (gold, silver, vessels) that had been earlier dedicated by his father David. (*Pesiq. Rab.* 6,7 raises the question of why David's dedicatory articles were not used in the construction of the temple, but were simply stored away by Solomon. In then proceeds to offer alternative responses to this question. On one explanation, given the fact that the materials David had dedicated had themselves been seized by him from the nations he had defeated, they were not used in the construction of the temple which would itself one day be destroyed, lest the conquered nations have the satisfaction of claiming that the temple's destruction was the revenge of their gods for David's despoliation of their own temples. On the alternative explanation, the non-use of David's dedicatory gifts by Solomon was a divinely imposed punishment on the former for his failure to utilize these treasures to feed his people when they suffered famine during his reign. Josephus goes a step further by not mentioning Solomon's doing anything at all with the treasures accumulated by David.)

10. The above sequence, extolling Solomon's endeavors on behalf of the temple, lacks an equivalent in 1Kgs 7,51//2Chr 5,1 (I italicize such elements of Josephus' presentation throughout this essay), where the focus is rather on David and the objects dedicated by him; see previous note. Josephus' commendation of Solomon's solicitude for the temple here does, on the other hand, have a counterpart in *Pesiq. Rab.* 6,4 where he is said to be greater than David in this regard in that whereas David first saw to the building of his own house and only then took thought of providing the Lord with a house (see 2Sam 7,2//1Chr 17,1), Solomon constructed the Lord's temple first (see 1Kings 6) and only thereafter began building a palace for himself (see 1Kgs 7,1-12). In recognition of Solomon's preeminence in this regard, the rabbinic text continues, Solomon was reckoned among the righteous kings, notwithstanding his defection from the Lord in his old age (see 1Kgs 11,1-11), just as was he accorded the honor of having his name mentioned in first place in the portion of the list of Judah's royal line that begins in 1Chr 3,10.

11. In 8,99, Josephus, in contrast to B L 8,1, speaks only of Solomon's temple-building initiative. The reason for this is that in his presentation, Solomon's erection of his palace complex

«These works, then, and these great and beautiful buildings and offerings for the temple King Solomon completed in seven years (see 1Kgs 7,37), *making such a display of both wealth and zeal that the work which any beholder would think could hardly have been constructed in the whole course of time was finished in a space of time that was very short when compared with the magnitude of the temple.*»¹²

Following the transitional notice of 8,99a, Josephus comes in 8,99b to speak of a new initiative by the king, i.e. his assembling the Israelites for the transport of the ark to the temple. This event is narrated more expansively in MT 8,1 and 2Chr 5,2 than in the shorter text of LXX B L 8,1. Josephus' rendition stands closer to the former witnesses in its mention of several groups of persons summoned by Solomon, while likewise evidencing several peculiar features. It runs thus: «He then *wrote to* the leaders and elders of the Hebrews¹³ and ordered them to assembly *all the people*¹⁴ at Jerusalem in order to see the temple¹⁵ and join in bringing the ark¹⁶ into it.»¹⁷

1Kgs 8,2 (MT)//2Chr 5,3 relate the outcome of Solomon's summons: in the seventh month «every person of Israel» is assembled to Solomon.¹⁸ This for-

will be described only after the dedication of the temple; see Ant 8,130-140 (this is Josephus' version of 1Kgs 7,1-12, which itself has no parallel in Chronicles, where all attention is focussed on the temple's construction).

12. The above sequence, with its highlighting of Solomon's alacrity in building the temple, recalls Josephus' earlier encomium on Solomon, the temple builder in 8,95a. The two passages thus constitute a framework around the intervening segment, Josephus' account of the temple courts and porticos in 8,95b-98.

13. This sequence reverses the order of the groups cited in MT 8,1 and 5,2, i.e. «elders of Israel, the heads of the tribes, the chiefs of the ancestors of the children of Israel» (NRSV). It likewise seems to conflate the second and third of these groups (both of which are absent in LXX B L 8,1 which mention only the Israelite elders). On Josephus' use of the term «Hebrews», often as an equivalent to and/or substitute for biblical «Israelites», 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.

14. In 8,1//5,2 Solomon personally assembles the various leadership groups. Josephus describes a more complicated, but also more realistic, procedure in which the king works through his officials in order to gather the entire people (his explicit reference to them as included in the royal summons serves to prepare the continuation of the narrative in which there is mention [see 8,2//5,3] of «every person of Israel» assembling before Solomon).

15. Josephus adds this further purpose for Solomon's summoning of his subjects to Jerusalem. The addition conveys the idea that the beauty and splendor of the temple made it worthy to be seen by the whole people.

16. Josephus limits himself to this «minimalistic» designation for the ark; 1Kgs 8,1//2Chr 5,2 call it «the ark of the covenant of YHWH». Throughout 8,99-106 Josephus will continue to call the object simply «the ark», whereas the biblical accounts will employ a variety of more expansive designations.

17. I.e. Jerusalem, mentioned earlier in 8,99b. At the end of 8,1//5,2 the reference is to the place from which the ark will be brought, i.e. «the city of David, that is, Zion».

18. Here again, LXX B L 8,2 offer a shorter text than MT 8,2 and 5,3; specifically, they lack an equivalent to the reference to all the Israelites' assembling to the king with which the other witnesses begin.

mulation does not refer to the length of time it took for Solomon's assembly order to be executed. Josephus, by contrast, does address this question in 8,100a: «*And although the summons to Jerusalem was sent round to all, it was hardly by the seventh month that they came together...*»¹⁹ The various witnesses for 8,2 and 5,3 differ regarding the dating of Solomon's assembly. In LXX B L 8,2 this occurs simply «in the month of Ethanim». The more expansive MT of 8,2 adds «on the festival which is in the seventh month», while 5,3 (MT and LXX B L) has this MT plus, but not the reference to «Ethanim» which MT and LXX 8,2 share. Finally, TgJon 8,2 dates the occasion to «the month that the ancients called the first month (the festival) and now it is the seventh month», TgChr 5,3 rather to «the Feast of Booths, which is in the seventh month». Josephus, for his part (8,100b), appends no less than three further specifications to his initial reference, drawn from MT 8,2//5,3, to the «seventh month» (see above): «... which month is called *Thisri* (Θισρι)²⁰ by the natives and *Hyperberetaios* by the Macedonians.²¹ At this same time happened to fall the festival of Tabernacles,²² which is considered especially sacred and important

19. Josephus' mention of the fact of the people's assembling seems to reflect the plus of MT 8,2 and 5,3 (see previous note). His further, inserted reference to the difficulty of bringing the people together even by the seventh month after the issuing of Solomon's order points up the magnitude of the territory and people affected by that order. The insertion likewise provides an implicit answer to a question suggested by the chronological indications of 1Kings 6-8, i.e. how is it that, whereas the temple was completed in the eighth month (1Kgs 6,38; no parallel in Chronicles or Josephus), the dedicatory assembly took place in the seventh month (8,2//5,3//8,100), i.e. 11 months later. The answer suggested to this question by Josephus is that the assembling of the entire people by Solomon's officials at his orders was an enormous task, given the numbers involved that, as such, might well have occupied virtually a year. The same question is explicitly addressed in *Pesiq. Rab.* 6,5 which avers that God caused the dedication of the temple, finished in the eighth month («Bul») according to 1Kgs 6,38, to be delayed until Tishri of the following year so that this would fall during the month in which Abraham was born — a delay that led many to claim that God would never accept a temple built by the son of the adulteress Bathsheba.

20. This is the conjecture of J. Hudson based on the form *theseri* (or *thesri*) of the Latin translation that Marcus adopts. The Greek codices read a variety of forms (e.g., Ἰθηρι, Ἰθισρι) which Marcus (p. 625, n. b) sees as reflecting a confusion between the Hebrew month name «Tishri» and the Greco-Egyptian month name «Athyris». Josephus' explicit mention of «Tishri» as the occasion of Solomon's assembly has a counterpart in *Pesiq. Rab.* 6.5 where the month name «Ethnaim» of 8,2 is equated with Tishri.

21. Josephus connects the seventh month of the Jewish calendar (Tishri) with its Macedonian equivalent also in Ant 3,329. «Hyperberetaios» corresponds to our October. Such inserted identifications help Gentile readers stay oriented as they read Josephus' Jewish history with its multitude of unfamiliar names.

22. Josephus' explicit identification of the «festival of the seventh month» spoken of in 8,2//5,3 has a counterpart in TgChr 5,3 (see above). The identification is based on the fact that Tabernacles/Booths is celebrated from the 15th to the 21st of Tishri. Josephus makes further mention of «Tabernacles» as the occasion for the dedication of the temple at the conclusion of his account of this happening in 8,123.

by the Hebrews (see 8,99).»²³ The next step in the process of the ark's installation comes in 8,3b/5,4a with mention the «lifting up» of this object.²⁴ Whereas, however, in 8,3b the subject of this action is «the priests», in 5,4b it is rather the Levites.²⁵ Thereafter, 8,4a/5,5a speak of the «bringing up» not only of the ark, but also of the tent of meeting and its «holy vessels». This initiative, in turn, is attributed to «the priests and Levites» in MT (and Vg) 8,4b (LXX B L lack an equivalent) and LXX 5,5b, while MT 5,5b designates the carriers as «the Levitical priests». In the face of this source uncertainty as to the identity of those bearing the various sacral objects, Josephus (8,101a) opts for a conflated rendition of 8,3-4/5,4-5 that leaves the matter open: «So then, they²⁶ lifted up the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had set up,²⁷ and all the vessels for the service of the sacrifices to God,²⁸ and carried them into the temple.»²⁹

1Kgs 8,5/2Chr 5,6 briefly describe the procession to the temple in which Solomon and the Israelite congregation lead the way, sacrificing innumerable victims as they go. The historian's parallel (8,101b-103a) elaborates with further particulars that accentuate the solemnity of the occasion and provide editorial commentary on its significance:

23. Josephus' appended characterization of Tabernacles suggests the appropriateness of that particular festival as the occasion for the dedication of the temple.

24. In both MT 8,3 and MT LXX B L 5,4 there is prior mention of the «coming» of the «elders of Israel» who, however, are assigned no role in the subsequent proceedings. LXX B L 8,3 make no mention of them.

25. The Chronicler's reading here reflects his characteristic insistence on the Levites —as a category distinct from the priests— as the designated carriers of the ark; see 1Chr 15,2,13,26,27. By contrast, the reading of 8,3b stands in the line of such Deuteronomi(sti)c texts as Deut 31,10; Josh 3,3 where those who bear the ark are the (Levitical) priests.

26. In light of what precedes the subject would seem to be the people as a whole (see 8,100a), rather than either the priests or the Levites (or both groups jointly), neither of which have been mentioned hitherto in Josephus' account of the ark's transport. The historian's indeterminacy on the matter is noteworthy given the fact that elsewhere (see, e.g., Ant 2,136; 7,85) he emphasizes that it was the priests —rather than either the Levites or beasts of burden— to whom God assigned the prerogative of carrying the ark. On the matter, see C.T. BEGG, *The Levites in Josephus* (forthcoming in *HUCA*).

27. On this initiative by Moses at Sinai to which Josephus' interjected *Rückverweis* alludes, see Exod 40,18.

28. In 8,4a/5,5b the reference is to «all the holy vessels which were in the tent». Josephus substitutes an indication concerning the use of the vessels.

29. This phrase, anticipating the arrival of the procession at its goal, is peculiar to Josephus. It takes the place of the renewed reference to the «bringing up» of the ark in 8,4b (MT, > LXX B L) and 5,5b.

«(8,101b) And before it [the ark] went the king himself and all the people³⁰ and the Levites,³¹ with sacrifices, drenching the ground with libations³² and the blood³³ of numerous victims,³⁴ and burning so vast a quantity of incense³⁵ (8,102) that all the air around was filled with it and carried its sweetness to those who were at a great distance;³⁶ this was a sign of God's being present and dwelling —according to human belief (κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην δόξαν)—³⁷ in the place which had been newly built (νεοδόμητον)³⁸ and consecrated to Him.³⁹ And indeed they did not weary of singing hymns or dancing until they reached the temple.⁴⁰ (8,103a) This, then, was the way in which they conveyed the ark.»⁴¹

30. Compare 8,5 (MT)//5,6 «all the congregation of Israel». LXX B L 8,5 has «all Israel», LXX L «all the people». Both witnesses lack an equivalent to MT 8,5's appended phrase (found also in 5,6) «who had been gathered to him». Josephus' designation, with its reference to «the people» rather than to «Israel», stands closest to LXX L's reading.

31. Neither 8,5 nor 5,6 mentions the presence of this group alongside Solomon and the people in the procession. Josephus' inserted reference to them is noteworthy, given his omission of biblical mentions of the Levites in other contexts; see the article cited in n. 26. He may, however, have found inspiration for his reference to them in the notices on the Levites of 8,4b and 5,4.5b earlier passed over by him (cf. also the Chronicler's *Sondergut* segment on the Levitical singers in 5,12b-13a — likewise omitted by Josephus; see below).

32. Such libations accompanying the animal sacrifices are not mentioned in 8,5//5,6.

33. 8,5 and 5,6 do not mention the victims' «blood».

34. 1Kgs 8,5 (MT)//2Chr 5,6 (MT LXX) state that the sacrifices «could not be numbered or counted because of the quantity». LXX B L 8,5 simply note that the sacrifices were «countless». Josephus tones down the biblical hyperbole regarding the number of the sacrifices. He likewise leaves the identity of the victims (8,5 and 5,6 speak of «sheep and oxen») unspecified.

35. 8,5 and 5,6 do not refer to the use of incense during the procession. Josephus' addition of this ritual gives the proceedings a still more solemn character.

36. These indications concerning the effects of the large-scale burning of incense highlight the huge quantity that would have been needed to produce such an effect on the atmosphere over an extended distance. Indirectly as well the addition underscores the munificence and piety of Solomon who provides such quantities of expensive incense for the occasion.

37. This Greek phrase occurs only here in Josephus.

38. This adjective is *hapax* in Josephus.

39. With this appended theological comment Josephus spells out the effect of the incense on those its fragrance reached. At the same time, he also qualifies the conviction about God's dwelling in the temple that arose due to the use of incense as a matter of «human belief» — in fact God, for Josephus, is ubiquitous, being equally present in every place. This concern with making clear the proper understanding of the relationship between God and the temple that had been built for him pervades Josephus' account of the temple's dedication; see his similar formulations in 8,106,114 (and Ant 3,129). See also A. SCHLATTER, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus*, Gütersloh, 1932, p. 73.

40. Also this feature of the proceedings during the procession to the temple lacks a biblical counterpart. 2Chr 5,12-13 does mention a musical activity by the Levites and priests, but this comes only after the ark has been installed in the temple. Perhaps, Josephus' mention of both singing and dancing during the procession is intended as a reminiscence of the account of David's bringing the ark to Jerusalem during which the king both plays an instrument (see Ant 7,85; compare 2Sam 6,15//1Chr 15,28) and dances (see Ant 7,87//2Sam 6,14.16//1Chr 15,29) before the ark.

41. With this formula Josephus rounds off his whole extended account of the procession that brings the ark to the temple, this elaborating the single-verse description given in 8,5//5,6.

The ark's actual installation in the inner sanctuary by the priests is narrated in 8,6//5,7. Josephus' version (8,103b) abbreviates the circumstantial biblical place indications: «But when it was time to bring it into the adytum (τὸ ἄδυτον),⁴² *the rest of the people went away,*⁴³ and *only the priests*⁴⁴ carried it and set it down between the two cherubim.»⁴⁵

The biblical accounts pause in their narrations of events in 8,7-9//5,8-10 to present a series of parenthetical remarks concerning various items associated with the newly installed ark. The first of these items are the cherubim whose wings are said in 8,7(MT)//5,8 to overshadow/cover «the ark and its poles (LXX B L 8,7 τὰ ἅγια αὐτοῦ, its [the ark's] holy things) from above». Picking up on this mention of the «poles» of the ark, 8,8//5,9 focus on the poles themselves, MT 8,8 stating that the tips of the poles were so extended that there were seen «from the holy place (5,9 from the ark) in front of the shrine, but they were not seen outside;⁴⁶ and they (5,9: it, the ark) have been there to this very day (LXX B L 8,8 lack this concluding notice)». Josephus' compressed version (8,103c) of 8,7-8//5,8-9 makes no mention of the ark's poles, concentrating all attention on the cherubim and their wings: «These [the cherubim], which were

42. Compare the more elaborate indications of 8,6//5,7 where the ark is brought «to its place, to the shrine (Hebrew דְּבַיִר; LXX transliterates) of the house, to the Holy of Holies (Hebrew קֹדֶשׁ הַקֳּדָשִׁים; LXX τὰ ἅγια τῶν ἁγίων)...»

43. Josephus inserts this notice on what became of «the people» (see 8,101b) while the priests were depositing the ark in the inner sanctuary.

44. In Josephus' presentation of our incident, in contrast to the biblical ones (see 8,3-4//5,5), this is the first mention of the priests whom, curiously, he does not list among the participants in the procession with the ark described in 8,101b-103a.

45. 1Kgs 8,6//2Chr 5,7 are more expansive: «under the wings of the cherubim». In many rabbinic texts (e.g., *b. Mo'ed Qat.* 9a; *b. Sabb.* 30a; *b. Sanh.* 107b) it is related that when Solomon was attempting to bring the ark into the temple, the gates closed of themselves. Solomon tried various prayers to effect the opening of the gates, but without success until he recited the words attributed to him in 2Chr 6,41-42 (themselves a citation of Ps 132,8-10) with their appeal for David given his solicitude for the ark. The opening of the gates at that juncture made all realize that God had indeed forgiven David's sin with Bathsheba. See L. GINZBERG, *The Legends of the Jews* VI, Philadelphia, 1968, p. 296, n. 65 for further variants of this tradition (to which Josephus makes no reference).

46. Rabbinic tradition asks how the poles could both be seen and not seen —as the biblical formulation seems to affirm. In response, *b. Yoma* 55a and *b. Menah.* 98a-98b state that the poles could be observed, but not seen from outside the curtain of the inner sanctuary, i.e. their tips pressed up against the curtain the way a woman's breasts press up against her clothing, thus giving an observer a sensation of their presence, even though he did not actually see them. (TgChr 5,9 introduces the same comparison between the ends of the poles and a woman's breasts into its rendering of the verse.)

interlocked by the tips of their wings —so they had been made by the craftsman⁴⁷— covered the ark as under a kind of tent or dome (θόλω).»⁴⁸

The parenthesis of 8,7-9//5,8-10 concludes in 8,9//5,10 with mention of the content of the ark, i.e. the «two tablets of stone» placed there at Mt Horeb, the site of the Lord's covenant with the Israelites. Josephus' rendition (8,104a) spells out what was written on the tablets: «And the ark held nothing but the stone tablets⁴⁹ which preserved the ten commandments (λόγους) spoken by God to Moses on Mount Sinai⁵⁰ inscribed upon them.»⁵¹

At this juncture Josephus pauses in his reproduction of 1Kgs 8,1-11//2Chr 5,2-14 in order to append a long segment (8,104b-105) concerning Solomon's placement of other sacred objects within the temple. This runs:

«(8,104b) *But the lampstand and the table and the golden altar they* (i.e. the priests; see 8,103) *placed in the temple before the adytum in the same positions which they had previously occupied when standing in the tabernacle,*⁵² *and then they offered up*

47. Josephus here alludes to his account of the cherubim in Ant 8,72b-73 (//1Kgs 6,22-28//2Chr 3,10-13). The «craftsman» in question is the Tyrian metalworker called «Cheirōmos» (= «Hiram» [1Kgs 7,13]//«Huramabi» [2Chr 2,12]) by Josephus in 8,76 (where he appears only after the fabrication of the cherubim has already been described).

48. The word θόλος is *hapax* in Josephus.

49. Like MT 8,9 and MT LXX 5,10, Josephus lacks an equivalent to the further qualification of the tablets found in LXX B L 8,9 i.e. «tablets of the covenant (διαθήκη)». In limiting the content of the ark exclusively to the tablets, Josephus follows the testimony of the two biblical versions in both their MT and LXX versions. By contrast, TgChr 5,10 avers that the ark also contained the pieces of the first set of tablets which Moses broke upon beholding the golden calf (see Exod 32,19). One finds this same claim made in *b. B. Bat.* 14ab (which also mentions the «scroll of the law» as a further content of the ark, part of this being placed inside the ark, the remainder being rolled up on top of it). Compare Heb 9,4 which assigns a threefold content to the ark: «a golden urn holding the manna, Aaron's rod that budded, and the tablets of the covenant».

50. In 8,9//5,10 the site is called «Horeb», a designation never employed by Josephus.

51. Josephus' wording here recalls that used by him in Ant 7,92: «... those ten words (λόγων) which Moses had left inscribed on the two tablets». Compare 8,9//5,10 where Moses is said to have placed the tablets in the ark at Horeb, «when YHWH made a covenant with the Israelites, when they went out from the land of [5,10 lacks the land of] Egypt». Josephus regularly rewords biblical uses of two of the terms employed in this formulation, i.e. «YHWH/the Lord» (LXX Κύριος) and «covenant» (Greek διαθήκη), given, it would seem, the non-currency of these usages in secular Greek; see C.T. BEGG, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (BETL 108), Leuven, 1993, p. 45, n. 218 (the Lord); pp. 100-101, n. 609 («covenant»).

52. Josephus' wording here leaves it ambiguous to which set of the above three objects he is referring: is it those made by Moses at Sinai (see Ant 3,139-148; cf. the allusion to «all the vessels for the service of the sacrifices to God» in 8,101) or rather to those recently fabricated by «Cheirōmos» and erected by Solomon according to 8,90a (where the reference to their erection in the temple would seem to be a proleptic one)? In any case, Josephus' mention of the three objects' placement within the temple has a parallel in Eupolemus (see n. 8), where Solomon's installation of them is said to be in accordance with «the prophet's [Nathan's] command». See further nn. 55, 57.

*the daily sacrifices.*⁵³ (8,105) *And the bronze altar he set up*⁵⁴ *before the temple opposite the door,*⁵⁵ *so that when this was opened the altar was before the eyes (of those within the temple), and the sacred ministrations and the splendour of the sacrifices might be seen.*⁵⁶ *And all the other vessels he collected and deposited within the temple.*⁵⁷

Following their respective parentheses concerning the cherubim, the ark's poles and the tablets it contains (1Kgs 8,7-9//2Chr 5,8-10; see above), the biblical accounts return (8,10a//5,11a) to the activities of the priests (who were last mentioned in 8,6//5,7), citing their exit from «the holy place». To this notice, the Chronicler attaches an extended reference (5,12-13a) to the musical performance of the Levites and the priests (who themselves [v. 11b] are said to have been present in the temple *en bloc* without regard to their usual division into courses [see 1Chr 24,1-19]) on this occasion. Like Kings, Josephus has no equivalent to this Chronistic sequence, his version of 8,10a//5,11a at the opening of 8,106 reading: «And when the priests *had set in order all that concerned the ark,*⁵⁸ and had gone out...»

In connection with the priests' exit from the temple, 1Kgs 8,10b-11//5,13b-14 report a divine manifestation, i.e. the appearance of a «cloud» before which

53. The biblical accounts make no reference to sacrifices at this point, prior to Solomon's prayer. Josephus may, however, have found inspiration for his mention of them in 2Chr 7,1 where fire from heaven consumes «the burnt offerings and the sacrifices» (the presentation of which the Chronicler had not previously mentioned).

54. Whereas in 8,104b a plural subject («they», the priests) sets up the three objects mentioned there within the temple itself, Josephus makes Solomon («he») the one to erect the bronze altar since this was situated in the court outside the temple to which the non-priest Solomon would have had access.

55. The biblical accounts of the temple's dedication do make reference to the bronze altar of sacrifice, but only at a later point in the proceedings; see 1Kgs 8,64//2Chr 7,7 (these texts state that the altar —whose previous erection has not been mentioned— was too small to accommodate Solomon's many victims). Here again (see nn. 52, 57), it remains uncertain which bronze altar Josephus has in mind — is it the Mosaic one (see Ant 3,149) or rather the one fabricated by «Cheirōmos» as described in 8,88a? In any case, Eupolemus (see nn. 8, 52) mentions Solomon's installation of the «altar of sacrifice» in the temple as well (in his presentation his doing this is cited prior to his placement of the three objects standing inside the temple itself, whereas Josephus has the reverse sequence).

56. Josephus' formulation spells out the rationale for placing the altar of sacrifice directly in front of the temple door, i.e. so that the priests officiating inside the temple could readily observe the sacrifices being made on the altar.

57. Here again (see nn. 52, 55) there is a question about the identity of the objects to which Josephus alludes: are these vessels the Mosaic ones cited in Ant 3,150 (and 8,101) or are they rather those made by «Cheirōmos» for use at the bronze altar according to 8,88b? Eupolemus (see nn. 8, 52, 55) twice mentions Solomon's placing of «vessels» in the temple.

58. With this interjected phrase Josephus harks back to his mention of the priests' setting the ark down between the two cherubim in 8,103a following his extended interlude concerning various cultic objects in 8,103b-105.

the priests are «not able to stand to minister [...] for the glory of YHWH filled the house of YHWH». Josephus' rendering of this dramatic happening omits mention of the divine «glory»,⁵⁹ while expatiating on the cloud and adding a reference to the effect of the apparition on those who witness it:

«there suddenly appeared a thick cloud, not threatening nor like a swollen rain-cloud in the winter season, but diffused and temperate,⁶⁰ which streamed into the temple and so darkened the sight of the priests that they could not see one another;⁶¹ and it produced in the minds of all of them an impression and a belief (φαντασίαν και δόξαν)⁶² that God had descended into the temple and gladly made His abode there».⁶³

3. Conclusion

In concluding this essay I return to the three questions with which it opened in order to sum up my findings concerning these. My first question dealt with

59. A. SCHLATTER, *Wie sprach Josephus von Gott?* (BFCT 14:1), Gütersloh, 1910, pp. 21, 27; IDEM, *Theologie des Judentums*, 4,103 points out that Josephus avoids the biblical expression «glory (MT כבוד, LXX δόξα) of God». In his writings the term is used rather of human «fame» and of the «opinion» humans form of God (for this later usage, see 8,102 and the continuation of 8,106).

60. This elaborate description of the cloud's appearance lacks an equivalent in the biblical accounts where MT and LXX 8,10b//5,13b call it simply «the cloud» (although cf. the qualification of it as «dense» [אמטתה] in TgJon 8,10b and TgChr 5,13b).

61. Compare 8,10b-11a//5,13b-14a which speak of the house's being «filled with a cloud» with the result that the priests «were not able to stand to minister in front of the cloud».

62. This collocation occurs only here in Josephus. With its second term Josephus reapplies the word δόξα used in LXX 8,11b//5,14b of the «glory of the Lord» to human «belief» about God; see n. 59.

63. The above statement concerning the mental effect of the cloud's appearance on those who witness it takes the place of 8,11b//5,14b («for the glory of YHWH filled the house of YHWH»). The formulation is reminiscent of Josephus' notice in 8,102 about the incense used in the procession to the temple being «a sign and token of God's being present and dwelling—according to human belief (δόξαν)—in the place which had been newly built and consecrated to Him». With Josephus' whole description concerning the cloud and its effect here in 8,106 compare further the historian's account of the cloud that appears at the moment of the erection of the Mosaic tabernacle in Ant 3,203 (//Exod 40,34-35 [here too Josephus speaks only of the cloud, omitting the biblical mention of the divine «glory»]): «While the heaven was serene, over the tabernacle alone darkness descended, enveloping it is a cloud not so profound and dense as might be attributed to a winter storm, nor yet so tenuous that the eye could perceive a thing through it, but a delicious dew was distilled therefrom, revealing God's presence to those who both desired it and believed it.» (The translation is by H.St.J. THACKERAY, *Josephus IV*, Cambridge, MA – London, 1930, p. 413). In all these texts, Josephus, in the interest of upholding the transcendence and ubiquity of God, qualifies the notion of his actual dwelling in a particular, man-made structure, whether this be the tabernacle or the temple, as a matter of human belief/opinion. See further the remarks of L.H. FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation of the Bible*, Berkeley, 1998, p. 603.

whether Josephus used one or rather both of the biblical accounts of the ark's installation and further which text-forms of 1Kgs 8,1-11 and/or 2Chr 5,2-14 he may have employed. Given the fact that so much of the historian's presentation of the episode in Ant 8,99-106 consists of Josephan *Sondergut* (see below) and given too that the biblical versions generally parallel each other rather closely, clearcut, positive conclusions on these points are not to be expected. We did, however, note several items of evidence relevant to the text-critical question. Here, we recall, first of all, that the only significant content difference between 8,1-11 and 5,2-14 is the latter's parenthetical segment concerning the (musical) roles of the priests and Levites in 5,11b-13a. Josephus lacks an equivalent to the segment, which then he either did not know or, more likely, opted not to utilize, given, e.g., his tendency to downplay the activity of the Levites featured in 5,12a (see n. 31). Otherwise, the two biblical accounts largely parallel each other. At the same time, LXX B L 8,1-11 evidences a markedly shorter text than that of MT 8,1-11 and 5,2-14 (MT and LXX). Vis-à-vis this difference among the witnesses, Josephus aligns himself occasionally now with one, now with the other. His notice in 8,99a, e.g., reads like an amplification of the LXX B L plus in 8,1. Like LXX B L 8,3 as well he does not mention the coming of the Israelite elders (compare MT 8,3a and 5,4), while his reference to «all the people» preceding the ark corresponds to the LXX L 8,5 reading as against the mentions of «Israel» in the other witnesses to 8,5 and 5,6 (see n. 30). On the other hand, in naming several groups («leaders and elders» to whom Solomon addresses his order Josephus (8,99b) goes together with MT 8,1 and 5,2 (MT LXX) *contra* LXX B L 8,1 which cite only one such group (the elders). Similarly, his specification that the assembly occurred in the «seventh month» (8,100a) has a parallel in MT 8,2b and MT LXX 5,3b, but not in LXX B L 8,2b. Finally, we identified several instances where Josephus' wording has a counterpart in a reading peculiar to the targumin: his dating of the assembly to the Tabernacles festival (8,100b) corresponds to TgChr 5,3 which situates it at the «Feast of Booths» (see n. 22), and his description of the «thick cloud» in 8,106 recalls TgJon 8,10b and TgChr 5,13b's qualification of the cloud as «dense» (see n. 60). These findings, limited as they are, suggest that Josephus did draw of various textual-forms of 8,1-11 (and 5,2-14?) in recounting the ark's installation.⁶⁴

64. For more on the text of Kings used by Josephus, see M.V. SPOTTORNO, «Josephus' Text for 1-2 Kings (3-4 Kingdoms)», in L. GREENSPOON – O. MUNNICH (eds.), *VIII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies Paris 1992* (SBLSCSS 41), Atlanta, 1995, pp. 146-163 (she concludes that for his version of Kings, Josephus drew in first place on a proto-Lucianic/Antiochene text of the book). On the historian's text of Chronicles, see *eadem*, «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* (SBLSCSS 45), Atlanta, 1997, pp. 381-390 (here too, she concludes that Josephus utilized a proto-Antiochene/Lucianic text in particular).

My second opening question concerned the rewriting techniques employed by Josephus in 8,99-106 and the distinctiveness of his presentation that results from their application. Of such techniques, the dominant one in our segment is clearly the historian's additions to/amplifications of source data. Josephus employs this technique on a small scale, e.g., in supplying the Macedonian equivalent for Hebrew Tishri (see 8,101b) and interjecting mention of the Levites into the biblical list of those who precede the ark (8,101b; compare 8,5//5,6). More obvious, however, are his large-scale embellishments of the biblical narratives, i.e. the expansion of the LXX B L notice of 8,1 on the completion of the temple in 8,99a, the *Ausmalung* of the description of the procession to the temple (8,5//5,6) in 8,101b-103a, the appended listing of the other objects deposited in the temple (8,104b-105), and the developments concerning the «cloud» in 8,106 (compare 8,10b-11 and 5,13b-14).

By comparison, Josephus' omissions/abbreviations of source items are much less evident in our passage. He does, however, leave aside the biblical remarks on the ark's poles (8,8//5,9) and the reference to the divine «glory» (8,11b//5,14b). In the same line, he reduces the double mention of the «bringing/lifting up» of the ark found in 8,3b-4//5,4b-5 to a single one in 8,101a. Another standard Josephan rewriting technique that gets only limited use in 8,99-106 is the rearrangement of the biblical order. Possible instances of this phenomenon are the anticipated mentions of sacrificing immediately following the installation of the ark (8,104 *in fine*; compare 2Chr 7,1 and cf. 53) and of the «singing» that occurs already during the procession (8,102b), rather than only after the deposit of the ark (see 2Chr 5,12-13a, cf. n. 40).

Finally, Josephus modifies the biblical narratives in still other ways. Terminologically, he avoids his sources' use of the words «Lord» and «covenant» (see n. 51), as well as the phrase «glory of the Lord» (8,11b//5,14b; see n. 59), and replaces the place name «Horeb» with «Mount Sinai» (8,104; compare 8,9//5,10 and cf. n. 50). As for contentual modifications, these include: Solomon's working through leadership groups rather than directly in assembling the people (8,99b; compare 8,1//5,2), the indeterminacy concerning the bearers of the ark in its procession to the temple (8,101a; compare 8,3b-4//5,4b-5), the indications regarding the tablets given in 8,104a and 8,9//5,10 respectively (see n. 51), and the priests' being unable to see one another (8,106) rather than not being able to «stand to minister» (8,11a//5,14a).

What now is distinctive about Josephus' version of the ark's coming to the temple as a result of his application of the above rewriting techniques? Overall, his rendering accentuates the solemnity and magnificence of the occasion (e.g., the ark's advance is accompanied not only by animal sacrifices, but also by libations, incense, singing and dancing; see 8,101b-103a). In so doing, the

Josephus account implicitly highlights the piety and munificence of King Solomon who sets the whole event in motion (see too the opening notice of 8,99a).⁶⁵ In like manner, the appearance of the cloud, briefly alluded to in 8,10b-11a//5,13b-14a is dramatized via the extended description of this in 8,106. At the same time, Josephus' retelling also evidences a recurring concern to provide readers with a correct theological perspective on God's relationship to the temple; see his appended comments on the subject in 8,102,106 (cf. n. 63). In addition, he endeavors to resolve or fill source difficulties and gaps: Could Solomon personally have assembled the whole people (see 8,99b)? How long a period elapsed between Solomon's issuing his assembly order and its realization (see 8,100a and cf. n. 19)? What is the name of the seventh Jewish month and what is the Greek equivalent for this (see 8,100a)? Was it the priests (so 8,3b) or the Levites (so 5,4b) who carried the ark in procession (see 8,101a)? What did the people who had accompanied the ark in procession do while the priests were depositing it in the inner sanctuary (see 8,103a)? What was done with the cultic objects in addition to the ark itself on this occasion (see 8,104b-105)? And finally, what did the cloud look like and what effect did its appearance have on those who witnessed it (see 8,106)?

My final question had to do with Josephus' treatment of the biblical accounts of the ark's transport in comparison with the handling of the episode elsewhere in Jewish tradition. Over the course of this essay, we did note several points of contact between the two corpora's presentations of the happening. Thus, Josephus' commendation of Solomon's solicitude for the temple is paralleled in rabbinic literature (see n. 10) as is his dating of the ark's transfer to the month «Tishri» (n. 20). We further suggested that Josephus implicitly addresses (see 8,101a) the problem of the delay in the dedication of the completed temple, as *Pesiqta Rabbati* does explicitly (n. 19). Especially noteworthy are further the parallels between Josephus and Eupolemus regarding the deposition of the other sacral objects in the temple (see 8,104b-105 and cf. nn. 52, 55, 57). On the other hand, Josephus evidences no awareness of rabbinic tradition's references to, e.g., the closing of the temple gates before the ark (see n. 45), the comparison of the tips of the ark poles to a woman's breasts (see n. 46), and the additional contents of the ark (see n. 49). In all these instances, Josephus does not go beyond the Bible's own presentation.

1Kgs 8,1-11//2Chr 5,2-14 tell of a key moment in Israel's cultic history, the definitive bringing together of the ancient Mosaic ark and the brand new Solomonic temple. The priest Josephus naturally makes a place for the episode in his own history. In fact, however, he did much more than that — he reworked his source accounts in multiple ways in order to highlight the dra-

65. On Josephus' overall portrait of Solomon, see FELDMAN, *Josephus' Interpretation*, 570-628.

matic magnificence of the occasion, but also to convey a sense of how the event is to be understood theologically.

Christopher T. BEGG
Catholic University
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20064
U.S.A.

Summary

1 Kgs 8,1-11 and its parallel in 2 Chr 5,1-14 relate the high point of Solomon's reign, i.e. the installation of the ark in the newly built temple. This article studies Josephus' version of the happening in his Ant. 8.99-106. The article focuses on three questions concerning Josephus' version: (1) What can be determined about the text forms of the biblical passages used by him in this case? (2) Which rewriting techniques has he brought to bear in his rendering of the source data and what distinctive features of his presentation of the event does their utilization generate? Finally (3), how does Josephus' handling of the episode compare with the treatment of it elsewhere in Jewish tradition?

Resum

1Re 8,1-11 i el seu paral·lel de 2Cr 5,1-14 relaten el punt més àlgid del regne de Salomó, és a dir la col·locació de l'arca de l'aliança en el temple tot just acabat de construir. Aquest article analitza la versió que ens ofereix Flavi Josep d'aquest esdeveniment en la seva obra Ant 8,99-106. L'article se centra en tres qüestions concernents la versió de Flavi Josep: 1. Què es pot concloure sobre les formes de text dels passatges bíblics emprats per ell en aquest cas? 2. Quines tècniques de reescriptura ha aportat en la seva manera d'interpretar les dades fontals i quins matisos distintius concernent la seva presentació de l'esdeveniment ha generat la utilització d'aquestes tècniques? Finalment, 3. quina ha estat la contribució de Flavi Josep en comparació amb els tractaments del mateix esdeveniment que es troben en altres indrets de la tradició jueva?