JOSEPHUS

V
JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN NINE VOLUMES

V

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS V-VIII

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PREFACE

When Dr. Thackeray died early in the summer of 1930, he had sent to press the text and translation of *Antiquities* Book V. and a portion of Book VI. (to § 140, with explanatory notes extending to § 60). The present writer has slightly revised this part, and has supplied a text and annotated translation of the rest of Book VI. and of Books VII. and VIII. No one realizes more fully than the writer himself how difficult it is to come up to the standard of excellence set by Dr. Thackeray in his skilful translation of the works of Josephus included in the earlier volumes of this series. An attempt has been made to adhere to the spirit of his rendering, but some changes in style have been made, chiefly in the direction of a less formal and a more modern idiom. In undertaking to continue the edition the writer has greatly profited by being able to consult a roughly drafted translation of Books VI.–VIII., of which Dr. Thackeray’s widow has been kind enough to make a fair copy, and by having before him several notebooks containing Dr. Thackeray’s studies of Josephus’s style, his use of Greek authors and other useful material, which Mrs. Thackeray has generously placed at his disposal. The writer has also had the great advantage of using the ms. of Dr. Thackeray’s *Index Verborum*, on the basis of which he was preparing his Greek Lexicon to
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Josephus, published under the auspices of the Kohut Foundation of the Jewish Institute of Religion. The first fascicle of this Lexicon appeared some time after Dr. Thackeray's death, and a second fascicle, completed by the writer, is expected to appear shortly.

Beside the earlier versions of the Antiquities made by Hudson, Weill and Whiston-Shilleto, two recent works have been consulted in preparing the latter part of this volume; these are Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus by Salomo Rappaport, Vienna, 1930, and Legends of the Jews by Louis Ginzberg (six volumes), Philadelphia, 1909–1928 (abbr. Ginzberg in the footnotes); the latter is an invaluable collection of rabbinic material illustrating the amplification of scriptural narratives and furnishing many instructive parallels to Josephus's treatment of his biblical text. The writer has, in addition, independently examined the text of the Targum (the Aramaic translation of the Bible, used in the early synagogue) and the mediaeval Hebrew commentaries reprinted in the Rabbinic Bible. For the identification of many of the Biblical place-names the writer is indebted to the researches of Professor W. F. Albright and other scholars, whose results have appeared in the Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research.

With regard to the Greek text, the writer, like Dr. Thackeray, has attempted to furnish a critical edition on the basis of the apparatus in Niese's editio maior, not (as some reviewers of the earlier volumes by Dr. Thackeray have described it) an edition based solely on Niese's text. Whether the text here given is as satisfactory as the excellent vi
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ones furnished by Niese and by Naber in the Teubner series must be left to the critics to decide. The problems of Josephus's text in these books are very complex, partly because of the twofold ms. tradition, partly because of the use made by the author of a Greek version of Scripture, and the corrections made by Christian copyists in the interest of conformity to the biblical text known to them, and partly because of the apparent revisions made by Josephus's Greek assistants. These difficulties are illustrated by the inconsistent spelling of biblical names of persons and places in the same ms. and the variants in the two families of mss. No editor may reasonably hope to have established, in every case, the forms used by Josephus himself.

The writer has been similarly inconsistent in his rendering of these biblical names. The most commonly known names, such as Hebron, Absalom, etc., are given in the form familiar to English readers, whether or not they accurately reproduce the Greek spelling of Josephus's text; where the name is not quite so well known and where the Greek form differs only slightly from that found in the Authorized Version of Scripture, it is rendered approximately, e.g. Abisai (for Abisaios; bibl. Abishai), Achab (for Achabos; bibl. Ahab); in all other cases the hellenized form is simply transliterated, e.g. Jebosthos (bibl. Ish-bosheth), Adrazaros (bibl. Hadadezer).

For a discussion of Josephus's use of the Hebrew original of Scripture and of the Greek version known as the Septuagint (abbr. lxx in the footnotes), the reader may consult Dr. Thackeray's Josephus, the Man and the Historian (Stroock Lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion), N.Y., 1929, Lecture IV. It
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will be seen from the discussion there and from the explanatory notes in this volume that Josephus's text often agrees with that group of LXX mss. which represent the so-called Lucianic recension (abbr. Luc. in the footnotes), made at the end of the third century A.D. It is, therefore, evident that this recension is based on a text which existed as early as the time of Josephus. To Dr. Thackeray's comments on Josephus's agreement with the Targum in certain passages against the Hebrew and Greek texts of Scripture, and to the examples of such agreement adduced by Mez (Die Bibel des Josephus) and Rappaport, the present writer has added in the footnotes what he ventures to believe are new instances of Josephus's use of an Aramaic translation of Scripture practically identical with the traditional Targum of Jonathan, which has usually been supposed to date from a period almost a century later than Josephus.

R. M.
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
ΙΟΥΔΑΙΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

1 (i. 1) Μωυσεός δὲ τὸν προερημένον τρόπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπογεγονότος Ἰησοῦς, ἀπάντων ἦδη τῶν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν νεομισμένων τέλος ἔχοντων καὶ τοῦ πένθους λελωφηκότος, παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ στρατεύαν

2 ἐτοιμον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, πέμπει τε κατασκόπους εἰς Ἰεριχώντα τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχονσιν αὐτοῖς γνωσομένους,¹ αὐτὸς δὲ εξήγησε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν διαβησόμενος

3 τὸν Ἰορδανον. ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ῥουβηλίδος φυλῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς τῆς Γάδιδος καὶ Μανασσητίδος προεστῶτας, ἐξ ἡμισείας γὰρ καὶ τῇδε τῇ φυλῇ τῆς Ἀμορίαν κατοικεῖν ἐπετέραπτο

4 τῆς Χαναάιων γῆς ἐβδομον οὕσαν μέρος, ὕπεμιμησκεν ἢ ὑπέσχοντο Μωυσεῖ, καὶ παρεκάλει χαριζομένους τῇ τε ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ, μηδ' ὅτε ἀπέθνησεν περὶ αὐτοῦς καμιόση, τῷ τε κοινῇ συμφέροντι παρέχειν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προβύποιμας. τῶν δ' ἐπομένων ὄπλαταις πεντακισ-

¹ ex L.at.: γνωσομένος codd.
(i. 1) Moses having in the aforesaid manner been rapt away from men, Joshua, when all the customary rites had now been accomplished in his honour and the mourning had abated, directed the people to make ready for a campaign. He also sent scouts to Jericho to reconnoitre the strength and the disposition of the inhabitants, while he himself reviewed his army, intending at the first opportunity to cross the Jordan. Having, moreover, called up the princes i. 12, 13, of the tribe of Rubel \(^a\) and the chiefs of the tribes of Gad and of Manasseh—for one half of this tribe too had been permitted to settle in the Amorite country, which forms a seventh part \(^b\) of the land of Canaan—he reminded them of their promises to Moses and exhorted them, out of respect alike for that forethought of his on their behalf which even in his dying moments had never flagged, and for the common weal, to respond to his orders with alacrity. These duly following him, he with fifty thousand \(^c\) men-

\(^a\) Reuben.

\(^b\) The Amorites were one of the "seven nations" that inhabited Canaan (Deut. vii. 1, Jos. iii. 10; cf. §§ 88 f. below). From this apparently, as M. Weill suggests, Josephus infers that they occupied a seventh part of the whole country.

\(^c\) 40,000 according to Jos. iv. 13 (Heb. and lxx).
μυρίως ἀπὸ τῆς 'Αβέλης ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἔξηει σταδίους ἐξήκοντα.

5 (2) Καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος εὐθὺς οἱ κατάσκοποι παρῆσαν μηδὲν ἀγνοῆσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοὺς Χαναάοις· λαθόντες ὡρ τὸ πρῶτον ἀπασαν ἐπὶ ἀδείας αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατενόησαν, τῶν τε τειχῶν ὡς καρτερὰ καὶ ὡς μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τῶν πυλῶν αἱ ἑρῶ πύραδον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ διὰ ἀσθένειαν συνέφερον. ἦμελον δὲ θεωμένων οἱ ἐνυγχάνοντες καθ' ἱστορίαν εἴνοις προσήκουσαν ἀκριβῶς ἑκαστὰ πολυπραγμονεῖς τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διανοίᾳ πολεμίων.

6 ὡς δὲ γενομένης ὁφίας ὑποχωροῦσιν εἰς τῇ καταγώγιον τοῦ τείχους πλησίον, εἰς δὲ καὶ προῆχθησαν δειπνοποιησόμενοι καὶ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτοῖς τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ φροντὶς ἢ, μηνύονται τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ δειπνον ὅτι κατασκευόμενοι τινές τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπέδου παρεῖναι καὶ ὄντες ἐν τῷ τῆς 'Ραάβης καταγωγίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς τῆς τοῦ λαβάνεων προνοίας ὑπάρχειν. ὁ δὲ εὐθὺς πέμψας πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἄγαγεὶν συλλαβόντας, ἵνα βασανίσας μάθη, τὶ καὶ βουλόμενοι παρεῖν. ὡς δ' ἐγγὺ τῇ ἐφοδιόν αὐτῶν ἡ 'Ραάβη, λίνῳ γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους ἐφυξε, τοὺς μὲν κατασκοποὺς εἰς ταῦτα ἀποκρύπτει, τοῖς δὲ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγεν, ὡς ἔνοι

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1 RO: 'Αβιλής etc. rell.
2 codd. Lat.: ἐλθόντες E codd.
3 ἔχου SP.
4 ex Lat.: -ποιησάμενοι codd.
5 fort. αὐτῶν legendum.
6 E: τείχους codd.

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at-arms set out from Abele and advanced sixty stades towards the Jordan.

(2) Scarce had he pitched his camp when the scouts reappeared, in nothing ignorant of the condition of the Canaanites. For, undetected at the first, they had surveyed their entire city unmolested, noting where the ramparts were strong and where they offered a less secure protection to the inhabitants, and which of the gates through weakness would facilitate entrance for the army. Those who met them had disregarded their inspection, attributing to a curiosity natural to strangers this busy study of every detail in the city, and in no wise to any hostile intent. But when, at fall of even, they retired to an inn hard by the ramparts, to which they had proceeded for supper, and were now only thinking of departure, word was brought to the king as he supped that certain persons had come from the camp of the Hebrews to spy upon the city and were now in Rahab's inn, mightily anxious to escape detection. And he straightway sent men after them, with orders to arrest and bring them up, that he might discover by torture to what intent they were come. But when Rahab learnt of their approach, being then engaged in drying some bundles of flax upon the roof, she concealed the spies therein, and told the king's messengers that some unknown

The spies and Rahab. Jos. ii. 1.

...
1 τινες άγνώτες ὀλίγων πρότερον ἡ δύνα ἡ τόν ἡλιον παρ' αὐτῇ δειπνήσαντες ἀπαλαγείεν, οὐς εἰ φοβερόι τῇ πόλει δοκοῦσιν, ἡ κάνδυνον τῷ βασιλεὶ φέροντες ἥκον, ἀπόνως εἶναι λαβεῖν διωχθέντας.

10 οἱ δὲ, τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτως αὐτοῦς ὑπελθούσης, οὐδένα ὑπονόησαντες δόλον ἀπήλθον οὕτ' ἐρευνήσαντες τὸ καταγώγιον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὅρμησαντες καθ' ὁ ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ὁδῶν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φεροῦσας οὕδειν γνωρίσματι περιετύγχανον, παύοντας τοῦ πονεῖν.

11 τοῦ δὲ θορύβου σταλέντος ἦ 'Ραάβη καταγαγούσα τοὺς ἁνδρας καὶ τὸν κάνδυνον εἰποῦσα, διν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπέλθοι σωτηρίας, ἀλοῦσαν γὰρ ἀποκρύπτουσαν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανοίκι αὐτὴν ἀπολέσσαν κακῶς,

12 παρακαλέσασα διὰ μνήμης ἔχεων, ὅταν ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς Χανααίων γῆς καταστάντες ἀμοιβήν ἐκτίσαι δύνανται τῆς ἁρτι σωτηρίας, χωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὁμόσαντας ἡ μὴν σώσειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς, ὅταν τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες φθείρσαι πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ ψήφισμα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς γενόμενον ταύτα γὰρ εἶδεναι σημεῖον τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ

13 διδαχθεῖσαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρόντων αὐτῇ χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολόγουν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθεὺς ἁμαρτον ἔργῳ τὴν ἀμοιβήν ἀποδώσειν· ἢνικὰ δ' ἂν αἰσθηταί μελλοῦσης ἀλύσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, συνεβουλεύον κτῆσιν τῇ ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους ἀπαντᾷ εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον ἀποθεμένην ἐγκαθείρξαι, πρὸ τῶν

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1 P² edd.: τινες εἶν rell. codd.  
2 om. M.

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Jos. ii. 9 f. speaks of Rahab's having heard that the Israelites' God will again aid them as in the past. Perhaps
strangers had shortly before sundown supped with her and gone their way; but, were it thought that the city had cause to fear them or were their coming fraught with peril to the king, they could be caught without difficulty if pursued. The messengers, thus cajoled by the woman and suspecting no guile, departed without even searching the inn; but when, after speeding along the roads by which they thought it most likely that the men had fled, including all those leading to the river, they found no trace of them, they ceased to trouble themselves further. The tumult having subsided, Rahab brought the men down and, having told them of the risk which she had run for their salvation—for, had she been caught concealing them, she would not have escaped the vengeance of the king but she and all her house would have perished miserably—she besought them to bear this in mind when, once masters of the land of the Canaanites, they should be in a position to recompense her for their present salvation; and she bade them depart to their own place, after swearing that they would verily save her and all that was hers when, on taking the city, they should destroy all its inhabitants, as had been decreed by their people, for of this (she said) she knew through certain signs which God had given her. In reply they expressed their gratitude to her for present favours and swore to repay her in future by recompense in act; but they counselled her, when she should see that the city was on the point of being taken, to secure her chattels and all her household within the inn and to shut them in, and to extend

οὖν ἡδονά here, as elsewhere in Josephus, means the "miracles" alluded to in the Scriptural passage.
JOSEPHUS

14 “μηνύσομεν” γὰρ αὐτῷ,” ἐφασαν, “διὰ τὸ σὸν σωζεσθαι πρόθυμον. εἰ δὲ τις ἔν τῇ μάχῃ πέσοι τῶν σῶν, σὺ τε οὐκ ἄν ἦμῖν ἐπενεγκοίς αὐτίαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὅν ὀμοιόκαμεν παρατούμεθα μηδὲν ὡς ἔπι παραβαίνουσι τοὺς ὅρκους δυσχεράναι.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἔχωρον διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθιμήσαντες ἑαυτοὺς, καὶ διασωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐδήλωσαν ὅσα πράξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦκον. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἠλεαζάρῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ φράζει τὰ τοὺς σκοποῖς ὁμοθέντα πρὸς τὴν ‘Ῥαὰβην’ οἱ δ’ ἐπεκύρων τοὺς ὅρκουν.

16 (3) Δεδιότος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν διάβασιν, μέγας γὰρ ἦν οἱ ποταμὸς τῷ ἑρύματι καὶ οὔτε γεφύρας πορεύτως, οὐ γὰρ ἐξενκτὸ τρ’ πρότερον, βουλομένους τε γεφύρων οὗ ἔξεν σχολὴν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπελάμβανον πορθμείων τε μὴ τυχανοῦσιν, διαβατὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ποιήσειν τὸν ποταμὸν μειώσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ δύο ἐπισχῶν ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦς διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν πλῆθον ἀπασάν τοιοῦτο τρόπῳ προῆγεν μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἔχοντες, ἐπείτα οἱ Λευίται τὴν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς υπηρεσίαν ταῖς θυσίαις σκέψεων κομίζοντες, ἐποντὸ δὲ τοὺς Λευίτας κατὰ φυλὰς ὁ πάς ὁμίλος μέσους ἔχων παιδὰς καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδίως περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ βιωθέειν ὑπὸ τοῦ

1 RO: μηνύσεων rell.
2 SP: στρατηγοῦ rell.
3 RO: πω rell.

a Jos. ii. 18, “Thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by.”
b Josephus, more suo, lessens the supernatural character
red flags before her doors, in order that their general, recognizing the house, might refrain from doing it injury. "For," said they, "we shall report to him that it is to thy zeal that we owe our lives. But, should any of thy kinsmen fall in the battle, thou must not lay that to our charge, and we implore the God by whom we have sworn to be in no wise indignant at us, as though we had transgressed our oaths." So having made this compact, they departed, letting themselves down the wall by a rope and, when safely restored to their friends, they recounted their adventures in the city. Joshua thereupon reported to Eleazar the high priest and to the council of elders what the spies had sworn to Rahab; and they ratified the oath.

(3) Now since the army was afraid to cross the river, which had a strong current and could not be crossed by bridges—for it had not been spanned by any hitherto, and, should they wish to lay them now, the enemy would not, they imagined, afford them the leisure, and they had no ferry-boats—God promised to render the stream passable for them by diminishing its volume. So Joshua, having waited two days, proceeded to transport the army with the whole multitude in the following fashion. At the head went the priests bearing the ark, next the Levites carrying the tabernacle and the vessels for the ministry of the sacrifices, and, after the Levites, followed, tribe by tribe, the whole throng, with the children and women in the centre, for fear of their being swept away by the force of the current.

of the miracle: the waters are not "wholly cut off" as in Joshua (iii. 13, 16).

"After three days," Jos. iii. 2.
18 ρεύματος. ός δε τοις ιερεύσι πρώτοις ἐμβάσι πορευτός ἐδοξεί ο ποταμός, τοῦ μὲν βάθος ἐπεσχημένου, τοῦ δὲ κάλλικος, τῷ μὴ πολύν εἶναι μηδ' ἐξιν τὸν ροῦν ὦσθ' ὑποφέρειν αὐτοῦ τῇ βίᾳ, ἀντ' ἐδάφους κειμένου, πάντες ήδη θαρσαλέως ἐπεραίωντο τὸν ποταμὸν, οίνῳ αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς

19 προείπε τοινύσιν τοιούτων κατανοοῦντες. ἔστησαν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ οἱ ιερεῖς ἐὼς οὐ διαβαίνῃ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τάσφαλοις ἀφάμενοι τύχου.¹ πάντων δὲ διαβάντων ἐξῆσαν οἱ ιερεῖς ἔλευθερον ἀφέντες ἥδη τὸ ρέμα χωρεῖν κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκβάντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἱύξετο καὶ τὸ ὕδων ἀπελάμβανε μέγεθος.

20 (4) Οἱ δὲ πειτήκοντα προειθόντες στάδια βάλλονται στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς Ἰεριχούντος, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῶν τε² βωμῶν ἐκ τῶν λήθων ὡς ἐκαστὸς ἄνειλε τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος ἱδρυσάμενος, τεκμήριον γενησόμενον τῆς ἀνακοπῆς τοῦ ῥεύματος, ἔθυνεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν φάσκα ἑώρταζον ἐν

21 ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, πάντων ὁν αὐτοῖς πρότερον συνέβαινε σπανίζειν τότε ραδίως εὐποροῦντες· τὸν τε γὰρ σίτου ἀκμάζοντα ἠδὲ τῶν Χανααίων ἐθέρευζον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λείαν ἠγον· τότε γὰρ αὐτούς καὶ ἡ τῆς μάννας ἐπελεοῦσε τροφὴ χρησάμενος ἐπὶ ἑτη τεσσαράκοντα.

22 (5) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιοῦντων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὖν ἐπεξήγεσαν οἱ Χανααίοι τειχήρεις δ' ἡσύχαζον,

¹ Dindorf: τύχη codd. ² τε RO: om. τῶν τε SPE (Lat.).

Literally "touched safety": the phrase recalls Thuc. ii.

22 πρὶν... τοῦ ἀσφαλοῖς ἀντιλάβοιτo (the escape from Plataea).
When the priests, who were the first to enter, found the river fordable—the depth having diminished and the shingle, which the current was neither full nor rapid enough to force from under their feet, lying as a solid floor—all thereupon confidently traversed the stream, perceiving it to be even as God had foretold that He would make it. But the priests stood still in the midst until the multitude had crossed and reached the firm ground. Then, when all had crossed, the priests emerged, leaving the stream free to resume its accustomed course. And the river, so soon as the Hebrews had quitted it, swelled and recovered its natural magnitude.

(4) These, having advanced fifty stades, pitched their camp at a distance of ten stades from Jericho. And Joshua, with the stones which each of the tribal leaders had, by the prophet's orders, taken up from the river-bed, erected that altar that was to serve as a token of the stoppage of the stream, and sacrificed thereon to God. They also kept the feast of the Passover at that spot, being now readily and amply provided with all that they had lacked before; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, now at its prime, and took any other booty they could. It was then too that the supply of manna ceased which had served them for forty years.

(5) Since, notwithstanding these actions of the Israelites, the Canaanites did not sally out against them but remained motionless behind their walls,

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b These distances are unscriptural. The Gilgal of the camp (Jos. v. 10) is usually identified with a site more than ten stades distant (S.E.) from Jericho.

c Josephus here omits the renewal at Gilgal of the rite of circumcision which had been neglected in the wilderness (Jos. v. 2 ff.).
πολυρκείν αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς ἔγνω. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἦμερα τῇν κιβωτόν οἱ ἱερεῖς φέροντες, περὶ δὲ αὐτὴν ἐν κύκλῳ μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν 23 φυλάττον ἕν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ προῆσαν ἑπτὰ κέρασιν αὐτῶν σαλπίζοντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ἀλκήν, περιοδεῦνε τὸ τείχος ἐπομένης τῆς γερουσίας, καὶ σαλπισάντων μόνον τῶν ἱερεῶν, τούτον γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν περισσότερον, ἀνεξενέαν 24 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τούτῳ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἐξ ποιησάντων τῇ ἐβδόμη τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν Ἰησοῦς συν- αγαγών καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἀπαντά, τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτοῖς τῆς πόλεως εὐνηγιελίζετο, 2 ὡς κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην παρέχοντος, αὐτο- μάτως καὶ δίχα τοῦ πόνου τῶν σφετέρων τῶν τεχών 25 κατενεχθησομένων. κτείνειν μέντοι 3 πάνθος ὄντω- σών εἰ λάβοιν παρεκελεύτο καὶ μήτε κάμινον ἀποστήμα τοῦ φόνου τῶν πολεμίων, μήτε ἔλεος παραχωρήσαντας φεύγασθαν 4 μήτε περὶ ἀρπαγήν 26 γνωμένους περιοραὶ φεύγοντας τοὺς ἐξεροῦσ· ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν ξώα πάντα διαφθείρεν μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς ἴδιαν ὀφελειαν λαμβάνοντας, ὡσα 5 δὲ ἀν ἀργυρος ἤ καὶ χρυσός, ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε συγκουμίζοντας ἀπαρχὴν ἐξαιρέτων τῶν κατωρθωμένων τῷ θεῷ τηρεῖν ἐκ τῆς πρώτου ἁλυσκομένης πόλεως ἐληφότας· σώζειν δὲ μόνην Ῥαάβην καὶ τὴν γενεάν αὐτῆς διὰ τούς γενομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῖς κατασκόποις ὀρκοὺς.

1 After Lat. (alique sacerdotes): οἱ καὶ codd.
2 RO: εὐηγιελίζατο rell. 3 + γε SPL.
4 SPL: om. rell. 5 ὅσος RO: ὃς M.

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*a i.e. of the Passover just mentioned; this date has no support in Scripture or, according to M. Weill, in tradition.*
Joshua resolved to besiege them. And, on the first day of the feast, the priests bearing the ark—which was surrounded by a party of armed men to protect it, while seven other priests marched in advance, sounding their horns—exhorted the army to valianee and made the circuit of the walls, followed by the council of elders. After merely those blasts from the priests—for beyond that they did nothing—they returned to the camp. For six days this was repeated, and on the seventh Joshua, having assembled the troops and all the people, announced to them the good news of the impending capture of the city, to wit that on that day God would deliver it to them and that, spontaneously and without effort on their part, the walls would collapse. Howbeit he charged them to slay all, whomsoever they caught, and neither through weariness, nor yielding to pity to desist from the slaughter of their enemies, nor yet while engaged in pillage to suffer the foe to escape. Nay, they were to destroy every living creature without taking aught to themselves for their private profit; but whatsoever there might be of silver or gold, that he commanded them to amass and reserve for God as choice first-fruits of their success, won from the first captured city. They were to spare only Rahab and her family in virtue of the oaths which had been made to her by the spies.

Josephus has traced a connexion between the seven days of blowing of trumpets, mentioned in Scripture, and the duration of the feast. Perhaps, however, he has used a text which, like the lxx Jos. vi. 12, read “on the second day, Joshua rose early, and the priests bore the ark, etc.,” and taken it to mean the day after the eve of Passover, or the first full day of the festival.

Jos. vi. 19 adds “or brass or iron”; cf. § 32.
27 (6) Ταύτ' εἶπὼν καὶ διατάξας τὸν στρατὸν προσήγεν' ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· περιήγεσαν δὲ πάλιν τὴν πόλιν ἡγουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ιερέων τοῖς κέρασιν ἐξοτρινόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἐργον. καὶ περιελθόντων ἐπτάκις καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἤρεμοῖσαν κατέπεσε τὸ τείχος μὴτε μηχανῆς μὴτε ἀλλης βίας αὐτῶν προσενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

28 (7) Οἱ δ' εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ πάντας ἐκτείνον, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν παράδοξον τοῦ τείχους ἀνατροπὴν καταπεπληγητῶν καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος αὐτῶς πρὸς ἁμώμιν αἵρειον γεγονότος· ἀνηροῦντο δ' οὖν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀποσφαττόμενοι καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἑπικαταλαμβανόμενοι. παρχείτο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτοὺς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄπώλυσαν ἄχρι γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, καὶ νεκρῶν ἡ πόλις ἦν ἀνάπλεως καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδέν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἐνέπρησαν ἀπασαν καὶ τὴν χώραν. καὶ τὴν Ῥαβδην σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον συμφυγοῦσαν ἐσωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰησοῦς ἀχθείσην χάριν ἐχειν ὁμολογεῖ τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ μὴν τῆς εὐργεσίας ταύτης ἐλεγεν ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς οὐχ ἢττονα φανήσεσθαι. διωρεῖται δ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἄγροις καὶ διὰ τιμῆς εἰχε τῆς πάσης.

31 (8) Τῆς δὲ πόλεως εἰ καὶ τι παρέλθοι τὸ πῦρ κατέσκαπτε καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκισόντων, εἰ τις πορθηθείσαιν ἀνεγείρειν ἐθελήσειν, ἀράς ἁθετο, ὅπως θεμελίως μὲν τειχῶν βαλλόμενος στέρηθη τοῦ πρῶτον παιδός, τελειώσας δὲ τῶν νεώτατον τῶν παιδῶν ἀποβάλη. τῆς δὲ ἀρᾶς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ

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1 προσήγαγεν RO.  
2 Ἔ : μηδὲν rell.  
3 Λ : οἰκησόντων rell.  
4 βαλλόμενος RO.
Having spoken thus, he marshalled his army and led it towards the city. Again they compassed the city, the ark leading and the priests with the sounding of their horns inciting the troops to action. And when they had compassed it seven times and had halted for a while, the wall fell down, without either engine or force of any other kind having been applied to it by the Hebrews.

And they, having entered Jericho, slew every soul, the inhabitants being dumbfounded at the miraculous overthrow of the ramparts and deprived of all effectual spirit for defence. At all events they perished, slaughtered in the streets or surprised in the houses. Nothing could exempt them; all were destroyed down to the women and children, and the city was choked with corpses and nothing escaped. The city itself they burnt entire and the surrounding region. Rahab, who with her kinsfolk had all taken refuge in the inn, was saved by the spies; and Joshua, on her being brought before him, acknowledged his gratitude to her for her protection of the spies and assured her that in recompensing her he would not be found to fall short of such a benefaction. Indeed he presented her with lands forthwith and showed her every consideration.

As for the city, whatever of it the fire had spared he demolished, and upon those who would settle there should any be fain to re-erect it from its ruins, he pronounced imprecations, that if he laid foundations of walls he should be bereft of his first-born and if he completed the walls he should lose the youngest of his sons. Nor was this curse un-
32 (9) "Apeiron de te plēthos ek tōs aλώσεως synadrapoızetai ārgyroz te kai χρυσοῦ kai proosētī χαλκoῦ, μηδενὸs paraβάntos ta deδογμέna μηδ' eis idiaν ωφέλειαν autā diarpastaménov, ἀλλ' ἀποσχομένων ὡς ἑδὴ τῶν θεῶν kathieroménov. kai taútā meν Ἰησοὺς τοῖς ἑρεύσων eis τοὺς θησαυροὺς paraδίδοσι καταθέσθαι. kai Ἰεριχώδης μὲν τοῦτον ἀπώλετο τῶν τρόπων.

33 (10) "Ἀχαρὸς δὲ τις Ζεβεδαίου παῖς ὁν ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς εὐρών χλαμύδα βασίλειον ἐκ χρυσοῦ μὲν πάσαν υψασμένην, μαζ' ἐν χρυσῷ σταθμὸν ἐλκουσαν σίκλων διακοσίων καὶ δεινὸν ἡγησάμενον ὁ κινδυνεύσας ηὗρατο κέρδος, τοῦτο τῆς ἱδίας χρείας ἀφελόμενος δοῦναι φέρον τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ δεομένῳ, ὀρνυμα βαθὺ ποιήσας ἐν ἡ αὐτοῦ σκηνῇ κατώρυξεν εἰς τούτο, λήσειν νομίζων ὡς τοὺς συ- στρατιώτας οὕτως καὶ τον θεόν.


1 Ernesti: ei e̊ ML: eis δ RO.
2 Niese suspects a lacuna after ἀφελόμενος.
3 ME: λήσεσθαι rel.

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a In the reign of Ahab, 1 Kings xvi. 34. Josephus, however, in the sequel forgets to recount the incident; the verse which records it being apparently absent from the Greek Bible which he was then following (A. viii. 318 note).

b Heb. "Achan, son of Carmi, son of Zabdi": the form Achar appears here in the lxx, as also in the Heb. in 1 Chron. 16
regarded by the Deity, but in the sequel we shall recount the calamity which it entailed.\(^a\)

(9) An immense quantity of silver and gold, as also of brass, was amassed from the captured town, none having violated the decrees nor looted these things for his private profit: nay, they abstained therefrom as from objects already consecrated to God. And Joshua delivered them to the priests to lay up in the treasuries. Such, then, was the end of Jericho.

(10) But a certain Achar, son of Zebedee,\(^b\) of the tribe of Judah, having found a royal mantle all woven of gold and a mass of gold of the weight of two hundred shekels,\(^c\) and thinking it cruel that he should deprive himself of the enjoyment of lucre, which he had won at his own peril, and bring and offer it to God, who had no need of it, dug a deep hole in his tent and buried his treasure therein, thinking to elude alike his comrades in arms and withal the eye of God.

(11) The place where Joshua had established his camp was called Galgala.\(^d\) This name signifies "freedom"; for, having crossed the river, they felt themselves henceforth free both from the Egyptians and from their miseries in the desert.

\(^a\) Consecration of the booty to God.

\(^b\) Heb. "a mantle of Shinar (i.e. Babylonia) and 200 shekels of silver and a wedge of gold of 50 shekels weight" (Jos. vii. 21).

\(^c\) Heb. "One of the historian's "free" etymologies, but perhaps taken over from others (Weill quotes the translation \(\epsilon\lambda\nu\tau\theta\varepsilon\pi\alpha\) in Theodoret i. p. 199). Scripture derives the name Gilgal from the verb \(\gamma\alpha\lambda\alpha\) ("to roll") and adds the explanation "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you" (by the reinstatement of the practice of circumcision).
35 (12) Metà δ’ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τῆς Ἰεριχώντος συμφοράς πέμπει τρυσχλίους ὅπλατας Ἰησοὺς εἰς Ἔαϊνας πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰεριχώντος κειμένην αἱρῆσοντας, οἳ συμβαλόντων αὐτοὶ τῶν Ναυητῶν τραπέντες ἀποβάλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἔξι καὶ τριάκοντα.

36 τούτῳ ἀγγέλθην τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις λύπην τε μεγάλην καὶ δεινὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ οἴκειον τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καίτοι γε πάντων ἄνδρῶν ἀγάθων καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων διεφθαρμένων, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἀπόγνωσιν πιστεύοντες γὰρ ἣδη τῆς γῆς ἐγκρατείς εἶναι καὶ σῶον ἔξεων ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τῶν στρατῶν οὔτως τοῦ θεοῦ προὔποσχημένου, τεθαρρηκότας παραδόξως ἐώρων τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ σάκκους ἐπενδύοντες ταῖς στολαῖς δι’ ὅλης ἡμέρας ἐν δακρύοις ἦσαν καὶ πένθει, τροφῆς οὐδεμίαν ἐπιζήτησιν ποιούμενοι, μειξόνως δὲ τὸ συμβεβηκός εἰχον ἀνθόμενοι.

38 (13) Βλέπων δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν τε στρατιάν καταπεπληγημένην καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ποιηρὰν ἤδη τῆς ἐλπίδας λαμβάνονταν παρρησίαν λαμβάνει πρὸς τὸν θεόν. "ἡμεῖς" γὰρ εἶπεν "οὐχ ὑπ’ αὐθαίειας προϊχθημεν ὡστε ταῦτην ὑπάγεσθαι τοῖς ὁπλοῖς τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ Μωυσέος τοῦ σοῦ δούλου πρὸς τὸ θόριος ἡμᾶς ἐξεγείραντος, ὦ διὰ πολλῶν τεκμηρίων ἐπηγγέλλου κτήσασθαι παρέξεων ἡμῶν τῇ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ στρατοῦ ἡμῶν ἀεὶ τῶν πολεμίων ποιήσεων τοῖς ὁπλοῖς κρείττονα. τινὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῶν ἀπήντησε τὰς σᾶς, νῦν δὲ παρὰ δόξαν ἐπταύκωτες καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως τινὰς ἀποβαλόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὅς οὐ βεβαιῶν τῶν παρὰ

1 om. Ernesti. 2 'Αταν Ε. Λατ.: v.l."Ἀν(ν)αν.

* Heb. Ai ("Ai"), lxx Iai. The form Naiâ has arisen out of 18
A few days after the downfall of Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand men-at-arms to the city of Naia, situated above Jericho, to capture it. These, being opposed by the Naetans, were routed and lost six-and-thirty men. The announcement of this news to the Israelites caused them great grief and dire despondency, not so much because of their kinship to the fallen, albeit they were all valiant and worthy men who had perished, as from utter despair. For, believing themselves already masters of the country and that they would keep their army unscathed in the combats, even as God had promised heretofore, they now beheld their enemies unexpectedly emboldened. And so, putting sackcloth upon their apparel, they passed a whole day in tears and lamentation, without one thought for food, and in their vexation unduly magnified what had befallen.

(13) Seeing his army thus cast down and a prey to gloomy forebodings concerning the whole campaign, Joshua frankly appealed to God. "It was," he said, "from no confidence in ourselves that we were induced to subjugate this land by arms: nay, it was Moses, thy servant, who incited us thereto, he to whom by many tokens thou didst promise to vouchsafe to us to win this land, and ever to ensure to our army superiority in battle over our foes. And indeed some things have befallen in accordance with thy promises; but now, having suffered unlooked-for defeat, having lost some of our force, we are distressed at these things, which make thy ἅβι—attested by the Latin version and perhaps original—through duplication of the ν in the accusative—τῆν (Ν)άιαν; modern Greek supplies many parallels, e.g. Νίδα = 'Ιδα.

 Amplification, for which there is Rabbinical authority (Weill).
JoSEPHUS

σοῦ καὶ ὃν προεἰπε Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμεθα, καὶ χείρον ἡ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίς ἡμᾶς ἀνία τῇ πρώτῃ πείρᾳ

touaúthη συντυχόντας. ἀλλα σύ, δέσποτα, δύναμις γάρ σοι τούτων ἱασών εὐρεῖν, τὸ τε παρὸν ἡμῶν

λυπηρὸν νίκην παρασχόμενος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὕθες δύσελπί διακείμενον οὕτως τῆς διανοίας ἐξελεί.

42 (14) Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεσόν ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν· χρηματίσαντος δὲ ἀνάστασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ

καὶ καθαίρειν τὸν στρατὸν μιᾶς τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότος κλοπῆς τε τῶν καθερωμένων αὐτῶ

χρημάτων τετολμημένης, διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα τὴν νῦν αὐτῶς ἦτταν συμπεσεῖν, ἀναζητήθεντος δὲ τοῦ

δράσαντος καὶ κολασθέντος νίκην αὐτῶς ἄει περιέσεσθαι τῶν πολεμίων, φράζει ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν

43 λαὸν Ἰησοῦς, καὶ καλέσας Ἑλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει κατὰ φυλήν ἐκλήρου. τούτων δὲ
tο τετολμημένον ἐκ τῆς Ιουδαία φυλῆς δηλούντος κατὰ φατρίας πάλιν ταῦτας προτίθησι τὸν κλήρον.

τὸ δ' ἀληθὲς τοῦ κακουργημάτως περὶ τὴν Ἀχάρου

44 συγγένειαν ἡγύρισκετο. κατ' ἀνδρὰ δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως γυνομένης λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἀχάρον· ὃ δ' οὖν ἔχων ἐξαρνός εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ δεινῶς αὐτῶν ἐκ-

περιελθόντος, ὀμολογεῖ τε τὴν κλοπὴν καὶ τὰ φῶρα παρῆγγεν εἰς μέσον. καὶ οὕτος μὲν εὐθὺς

ἀναρεθείς ἐν νυκτὶ ταφῆ ἀτίμου καὶ καταδίκω

πρεπούσης τυγχάνει.

1 coni. Niese: περιστρέφθαι RO: πορίζεσθαι rel.: proveniret

Lat.

Jos. vii. 25, "And all Israel stoned him with stones [and they burned them with fire and (Targum 'after that they had') stoned them with stones]." The bracketed words, absent from the LXX, are confused and the addition of later 20
promises and those predictions of Moses appear unsure; and yet more sorely are we pained at the thought of what the future holds in store, having met with such issue to our first assault. But do thou, Lord, since thou hast power to find healing for these ills, dispel our present affliction by vouchsafing us victory and thus banish from our mind our deep despondency concerning the future.”

(14) Thus did Joshua, prostrated upon his face, make petition to God. And the response came from God, that he should arise and purge the army of the pollution that had been wrought therein and of a daring theft of objects consecrated to Him, since that was the cause of their recent defeat; but were the culprit sought out and punished, they would for ever be assured of victory over their enemies. All this Joshua repeated to the people and, summoning Eleazar the high priest and the magistrates, he proceeded to draw lots for the several tribes. And when this revealed that the sacrilege issued from the tribe of Judah, he again had lots drawn for its several clans; and the true story of the crime was found to rest with the family of Achar. The inquiry being pursued further man by man, they caught Achar. And he, unable to make denial, being thus shrewdly circumvented by God, avowed his theft and produced the stolen goods before all. He was straightway put to death and at nightfall was given the ignominious burial proper to the condemned.\(^2\)

editors. As M. Weill points out, Josephus doubtless adds the burial, unrecorded in Scripture, to indicate that the Mosaic law on stoning, which he has previously reported (iv. 202), was exactly followed; but he may already have found here some addition in his Biblical text which he interpreted as an allusion to burial.
(15) Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἀγνώσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναϊάν αὐτοὺς καὶ νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδρας προλοχίσας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῶν δὲ μετὰ θάρσους αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν προτέραν νίκην ἐπιόντων ὑποχωρεῖν προσποιήσαμεν ἐλκεῖ τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μακρὰν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως διώκειν οἴκομένους καὶ ώς ἐπὶ νίκῃ καταφρονοῦντας. ἐπειτ' ἀναστρέψας τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, σημεῖα τε δοῦς ἄ προς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδρας συνετέκτακτο κακεῖνους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξανώτησιν. οἱ δ' εἰσεπῆδον εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἐνδον περὶ τοῖς τεῖχεσιν ὄντων, ἐνώπιον δὲ καὶ πρὸς θέαν τῶν ἔξω τὴν γινώμην περισσώμενων.

καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἤρων καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἐκτεινών, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοὺς προσελθόντας εἰς χεῖρας βιασάμενος φυγεῖν τρέπεται, συνελαυνόμενοι δὲ ἔστω εἰς ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν ἐπεί καὶ ταῦτην ἔχομεν ἐώρων καὶ καταπραμένην ὅμοιο γυναιξί καὶ τέκνοις κατέλαβον, διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἔσαν σκέδασθέντες ἀμύνεσιν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μονώσεως οὐ δυνάμενοι. τουαύτῆς δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς Ναϊτιανοὺς καταλαβοῦσις, παῦδων τε ὅχλος ἐάλω καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς ἀπειροῦν τι πλῆθος, ἄγειλας τε βοσκημάτων ἐλαβον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ χρήματα πολλά, καὶ γὰρ πλοῦσιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις Ἰησοῦς διένειμεν ἐν Γαλγάλοις γενόμενοι.

(16) Γαβανωνῖται δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἐγγυτα τοῖς

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1 ed. pr.: αὐτὸς codd.: om. F Lat. 2 θάρσος ME. 3 οἰχομένην ROE. 4 ἦσαν M: ἦσαν SPL: om. rel. 5 καὶ ROE.
(15) Joshua, having purified his army, now led them out against Naia, and, after posting ambuscades during the night all about the town, at daybreak joined battle with the enemy. And when these advanced against them with an assurance begotten of their former victory, Joshua, feigning a retreat, drew them in this way to a distance from the town, they imagining themselves in pursuit of a beaten foe and being disdainful of them in anticipation of victory. Then, turning his forces about, he made them face their pursuers and, giving the prearranged signals to those in ambush, roused them also to the fight. These flung themselves into the town, the occupants of which were around the ramparts, some wholly engrossed in watching their friends outside. So while they took the town and slew all whom they encountered, Joshua broke the ranks of his adversaries and forced them to flee. Driven in a body to the town which they supposed to be intact, when they saw that it too was taken and found that it was in flames, along with their wives and children, they scattered throughout the country, incapable through their isolation of offering resistance. Such being the fate that befell the Naiaetans, a crowd of children, women and slaves was taken, beside an immense mass of material. The Hebrews captured moreover herds of cattle and money in abundance, for the region was rich, and all this Joshua distributed to his soldiers, while he was at Galgala.

(16) Now the Gabaonites, who lived quite close

\[ a \] The Greek is modelled on Thuc. ii. 81.
\[ b \] Amplification; according to Jos. viii. 17 not a man had been left in the town.
\[ c \] So LXX (Γαβαωνή): Hcb. "Gib'eon."
\[ \text{Dindorf: } \text{ο\'ετε codd.} \]
\[ \text{possent Lat.: hence I should read } \text{άν } (\text{διέγνωσαν may have come into the text from § 49).} \]
\[ \text{Bekker: } \text{πίστων codd.} \]
to Jerusalem, seeing the disasters that had befallen
the inhabitants of Jericho and of Naia and suspecting
that they too would be visited by this dire fate, yet
resolved not to implore mercy of Joshua; for they
did not think to obtain any tolerable terms from a
belligerent whose aim was the extermination of the
whole race of the Canaanites. But they invited the
Kephêrites and the Kariathiarmites, their neigh-
bours, to make alliance with them, telling them that
neither would they escape this peril, should they
themselves have first been conquered by the Israel-
ites, whereas if they united their arms with theirs
they might evade their violence. These overtures
being accepted, the Gabaonites sent ambassadors to
Joshua to make a league of amity, choosing those of
their citizens whom they judged most capable of act-
ing in the interests of the people. And these, deem-
ing it hazardous to avow themselves Canaanites, and
thinking to escape the peril of so doing by asserting
that they had no connexion whatever with the
Canaanites but lived very far away from them, de-
clared that it was the tidings of his valour which
had brought them thither, after accomplishing a
long journey, and in proof of this statement they
pointed to their apparel. Their garments, quite new
when they set out, had (they said) been worn out
by the length of their journey; for, to get them to
believe this story, they had purposely clothed them-
selves in rags. So, standing amidst the host, they
said that they had been sent by the Gabaonites
and the neighbouring cities, very remote from that

\[a\] Chephirah (I.xx κεφηρα) and Kiriath-jearim (πόλεις Ἰαρείν) are mentioned in Jos. ix. 18 as allied with Gibeon, along with another city (Beeroth) ignored by Josephus.

\[b\] Text doubtful.
πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἐφ' αἷς πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἔστι συνθήκαις· μαθόντες γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ δυρεάς τὴν Χαναναίων αὐτοῖς γῆν κτήσασθαι δεδόσθαι τούτοις τ' ἔλεγον ἦδεσθαι καὶ πολίτας ἄξιον
55 αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ ἑπιδεικνύντες τὰ τεκμήρια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας παρεκάλουν ἐπὶ συνθήκας καὶ φιλίαν τοὺς Ἐβραίους· Ἰησοῦς δὲ πιστεύσας οἷς ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοὺς Χαναναίων ἐθνοὺς, ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν, καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεύς μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας ὁμονω ἐξεϊν ἐτε φίλους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ μηδὲν μοχλεύσθαι καὶ αὐτῶν ἅδικον, τοῖς ὀρκοῖς ἐπισυνανέσαντος τοῦ πλῆθους. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὲν ἦθελον τυχόντες εἶ ἀπάτης ἀπῆσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν ὑπώρειον καὶ μᾶθων οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων τοὺς Γαβριοῦντας κατωκημένους καὶ τοῦ γένους ὄντας τῶν Χαναναίων, μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτῶν τοὺς ἐν τελεῖ τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει. τῶν δ' οὐκ ἄλλην ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας ἔχειν ἡ ταύτην προ-
57 φασισμένων καὶ διὰ τούτ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης καταφυγεῖν συγκαλεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοὺς δικαιοῦντων ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραβῆναι τὸν ὀρκὸν ἀποδείκνυσιν εἶναι τοιούτος. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς καταλαβοῦσας αὐτοὺς συμφοσοῦς τοιαύτην φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφαλείαν εὐραντὸ.

58 (17) Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἰεροσολυμίτων βασιλέως χα-
λεπῶς φέροντος ἐπὶ τῷ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τὸν

1 ἀποδείκνυσιν ROML.

a Or "engineer," "trump up" (literally "prise up").
26
present land, to make alliance with them on such terms as were customary with their fathers; for, having learnt that by the grace and bounty of God the land of the Canaanites had been granted them for their possession, they rejoiced thereat and craved to become their fellow-citizens. With these words, and withal displaying the tokens of their travel, they besought the Hebrews to make a covenant and league of amity with them. Thereupon Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not of the race of the Canaanites, made a league with them; and Eleazar the high priest, along with the council of elders, swore to hold them as friends and allies and to contrive a no iniquity against them, and the people ratified the oaths. So the envoys, having attained their end by guile, returned to their own people; but Joshua, having marched into the foothills of Canaan and learnt that the Gabaonites lived not far from Jerusalem and were of the stock of the Canaanites, sent for their magistrates and upbraided them for this fraud. When these alleged that they had no other means of salvation save that, and that they had therefore perforce had recourse to it, Joshua convoked the high priest Eleazar and the council; and, acting upon their judgement that they should be made public slaves, b so as to avoid violation of the oath, he appointed them to those functions. Thus did these people, when confronted with calamity, find protection and security for themselves.

(17) But the king of the Jerusalemites, c indignant that the Gabaonites should have passed over to the

b "Hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation," Jos. ix. 27.

c Named Adonizedek, Jos. x. 1.
JOSEPHUS

'Ἰησοῦν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τοὺς τῶν πλησίων ἐθνῶν παρακαλέσαντος βασιλέας συνάρασθαι τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν πολέμῳ, ωὸς τούτους τε εἰδὼν παρόντας σὺν αὐτῷ, τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν, οἱ Γαβαωνίται καὶ στρατοπεδευσμένους ἐπὶ τινὶ πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀποφθειν παρασκευᾶσθαι πρὸς πολιορκίαιν,

59 ἐπεκαλοῦντο σὺμμαχον 'Ἰησοῦν ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἢν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, ός ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων ἀπολείσθαι προσδοκᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπ’ ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους στρατευσάντων σωθῆσθαι διὰ τὴν

60 γενομένην φιλίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν. καὶ Ἰησοῦς παν-στρατία σπεύσας ἔπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ δι’ ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὀρθρίους προσμίγνυσί τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τραπεζοῦ ἐπετο διάκων διὰ χωρίων ἐπικλινών, Βῆθωρα καλεῖται. ἐνθα καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔμαθεν ἐπισημήναντος αὐτοῦ βροντάς τε καὶ κεραυνῶν ἀφέσει καὶ χαλάζῃς καταφορᾶ

61 μὲν οὖν τῆς συνήθους· ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐξηθήναι πλέον, ὃς ἀν μὴ καταλαβοῦσα νὺς ἐπίσχυ τὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων πρόθυμον, συνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνει τοὺς βασιλέας Ἰησοῦς ἐν τινὶ κρυπτομένους σπηλαίων κατὰ Μακκία ἐπὶ κολαζεῖ πάντας. ὅτι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέδωκε τότε καὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἐπλεόνασε, δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων.

62 (18) Κατεστραμμένων δ’ οὕτως τῶν περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οἱ τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας πολεμήσαντες ἐστράτευσαν, ἐπανήγει πάλιν τῆς Χαναναίας ἐπὶ τὴν

1 Μ: τῶν τοιούτων RO: τῶν οἰκέων SPL (Lat. suis).

a Bibl. Beth-horon; the pass was the scene of many later
side of Joshua, called upon the kings of the neighbour nations to join him in a campaign against them; whereat the Gabaonites, having seen these monarchs come with him, four in number, and encamp by a spring not far from their city, preparing to besiege them, appealed to Joshua for aid. For such was their case, that from their countrymen they could await but destruction, while from those who had taken the field for the extermination of the Canaanite race they looked for salvation, thanks to the alliance which had been concluded. Joshua, with his whole army, sped to their assistance and, marching all day and night, at early dawn fell upon the foe, routed them and followed in pursuit down the slopes of the region called Bēthōra. There too he was given to know of God's co-operation, manifested by thunder-claps, the discharge of thunderbolts and the descent of hail of more than ordinary magnitude. Aye and moreover it befell that the day was prolonged, to the end that night should not overtake them and check the Hebrews' ardour; insomuch that Joshua both captured the kings, who were hiding in a cave at Macchida, and punished all their host. That the length of the day was increased on that occasion and surpassed the customary measure, is attested by Scriptures that are laid up in the temple.

(18) Having thus overthrown that league of kings who had set out to war against the Gabaonites, Joshua remounted into the hill-country of Canaan; battles, notably of the rout of a Roman legion at the opening of the Jewish War (B.J. ii. 516).

b Bibl. Makkedah (Makkedah), lxx Μακκάδα, Jos. x. 10, 16: perhaps el-Mughar (" the cavern ") S.W. of Ekron.

c Cf. iii. 38, iv. 303 with notes.
63 Εβραίων ἀρετῆς λόγου πολλοὶ φοιτῶντος εἰς τοὺς περιφόρους κατάπληξις εἰλή τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ τῶν ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατεύοντος ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς οἰ περὶ Λίβανον ὄρος βασιλεὸς ὅντες Χαναναίοι καὶ οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τῶν Χαναναίων Παλαιστίνων προσλαβόντες στρατοπεδεύοντο πρὸς Βηρώθη πόλει Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἀνώ Κεδέης οὐ πόρρω. Γαλιλαίων
64 δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ τούτῳ τὸ χωρίον. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ παντὸς ὀπλιτῶν μὲν ἦσαν μυριάδες τριάκοντα, μύριοι δὲ ἵππεις καὶ ἄρματα δισμύρια. καταπλήττει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτῶν τὸ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραήλίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλαβεστέρως εἴχον δι' ὑπερβολὴν 65 τοῦ δεόντος. τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἐξονειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸν φόβον καὶ τὶς πλέον τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας πολοῦσιν, ὑποσχομένου τε νικήσεως τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καὶ κελεύσαντος τοὺς τε ἵππους ἀχρίστους ποιῆσαι καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πυρώσαι, θαρσαλέος πρὸς τὰς ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενος ἐξώρισεν ἐπὶ τοὺς 66 πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλθὼν συνάπτει, καὶ καρτερὰ μάχῃ γίνεται καὶ φόνος κρείττων πίστεως παρὰ τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις. διώκων δὲ ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξήλθε καὶ πᾶν τὸ στρά-

1 veneruntque Lat. 2 εἰ MSPL Lat.

a The Greek, here and throughout, has "Palestinians."
b Jos. xi. 5, "at the waters of Merom" (lxx Μαρρὼν), com-
there he made great carnage of the inhabitants and captured booty, and so returned to the camp at Galgala. The fame of the Hebrews’ valour being now mightily noised abroad among the neighbouring peoples, consternation seized them on hearing of those multitudes of slain; and there set off to war against them the kings of the region of Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and the Canaanites of the plains, joined by the Philistines, and established their camp at Bérothe, a city of upper Galilee, not far from Kedese, another place within the Galilean area. Their entire army amounted to 300,000 men-at-arms, 10,000 horsemen, and 20,000 chariots. This host of enemies dismayed both Joshua himself and the Israelites, and in the excess of their fear they scarce durst hope for success. But God rebuked them for their terror and for craving beyond His aid, promising them victory over their foes and bidding them put their horses out of action and to burn the chariots. Emboldened by these promises of God, Joshua set forth against the enemy, and on the fifth day came upon them and engaged them; a fierce combat ensued and a carnage such that the tale of it would outrun belief. Advancing very far in pursuit, Joshua destroyed the monly but incorrectly (G. A. Smith) identified with the small lake Huleh, north of the Lake of Tiberias. The site of the battle is unknown; Josephus seems to identify it with one of the towns which he fortified during the war with Rome and which he calls elsewhere Meroth or Ameroth (B.J. ii. 573, iii. 39, *Vita* 188).

* Kedesh Naphtali, N.W. of the lake Huleh.
* The numbers are imaginary: Scripture speaks only of "much people, even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many."
* Amplification.

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 62–66

Defeat of a host of Canaanites and Philistines in Galilee. Jos. x. 43; xi. 1.
JOSEPHUS

teuma τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων διέφθειρε, καὶ οἱ
67 βασιλεῖς πάντες ἔπεσον, ὡστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
ἐπιλελοιπῶν πρὸς τὸ κτείνεσθαι τοὺς ἱπποὺς
Ἰησοῦς αὐτῶν ἀνήρει καὶ τὰ ἁρματα ἐνεπήμπρα,
tὴν τε χώραν ἐπὶ ἀδείας διεπορεύετο μηδενὸς
tολμῶντος εἰς μάχην ἐπεζητήθειν, ἀλλὰ πολυρκία
tὰς πόλεις άιρὼν καὶ πᾶν ὁ τι λάβοι φανεοῦν.
68 (19) "Ετῶς δὲ πέμπτων ἡδή παρεληλύθει καὶ
Χαναναῖων οὐκέτ’ οὔδεὶς ὑπολείπετο πλὴν εἰ μὴ
tuves ὁχυρότητι πειχῶν διέφυγον. Ἰησοῦς δ’ ἐκ
tῶν Γαλγάλων ἀναστρατοπεδέυσας εἰς τὴν οἰρεον
ιστὰ τὴν ἵεραν σκηνῆν κατὰ Σιλοῦν πόλιν, ἐπιτή-
δειον γὰρ ἔδοκεν τὸ χωρίον διὰ κάλλος, ἔως οἰκο-
69 δομεῖν ναὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα παράσχη. 2 καὶ
χωρῆσας ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Σικύμων σὺν ἀπαντὶ τῷ λαῷ
βωμὸν τοῦ ἱερᾶν ὅπου προείπε Μωυσῆς καὶ
νείμας τὴν στρατιάν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Γαριζέτ οἱ ὑπὲ τὴν
ἡμίσεων ἱερᾶν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ 'Ηβῆλω 3 τὴν ἡμίσειν,
ἐν ὑ καὶ ὁ βωμὸς, 4 καὶ τὸ Λεωπικὸν καὶ τοὺς
70 ἵερας. θύσαιτε δὲ καὶ ἄρας ποιησάμενοι καὶ
tαύτας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ γεγραμμένας καταλιπόντες
eἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἀνέζευξαι.

1 οἱ οἰκεῖαι SPE.
2 παράσχω Niese.
3 Γῆβῆλος ML.
4 E: βωμὸς ἐστὶ (conj. ἐστη Niese) codd.

* Scripture makes no such exception: "they smote them until they left them none remaining" (Jos. xi. 8).
* A calculation based apparently on Jos. xiv. 7 and 10, where Caleb declares that he was 40 years old when sent
out as a spy and that he is now 85. Allowing 40 years for
the wanderings, this gives 5 years for the wars of Joshua.
Tradition, based on that same passage (together, it would
32
whole of the enemy’s army, save for a few—a—the kings all fell—in such wise that, when there were no more men to be killed, he slew their horses and burnt the chariots. He then overran the country unmolested, none daring to come out to give him battle; the cities too he captured by siege and massacred every creature that he caught.

(19) A fifth year had now passed away and there was no longer any Canaanite left, save for such as had escaped through the solidity of their walls. So Joshua moved his camp up from Galgala into the hill country and set up the holy tabernacle at the city of Silo, since that spot, by its beauty, seemed meet for it, until circumstances should permit them to build a temple. Proceeding thence to Sikima, with all the people, he erected an altar at the spot foreordained by Moses, and, dividing his army, posted one half of it on mount Garizin and the other half on Hebel, whereon also stood the altar, along with the Levites and the priests. After sacrificing and pronouncing imprecations, which they also left graven upon the altar, they returned to Silo.

seem, with Deut. ii. 14, which restricts the wanderings to 38 years) assigned 7 years to the conquest (Weill).

c Greek "Silous": Heb. Shiloh, lxx Σηλώ.

d Bibl. Shechem, lxx Σίκιμα or Σεχεμ, mod. Nablus. Scripture places this episode earlier, immediately after the conquest of Ai—unnaturally, because northern Palestine had not then been conquered. Shechem is not mentioned in the Biblical account and there is reason to think that "in order to oppose Samaritan claims, the whole scene of the ceremony has (there) been transported from Shechem to Gilgal" (G. A. Cooke, *Camb. Bible*, on Jos. viii. 30).

Erection of the tabernacle at Shiloh and ceremonies at Shechem Jos. xviii. 1

viii. 30 (lxx ix. 3).


g Prescribed in Deut. xxvii. ff. (A. iv. l.c.).
71 (20) Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἦδη γηραιὸς ὄν καὶ τὰς τῶν Χαναναίων πόλεις ὅρῶν οὐκ εὐαλώτους ὤπο τε τῆς τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὁχυρότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἱσχύος, ἀ τῇ φυσικῇ τῶν πόλεων πλεονεξία προσπεριβάλλομενοι προσεδόκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέξεσθαι πολιορκίας δὲ ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ λαβεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἐπ᾽ ὅλεθροι τῷ ἔαυτῶν οἱ Χαναναῖοι μαθόντες τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ποιησάμενοι τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ᾽ Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τῷ τὰς πολείς καρπέρας ποιεῖν ἑκείνου ἀπαντ᾽ ἦσαν τὸν χρόνον, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τῇ Σιλοῦν ἐκκλησίαν παρῆγγειλε.

73 καὶ σπουδὴ συνδραμοῦντων τά τε ἦδη κατωρθωμένα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας πράξεις, ὡς εἰσὶν ἀρισταὶ καὶ τοῦ θείου τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτὰς ἄξια καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων οἷς κατακολουθοῦσιν ἔλεγε, βασιλεῖς τε τριάκοντα καὶ ἕνα τολμήσαντα αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν κεκρατήσαι δηλῶν, καὶ στρατιῶν ὁσῃ ποτὲ κατελπίσασα τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως εἰς μάχην συνήψεν ἀπασαν διαφθαρεῖσαν, ὡς μηδὲ

74 γενεὰν αὐτοῖς ὑπολειπόμεθα. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἐπειδῆπερ αἱ μὲν ἐαλάκεσαν, πρὸς ἂς δὲ δεῖ χρόνου καὶ μεγάλης πολιορκίας διὰ τὴν τῶν τει-

75 χῶν ὁχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν οἰκητῶν πεποίησιν, ἥξιον τοὺς ἐκ τῆς περαιάς τοῦ Ἰορ-

74 ἑνα καὶ πολεμεῖς ἀπολοῦσαι ἦδη πρὸς τὰ οἴκεια, χάριν αὐτοῖς ὑπολειπόμεθα ὑπὸ-

75 λογοῦντας, ἔνα τε κατὰ φυλὴν ἀρετὴ προύχειν μάρτυρισθέντα πέμπειν, οἵ τῇ γῆν ἐκμετρησάμενοι

1 προσεπειβαλλόμενοι ROE.

a Or perhaps "over-confident of (defeating) their forces."

b "Three men for each tribe," Jos. i.e.
(20) Joshua, being now old and seeing that the cities of the Canaanites were not lightly to be taken, by reason both of the strength of the sites on which they stood and of the solidity of the walls with which the inhabitants had crowned the natural advantages of their towns, reckoning that their enemies would refrain from besieging what they despaired of capturing—for the Canaanites, since they heard that it was for their destruction that the Israelites had made their exodus from Egypt, had spent all that time in fortifying their cities—Joshua, I say, called his people together to Silo and summoned an assembly. Thither they sped with alacrity, and he spoke to them of the successes already achieved and the exploits accomplished, saying how fine they were and worthy of the Deity who had vouchsafed them and of the excellence of those laws which they were following: he recalled how one and thirty kings who had dared to close with them had been defeated, and how that vast army which once, over-confident in its strength, had joined battle with them, had been entirely destroyed, insomuch that not one family of theirs had survived. Of the cities too some had been taken, but seeing that for the capture of others there was need of time and great siege-works, owing to the strength of their ramparts and the confidence which this inspired in their inhabitants, he deemed it right that those from beyond Jordan who had come to take part in their campaign and had shared their dangers as kinsmen, should now be dismissed to their homes with an expression of thanks for their aid in the task. “Furthermore,” said he, “we should send, one from each tribe, men of approved virtue, to measure out the land faith-
πιστῶς καὶ μηδὲν κακουργήσαντες δηλώσουσιν ἡμῖν ἀδόλως αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος.
76 (21) Καὶ Ἰησοῦς μὲν τούτους πουράμενος τοὺς λόγους συγκάταινον ἔσχε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἀνδρας τοὺς ἐκμετρησόμενους τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξέσχυε παράδος αὐτοὺς τινας γεωμετρίας ἐπιστήμονας, οὓς τάληθες οὖν ἔμελλε λήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ἐντολάς δοὺς ἀποτιμήσασθαι τῆς τε εὐθαίρετος ἱδίᾳ 77 τὸ μέτρον γῆς καὶ τῆς ἱσοῦν ἀγαθῆς. ἡ γὰρ φύσις τῆς Χαναάνων γῆς τοιαύτη τίς ἔστων, ἃς ἰδοι τις ἀν πεδία μεγάλα καὶ καρποὺς δέχεται καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν ἐτέρα γῆ πανευδαιμονία νομισθήσομεν, τοῖς δ’ Ἰεριχονίτων χωρίοις παραβαλλόμενα καὶ τοῖς Ἰεροσολυμίτων τὸ μήδεν 78 ἀναφανγήσομεν: καὶ τοῖς παντελῶς ὀλίγην αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν γῆν συμβεβηκε καὶ ταύτης ὀρεινή τὴν πολλὴν, ἀλλ’ ὑπερβολὴν εἰς καρπών ἐκτροφὴν τε καὶ κάλλος οὖν ἀπολέσθησαν ἔτερα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμητοὺς ὑπὸ λοί μᾶλλον ἡ μετρητοὺς τοὺς κλήρους εἶναι δεῖν ὑπέλαβε, πολλάκις εἰς πλέθρου καὶ χιλιών 79 ἄνταξιον γενομένου. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ πεμφθέντες, δέκα δὲ ἵσαν, περιοδεύσαντες καὶ τιμησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἐβδομῳ μηνὶ παρῆσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Σιλωύνα πόλιν, ἐνθα τὴν σκηνήν ἑστάκεσαν.

1 Niese: ἐκμετρησόμενοι . . . κακουργήσαντες codd.

a The representatives of the tribes (§ 75), excluding the two (Reuben and Gad) for which complete provision had already been made on the east of Jordan. In this account of the division of the land Josephus departs from Scripture and presents a simpler, possibly an older, narrative. In Joshua, after a review of the allotment of land to the 2½ tribes beyond Jordan (chap. xiii.), we are given a preliminary allotment at Gilgal (xiv. 6) to Judah, Ephraim and the rest...
fully and without fraudulence and honestly to report to us what are its dimensions."

(21) Having delivered this speech and won the assent of the people thereto, Joshua sent out men to measure the country, attaching to them certain expert surveyors, from whom by reason of their skill the truth would not be hid, instructions being given them to assess separately the extent of the favoured land and of that which was less fertile. For the nature of the land of Canaan is such that one may see plains, of great area, fully fitted for bearing crops, and which compared with another district might be deemed altogether blest, yet when set beside the regions of the people of Jericho and Jerusalem would appear as naught. Aye, though the territory of these folk happens to be quite diminutive and for the most part mountainous, yet for its extraordinary productiveness of crops and for beauty it yields to no other. And that was why Joshua held that the allotments should be fixed rather by valuation than by measurement, a single acre being often worth as much as a thousand. So xviii. 9, the men who had been sent, ten in number, having compassed the land and valued it, in the seventh month returned to him to the city of Silo, where the tabernacle had been set up.

of Manasseh (xv.-xvii.); then from Shiloh emissaries are sent out (3 from each tribe or 21 in all) to measure out the land for the remaining seven tribes, and the allotment for these tribes follows (xviii.-xx.). In Josephus there is no preliminary allotment at Gilgal: the apportionment for the 9½ tribes all takes place at Shiloh.

b Not in Scripture, which instead has a reference to the "seven portions" into which the land was divided by the emissaries (see last note).
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(22) Καὶ Ἰησοῦς Ἔλεαζαρόν τε καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν σὺν τοῖς φυλάρχοις παραλαβόντων νέμει ταῖς ἐννέα φυλαῖς καὶ τῶν Μανασσητῶν τοῖς ἡμίσει, κατὰ μέγεθος ἐκάστης τῶν φυλῶν τὴν μέτρησιν ποιησάμενος. Κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰουδα λαχοῦσα πάσαν αἱρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν παρατείνουσαν μὲν ἀρχί τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων τὸ δ' εὐφρο ἔως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λήμνης καθήκουσαν· ἐν δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἦσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ Γάζα. Σεμεωνίς δὲ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Λιγύπτω τε καὶ τὴν Ἀραβία πρόσορον οὕσαν. Βεναιμίται δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ ἔλαχος ἀρχὶ θαλάσσης μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὸ δὲ πλάτος Ἰεροσολύμους ὀρειζομένην καὶ Βεθήλους· στενώτατος¹ δὲ ὁ κλήρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς γῆς ἀρετὴν· Ἰεροχώιτα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἰεροσο- λυμίτων πόλιν ἔλαβον. ἡ δὲ Ἐφραίμου² φυλή τὴν ἀρχί Γαζάρων ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μυκνομενὴν ἔλαχεν, εὐρείων δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ Βεθήλων εἰς τὸ μέγα τελευταῖο πεδίον, τῆς τε³ Μανασσήτιδος οἱ ἡμίσεις ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως, πλάτος δὲ ἐπὶ Βηθσαϊνων, ἡ νῦν Σκυθόπολις

¹ στενώτατος codd. ² Ἐφράην R. ³ δὲ Bernard (Lat. vers.).

a It is difficult to see what part the lot played in the matter beyond determining the order of conferment of territories already allocated in advance proportionate to the size of the various tribes; there can have been no choice on the part of the tribes. In rabbinical tradition the Urim and Thummim are said to have been used for the purpose.

b "Length" and "breadth" in this description indicate the longer and shorter dimensions of the lots, regardless of their orientation.

c The lower end of the Dead Sea.
Then Joshua, taking to him Eleazar and the council of elders, along with the tribal chiefs, distributed all between the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh, making his measurements proportional to the magnitude of each tribe. When, then, he had cast lots, a that of Judah obtained for its lot the whole of upper Idumaea, extending (in length) to Jerusalem and in breadth b reaching down to the lake of Sodom c; within this allotment were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. That of Simeon, being the second, obtained the portion of Idumaea bordering on Egypt and Arabia. The Benjamites obtained the region which in length stretches from the river Jordan to the sea d and in breadth is bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel. This lot was the narrowest of all by reason of the excellency of the soil, for Jericho and the city of the Jerusalemites fell to their portion. The tribe of Ephraim obtained the land reaching in length from the river Jordan to Gazara e and in breadth from Bethel right up to the great plain. f The half-tribe of Manasseh had from the Jordan to the city of Dora g and in breadth as far as Bêthêsana, h now called Scythopolis. After xix. 17.

a Jos. xviii. 12 "westward" (literally "sea-ward"); LXX ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν; the western border actually lay well inland.

b So Jos. xvi. 5 LXX (not in Heb. text). Gazara is the Greek form of the Heb. Gezer (Jos. i b. 10), now identified as Tell Jezar, some 18 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, on the Philistine border.

c The plain of Esdraelon.

d Heb. Dor (LXX Δωρ), Jos. xvii. 11; a maritime town 16 miles S. of Carmel (mod. Tanturah).

e Heb. Beth-shean (LXX Βαθσάν, mod. Beisan, midway between Mt. Gilboa and the Jordan; of the real or supposed Scythian invasion which gave it its other name nothing is known.

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caléitai, kai metà tou'tous 'Iσαχαρίς Κάρμηλόν
tē tō ārōs kai tôn potamōn tōu mēkous poûsmamēn
 térmona,1 to dē 'Iaβύρων ārōs tou plátous.
Zabouλwntai dē tīn mékri Γενναρίδος, kath-
ήkousan dē perī Kārmηλον kai thalassan elaxon.
85 tīn dē apō tōu Kārmηλου koilāda prosagoreuo-
mēnun, dīa tō kai touaūtīn ēnai, 'Aσηρται féro-
tai pāsas tīn ēpi Σιδώνουs tetrammēνun. "Arkhī
dē poûlēs upērχeun āu'tōis ēn tī meρīdī h kai
86 'Ekdediunes. tā dē pro̱s tā̱s anātolas tetrammēna
mékri Δαμασκοῡ pòlēwas kai tīs Gαλιλαίas tā
kathēperheν Neφθαλίται parēlabōn ēwos tōu Lιbāną
ōrōus kai tōn tōu 'Iordanou pēγων, aī tīn ōrmih
ēk tōu ōrōus ēxousin ēk tōu kathēkοntos tois
ōrōus kata tā bōreiai pòlēwos "Arkηs paroiκoußηs."2
87 Dhainītai dē tīs koilhēs õsa prōs duōmenon tétraspai
tōn ēliōn laγχάνουswn 'Aζώτω κai Δώrois órīζō-
mēnou, 'Iāμnēiān tē pāsas kai Γίτπαν ēp 'Akkα-
równos ēwos tōu ōrōus, ēx oδ h 'Iouída hρkto fυłh.
88 (23) Kai ēk me̱n ēθnē tōn uieous tōu Xaβanaiōn
férona tēn ēpωνυμīān dieilēn ouτōs 'Iσhsoûs kai
tēn γh tais ēiνēa kai tī ēμnēia φυλάι edwke
89 νέμεσθaι tīn γār 'Amorītīn kai ēutēn ouτōs ēφ
ēvōs tōn Xaβanaiōn pайдōn kalομμēνη Μουσῆs
hē̱dē pρoeilhphōs neveμhkei tais duσi fυλαί kai
pō ēμnēsī toūtō dē kai prōterοn dēdhalōkamēn.3

1 ML.: tērmata rell. 2 om. Lat.
3 Νiése: dēδηλωκείmen (ó'kei, ókev) codd.

a Mount Tabor; the town of that name is mentioned
among the borders of Issachar in Jos. xix. 22.
 b The sea of Galilee.
these came Issachar, with mount Carmel and the river for its boundaries in length and mount Itabyrion\(^a\) as limit of its breadth. They of Zabulon\(^b\) obtained the land which reaches to the (lake of) Genesar\(^b\) and descends well-nigh to Carmel and the sea. The region beginning at Carmel, the Vale as xix. 24. it is called from its nature, was won by the men of Aser, all of it, that is to say, that faced towards Sidon; to their portion fell the city of Arce, also called Ecdipus.\(^c\) The territory to the eastward up xix. 32. to the city of Damascus, with upper Galilee, was occupied by the men of Nephthali, as far as mount Libanus and the sources of the Jordan, which spring from that mountain.\(^d\) The Danites obtained those parts of the valley which face the setting sun with Azotus\(^e\) and Dora for boundaries; they had all Jamnia,\(^f\) Gitta\(^g\) (and) from Akkaron\(^h\) to the mountain-range where the tribe of Judah began.

(23) Thus did Joshua divide six of the nations that bore the names of the sons of Canaan and gave their land to the nine and a half tribes for their possession; for Amoritis, likewise so called after one of the children of Canaan, had already of yore been taken and apportioned by Moses to the two and a half tribes, as we have previously related.\(^i\) But the

\(^a\) Heb. Achzib (Jos. xix. 29), mod. ez Zib, called Ecdippa, B.J. i. 257, on the coast midway between Carmel and Tyre.

\(^b\) The ms. add some unintelligible words, omitted by the Latin version and perhaps a gloss: (?) “from the part where it descends to the boundary to the north of the adjacent city of Arce.”

\(^c\) Heb. Ashdod.

\(^d\) Heb. Jabneel (Jos. xv. 11) or Jabneh, mod. Yebnah, another city in the Philistine plain.

\(^e\) Gath.

\(^f\) Ekron.

\(^g\) iv. 166 ff.
τὰ δὲ περὶ Σιδῶνα καὶ 'Αρουκαίους καὶ 'Αμαθαίους καὶ 'Αριδαίους ἁδιακόσμητα ἦν.

90 (21) Ἰησοῦς δὲ, τοῦ γῆρως ἐμποδίζοντος ἡδὴ πράττειν ὅσα καὶ νοήσειν, τῶν τε μετ' αυτῶν τὴν ἠγεμονίαν παραλαβόντων ἀμελῶς προστάτων τοῦ κοινῆς συμφέροντος, παρίγγειλε τε ὀφυλή ἐκάστη τοῦ γένους τῶν Χαναναίων μηδὲν ὑπολυπέιν ἐν τῇ κατακεκληρωμένῃ γῇ τὴν γὰρ ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων ἔδωκαν ἐν μόνῳ τοῦτῳ καὶ Μωσῆς ἀυτοῖς εἶναι προεπεῖν καὶ τοῦτ' αὐ-

91 τὸς ἐπείσθαι καὶ τοῖς Λευίταις δὲ τὰς ὁκτω καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεις ἀποδιδόναι προειλήφθεισαν γὰρ ἠδὴ κατὰ τὰ 'Αμοραίαν τὰς δέκα. τούτων τρεῖς ἀπονέμει τοὺς φυγάσων οἴκειν ἐν αὐταῖς, πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν πρόνοια τοῦ μηδὲν ὄν Μωσῆς διέταξε παραλυπεῖν, τῆς μὲν ὄν 'Ἰουδαία φυλῆς Ἐβρωνα, Σίκυμα δὲ τῆς Ἐφραίμ, τῆς Νεβθαλάτιδος δὲ Κεδέσην. ἐστὶ δὲ τῆς καθυπερθέν Γαλιλαίας τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. νέμει δὲ καὶ τῆς λείας ὅσα ἦν ἐτὶ λοιπά, πλείστη δ' ἐγεγόνει, καὶ μεγάλους πλοῦτους περιεβέβληντο καὶ κοινὴ πάντες καὶ κατ' ἰδιὰν ἐκάστος χρυσὸν τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθήτων καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπισκευῆς ἔνεκα, τετραπόδων τε πλῆθους ὥσον οὐδὲ ἀριθμῶν μαθεῖν ἦν προσγενομένου.

93 (25) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόρδανον κατὰ τὴν Ἀμοραίαν ἰδρυμένος, συνεστάτευν δ' αὐτοῖς

1 'Ἀραδαῖος conj. Niese. 2 om. τε Lat., ed. pr.
3 Naber: αὐτοῖς codd. 4 ROE: δὴ rell.

a Cf. the list of the 11 sons of Canaan (Chananaeus) previously given in I. i. 138 f., to which Josephus is here referring. The countries of 7 of these have now been assigned:

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regions about Sidon, with those of the Arucaeans, Amathaeans and Arideans, remained unassigned. (24) Joshua, now that age impeded him from carrying out his own designs and also because those who after him took over the command showed themselves careless guardians of the common weal, straitly charged each tribe to leave no remnant of the race of the Canaanites within their allotted territory, since their security and the maintenance of their ancestral institutions hung upon that alone: this Moses had already told them and of this he was himself persuaded. They were also to render up to the Levites those eight and thirty cities—for these had already received the other ten in the Amorite country. Of these cities, he assigned three for fugitives to dwell in—for he took strict care to neglect none of the ordinances of Moses—to wit Hebron belonging to the tribe of Judah, Sikima to Ephraim and Kedese to Nephthali, this last being a place in upper Galilee. He also distributed what yet remained of the spoils, of which there was a vast mass; and all, collectively and individually, found themselves endowed with great riches, gold, silver, apparel and equipment of every kind, over and above such a multitude of cattle as was past numbering.

(25) Thereafter, having collected his army in assembly, he addressed to those who had their settlement beyond Jordan in Amoraea—of whom 50,000

the 4 still outstanding are in Biblical nomenclature Zidon, Arkite, Hamathite and Arvadite (Gen. x. 15 ff.). Joshua (xiii. 2-6) also enumerates the unconquered territories, including that of the Philistines, not mentioned by Josephus.

b iv. 191 f. c iv. 67, 172. d Shechem.

e Kedesh. f lit. “four-footed (beasts).”
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πεντακισμύριοι ὁπλίται, ἐλεξε τάδε: "ἐπει ο θεός,\(^1\) πατήρ καὶ δεσπότης τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους, γῆν τε κτῆσασθαι ταύτην ἔδωκε καὶ κτηθεῖσαν εἰς ἀπαν ἡμετέραν φυλάξεων ὑπέσχηται, συνεργίας δὲ τῆς παρ' ὑμῶν κατ' ἐντολήν τὴν ἐκείνου δεομένου εἰσπταν προδόμους ἐδώκατε, δύκαιον ὑμᾶς μηδενὸς ἐτί δυσκόλου περιμένοντος ἀναπαύσεως ἣδη τυχεῖν φειδοὶ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν, ἐν' εἰ καὶ πάλιν δεήσειν ἡμῖν αὐτῆς ἀοκνὸν ἐχωμεν εἰς τὰ κατεπείξοντα καὶ μὴ τοῖς νῦν καμοῦσαν ἀδής βραδυτέραν. χάριν τε οὐν ὑμῖν δὲν συνήρασθε κινδύνων καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μόνον ἀλλ' εἰς ἀπαν οὕτως ἐξομεν, οἴντες ἁγαθοὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν φίλων καὶ παρὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ κρατεῖν ὡσα παρ' αὐτῶν ἡμῖν ὑπήρξεν, ὅτι τῇ ἁπολούσων τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ὑμῶν ἁγαθῶν δι' ἡμᾶς ἀνεβάλεσθε καὶ πονήσαντες\(^2\) εἰς ἄ νῦν εὐνοία θεοῦ κατέστημεν ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐκρίνατε αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειι. γέγονε δὲ πρὸς τοῖς ὑπαρχοῦσιν ἁγαθοῖς ἐκ τῶν συν ἡμῶν πόνων πλοῦτος ἄφθονος, λείαν τε πολλὴν ἐπαξομένους καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρόν, καὶ τὸ τούτων ἐτί πλεῖον, ἡ παρ' ἡμῶν\(^3\) εὐνοια καὶ πρὸς ὁ τι βουλήθειτε κατ' ἀμοιβὴν πρόθυμων. οὔτε γὰρ ὃν Μωσῆς προείπεν ἀπελείφθητε καταφρονήσατε εἴ ἄνθρώπων ἀπελθόντος οὔτ' ἐστιν οὐδέν ἐφ' ὃ μή χάριν υμῶν 97 οὔδαμεν. χαίροντας οὖν ἡμᾶς ἐπὶ τάς κληρονομίας ἀπολύσανε καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μηδένα τῆς πρὸς ἡμᾶς συγγενείας ὅρον ὑπολαμβάνειν, μηδ' ὅτι μεταξύ ποταμὸς οὕτός ἐστιν ἐτέρους ἡμᾶς νομίσητε

1 θεός καὶ MSPL.\(^*\) 2 ROL: συμπονήσαντες SP. 3 MSPL.F.: παρ' ἡμῶν RO: vester Lat.

\(^*\) i.e. in cattle.
men-at-arms had taken part in their campaign—the following words: "Seeing that God, the Father and Lord of the Hebrew race, has given us to win this land and, being won, has promised to preserve it to us for ever, and seeing that, when at His behest we besought your assistance, ye offered your ready services for all, it is but just, when no further arduous task awaits us, that ye should now obtain repose, husbanding your devotion, to the end that, should we again have need of it, we may find it alert to meet those future emergencies and not so worn by the toils of to-day as to respond more sluggishly hereafter. We therefore tender you our thanks for having shared those perils with us, and not to-day only but for ever shall we be grateful; for we are apt to remember our friends and to keep in mind services which they have rendered to us, even how for our sakes ye deferred the enjoyment of your goodly possessions and resolved that, only after toiling for the end whereto by the grace of God we have now attained, would ye then at last partake of them. Yet, to add to those goods that ye possess, ye have by your labours with us won wealth in abundance: ye will take with you rich booty, gold and silver and, what is more than all, our goodwill and readiness to serve and requite you in whatsoever ye may desire. For ye have in nowise shirked those behests of Moses, nor disdained his authority now that he has passed away, nor is there aught for which we do not accord you gratitude. We therefore let you joyfully depart to your heritages, and we entreat you not to suppose that the kinship which unites us owns any boundary, nor, because this river runs between us, to regard us as strangers and not as
καὶ οὖν Ἰσραήλ. Ἀβράαμον γὰρ ἀπαντᾷς ἐσμέν οἷς τ᾿ ἐνθάδε κάκεις κατοικοῦντες, θεός τε εἰς, ὅς τοὺς τε ἡμετέρους προγόνους καὶ τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
98 παρίγγαγεν εἰς τῶν βίων. οὗ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπιμελεῖσθε καὶ πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτὸς διὰ Μωσεός διέταξε, φυλακὴν ἔχετε τὴν πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐμπεύωντοι μὲν τούτους καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παρέξοντος εὖνοι εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἑαυτὸν, ἐκτραπέντων δὲ εἰς ἐτέρων ζηνῶν μίμησιν ἀποστραφησομένου τὸ γένος ὑμῶν.
99 ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ καθ᾿ ἕνα τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, προὔπεμπτε δ᾿ αὐτοῦς ὦ λαὸς οὐκ ἀδακρυτί καὶ μόλις ἀλλήλων ἀπελύθησαν.
100 (26) Διαβάσα δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν ἦ τε Ῥουβήλις φυλή καὶ Γαδίς καὶ ὅσου τῶν Μανασσητῶν αὐτοῖς συνείπουσα βωμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὁχθῆς ἱδρύνοντα τοῦ Ὕρδανου, μνημείων τοῖς ἐπείτα γενησομένωι, σύμβολον τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πέρας κατοικησομένους;
101 οἰκείοττος, ἀκούσατε δὲ οἱ πέραν βωμὸν ἱδρύσα-θαι τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας οὐ μεθ᾿ ἦν ἐκείνοις γνώμης ἀνέστησαν αὐτῶν, ἀλλ᾿ ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῷ καὶ ξενικῶν εἰσαγωγῇ θεῶν, οὐκ ἦθελον ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν θείων θρησκείας τῆς διαβολῆς πυθανὴς νομιζόντες ἐν ὁπλοὶς ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπὶ ἁμνή τῶν τοῦ βωμοῦ ἱδρυσαμένων περαισαμένω τῶν ποταμῶν καὶ κολάσοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς παρατροπῆς τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἔδοκεν τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοὺς λογίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἄξιομα τῶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότων,

1 γενησομένου Niese.
2 σύμβολον before τῆς om. E Lat. (probably a gloss, cf. § 112).
3 κατωκησομένους SPE.
4 θείων RO.
46
Hebrews. For we are all of Abraham's stock, whether living here or there, and it is one God who brought our forefathers and yours into existence. To the worship of Him pay ye heed, and of that polity, which He Himself has instituted through Moses, observe ye every precept, in the assurance that, while ye remain faithful to these, God also will show Himself your gracious ally, but if ye turn aside to xxii. 6. imitate other nations He will turn away from your race.” Having thus spoken and bidden farewell, to the officers one by one, and to their whole company in general, he himself remained; but the people escorted them on their way not without tears, and hardly were they parted from one another.

(26) Having then crossed the river, the tribe of Rubel with that of Gad and all those of Manasseh who accompanied them erected an altar on the bank of the Jordan, as a memorial to future generations of their relationship to the inhabitants on the other side. But those beyond the river, having heard tell that the migrants had erected an altar, not with the purpose which had led them to set it up, but with designs of sedition and the introduction of strange gods, were loth to distrust the report; nay, deeming this calumny concerning divine worship credible, they sprang to arms, with intent to cross the river and be avenged on those that had erected the altar and to punish them for this perversion of the rites of their fathers. For they held that they should take no account of their kinship or of the rank of those thus inerminated, but of the

\[\text{They erected an altar beyond Jordan: embassy and expostulation of Phinees. Jos. xxii. 10,}\]

\[a \text{ i.e. on the west; “beyond the river” from the point of view of those in trans-Jordania. In Scripture “beyond the river” invariably refers to the eastern side of the Jordan.}\]
ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλητῶν καὶ ὧ τρόπῳ τιμώμενος
103 χαίρει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἐπέσχε
d' αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ
ἡ γερουσία λόγους συμβουλεύοντες ἀπότειραν
αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης λαβεῖν πρῶτον, ἐπεὶ ἃν
κακοήθη μάθωσι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τότε τοῖς
104 ὀπλοῖς χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρε-
σβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φινεέσθην τὸν ὑδὸν Ἐλεάζαρον
καὶ δέκα σὺν αὐτῶν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις
μαθησόμενοι, τί καὶ φρονήσαντες τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ
105 τῆς ὀχθῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάντες ἔστησαν. ὡς
δὲ περαιωσάμενοι καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικομένων
ἐκκλησία συνελέγη, οταν Φινεέσθης μεῖζως μὲν
αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτεῖν ἐλεγεν ἢ ὡστε λόγους ἐπιτιμη-
θέντας νενοθετήσατι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα· πλὴν οὐ
πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρανομάς ἀπιδόντας εὐθὺς
ἐφ' ὀπλα καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρῶν τιμωρίαν ὄρμησαν,
πρὸς δὲ τὸ συγγενές καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ λόγοις ἂν
σωφρονήσαι σκοπήσαστας οὔτω ποιήσασθαι τὴν
106 πρεσβείαν, ἑνα τὴν αἰτίαν μαθώντες υφ' ἣ
προῆχθη τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι μὴ τε προπετεις
δοκῶμεν ὀπλοὶς μετίοντες ὑμᾶς κατὰ λογισμὸν
ὁσιον ποιησάμενοι τὸν βωμὸν, καὶ δικαίως
107 ἀμανώμεθα τῆς διαβολῆς ἐλεγχθεῖσας ἀληθοῦς. οὐ
gάρ ἡξιώμεν ὑμᾶς πείρᾳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης
eντὸς γεγενημένους καὶ νόμοι οὖν αὐτὸς ἡμῶν
dέδωκεν ἀκροτάς ὑπάρχοντας, διαζευγθέντας ἡμῶν
καὶ παρόντας εἰς τὸν ὕδιον κλήρον, οὐ κατὰ χάριν
τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ ἡμᾶς ἑπ' αὐτοῖς

1 ed. pr.: kai (kal éti, etc.) codd.
2 ὑμᾶς edd.
will of God and the fashion in which He delights to be honoured. So, moved by indignation, they prepared to take the field; but Joshua and Eleazar the high priest and the elders restrained them, counselling them first to test their brethren's mind by a parley, and, should they find their intent mischievous, then and then only to proceed to hostilities. They sent therefore ambassadors to them, Phinees, son of Eleazar, and with him ten others highly esteemed among the Hebrews, to discover what they could have meant by erecting that altar on the river-bank after they had passed over. So, the embassy having crossed the river and reached these people, an assembly was convened, and Phinees arose and said that their sin was too grave to be met by a verbal reprimand and an admonition for the future; howbeit, they themselves had not wished to look at the enormity of the crime so as to rush instantly to arms and violent measures, but, looking rather to their kinship and to the possibility that words might suffice to bring them to reason, they had undertaken this embassy. "We are here," said he, "in order that, having learnt what reason induced you to build this altar, we may on the one hand not be deemed precipitate in bearing arms against you, should ye have had some pious motive in erecting it, and on the other that we may take righteous vengeance, should the accusation prove true. For we could not conceive that ye, with your experience of instruction in the will of God, ye who had been hearers of those laws which He Himself has given us, once parted from us and entering on your own heritage, which by the grace of God and His providential care for us has fallen to your lot, could have
JOSEPHUS

ἐλάχετε, λήθην λαβεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτον καταλιπόντας καὶ βωμὸν ὅς ἦμιν πάτριος ξεινοὺς θεοὺς ἐπιφέρειν τοῖς Χαναναῖοις

108 κακοῖς προσκεκχωρηκότας. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν δό- ἔετε μετανοήσαντες καὶ μὴ περαιτέρῳ μανέντες, νόμον δὲ πατρίων ἀιδώ καὶ μνήμην λαβόντες. ἂν δ' ἐπιμένῃ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις, οὐ περιστησάμεθα τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμου πόνον, ἀλλὰ περαιωσάμενοι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τοῦτοις βοηθήσομεν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ, μηδὲν ἴμασ Χαναναῖοις διαφέρειν ὑπο- λαμβάνοντες ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις διαφθείροντες.

109 μὴ γὰρ νομίσητε τῷ διαβεβηκέναι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ἐξώ γεγονέναι πανταχοῦ δ' ἐν τοῖς τούτων ἔστε καὶ ἀποδέσῳ τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπό ταύτης δίκην ἀδίωντον. εἰ δ' οὔσθε τὴν ἐνθάδε παρασκαῖν ἴμιν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τοῦ σωφρονείν, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάλιν τὴν γῆν ἴμασι

110 ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ταύτην ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον. ἀλλ' εὖ ποιήσετε σωφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ νεαροὶς μετα- τιθέμενοι τοῖς ἡμαρτήμασι καὶ παρακαλούμεν ιμᾶς πρὸς παῖδων καὶ γυναικῶν μὴ παρασχεῖν ἴμιν ἀνάγκην ἀμύνασθαι. ὡς οὖν τῆς ἴμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ἴμιν ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κειμένης οὐτὸς βουλεύεσθε, λόγοις ἤττηθήναι συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἢ πείραν ἔργων καὶ πολέμου περιμένειν·'

111 (27) Τοσαύτα τοῦ Φινεέσου διαλεξηθέντος οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ πᾶν ἦρξαντο περὶ τῶν ἐγκεκλημένων αὐτοῖς ἀπολογεῖ·

1 παραιτησόμεθα SPE.
2 ante omnia Lat.: πρὸς (= προσέτι) αὐτῷ Hudson.
3 ἴμας codd.
straightway forgotten Him and, abandoning the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of our fathers, introduced some strange gods and gone over to the vices of the Canaanites. Howbeit ye shall be in no wise held guilty, if ye repent and carry this madness no farther, but show that ye revere and are mindful of the laws of your fathers. Should ye, however, persist in your errors, we shall shun no toil in defence of those laws, but, crossing the Jordan, shall rally in support of them, aye and of God on their behalf, deeming you in no wise different from the Canaanites but destroying you in like manner with them. For think not that by crossing the river ye have also passed beyond God's power: nay, everywhere ye are within His domain and escape from His authority and His vengeance is impossible. But if ye regard your coming hither a hindrance to sober living, there is nothing to prevent us from making a redistribution of the land and abandoning this district to the grazing of sheep. Howbeit ye will do well to return to sanity and to change your ways while your sins are fresh. And we entreat you in the name of your children and wives not to constrain us to resort to force. Let, then, the thought that the salvation of your own selves and of them that are dearest to you hangs upon this assembly govern your deliberations, and reckon it more profitable to be defeated by words than to await the trial of deeds and of war.

(27) After this discourse of Phinees, the presidents of the assembly and the whole multitude themselves began to disclaim the crimes wherewith they were

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\( ^a \) Text a little doubtful: perhaps "and, furthermore, of God himself."

\( ^b \) The mss. have "you."
σθαί, καὶ μήτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοῦς ἀποστήσασθαί1 μήτε κατὰ νεωτερισμοῦ ἀναστήσαι τὸν

βωμὸν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ θεόν τε ἐνα γνώσκεσθαι τόν Ἑβραίος ἀπαγορεύσας κοινὸν καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς

βωμὸν χάλκεον, ὃ τὰς θυσίας ποιήσειν τὸν μέντοις νῦν ἀνασταθεῖν, δι’ ὧν καὶ ὑποτετοῖ γεγονασμένοις

οἷς καὶ θρησκείαν ἱδρύσατε, 'ς σύμβολον δὲ ὧπως εἴη καὶ τεκμήριον εἰς τὸν αἴωνα τῆς πρὸς ύμᾶς

οἰκείοτητος καὶ ἀνάγκη τοῦ σωφρονεῖν καὶ τοῦς πατρίους ἐμμένειν, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ παραβάσεως ἀρχῆν,

ὡς ὑπονοεῖτε. μάρτυς δ’ ἦμιν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιαύτη τοῦ βωμὸν αὐτίκα κατασκευάσας γένοιτο ὁ θεὸς ἄξιο-

χρεως, ὧθεν ἀμείνονα περὶ ἦμῶν ἑχοντες ὑπόληψιν μηδὲν καταγινώσκετε τούτων, ἐφ’ οἷς ἐξώλεις

ἐιναι δικαίοι πάντες ὅσοι τοῦ Ἡβράμου γένους ὄντες νεωτέρους ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔθεσι καὶ τοῦ συνήθους

τρόπου παρηλλαγμένους.’’

113 (28) Ταῦτα εἶπόντας ἐπανέσας δ’ Φιλιεύσης παρῆν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀνήγγειλε

τῷ λαῷ. δ’ ἔχαρων, ότι μηδεμία στρατολογεῖ δ’ αὐτοῦς ἀνάγκη μέλλει μηδ’ εἰς αἴμα2 καὶ πόλεμον

ἐξαγαγεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν συγγενῶν, χαριστηρίους

114 υπὲρ τούτων τῷ θεῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ. καὶ διαλύσας μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἱδίας κληρονομίας Ἰησοῦς αὐτοῦς ἐν Σικίμοις διήγεν. ἔτει δ’ ύστερον 

εἰκοστῷ ὑπέργηρον ὃν μεσαπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἐπ’ ἄξιωματος μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς 

καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν3 καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ὁσον ἦν ἐφικτὸν

1 ἀποστήσασθαι Weill. 2 ὑπλα ῬΩ. 3 τὰς γερουσίας ΜΠ..
charged, saying that neither would they renounce their kinship to their brethren, nor had they erected the altar with revolutionary intent: nay, they recognized but the one God, owned by all Hebrews alike, and the brazen altar before the tabernacle whereon the sacrifices should be offered. As for that which they had now set up and which had brought suspicion upon them, they had not erected it for worship: "nay," said they, "but as a symbol and token for eternity of our kinship with you, and an obligation to think soberly and to abide by the laws of our fathers, in no wise as a beginning of transgression, as ye suspect. And that such was our motive in building this altar be God our all-sufficient witness! Wherefore, have a better opinion of us and cease to accuse us of any of those crimes, for which all would justly deserve to be extirpated who, being of the stock of Abraham, embark on new-fangled ways that are perversions of our customary practice."

(28) Phinees, having commended them for this speech, returned to Joshua and reported their answer to the people. And Joshua, rejoicing that there was to be no need to levy troops or to lead them to bloodshed and battle against kinsmen, offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for these mercies. Thereafter, having dismissed the multitude to their several provinces, Joshua himself abode at Sikima. Twenty years later, in extreme old age, having sent for the chief notables of the cities, with their magistrates and elders, and assembled as many of the people as could be collected, he, xxiv. 1.

Address of Joshua before his death. Jos. xxiii., xxiv.

a Perhaps read, "had they renounced."

Jos. xxiii. 1 "after many days."
αὐτῶν συναγαγών, ἐπεὶ παρῆσαν, τὰς τε εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπάσας ἀνεμίμηνησεν αὐτούς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἦσαν τοῖς ἐκ ταπεινοῦ σχῆματος εἰς τοῦτο δόξης
116 καὶ περιουσίας προελθοῦσιν, ϕυλάττειν τε τὴν τοῦ
θεοῦ προαιρεσιν οὕτως ἔχουσαι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρ-
εκάλει καὶ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ1 γε2 μόνῃ φιλον αὐτοῖς
διαιμενεῖν3 τὸ θείον· αὐτῷ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀπείναι
μέλλοντι τοῦ ζῆν παραϊνεσιν αὐτοῖς τουαύτην κατα-
λιπεῖν κακείνους ἦξιον διὰ μνήμης ποιήσασθαι τὴν
παρακέλευσιν.

117 (29) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας δια-
λεχθές τελευτᾶ βιων ἐκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ὄν
Μωυσεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ διδασκαλία τῶν χρησίμων συν-
διέτρυψε τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν
118 ἐκείνου τελευτῆς γύνεται πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἀνὴρ
μήτε συνέσεως ὃν ἑνδεῖς μήτε τοῦ τὰ νοθεῖνα
πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σαφῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἀπειρος, ἀλλ’
ἐν ἀμφοτέρους ἄκρος, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς
κυνδύνους εὐφυχος καὶ μεγάλοτομος, πρωτανεύσαι
τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην δεξιώτατος καὶ πρὸς
119 ἀπαντα καιρὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡμιοσμένος. θάπτεται
dὲ ἐν πόλει Θαμινα τῆς Ἐφραίμου φυλῆς. θνήσκει
ἀν’ ὑπ’ αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἐλεαζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς
Φιλιευθω καὶ παῦδι τὴν ἐρωσίν καταλιπών, καὶ

1 Text doubtful: for καὶ τῇ εὐσ. SP read τῷ πάσῃ
χρωμένους καὶ εὐσεβείᾳ.
2 L: om. ROSP: ἥ γε Niese.
3 Niese: διαιμένειν codd.

* Or perhaps “to observe God’s will, so benevolent towards
them.”
on their coming, recalled to them all the benefactions of God—and many had they been to folk who from low estate had advanced to that pitch of glory and affluence—and exhorted them to keep God's goodwill unchanged towards them, for by piety alone could they retain the friendship of the Deity. It behoved him, he said, on the eve of departure from life, to leave them such admonition, and he besought them to bear his exhortation in their memory.

(29) And so, after this address to the assembled company, he died, having lived one hundred and ten years; of which he had passed forty in the company of Moses receiving profitable instruction, and after his master's death had been commander-in-chief for five-and-twenty. A man not wanting either in intelligence or in skill to expound his ideas to the multitude with lucidity, nay in both respects supreme, in action and perils he was stout-hearted and greatly daring, in peace-time a most dexterous director of affairs, adapting himself admirably to every occasion. He was buried in the city of Thamna of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time died also Eleazar the high priest, leaving the priesthood

— Text doubtful. Some mss. read "by showing Him every honour and that piety," etc.
— The duration of Joshua's command is not stated in Scripture. But, according to M. Weill, the figure here given (25 years) is found also in the Samaritan Chronicle, while Rabbinical tradition (Seder Olam Rabba xii.) extends the period to 28 years.
— Cf. the previous brief character-sketch in A. iii. 49.
— Heb. Timnath-serah, identified by tradition with Thamna (mod. Tibneh) in mount Ephraim and the seat of a toparchy in Roman times (B.J. ii. 567, iii. 55).

Death of Joshua and of Eleazar. Jos. xxiv. 29.
μνημείον αυτῷ καὶ τάφος ἐν Γαβύλᾶ πολεί τυγχάνει.

120 (ii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευτήν Φινεέσσης προφητεύει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσων ἐπ’ ἔξωλεία τοῦ Χανααίων γένους τῇ Ἰουδᾶ φυλή παρασχεῖν τὴν ἤγεμονίαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ λαῷ διὰ σπουδῆς ἦν μαθεῖν τί καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ, καὶ προσλαβοῦσα τὴν Σεμεωνίδα, ἐφ’ ὅτε ἐξαιρεθέντων τῶν ἐκείνης ὑποτελῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ τούτῳ ποιῶσιν * * *¹

121 (2) Χανααίων δ’ ἀκμαζόντων αὐτῶις κατ’ ἐκείνον τῶν καιρὸν τῶν πραγμάτων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ Ζεβέκην αὐτοὺς ὑπέμενον τῷ βασιλεί τῶν Ζεβεκηνῶν Ἀδωνιζέβεκῷ τὴν ἤγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέφοντες: τὸ δὲ ὅνομα τούτῳ σημαινεῖ Ζεβεκηνῶν κύριος· ἀδωνί γὰρ τῇ Ἐβραίων διαλέκτῳ κύριος γίνεται: ἡλπιζόν τε κρατήσειν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν διὰ τὸ τεθνάναι Ἰσραοῦν. συμμίσσαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰσραηλίται ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς αἷς προεῖπον ἐμαχέσαντο λαμπρῶς καὶ κτείνοντι μὲν αὐτῶν ὕπερ μυρίων, τρεψάμενοι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ διώκοντες αἱροῦσι τὸν Ἀδωνιζέβεκον, ὅς ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν 122 φησιν, ἃλλʼ οὖν εἰς τὸ πάν ἀρα λήσεσθαι θεοῦ ἐμελλὼν, τάδε πεπονθὼς ἀ κατὰ δυσίν καὶ ἐβδομή-

¹ Text of clause uncertain. Niese indicates a lacuna: Dindorf instead alters καὶ προσλαβοῦσα above το προσλαβοῦσῃ.
² Λέγεται Ε.

¹ Heb. “in Gibeah (or ‘the hill’) of Phinehas his son”: in the mss. of the LXX the name appears as Γαβύλᾶ, Γαβύλᾶ, etc.: site unidentified.
² Lacuna in the Greek.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 119–123

to his son Phinees; his monument and tomb are in the city of Gabatha.a

(ii. 1) Now after the death of these leaders, Phinees prophetically announced, in accordance with the will of God, that, for the extermination of the Canaanite race, the tribe of Judah should be given the command; for the people were keenly desirous to learn what was God’s good pleasure. So this tribe, having enlisted the aid of Simeon, on the condition that, once the Canaanites tributary to Judah had been destroyed, they would do the same to those within the lot of Simeon (advanced to battle).b

(2) But the Canaanites, who at that time were in a flourishing condition, awaited them with a large army at Zebeke, c having entrusted the command to the king of the Zebekëians, Adonizebek —this name signifies “lord of the Zebekëians,” for adôni in the speech of the Hebrews means “lord”—and they were hoping to defeat the Israelites, since Joshua was dead. However the Israelites of the two tribes which I mentioned, having joined battle with them, fought brilliantly, with the result that they slew of the enemy upwards of ten thousand, and having put the rest to rout pursued them and captured Adonizebek, who, with hands and feet mutilated by his captors, exclaimed: “Nay then I was not destined for ever to escape God’s eye, having now suffered the fate which I scrupled not of yore

b Heb. Adoni-bezek. The form is suspected and it is thought by some critics that we have in this story in Judges another version of the defeat of Adoni-zedek, King of Jerusalem, narrated in Joshua x., where, however, lxx has Adoni-bezek as here.
κοντα βασιλέων πραξαί πρότερον ών ένετραπήν." 124 καὶ ζώντα μὲν κομίζουσι έως Ιεροσολύμων, τελευτήσαντα δέ γῇ θάπτουσι. καὶ διεξήσαν αιροῦντες τὰς πόλεις, πλείστας τε λαβόντες έπολιόρκουν Ιεροσόλυμα· καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω λαβόντες σὺν χρόνῳ πάντας ἐκτεινόν τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, χαλεπή δ’ ἢν ἡ καθύπερθεν αὐτοῖς αἰρεθήναι τειχῶν ὀχυρώτητι καὶ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου.

125 (3) "Οθεν μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς Χεβρῶνα1 καὶ ταύτην ἐλόντες κτείνουσι πάντας· ὑπελείπετο δὲ τῶν2 γγάντων ἐτὶ γένος, οἱ διὰ σωμάτων μεγέθη καὶ μορφὰς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίας παράδοξον ἦσαν θέαμα καὶ δεινὸν άκουσμα. δεύκαντα δὲ καὶ νῦν ἐτὶ τούτων ὡστὰ μηδὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ πύστιν3 ἐρχομένοις έικότα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς Λευτίας έξαιρέτων γέρας ἐδοσαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν δισχιλίων πηχῶν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Χαλέβων ὁμρεαί ἐδοσαν κατὰ Μωυσέος ἑντολάς: οὕτως δ’ ἢν τῶν κατασκόπων εἰς δὲν ἔπεμψε Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν Χαναάιαν. διδόσας δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰοθόρου τοῦ Μαδιανίτου ἀπογόνοις, Μωυσέος γὰρ ἦν γαμβρός, γῆν ἵνα νέμωντο· τὴν γὰρ πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ήκολουθήκεσαν4 ἐκείνοις καὶ συνήσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

126 (4) Ἡ δὲ Ἰουδα φυλὴ καὶ Σεμεωνίς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὀρεινήν τῆς Χαναάνας πόλεις εἶλον, τῶν

1 Χεβρῶνα RO. 2 τῶν rell. 3 πύστιν codd. 4 ήκολουθήσαν rell.

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a "70" according to Jd. i. 7, but some mss. of lxx read "72."
b The burial is not mentioned in Scripture.
c According to Jd. i. 8 the whole city was captured and
to inflict on two and seventy kings." They brought him yet alive to Jerusalem, and at his death gave him sepulture. Then they overran the district, taking the towns, and after capturing very many of them laid siege to Jerusalem. The lower town they mastered in time and slew all the inhabitants; but the upper town proved too difficult to carry through the solidity of its walls and the nature of the site.

(3) So they moved their camp to Hebron, took that town and massacred all therein. Howbeit there remained yet a race of giants, who, by reason of their huge frames and figures in no wise like to the rest of mankind, were an amazing spectacle and a tale of terror to the ear. Their bones are shown to this day, bearing no resemblance to any that have come within men's ken. This town they gave to the Levites as a choice boon, along with the tract of two thousand cubits; but of the rest of the land they made, in accordance with the behests of Moses, a present to Caleb, who was one of the spies whom Moses had sent into Canaan. They gave also to the descendants of Jethro the Madianite, the father-in-law of Moses, territory for habitation; for, quitting their native country, they had followed the Hebrews and accompanied with them in the wilderness.

(4) The tribes of Judah and Simeon also captured the cities in the hill-country of Canaan, and among destroyed—an incorrect statement contradicted by other passages of Scripture. The distinction drawn by Josephus between upper and lower town is an attempt to harmonize Jd. i. 8 with i. 21 and Jos. xv. 63.

d The "sons of Anak" driven out by Caleb, Jd. i. 20; for their stature cf. the description given by the spies in Numb. xiii. 33 (A. iii. 305).

e As prescribed by Moses, A. iv. 67
δ' εν τῳ πεδίῳ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσση Ἀσκάλωνα τε καὶ Ἀζωτον. διαφεύγει δ' αυτοῦ Γάζα καὶ Ἀκκάρων· πεδίων γὰρ οὖν τών καὶ πολλῆς ἀρμάτων εὐπορίας κακῶς ἐποίουν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. καὶ αἴδε μὲν αὐτοὶ μεγάλως ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν εὐδαιμονήσασι ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ ὁπλα.

129 (5) Βενιαμίται δέ, τούτων γὰρ ἦν Ἰεροσόλυμα, τοῖς οἰκήτοροις αὐτῶν συνεχώρησαν φόροις τελεῖν. καὶ οὕτως πανσάμενοι πάντες οἱ μὲν τοῦ κτέινειν οἴ δὲ Κινδυνεύειν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν εὐσχόλων. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτοὶ μὴ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ τὴν Βενιαμίτων μυησάμεναι ἐποίουν καὶ τοῖς τελουμένοις ἀρκού-μενοι φόροις ἐπέτρεπον τοῖς Χαναάιοις ἀπολέομοις εἶναι.

130 (6) Ἡ δ' Ἐφραίμου¹ πολιορκοῦσα Βῆθηλα τέλος οὐδὲν άξιον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πόνων ηὗρισκε τῆς πολιορκίας, οἴ δὲ καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ καθέδρᾳ προσεκαρτέρουν. ἐπείτα συλλαβόντες τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει προελθόντας² ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πίστεις ἐδοσαν αὐτῶ παραδόντι τὴν πόλιν σώσειν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ· κάκεινος ἐπὶ τούτως ὄμώνυ· τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειρεῖν.³ καὶ δ' μὲν οὕτως προδοῦσα σώζεται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, οἴ δὲ ἀποκτείνατες ἀπαντάς τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἶχον τὴν πόλιν.

132 (7) Καὶ μετὰ ταύτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μαλακῶς εἶχον οἱ Ἰσραήλιται, τῆς δὲ γῆς καὶ τῶν

¹ 'Εφραίμ RO. ² Niese: προσελθόντα codd. ³ Dindorf: ἐγχειρεῖν codd.
those in the plain and on the sea-board, Ascalon and Azōtus. But Gaza and Akkarôn escaped them; for, being situated in the plain and blest with an abundance of chariots, they sorely handled their assailants. So these two tribes, greatly enriched by their warfare, retired to their own cities and laid down their arms.

(5) The Benjamites, within whose lot lay Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay them tribute; and thus all reposing, these from slaughter and those from peril, were at leisure to till the soil. The other tribes, imitating that of Benjamin, did the same and, contenting themselves with the tributes paid to them, suffered the Canaanites to live in peace.

(6) The tribe of Ephraim, in besieging Bethel, could attain no result proportionate to the time and the toil expended upon the siege; yet, for all their annoyance, they persevered in the blockade. Afterwards, having caught one of the inhabitants of the town who had gone out in search of provisions, they gave him their word that, if he would betray the city, they would spare the lives of him and his kin; and he on these terms swore to deliver it into their hands. So he by such treason saved himself with his family, while they, having massacred all the inhabitants, occupied the town.

(7) Thereafter the Israelites relaxed the struggle against their enemies and devoted themselves to peace against their enemies and devoted themselves to the land they had attained. 'Josephus here differs from both Biblical texts, presenting a sort of compromise between them. According to the Heb. (Jd. i. 18 f.) Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon and Ekron, but failed to drive out the inhabitants of the valley because of their chariots of iron (Ashdod or Azotus is not mentioned); according to the LXX he could take neither Gaza, Ascalon, Akkaron, nor Azotus.
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ταύτης ἔργων ἐπεμελοῦντο. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τῶν πλούτων αὐτοῖς ἐπιδιδόντων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἱδονῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὁλιγώρουν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν 133 νόμων οὐκέτι ἦσαν ἀκριβείς ἀκροαταί. παραξενθεὶ δ' ἔπει τούτοις τὸ θείον ἀναρεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς φείσαυτο παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τῶν Χαναναίων, ἔπειθ᾽ ὡς ἐκεῖνοι χρήσαυτον" 2 πολλῇ κατ’ 134 αὐτῶν ὁμότητι καιροῦ λαβόμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσθύμως εἰχον καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἁρδῶς, πολλά τε παρὰ τῶν Χαναναίων λαβόντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόνους ἤδη διὰ τὴν τρυφήν 135 ἐκκλεψαμένοι. καὶ συνεβαινεν ἤδη τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν διεφθάρθαι, καὶ τὰς γεροσυίας οὐκ ἀπεδεικνυσαν οὐδ' ἀρχὴν ἄλλην οὐδεμιᾶν τῶν πρότερον νεομισμένων, ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἤδονή τοῦ κερδαῖν προσδεδεμένοι. καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἀδειαν στάσις αὐτοῦ πάλιν καταλαμβάνει δεινὴ καὶ προήχθησαν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἄλληλοις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

136 (8) Δευτήσης ἀνὴρ τῶν δημοτικωτέρων τῆς Ἑφραίμου 3 κληρονομίας ὃν καὶ ἐν ἑκείνῃ κατοικία πάνεται γύναιον ἀπὸ Βηθλέεμων, τῆς δὲ Ἰουδα φυλῆς τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον. ἔρων δὲ σφόδρα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἡττημένος ἦτοχε τῶν παρ' ἑκείνης οὐχ ὁμοίων πειρώμενος. 137 ἀλλοτρίως δ' αὐτῆς ἐχοῦσας καὶ διὰ τούτο μᾶλλον

1 τῆς πολ. καὶ τρ. Niese: καὶ τῆς πολιτείας codd.
2 Bekker: χρήσαυτο codd. 3 v,II, Ἑφρᾶν, Ἑφρὰνου.

a The remarks on political corruption are an amplification of Scripture.
b In Scripture this episode forms an appendix to the book of Judges. Josephus has transposed it (along with another 62
the soil and to labours thereon. And as their riches increased, under the mastery of luxury and voluptuousness, they recked little of the order of their constitution and no longer hearkened diligently to its laws. Incensed thereat, the Deity warned them by Je. xii. 14, oracle, first that they had acted contrary to His will in sparing the Canaanites, and next that those foes, seizing their occasion, would treat them with great ruthlessness. But the Israelites, while despondent at this message from God, were yet ill-disposed for warfare, for they had won much from the Canaanites and luxury had by now unnerved them for fatigues. Aye, even that aristocracy of theirs was now becoming corrupted: no more did they appoint councils of elders or any other of those magistracies before-time ordained by law, but lived on their estates, enslaved to the pleasures of lucre.\(^a\) And so, by reason of this gross listlessness, grave discord again assailed them and they were launched into civil war through the following cause.

(8) \(^b\) A Levite of the lower ranks, of the province of Ephraim and residing therein, married a woman of Bethlehem, a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Being deeply enamoured of his wife and captivated by her beauty, he was unfortunate in meeting with no like return from her. And, whereas she held herself aloof and he thereby only became appendix) to an earlier date, to the period before the judges: perhaps, as has been suggested, to allow time for the tribe of Benjamin to recover itself before it furnished the nation with its first king. "It is incredible," writes Dr. G. F. Moore (Int. Crit. Comm. p. 405), "that the tribe of Benjamin was almost exterminated only a generation or two before the time of Saul; but the events related in these chapters probably fall in a much earlier period . . ."
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ēkkaiomēnou τῶν πάθει μέμψεις συνεχείς αὐτοῖς ἐγένοντο, καὶ τέλος ἡ γυνὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς βαρνομένη καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἀνδρὰ πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς παραγώνται μὴν τετάρτῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ φέρων ὁ ἄνηρ ἐπὶ τῶν ἔρωτι ἤκε πρὸς τοὺς πενθεροὺς καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὰς μέμψεις καταλάττεται πρὸς αὐτήν.

138 καὶ τέτταρας μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτὸθι1 διαιτᾶται φιλοφρονουμένων αὐτῶν τῶν γονέων, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ δόξαν ἀπεναὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ δείλην ἔξεισιν βράδινον γὰρ ἀπέλυνοι οἱ γονεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τριβήν ἐποιοῦντο. θεράπων δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς εἴπετο καὶ ὅνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐφ' ἦς ὦχείτο τὸ 139 γύναιον. γενομένων δ' αὐτῶν κατὰ ἱεροσόλυμα, σταδίους δ' ἐληλύθεσαν ἡδὴ τριάκοντα, συνεβουλευέν ὁ θεράπων καταχθῆναι που, μὴ καὶ τὶ τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτῶν ὀδεύοντας καταλάβη δύσκολον καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πόρρω πολεμῶν ὄντας, τοῦ καιροῦ πολλάκης ἐπισφαλῆ καὶ ὑποπτα ποιοῦντος καὶ τὰ 140 φίλα. τῶ δ' οὐκ ἤρεσεν ἡ γυνώμη παρ' ἄλλοφύλους ἀνδράσι ξενοῦσαί, Χαναναίων γὰρ ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ προελθόντας εἴκοσι στάδια εἰς οἰκείαν ἥξιον κατάγεσθαι πόλιν, καὶ κρατήσας τῇ γυνώμη παρῆν εἰς Γάβαν φυλῆς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἡδῆ2 ὀψίας 141 αὐσθῆς. καὶ μηδενὸς ἐπὶ ξενίαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτῶν παρακαλοῦτος πρεβύτης ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατιὼν τῆς μὲν Ἐφραμίτιδος φυλῆς ὃν ἐν δὲ τῇ Γάβη διαστῶμεν συντυγχάνων αὐτῷ, τῆς τε ὧν

1 SPL: πρὸς αὐτὸθι ROM: προσαυτὸθι Niese.
2 + ἐν SPE.

* A misreading of Scripture. In Jd. xix. 2 the woman returns to her father’s house “and was there the space of four months.”

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the more ardent in his passion, quarrels were continually arising between them, and at last the woman, utterly weary of them, left her husband and in the fourth month \(^a\) rejoined her parents. But her husband, in sore affliction through love of her, visited her parents, redressed her grievances and was reconciled to her. For four days more he abode there, kindly treated by her parents, but on the fifth, having resolved to return to his home, he set off towards evening; for the parents were loth to part with their daughter and let the day slip away. A single servant accompanied them, and they had an ass on which the woman rode. Now when they were come over against Jerusalem, having already gone thirty furlongs,\(^b\) the servant counselled them to lodge somewhere, lest, journeying by night, some misadventure should befall them, above all when they were not far from foes, that hour oft rendering perilous and suspect even the offices of friends. The Levite, however, misliked the thought of seeking shelter with aliens—for the city was in Canaanite hands\(^c\)—preferring rather to proceed twenty furlongs further and to lodge in a town of the Hebrews; and, his counsel prevailing, he arrived at Gaba,\(^d\) in the tribe of Benjamin, when evening had now fallen.

No one in the market-place offering him hospitality, an old man returning from the fields, who though of the tribe of Ephraim was residing in Gaba, fell in with him and asked who he was and why he was

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\(^a\) Gr. "\textit{stades}" (about ¼ mile). Bethlehem is 5 miles S. of Jerusalem: elsewhere the distance is reckoned as only "20 \textit{stades}" (\textit{A. vii. 312}).

\(^b\) Heb. Gibeah, usually identified with Tell el-Ful, c. 4 miles N. of Jerusalem; in \textit{B.J. v. 51} described as "Gabath Saul . . . about 30 \textit{stades} from Jerusalem."
"Ηρετο καὶ δι' ἂς αὐτίας στελλόμενος σκότους ἦδη
142 τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ λαμβάνοι. ὃ δὲ Λευίτης
μὲν ἐφήσεν εἶναι, γυναῖον δὲ παρὰ τῶν γονέων ἀγων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι, τὴν δ' οὐκήσων ἐδήλου
τυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ Ἔφραίμου κληροχίᾳ. ὃ δὲ πρεσβύτης καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν
αὐτὴν φυλὴν νέμειν καὶ διὰ τὴν συντυχίαν παρ'
143 αὐτῶν ξενισθησόμενον ἦγε. νεανίαι δὲ τινὲς τῶν
Γαβαηρίων ἐπὶ τῆς ἁγορᾶς τὸ γυναῖον θεασάμενοι
καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν θαυμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῷ
πρεσβύτῃ κατηγομένην ἐμαθὼν καταφρονήσαντες τῆς
ἀσθενείας καὶ τῆς ὀλυγότητος ἦκον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.
τού δὲ πρεσβύτου παρακαλοῦντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
καὶ μὴ προσφέρειν βίαν μηδὲ ὑβρίν, ἥξιον αὐτὸν
παρασχόντα τὴν ξένην πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάξθαι.
144 συγγενῆ δὲ λέγοντος καὶ Λευίτην τὸν πρεσβύτου
καὶ δράσειν αὐτοῦς δεινὰ ψό ῥοδον ἔις τοὺς νόμους
ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ὠλυγόροου τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατ-
εγέλων, ἥπειλον δὲ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐμποδίζοντα
145 ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν. εἰς δ' ἀνάγκην περι-
ηγμένος καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοὺς ξένους περιδεῖν
ὑβρισθέντας, τῆς ἐαυτῷ θυγατρὸς αὐτῶς παρ-
εχώρει, πληρώσει τῇ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν λέγων
νομιμώτερον δίχα τῆς εἰς τοὺς ξένους ὑβρεῖς αὐτός
tε' μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν οὕς ὑπεδέξατο τούτῳ τῶ
146 τρόπῳ νομίζων. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς
ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο ταύτην
παραλαβεῖν ἡξιοῦντες, δ' μὲν ἱκέτευε μηδὲν τολμᾷν

1 Dindorf: ἀπεῖναι codd.
2 ὡς συγγενῆ δ' ῬΩ: ὡς δ' συγγενῆ τε rell.
3 Λευίτην Ἐ.
4 Dindorf: δ' codd.
setting off, when it was dark already, taking provisions for his supper. He replied that he was a Levite and that he was escorting his wife from her parents back to his own home, informing him that he had his abode in the province of Ephraim. Thereat the old man, because of their common stock, and because they belonged to the same tribe and because chance had thus brought them together, took him as his guest to his own home. But some of the young men of Gaba, who had seen the woman in the market-place and admired her comeliness, when they learnt that she lodged with the old man, scorning the feebleness of these few, came to the doors; and when the old man bade them begone and not to resort to violence and outrage, they required him to hand over his woman guest if he wished to avoid trouble. The old man replying that he was a kinsman and a Levite and that they would be guilty of a dreadful crime in violating the laws at the beck of pleasure, they recked little of righteousness, mocked at it, and threatened to kill him if he thwarted their lusts. Driven to such a pass and unwilling to suffer his guests to be abused, he offered the men his own daughter, declaring that it would be more legitimate for them thus to gratify their lust than by doing violence to his guests, and for his part thinking by this means to avoid wronging those whom he had received. But they in no wise abated their passion for the stranger, being insistent in their demands to have her, and while he was yet imploring them to perpetrate no iniquity,

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\(^a\) Gr. "their feebleness and fewness" (cf. B.J. iii. 317).
\(^b\) *i.e.* the husband. One ms. reads "that she (the Levite's wife) was a kinswoman" etc.
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παράνομον, οί δ' ἀρπασάμενοι καὶ προσθέμενοι μᾶλλον τῷ βιαίῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπήγαγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς τὴν γυναίκα καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐμπληθέντες τῆς ὦβρεως ἀπέλυσαν περὶ ἀρχομένην ἠμέραν. ἦ δὲ τεταλαυσωρημένη τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρὴν ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξενίαν καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ὧν ἐπεπόνθη καὶ τοῦ μὴ τολμᾶν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης εἰς ὃψιν ἔλθείν ταῦτα, τούτων γὰρ μάλιστα τοὺς γεγενημένους ἔχειν ἀνώτατος ἐλογίζετο, καταπεσοῦσα τῆς ψυχῆς ἀφίησιν. ὃ δὲ αἰνὴρ αὐτῆς οἱόμενος ὑπνὸς βαθεὶς κατεσχήσθαι τὴν γυναίκα καὶ μηδὲν σκυθρωσπὸν ὑφορώμενος ἀνεγείρειν ἐπειράτο παραμυθήσασθαι διεγνωσκός, ὡς οὐκ ἐξ ἐκουσίων γνώμης αὐτὴν παράσχοι τοῖς καθοδρίσασιν, ἀλλ' ἀρπασμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ἕξενίαν 149 ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν. 1 ὃς δὲ τελευτήσασαν ἐμαθε, σωφρονισθεὶς 2 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐπιθέμενος τῷ κτήνει νεκραν τὴν γυναίκα κομίζει πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ διελῶν αὐτὴν κατὰ μέλος εἰς μέρη δώδεκα διέπεμψεν εἰς ἑκάστην φυλήν, ἐντελάμενος τοῖς κομίζουσι λέγειν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς τελευτῆς τῆς γυναίκα καὶ τῆς παρουσίας τῆς φυλῆς. 3

148 (9) Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὄψεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν βεβιασμένων κακῶς διατεθέντες, πρὸτεροῦν οὐδενὸς τουοῦτον πείραν εἰληφότες, ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀκράτου καὶ δικαιῶς εἰς τὴν Σιλουὸν συλλεγέντες καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς ἀθροισθεῖσα εἰς ὅπλα χωρεῖν εὔθὺς ὄμηντο καὶ χρῆσασθαι τοῖς Γαβανοῖς ὡς πολε- 150 151 μίοις. ἔπεσε τὰ αὐτῶν ἡ γερουσία πείσασα μὴ

1 ἀλλ' ... αὐτῶν om. Lat.
2 conj. (cf. § 256): σωφρόνοις (σωφρονῶν SP) codd.
3 τῆς φυλῆς R: ταῖς φυλαῖς rell.
they seized the woman and, yielding still more to the force of their lust, carried her off to their homes and then, after sating their lewdness all night long, let her go towards the break of day. She, outworn with her woes, repaired to the house of her host, where, out of grief at what she had endured and not daring for shame to face her husband—since he above all, she deemed, would be inconsolable at her fate—she succumbed and gave up the ghost. But her husband, supposing his wife to be buried in deep sleep and suspecting nothing serious, tried to arouse her, with intent to console her by recalling how she had not voluntarily surrendered herself to her abusers, but that they had come to the lodging-house and carried her off. But when he found that she was dead, chastened before the enormity of the wrong, he laid the dead woman upon his beast, bore her to his home and then, dividing her limb by limb into twelve pieces, sent one to each tribe, enjoining the bearers to state who they were who had caused the death of his wife and to recount the debauchery of the tribe.

(9) The Israelites, sorely moved by the spectacle and the tale of these deeds of violence, the like of which they had never known before, in intense and righteous wrath assembled at Silo and, mustering before the tabernacle, were impatient to rush straight to arms and to treat these people of Gaba as enemies. But they were restrained by the elders, who urged

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a In Scripture, the Levite himself surrenders the woman.

b Sc. of Benjamin. "One to each tribe" is not in Scripture ("sent her throughout all the borders of Israel") ; were that meant, one might expect the number to be eleven, Benjamin being excluded.

c In Scripture, the tribes assemble at Mizpah.
JOSEPHUS

dein o'kes o'utos pròs tous ómofílous ékferew polémou prw n lógos dialechthnai peri twn ég-kleimátwn, tou nómu mou me' ep' tous allotrióus éph-iéntos díxa presbeías kai touaýtis pròs to metan-沃ówpei rous doxántas ádikeíw stratión

152 ágagéwn kalóws oðn exhein tw nómu peithomévous pròs tous Gabaírouous exaitóuntas tous aútous ekpémpia kai parexoméinous men árkeisthai ti touwv kolásses, katafronhásaítovn de toû tois óplois aútous ámónasthai. pémpoun ouv pròs tous Gabaírouous kathgoroúntes twn neanískon tâ peri thn gynáika kai pròs tímwrían aítoudvtes tous drásántas men ou nómmia, genómoíous de dikaious

153 and' aútovn ékeíwnw apothanein. oi de Gabaíroi ouste tous neanískous exéddosan kai dévon allotrióus úpakoúen prōstákmasin ògoúnto polémou fóbou, mēdenos ázióútes einai xérous en tois óplois múte diá plēthos múte de evpsiuchían. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν παρασκευῇ μεγάλῃ μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων φυλετῶν, συναπενοίηθησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀμυνοῦμενοι βιαζομένους.

154 (10) 'Ωs de touaýtta tois 'Ισραήλιτais tâ para tówn Gabaíronov apaggélh, órkous poiównetai mēdénai sofón andri Bebiamíthi òwsew pròs γámovn thugatéra stratéušein te et' aútou, mállox aútois di' órygís óntes n tois Xanaíais tois progónous

1 stratéiwv ROSL. 2 metà kai Dindorf: kai codd. 3 ex Lat. Niese: ámwnómenov codd. 4 ed. pr.: + ois codd.

a Or, with other mss., "a campaign."
b This advice of the elders, not mentioned in Scripture, is added to show that they conformed to the Mosaic law (Deut. xx. 10; A. iv. 296).
that they ought not so hurriedly to make war on their brethren, ere they had parleyed with them concerning their grievances, the law not permitting them to lead an army\(^a\) even against aliens without having sent an embassy and made other attempts of this nature to bring the supposed wrongdoers to repentance.\(^b\) It therefore behoved them, in obedience to the law, to send envoys to the Gabaenians to demand the surrender of the culprits and, should they deliver them up, to be content with punishing these individuals; but, should they flout this demand, then to retaliate on them by resort to arms. So they sent an embassy to Gaba to accuse the young men of the woman's fate and to require the surrender for punishment of those that had done thus lawlessly and who for those very deeds deserved to die.\(^c\) But the people of Gaba refused to surrender the youths and scorned to bow to the behests of others through fear of war, holding themselves to be inferior in arms to none whether in numbers or valour. So they proceeded to make great preparations along with the rest of their tribe, who joined them in their desperate undertaking in the belief that they were repelling aggressors.

(10) Now when word was brought to the Israelites of this response from the men of Gaba, they took an oath that not one among them would give his daughter to a man of Benjamin and that they would march against them, being more indignant against them than were our forefathers, as we are told, xx. 12.

\(^a\) Or perhaps (taking \(\omega \tau \omega \nu \ \epsilon \kappa \iota \nu \omega \nu\) as masculines) "who deserved to die in lieu of their own people": the balance of clauses (\(\mu \epsilon \nu \ldots \delta \epsilon \ldots\)) favours this. The lawlessness of the deed warranted wholesale destruction, but at least the culprits should suffer.
156 ἡμῶν παρειλήφαμεν γενομένους. παραχρήμα τε ἐξήγην ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον μυρίδας τεσσαράκοντα ὀπλιτῶν καὶ Βενιαμιτῶν τὸ ὀπλιτικὸ ἦν ὑπὸ δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακυσχιλίων καὶ ἔξακοσίων, ὡν ἦσαν εἰς πεντακοσίους ταῖς λαίαις

157 τῶν χειρῶν σφενδονὰν ἀριστοι, ὥστε καὶ μάχης πρὸς τῇ Γαβᾶ γενομένης τρέπουσι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας οἱ Βενιαμῖται ἀνδρεῖς τε πίπτουσιν εἰς αὐτῶν εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ ἰσως ἂν καὶ πλείονες, εἰ μὴ νῦς αὐτοὺς ἐπέσχε καὶ διέλυσε

158 μαχομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν Βενιαμῖται χαίροντες ἀνεχώρουσιν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλίται καταπεπληγότες ὑπὸ τῆς ἠττης εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάλιν συμβαλόντων οἱ Βενιαμῖται κρατοῦσι καὶ θησάκουσι τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων ὀκτακυσχιλίου καὶ μύρου, καὶ δείσαντες τὸν φόνον

159 ἐξέλισσον τὸ στρατόπεδον. παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Βέθηλα πόλιν ἐγγυστα κεμένην καὶ νηστεύσαντες κατὰ τὴν ύστεραν τὸν θεού ἵκετενον διὰ Φυνέσου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς δυσιν αὐτῶν ἦτταις ἀρκεσθέντα δοῦναι νίκην καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ταῦτα διὰ Φυνέσου προφητεύσαντος.

160 (11) Ποιῆσαντες οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν δύο μέρη τῆς μὲν ἡμίσειαν προλοχίζουσι νυκτὸς περὶ τῆν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἡμίσεις συνεβαλούν τοῖς Βενιαμίταις ὑπεχώρουσι τε ἐγκειμένων, καὶ ἐδίωκον οἱ Βενιαμῖται (καὶ)

1 om. L Lat.

* Heb. 26,000 Benjamites +700 inhabitants of Gibeah: lxx 25,000 (or 23,000) +700. In Josephus the preposition
against the Canaanites. And forthwith they led out against them their host of 400,000 men-at-arms; the forces of the Benjamites numbered but some 25,600 among whom were 500 expert in using the sling with the left hand. And so, a battle ensuing near Gaba, the Benjamites routed the Israelites, and there fell of these 22,000 men; indeed perchance yet more would have perished, had not night checked them and parted the combatants. The Benjamites then withdrew, exultant, to the town, the Israelites, crest-fallen at their defeat, to their camp. On the morrow, when they renewed the attack, the Benjamites were again victorious: 18,000 of the Israelites perished, and daunted by this carnage they abandoned their encampment. Repairing to Bethel, the city nearest at hand, and having fasted on the morrow, they besought God, through Phinees the high priest, to abate his anger against them and, content with their two defeats, to vouchsafe them victory and the mastery over their foes. And God promised them their petitions through the mouth of Phinees, His interpreter.

(11) So, dividing their army in two, they set half in ambush around the town under cover of night; the other half then engaged the Benjamites and before their onset retired. The Benjamites pursued υπό, if genuine, seems to mean “about” and perhaps indicates acquaintance with variant readings in Scripture.

b Heb. (with some mss. of lxx) 700; other mss. of lxx omit the number.

c Bethel is some 8 miles N. of the traditional site of Gibeah (Tell el-Ful): Shiloh, the seat of the tabernacle (§ 150), lay considerably farther north.

d This battle scene, like others, recalls Thucydides: with προλογίζειν περι τὴν πόλιν cf. Thuc. ii. 81, with πασοῦν (§ 161) viii. 1, with περιστάντες κατηκόντισαν (§ 162) vii. 84.
τῶν Ἐβραίων ὑποφευγόντων ἦρέμα καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ θελόντων εἰς ἀπαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελθεῖν ἀναχωροῦν
161 εἰποντο, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει προσβύτας καὶ νέους ὑπολειφθέντας δι' ἀσθένειαν συνεκδραμεῖν ἀυτοῖς πασσεῖ ὑμοίνους χειρώσασθαι τοὺς πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέσχον, ἐπαύσαντο μὲν φεύγουντες οἱ Ἐβραίοι, ἐπιστραφέντες δ' ἰστανται πρὸς μάχην καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις οὕσι τὸ σημεῖον αἴρουσιν ἃ συνέκευτο.
162 οἱ δ' ἔξαναστάντες μετὰ βοής ἐπήσαν τοῖς πολεμίοις. οἱ δὲ ἁμα τε ἡπαθημένους αὐτοὺς ἡγοῦντο καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ συνεστήκεσαν, καὶ εἰς τι κοίλων συνελαβέντας καὶ φαραγγώδες χωρίων περιστάντες κατηκότωσαν, ὡστε πάντας διαφθαρῆναι πλῆν
163 ἔξακοσίων. οὕτω δὲ συντραφέντες καὶ πυκνώσαντες ἐαυτοὺς καὶ δια μέσων ὑσάμενοι τῶν πολεμίων ἐφυγον ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίων ὅρη, καὶ κατασχότες ἱδρύθησαν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ δυσμυρίων ὄντες καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον. οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλῖται τὴν τε Γάβαν ἐμπιτράσι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τοὺς μὴ ἐν ἀκμῇ διεχρήσαντο, τάς τε ἄλλας τῶν Βειαμιτῶν πόλεις ταύτα ὅρῶσιν οὕτως τε ἄναν παρωξυμένουι, ὡς καὶ Ἰάβησον τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος ὄοσαν, ὅτι ἡ συμμαχήσεις εὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν Βειαμιτῶν, πέμφαντες μυρίους καὶ
164 δυσχιλίους ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἐκέλευσαν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ φονεύουσι τὸ μάχημα τῆς πόλεως οἱ πεμφθέντες σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναιξὶ πλῆν τετρακοσίων παρθένων. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπ' ὀργῆς προῆχθησαν, τῶ

1 prothahere (????) Lat., omisso ἐπὶ πολὺ aut eis ἀπαν.
2 ed. pr.: διεκδραμεῖν δι' ἀσθένειαν codd.
3 παρωργισμένοι MSPL.
and, as the Hebrews fell back little by little to a great distance, wishing them to come out a to a man, they followed their retreating foe, in such wise that even the old men and lads who had been left in the town as incompetent sallied out also, eager as a united body to crush the enemy. But when they were now remote from the town, the Hebrews stayed their flight and, turning, stood their ground for battle, while they raised the concerted signal for their friends in ambush; and these, emerging with a shout, fell upon the enemy. The Benjamites, from the moment when they saw themselves entrapped, were in a hopeless plight: driven into a rugged hollow, they were there shot down by the darts of the Hebrews who stood around them, with the result that all perished save 600. These, rallying and closing up their ranks, pushed through the enemy's midst, fled for the neighbouring hills, and there, on gaining them, established themselves; all the rest, in number about 25,000, perished. The Israelites xx. 46. burnt Gaba and made away with the women and males under age; the other cities of the Benjamites they treated in like manner. Moreover, so exasper-xxi. 8. ated were they that, forasmuch as the town of Jabesh in Gilead had not aided them in battle against the Benjamites, they sent thither 12,000 men from their ranks, with orders to destroy it. This detachment massacred all of military age in the town, along with the children and all the women save 400 who were unmarried. To such lengths did their rage carry them,

a Or, with the Latin, "wishing to draw them out."
κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα πάθει προσλαβόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.

166 (12) Μετάνοια δ’ αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς τῶν Βεναμίτων συμφορᾶς καὶ νηστείαν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς προ-έβεντο, καίτοι δίκαια παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἔξαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν ἐξακοσίους διὰ προσβευτῶν ἐκάλουν· καθ-ιδρυντο γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέτρας τῶν 'Ροᾶς καλομένης

167 κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνους τῆς συμφορᾶς μόνοις γεγενημένης ἄλλα καὶ αὐ-τοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολωλότων ὀδυρόμενοι πράως ἔπειθον φέρειν καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταύτο καὶ μή παντελῆ τῆς Βεναμίτιδος φυλῆς οἴλεθρον τὸ γε ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς καταφεύγασθαι. “συγχωροῦμεν δὲ ύμῖν,” ἐλεγον, “τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς φυλῆς γῆν καὶ λείαν ὅσην ἄν ἄγειν δυνηθῆτε” . οἱ δὲ τῶν καθ’ έαυτοὺς θεοῦ ψήφῳ γεγονότων καὶ κατ’ ἄδικαν τῇ τῶν αὐτῶν γνωσμαχήσαντες κατήσαν εἰς τὴν πάτριον φυλῆν πειθόμενοι τοῖς προκαλομένοις. οἱ δ’ Ἰσραη-λῖται γυναίκας αὐτοῖς τὰς τετρακοσίας ἔδοσαν παρθένους τὰς Ἰαβύτιδας, περὶ δὲ τῶν διακοσίων ἐσκόπων, ὡς κάκεινοι γυναικῶν εὐπορήσαντες

169 παιδοποιοῦνται. γεγενημένων δ’ αὐτοῖς ὀρκων ὅστε μηδὲνι Βεναμίτη συνοικίσαι θυγατέρα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν ὀλυγορεῖν συνεβολεῖν τῶν ὀμωμοσμένων ὡς ὑπ’ ὀργῆς ὀμόσαντες οὐ γνώμη καὶ κρίσει, τῷ δὲ θεῷ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσειν εἶ

1 Niese: δυνηθῆτε codd. 2 cdd.: συνοικίσαι codd.

*Gr. translation of Heb. Rimmon (= “pomegranate”); usually identified as modern Rammun, a few miles E. of Bethel, but a more likely site, much nearer to Gibeah, has been proposed (Burney, Judges, p. xxi).
because, in addition to what they had suffered on the woman’s account, they had further suffered the slaughter of their men-at-arms.

(12) Howbeit they were smitten with remorse for the Benjamites’ calamity and they ordained a fast on their behalf, while yet maintaining that they had justly suffered for their sin against the laws; and they summoned by ambassadors those 600 of them who had escaped and established themselves on a rock called Rhoa in the wilderness. These envoys, deploiring a calamity which had struck not the Benjamites only but themselves, in that the victims were their kinsmen, urged them to bear it patiently, to come and join them, and not, so far as in them lay, to pronounce sentence of total extinction upon the tribe of Benjamin. “We grant you,” said they, “the territory of the whole tribe and of booty as much as ye can carry off.” And the Benjamites, recognizing with contrition that their misfortunes were due to God’s decree and to their own iniquity, came down again into the tribe of their fathers, in compliance with this invitation. The Israelites gave them for wives those 400 virgins from Jabesh, and then deliberated concerning the remaining 200 men, how they too might be provided with wives and beget children. Now, whereas they had before the war made oath to give no Benjamite a daughter of theirs in wedlock, some were of opinion that they should disregard those oaths as having been sworn under the sway of passion, without reflection or judgement; that they would be doing nothing in opposition to God, could they so save a

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* i.e. cattle.

* § 165.
Josephus

170 οὗτοι δινὸν κωνυπεύοντοι ἀπολέσθαι σῶσαι δυνηθεῖν, τάς τε ἐπιορκίας οὐχ ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης γένωνται χαλεπάς εἶναι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅταν ἐν κακουργίᾳ τομηθὼσι. τῆς δὲ γεροινίας πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἐπιορκίας ὁνόμα σχετισάσης ἐφη τις τούτων τε γνώαικῶν εὐπορίαν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆρησιν τῶν ὅρκων. ἐρομένοι δὲ τήν ἐπίνουσαν, "ήμων," εἰπεν, "τρίς τοῦ ἔτους εἰς Σιλὼ συνισθαν ἐπονται
cata πανήγυριν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες. τούτων κατὰ ἁρπαγήν ἔφευσθω γαμεῖν Βενιαμίτας ἃς ἂν δυνηθεῖν ἡμῶν οὔτε προτρεπομένων οὔτε κωλυόντων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνοντας καὶ τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ἀξιούντας φήσομεν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους φυλακῆς ἀμελήσαντας τῶν θυγατέρων, οτι δὲ δεῖ τῆς ὤργῆς ἐπὶ Βενιαμίτας ὑφείναι χρησαμένους αὐτῇ καὶ θάττων ἀμέτρως." καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτων πεισθέντες ψηφίζονται τῶν διὰ τῆς ἁρπαγῆς γάμον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις. ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἔορτῆς οἱ μὲν διακόσιοι κατὰ δύο καὶ τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐνηδέρευν παρεσομένας τὰς παρθένους ἐν τὰ ἀμπελώσι καὶ χωρίως ἐν
οὗς λήσειν ἠμέλλον, αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιαῖς οὐδὲν ὑφορώμεναι τῶν μελλόντων ἀφυλάκτως ὤδευον· οἱ δὲ σκεδασθεισῶν εἰχόντο εξαναστάντες. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν οὕτως γαμήσαντες ἐπ' ἔργα τῆς γῆς ἔχωρησαν

1 ἀν seel. Naber. 2 Bekker: ἀφείναι ῬΟ, ἐφείναι rell.

* a Jd. xxi. 19 "Behold there is a (or "the") feast (ḥag) of the Lord from year to year (lit. "from days to days," LXX ἀφ' ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας) in Shiloh." The ḥag here alluded to is the oldest of Jewish festivals, the autumn vintage festival of Sukkoth or "Tabernacles"; for its annual observance at Shiloh cf. 1 Sam. i. 3. Josephus refers back to those early

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whole tribe in danger of extinction; and that perjuries were not grave or hazardous when they were prompted by necessity, but only when rashly committed with malicious intent. When the elders, however, protested at the mere mention of perjury, someone said that he could suggest how to provide wives for these men and yet to keep their oaths. On being questioned concerning his plan, "When we meet," he replied, "three times a year a at Silo, we are accompanied to the festival by our wives and daughters. Let the Benjamites be permitted to capture as their brides such of these maidens as they can, without either encouragement or hindrance on our part. And if their parents make an ado and demand punishment, we will tell them that they have but themselves to blame for neglecting to protect their daughters, and that we must abate that resentment against the Benjamites, in which already in the past b we had been immoderate." The assembly assenting thereto decided accordingly to permit the Benjamites this marriage by capture. So, when the festival came round, the 200, in twos and threes, waited in ambush before the city for the coming of the maidens, in the vineyards and other places where they would escape their eye. Meanwhile the damsels, playfully and with no suspicion of what was on foot, came all unguardedly along; whereat the men sprang out upon them and seized them as they scattered. These Benjamites, thus wedded, then betook themselves to the labours of the soil days the keeping of the three great annual festivals, including Passover and Pentecost.

a θαπτων = προτερον, as elsewhere (with connotation of precipitancy).
καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποιήσαντο πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν
174 εὐδαμονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. Βενιαμιτῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ
φυλή κινδυνεύσασα τελέως ἐκφθαρῆναι τῷ προειρη-
μένῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν σοφίαν σωζέται,
ἠθῆσε τε παραχρήμα καὶ ταχείαν εἰς τε πλῆθος
καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐποιήσατο τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. οὕτως
μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος οὕτως παύεται.
175 (iii. 1) Ὁμοια δὲ τούτοις παθεῖν καὶ τὴν Δάνυν1
συνέβη φυλήν εξ αὑτὰς τουαύτης εἰς τούτο προ-
176 αχθεῖσαν. τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἑκλελοιπότων ἣδη τὴν
ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἂσκησιν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐργοῖς
ὀντων τῆς γῆς Χανααία ιον καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν
συνεποίησαντο δύναμιν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι
προσδοκῶντες, ὡς δὲ βεβαιὰν τὴν τοῦ ποιήσεων
κακῶς τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐλπίδα λαβόντες ἐπὶ ἀδείας
177 τὸ λοιπὸν οὐκεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἥξιον. ἄρματα τε
οὖν παρασκευάζοντο καὶ τὸ ὀπλικὸν συνεκρότουν
αἱ τοὺς πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεφρόνουν καὶ τῆς Ἰουῦδα
φυλῆς τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Ἀκκαρῶνα παρεσπά-
σαντο ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ
Δανίτας εἰς τὸ ὀροῦ ἡνάγκασαν συμφυγεῖν οὐδὲ
ὁλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβατόν τοῦ πεδίου καταλιπόντες.
178 οἱ δὲ οὕτω πολεμεῖν ὅντες ἰκανοὶ γῆν τε οὕκ ἔχοντες
ἀρκοῦσαν πέμπουσιν εἰς αὐτῶν πέντε ἀνδρὰς εἰς
τὴν μεσόγειον κατοικομένους γην, εἰς ἣν μετοική-
σαντο. οἱ δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Λιβάνου ὀροὺς καὶ
ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν κατὰ τὸ μέγα

1 Niese: Δάνην (Διανήν) codd.

* Contrast § 128 (note), where we are told that Akkaron
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and devoted their efforts to the recovery of their former prosperity. This, then, was the way in which the tribe of Benjamin, when in danger of complete extinction, was saved through the sagacity of the Israelites; and instantly it flourished and made rapid advance both in numbers and in all beside. And thus ended this war.

(iii. 1) But like sufferings also befell the tribe of Dan, the cause which brought it to this pass being as follows. Now that the Israelites had abandoned the exercise of warfare and were given up to their labours on the land, the Canaanites, holding them in contempt, built up an army, not from expectation of any injury to themselves, but, being now confident of doing mischief to the Hebrews, they counted on henceforth inhabiting their cities in security. So they proceeded to equip chariots and levy troops, their cities unanimously combined, and from the tribe of Judah they wrested Ascalon, Akkarôn and many other cities of the plain, while they forced the Danites to flee in a body to the hills, leaving them not the smallest foothold on the plain. These, incapable of fighting and not having land to suffice them, sent five of their number into the interior to look for a region whither they could migrate. The envoys, having advanced to a spot not far from mount Libanus and the sources of the lesser Jordan, over

had never been conquered; here Josephus conforms to the Hebrew text of Scripture (Jd. i. 18) which names Ekron among the captured cities.

Here Josephus omits the unedifying story of Micah and his images, which in Scripture is mixed up with this expedition of the Danites (Jd. xvii. f.).

The course of the Jordan north of the modern lake of Huleh. Cf. B.J. iii. 509 f.
JOSEPHUS

πεδίον Σιδώνως πόλεως ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς¹ προ-
elθόντες καὶ κατασκεφάμενοι γην ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμ-
φορον σημαίνουσι τοῖς αὐτῶν: οἱ δ' ὀρμηθέντες στρατῷ κτίζουσιν αὐτῷ πόλιν Δάνα ὄρμωνυμον
tῷ Ἰακώβου παιδὶ φυλῆς δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς αὐτῶν.

79 ¹(2) Τοῖς δ' Ἰσραήλιταις προύβαινεν ὑπὸ τε
ἀπειρίας τοῦ ποιεῖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ ὑπὸ² τῆς περὶ τὸ
θεῖον ὁλυγωρίας· μετακινηθέντες γὰρ ἀπαχῖ τοῦ
κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸ καθ' ἠ-
δονήν καὶ βούλησιν ὕδαιαν βιοῦν, ὦς καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
χωριαζόντων παρὰ τοῖς Χαναάνιοις ἀναπίπλασθαι

180 κακῶν. ὀργίζεται τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἦν
σὺν πόνοις μυρίων εὐδαμονιῶν ἐκτήσαντο, ταύτην
ἀπέβαλον διὰ τρυφήν. στρατεύσαντος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐ-
τοὺς Χουσαρσάθουα τοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέων,
pολλοὺς τε τῶν παραταξαμένων ἀπώλεσαν καὶ

181 πολυρκοῦμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἠρέθησαν, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ
διὰ φόβον ἐκουσίως αὐτῷ προσεχώρησαν, φόρους
tε τοῦ δυνατοῦ μείζονας ἐπιταγέντες ἐτέλουν καὶ
ὑβρεῖς παντοῖας ὑπέμενον ἑώς ἔτων ὀκτώ, μεθ' α
τῶν κακῶν οὕτως ἠλευθερώθησαν.

182 (3) Τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς τῆς Κενάζος ὄνομα δρα-
στήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος, χρησθὲν

¹ trium dierum Lat. ² SP: ἀπὸ rel. ³ RO: Chusasartho Lat.: Χουσαρσάθου rel.: similar v.l. in § 183.

⁠a So we must translate, carrying on the force of the pre-
ceding πόρω. The translation "advanced in one day's march
to . . . over against the great plain of the city of S." is
precluded by distance (upwards of 100 miles); a difficulty
which is scarcely met by the reading of the Latin version,
"three days' march."

⁠b Bibl. "Cushan-rishathaim (lxx Χουσαρσάθαιμ) king of
against the great plain, within a day's march of the city of Sidon, and having inspected a land good and wholly fertile, reported this to their brethren; and they, setting forth with an army, founded there a city called Dan(a) after the name of the son of Jacob, which was also the name of their own tribe.

(2) But the state of the Israelites went from bad to worse through their loss of aptitude for toil and their neglect of the Divinity. For, having once parted from the ordered course of their constitution, they drifted into living in accordance with their own pleasure and caprice, and thus became contaminated with the vices current among the Canaanites. So God was wroth with them, and all that prosperity which they had won with myriad labours they now through idle luxury cast away. For Chusarsathus, king of the Assyrians, having marched upon them, they lost multitudes in battle, and were besieged and carried by storm, whilst some in terror voluntarily surrendered to him, paid tribute beyond their means at his behest, and underwent indignities of every kind for eight years, after which they were delivered from their miseries on this wise.

(3) A man of the tribe of Judah, Keniaz by name, vigorous and noble-hearted, being warned by Aram-naharaim, i.e. "of Aram of the two rivers," alias Mesopotamia. The personal name = "Cushan of double-dyed villainy," a Biblical distortion of some older form. "Cushan" is a Biblical distortion of some older form.

Josephus has replaced the son by the father; similarly in the so-called Biblical Antiquities of Philo (c. A.D. 100) Cenez figures as the first judge and a person of considerable importance (ed. M. R. James, p. 146 note). The compiler of the Greek summary of the contents of J. v. mentions Othniel but reverses the relationship (ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνηλου παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερία γενομένη).
JOSEPHUS

αυτῷ μὴ περιορῶν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τούς Ἰσραηλῖτας ἀνάγκη κειμένους ἀλλ’ εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς ἐξαφεύγαται τολμῶν, παρακελεύσαμενος1 συλλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτῶν τινάς, ὥλγοι δ’ ἦσαν οἷς αἰδώς ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἐτύγχανε καὶ 183 προθυμία μεταβολῆς, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ὀδον φιουρᾶν τοῦ Χουσαρσάθου διαφθείρει, προσγενομένων δὲ πλείονων τῶν συναγωγωνιζομένων ἐκ τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὰ πρώτα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, μάχην τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις συνάπτοντι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι περαιοῦσθαι τὸν

184 Εὐθράτην ἐβιάζοντο. Κενίαζος δὲ ὡς ἔρχον πείραν αὐτοῦ διδωκὼς τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας γέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀρχήν, ὥστε κρίνειν τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἁρξας ἐπ’ ἑτ’ ἑτ’ τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.

185 (iv. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν τὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐνόσει πράγματα, καὶ τῷ μὴ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τοῖς νόμοις 186 ὑπακούειν ἑτ’ μᾶλλον ἔκακοντο,2 ὡς καταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐγγύον τὸν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα πόλει τοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις αὐτῶν κρατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς3 φρονήμασι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας ὑποτάξαντα πρὸς τὸ παντελές αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ταπεινώσας καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελείων. καθιδρύσας δ’ αὐτῶ εἰς Ἰεριχοῦντι βασιλείαν4 οὐδὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ πλῆθος κακώσεως παρέληπεν εἰς τε πενίαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἑτῆ. λαβὼν δ’ οἴκτον ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐφ’

1 παρασκευασάμενος ΜL.
2 ἔκακοντο 1:O.
3 τοῖς codd.

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an oracle not to leave the Israelites to lie in such deep distress, but to essay to vindicate their liberty, after exhorting some others to share his hazards—and few were they, who were filled with shame at their present state and longed to alter it—began by massacring the garrison of Chusarsathus that was quartered upon them. Then, when larger numbers rallied to his arms, seeing that he had not miscarried at this opening of his enterprise, they joined battle with the Assyrians and, having utterly repulsed them, forced them to recross the Euphrates. Keniazi, having thus given practical proof of his prowess, received as his reward from the people rulership, to act as judge of the nation. And after ruling for forty years he ended his days.

(iv. 1) But after his death the affairs of the Israelites again suffered through lack of government, while their failure to render homage to God or to obey the laws aggravated the evil yet more. So, contemptuous of the disorder prevailing in their state, Eglon, king of Moab, made war upon them and, having defeated them in many battles and subjected all who showed more spirit than the rest, utterly humiliated their strength and imposed tribute upon them. Then establishing his capital in Jericho, he ruthlessly molested the people and reduced them to penury for eighteen years. But God, taking pity on the Israelites in their afflictions and moved by

*Jewish Antiquities*, V. 182–187

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4 E Lat. ed. pr.: + ταύτην ἀποδείξας rell.
οἷς ἐπασχον καὶ ταῖς ἱκετείαις αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθεὶς ἀπῆλλαξε τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωσαβίταις ὑβρεώς. ἦλευθερώθησαν δὲ τοῦτώ τῷ τρόπῳ.

188 (2) Τῆς Βενιαμινίδος φυλῆς νεανίας Ἰουδῆς μὲν τοῦνομα Γῆρα δὲ πατρός, τολμῆσαί τε ἀνδρεότατος καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα χρήσαται δυνατώτατος, τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἁριστερὰν ἁμείνων καὶ ἐκεῖνης τὴν ἀπασαν ἴσχυν ἔχων, κατώκει.

189 μὲν ἐν Ἱεριχώντι καὶ αὐτὸς, συνήθης δὲ γίνεται τῷ Ἐγλώνι δωρεάς αὐτοῦν θεραπεύων καὶ ὑπερχόμενος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσφιλή τυγχάνειν αὐτόν, καὶ ποτε σὺν δυνῶν ὁικέταις δώρα τῷ βασιλεί βέρων ἐξιδίοιν κρύφα τῷ δεξιῷ σκέλει περιδησάμενος εἰσῆλθε πρὸς αὐτόν. ὥρα δὲ τὴν θέρους καὶ τῆς ἠμέρας ἠδὴ μεσούσης ἀνείντο αἱ φυλακαὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ καύματος καὶ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δώρα τῷ Ἐγλώνι ό νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δωρατοῖς δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ᾽ ἤσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπίεναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δώρα τῷ Ἐγλώνι ό νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δωρατοῖς δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ᾽ ἤσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπίεναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δώρα τῷ Ἐγλώνι ό νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δωρατοῖς δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ᾽ ἤσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπίεναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δώρα τῷ Ἐγλώνι ό νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δωρατοῖς δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ᾽ ἤσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπίεναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δώρα τῷ Ἐγλώνι ό νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δωρατοῖς δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ᾽ ἤσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπίεναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων. δοὺς οὖν τὰ δώρα τῷ Ἐγλώνι ό νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ᾽ ἐν τοῖς δωρατοῖς δεξιῶς πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ᾽ ἤσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπίεναι κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς Ἀριστον πετραμμένων.

1 τε codd.
2 ed. pr. Lat.: ἀπεῖνα i codd.
3 Niese: μή codd.

their supplications, rid them of this oppression under the Moabites; and their liberation fell on this wise.

(2) A youth of the tribe of Benjamin, named Judges, son of Gera, of gallant daring and with bodily powers that he was well able to make to serve his ends, being superior with his left hand and therefrom deriving all his strength, was also himself residing in Jericho; there he became familiar with Eglon, courting and cajoling him with presents, whereby moreover he endeared himself to those in waiting on the king. Now one day, when he with two attendants was bringing gifts to the king, he secretly girt a dagger about his right thigh and so went in to him. It was summer-time and, the day being at noon, the guards had been relaxed both by reason of the heat and because they were gone to lunch. So the young man, having presented his gifts to Eglon, who was lodged in a chamber well-adapted for the summer, fell into conversation. They were alone, the king having ordered even such henchmen as intruded to depart because he was conversing with Judges. He was seated upon a chair, and Judges was beset with fear lest he should strike amiss and not deal a mortal blow. So he made him arise by telling him that he had a dream to disclose to him by commandment of God. The king, for joy at news of this dream, leapt up

b Scripture does not mention Ehud’s residence in Jericho nor his attentions to Eglon.

c Jd. iii. 18 mentions a retinue, “the people that bare the present,” who were dismissed after offering it; has the number “two” been extracted, through some misreading, out of the description of the dagger, “and it had two edges,” ib. 16?


194 (3) 'Ο δ' Ἰουδῆς τοῖς Ἰερυχοντίοις ἀποσημαίνων κρυπτῶς παρεκάλει τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιλαμβάνεται. Οἱ δ' ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε εἰς τὰ ὁπλα ἤσαν καὶ διέπεσαν εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀποσημαίνοντας κέρασιν οὕνε τούτοις γὰρ

195 συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος πάτριον. Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἑγλώνα πολὺν μὲν χρόνῳ ἡγνώσιν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν, δεῖσαντες μὴ τι νεώτερον εἰς περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονός, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ νεκρὸν εὑρόντες ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ καθευδήκεσαν, καὶ πρὶν τὴν φρούραν συστραφῆναι τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων αὐτοῖς ἐπέρχεται

196 πλῆθος. καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀναρροῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς φυγήν τρέπονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μωάβιτιν σωθησόμενοι, ἤσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυρίως. καὶ Ἰσραήλιται προκατεληφότες τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὴν διάβασιν διώκοντες ἐκτεινοῦν καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσι, διέφυγε τε οὐδὲ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας

197 αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἐβραῖοι τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωάβιταις δουλείας ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἰουδῆς δ' ἐκ τῆς αὐτίας ταύτης τιμηθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πλῆθους παντὸς ἡγεμονία τελευτά τῇ τὴν ἄρχῃ ἔτεσιν οὐδοῦκοντα κατασχῶν, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως ἐπαινὸν δίκαιος τυγχάνειν.

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1 M.L.E Lat.: προσκλίνας rell.
2 δ' ἐκ Dindorf ex Lat.: δὲ codd.
from his throne, whereat Judes smote him to the heart and, leaving the dagger in his breast, went forth, locking the door upon him. The henchmen never stirred, supposing that the king had sunk asleep.

(3) Judes meanwhile reported the matter secretly to the men of Jericho and exhorted them to assert their liberty. And they, welcoming his news, themselves rushed to arms and sent heralds throughout the country to give the signal by the sounding of rams' horns, for it was customary to call their people together by these instruments. Eglon's courtiers remained long ignorant of his fate; but, when evening drew on, fearing that something extraordinary might have befallen him, they entered the chamber and, finding his corpse, stood there in helpless perplexity; and, before the garrison could be mustered, the host of Israelites was upon them. Some were massacred on the spot; the rest took flight to seek safety in the land of Moab, in number above ten thousand. But the Israelites, who had betimes occupied the ford of the Jordan, pursued and slew them: at the ford itself multitudes of them were massacred, and not a man escaped their hands. Thus were the Hebrews delivered from their bondage to the Moabites. Judes himself, having for this reason been honoured with the governorship of the whole people, died after holding that office for eighty years—a man, even apart from the afore-said exploit, deserving of a meed of praise. After

\[a\] In Scripture he goes further afield and himself "blew the trumpet in the hill-country of Ephraim."

\[b\] Jd. iii. 30 "and the land had rest four-score years," to which the LXX adds "and Aod judged them until he died"; in the Heb. there is no mention of his rulership.
καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Σανάγαρος ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἰρεθεὶς ἀρχεῖν ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

198 (v. 1) Ἰσραηλίται δὲ πάλιν, οδοὺς γὰρ ἐπὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλάμβανον τῶν πρότερον ἦττυχημένων ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτε σέβειν τὸν θεὸν μήθ᾽ υπ' ακούειν τοῖς νόμοις, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μωαβίταις ἀναπνεῦσαι δουλείας πρὸς οἶλον, ὑπὸ Ἀβίτου.

199 τοῦ Χαναναίων βασιλέως καταδολοῦνται. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀσώρου πόλεως ὄρμωμενος, αὐτὴ δ' ὑπέρ-κειται τῆς Σεμαχωνίτδος λίμνης, στρατοὶ μὲν ὅπλων τριάκοντα ἔτρεφε μυριάδας μυρίους δὲ ὕππεας, τρισχιλίων δὲ ἀρμάτων ἥπορει. ταύτης οὖν στρατηγῶν τῆς δυνάμεως Σισάρης τιμῆς πρώ-της παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τυγχάνων συνελθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐκάκωσε δεινῶς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν φόρους.

200 (2) Εἰκοσι μὲν οὖν ἦτη ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἤνυσαν μὴτε αὐτοὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς δυστυχίας ὅντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πλέον δαμάσαι θέλοντος αὐτῶν τὴν ὑβρίν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἀγνωμοσύνην, ἵνα μετα-θεμενοι τοῦ λοιποῦ σωφρονῶσιν διδαχθέντες δὲ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς περιφρονήσεως τῶν νόμων ὑπάρξαν, Δαβύραν τινὰ προφήτην, μέλισσαν δὲ σημαινεῖ τούνομα κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γλῶσσαν, 201 ἰκέτευον δεθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν οἰκτὸν αὐτῶν

1 + τε codd. 2 Jabid Lat. : Ἰαβαβεῖ Niese. 3 + ἐτι ROE. 4 δὲ ins. Niese.

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a Heb. Shamgar : lxx Σαμεγάρ (Σεμεγάρ, etc.).
b Amplification.
c So Heb. and Josephus below (§ 209) ; here the mss. have the Latinized form Ἀβίτου (Avitus).
him Sanagar,\(^a\) son of Anath, was elected ruler, but died in the first year of his rule.\(^b\)

(v. 1) Again, however, the Israelites, who had learnt no lesson of wisdom from their previous misfortunes, since they neither worshipped God nor obeyed the laws, ere they had enjoyed a brief respite from their servitude to the Moabites, fell under the yoke of Jabin,\(^c\) king of the Canaanites. For this monarch, issuing from the city of Asor,\(^d\) situate above the lake Semachonitis,\(^e\) maintained an army of 300,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and was owner of 3000 chariots.\(^f\) Accordingly the general of these forces, Sisares,\(^g\) who held the first rank in the king’s favour, so sorely afflicted the Israelites when they joined battle with him, that he forced them to pay tribute.

(2) Twenty years, then, did they pass in this miserable plight, themselves incapable of being schooled by adversity, while God willed to tame their insolence yet more by reason of their ingratitude towards Him, to the end that they might change their ways and thenceforward be wise. But when they had learned\(^h\) that their calamities were due to their contempt of the laws, they besought a certain prophetess named Dabora\(^i\)—the name in the Hebrew tongue means “bee”—to pray God

\(^a\) Bibl. Hazor: identified by Garstang with Tell el-Qedah about 5 miles S.W. of the southern end of the lake mentioned.
\(^b\) The smaller lake N. of the lake of Galilee, el Huleh, sometimes called the “waters of Merom.”
\(^c\) Imaginary figures (cf. § 64): Scripture mentions only “900 chariots of iron.”
\(^d\) Bibl. Sisera.
\(^e\) Text and sentence division doubtful.
\(^f\) Bibl. Deborah (= “bee,” as correctly stated); Scripture adds that “she was judging Israel at that time.”
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καὶ μὴ περιμείνων ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Χανα-ναίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπένευσε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς αἴρεται Βάρακον τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος ὡντα φυλῆς. βάρακος δὲ ἐστιν ἀστραπῆς κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

202 (3) Μεταπεμβαμένη δὲ ἡ Δαβώρα τῶν Βάρακον ἐπιλέγαντα τῶν νέων μυρίων ἕκλευε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· ἀποχρήναι γὰρ τοσοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ προειρηκότος καὶ νύκην ἀποσημηναίας. Βαράκον δὲ φαμένου ὅπως στρατηγήσων μὴ κάκεινς αὐτῶν συνσυντηγοῦσης ἀγανακτήσασα, "οὐ μέν," εἶπε· "γυναικὶ παραχωρεῖς ἀξίωματος ὅ σοι δέδωκεν ὁ θεός, ἐγώ δὲ οὐ παρατούμαι," καὶ συναθροίζοντες μυρίων ἐστρεπτοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Ἰτα-βυρίῳ ὅρει. ἀπήντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ὁ Σωσάρης τοῦ βασιλέως κελεύσαντο καὶ στρατεύευσαν τῶν πολεμίων οὐκ ἀπωθεῖν. τοὺς δὲ Ἰσραήλίτας καὶ τὸν Βάρακον καταπλαγέντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν διεγνωκότας ἡ Δαβώρα κατείχε τὴν συμβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι κατ’ ἐκείνην κελεύσαν. τὴν ἡμέραν νικήσων γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ συλλήψεσθαι τὸν θεοῦ.

203 (4) Συνήσεσαν οὖν καὶ προσμεγέντων ὁμβρός ἐπι-γίνεται μέγας καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ χάλαζα, τὸν τε ὑετὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἡλαυνε τῶν Χαναναῖων ἀνέμος ταῖς ὀψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκότων, ὡς τὰς τοξείας ἀχρήστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς σφενδόνας· οἱ τε ὀπλίται διὰ τὸ κρύος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἔφεσιν

1 συναθροίζοντες ἤ ΡΩ.

a Tabor. b Amplification. c Not mentioned in the Biblical narrative of the battle, but derived apparently from the verse in the Song of 92
to take pity on them and not to suffer them to be destroyed by the Canaanites. God thereupon promised them salvation and chose for general Barak of the tribe of Nephthali; barak denotes “lightning” in the tongue of the Hebrews.

(3) Dabora then summoned Barak and charged him to select ten thousand of the youth and to march against the foe: that number would, she said, suffice, God having prescribed it and betokened victory. But Barak declared that he would not take the command unless she shared it with him; whereto she indignantly replied, “Thou resignest to a woman a rank that God has bestowed on thee! Howbeit I do not decline it.” Then, having mustered ten thousand, they pitched their camp on mount Itabyrion. Sisares thereupon went to meet them at the king’s orders and his army encamped not far from their foes. The Israelites and Barak were dismayed at the multitude of the enemy and resolved to retire, but were restrained by Dabora, who ordered them to deliver battle that very day, for they would be victorious and God would lend them aid.

(4) So the forces met, and amidst the clash of arms there came up a great tempest with torrents of rain and hail; and the wind drove the rain in the faces of the Canaanites, obscuring their vision, so that their bows and their slings were of no service to them, and their infantry by reason of the cold could make no use of their swords. But the Israelites fought, “They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera” (Jd. v. 20). To this there are parallels in rabbinic tradition. For a rather similar scene, when the elements aided the enemy of the Jews, cf. B.J. vii. 317 ff. 

Victory of Israel: death of Sisara and Jabin. 
Jd. iv. 15.
206 οὖκ εἶχον. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας ἦττον τε ἔβλαπτε κατόπιν γυνόμενος ὁ χειμών καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ θεοῦ θάρσος ἐλάμβανον, ὡστε εἰς μέσον ὁσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ὑππον παραχθέντες ἔπεσον, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.

207 Συσάρης δὲ καταπηδήσας τοῦ ἁρματος ώς εἴδε τὴν τροπὴν γυνομένην, φυγὼν ἀφικνεῖται παρά τινα τῶν Κενελίδωνγ γυναῖκα, Ἰάλην ὄνομα, ἥ κρύπτια τε ἀξιώσαντα δέχεται καὶ ποτὸν αἰτήσαντι δίδωσι

208 γάλα διεφθορὸς ἑδη. ο δὲ πῶν τοῦ μέτρου δαφιλέστερον εἰς ὑπνὸν τρέπεται. ή δὲ Ἰάλη κοιμωμένου σιδήρεον ἤλων ελάσσα σφύρη κατὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ τοῦ χελωνίου διέπειρε τὸ ἐδαφος καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βάρακον μικρὸν ὑπερον ἐλθοῦσιν

209 ἐπεδείκνυε τῇ γῇ προσηλωμένον. καὶ οὐτως μὲν ή νίκη αὐτῆ περιέστη κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβιδρας εἰρημένα εἰς γυναῖκα. Βάρακος δὲ στρατεύσας ἐτ 'Ἀσωρον Ἰωαβὲων τε ὑπαντάσαντα κτείνει καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος καθελὼν εἰς ἐδαφος τὴν πόλιν στρατηγεῖ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐτ' ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα.

210 (vi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Βαράκου καὶ Δαβιδρας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καυρὸν μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδιανῖται παρακαλέσαντες Ἀμαλκίτας τε καὶ Ἀραβας στρατεύοντον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ μάχη τε νικῶσι τοὺς συμβαλόντας καὶ τὸν καρπὸν δημόσαν—

1 Κενελίδων ed. pr.
2 RO: διὰ τοῦ στόματος κατὰ rell.
3 Ἰαβ(ε)ινον SP(F): Jabin Lat.
ites were less hampered by the storm, which was at their back, and they took courage at the thought of this succour from God; and so, thrusting into the midst of the foe, they slew multitudes of them. Thus, some beneath the hand of the Israelites, others discomfited by their own cavalry, the enemy fell, many being crushed to death beneath the chariots. But Sisares, having leapt from his chariot when he saw that the rout was come, fled till he reached the abode of a woman of the Kenites named Iale; she, at his request to conceal him, took him in, and, when he asked for drink, gave him milk that had turned sour. And he, having drunk thereof immoderately, fell asleep. Then, as he slumbered, Iale took an iron nail and drove it with a hammer through his mouth and jaw, piercing the ground; and when Barak's company arrived soon after she showed him to them nailed to the earth. Thus did this victory redound, as Dabora had foretold, to a woman's glory. But Barak, marching upon Asor, slew Jabin who encountered him and, the general having fallen, razed the city to the ground; he then held command of the Israelites for forty years.

(vi.1) Barak and Dabora having died simultaneously, thereafter the Madianites, calling the Amalekites and Arabians to their aid, marched against the Israelites, defeated in battle all who opposed them, plundered the crops and carried off the cattle. This

c "already corrupt," an amplification of the Biblical text.
d Barak himself, in Jd. iv. 22.
e Jd. iv. 9.
f Or, according to some mss., Joabin.
g Scripture says merely "And the land had rest forty years."
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211 τες τὴν λείαν ἐπήγγευτο· τοῦτο δὲ ποιοῦντων ἐπ' ἐτη ἐπτὰ εἰς τὰ ὀργα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνεστάλη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἐξεχώρουν, ὑπονόμους τε καὶ σπήλαια ποιησάμενοι πάν ὅ τι τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιλαμβάνετε. οἱ γὰρ Μαδιανῖτες κατὰ ὅραν θέρους² στρατεύοντες τὸν χειμώνα γεωργεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπέτρεπον, ὅπως ἔχωσι πεπονηκτῶν αὐτῶν εἰς ἄβλάπτωσιν, λιμοῖς ὅ ἦν καὶ σπάνιος τρόφης καὶ τρέπονται πρὸς ἰκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ σῶζειν αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦντες.

213 (2) Καὶ Γεδεὼν ὁ Ἰάσου παῖς, Μανασσείτης φυλής ἐν ὁλίγοις, δράγματα σταχύων φερόμενοι κρυπτῶς εἰς τὴν λῃστὰν ἐκοπτεὶ τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους ἐδείξεις φανερῶς τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀλώσις. φαντάσματος δὲ αὐτῷ παραστάσιμος νεανίσκου μορφῆ καὶ φήσαντος εὐδαιμονία καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ὑποτυχῶν "τοῦτο γοῦν," ἐφη, "τεκμήριον τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῦ μέγιστον τὸ ³ ληνῷ με νῦν ἀντὶ ἀλώσις χρὴσθαι." θαρσεῖν δὲ παρακελέσαμένου καὶ πειράσθαι τὴν ἔλευσθον ἀνασώζειν, ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἑλεγεν' τὴν τε γὰρ φυλήν ἐξ ἢς ὑπήρχε πλῆθος ὑποτεθεὶν καὶ νέον αὐτῶν εἶναι καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ἀσθενείστερον. δὲ ἦς θεὸς αὐτῶς ἀναπληρώσει τὸ λείπον ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ νῖκην παρέξειν Ἰσραηλίταις αὐτοῦ στρατηγοῦντος.

214 (3) Τοῦτ' οὖν διηγούμενος ὁ Γεδεὼν τισὶ τῶν

1 Niese (cf. xiii. 101); ἐπήγγευτο codd.; ἐπήγγευτο ed. pr.
2 ME Lat.: έτους rell.
3 Zonaras: τῇ codd.
4 πραγμάτων εἴπως MSPL.

² a Bibl. Gideon (lxx Γεδεών) son of Joash (Ἰωᾶς).
³ b Gr. "one of few" (cf. A. ii. 78, iv. 329, v. 276); here perhaps with a connotation of the paucity of numbers of the tribe (§ 214).

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being repeated for seven years, the more part of the Israelites withdrew to the hills and forsook the plains; and, making for themselves underground passages and caverns, they secured therein all that had escaped the enemy. For the Madianites, making their invasions in the height of summer, permitted the Israelites in winter to till the soil, that through their labours they might have somewhat to ravage. So there was famine and dearness of sustenance, and they turned in supplication to God, imploring Him to save them.

(2) Now Gideon, son of Jas, one of the foremost among the tribe of Manasseh, used to bring his sheaves of corn and beat them out secretly in the winepress; for, because of the enemy, he feared to do this openly on the threshing-floor. To him there appeared a spectre in the form of a young man, who pronounced him blessed and beloved of God, whereto he made rejoinder: "Indeed, this is a signal proof of his favour that I am now using a winepress instead of a threshing-floor!" But when his visitor bade him take courage and essay to regain liberty, he replied that this was impossible, seeing that the tribe to which he belonged was lacking in numbers and he himself but young and too feeble for exploits so great. Howbeit God promised Himself to supply what he lacked and to grant victory to the Israelites, should he put himself at their head.  

(3) On recounting this matter to some of his Selection of his army

\footnote{Jd. vi. 15 "Behold, my family (Heb. "thousand") is the poorest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father’s house."

\footnote{Josephus omits Jd. vi. 17-40, comprising (1) the reassuring miracles performed for Gideon, (2) his destruction of the altar of Baal, which earned for him the surname of Jerubbaal.}
νέων ἐπιστεύετο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας ἐτοιμον ἢν τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἀμφότερον ἔπιστάς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοῦς δὲ θεός τῷ Γεδεώνι τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν αὐτῶ φίλαντον οὖσαν ἔδηλου καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῆς διαφέροντας ἀπεχθανομένην, ὅπως τε τὴν νίκην παρέντες τοῦ θεοῦ δοκεῖν νομίσονι 2 ὡς πολὺς στρατὸς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀξιόμαχος. ὥν μάθωσον ὅτι ὑπ' ἕκθειας τῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, ἱσνεβούλευεν περὶ μεσοῦν τῆς ἡμέραν, ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος ὄντος, ἀγείν τῆς στρατιὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς μὲν κατακλυθέντας καὶ οὕτως πίνοντας ἐν- ψύχους ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσοι δ' ἐσπευσμένοις καὶ μετὰ θορύβου πίνοντες τύχοιν τούτον 3 δειλοὺς νομίζειν καὶ καταπεπληγώτας τοὺς πολεμίους. 217 ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Γεδεώνιος κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας τοῦ θεοῦ, τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες εὐρέθησαν ταῖς χεραῖς μετὰ φόβου προσευχῆσαν τοῖς γεραίμενοι τὸ ὦδωρ τεταραγ- μένως, ἐφησε τε δ' θεὸς τούτους ἐπαγόμενον ἑπι- χειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίοις. ἐστρατοπεδεύουσο τὸ ὑπὲρ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου μέλλοντες εἰς τὴς ἐπιοῦσαν περαιοδ- σθαι. 218 (1) Γεδεώνος δ' ἐν φόβῳ καθεστῶτος, καὶ γὰρ νυκτὸς ἑπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ δ' θεὸς προερήκει, τοῦ

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1 στρατόπεδον ROE. 2 Niese: νομίζουσιν codd. 3 (after τούτοις) δὴ (δὲ M) νομίζειν ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῦτο πάσχειν MSP Suidas Glycas.

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a In Jd. vii. 3 the army had already been reduced to 10,000, by the dismissal, under divine orders, of 22,000 who were faint-hearted.

b Amplification (three words).

c Amplification (the hour).
d Or “lay.”
young friends, Gedeon was trusted; and instantly there was an army of 10,000 men ready for the contest. But God, appearing to Gedeon in his sleep, showed to him the proneness of human nature to self-love and the hatred that it bore to those of surpassing merit, and how, far from attributing the victory to God, they would regard it as their own, on the ground that they were a large army and a match for their enemies. In order, therefore, that they might learn that it was His aid that accomplished it, He counselled him towards midday, when the heat was most intense, to march his troops to the river; and then such of them as knelt down to drink, them he should deem the stalwarts, but all who drank hurriedly and with trepidation, these he should rank as cowards and terrified of the foe. Gedeon having then done in accordance with this counsel of God, there were found 300 men who with fear and trembling raised the water in their hands to their lips; and these God bade him take with him to attack the enemy. So they pitched their camp above the Jordan, with intent to cross on the morrow.

(4) But Gedeon being terror-struck, having withal been divinely ordered to attack by night, God, with

\[Jd. \text{ vi. 34; vii. 2 ff.}\]

\[Jd. \text{ vii. 5, 6, is probably that the 300 men who lapped the water with their tongues like dogs were those selected for battle, while those who knelt to drink were rejected. Josephus, taking the lapping to mean drinking “with trepidation,” implies that the 300 were chosen “lest Israel vaunt themselves” (Jd. vii. 2), i.e. God could give victory even to a cowardly army.}\]

\[\text{At En Harod (Jd. vii. 1), site uncertain.}\]


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dεόνσ αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν βουλόμενος κελεύει προσ- 
λαβόντα ἕνα τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλῆσιν χωρεῖν 
tαῖς Μαδιανίτων σκηναῖς· παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκείνων 
219 λήψεσθαι φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος. πεισθεὶς δὲ ἦς 
Φρουράν τὸν έαυτοῦ θεράποντα παραλαβών, καὶ 
πλησιάζας σκηνῆ τινι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ 
ἐγχρηγορότας καὶ τὸν ἔτερον ὅναρ διηγούμενον τῷ 
συσκηνοῦντι, ὡστε ἀκούει τὸν Γεδεώνα. τὸ δὲ 
tοιοῦτον ἦν· μᾶζαν ἔδοκει κριθήνην ὑπ' εὐτελείας 
ἀνθρώπους ἀβρωτον διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κυλιο-
μένην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν καταβαλεῖν καὶ 
220 τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων. ὁ δὲ σημαίνειν 
ολέθρον τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν ὤψιν ἔκρυνε, λέγων ὅθεν 
τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνιδεῖν ἐπήλθε, πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων' 
τὸ καλούμενον κρίθων εὐτελέστατον ὁμολογεῖσθαι 
τυγχάνειν, "τοῦ δ' Ἀσιανοῦ παντὸς τὸ Ἰσραηλιτῶν 
ἐστίν ἰδεῖν ἀτιμότερον νῦν γεγενημένον ὁμοιον δὲ 
221 τῷ κατὰ κριθήν γένει. καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσραη-
λίταις νῦν μεγαλοφρονοῦν τοῦτ' ἂν εἰη Γεδεών καὶ 
tὸ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτικόν. ἐπεί οὐν τὴν μᾶζαν 
φῆς ἰδεῖν τὰς σκηνὰς ἡμῶν ἀνατρέπουσαν, δέδια 
μὴ ὁ θεὸς Γεδεών τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν νίκην ἐπι-
νένευκε." 

222 (3) Γεδεώνα δ' ἀκούσαντα τὸ ὄναρ ἐλπίς ἀγαθῆ 
καὶ θάρσος ἔλαβε, καὶ προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις 
eῖναι τοὺς οἰκείους διηγησάμενοι αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν 
tῶν πολεμίων ὤψιν, οἱ δ' ἐτοιμοὶ πρὸς τὰ παρ-
αγελλόμενα φρονηματισθέντες ὕπο τῶν δεδηλω-
1 conj.: τὰν τὸ σπέρμα codd.
intent to banish his fear, bade him take one of his soldiers and advance close up to the tents of the Madianites, since from the lips of the very foe he would derive courage and confidence. Obediently thereto he went, taking with him his servant Phruras, and, on approaching one of the tents, found that its occupants were awake and that one of them was recounting to his companion a dream, in such fashion that Gedeon could hear it. Now the dream was on this wise: it seemed to him that a barley cake, too vile for man's consumption, came rolling through the camp and struck down the king's tent and those of all his soldiers. His comrade interpreted the vision to betoken the destruction of the army, stating what led him to understand it so: "Of all seeds (he said) that called barley is admitted to be the vilest; and of all Asiatic races that of the Israelites, as may be seen, has now become the most ignominious and like to the nature of barley. And among the Israelites at this moment the high-spirited party can be none but Gedeon and his comrades-in-arms. Since, then, thou sayest that thou sawest that cake overturning our tents, I fear that God has conceded to Gedeon the victory over us."

(5) The hearing of this dream inspired Gedeon with high hopes and confidence, and he commanded his men to be ready in arms, having also recounted to them this vision of the enemy; and they were alert to obey his orders, elated by what they had

* Bibl. Purah, LXX Φαρά (and so the Latin version of Josephus).
μένων ἦσαν. καὶ κατὰ τετάρτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν προσῆγε τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιάν Γεδεὼν εἰς τρία μέρη διελών αὐτὴν, ἐκατὸν ἐκ ἐκάστω. ἐκόμιζον δὲ πάντες ἀμφορέας κενοὺς καὶ λαμπάδας ἡμιένας ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅπως μὴ κατάφωρος τοὺς πολεμίους ἦ ἐφοδιός αὐτῶν γείηται, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κριοῦ

κέρασ· ἔχρωντο δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος. χωρίον δὲ πολὺ κατεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα, πλείστην γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνέβαινε κάμηλον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη νεμηθέντες ὑφ’ εἰνὶ κύκλῳ πάντες.

ἡσαν. οἱ δ’ Ἑβραῖοι, προειρημένοι αὐτοῖς ὅποταν γένωνται πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ συνθήματος σάλπιγξί τε ἡχόσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατεάζαντας ὀρμήσαν μετὰ τῶν λαμπάδων ἀλαλάζαντας καὶ νικάν θεοῦ Γεδεὼν βοηθήσοντος, τούτ' ἐποίη.

ταραχὴ δὲ λαμβάνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐτυ ὑπνοῦντας καὶ δείματα· νυὲ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἠθέλει. ἐκτείνοντο δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ τῇ γλώσσῃ διαφωνεῖν· ἄπαξ δὲ καταστάντες εἰς ταραχὴν πάν τὸ προστυχοῦν ἀνήρρου νομίζοντες εἶναι πολέμιοι, φόνος τε πολὺς ἦν. καὶ φήμης πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραήλ ὑπὸ τῆς Γεδεώνος νύχης ἀφκομένης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν, καὶ διώξαντες λαμβάνοντο τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν κούλῳ τινὶ χαράδραις περιελημμένῳ οὐ δυναμέναις διαπέραναι χωρίον καὶ περιστάντες κτείνοντον ἀπαντάς καὶ δύο τῶν

βασιλέων Ὄρηβον τε καὶ Ζῆβον. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ

1 ROE: στρατόπεδον rell.  2 τὰ om. SP.
3 Niese: προειρημένον codd.
4 Niese: ἡχόσαντες . . . κατεάζαντες . . . ἀλαλάζαντες codd.
been told. Then, at about the fourth watch, Gedeon marched forth his army, which he had divided into three sections, each of an hundred men. They all bore empty pitchers with lighted torches inside them, to prevent the enemy from detecting their approach, and in the right hand a ram's horn, which served for a trumpet. Their enemy's camp covered a large area, for they had a vast camel-corps and were divided according to their nationalities, all being enclosed within one ring. The Hebrews had received orders, on approaching the enemy, at a given signal to sound their trumpets, break their pitchers, and rush forward with their torches and with shouts of battle and "Victory, and God will aid Gedeon!" and even so they did. Confusion and panic seized the hapless creatures yet slumbering; for it was night and God willed it so. Thus were they slain, few indeed by their enemies, the more part by the hands of their allies, by reason of their diversity of languages; and, when once confusion reigned, they killed all that they met, taking them for enemies, and there was a great carnage. A rumour of Gedeon's victory reaching the Israelites, they too were up in arms, and pursuing caught the enemy in a valley encompassed with impassable ravines, and, having surrounded them, slew them all with two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb. The other chiefs,

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* In Jd. vii. 19 they reach the outskirts of the enemy’s camp at “the beginning of the middle watch” (of three watches of 4 hours each from 6 p.m. to 6 a.m., i.e. at about 10 p.m.); Josephus, following the Roman division of the night into four watches of 3 hours each, represents them as leaving their own camp at about 3 a.m.

* This death-trap—the “impassable valley” in which the main body of the enemy is cooped up and annihilated—is a familiar feature of these battle-scenes; cf. § 162.
τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνάγοντες, ἦσαν δὲ ώς μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιου, στρατοπεδεύονται πολὺ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀπωθεν. Γεδεὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύκει ποινῶν, ἀλλὰ διώξας μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ συμβαλῶν ἀπαντᾶς διέφθειρε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἡγεμόνας Ζεβήν καὶ Ζαρμούνην αἰχμαλωτούσας λαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν. ἀπέθανον δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ Μαδιαντῶν τε καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀράβων περὶ μυριάδας ὅδεκα, λεία τε πολλῆς χρυσῆς καὶ ἀργυροῦ καὶ ύφη καὶ κάμηλος καὶ ὑποζύγια λαμβάνεται τοῖς Ἐβραίοις. Γεδεὼν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐφράν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα κτείνει τοὺς τῶν Μαδιαντῶν βασιλέας.

229 (6) 'Ἡ δ᾽ Ἐφράμιδος φυλή τῇ Γεδεὼνος εὔπραγία δυσχεραίνουσα στρατεύειν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν διεγνώκει, τὸ μὴ προαγχείλαι τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῖς τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκαλοῦντες. Γεδεὼν δὲ μέτριος ὦν καὶ πᾶσαν ἁρετὴν ἀκρος, οὕν αὐτὸς ἑλεγεν αὐτοκράτορι χρησάμενος λογισμῷ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσαι χωρίς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελευσαντος. τὴν δὲ νίκην οὐχ ἢττον αὐτῶν ἐφασκεν

230 ἰδίαν ἦ τῶν ἐστρατευκότων εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις παρηγορήσας αὐτῶν τὴν ὄργην τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἐβραίους ὑφέλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων εὔπραξίας. ἐμφυλίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς στάσεως ἀρχεῖν μέλλοντας ἐρρύσατο. τῆς μείντου γε ὑβρεως ταύτης ἡ φυλή δίκην ἐξέτισεν, ἢν δηλώσομεν κατὰ καιρὸν ἰδιον.
urging on their surviving soldiers, numbering some 18,000,\(^a\) encamped when at a great distance from the Israelites. Gedeon, however, had not renounced the struggle, but, following in pursuit with his whole army, joined battle, annihilated the enemy, and brought back as prisoners the remaining chiefs, Zebes and Zarmunes.\(^b\) In the preceding combat there had fallen of the Madianites and of their Arabian comrades-in-arms about 120,000; and abundant booty—gold, silver, woven stuff, camels and beasts of burden—fell to the Hebrews. Gedeon on his return to Ephra,\(^c\) his native place, put the kings of the Madianites to death.

(6) But the tribe of Ephraim, aggrieved at Gedeon's success, now resolved to march against him, complaining that he had not informed them of his proposed assault on the enemy. Gedeon, however, being a man of moderation and a model of every virtue, replied that it was not of himself by an arbitrary decision\(^d\) that he had attacked the foe without them, but by divine command; while the victory, he declared, belonged no less to them than to those who had taken the field. And by these words, with which he pacified their wrath, he did the Hebrews a greater service than by his military success; for he rescued them from civil strife when they were on the brink of it. Howbeit for its insolent attitude this tribe paid a penalty, which we shall relate in due season.\(^e\)

\(^a\) "About 15,000," Jd. viii. 10.
\(^b\) Bibl. Zebah (lxx Zeβēē) and Zalmunna (Zaλμυννά). The mss. of Josephus have various spellings.
\(^c\) Bibl. Ophrah (lxx 'Εφραΐ) or, in some mss., 'Εφρά; Jd. vi. 11.
\(^d\) αὐτοκράτορι λογισμῷ after Thuc. iv. 108.
\(^e\) Cf. § 250.
232 (7) ヘデュν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθεόσαυ boυλόμενος
βιασθεὶς ἐσχεν αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα βρα-
βεέων αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν
ἐπ' αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων κύρια1 πάντα ἢν τὰ ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γαρδός τελευτήσας
ἐν ἊΕφραῖν τῇ πατρίδι θάπτεται.

233 (vii. 1) Παιδεὶς δὲ ἤσαν αὐτῶ γνήσιοι μὲν ἐβδο-
μήκουτα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἐγγεμε γυναίκας, νόθος δ' εἰς
ἐκ παλλακῆς Δρούμας Ἀβιμέλεχος τούνομα, ὃς
μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτῆν ἀναχωρῆσας ἐπὶ2
Σίκυμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς συγγενεῖς, ἐντεῦθεν

234 γὰρ ἢν, καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν * * *3 οἱ
diὰ πλῆθος ἀδικημάτων ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι, ἀφικνεῖτα
σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πατρῶν οἶκον καὶ κτείνει
πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πλὴν Ἡωθάμου. σώζεται
γὰρ οὕτως διαφυγεῖν εὐτυχῆς. Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ
eἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πρᾶγματα μεθίστησι, κύριον αὐτὸν
ὁ τῷ βουλεῖται ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποδείξας
καὶ δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δικαίου προϊσταμένουs
ἐκπικραινόμενος.

235 (2) Καὶ ποτὲ δημοτελοῦσ Σικίμοις οὗτης ἐορτῆς
καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους παντὸς ἐκεῖ συνειδηγοῦν ὁ
ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἡωθάμης, δὲ καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἐφαμεν,
ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ὁρὸς τὸ Γαρεῖς, ὑπέρκειται δὲ
τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως, ἐκβοήσας εἰς ἐπίκοιον τοῦ
πλῆθους ἱσυχίων αὐτῶ παρασχόντος4 ἢσίου μαθεῖν

236 τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. γενομένης δὲ συγῆs

1 Lat.: + τε codd. 2 eis R.O. 3 lacuna indicated by Jd. ix. 4. 4 parassχόντας Weill.

*a His making of an ephod, which “became a snare to Gideon and to his house” (Jd. viii. 27), is omitted.

106
(7) Gedeon then, wishing to resign his command, was constrained to keep it, and continued for forty years to administer justice: men resorted to him concerning their differences, and all his pronouncements had binding weight. He died in ripe old age and was buried at Ephra, his native place.

(vii. 1) Now he had seventy sons born in wedlock (for he married many wives) and by a concubine, Druma, one bastard named Abimelech. This last, after his father's death, withdrew to the family of his mother at Shechem, her native place, and, having obtained money from them (hired certain miscreants), who were notorious for a multitude of crimes, and with them repaired to his father's house and slew all his brethren, save Jotham: this one had the good fortune to escape alive. Abimelech then transformed the government into a tyranny, setting himself up to do whatsoever he pleased in defiance of the laws and showing bitter animosity against the champions of justice.

(2) Now one day when there was a public festival at Shechem and the people were all assembled there, his brother Jotham—the one who, as we said, had escaped—ascended Garizim, the mountain which rises above the city of Shechem, and shouting so as to be heard by the crowd if they would but listen to him quietly, begged them to attend to what he had to say. Silence being established, he told them

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\[ \text{Name not in Scripture. Perhaps it was taken through error from "Aramah," the name of a town where Abimelech dwelt for a time (Jd. ix. 41).} \]

\[ \text{Gr. Sikima (as in most mss. of LXX).} \]

\[ \text{Lacuna in Greek, to be supplied from Jd. ix. 4 "Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, which followed him."} \]

\[ \text{The public festival is not mentioned in Scripture.} \]
JOSEPHUS

εἶπεν, ὡς τὰ δένδρα φωνήν ἀνθρώπειον προϊέμενα συνόδου γενομένης αὐτῶν δείηθείς συκῆς ἁρχεῖν αὐτῶν. ἄρισται μαζεύης δ' ἐκείνης διὰ τὸ τμῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς καρποὺς οὐκείας οὐσίας ἀπολαύειν, οὐχ ὅπερ ἄλλων ἐξωθεῖν προσγιομένης, τὰ δένδρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ ἁρχεῖαν φροντίδος οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, ἔδοκεν 237 δ' αὐτοῖς ἀμπέλου τὴν τμῆς παρασχεῖν. καὶ ἥ ἀμπελοὶ, χειροτονουμένη τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῇ συκῇ χρησμαμένῃ λόγοις παρηγεῖτο τῆς ἁρχῆς. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἔλαιων ποιησμαμένων ράμων, ἐδεήθη γὰρ αὐτῆς ὡστε παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ 238 δένδρα, πυρεία 1 δὲ ἀγαθὴ παρασχεῖν τῶν ἔλαιων ἐστὶν, ὅπως ἡ παρασχεῖν τῇ ἁρχῇ ἀναλήμψηθαι καὶ ἀ- όκνος ἐχειν, δὲν 2 μέντοι συνιώτειν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τὴν σκιάν, εἰ δ' ὀλεθρον ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοίεν, 3 ὑπὸ τοῦ 239 ἐνόντος πυρὸς διαφθάρειν. "ταῦτα δ' οὐ γέλωτος ἐνεκα," φησί, "λέγω," ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκ Γεδεώνος πεπειραμένοι περιορώσων 'Αβμελέχου ἐπὶ τῶν ὄλων ὁποιαὶ πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτῶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκτείναντες, οὐ πυρὸς οὐδὲν διοίσειν. καὶ ο μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπεκώρησε καὶ διητάτο λαλήσανεν ἐν τοῖς ὀρέσι δεδώσε ἐπ' ἐτή τριά τοῦ 'Αβμελέχου. 240 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς ἐφορτῆς οὐ 4 Σικιμίται, μετενόησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς Γεδεώνοις υἱοὶς πεφονευ- μένοις, ἐξελαύνουσι τῶν 'Αβμελέχου τῆς πόλεως καὶ τῆς φυλῆς. δ' δὲ κακοὺν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρώντιζε. τῆς δ' ὥρας τῆς τοῦ τρυγανοῦ γενομένης ἐδείχθαν συλλέγειν τὸν καρπὸν προϊόντες, μὴ τὴ δράση κακῶν 1 πυρία codd. 2 δεί codd. 3 φρονῷ εν codd. 4 om. RO.
how the trees, once gifted with a human voice, held a meeting and besought a fig-tree \(^a\) to rule over them. And when she refused, because she enjoyed the esteem which her fruits brought her, an esteem that was all her own and not conferred from without by others, the trees did not renounce their intention of having a ruler, but thought good to offer this dignity to the vine. And the vine, when so elected, on the same grounds as those of the fig-tree, declined the sovereignty. The olive-trees having done the like, a bramble—since the trees requested it to accept the kingship, and it is good in giving wood for tinder—promised to undertake the office and to act strenuously. However it behoved them all to sit down beneath her shadow, and should they plot her ruin they would be destroyed by the fire within her. "I tell this fable," said Jotham, "not for your \(^b\) merriment, but because notwithstanding the manifold benefits that ye have received from Gedeon ye suffer Abimelech to hold sovereign sway, after aiding him to slay my brethren. Ye will find him in no wise different from a fire." Having spoken thus he absconded and lived in hiding in the hills for three \(^c\) years from fear of Abimelech.

(3) But not long after the festival \(^c\) the Shechemites, repenting of the murder of the sons of Gedeon, expelled Abimelech from their city and from their tribe; and he laid plans for doing the town an injury. So, when the season of vintage was come, they were afraid to go out and gather the fruit, for

\(^a\) In Judges the olive-tree is approached first, then the fig-tree, then the vine.

\(^b\) In the Greek, the Shechemites are not addressed in the second person.

\(^c\) Not in Scripture.
241 Ἀβιμέλεχος εἰς αὐτούς. ἐπιδημήσαντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὸς Γυάλου σὺν ὀπλίταις καὶ συγγενεσί τοῖς αὐτοῖς, φυλακῇ οἱ Σικμύται δέονται παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἐὼς ἄν τρυγήσωσι. προσδεξαμένου δ' ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἄξιωσι προῆσαν καὶ Γυάλης σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγων ὀπλιτικῶν.

242 ο̲̅ τε οὐν καρπὸς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνάγεται καὶ δειπνοῦντες κατὰ συμμορίαν1 φανερῶς ἀπετόλμων ἤδη βλασφημεῖν τὸν 'Αβιμέλεχον, οὶ τε ἄρχοντες ἐνέδρας καταλαμβανόμενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς τῶν 'Αβιμέλέχου συλλαμβάνοντες ἀνήρρουν.

243 (4) Ζάβουλος δὲ τις τῶν Σικμυτῶν ἀρχών, ξένος ὁν 'Αβιμέλεχον, ὥσα παροξύνειν Γυάλης τὸν δήμου πέμπων ἀγγέλους ἐμίπρεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρῆνε λοχᾶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως· πεῖσεν γὰρ Γυάλην ἐξ- ελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνειν ὡστε ἀμύνασθαι· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου διαλλαγάς

244 αὐτῶ μηνηστεύσεσθαι2 πρὸς τὸν δήμον. ο̲̅ τε οὐν 'Αβιμέλεχος ἐκάθισεν ἐνεδρεύσων καὶ ο Γυάλης ἀφυλακτοτέρως διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ Ζάβουλος σὺν αὐτῷ. ιδὼν δὲ ὀπλίτας ἐπιφερο- μένους Γυάλης πρὸς Ζάβουλον ἐλεγεν ἀνδρας

245 αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι καθωπλισομένους, τοῦ δὲ σκιάς εἶναι φαμένου τῶν πετρῶν, πλησίον ἤδη γνομένων τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοῶν οὐ σκιάς ἐλεγε ταύτ' εἶναι, λόγον δ' ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Ζάβουλος "οὐ σὺ μέντοι," φησίν. "'Αβιμέλέχῳ κακίαν ἐπεκάλεσ; τὶ οὖν οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυαι τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος εἰς

246 μάχην αὐτῶ συμβαλῶν;" Γυάλης δὲ θορυβού- μενος συνάπτει τοῖς 'Αβιμέλέχου καὶ πέπτουσι μὲν

1 ex Lat.: συμμορίαν codd.
2 Niese: μηνηστεύσεσθαι codd.
fear that Abimelech would do them some mischief. But on being visited by Gual,\(^a\) one of their chiefs, with a retinue of troops and kinsmen, the Shechem-ites besought him to lend them protection during their vintage. And when he complied with their request, they went forth, accompanied by Gual at the head of his troop. So the fruit was safely gathered in, and while supping in companies they now ventured openly to revile Abimelech; and the chiefs, posting ambuscades about the town, captured and slew many of his followers.

(4) But a certain Zabul,\(^b\) a chieftain of the Shechem-ites and an old friend of Abimelech, sent messengers to report to him how Gual was stirring up the people, and he advised him to lie in wait before the town, since he would induce Gual to sally out against him and it would then rest with Abimelech to avenge himself; that done, he (Zabul) would procure his reconciliation with the townsfolk. So Abimelech sat in ambush, while Gual all too unguardedly tarried in the suburbs, and Zabul with him. Spying some men-at-arms hastening up, Gual said to Zabul that men were upon them in arms. He replied that they were but shadows of the rocks; but on their nearer approach Gual, perceiving them perfectly, told him that these were no shadows but a company of men. Said Zabul, "But wert thou not accusing Abimelech of cowardice? Why then displayest thou not that mighty valour of thine by meeting him in combat?" Thereat Gual, in confusion, closed with Abimelech's men, lost some of his own, and himself

\(^a\) Greek Guales, Bibl. Gaal.
\(^b\) Or, with some mss., "Zebul" (the Biblical name).
JOSEPHUS

τινες τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, φεύγει δ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγόμενος. καὶ Ζάβουλος πολιτεύεται Γυάλην ἐκβληθήναι τῆς πόλεως, κατηγορήσας ὡς μαλακῶς πρὸς τοὺς 'Αβιμελέχου στρατιώτας ἀγωνίαν 247 σαιτο. Ἀβιμελέχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐξελευσομένους αὕθες κατὰ τρύγητον τοὺς Σικυίους ἐνέδρας προλοχίζεται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθόντων ἥ μὲν τρίτη μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλαμβάνει τὰς πύλας ἀφαιρησομένη τὴν εἰσόδου τοὺς πολίτας, οἰ δ' ἄλλοι σκιδναμένους μεταθέουσι, πανταχοῦ τε 248 φόνος ἦν. καὶ κατασκάφας εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν, οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχε πρὸς 1 πολιορκίαν, ἀλας κατὰ τῶν ἐρεπίων σπείρας προῆγε. καὶ Σικυίαι πάντες οὕτως ἀπώλοντο· ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν σκεδασθέντες διέφυγον τὸν κόμων, οὕτοι συλλεγέντες ἐπὶ των πέτραν ὀχυρὰν ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰδρύονται 249 τείχισαν τε ταύτην παρεσκευάζοντο. ἔφθη τε τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν Ἀβιμελέχος μαθὼν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ φακέλους ὕλης ἔηρας περιβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ δι' αὐτοῦ φέρων ταυτά 3 ποιεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεκκελέυσατο. καὶ ταχέως περιληφθείσης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πέτρας, τοῖς ἐξόλους πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν ὅσα τε μᾶλλον ἐξάπτετο φύσιν ἐχει καὶ μεγάστην αἴρουσι φλόγα. καὶ διαφεύγει μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας οὐθείς, ἀλλ' ἀμα γυναῖξι καὶ τέκνοις ἀπώλοντο, ἀνδρεῖς μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους καὶ χιλίους, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἱκανόν. καὶ

1 + τὴν RO.
2 συλλεγέντες . . . ὀχυρὰν] πέτραν ὀχυρὰν εὑρόντες RO.
3 ταυτὸ MSPL.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 246–250

fled to the town with the rest at his heels. Zabul now contrived to secure Gual’s expulsion from the town, charging him with feebleness in his encounter with Abimelech’s troops. However Abimelech, learning that the Shechemites proposed to come out again for the vintage, posted ambuscades all about the town; then, so soon as they emerged, a third of his force occupied the gates to cut off the citizens from re-entering, the rest chased them as they scattered, and there was carnage on all sides. Then, having razed the city to the ground—for it could not sustain a siege—he sowed salt over the ruins and pushed forward. And so perished all the Shechemites. As for such as had scattered across country and escaped that peril, these mustering to a strongly entrenched rock established themselves thereon and were preparing to fortify it with a wall. But they were forestalled by Abimelech, who, hearing of their design, came upon them with his forces and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, carrying them with his own hands and bidding his troops to do the like. The rock being thus quickly encompassed, they set fire to the faggots, flinging in all the most inflammable materials, and raised an immense blaze. From that rock not a soul escaped: they perished with women and children, the men numbering some fifteen hundred, and a great many of the

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* This charge is not mentioned in Scripture.

* The Biblical account is different, mentioning a tower, apparently in an unwalled hamlet of Shechem possessing a temple: Jd. ix. 46 “And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard thereof, they entered into the hold (or ‘crypt’—the word is of uncertain meaning) of the temple of El-berith.”

* “About a thousand men and women,” Jd. ix. 49.
JOSEPHUS

Σικυόμενον μὲν τοιαύτῃ χαρά Σικυόρη Σικυόμενον μὲν τοιαύτῃ χαρά τῇ τῆς επʼ αὐτῇ λύπης γενομένη, πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ δίκην ἐπʼ ἀνδρὸς εὐεργέτου συνθείσι κακῶν τηλικοῦτον.

251 (5) Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ τοῖς Σικυομένοι κακοῖς καταπλήξας τοὺς Ἰσραήλιτας, μειζόνων ἐφιέμενος δῆλος ἢν καὶ μηδαμοῦ περιγράμμων τὴν βίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντως ἀπολέσειν. ἦλαυνεν οὖν ἐπὶ Θῆβας καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν εἰς ἐπιδρομῆς αἴρει, πῦργον δʼ ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλου, εἰς ὅν πάν τὸ πλῆθος συνέφυγε, πολικεῖν τούτου παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὀρμῶντα τῶν πυλῶν γυνὴ θραύσματι μύλῳς βαλόντα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει, πεσὼν δὲ Ἀβιμέλεχος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν παρεκάλει κτείνειν αὐτόν, μὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξειν ἐργον. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίει. δὲ τοιαύτῃ ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς παρανομία ποιήσην ἔξετισε καὶ τῶν εἰς Σικυόμοις αὐτῷ τετολμημένων τούτως δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωσάμου μαντείαν ἡ συμφορὰ συνέπεσε. τὸ μέντοι σὺν Ἀβιμέλεχῳ στράτευμα πεσόντος αὐτοῦ σκεδασθὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα.

252 (6) Τῶν δὲ Ἰσραήλιτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰασίρης ὁ Γαληνής ἐκ τῆς Μανασσέα τοῦ Θηβάν διαταγμένος, αὐτὴ τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδαιμόνια καὶ παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς πεποιημένους τριάκοντα μὲν τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἑπτάεις δὲ ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαληνῆς πόλεως ἀρχὰς ἐγκεκερισμένους. οὕτως δύο καὶ ἐκκοστὰ ἔτη τῆς ἀρχῆς κατασχόν τελευτᾶτο

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a Gideon.
b Bibl. Thebez (lxx Θηβάς), mod. Ὁβάς, some 10 miles N.E. of Shechem.
c Gr. "Galadenian." Josephus omits the judge Tola, to

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Such was the calamity which befell the Shechemites, a calamity too profound for grief, save that it was a righteous doom for the conspirators of so foul a crime against a benefactor.\(^a\)

(5) Abimelech, having terrorized the Israelites by the miserable fate of the Shechemites, let it be seen that he was aspiring higher and would set no bound to his violence until he had exterminated all. So he marched upon Thebes \(^b\) and carried the city with a rush; but finding there a great tower, wherein all the people had taken refuge, he made preparations to besiege it. And then, as he came rushing close beside the gates, a woman hurled a fragment of a millstone and struck him on the head. Prostrated to earth, Abimelech besought his armour-bearer to slay him, lest his death should be deemed the work of this woman; and he obeyed his behest. Such was the penalty paid by Abimelech for the crime that he perpetrated on his brethren and for his outrageous treatment of the Shechemites; and the fate which befell these last fulfilled the prediction of Jotham. Abimelech's army for their part, on the fall of their chief, dispersed and returned to their homes.

(6) The leadership of the Israelites was then taken over by Jair the Gileadite,\(^c\) of the tribe of Manasseh, a man in all ways blessed, and chiefly in his progeny of valiant sons, thirty in number, excellent horsemen, to whom was committed the government of the several cities of Gilead.\(^d\) Their father, after bearing rule for twenty-two years, died in old age

\(^a\) Gr. "Galadene."

\(^b\) Jd. ix. 50.

\(^c\) Jd. x. 3.

\(^d\) Jd. x. 1 f.
γηραιῶς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Καμὼν¹ πόλει τῆς Γαλατηνῆς ἄξιονται.

255 (7) Πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν ἑβραῖων εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ ύβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὑπεφέρετο, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀμμανίται καὶ Παλαιστίνοι στρατῷ μεγάλῳ διήρρεαζον τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν Περαιάν ἀπάσαν κατασχόντας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν λοιπῶν ἦδη κτῆσιν διαβαίνειν ἔτολμων. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ σωφρονισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, εἰς ἱκετείαν ἐτράποντο τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θυσίας ἐπέφερον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν μετρίασάντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέησιν αὐτῶν ὑπαχθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς. ὁ δὲ θεὸς μεταβαλόμενος εἰς τὸ ἥμερωτέρον ἐμελλεν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν.

256 (8) Ἀμμανίτῶν δὲ ἐστρατευκότων ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλανην ὑπήμτων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πρὸς τὸ ὁρὸς δεόμενοι τοῦ στρατηγήσοντος. ἦν δὲ τις Ἰέθθας ἀνήρ διὰ τὴν πατρίων ἀρετὴν δυνατός καὶ δι’ οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ στρατιῶν ἦν ἐτρεθεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρως. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν πέμψαντες ἦξιον αὐτὸν συμμαχεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παρασχεῖν εἰς ἀπαντ’ αὐτῶ τὸν χρόνον τῆς ἡδίαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ’ οὖ προσίεται τῆς παράκλησις αὐτῶν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν στρατιῶν ἦν ἐτρεθεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρως εἰς ἀπαντ’ αὐτῶ τοῖς ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ’ οὖ προσίεται τῆς παράκλησις αὐτῶν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν στρατιῶν ἦν ἐτρεθεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρως εἰς ἀπαντ’ αὐτῶ τοῖς ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ’ οὖ προσίεται τῆς παράκλησις αὐτῶν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν στρατιῶν ἦν ἐτρεθεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρως εἰς ἀπαντ’ αὐτῶ τοῖς ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν.

258 αὐτῶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀδικουμένως περιφανῶς οὐ γὰρ ὄντα δομομήτριον αὐτοῦ ἀλλὰ ἕξενον περὶ τὴν μητέρα δι’ ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπαχθέασαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, ἐξέβαλον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας. καὶ ὁ μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Γα-

¹ Καλαμών RO.

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² Perhaps modern Kumeim, some 7 miles S.E. of Gadara.

³ The introduction of the Philistines as invaders (along with the Ammonites) from the east is strange and has been
and received honoured burial at Kamon, a city of Gilead.

(7) But everything with the Hebrews was now drifting towards disorder and contempt of God and of the laws; so, holding them in disdain, the Ammonites and Philistines with a large army ravaged their country and, after occupying all Peraea, made bold to cross the river for the further conquest of the rest. But the Hebrews, sobered by their afflictions, turned in supplication to God and offered sacrifices, beseeching Him to be considerate and, yielding to their prayers, to desist from wrath. And God, moved to milder action, was now to succour them.

(8) When the Ammanites had invaded Gilead, the people of the country, preparing to meet them, mustered in the hills, lacking a leader to take command. Now there was one Jephthah, a mighty man by reason of the valour of his forefathers as also of his own troop of mercenaries which he maintained himself. To him then they sent, begging him to support them and promising to confer his command upon him for all time. But he declined their request, reproaching them for not having aided him when he was flagrantly wronged by his brethren. For, because he was not their full brother but unconnected on his mother’s side, who had been inflicted upon them by their father through his amorous desire, they had cast him out, scorning his helplessness; and so he was living in the region called Galaditis, thought to be due to some confusion in the Biblical text (Jd. x. 7).

‘Modern Transjordania.

Gr. Jephthas (or Japhthas).

Bibl. (more precisely) “in the land of Tob” (Jd. xi. 3).
λαδίτιδι καλουμένη χώρα πάντας τοὺς ὀποθένοιν παραγνωμένους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μυθῶ δεχόμενοι· ἐκλεπτάρησάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσάντων εἰς ἕα παρέξεων αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐστράτευε.

261 (9) Καὶ ποιησάμενος ὄξειαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν πόλει Μασσαθῆ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν πρεσβείαν πέμπει παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμανίτην αὐτιώμενος τῆς ἀλώσεως. οὐδὲ ἀντιπέμψας ἐγκαλοῦσα χάριν τε μάλλον τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὀφείλοντοι παρεθείσης, δυνατὸν γὰρ Μωυσῆ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν1 παραχωρεῖν τε ἰδίας εἰπῶν γῆς, ἣν θεοῦ κατακτησαμένου μετὰ τριακόσια ἑτη νέμονται, μαχεῖσθαι2 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφησεν.

262 οὕσης ἀρχήθην. ἀποκρινάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰέβθας, ὡς οὔτε τῆς Ἀμοραίας τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν εὐλόγως ἐγκαλοῦσι χάριν τε μάλλον τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὀφείλοντοι παρεθείσης, δυνατὸν γὰρ Μωυσῆ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν1 παραχωρεῖν τε ἰδίας εἰπῶν γῆς, ἣν θεοῦ κατακτησαμένου μετὰ τριακόσια ἑτη νέμονται, μαχεῖσθαι2 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφησεν.

263 (10) Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἶπὼν ἀπελυσεν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐξάμενος νίκην καὶ θυσιάσεων ύποσχόμενος, ἄν σώς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα ὑποστρέψη, καὶ πάν τι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συντύχοι ἱερουργήσεων, συμβαλὼν τε νικα παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φονεύων ἐδιώκε μέχρι πόλεως Μανιάθης, καὶ διὰ βάσας εἰς τὴν Ἀμμανίτων πόλεις τε ἡφάνισε πολλὰς καὶ λείαν ἡλαιε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους δουλείας ἀπῆλλαξεν ἐν ἑτεσιν ὁκτωκαὶδέκα ταύτην ύπομείναυτας. ἀνα-

1 Niese indicates a lacuna.
2 ex Lat.: μάχεσθαι codd.

a Bibl. Mizpah (I.xx Μασσαθῆ) : site uncertain.
b "Amoraea" is the country north of the river Arnon.
Cf. A. iv. 83. The Ammonite country is further north.
ing all who resorted to him from whencesoever and paying them wages. However, when the Hebrews made earnest entreaty and swore to confer the command upon him for ever, he took the field.

(9) Having promptly taken charge of affairs and installed the army in the city of Masphath(e), a he sent an embassy to the Ammanite to remonstrate with him on his raid. That monarch sent a counter embassy, reproaching the Israelites for their exodus from Egypt and requiring them to quit Amoraea, b as the primeval heritage of his forefathers. Whereeto Jephthah replied that the enemy had no just grievance against his people's ancestors on the subject of Amoraea and ought rather to be grateful to them for having left them Ammanitis, which Moses might have taken to boot; and, bidding him quit that land c of theirs which God had won for them and of which three hundred years later they were in possession, he declared that he would battle with them.

(10) With these words he dismissed the envoys. Then, after praying d for victory and promising to sacrifice, should he return to his home unscathed, and to offer up the first creature that should meet him, he closed with the enemy, defeated them outright, and massacring pursued them up to the city of Maniath(e) e; then, crossing into Ammanitis, he destroyed many cities, carried off spoil, and delivered his countrymen from a servitude which they had borne for eighteen years. But on returning x. s. with its capital at Rabatha (Bibl. Rabbah) on the river Jabbok. Cf. A. iv. 98.

c Text a little uncertain: possibly "saying that he would (not) quit that land" (Weill).

d Or "making vows."

e Bibl. Minnith (Jd. xi. 33): site unknown.

v. 260–264
στρέφων δὲ συμφορά περιπίπτει κατ' ούδεν ὁμοία τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῶν· ὑπήντησε γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῶν, μονογενὴς δ' ἦν, ἔτι παρθένος. ὦ δὲ ἀνοιμω-ξας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πάθους, κατεμέμφετο τῆς περὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν σπουδῆς τὴν θυγατέρα· καθ' 265 ιερώσατο γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ. τῇ δὲ τὸ συμβησόμενον οὐκ ἀνήδως προσέπεσεν, ἐπὶ νύκῃ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τεθνηξομένη, παρεκάλεσε δὲ δύο μήνας αὐτῇ παρασχόντα πρὸς τὸ μετὰ τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθρηνήσαι τὴν νεότητα, τότε ποιεῖν 266 τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχήν. συγχωρήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν προειρημένον χρόνον μετὰ τοῦτον διελθόντα ὦσας τὴν παίδα ὀλοκαύτωσεν, οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θυσίαν ἑπιτελών, μὴ διαβασανίσας τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ γενησόμενον οἶνον τε τὸ 1 πραχθὲν δόξει τοῖς ἀκούσασι.

267 (11) Τῆς δ' Ἐφράμου φυλῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρα-τευσάσης, ὅτι μὴ κοινώσασι τὴν ἐπ' Ἀμμανίτας ἐλασίαν 3 αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνος καὶ τὴν λειαν ἔχου καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δόξαν, πρῶτον μὲν ἐλεγεν, ὡς οὔτε λάθοιεν αὐτοῖς οὐ συγγενεῖς πολε-μούμενοι καλοῦμενοι τε πρὸς συμμαχίαν οὐ παρ-εγένοντο, δέον καὶ πρὸ δεήσεως ἑγνωκότας ἐπειχθῇ- 268 ναι, ἐπειδ' ὡς ἄδικα πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐ τολμήσαντες εἰς χειρὰς ἐλθείν, ἐπὶ δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ὀρμηκότες· ἦπειλε τε σὺν τῷ θεῷ λήψεσθαι δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐν μὴ σωφρονώσων. 269 ὡς δ' οὐκ ἐπειδὲν, ἀλλὰ συνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσι

1 τε τὸ [τε or τὸ codd.]

2 R: Ἐφράμου (-αίμου) rell.

3 ἐλασία RO.

* Phraseology based on Thuc. iii. 113. 3.

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he fell foul of a calamity far different from these fair achievements; for it was his daughter who met him, his only daughter, a virgin yet. Wailing in anguish at the greatness of the blow, the father chid his daughter for her haste in meeting him, seeing that he had dedicated her to God. But she without displeasure learnt her destiny, to wit that she must die in return for her father’s victory and the liberation of her fellow-citizens; she but asked him to grant her two months wherein to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens, and thereafter he should do in accordance with his vow. He accorded her the respite aforesaid, and at its close sacrificed his child as a burnt-offering—a sacrifice neither sanctioned by the law nor well-pleasing to God; for he had not by reflection probed what might befall or in what aspect the deed would appear to them that heard of it.

(11) The tribe of Ephraim now took arms against him, because he had not imparted the news of his expedition against the Ammanites to them, but had reserved to himself alone the booty and the glory of the achievement. Thereto he replied first that they were not unaware that their kinsfolk were beset and that when called upon for aid they had not come, whereas they ought, even before being asked, to have learnt of the matter and sped to arms; next that this was an iniquitous enterprise of theirs, after not having dared to face the foe, to rush upon their kinsmen; and he threatened, God helping, to be avenged on them unless they showed themselves reasonable. Failing, however, to influence them, he met them, when they came, with an army

b The rash vow is stigmatized in Rabbinical tradition (Weill, quoting Genesis Rabba, lx.).
Josephus

metà στρατιάς, ὅ μετάπεμπτος ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἠληλύθει, φόνον τε πολίν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο καὶ διώκων τραπέντας προλαβὼν μέρει τινὶ προαπεσταλμένω τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τῶς διαβάσεις κτείνει περὶ δισχίλιοι καὶ τετρακισμυρίους γεγονότας.

270 (12) Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρξας ἐξ ἔτη τελευτᾷ καὶ θάπτεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι Σεβέη; τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς δ’ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ.

271 (13) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰάφθα τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀψάνης παραλαμβάνει φυλῆς ὁ Ἰουδαϊκής Βηθλέμων δὲ πόλεως. τοῦτω δὲ παίδες ἦσαν ἐξήκοντα, τράκοντα μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ θυγατέρες, οὐς καὶ πάντας ξώντας κατέλιπε τὰς μὲν ἀνδράσιν ἐκδοὺς τοῖς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰγμένοις. πράξας δ’ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ἐπταετεὶ γενομένῳ χρόνῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον γηραιὸς ὃν ἀπέθανε καὶ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυγχάνει.

272 (14) Ἀψάνους δ’ οὖτως ἀποθανόντος οὐδ’ ὁ μετ’ αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἡλων’ ἐπ’ ἔτη δέκα κατασχόν αὐτῶν φυλῆς ὃν τῆς Ζαβούλης ἐπραξέ τι σπουδῆς ἂξιον.

273 (15) Ἀβδών δὲ Ἡλωνος παῖς φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραίμιτδος πόλεως δὲ τῆς Φαρασσιτῶν γεγονός, αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμόνων ἀποδειχθεῖς μετ’ Ἡλωνα μόνης αὐ τῆς εὐπαιδίας μονημονευθείη, μηδὲν ἔργον διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἀδειαν τῶν πραγμάτων λαμπρον μηδ’ αὐτῶς ἐργασάμενος.2

274 οὕεις δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ πεσσαράκοντα καὶ τούτων

1 Hilonis Lat. 2 ROML: εἰργασάμενος SP.

a Josephus omits the details in Jd. xii. 5-6 on the detection of the fleeing Ephraimites by their pronunciation of "shib-..."
which he had recalled from Gilead, worked great havoc among them, and pursuing the fugitives, having sent a party in advance to occupy the fords of the Jordan, slew in all some two and forty thousand.a

(12) After ruling for six years he died and was buried at his native place of Sebee, in the land of Gilead.

(13) Upon the death of Jephthah, the rulership passed to Apsanes of the tribe of Judah and the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty sons and as many daughters, all of whom he left alive at his death, after bestowing wives and husbands upon all. Having achieved in his seven years of office nothing worthy of record and remembrance, he died in old age and was buried at his native place.

(14) Apsanes having thus died, his successor, Elon of the tribe of Zabulon, held the leadership for ten years and likewise did nothing of moment.

(15) Abdon, son of Elon, of the tribe of Ephraim and the city of Pharathon, who was appointed sovereign leader after Elon, calls for no mention save for his happy paternity, since, thanks to the prevailing peace and security of the state, he too did no brilliant deed. But he had forty sons and, born boleth "as "sibboleth,"
probably because the difference in sound could not have been made clear to Greek readers.

b The Heb. of Jd. xii. 7 "in the cities of Gilead" is corrupt: read probably "in his city, in Mizpah of Gilead." The loss of the M in Mizpah produced the reading found in some mss. of the LXX, ἐν Σεφέ (ἐν Σεφ), and through further corruption the name Sebee in Josephus.

c Bibl. Ibzan. d Amplification (as in § 274).

275 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τούτον Παλαιστῖνοι τελευτήσαντα κρατοῦσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ φόρουσι παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον ἐπ’ ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα. ταύτης δ’ ἐλευθεροῦνται τῆς ἀνάγκης τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ.

276 (2) Μανώχης τις Δανιτῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἀριστοῖς καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁμολογομένως πρῶτος εἰχε γύναιν ἐπ’ εὐμορφία περιβλέπτον καὶ τῶν καθ’ αὐτὸ διαφέρον. παίδων δ’ οὐ γυνομένων αὐτῶ, δυσ-φορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαιδίᾳ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον συνεχῶς φοιτῶν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δούναι διαδοχήν αὐτοῖς γνησίαν μέγα δὲ ἔστη 277 τούτω τὸν πεδίον. ἦν δὲ καὶ μανιώδης ὑπ’ ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικί καὶ διὰ τούτο ζηλότυπος ἀκρατῶς. μανωθείση δὲ τῇ γυναικί φάντασμα ἐπιφαίνεται, ἀγγελος4 τοῦ θεοῦ, νεανία καλῷ παραπλήσιον καὶ μεγάλῳ, εὐαγγελιζόμενον αὐτῇ παίδος γονὴν κατὰ θεοῦ πρό νοι αναλοῦ τε καὶ ῥώμην ἐπιφανοῦς, υφ’ 278 δ’ πονήσει Παλαιστῖνους ἀνδρομένους. παρήνει τε τὰς κόμας αὐτῶ μὴ ἀποκείμενος ἔσται δ’ αὐτῶ

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1 Text doubtful: et alios ex eorum semine descendentes Lat.
2 ὁμολογομένως codd.
3 conj.: om. codd.
4 MSPLEx: τοῦ θεοῦ ἀστέρος RO.

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a Bibl. “rode on ass colts.”
b Bibl. “He judged Israel eight years.”
c Bibl. Manoah (lxx Μανω) : Josephus indifferently Manoches and Manochos.
of these, thirty grandsons, and was wont to ride with this family of seventy, all excellent horsemen; he left them all in the land of the living when he died in old age and was buried in state at Pharaoh.

(viii. 1) After his death the Philistines conquered the Israelites and exacted tribute from them for forty years. From these straits they were delivered on this wise.

(2) A certain Manoch, among the most notable of the Danites and without question the first in his native place, had a wife remarkable for her beauty and pre-eminent among the women of her time. But having no children by her and being distressed at the lack of them, he was wont, on his frequent visits with his wife to the outskirts—where there was a great plain—to entreat God to give them offspring of their wedlock. He was moreover madly enamoured of his wife and hence inordinately jealous. Now once when his wife was alone, a spectre appeared to her from God, in the likeness of a comely and tall youth, bringing her the good news of the approaching birth of a son through God's good providence—a son goodly and illustrious for strength, by whom, on his reaching man's estate, the Philistines would be afflicted. He further charged her not to cut the lad's locks, and that he was to renounce

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\(^a\) Unscriptural topographical details.

\(^b\) Gr. "a legitimate succession."

\(^c\) The husband's jealousy and subsequent suspicions are unscriptural. Rabbinical legend attributes his complaints to his wife's barrenness, not to her beauty. For the quarrel between husband and wife cf. Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*, cap. xlii. (tr. M. R. James).

\(^d\) Or (with most mss.) "an angel of God."
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πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν πάντων ἀποστροφή τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ προστάσσοντος, πρὸς γὰρ δὲ μόνον οἰκείω-της, καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὠχέτο, κατὰ βούλησιν ἔλθων τοῦ θεοῦ.

279 (3) Ἡ δὲ τάνδρι παραγενομένω τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἄγγελου ἐκδηγήσατο ἐκθαμμάζουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐκείνων ἐκ τῶν ἐπαύων εἰς ἐκπλήξιν κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν περιστήναι καὶ υπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοιούτου πάθους κινομένην.

280 ἡ δὲ βουλομένη τὴν ἀλογον τάνδρος λύπην σταλήναι τὸν θεόν ἵκετευε πάλιν πέμψαι τὸν ἄγγελον, ὡς ἃν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ὀραθεῖ. καὶ παραγόνεται πάλιν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος ὄντων ἐν τῷ προστείῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεμονωμένη. ἡ δ' ἐπιμείναι δεθείσα ἐσεὶ 2 ἃν ἄγάγη 3 τὸν ἀνδρα συγχωρήσαντος μετειπ τὸν

281 Μάνωχον. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος οὐδ' οὔτως ἐπαύετο τῆς ὑπονοίας ἤξιον τε καὶ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ὡς καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηνύσειν. ἀρκέσεων δὲ φράσαντος ταύτην μονὴν εἰδέναι, τῆς εἰς λέγειν ἐκέλευν, ἢν τὸν παιδὸς γενομένου χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεάν παρά-

282 σχωσι. τοῦ δὲ μηδὲ τινων 4 αὐτῷ δεῖσθαι φήσαντος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ χρείαν ταῦτα εὐαγγελίσασθαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς γονῆς, τοῦ δὲ μείναι παρακαλούντος καὶ ἠξιόν παρασκευὴ ποὺ ἐπένευσ', ἐπείσθη 5 δ' ὅμως λιπαροῦντος ἐπιμείναι ὡς ἃν ξένων αὐτῷ τι

1 πάν om. ROE.
2 Lat. donec: ὡς codd.
3 L: ἀγάγῃ rell.
4 horum Lat.
5 Niese ex Lat.: πείσθείς codd.

a In Jd. xiii. 8 it is Manoah who asks for a further vision of the angel.
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all other form of drink (so God commanded) and to accustom himself to water only. And having thus spoken the visitor departed, having come but to execute God's will.

(3) The woman, when her husband arrived, reported what she had heard from the angel, extolling the young man's comeliness and stature in such wise that he in his jealousy was driven by these praises to distraction and to conceive the suspicions that such passion arouses. But she, wishing to allay her husband's unreasonable distress, entreated God to send the angel again that her husband also might see him. And again by the grace of God the angel came, while they were in the suburb, and appeared to the woman when parted from her husband. She besought him to stay until she could fetch her husband and, obtaining his assent, went in pursuit of Manoch. But the husband, on beholding the angel, even then did not desist from his suspicion, and he requested him to repeat to him too all that he had revealed to his wife. The angel having declared that it would suffice that it should be made known to her alone, Manoch bade him say who he was, in order that on the birth of the child they might tender him their thanks and make him a present. He replied that he had need of naught, for it was not from want that he had announced this good news of the birth of a child; and though Manoch invited him to stay and partake of hospitality, he consented not. Howbeit, at his earnest entreaty, he was persuaded to remain that some token of hospitality might be brought to him. So,

\[b\] Bibl. "as she sat in the field."
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283 κομίσῃ. καὶ θύσαντος ἔριφον τοῦ Μανώχου καὶ τοῦτον ὅππαν τῇ γυναικὶ κελεύσαντος, ἔπει πάντ᾽ ἢν εὐτρεπῆ, προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἀποθέοσθαι τοὺς τε ἁρτους καὶ τὰ κρέα χωρίς τῶν ἁγγείων. 284 και ποιησάντων ἀπέτειν τῇ ῥάβδῳ ἢ εἰς τῶν κρεῶν, τὰ δὲ λάμψαντος πυρὸς ἀμα τοῖς ἁρτους ἐκαίετο καὶ ὁ ἁγγελὸς διὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ ἄστερ ὀχύματος ἀνών εἰς οὐρανον αὐτοῖς φανερὸς ἦν. Μανώχην δὲ φοβούμενον, μὴ τι σφαλείνι αὐτοίς ἐκ τῆς ὑψεως τοῦ θεοῦ γενήσοτο, θαρσεῖν ἢ γυνὴ παρεκελεύτη: ἐπὶ γὰρ συμφέροντι τοῦ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ὁραθήναι.

285 (4) Καὶ κύει τε ἐκείνῃ καὶ φυλακὴν εἰς τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ γενὸμενον τὸ παιδίων Σαμψώνα καλοῦσιν, ἀσχυρὸν δ᾽ ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ἡμέτερο δ᾽ ὁ παῖς ὀρθῶς καὶ δήλος ἢν προφητεύσων ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τῆς δίαιταν σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέσεως.

286 (5) Ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γονέων εἰς Θάμνα¹ πόλιν τῶν Παλαιστίνων πανηγύρεως ἁγομένης ἐρα μαθείων τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρακαλεῖ τε τοὺς γονεῖς ἠγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῶ τὴν κόρην. τῶν δὲ ἠρνομένων διὰ τὸ μὴ ὠμόφυλον εἰναι, τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ Ἐβραίων σύμφορον ἐπινοοῦντος τῶν γάμον,

¹ v.l. Θαμνᾶ (as also in § 296).

a The angel’s directions are unscriptural: “apart from (χωρίς) the vessels” possibly has some connexion with the strange reading in some LXX mss. καὶ διεχώρισεν ποιήσαι (Jd. xiii. 19).
b So Ps.-Philo, Biblical Antiquities, xlii. (tr. M. R. James) “the angel put forth (his hand) and touched it with the end of his sceptre.”

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Manoch having killed a kid and bidden his wife to cook it, when all was ready, the angel ordered them to set out the loaves and the meat upon the rock, without the vessels. That done, he with the rod which he held touched the meat and, a fire blazing out, it was consumed along with the bread, while the angel, borne on the smoke as on a chariot, was plainly seen by them ascending into heaven. Manoch thereat fearing that some mischief might befall them from this vision of God, his wife bade him take heart, since it was for their good that it had been given them to see God.

(4) And the woman conceived and paid good heed to the injunctions laid upon her; and when the infant was born they called him Samson, a name which means "strong." And the child grew apace and it was plain from the frugality of his diet and his loosely flowing locks that he was to be a prophet.

(5) Now the lad having gone with his parents to Thamna, a town of the Philistines, during the celebration of a festival, became enamoured of a maiden of the country and begged his parents to get the damsels for him to wife. They were for refusing because she was not of their race: God, however, was designing this marriage in the interests of the Birth of Samson. Jd. xiii. 24. His courtship and encounter with a lion. Jd. xiv. 1.

One of the author's loose etymological statements. The connexion of the name (Heb. Shimshon: Gr. Ζαυξών) with the Hebrew shemesh (="sun") "may be considered certain" (Burney). But Josephus may have had in mind biblical passages in which the sun symbolizes strength. The Bab. Talmud (Sotah 10a) says, "Samson received a name applied to God, for Scripture says (Ps. lxxxiv. 12) 'A sun and shield is the Lord God.'"

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Heb. Timnah, lxx Θαυμαθά, modern Tihneh: a border town in the Shephelah held at various times by Dan, Judah and the Philistines.
287 ἐκινήκα μνηστεύονται τήν παρθένον. συνεχῶς δ’ ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς συντυγχάνει λέοντι καὶ γυμνός ὡν ἐκδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἀγχει ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ θυλώδες ἐνδοτέρῳ τῆς ὀδοὶ ῥίπτει τὸ θηρίον.

288 (6) Πάλιν τε ἀπὸν πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἐπιτυγχάνει σμήνει μελιττῶν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἐκείνου νενοσσευκτῶν, καὶ ἄνελόμενος τρία μέλιτος κηρία σὺν τοῖς λουποῖς δώροις οἷς ἐκόμιζε δίδωσι τῇ 289 παιδί. τῶν δὲ Θαμνίτων παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν τῆς τῶν γάμων, εἴστια γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀπαντᾷ, διὰ δέος τῆς ἵσχυος τοῦ νεανίσκου τράκοντα δόντων αὐτῶν τοὺς ἄκμιαστάτους λόγῳ μὲν ἐταῖρους ἐσομένους ἔργῳ δὲ φύλακας, μῆτὶ τι παρακινεῖ ἐθελήσειν, τοῦ πότου προβάντως καὶ παιδιὰς οὕσης, οἷα φιλεῖ παρὰ τοὺς τοιούτους καιρούς, ο Ὁσμψῶν εἶπεν,
290 "ἀλλὰ προβάλλοντος ἐμοῦ λόγῳ εἰ λύσετε τούτον ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἐπτα ποιοῦμεν τὴν ζήτησιν, οὐδόνας τε καὶ στολὰς γέρας τῆς συνέσεως κατ’ ἄνδρα ἐκαστον φέρεσθε παρ’ ἐμοῦ." φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ ὅμων τε συνετῶν δόξαν καὶ κέρδος εὐρασθαί καὶ λέγειν ἀξιοῦντων, φησιν ὅτι τὸ πάμβορον γεγενήκοι βορᾶν ἥδειαν εἴς αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνω ἁγιός ὄντος.
291 τῶν δ’ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὡς δυναμένων ἐξευρεῖν τὸ νοοῦμεν παρακαλοῦντων δὲ τὴν κόρην μαθοῦσιν παρά τοῦ ἄνδρος αὐτοῖς μηνύοσαν, καὶ γὰρ ἥπειλον πιμηρῆσειν αὐτὴν τοῦτο μῆ παρασχοῦσαν, ὁ Ὁσμψῶν δεομένης τῆς κόρης εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

1 εἰς τι χωρίον SPL.
2 εἰς τρεῖς ἡμέρας RO.

a Gr. "within" or "on the inner side of."
6 Amplification, like other details in this narrative.
Hebrews, and so he won his way to woo the maid. In the course of his constant visits to her parents he encountered a lion and, unarmed as he was, grappled with it, strangled it with his hands, and flung the beast into the coppice on the border of the road.

(6) On another of his journeys to the damsel he came upon a swarm of bees that had hived in that lion’s breast, and, taking three honeycombs, he gave them, along with the rest of the gifts which he bore, to the maiden. Now the Thamnites, on the occasion of the wedding feast—for he entertained them all—from fear of this young man’s strength, presented him with thirty of their chief stalwarts, ostensibly as companions, in reality as his guardians, lest he should be minded to create any disturbance; and, when the drinking was far gone and joviality prevailed, as is customary on such occasions, Samson said, “Come, I will propound a riddle, and if ye solve it after seven days’ search, ye shall receive every man from me fine linen and apparel as a reward for your sagacity.” Ambitious to win at once a renown for sagacity and a prize, they begged him to state it, whereupon he said: “The omnivorous eater produced pleasant meat from himself though grossly unpleasant.” When the Philistines at the end of three days were unable to discover what it meant, they urged the damsel to find out from her husband and report to them: nay, they threatened to burn her should she fail to do so. Samson, upon the damsel’s entreating him to tell her, at

\[\text{His riddle} \text{\quad Jd. xiv. 8.}\]

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292 ἀντείχειν, ἡ γνωριμία τε, καὶ εἰς δάκρυα προ-
ποτοῦσας καὶ τεκμήριον τιθεμένης τῆς πρὸς
αὐτὴν δυσοίας τὸ μὴ λέγειν αὐτῇ, μηνύει τὰ περὶ
tὴν ἀναίρεσαν αὐτῇ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ως τὰ τρία
βασανάσας ἐξ αὐτοῦ κηρία μέλιτος γεγονότα κομί-
σειν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑφορώμενος δολερὸν
σημαίνει τὸ πᾶν, ἡ δ' ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον τοῖς δει-
θείσι. κατὰ οὖν τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, καθ' ἤν ἐδεί
tὸν προβληθέντα λόγον αὐτῷ διασαφείν, πρὶν ἡ
dύνη τὸν ἦλιον συνελθόντες φασιν "οὕτε λέοντος
ἀγδέστερον τι τοῖς ἐνυγχάνουσιν οὕτε ἤδιον
μέλιτος χρωμένους." καὶ ὁ Σαμψῶν εἶπεν οὐδὲ
gνωκός εἶναι τι δολερότερον, "ήτις ἤμιθ ἐκφέρει
tὸν ἠμέτερον λόγον." κακεύνοις μὲν δίδωσιν ἃ
ὑπέσχετο λείαν ποησάμενον Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τοὺς
cατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν αὐτῶν συνυχόντας, Παλαιστίνων δ'
eἰσὶ καὶ οὕτω, τῶν δὲ γάμου ἐκείνου παρατεῖται
καὶ ἡ παις ἐκφαυλίσασα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτοῦ συνῆν
αὐτοῦ φίλῳ νυμφοστόλῳ γεγονότι.

295 (7) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὑβρίν ταύτην Σαμψῶν παρ-
οξυνθεὶς ἀπαντᾷ ἔγνων σὺν αὐτῇ Παλαιστίνων
μετέρχεσθαι. θέρους δ' οὖν καὶ πρὸς ἄμητον
ηδὴ τῶν καρπῶν ἀκμαζόντων συλλαβῶν τριακοσίας
ἀλώπεκας καὶ τῶν ὀφρῶν ἔξαψας λαμμάδας ἡμ-
μένας ἔξαφίησαν εἰς τὰς ἀροῦρας τῶν Παλαιστίνων.
296 καὶ φθείρεται μὲν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὁ καρπός, Παλαι-
σίνων δὲ γνώντες Σαμψῶνος εἶναι τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὴν
αἰτίαν δι' ἤν ἐπραξε, πέμψαντες τοὺς ἀρχοντας εἰς

1 ἀντέχειν ἐπειράτο ῬΩ.
2 ἐπαφίησιν Ε: ἀφίησιν ῬΩ.

a Bibli. "If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle," Jd. xiv. 18.

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first resisted, but, when she pressed him and burst into tears and protested that his refusal to tell her proved his want of affection for her, he revealed the story of the slaying of the lion and how he had carried off the three honeycombs sprung from its carcase and brought them to her. Suspecting no fraud he recounted all, but she betrayed his story to her questioners. So on the seventh day, whereon they were required to give him the answer to the riddle, assembling before sunset they announced, “Nothing is more unpleasant to meet than a lion nor more pleasant to taste than honey.” And Samson added, “Nor is ought more deceitful than a woman who betrays our speech to you.” a And he gave them what he had promised, after despoiling certain Ascalonites who encountered him on the road (these too being Philistines); but he renounced those nuptials, and the girl, scorning him for his wrath, was united to that friend of his who had given her away. b

(7) Furious at this affront, c Samson resolved to visit it upon all the Philistines along with her. So, summer being come and the crops already ripening for harvest, he caught three hundred foxes and, fastening lighted torches to their tails, let them loose in the fields of the Philistines; and thus their crop was ruined. But the Philistines, on discovering that this was Samson’s deed and for what cause he had done it, sent their magistrates to Thamna and burnt

b Or “who had been his best man.” The Biblical narrative refers to “the friend of the bridegroom” (John iii. 29).

c Josephus omits Samson’s interview with his former father-in-law which provoked this outbreak, Jd. xv. 1 f.
Θάμνα, τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῦ γυναίκα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ζῶντας κατεπρήσαν ὡς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγονότας.

297 (8) Σαμψών δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἀποκτείνας Λιτὰν κατώκει, πέτρα δ' ἐστὶν ὁχυρά τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς. Παλαιστίνου δ' ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τὴν φυλῆν. τῶν δ' οὗ δικαίως λεγόντων τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς εἰσπράττεσθαι περὶ τῶν Σαμψώνος ἀμαρτημάτων φόρους αὐτοῖς τελοῦντας, εἰ βούλωνται μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν ἐφασαν αὐτοῖς 298 ὑποχείριον Σαμψώνα δοῦναι. οἷς δὲ ἀνεπίκλητοι βουλόμενοι τυγχάνειν παρῆσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τρουχλίοις ὀπλίταις καὶ καταμεμψάμενοι τῶν εἰς Παλαιστίνους αὐτῷ τετολμημένοι ἀνδρὰς ἀπαντών γένει τῶν Ἐβραίων συμφορὰν ἐπενεγκεῖν δυναμένους, ἦκεν τε λέγοντες ὅπως αὐτὸν λαβόντες ὑποχείριον δῶσιν αὐτοῖς, ἦξιον ἐκοντὶ τοῦτο 299 ὑπομένειν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ὀρκους παρ' αὐτῶν μηδεν τούτων ποιήσειν περισσότερον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἐγχείριει 3 μόνον, καταβᾶς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ τῶν φυλετῶν τίθησιν ἔξοισια, κάκεινοι δήσαντες αὐτόν δυσὶ καλωδίοις ἤγουν παραδοῦναι 300 τοῖς Παλαιστίνους, καὶ γενομένων κατὰ τι χωρίον, ὁ Σιαγών καλεῖται νῦν διὰ τὴν Σαμψώνος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην, πάλαι δ' ἦν ἀνώνυμον, οὐκ ἀπώθεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότων τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ἀλλ' ὑπαντώντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοής ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένους ὡς ἐβούλουντο, διαρρῆξας τὰ δεσμὰ Σαμψών ἀρπασάμενος ὅπως φεύγον παρὰ ποσίν

1 Niesc: αὐτοὺς codd. 2 τρουχλίοι ὀπλίται RO. 3 Bekker: ἐγχείριει codd.

a Bibl. Etam.
her that had been his wife and her kinsfolk alive, as having been the cause of their disasters.

(8) Samson, after slaying multitudes of the Philistines in the plain, then settled at Aeta, a rocky stronghold within the tribe of Judah; where-upon the Philistines took the field against that tribe. These pleading that it was unjust to exact punishment for Samson's misdeeds from them that paid them tribute, the Philistines retorted that if they would keep clear of blame they must deliver Samson into their hands. And they, wishing to be above reproach, visited the rock with three thousand men-at-arms, and after roundly rebuking him for his outrageous treatment of the Philistines, people powerful enough to bring ruin upon the whole race of the Hebrews, and telling him that they were come to take and deliver him into their hands, they besought him to submit to this of his own free will. And he, after receiving an oath from them that they would do no more than merely commit him to the hands of the foe, descended from the rock and put himself at the mercy of these representatives of the tribe; and they, having bound him with two cords, led him off to deliver him to the Philistines. Then, when they were come to a spot which to-day is called Jawbone by reason of the exploit there performed by Samson but which of old was nameless, the Philistines being encamped not far off and coming to meet them with exultant cries, thinking to have achieved their end, Samson, bursting his bonds asunder and seizing the

\[\text{Jawbone}\] as translated here and in the LXX \(\text{Σαγώνιος}\). "Probably the name was originally given to some hill or ridge on account of its resemblance to a jawbone" (Burney, adducing the similar name \(\text{Ονου γνάθος}\) given to a promontory in Laconia).
οὕςαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὤσατο καὶ παῖων αὐτοὺς τῇ σιαγόνιν κτείνει εἰς χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τρέπεται παραχθέντας.

301 (9) Σαμψών δὲ μείζον ἡ χρή ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονῶν οὗ κατὰ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔλεγε τοῦτο συμβήναι, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἐπέγραψε τῷ γεγονότι, σιαγόνις τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν τοὺς δ' εἰς φυγήν τραπεῖν διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ δέους αὐχὼν. δίψους δ' αὐτὸν ἵσχυρον κατασχόντος κατανοῶν ὡς οὐδὲν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπειος ἀρετή, τῷ θεῷ πάντα προσεµαρτύρει καὶ καθικέτευε μηδὲν τῶν εἰρηµένων πρὸς ὀργὴν λαβόντα τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι, παρασχεῖν δὲ βοήθειαν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν καὶ ὤσσασθαι τοῦ κακοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἱκετείας ἐπικλασθεῖς ὁ θεὸς πηγὴν κατὰ τυνος πέτρας ἀνύσαν ἢδειαν καὶ πολλήν, ὅθεν καὶ Σαμψών ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον Σιαγόνα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεύρῳ τοῦτο λέγεται.

302 (10) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτην τὴν μάχην Σαμψών καταφρονῶν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν καταγωγῶν διέτριβε. μαθόντες δὲ τῶν Γαζάων οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτοθεί παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνέδρας καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὅπως ἐξεῖν μὴ λάθη. Σαμψών δὲ, οὐ γὰρ λανθάνουσιν αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενοι, περὶ μεσοῦσαν ἦδη τὴν νυκτὰ ἀναστὰς ἐνράσσει ταῖς πύλαις, αὐταῖς τε φλιαῖς καὶ μοχλοῖς ὅση τε ἀλλή περὶ αὐταῖς ἢν ἐξώλωσις ἀράμενος κατωμαδόν εἰς τὸ ὕπερ Ἐβρῶνος ὀρὸς φέρων κατατίθησιν.

303 τῇ σιαγόνι om. MSP.

304 (10) Metὰ δὲ ταῦτην τὴν μάχην Σαμψών καταφρονῶν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γαζάν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἐν τοῖς τῶν καταγωγῶν διέτριβε. μαθόντες δὲ τῶν Γαζάων οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτόθεί παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνέδρας καταλαμβάνουσιν, ὅπως ἐξεῖν μὴ λάθη. Σαμψών δὲ, οὐ γὰρ λανθάνουσιν αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενοι, περὶ μεσοῦσαν ἦδη τὴν νυκτὰ ἀναστὰς ἐνράσσει ταῖς πύλαις, αὐταῖς τε φλιαῖς καὶ μοχλοῖς ὅση τε ἀλλή περὶ αὐταῖς ἢν ἐξώλωσις ἀράμενος κατωμαδόν εἰς τὸ ὕπερ Ἐβρῶνος ὀρὸς φέρων κατατίθησιν.

305 om. ROE.

* In Judges (xv. 19) En-hakkore ("the spring of him that called "), while Ramath-Lehi ("hill of the jawbone ") is the
jawbone of an ass that lay at his feet, rushed upon his enemies and smiting them with this weapon slew a thousand of them, routing the rest in dire dismay.

(9) Yet Samson, unduly proud of this feat, did not say that it was God's assistance that had brought it to pass, but ascribed the issue to his own valour, boasting of having with a jawbone prostrated some of his enemies and put the rest to rout through the terror that he inspired. But, being seized with a mighty thirst and recognizing that human valour is a thing of naught, he acknowledged that all was attributable to God and implored Him not, in anger at any words of his, to deliver him into his enemies' hands, but to lend him aid in his dire need and to rescue him from his distress. And God, moved by his supplications, caused a spring of water to well out of a rock, sweet and abundant; whence it was that Samson called that place Jawbone, a name which it bears to this day.a

(10) After this combat Samson, scorning the Philistines, came to Gaza and lodged at one of the inns.b Thereupon the chiefs of the Gazites, informed of his presence in the town, posted ambuscades before the gates to prevent his leaving it without their knowledge. But Samson, not unaware of these schemes, when midnight was come arose, flung himself against the gates, hoisted them—posts, bolts, woodwork and all—upon his shoulders, bore them to the mountain above Hebron c and there deposited them.

name given to the place where he cast his weapon away (17).

b Jd. "and saw there an harlot and went in unto her." For the interchange of "harlot" and "innkeeper" see § 8 note.

c Nearly 40 miles away!
JOSEPHUS

306 (11) Παρέβανε δ' ἡδη τα πάτρια και την οἰκείαν δύσιν παρεχάρασσεν ξενικών μεμήσει ἐθισμῶν, καὶ τοῦτ' ἀρχή αὐτῶ κακοί γίνεται. γυναικὸς γὰρ ἐπιρριζομένης παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἔρασθε
to

307 Δαλάλης1 τούνομα συνην αὐτῆ. καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προεστῶτες ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὴν πείθουσιν ἐπαγγελίας μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Σαμψώνος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἱσχύος, ὥς ἢ ἂληπτός ἔστι τοὺς ἔχθροις. ἦ δὲ παρὰ τότον καὶ τουαύτην συνοπτοίαν διαμάζουσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἔτεχνητε μαθεῖν, τίνι πρόπω τοσούτον2 προὔχει κατ' ἄρετῆ. ὁ δὲ Σαμψών, ἔτι γὰρ φρονείν ἱσχυρὸς ἢν, ἀντηπάτα τὴν Δαλάλην φάμενος,3 εἰ κλήμασιν ἔπτα δεθεῖν ἀμπελώνοις ἔτι καὶ περειελεύθαι δυναμένης, ἢ δὲ τότε μὲν ἴσοχασεν, ἀποσημήνασα δὲ τοῖς ἀρχουσι τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐνήδρευσε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνδόν τινας καὶ μεθύοντα4 κατέδει τοῖς κλήμασι κατὰ τὸ λεγεί Αἰγείρασα ἐδήλου παρεῖναι τινας ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ρήξας τὰ κλήματα βοσθεῖν ὅσ ἐπερχομένων αὐτῷ τυκνὸν ἐπειράτο. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ συνεχώς ὅμιλοντος αὐτῆ τοῦ Σαμψώνος δεινῶς ἔχειν ἐλεγεν, εἰ κατ' ἀπιστίαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν μὴ λέγει ταῦθ' ἀπερ δεῖται, ὡς οὐ σιγησομένης ὡς μὴ γυνώσκεσθαι συμφέρειν οἴδειν αὐτῷ. 311 τοῦ δὲ πάλιν ἀπατῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ φήσαντος ἐπτά

1 v.Π, δαδάλης, δαληδᾶ, etc.
2 M: τοιούτων ROSPE.
3 + ὅτι Dindorf.
4 dormientem Lat.: pr. καθεύδοντα MSPL.

α Bibl. Delilah, lxx Δαλειδά.

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Howbeit he was already transgressing the laws of his forefathers and debasing his own rule of life by the imitation of foreign usages; and this proved the beginning of his disaster. For, being enamoured of a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines, Dalala by name, he consorted with her; and the presidents of the Philistine confederacy came and induced her by large promises to discover from Samson the secret of that strength which rendered him invulnerable to his foes. So she, over their cups and in like intercourse, by admiration of his exploits would craftily seek to discover by what means he had come by such extraordinary valour. But Samson, whose wits were yet robust, countered Dalala’s ruse by another, telling her that were he bound with seven vine-shoots still flexible, he would be the weakest of men. At the moment she held her peace, but, after reporting this to the lords of the Philistines, she posted some soldiers in ambush within and while Samson was drunken bound him with the shoots as firmly as possible, and then awoke him with the announcement that men were upon him. But he burst the shoots asunder and made ready for defence as though his assailants were coming. And then this woman, with whom Samson was continually consorting, would say that she took it ill that he had not confidence enough in her affection for him to tell her just what she desired, as though she would not conceal what she knew must in his interests not be divulged. But again he eluded her, telling her that were he bound with seven

Or, according to another reading, “asleep.” Drunkenness, not mentioned in Scripture, indicates violation of his Nazirite vow (cf. § 306).

So LXX (many mss.): the Heb. mentions no number.
kálois deðénta tìn Íσχυν ἀπολέσεων, ἑπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασα οὐδέν ἦνσεν, τρίτον ἐνυφήναι1 τὰς κόμας

312 αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσεν. ὡς δ’ οὐδὲ τούτου γενομένου τάληθες2 ἡμίρικετο, δεομένης τελευταῖον ὁ Σαμψῶν, ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν συμφορὰ περιπεσεῖν, χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος τῇ Δαλάλῃ "ἐμοῦ," φησίν, "ὁ θεὸς κήδεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἑκείνου προόποιαν γεννηθεὶς κόμην ταύτην τρέφω παρεγγυήσαντος μὴ ἀποκείμενοι τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν γὰρ ἱσχύν εἶναι μοι

313 κατὰ τὴν ταύτης αὐξήσιν καὶ παραμονήν." ταῦτα μαθοῦσα καὶ στερήσασα τῆς κόμης αὐτοῦ παραδοῦν τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκέτ’ ὄντα ἱσχυρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τὴν ἐφοδιόν αὐτῶν. οὐ δ’ ἐκκοίμαντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδεμένοι ἄγει παρέδοσαν.

314 (12) Προῦντος ἐκ τοῦ χρόνου ἡμέτοτο ἡ κόμη τῷ Σαμψῶν, καὶ ἔφτις οὔσης τοῖς Παλαιστῖνοις δημοτελοῦσ καὶ τῶν ἄρχωντων καὶ γνωριμωτάτων ἐν ταὐτῷ εὐσχομένων, οἶκος δ’ ἦν δύο κιόνων στεγών αὐτοῦ τὸν ὀροφὸν, ἀγεία μεταπεμφαμένων ὁ Σαμψῶν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ὅπως ἐν-

315 ὑβρίσωσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τῶν πότον. ὃ δὲ δεινότερον τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνων τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ῥβριζόμενος ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα παῖδα πείδει, προσαναπαύσασθαι χρήζειν εἰπὼν ὑπὸ κόπου, τοῖς

316 κίονιν αὐτοῦν ἐγγύς ἀγαγεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν, ἐνσει-θεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικαταβάλλει τὸν οἰκον ἀνατραπέντων τῶν κιόνων τρισχιλίως ἀνδράσιν, οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαμψῶν. καὶ τὸν μὲν

1 συνυφήναι R.O.

2 ἀληθῆς codd.: ἀληθῆς (ex Lat. verax) Niese.

* Scripture says that "there were upon the roof [apparently overlooking an open courtyard] three thousand men and
cords he would lose his strength; and when she had tried this too with no success, a third time he advised her to weave his locks into a web. But when even by this experiment the truth was not discovered, at last, at her petitions, Samson—since he must needs fall a victim to calamity—wishing to humour Dalala said: “I am under God’s care: and under His providence since birth, I nurse these locks, God having enjoined upon me not to cut them, for that my strength is measured by their growth and preservation.” The secret learnt, she retfed him of his locks and delivered him to his enemies, being now powerless to repulse their assault; and they, having put out his eyes, delivered him over to be led away in chains.

(12) But in course of time Samson’s locks grew; and once when the Philistines were keeping a public festival and their lords and chief notables were feasting together in one place—a hall with two columns supporting its roof—Samson at their summons was led to the banquet, that they might mock at him over their cups. And he, deeming it direr than all his ills to be unable to be avenged of such insults, induced the boy who led him by the hand—telling him that from weariness he needed a stay whereon to rest—to conduct him close to the columns. And when he was come thither, flinging all his weight upon them, he brought down the hall, overturning the columns, upon three thousand men, who all perished and among them Samson. Such was his women,” in addition to all the lords of the Philistines below, Jd. xvi. 27. Some commentators suspect that these three thousand on the roof “are an addition to the original narrative, exaggerating the catastrophe” (G. F. Moore).
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tououton katéoxe télou árëanta toû 'Israëliotôn
317 eikousou étth. thvmlázein de áxion ths árëthis kai
tis ischous kai toû peri thn telenthn megállofrhnon
ton ánдра kai ths thignh ths méxhi toû telenthn
pros toûs polèmious. kai to mév úpò gnwaiKòs
álwvai dei th phùsei ton ántrwpton prosáptew
èttou amartimátovn óusia, marturein dei èkeínw
thn eis tâ 'álha pánta ths árëthis períousian. oû
de syngeneîs arámenv ò ò swma autovn thàptouson
ev 'Sarasa tîn patrídû metà toûs syngenevôns.

318 (ix. 1) Metà de thn 'Sarmwòvos telenthn proésth
thn 'Israëliotôn 'Hleis ó arxihtrûs. épi toûton
lmiô ths xóras kókospaibouías autôn . 'Abimèlexos
êk Bthlémou, èstî de th póliis áuth ths 'Ioudâ
phülês, ántrèth th òw thën òw déiû thn dévûne mé
thn te gnwaiKà Naâmûn kai toûs pádas toûs ék áuths
autôi genênnyménnous Xelhîwôna kai Málâwôna èp-
319 agâménnos eis thn Mwâbîtwn metoukízetai. kai pro-
chrwrountow autôi kattà noûn toûs pragmátop
ânetai toûs vûôs gnwaiKûs Mwâbîtides Xelhîwû
mév 'Orphôn 'Rouûhén de Málâwôni. dierbhotow dé
déka2 étow ò te 'Abimèlexos kai met' autôn òi
320 páides òi olégon telenthwsi, kai ò Naâmûs píkrwos
èpi toûs symbebêskos phírousa kai thn úp' òfimû
tôn philtatwôn èrhmian òvch úpoménousa, òi' ouûs4

1 'Abimèlexos L. Lat. (et infra).
2 décem et octo Lat.
3 om. Lat.
4 ed. pr. Lat.: òv v codd.

a Jd. xvi. 31 'between Zorah (lx X Sarâd or in one
minuscule, as in Josephus, Sarasa) and Eshtael, in the
burying-place of Manoah his father"; Zorah is the modern
Surah, some 14 miles due W. of Jerusalem.
b Bibl. simply " in the days when the judges judged ";
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end, after governing Israel for twenty years. And it is but right to admire the man for his valour, his strength, and the grandeur of his end, as also for the wrath which he cherished to the last against his enemies. That he let himself be ensnared by a woman must be imputed to human nature which succumbs to sins; but testimony is due to him for his surpassing excellence in all the rest. His kinsfolk then took up his body and buried him at Sarasa, his native place, with his forefathers.

(ix. 1) After the death of Samson, the leader of the Israelites was Eli the high priest. In his days, their country was afflicted by a famine, and Abimelech of Bethlehem, a city of the tribe of Judah, being unable to withstand this scourge, took with him his wife Naamis and the sons whom he had begotten by her, Chellion and Malaon, and migrated to the land of Moab. His affairs there prospering to his heart's content, he took for his sons wives of the women of Moab, for Chellion Orpha and for Malaon Ruth. Ten years having passed, Abimelech died, and his sons not long after him; and Naamis, sorely disheartened at her misfortunes and unable to bear that bereavement, ever before her eyes, in the loss of her dearest ones, for whose sakes she had

Josephus infers the date of this episode from the number of generations between Boaz and David (Reinach). One rabbinic tradition identifies Boaz with the judge Ibzan, others make him a contemporary of Deborah.

Bibl. Eliimelech: the name Abimelech appears also in many mss. of the LXX.

Naomi (or Noomi).

Chilion.

Mahlon (LXX Maaiλαν).

In Ruth i. 3 f. the father's death precedes the sons' marriages.

Bibl. Orpah (LXX Ὀρφά).
καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλύθει, πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπηλλάττετο· καὶ γὰρ ἥδη καλῶς τὰ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἑπυνθάνετο χωρεῖν. οὐκ ἐκαρτέρουν δὲ διαζευγνύμεναι αὐτῆς αἱ νύμφαι, οὐδὲ παραϊτουμένη βουλομένας συνεξορμᾶν πείθειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ’ ἐγκεκρέμένων εὔξαμένη γάμον εὐτυχέστερον αὐταῖς οὐ διημαρτήκεσαν παυσί τοῖς αὐτῆς γαμηθείσαι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν κτήσιν, ὅτε τὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἔστι, μένειν αὐτόθι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ συμ-μεταλλαβάνειν αὐτὴ βουλεύαι πραγμάτων ἀδήλων τὴν πάτριον γῆν καταλυόσας. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ὀρφᾶ μένει, τὴν Ὄρψθην μὴ πεισθείσαι ἀπήγαγε κουμοῦν παντὸς τοῦ προστυχόντος γενησμομένην.

323 (2) Ἐλθοῦσιν δὲ Ὅρψθην μετὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμων Βόαζος Ἀβιμελέχου συγγενῆς ὃν δέχεται ἔνεια. καὶ Ἡ Ναάμις, προσαγορευόντων αὐτὴν ὀνομαστι, "δικαιότερον" εἶπε "Μαρὰν ἂν καλοίτητε με". σημαινεῖ δὲ καθ’ Ἐβραίων γλώτταν ναάμις μὲν εὐτυχίαν, μαρὰ δὲ ὀδύνην.

324 ἀμήτου δὲ γενομένου εξῆκε καλαμησμομένη κατὰ συγχώρησιν τῆς πενθερᾶς Ἡ Ὅρψθη, ὅπως τροφῆς εὐποροῦσεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Βοῶζον τυχαίως ἀφικνεῖται χωρίον. παραγενόμενος δὲ Βόαζος μετ’ ὀλίγον καὶ θεσάμενος τὴν κόρην ἀνέκρινεν τὸν ἀγροκόμον περὶ τῆς παιδός. ὃ δὲ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεὶν παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀπαντᾷ προποσμενένοις ἐδήλου τῷ δεσπότῃ.

1 ὅτε (om. τὰ) RO: ὅτι τε τὰ rell.
2 Ἀλεξῖς M: Ἀλεξῖς Βόαζος L.
3 + τῶν πολιτῶν MLF.
4 ἄν καλοῖτε Bekker: καλεῖσθαι RO: vocate Lat.: καλά(τ)ητε rell.
5 RO: ὄντος rell.

a In Ruth i. 7 both daughters-in-law actually start with her.

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left her country, thought to repair thither again, for she had learnt that all was now going well with it. But her daughters-in-law had not the heart to be parted from her, nor for all her pleading when they were fain to set out with her could she prevail with them; then, as they urged her yet, she prayed that they might find happier wedlock than that whereof they had been disappointed in marrying her sons, and obtain all blessings beside, but, seeing the case in which she lay, she implored them to remain where they were and not to crave to share her uncertain fortunes in quitting their native land. So Orpha stayed, but, since Ruth would not be persuaded, Naamis took her with her, to be her partner in all that should befall.

(2) Now when Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to the town of Bethlehem, Boaz, being a kinsman of Abimelech, hospitably received them. And Naamis, when folk addressed her by that name, said, "More rightly would ye call me Mara"—Naamis in the Hebrew tongue signifying "felicity" and Mara "grief." It being now harvest-time, Ruth by permission of her mother-in-law went out to glean, to provide for their sustenance, and by chance came to the ground of Boaz. Boaz arriving a little later and seeing the young woman, questioned the steward of his estate concerning this child; and he, having just learnt all her story from herself, informed...
JOSEPHUS

325 ὣ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν πειθερὰν εὐνοίας ἀμα καὶ 
μνήμης τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς ὦ συνώκησεν ἀσπασά-
μενος καὶ εὐξάμενοι αὐτῇ πείραν ἀγαθῶν, καλα-
μᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτήν οὐκ ἥξιωσεν θερίζειν δὲ πᾶν ὁ 
tι καὶ δύνατο καὶ λαμβάνει ἐπιτρέπει προστάξας 
tῷ ἀγροκόμῳ μηδὲν αὐτὴν διακωλύσει· ἀριστὸν 
tε παρέχειν αὐτῇ καὶ ποτόν, ὅποτε σιτίζω τους

326 θερίζοντας. 'Ρούθη δὲ ἄλφιτα λαβοῦσα παρ’ 
αὐτοῦ ἕφυλαξε τῇ ἐκυρᾷ καὶ παρῆν ὡς κομίζουσα 
μετὰ τῶν σταχῶν· ἐτετηρήκει δ’ αὐτῇ καὶ Ἡ 
Ναάμις ἀπομοιρὰς βρωμάτων τινῶν, οἷς αὐτῇν 
ἐπολυώρουν οἱ γειτονεύοντες· διηγεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ 
καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βοάζου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρημένα.

327 δηλωσάσης δ’ ἐκείνης ὡς συγγενῆς ἔστι καὶ τάχα 
ἂν δ’ εὐσέβειαν2 προνοήσειν αὐτῶν, ἐξῆι πάλιν 
ταῖς ἐχομέναις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ καλάμης συλλογῆν σὺν 
tαῖς Βοάζου θεραπαυίσαν.

328 (3) Ἐλθὼν τε μετ’ ὦ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Βόα-
ζου ἦδη τῆς κριθῆς λελικμημένης, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλως 
ἐκάθευδε. τοῦτο πυθομένη ἡ Ναάμις τεχνάται 
παρακατακλίναι τὴν 'Ῥούθην αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἔσε-
θαι χρηστὸν αὐταῖς ὡμιλήσαντα τῇ παιδί· καὶ 
πέμπει τὴν κόρην ὑπνωσμένην αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς 
329 ποσίν. ἡ δὲ, πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τῶν ὑπὸ 
tῆς ἐκυρᾶς κελευομένων ὄσιον ἕγειτο, παρα-
γίνεται καὶ παραυτικὰ μὲν λανθάνει τὸν Βοάζου 
βαθέως καθυπνωκότα, περιγερθείς δὲ περὶ μέσην 
vύκτα καὶ αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρακατακει-
330 μένης ἀνέκρυντες εἰς εὑρ. τῆς δ’ εἴποινης τούνομα 
καὶ φαμένης ὡς αὐτῆς3 δεσπότην συγχωρεῖν, τότε

1 +λαμβάνειν ROMSP.
2 εὐλάβειαν ROSP.
3 ROE: αὐτῶν rell.
his master. And Boaz, alike for her loyalty to her mother-in-law and for her remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been united, bade her welcome and wished her enjoyment of blessings: he would not have her glean but permitted her to reap and carry away all that she could; while he charged his steward in no wise to hinder her and to provide her with lunch and drink when he fed the reapers. But Ruth, having received of him barley-meal, kept thereof for her mother-in-law and brought it to her, on her return at even, along with her sheaves; while Naamis on her side had reserved for her portions of some food with which attentive neighbours had provided her. Ruth also recounted to her mother-in-law what Boaz had said to her. And Naamis having told her that he was a kinsman and might haply for piety's sake take care of them, she went out again on the following days to glean with the handmaids of Boaz.

(3) Not many days later Boaz himself came and, when the winnowing of the barley was done, slept on the threshing-floor. On learning of this, Naamis schemed to bring Ruth to his side, deeming that he would be gracious to them after consorting with the child; so she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet. And she, regarding it as a pious duty in nothing to gainsay the behests of her mother-in-law, repaired thither, and at the moment escaped the eye of Boaz, who was fast asleep; but, awaking towards midnight and becoming aware of the woman lying beside him, he inquired who she was. And she having mentioned her name and prayed him, as her master, to pardon

a Or perhaps "his"; Naomi's son was Boaz's kinsman as well as Ruth's husband.

b Amplification.
μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἀγεί, ὀρθριός δὲ πρὶν ἡ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἀρξασθαί κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, περιεγείρας αὐτὴν κελεύει τῶν κριθῶν λαβοῦσαν ὃ τι καὶ δύναιτο πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἐκυρὰν πρὶν ὁφθηναι τισιν αὐτόθι κεκομημένην, φυλάττεσθαι ὁ ὅφρον ὃν τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτους διαβολὴν καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ μὴ γεγονόσι. "περὶ μέντοι τοῦ παντὸς οὖτω," φησίν, "ἐσται, ἐρωταὶ τὸν ἐγγυστὰ μοι τῷ γένει τυχανόντα, εἰ σου χρεία γαμετῆς ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι μὲν ἀκολουθήσεις ἐκείνῳ, παρα- αὐτουμένον δὲ νόμῳ σε συνοικίσουσαν ἄξομαι."

332  Ταύτα τῇ ἐκυρᾷ δηλωσάσης εὐθυμία κατείχεν αὐτᾶς ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐξεν αὐτῶν Βοάζου γενομένας. κάκεινος ἢδη μεσοῦσις τῆς ἡμέρας κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τε γερουσίαν συνήγη καὶ μεταπεμφάμενος 'Ῥοῦθην ἐκάλει καὶ τὸν συγ- 333 γενῆ, καὶ παραγενομένου φησίν. "Ἄβιμελέχου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ κλήρων κρατεῖς;" ὠμολογή- σαντος δὲ συγχωρούντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἀγχι- στείαν, "οὐκοῦν," φησιν ὁ Βοαζός, "οὐκ ἐξ ἡμι- σείας δεὶ μεμνησθαι τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιεῖν κατ' αὐτοὺς. Μαάλου γὰρ δεύρ' ἦκεί γύναιον, ὃπερ εἰ θέλει τῶν ἀγρών κρατεῖν γαμεῖν σε δεί 334 κατὰ τῶν νόμων." ὁ δὲ Βοάζῳ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρεχώρει συγγενεῖ μὲν ὄντι καὶ αὐτῶ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ γυναίκα

1 + γάρ MSPL.  
2 ὃν conj.  
3 om. RO Lat.  
4 v.ill. Μαλλίωνος, Μαλάνως.

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a Niese's conjecture, σον for μον, is needless: the superlative in τῶν ἐγγυστὰ μοι includes the comparative.

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her, he for the time held his peace; but at daybreak, ere his servants began to move to their work, he roused her and bade her take as much of the barley as she could carry and be off to her mother-in-law, before anyone should see that she had slept there, since it was wise to guard against scandal of that kind, and the more so when nothing had passed. "But as concerning the whole matter," said he, "thus shall it be. He that is nearer of kin (to thee) than I, must be asked whether he would have thee to wife: if he says yea, thou shalt follow him; if he declines, I will take thee for my lawful bride."

(4) Ruth having reported this to her mother-in-law, they were well content, in the expectation that Boaz would take them under his care. And he, having towards midday gone down into the city, assembled the elders, sent for Ruth and summoned the kinsman also, upon whose coming he said to him, "Art thou the possessor of the heritage of Abimelech and his sons?" "Yes," he admitted, "the laws cede it to me in virtue of nearness of kin." "Then," said Boaz, "thou oughtest not to remember but one half of those laws, but to do all that they require. Maalon's young wife is come hither: if thou wouldest retain those lands, thou must marry her in accordance with the laws." He, however, renounced both the heritage and the woman to Boaz, who was himself likewise a kinsman of the dead, on the plea that he had a wife and

\[b\] Amplification, like the question addressed to the kinsman below and other details in this narrative. The reference to the γερουσία, "council of elders" or "senate," has a parallel in the Targum which says that Boaz came before the court of the Sanhedrin. Scripture says merely "he took ten men of the elders of the city" (iv. 2).
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335 λέγων αυτῷ καὶ παίδας ἥδη. μαρτυράμενος οὖν ὁ Βόαζος τὴν γεροντικὴν ἔκελευς τῇ γυναικὶ υπολύσαι αὐτὸν προσελθοῦσαν κατὰ τῶν νόμων καὶ πτέειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. γενομένον δὲ τούτῳ Βόαζος γαμεῖ τὴν Ῥούθην καὶ γίνεται παϊδίον

336 αὐτοῖς μετ’ ἑναυτὸν ἅρρεν. τούτῳ Ναάμις πεθενομένῃ κατὰ συμβουλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν ὁ Ὁβήδης ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γηροκομία τῇ αὐτῆς τραφησόμενον. ὡβήδης γὰρ κατὰ διάλεκτον τὴν Ἐβραίων ἀποσημαίνει δουλεύσων. Ὁβήδου δὲ γίνεται Ἰεσσαίως, τούτου Δαυίδης ὁ βασιλεύσας καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς καταλειπὼν τὴν ἁγεμονίαν ἐπὶ μίαν καὶ 337 εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἄνδρῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ῥούθην ἀναγκαίως διηγησάμην, ἐπιδείξει βουλομένου τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὅτι τούτῳ παράγεις ἐφικτόν ἑστιν εἰς άξιόμα λαμπρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας, εἰς ὁμοῖον ἀνήγαγε καὶ Δαυίδην ἐκ τοιούτων γενόμενον.

338 (x. 1) Ἐβραῖοι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὑπενεχθέντων πάλιν πόλεμον ἐκφέροντο Παλαιστίνοις διὰ τοιαύτην αὐτίαν. Ἡλεῖ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ δύο παῖδες

339 ἔσαν Ὁφυνῆς τε καὶ Φινέσσης. οὕτως καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὑβρισταὶ γενομένοι· καὶ πρὸς τὸ θείον ἀσεβεῖς οὐδένος ἀπείχοντο παρανομήματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφέροντο τῶν γερῶν κατὰ τιμήν, ὁ δὲ ἑλάμβανον αὐτοῖς ἀρπαγὴς τρόπω, γυναίκας τε τὰς ἐπὶ θρησκεία παραγυμνομένας ὑβρίζων φθοραίς, ταῖς μὲν βίαιν προσφέροντες τὰς δὲ δώρους ὑπαγό-

1 +παῖς R.O. 2 αὐτοῖς codd.

* Amplification: there is no mention in Scripture of a previous marriage.

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children already. Boaz therefore, having taken the elders to witness, bade the woman loose the man’s shoe, approaching him as the law ordained, and to spit in his face. That done, Boaz married Ruth, and a year after a boy was born to them. This infant was nursed by Naamis, who on the counsel of the women called him Obed, because he was to be brought up to be the stay of her old age; for obed in the Hebrew tongue signifies “one who serves.” Of Obed was born Jesse, and of him David, who became king and bequeathed his dominion to his posterity for one and twenty generations. This story of Ruth I have been constrained to relate, being desirous to show the power of God and how easy it is for Him to promote even ordinary folk to rank so illustrious as that to which he raised David, sprung from such ancestors.

(x. 1) The Hebrews, whose affairs had declined, again made war upon the Philistines, the occasion being on this wise. Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophnis and Phinees. These, grown both insolent to men and impious to the Divinity, abstained from no iniquity: of the offerings some they carried off as the prizes of office, others they seized in robber fashion; they dishonoured the women who came for worship, doing violence to some and seducing

b This last detail is taken from the law (Deut. xxv. 9; A. iv. 256), but is not mentioned in Ruth, which describes a different ceremony, the giving of his shoe by the purchaser to the seller, as a symbol of exchange. In this case the kinsman should presumably not have been subjected to the humiliating ceremony prescribed by the law of levirate marriage in Deuteronomy, inasmuch as he was not a brother of Ruth’s dead husband.

The order of words is peculiar: the Greek might be rendered "when God announced to his servants, Eli and Samuel . . . the fate that was in store."

For this phrase with regard to the arrangement of the narrative cf. iv. 196.

1 Chron. vi. 27 (not stated in Samuel).
others by presents; in short, their manner of life differed in no whit from a tyranny. And so their father was himself in sore distress thereat, hourly expecting to see them visited by chastisement from God for their misdeeds, and the people were chafing; and when God announced both to Eli and to Samuel the prophet, then but a child, the fate that was in store for his sons,\(^a\) then did Eli openly make mourning over his sons.

(2) But here I would first recount the story of the prophet and then proceed\(^b\) to speak of the fate of Eli's sons and the disaster that befell the whole people of the Hebrews. Alkanes,\(^c\) a Levite\(^d\) of the middle classes, of the tribe of Ephraim and an inhabitant of the city of Armatha,\(^e\) married two wives, Anna and Phenanna.\(^f\) By the latter he had children, but the other, though childless, remained beloved of her husband. Now when Alkanes was come with his wives to the city of Silo to sacrifice—for it was there that the tabernacle of God had been pitched, as we have said before\(^g\)—and when thereafter\(^h\) at the banquet he was distributing portions of meat to his wives and children, Anna, beholding the children of the other wife seated around their mother, burst into tears and bewailed her barrenness and lonesome

\(^{e}\) Bibl. Ramathaim-zophim (lxx 'Αρμαθαιμ Σειφά), another name for Ramah and possibly identical with the N.T. Arimathaea: site disputed.

\(^{f}\) Bibl. Hannah and Peninnah (lxx, like Josephus, Φεβάννα).

\(^{g}\) A. v. 68.

\(^{h}\) πάλαν, probably an Aramaism; Wellhausen notes that in Mark's Gospel "πάλαν, like Aramaic tub, means not only 'again,' but also 'further,' 'thereupon’" (Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien, ed. 2, pp. 21 f.). There are other indications that this Josephan narrative of the birth of Samuel is drawn from an Aramaic source.
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καὶ τῆς ταῦτας παραμυθίας τῇ λύπῃ κρατήσασα εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν ὥχετο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα δοῦναι γονῆν αὐτῇ καὶ ποιῆσαι μητέρα, ἐπαγγελλομένη τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῇ γεννήσομεν καθιερώσειν ἐπὶ διακονία τοῦ θεοῦ, διὰταν οὐχ ὁμοίαν τοῖς ἰδιώταις ποιησόμενον. 

ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς πολὺν χρόνον Ἡλεὶς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς, ὡς παροιμοῦσαν ἐκέλευν ἀπίεναι. τῆς δὲ πιεῖν ὑδωρ φαμένης, λυπουμένης δὲ ἐπὶ παῖδων ἀπορία τοῦ θεοῦ ἱκετεύειν, θαρσεῖν παρ- 

εκελεύστε, παρέξειν αὐτῇ παῖδας τὸν θεὸν κατα
gγέλλων.

(3) Παραγενομένη δὲ εὕλπισ πρὸς τὸν ἀνδρα 

τροφήν χαίρουσα προσηνέγκατο, καὶ ἀναστρε-

φάντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κύειν ἡρξατο καὶ γίνεται 

παῖδιον αὐτοῖς, δὲν Σαμουήλον προσαγορεύονα 

θεαίτητον ἄν τις εἴποι. παρῆσαν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς 

τοῦ παιδὸς θύσοντες γενέσεως δεκάτας τ’ ἐφερον. 

ἀναμνησθείσα δ’ ἡ γυνὴ τῆς εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ 

παιδὶ γεννημένης παρεδίδου τῷ Ἡλεὶ ἀνατιθείσα 

τῷ θεῷ προφήτην γεννησόμενον. κόμη τε ὁ ὁ 

ἀνείτο καὶ ποτὸν ἣν ὑδωρ. καὶ Σαμουήλος μὲν 

ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διήγε τρεφόμενος, Ἀλκάνη δ’ ἐκ τῆς 

Ἀννάς νεῖες τε ἄλλων γίνονται καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρες.

† ἄλλων om. ROM.

* A close parallel from a Targum is supplied by Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hunkin, “a woman who begins to 
bear a first-born,” Journal of Theol. Studies, xxv. (1924), 
p. 398, n. 2.
lot. And, her grief proving stronger than her husband’s consolation, she went off to the tabernacle, to beseech God to grant her offspring and to make her a mother, promising that her first-born should be consecrated to the service of God and that his manner of life should be unlike that of ordinary men. And as she lingered a long time over her prayers, Eli the high priest, who was seated at the entrance of the tabernacle, taking her for a drunkard, bade her begone. But, on her replying that she had drunk but water and that it was for grief at the lack of children that she was making supplication to God, he exhorted her to be of good cheer, announcing that God would grant her children.

(3) Repairing thus in good hope to her husband, she took her food with gladness, and on their return to their native place she began to conceive; and an infant was born to them, whom they called Samuel, as one might say “asked of God.” They came therefore again to offer sacrifices for the birth of the child and brought their tithes also. And the woman, mindful of the vow which she had made concerning the child, delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God to become a prophet; so his locks were left to grow and his drink was water. Thus Samuel lived and was brought up in the sanctuary, but Alkanes had by Anna yet other sons and three daughters.

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This biblical etymology (1 Sam. i. 20) is now abandoned: “Name of God” is the probable meaning.

The offerings are specified in 1 Sam. i. 24: for the tithes, cf. the addition in LXX to v. 21, καὶ πᾶσας τὰς δεκάτας τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ.

Bibl. “three sons and two daughters”: possibly a figure (−3) has fallen out of the text of Josephus before γίνονται.
348 (4) Σαμούηλος δὲ πεπληρωκὼς ἐτος ἦδη δωδὲ-κατον προεφήτευε. καὶ ποτε κοιμώμενον όνομαστὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς: ὁ δὲ νομίσας ὅτι τοῦ ἄρχιερέως πεφωνήθαι παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ φαμένου δὲ καλέσαι τοῦ ἄρχιερέως ὁ θεὸς εἰς τρὶς τοῦτο
349 ποιεῖ. καὶ Ἡλεῖς διανυσκοῦσίν φησι πρὸς αὐτόν, ‘‘ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν, Σαμούηλε, συγῆν ὦ καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἦγον, θεὸς δ’ ἐστίν ὁ καλῶν, σήμαινε τε πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι παρατυγχάνω.’’ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φθεγ-ξαμένου πάλιν ἄκουσας ὕξιόν λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις: οὐ γὰρ ὑπερήσειν αὐτὸν ἔφ’ οίς ἂν
350 θελῆσεις διακονίας. καὶ ὁ θεὸς ‘‘ἐπεί,’’ φησί, ‘‘παρατυγχάνεις, μάνθανε συμφορὰν Ἰσραηλίτῃς ἐσομένην λόγον μείζονα καὶ πίστεως τοῖς παρα-τυγχάνοις, καὶ τοὺς Ἡλεῖ δὲ παῖδας ἡμέρα μιὰ τεθνηξιμένους καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετελειπομένην εἰς τὴν Ἑλεαξάρου οἰκίαν. Ἡλεῖς γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας μᾶλλον τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμ-
351 φέρον αὐτοῖς ἡγάπησε.’’ ταῦτα βιασάμενος ὅρκοις εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἡλεῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο λυπεῖν αὐτὸν λέγων, ἐτί μᾶλλον βεβαιοτέραν εἴχε τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπωλείας. Σαμουήλου δὲ ἑξετὸ ἐπὶ πλεοῦν ἦ δόξα πάντων ὧν προεφήτευσεν ἀληθινῶν βλεπομένων.
352 (xi. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τῶν καὶρον 3 Παλαιστῖνοι

1 διηνυσθεὶς SPL.
2 Niese (ex RO ἑσήμαινε τε): ἄλλα σήμαινε rell.
3 + καὶ ROM.

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* Age not mentioned in Scripture.
* Greek “speak upon (i.e. “concerning”) His oracles,” again suggesting a Semitic original; the Hebrew use of dibber’al is exactly parallel.

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(4) Samuel had now completed his twelfth year when he began to act as a prophet. And one night as he slept God called him by name; but he, supposing that he had been summoned by the high priest, went off to him. But the high priest replied that he had not called him, and God did this thing thrice. Then Eli, enlightened, said to him, "Nay, Samuel, I held my peace even as before: it is God that calleth thee. Say then to Him, Here am I." So, when God spake again, Samuel hearing Him besought Him to speak His oracles, for he would not fail to serve Him in whatsoever He might desire. And God said, "Since thou art there, learn that a calamity will befall the Israelites passing the speech or belief of them that witness it, aye and that the sons of Eli shall die on the selfsame day and that the priesthood shall pass to the house of Eleazar." For ii. 29. Eli hath loved his sons more dearly than my worship, and not to their welfare." All this Eli constrained the prophet by oath to reveal to him—for Samuel was loth to grieve him by telling it—and he now awaited with yet more certainty than before the loss of his children. But the renown of Samuel increased more and more, since all that he prophesied was seen to come true.

(xi. 1) This then was the time when the Philis-
353 (2) Δείσαντες δὲ περὶ τῶν ὀλίγων Ἐβραίων ἐπιμετέχοντες δὲ κατὰ πόλιν Ἀμφεκάν, δεξαμένων δὲ ἐξ ὁλίγων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν συνήσαν εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην καὶ νικώσαν οἱ Παλαιστίνοι καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν Ἐβραίων εἰς τετρακυσχίλιοι, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλῆθος συνδιώκουσι εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

354 τὴν δὲ συνέβαινεν εἶναι. παρῆν τε οὖν ἡ κιβωτοὶ καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς τοῦ πατέρα αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλαντος, εἰ ληφθείσης τῆς κιβωτοῦ ξῆν ἐθέλουσιν, εἰς ὅψιν αὖτις μὴ παραγίνεσθαι. Φινεέσθης δὲ ἦδη καὶ ἵππος, τοῦ πατέρα αὐτῷ παρακεχωρικότος διὰ τὸ γῆρας. θάρσος οὖν ἐπηγίνεται πολὺ τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ὅπως διὰ τὴν αἵτινς τῆς κιβωτοῦ περιεσομένους τῶν πολεμίων, κατεπλήττοντο δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι δεδίστες τὴν παρούσιαν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῖς Ἰσραηλιταῖσι. ταῖς μέντοι γε ἐκατέρων προσδοκίας οὐχ ὁμοιών ἀπῄνησε τὸ 356 ἔργον, ἀλλὰ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἂν μὲν ἥλπιζον

1 RO: pr. οἱ rell. 2 + ἐν τῷ SP. 3 ἐθελήσουσιν SP.

* Bibl. Aphek: in the plain of Sharon, perhaps the modern el Mejdel.

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tines, taking the field against the Israelites, pitched their camp over against the city of Amphekas. The Israelites having hastily confronted them, the armies met on the following day, and the Philistines were victorious, slaying some four thousand of the Hebrews and pursuing the remainder of the host to their camp.

(2) Fearing a complete disaster, the Hebrews sent word to the council of elders and to the high priest to bring the ark of God, in order that, through its presence in their ranks, they might overcome their enemies, ignorant that He who had decreed their discomfiture was mightier than the ark, seeing that it was to Him indeed that it owed its being.

And so the ark arrived, and with it the sons of the high priest, having received injunctions from their father, if they wished to survive the capture of the ark, not to venture into his sight. Phineas was already acting as high priest, his father having made way for him by reason of old age. Confidence then mightily revived among the Hebrews, who hoped through the coming of the ark to get the better of their enemies, while the enemy were in consternation, dreading that presence of the ark among the Israelites. Howbeit, the event did not answer to the expectations of either of them, but when the clash

\[b\] In scripture the elders at the camp suggest that the ark be brought from Shiloh.
\[c\] Or, according to another reading, "for His sake that it was held in veneration."
\[d\] Amplification (along with the father's injunctions to his sons). Rabbinic tradition also states that Phinehas officiated as High Priest in the lifetime of Eli. The latter's blindness (1 Sam. iii. 3) would have disqualified him from office according to Jewish law (Lev. xxi. 18, Josephus, B.J. i. 270).
νίκην Ἑβραίοι τῶν Παλαιστίνων αὐτή γίνεται, ἢν δ’ ἐφοβουντο ὑπταν οὕτω, ταύτην Ἑβραίοι παθόντες ἐγνωσαν αὐτοὺς μάτην ἐπὶ τῇ κυβωτῷ τεθαρσηκότας· ἐτράπησάν τε γὰρ εὐθὺς εἰς χείρας ἐλθόντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπεβαλον εἰς τρισμυρίους, ἐν οἷς ἔπεσον καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἁρχιερέως νιένις, τῇ τε κυβωτὸς ἠγετο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

357 (3) Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς ἡττησ εἰς τὴν Σιλω καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς κυβωτοῦ, Βενιαμίνθης γὰρ τις αὐτοῖς ἁγγελος ἀφικνεῖται νεανίας παρατευχῶς τῷ γεγονότι, πένθους ἀνεπλήσθη πάσα

358 ἡ πόλις. καὶ Ἡλεῖς ὁ ἁρχιερεύς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ καθ’ ἐτέρας τῶν πυλῶν ἐφ’ υψηλοι θρόνοι, ἀκούσας οἰμωγῆς καὶ νομίσας νεωτέρον τι πεπράξαται περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ μεταπεμφάμενους τῶν νεανίων, ὡς ἐγνω τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, βάψω ἢν ἐπὶ τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς συνεννηγεμένοις1 περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἂν προεγνωκώς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ συμβησόμενον καὶ προσηγγελκώς· συνέχει2 γὰρ ἰκανῶς3 τὰ παρὰ τὴν4 προσδοκίαν συντυχόντα τῶν δεινῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν κυβωτὸν ἠκουσεν ἡχμαλωσίαθα πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ’ ἐλπίδας αὐτῶ τοῦτο προσπεσεῖν περιαλγήσας ἀποκυλισθεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τελευτᾷ, ὅκτω καὶ ἐνενθέκεται βιώσας ἐτη τὰ πάντα καὶ τούτων τὰ5 τεσσαράκοντα κατασχὼν τὴν ἁρχήν.

360 (4) Θυνήσκει δὲ κατ’ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ Ἡ Φινεέσου τοῦ παιδὸς γυνῆ μή καρτερήσασα ζῆν ἐπὶ τῇ τάνδρος δυστυχία. κυοῦσῃ μὲν αὐτῇ

1 Text doubtful: ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ συνεννηγεμένῳ
2 confundunt Lat.: συνέχει Naber.
3 ἀκριβῶς ROE.
4 τὰ κατὰ OE: τὰ R.
5 τὰ om. ROE.

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came, that victory for which the Hebrews hoped went to the Philistines, and that defeat which these feared was sustained by the Hebrews, who learnt that their trust in the ark had been in vain. For soon as ever they closed with the enemy they were routed and lost some thirty thousand men, among the fallen being the sons of the high priest; and the ark was carried off by the enemy.

(3) When the defeat and the capture of the ark were reported in Silo—the news was brought by a young Benjamite who had been present at the action—the whole city was filled with lamentation. And Eli the high priest, who was sitting at one of the two gates on a lofty seat, hearing the wails and surmising that some grave disaster had befallen his offspring, sent for the young man; and when he learnt the issue of the battle, he bore with moderate composure the fate of his sons and that which had happened to the army, seeing that he had known beforehand from God and had forewarned them of that which was to come, for men are affected most by those shocks that fall unexpectedly. But when he heard moreover that the ark had been captured by the enemy, in an agony of grief at this unlooked for tidings, he tumbled from his seat and expired, having lived ninety and eight years in all and for 15. forty of them held supreme power.

(4) That same day died also the wife of his son Phinees, having not the strength to survive her husband’s misfortune. She was indeed with child

* So Heb. and some mss. of LXX; the majority of the mss. of the Greek Bible read “twenty.”
προσηγγέλη το περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πάθος, τίκτει δ' ἐπταμημαίον παῖδα, δὲν καὶ ζήσαντα 'Ἰωχάβην προσηγόρευσαν, σημαίνει δὲ ἀδοξίαν τὸ ὄνομα, διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν δύσκλειαν τότε τῷ στρατῷ.

361 (5) ᾍρεσε δὲ πρῶτος Ἡλεὶς Ἰδαμάρου τῆς ἑτέρου τῶν Ἀαρώνος νιῶν οἰκίας. ἡ γὰρ Ἑλεαζάρου οἰκία τὸ πρῶτον ἱεράτο παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐπιδεχόμενοι τὴν τιμήν, ἐκεῖνός τε Φινεέση τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσι, μεθ' ὅν Ἀβιεζέρης νῖός ὁν αὐτοὶ τὴν τιμήν παραλαβῶν παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Βόκκε τοῦνομα αὐτὴν κατέλιπε, παρ' οὗ διεδέξατο ὁ Ὅζις νῖός ὁν, μεθ' ὅν Ἡλεὶς ἐσχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ γένος τοῦ ἁπ' ἐκεῖνου μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ² Σωλόμωνος βασιλείαν καιρῶν. τότε δὲ οἱ Ἑλεαζάρου πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀπέλαβον.

1 v.II. Ἰωαχάβην, Ἰαχώβην etc.
2 toû om. MSPLE.

ᵃ Unscriptural detail. Rabbinic tradition includes Samuel but not Ichabod, among seven months' children.
ᵇ Bibl. I-chabod (= "no glory").
when she was told of his fate, and she gave birth to a seven months' son; and him, since he lived, they called Jochabes (a name signifying "ingloriousness") because of the ignominy that then befell the army.

(5) Eli was the first to bear rule of the house of Ithamar, the second of Aaron's sons; for the house of Eleazar held the high priesthood at the first, the dignity descending from father to son. Eleazar, the first to bear rule of the house of Succession Ithamar, the second of Aaron's sons; for the house of Eleazar held the high priesthood at the first, the dignity descending from father to son. Eleazar transmitted it to Phinees his son, after whom Abiezer his son received it, leaving it to his son, named Bokki, from whom Ozis his son inherited it; it was after him that Eli, of whom we have been speaking, held the priesthood, as also his posterity down to the times of the reign of Solomon. Then the descendants of Eleazar once more recovered it.

* Based not on Scripture, but on tradition (see M. Weill's note).

* Gr. "one of two." Of the four sons of Aaron—Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar—the first two died young (1 Chron. xxiv. 1 f.).

* Bibl. Abishua (1 Chron. vi. 4).

* Bibl. Bukki.

* Bibl. Uzzi.
BIBLION 5

(i. 1) Λαβόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων κιβωτῶν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, εἰς Ἀξωτὸν ἐκόμισαν πόλιν καὶ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν ὑσπέρ τι λάφυρον, Δαγὼν

2 δ' οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, τιθέασι. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἄρχην εἰσίσωντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπιτυγχάνονσιν αὐτῷ τούτῳ ποιοῦντι τὴν κιβωτόν· ἐκεῖτο γὰρ ἀποπεπτωκὼς τῆς βάσεως, ἐφ' ὑς εστῶς διετέλει· καὶ βαστάσαντες πάλιν ἐφιστάσιν αὐτὸν ἑπὶ ταύτης, δυσφορήσαντες ἑπὶ τῶν γεγενημένων. πολλάκις δὲ φοιτώντες παρὰ τὸν Δαγὼν καὶ καταλαμβάνοντες ὁμοίως ἑπὶ τοῦ προσκυνούντος τὴν κιβωτὸν σχῆματος κείμενον, ἐν ἀπορία δεινῇ καὶ συγχύσει 3 καθόταντο. καὶ τελευταίοι ἀπέσκηψαν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀξωτῶν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν φθοράν τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόσον· ἀπέθνησκοι γὰρ ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας, πάθους χαλεποῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναιρέσιον ἔξυπνος τὴν ἐπιφέροντος πρὶν ἡ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς εὐθανάτως ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ σώματος, τὰ ἐντὸς ἀναφέροντες 2 διαβεβρωμένα καὶ παντοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς νοσοῦ δυ- εφθαρμένα· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μυνῶν πλῆθος

1 Ε.: - ἀπ' αὐτῆς SP.: + ἐπ' αὐτῆς rell.
2 + ἐξεμοῦντες codd. (gloss).

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BOOK VI

(i. 1) The Philistines, having captured their enemies' ark, as we have said a while ago, carried it to the city of Azotus\(^a\) and placed it as a trophy beside their own god, who was called Dagon. But on the morrow, when all at break of day entered the temple to adore their god, they found him doing the like to the ark; for he lay prostrate, having fallen from the pedestal whereon he had always stood. So they lifted him and set him again thereon, sore distressed at what had passed. But when oft-times\(^b\) visiting Dagon they ever found him in a like posture of prostration before the ark, they were plunged into dire perplexity and dismay. And in the end the Deity launched upon the city of the Azotians and upon their country destruction and disease. For they died of dysentery,\(^c\) a grievous malady and inflicting most rapid dissolution, or ever their soul by blessed death was parted from the body, for they brought up their entrails all consumed and in every way corrupted by the disease. As for what was on the land, a swarm of \(v. 6 \text{ LXX.}\)

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\(^a\) The Greek (lxx) name for the Heb. Ashdod.
\(^b\) The Bible mentions only a second visit, adding details on the shattering of the image.
\(^c\) The word used in Scripture probably means "plague boils."
JOSEPHUS

ἀνελθοντι κατέβλαψε μήτε φυτῶν μήτε καρπῶν ἀποσχόμενον. ἐν δὲ τούτους ὄντες τοὺς κακοῖς οἱ Ἀζωτοὶ καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀντέχειν οὐ δυνάμενοι συνῆκαν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ταύτας αὐτοῖς ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ταύτης αἰχμαλωσίαν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ γεγενημένην. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας ἄξιοντες τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτῶν παρὰ σφάς δέχεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς ἡ τῶν Ἀζωτῶν δέσις προσέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπινεύοντες μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν, λαβόντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίως δευνοῖς κατέστησαν· συνεξεκόμισε γὰρ αὕτη τὰ τῶν Ἀζωτῶν ἡ κιβωτὸς πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὴν δεχομένους· καὶ πρὸς ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσιν Ἀσκαλωνίτας νῦτα. μένει δ' οὖδὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν αὐτῶν παθῶν ἐλαυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐχομένας ἀπολύουσι πόλεις. καὶ τούτοις ἐκπεριέρχεται τὸν τρόπον τὰς πέντε τῶν Παλαιστίνων πόλεις ἡ κιβωτὸς ὡσπερ δασμὸν ἀπαιτοῦσα παρ' ἐκάστης τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔλθειν ἃ δι' αὐτὴν ἐπασχον.

7 (2) Ἀπειρηκότες δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ πεπεραμένοι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούοντοι αὐτὰ διδασκαλία γνώμενοι τοῦ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν κιβωτὸν ποτὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοιοῦτῳ μισθῷ καὶ τέλει, τὸ λοιπὸν ἐξήτουν μηχανὴν καὶ πόρον ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῆς.

8 καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ ἐκ τῶν πέντε πόλεων ἀρχοντες, Γίττης καὶ Ἀκκάρων καὶ Ἀσκάλωνος ἔτι δὲ

1 Lat.: + ἐπὶ (τὰ ἐπὶ Μ, ἀπὸ Ε, ἐκ ΣΠ) τῆς γῆς codd. 166
mice,\(^a\) coming up from beneath, ravaged it all, sparing neither plant nor fruit. Being, then, in this evil plight and powerless to withstand their calamities, the Azotians understood that it was from the ark that they arose and that their victory and the capture of this trophy had not been for their welfare. They therefore sent to the men of Ascalon\(^b\) and begged them to receive the ark into their keeping. And these, listening not unwillingly to the request of the Azotians, consented to do them this service; but no sooner had they taken the ark than they found themselves in the like woes, for the ark carried along with it the plagues of the Azotians to those who received it from their hands. So the Ascalonites rid themselves of it, sending it off to others. But neither did it abide with these, for, being beset by the same sufferings, they dismissed it to the neighbouring cities. And on this wise the ark went the round of the five cities of the Philistines, exacting from each, as it were toll for its visit to them, the ills which it caused them to suffer.

(2) Exhausted by these miseries, the victims, whose fate was becoming a lesson to all who heard of it never to receive this ark among them at such a meed and price, henceforth sought ways and means to get rid of it. So the lords of the five cities—Gitta, Akkaron, Ascalon, along with Gaza and Azotus—

\(^a\) Josephus agrees with the lxx in mentioning the mice at this point: the Hebrew text only alludes to them later (vi. 4 f.).

\(^b\) In Scripture, after a meeting of the lords of the Philistines, the ark is sent first to Gath and then to Ekron (lxx Ascalon).

\(\text{Deliberation and decision of the Philistines.}
\text{Cf. 1 Sam. vi. 1.}\)
In Scripture (vi. 2) the Philistines summon "the priests and the diviners," who propose the course which is followed. The meeting described in Josephus, with the views of the three parties, is an invention of the "Sophoclean" assistant: for a similar conflict of opinions cf. 1. iii. 96 ff., where, as

1 ex Lat. Hudson: υγιῇ codd.  
2 om. ROM.

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met to deliberate what they ought to do.\(^a\) Their first resolution was to send the ark back to its own people, inasmuch as God was championing its cause and that was why these horrors had accompanied it and burst along with it into their cities. But there were others who said that they should not do thus nor be deluded into attributing the cause of their misfortunes to the ark: it possessed no such power and might, for, were it under the care of God, it would never have fallen into the hands of men. Their advice was to sit still and to bear these accidents with equanimity, accounting their cause to be no other than nature herself, who periodically produces such changes in men's bodies, in earth, and in plants and all the products of earth. However, both these proposals were defeated by the counsel of men who in times past had obtained credit for superior intelligence and sagacity, and who now above all seemed to say just what befitted the occasion. Their verdict was neither to send back the ark nor to detain it, but to dedicate to God five images\(^b\) of gold, one on behalf of each city, as a thank-offering\(^c\) to Him for His care for their salvation and for having kept them in the land of the living when they were like to be harried out of it by plagues which they could no longer face, and withal as many golden mice like to those that had overrun and ruined their here (§ 9), one party is for retaining composure (\(\pi \rho \alpha \omega s \, \varepsilon \chi \varepsilon \omega \nu \)). This assistant's love of trichotomy extends to details, e.g. the \(\tau \rho \lambda \delta \delta \eta s\) (§ 11) and the division of the 5 cities into 3 + 2 by the insertion of \(\varepsilon \tau \iota \, \delta \varepsilon \) (§ 8).

\(^a\) Statuettes in human form: bibl. "tumours" or rather "boils," lxx \(\dot{e} \delta \rho \alpha \varsigma\) (models of the \(\alpha \nu \nu s\), as symbols of the plague).

\(^b\) In Scripture as a "guilt-offering" (vi. 3), in compensation for the wrong done to the ark.
JOSEPHUS

11 καὶ διαφθείρασι τὴν χώραν ἐμφερεῖς· ἐπείτα βαλόντας εἰς γλωσσόκομον αὐτούς καὶ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, ἀμαζὰν αὐτῇ καὶ ἐκατοσκευάσαι, καὶ βόας ὑποζευγαίας ἄρτιτόκοις τὰς μὲν πόρτις ἐγκλείσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν, μὲν ταῖς μητράσιν ἐμποδῶν ἐπόμεναι γένωνται, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ὄξυτεραν ποιῶνται τὴν πορείαν· ἐκεῖνας δὲ ἐξελάσαντας τὴν κιβωτὸν φεροῦσας ἐπὶ τρίοδον καταλύειν αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέφαντας ἥν βουλονται τῶν

12 ὁδὼν ἀπελθεῖν· κἂν μὲν τὴν Ἐββαίων ἀπίωσι καὶ τὴν τούτων χώραν ἀναβαίνωσιν, ὑπολαμβάνει τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτίαν τῶν κακῶν, "ἀν δὲ ἄλλην τράπωνται, μεταδώσωμεν αὐτῇ," ἐφασαν, "μαθόντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἱσχύν τοιαύτην ἔχει." 

13 (3) Ἐκρυνὼν δὲ αὐτὰ καλῶς εἰρήσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς εὐθὺς τὴν γνώμην ἐκκύρωσαν. καὶ ποιήσαντες μὲν τὰ προερημένα προάγουσι τὴν ἀμαξῶν ἐπὶ τὴν τρίοδον καὶ καταλύσαντες ἀνεκχώρησαν, τῶν δὲ βοῶν τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ὑστερ ἡγουμένου τῶν αὐταῖς ἀπιούσων, ἡκολούθου ὡς τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες, ποῦ ποτε στῆσονται καὶ πρὸς τίνας ἠξονοῦ πουλόμενοι μαθεῖν. κώμῃ δὲ τῷ ἔστι τῆς Ἰουόδα φυλῆς Βήθης ὁ ὄνομα· εἰς ταύτην ἀφικνοῦνται αἱ βόες, καὶ πεδίου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ τῆς πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξαμένου παύονται προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, στῆσασι τὴν ἀμαξὰν αὐτοῦμε. θέα δὲ τὴν τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἐγένοντο· θέρους γὰρ ὡρα πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν

1 Βηθσάμη SP, Bethsamis Lat.

a Bibl. Beth-shemesh (lxx Βαθσάμως), modern 'Ain Shems, on the border of Judah about 12 miles S.E. of Ekron. 170
country. Then, having placed these in a coffer and set it upon the ark, they should make for this a new wain, and should yoke thereto kine that had freshly calved, and should shut up and retain the calves, in order that these might not retard their mothers by following them, and they, through yearning for their young, might make the more speed upon their way. Then having driven them, drawing the ark, out to a place where three roads met, they should there leave them, suffering them to take which of the roads they would. Should the kine take the route to the Hebrews and mount into their country, they must regard the ark as the cause of all these ills; but should they turn elsewhere, "then," said they, "let us pursue after it, having learnt that it possesses no such power."

(3) Judging this to have been well spoken, they straightway ratified the counsel by acting thereon. Having made the objects aforesaid, they conducted the wain to the cross-roads, where they left it and retired. Then, seeing the kine go straight on, as though someone were leading them, the lords of the Philistines followed, fain to find out where they would halt and to whom they would betake themselves. Now there is a village of the tribe of Judah by name Bethes: thither it was that the kine came: a great and beauteous plain awaited their footsteps— they would proceed no further but stayed the wagon there. A sight was this for the villagers and they were overcome with joy; for it being the summer season when all were out in the cornfields to gather

\[ \text{"The cart came into the field of Joshua the Beth-shemite," 1 Sam. vi. 14.} \]
JOSEPHUS

ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ὑπάρχουσι, ὡς εἶδον τὴν κιβω-τόν, ὧφ' ἡδονής ἀρπαγέντες καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἥκ τῶν χειρῶν ἀφέντες ἔδραμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἅμαξαν. 15 καὶ καθελόντες τὴν κιβωτόν καὶ τὸ ἄγγος, ὃ τοὺς ἀνδριάντας εἶχε καὶ τοὺς μύς, τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τινός πέτρας, ἤτις ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ θύσαντες λαμπρῶς τῷ θεῷ καὶ κατευκηθέντες τὴν τε ἀμαξαν καὶ τοὺς βοῶς ἄλοκαυτώσαν, καὶ ταῦτ’ ἰδόντες οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἀρχόντες ἀνέστρεψαν ὁπίσω.

16 (4) Ὁργή δὲ καὶ χόλος τοῦ θεοῦ μέτειοι ἐβδο-μήκοντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Βῆθης κώμης, οὐς ὁντας ἄξιους ἀμαθοῦν τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἔρεις γὰρ οὐκ ἦσαν, καὶ προσελθόντας αὐτὴ βαλῶν ἀπέκτεινεν. ἔκλαυσαν δὲ ταῦτα παθόντας αὐτοὺς οἱ κωμῆται, καὶ πένθος ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ἦγειραν οἶδον εἰκός ἐπὶ θεοπέμπτω κακῶ καὶ τὸν ἱδιὸν ἐκαστος ἀπεδρήμεν.

17 τοῦ τε μένειν τὴν κιβωτόν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀναξίους ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοῦν τῶν Ἐβραίων πέμψαντες ἐδήλουν ἀποδεδόσθαι τὴν κιβωτόν ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων. κακείνου γνώντες τοῦτο ἀποκομίζουσιν αὐτὴν εἰς Καραθιαρείμ.

18 γείτονα πόλιν τῆς Βῆθης κώμης. ένθα τῶν Λευτῶν τὸ γένος Ἁμναδάβου δόξαν ἐχόντως ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ θρησκεία καταβιοῦντος εἰς οἰκίαν

1 Niese: ὡς codd.
2 edd.: αὐτοὺς codd.
3 τῆς B, κώμης] τοῖς Βηθσαμίταις M (Lat.): τοῖς Βηθάμης SP.

α “To Ekron,” ib. 16.
β Bibl. “seveny men (and) fifty thousand men” (similarly lxx); an impossible reading. The larger figure is commonly rejected as a gloss, from which, it appears, the Biblical text of Josephus was free.
γ Not in Scripture, which merely says that “they had looked into (or rather “gazed upon”) the ark.” For the
in the crops, so soon as they saw the ark, they were transported with delight and, dropping their work from their hands, ran straight for the wain. Then, having taken down the ark and the vessel containing the images and the mice, they set them upon a rock which stood in the plain, and, after offering splendid sacrifice to God and keeping merry feast, consumed wagon and kine as a burnt-offering. And, having seen all this, the lords of the Philistines turned back again.

(4) Howbeit, the wrath and indignation of God visited seventy of them of the village of Bethes, whom He smote and slew for approaching the ark, which, not being priests, they were not privileged to touch. The villagers bewailed these victims, raising over them lamentation such as was fitting over a God-sent evil, and each man mourned for his own. Then, pronouncing themselves unworthy of retaining the ark among them, they sent word to the general assembly of the Hebrews that the ark had been restored by the Philistines. And these, on hearing thereof, conveyed it away to Kariathiaraim, a neighbouring city of the village of Bethes; and since there lived there a man of the stock of Levi, Aminadab, reputed for his righteousness and piety, Rabbinical opinions concerning the nature of their crime see M. Weill's note.

d In Scripture (1 Sam. vi. 24) word is sent, not to all the Hebrews, but only to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim.

e So Lxx: Heb. Kiriath-jearim, perhaps the modern Kuryet el 'Enab, some 9 miles N.E. of Beth-shemesh. Shiloh, the original home of the ark, was possibly now in Philistine hands.

f So Lxx: Heb. Abinadab. Scripture does not say that he was a Levite. A Levite Aminadab, contemporary with David, is mentioned in 1 Chr. xv. 11.
τὴν κιβωτῶν ἧγαγον, ὥσπερ εἰς πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ τότον ἐν ὧ κατέκει δίκαιος ἀνθρώπος. ἔθεράπευον δὲ τὴν κιβωτῶν οἱ τούτου παίδες, καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἔως ἐτῶν εἰκοσι προεστησαν τοσαίτα γὰρ ἐμενεν ἐν τῇ Καριακαρεῖμι ποιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις μηνας τέσσαρας.

19 (ii. 1) Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκεῖνο τῷ χρόνῳ, καθ’ ὅν εἶχεν ἡ τῶν Καριακαρείμων πόλις τὴν κιβωτῶν, ἐπ’ εὐχάς καὶ θυσίας τραπέντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολλὴν ἐμφανίζοντος τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν θρησκείαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ προφήτης Σαμουήλ ἴδὼν αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, ὃς εὐκαίρον ὄν πρὸς οὕτως ἐχοντισ ἐἰπεῖν περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, χρῆται λόγοις οἰς ἄνετο μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν προσάξεσθαι καὶ πείσειν. “ἄνδρες,” γὰρ ἐἰπεῖν, “οἳς ἔτι νῦν βαρεῖς μὲν πολέμιοι Παλαιστίνοι, θεὸς δ’ εὐμενῆς ἀρχεῖαι γίνεσθαι καὶ φίλοι, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐλευθερίας δεὶ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν δ’ ἄν ἐλθοὺ πρὸς ᾿ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ βουλεύσθαι μὲν ἀπηλλάξαθαι δεσποτῶν ἐπιμένειν δὲ πράττοντας ἐξ ὧν οὕτω διαμενοῦσιν.

21 ἀλλὰ γίνεσθαι δίκαιοι, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐκ-βαλόντες τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτάς, ὡς ταῖς διανοίασι προστρέπεσθε το θεῖον καὶ τιμῶντες διατελέσθε ταύτα γὰρ ὑμῖν ποιοῦσιν ὑζει τὰ ἀγαθά, δουλείας ἀπαλλαγῇ καὶ νίκῃ πολεμίων, ἃ λαβεῖν οὐθ’ ὀπλοὶς οὗτε σωμάτων

1 conj. Niese.
2 ex Lat. easque purgantes: καὶ θεραπεύοντες (-santes RO) αὐτίν codd.: καὶ θ. ἀρετήν Weill.
3 Hudson: προτρέπεσθε codd.

*Bibl. “Eleazar his son.”*
they brought the ark into his house, as to a place beseeming God, being the abode of a righteous man. This man's sons a tended the ark and had the charge of it for twenty years; for it remained all that time at Kariathiareim, after spending four months b among the Philistines.

(ii. 1) Now throughout the time when the city of Kariathiareim had the ark in its keeping, the whole people betook themselves to prayer and the offering of sacrifices to God, and displayed great zeal in serving Him. So the prophet Samuel, seeing their ardour and reckoning the occasion meet, while they were of this mind, to speak to them of liberty and the blessings that it brings, addressed them in words which he deemed most apt to win and to persuade their hearts. "Sirs," said he, "ye who yet to-day have grievous enemies in the Philistines, albeit God is beginning to be gracious to you and a friend, ye ought not to be content to yearn for liberty, but should do also the deeds whereby ye may attain it, nor merely long to be rid of your masters, while continuing so to act that they shall remain so. Nay, be ye righteous and, casting out wickedness c from your souls and purging them, d turn with all your hearts to the Deity and persevere in honouring Him. Do ye but so and there will come prosperity, deliverance from bondage and victory over your foes, blessings which are to be won neither by arms nor

b Bibl. "seven months" (1 Sam. vi. 1).

c Bibl. "put away the strange gods and the Ashtaroth from among you" (vii. 3).

d Text a little doubtful: it has been proposed, by a slight change, to read "and cultivating virtue" (ἀπετήνυ ἐν πλάτει of αὐτᾶς).
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άλκαίς οὔτε πλήθει συμμάχων δυνατόν ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπισχνεῖται παρέξειν αὐτά, τῷ δ’ ἀγαθοῖς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους· ἐγγυητῆς δὲ 22 αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγὼ γίνομαι." ταῦτ’ εἰ- πόντος ἐπευφήμησε τὸ πλήθος ἦσθεν τῇ παρανύσει καὶ κατένευσεν αὐτὸ παρέξεων κεχαρισμένον τῷ θεῷ. συνάγει δ’ αὐτοὺς ὁ Σαμουήλος εἰς τινὰ πόλιν λεγομένην Μασφάτην· κατοπτευόμενον τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἐβραίων γλώτταν· ἐντεύ- θεν ὑδρευσάμενοι τε σπένδουσι τῷ θεῷ καὶ δια- νηστεύσαντες ὅλην τὴν ἦμεραν ἐπ’ εὐχάς τρέπονται.

23 (2) Οὐ λανθάνουσι δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκεί συναχθέντες, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες οὗτοι τὴν ἄθροισιν αὐτῶν, μεγάλη στρατιὰ καὶ δυνάμει κατ’ ἐλπίδα τού μὴ προσδοκῶσι μηδὲ παρεσκευασμένοι ἐπι- 24 πεσείσθαι τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐπέρχονται. καταπλήττει δ’ αὐτοὺς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ταραχὴν ἄγει καὶ δέος, καὶ δραμόντες πρὸς Σαμουήλον, ἀναπεπτωκέναι τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἡττης ἐφασκον καὶ διὰ τούτ’ ἱρμεῖν, "ιὰ μὴ κινήσωμεν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, σοῦ δ’ ἀναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐπ’ εὐχάς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὅρκους γυμνοὺς καὶ ἀόπλους ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ πολέμοι· ἐλπὶς οὖν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλῃ σωτηρίᾳ, ἥ μόνη ἡ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱκετεύθεντος ὑπὸ

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a Bibl. Mizpah (= "watch-tower," "outlook-point"), lxx Μασ(σ)ηφαθ; identified by some scholars with modern Nebi Samwil, 5 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, by others with Tell-en-Nasbeh, about 8 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

b Or "a conspicuous (place)."

c Gr. "with a great army and strength," an instance of hendiadys or the use of two words for one, which from 176
by personal prowess nor by a host of combatants; for it is not for these that God promises to bestow those blessings, but for lives of virtue and righteousness. And as surety for His promises, here I take my stand.” These words were acclaimed by the people, who were delighted with the exhortation and vowed to render themselves acceptable unto God. Samuel then gathered them to a city called Masphate, which in the Hebrew tongue signifies “espied.” There, having drawn water, they made libations to God and, fasting throughout the day, gave themselves unto prayer.

(2) However their gathering at this spot did not pass unperceived by the Philistines, who, having learnt of their mustering, advanced upon the Hebrews with an army mighty in strength, hoping to surprise them while off their guard and unprepared. Dismayed by this attack and plunged into confusion and alarm, the Hebrews, hastening to Samuel, declared that their courage had flagged through fear and the memory of their former defeat. “That,” said they, “was why we sat still, in order not to stir up the enemy’s forces. But, when thou hadst brought us up hither for prayers, sacrifices and oaths, now the enemy are upon us while we are naked and unarmed. Other hope of salvation therefore have we none, save from thee alone and from God, should He be entreated

this point onward characterizes this book: cf. § 24 ταραχή καὶ δέος, γνωριμία καὶ ἄπλοιος, § 25 νίκη καὶ κράτος etc. The preference for the double word distinguishes the writer of this portion—whether Josephus himself or another assistant—from the “Sophoclean” assistant who has a partiality for grouping in threes (e.g. § 21 τὰ ἀγαθά, δοιλείας ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ νίκη ... οὗτ' ὑπόλοιον ὁδεῖ σωμάτων ἄλκαίς ὁδὲ πλήθει). See Vol. IV. Introduction.
25 σοῦ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν διαφυγεῖν Παλαιστίνους.” ο’

26 κράτος. ἔτι δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντος

27 ὁτ’ εἰ προύλεγέ τις ῥαδίως ἐπείσθησαν. πρῶτον

28 γυμνὸς εἰς φυγὴν ἀπέστρεφεν. ἐπεξήρξεται δ’

a Gr. “God still had the sacrifice upon the altar” etc.; a Semitic form of expression (sacrifice being conceived as the food of the Deity) here imported into the Biblical text, which has merely “And as Samuel was offering up the burnt-offering.”
by thee to afford us escape from the Philistines." But Samuel bade them be of good cheer and promised that God would succour them. Then, taking a suckling lamb, he sacrificed it on behalf of the throng and besought God to extend His right hand over them in the battle with the Philistines and not suffer them to undergo a second reverse. And God hearkened to his prayers and, accepting the sacrifice in gracious and befriending spirit, gave them assurance of victory and triumph. God’s victim was still upon the altar and He had not yet wholly consumed it through the sacred flame, when the enemy’s forces issued from their camp and drew up for battle, expectant of victory, thinking to have caught the Jews in a hopeless plight, seeing that they were without arms and had assembled there with no intention of battle. But the Philistines encountered what, had one foretold it, they would scarcely have believed. For, first, God vexed them with earthquake, rocking and making tremulous and treacherous the ground beneath them, so that from its reeling their footsteps staggered and at its parting they were engulfed in sundry of its chasms. Next He deafened them with thunder-claps, made fiery lightning to flash around them as it were to burn out their eyes, struck the arms from their hands, and so turned them weaponless to flight. But Samuel now rushed upon them with his people and, having massacred many, pursued them to a certain place called Korraea; and there he set up

\[b\] A recurrent anachronism for "Hebrews" or "Israelites" (§§ 30, 40 etc.).

\[c\] Scripture mentions only "a great thunder."

\[d\] Bibl. Beth-car, Bb\(\theta\)\(\chi\)\(\rho\); possibly modern 'A\(\in\) Karim, some 5 miles S. of Mizpah, and due W. of Jerusalem.
ορον τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν πολεμίων, ἵσχυρὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει, σύμβολον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένης αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἔχθρῶν ἱσχύος.

29 (3) Ὅδε μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν πληγήν οὐκέτι ἐστρατεύσαν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραήλιτας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μνήμης τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἡμῶν ἢμαρτον. δ' ἢ ἢ πάλαι θάρσος τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραῖοι, τούτ' ἐκείνων μετὰ τῆς νίκης ἐγένετο. καὶ Σαμούήλος στρατεύσας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἀναρίζει πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ φρονήματ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παντελῆς ταπεινὸ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφαίρεται, ἢν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπετέμοντο πρότερον κρατήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ αὐτή δ', ἢν μέχρι πόλεως Ἀκκάρων ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Γίττης ὄρων ἐκτεταμένη. ἢν δ' ἢ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν φίλια τοῖς Ἰσραήλιταις τὰ υπολειπόμενα τῶν Χαναάιων.

31 (iii. 1) Ὅδε προφήτης Σαμούήλος διακοσμήσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ πόλιν ἐκάστους ἀποδοὺς εἰς ταύτην ἐκέλευσε συνερχομένοις περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρίνοντας διαφορὰς, αὐτὸς δὲ δ' ἐτοις ἐπερχόμενος τὰς πόλεις ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλῆν ἐβράβευεν εὐνομίαν ἐπὶ χρόνον πολίων. (2) ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ γήρως βαρυνόμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράττεν ἐμποδιζόμενος, τοὺς υἱοὺς τῆς ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προ-

1 οὐκέτι ἐστράτ. Niese: οὐκ ἐπεστράτευσαν codd.
2 conj.: αὐτοῖς codd.
3 δ' ἐτοις RO: δ' οὖν ἐτοις rell., Lat., E (vid.).

* Bibl. Eben-'ezer (="stone of help”), lxx Ἄβενέζεφ (adding the translation λίθος τοῦ βοήθου, “stone of the helper”); in place of ‘ezer Josephus probably read ‘oz (“strength”).

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a stone as landmark of the victory and of the flight of the foe, and called it "Strong (stone)," in token of the strength which God had lent them against their enemies.

(3) Those enemies, after that discomfiture, invaded the Israelites no more, but through fear and a remembrance of what had befallen them remained still; and that confidence which of old had animated the Philistines against the Hebrews passed after this victory to their opponents. And so Samuel, taking the field against them, slew multitudes, utterly humbled their pride, and took from them the country which they had erstwhile torn from the Jews after their victory in battle, to wit the region extending from the borders of Gitta to the city of Akkaron. And at that time there was amity between the Israelites and the remnant of the Canaanites.

(iii. 1) Moreover, the prophet Samuel, having divided the people and assigned a city to each group, bade them resort thither for trial of the differences that arose between them. He himself going annually on circuit to these cities judged their causes and so continued for long to administer perfect justice. Thereafter, oppressed with age and impeded from following his wonted course, he consigned the

\( \text{b i.e. "from Ekron even unto Gath" (1 Sam. vii. 14)}. \)

\( \text{c Bibl. "And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites."} \)

\( \text{d With slight emendation of the Greek, which reads "a city to them." Scriptur} \)

\( \text{e Another reading is "twice a year." M. Weill, adopting this text, suggests th} \)

\( \text{Samuel recovers conquered territory. Sam. vii. 13.} \)

\( \text{Samuel as judge. 1 Sam. vii. 15.} \)

\( \text{Degeneracy of Samuel’s sons.} \)
στασίαν τοῦ ἑθνὸς¹ παραδίδωσιν, ὃν δὲ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἰουλίος² προσηγορεύετο, τῷ δὲ νεωτέρῳ Ἀβίρα³ ὄνομα ᾐν. προσεταξε δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐν Βεθῆλῳ πόλει καθεξόμενον κρίνειν, τὸν δ’ ἐτερον ἐν Βερσουβεία⁴ μερίσας τὸν ὑπακοουσόμενον ἐκατέρων

33 λαὸν. ἐγένοντο δὲ σαφὲς ὁδοὶ παράδειγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ τὸν τρόπον ὁμοίους τοὺς φύσας γνέφαθαί τινας, ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν χρήστους καὶ μετρίους ἐκ πονηρῶν, τότε μὲν γε φαύλους ἔξ

34 ἀγαθῶν παρέσχον αὐτοὺς γενομένους· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκτραπόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν ὀδὸν ἀπελθόντες δώρων καὶ λημμάτων αἰσχρῶν καθυβέντο τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ποιοῦμενοι καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πρὸς διαίτας πολυτελείς ἀπονευκόστες, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπεναντία ταῦτα ἔπρασσον τῷ θεῷ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ προφήτῃ πατρὶ δ’ ἑαυτῶν, ὅς πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι δίκαιον σπουδὴν ἐσεφέρετο καὶ πρόνοιαν.

35 (3) Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἐξυπρεζόντων εἰς τὴν προτέραν κατάστασιν καὶ πολυτείαν τῶν τοῦ προφήτου παίδων, χαλεπῶς τε τοῖς πραττομένοις ἑφερε καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν συντρέχουσι, διέτριβε δ’ ἐν Ἀρμαθὰ πόλει, καὶ τάς τε τῶν νυφῶν παρανομίας ἔλεγον καὶ ὅτι γηραιός ὢν αὐτὸς ἦδη καὶ παρεμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προ-

36 εστάναι δύναται τρόπων ἐδέοντο τε καὶ ὑκέτευν ἀποδεϊξαί τινα αὐτῶν βασιλέα, δς ἄρξει τοῦ ἑθνος καὶ τιμωρήσεται Παλαιστίνων ὀφείλοντας ἐτ’ αὐ-

¹ RO: πλῆθος rell. ² RO: Ὀψαλ διʼ Ἰωσ ἢ (Ἰωσὴλ) rell. ³ M(SP): Ἐβία RO: Ἀβίας E Lat.; Ἀβία Zon. ⁴ Βαρσουβία MSP: Bersabe Lat.
government and direction of the nation to his sons, of whom the elder was called Iulus \(^a\) and the younger bore the name of Abira \(^b\); and he charged the one to sit in judgement at the city of Bethel and the other at Bersubei,\(^c\) apportioning the people that should come under the jurisdiction of each. Howbeit these youths furnished a signal illustration and proof that sons need not be like in character to their sires, nay, that maybe good, honest folk are sprung from knaves, while the offspring of virtuous parents have proved depraved. For they, turning from their father's ways and taking the contrary road, betrayed justice for bribes and filthy lucre, pronounced judgement with regard not to the truth but to their own profit, and abandoned themselves to luxury and sumptuous fare, thereby acting in defiance first of God and secondly of the prophet, their own father, who was devoting much zeal and care to instilling even into the multitude the idea of righteousness.

(3) But the people,\(^d\) seeing these outrages upon their former constitution and government committed by the prophet's sons, brooked their proceedings ill and together sped to Samuel, then living in the city of Armatha.\(^e\) They told him of his sons' iniquities and added that, old as he now was and enfeebled by age, he could no longer himself direct affairs as aforetime; they therefore begged and implored him to appoint from among them a king, to rule the nation and to wreak vengeance on the Philistines,

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\(^a\) Bibl. Joel.

\(^b\) Bibl. Abijah (LXX Ἄβιά, with v.l. Ἄβιερά as in Josephus).

\(^c\) Bibl. "They were judges in Beer-sheba" (Bethel not being mentioned).

\(^d\) Bibl. "all the elders of Israel."

\(^e\) Ramah.
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toîs dîkas tîn prôterwv âdikhmátwv. ëlúpthsan
dê sofôdra tòn Sámounîlou oî lógoi dià tìn súm-
fytoù díkatosúnya kai tò proû toûs basileás mîsos.
ñttnto gâr dêinwos tîs ârístokratias ùs òseias kai
mâkârious pôouûsh toûs krwêmous autûs tî
37 politeía. ùpô dê frountîdos kai basávnu tîs êpî
toûs eirîmenous ùute trôfíhs ëmûnmôneusen ùute
ûpnuû, ði' òlês dê tîs nuktòs strê̂fwn tâs peri
tôn pragmátwn ènnoías diêkar térêi.
38 (4) "Êxonti dê ouûsws ëmfavanjzetai tò òseion kai
paraµwðiteîn muî ðuðoforeîn ëf' oïs ñxîswse tò
plîûdos, òs oûk ékeîwv ùpereñfanjhsantas àll' ëaûtvôn,1 ñv2 muî basileúsh3 múvos. taûta dê af' ës
ñmêrâs ëxîgagw autûs àp' Aigûpton muhxanâståi
tâ ërgaî. lîjìsesthai mûntoi ge oûk eis makrân
metânoiâs autûs èpîpnonû, "ùf' ës ouûdèn mën
ângëînton èsttai tîwv èsòmènov, èlêgkhîsontai dê
kataphronhsantas kai boulâs oûk eûxarîstovs prôs
39 èmê kai tîn sîn prôfhtetîan labûntes. kelleûw dê
seîaîeìeîn autûs ðn òn ègnî5 prôeîtov basileâa
prôdhlîswantas pòtavâv te pêirâthîsontai basí-
leuvménoi kakhv kai dîamarturâmenv èf' oîan
спeuûousi metaðbolhîn."
40 (5) Taût' âkouûsas Sámounîlos âma èw sugh-
kalêsvsa toûs 'Ioudaîous àpodeîxes auûthos basileâa
ômológhsen, ëfhi dê deîn prôtvon mên auûthos
ëkðîgíšassthai tâ pâra tîwv basileâewn èsûmena kai
ôsoux suvnevkhîsontai kakhv: "gînnwskete vàp
1 ò autûn SP : eis autûn E : autûn M. 2 eí RO.
3 basileûsh R: basileûs ò SP.
4 ñoi SE. 5 +ñoi SPE.
who yet owed them an accounting for past injuries. These words sorely grieved Samuel by reason of his innate righteousness and his hatred of kings; for he was keenly enamoured of aristocratic government, accounting it divine and productive of bliss to those who adopted it. So, from the anxiety and the torment which these speeches caused him, he had no thought for food or sleep, but passed the whole night turning over these matters in his mind.

(4) Such was his state when the Deity appeared and consoled him, telling him not to take these demands of the multitude amiss, since it was not him whom they had spurned, but God Himself, not wishing Him to reign alone; these deeds, moreover, they had (He said) been devising from the day when He had brought them forth from Egypt; howbeit they would ere long be seized with painful remorse, “a remorse by which nought will be undone of that which is to be, but which will convict them of contempt and of adopting a course ungrateful toward Me and to thy prophetic office. I therefore now charge thee to elect for them whomsoever I shall name as king, after forewarning them what ills they will suffer under kingly rule and solemnly testifying into what a change they are rushing.”

(5) Having heard these words, Samuel at daybreak called the Jews together and consented to appoint them a king, but he said that he must first set forth to them what would befall them at the hands of their kings and how many ills they would encounter. "For ye must know," said he, "that first they will

\[a\] Amplification (cf. A. ii. 171): Scripture says merely "And Samuel prayed unto the Lord " (1 Sam. viii. 6).

\[b\] See § 26 note.
ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ύμῶν ἀποσπάσοντα τὰ τέκνα καὶ
tὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀρματηλάτας εἶναι κελεύσοντι, τοὺς
d’ ἱππεῖς καὶ σωματοφύλακας, δρομεῖς δὲ ἄλλους
cαὶ χυλιάρχους καὶ ἕκατοντάρχους, ποιήσοντι δὲ
cαὶ τεχνίτας ὀπλοποιοῦς καὶ ἁρματοποιοῦς καὶ
ὄργανον τέκτων ἑωργοὺς τε καὶ τῶν ἱδίων
41 ἁγρῶν ἐπιμελητάς καὶ σκαπανεῖς ἀμπέλων, καὶ
ουδὲν ἐστὶν ὃ μὴ κελεύσομεν ποιῆσον ἄνδρα-
pόδων ἀργυρωνήτων τρόπον καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας δ’
ὑμῶν μυρεψοὺς ἀποφανοῦσι καὶ ὀψοποιοὺς καὶ
σιτοποιοὺς, καὶ πάν ἔργον ὃ θεραπανίδες ἔξ
ἀνάγκης πληγάς φοβοῦμεν καὶ βασάνους ὑπ-
ηρτήσουσιν. κτῆσιν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφαιρήσονται
καὶ ταῦτα εὐνούχοις καὶ σωματοφύλαξι δωρήσονται
καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας τοὺς αὐτῶν προσεμοῦσιν.
42 συνελόντι δ’ εἰπεῖν, δούλεύσετε μετὰ πάντων τῶν
ὑμετέρων τῷ βασιλεὶ σὺν ὡς αὐτῶν οἰκέταις;
δὲ γενόμενος ὁ μὴ, ὑμῶν τῶν δ’ λόγων
γεννήσει καὶ τῷ πάσχειν αὐτὰ μεταγνώσκοντας
τὴν θεὸν ἐλεηήσαί τε ύμᾶς καὶ δωρή-
sαθαι ταχείως ἀπαλαγή τῶν βασιλεῶν. ὅ δ’ οὖ
προσδέξεται τὰς δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ παραπέμψεις εάσει
δίκην ύποσχεῖν ύμᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβουλίας.’”

43 (6) “Ἡν δ’ ἄρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς προρρήσεις τῶν
συμβησσομένων ἀνόητον τὸ πλήθος καὶ δύσκολον
ἐξελεῖν τῆς διανοίας κρίσιν ἣδη παρὰ τῷ λογισμῷ
καθιδρυμένην. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπεστράφησαν οὖν’ ἐμέλη-

1 καὶ MSP: om. Lat.
2 δὲ γενόμενος ἰσοι γενόμενοι Μ Lat. (+ καὶ Lat. ut vid.).
3 τὸ ROSP.

a “‘Hundreds” as in i.xx (1 Sam. viii. 12), whereas the
Heb. has “fifties.”
carry off your children and will order some of them to be charioteers, others horsemen and bodyguards, others runners or captains of thousands or of hundreds; they will make of them craftsmen also, makers of armour, of chariots and of instruments; husbandmen too, tillers of their estates, diggers of their vineyards; nay, there is nothing which your sons will not do at their behest, after the manner of slaves bought at a price. Of your daughters also they will make perfumers, cooks and bakers, and subject them to every menial task which handmaids must perforce perform from fear of stripes and tortures. They will moreover rob you of your possessions and bestow them upon eunuchs and bodyguards, and confer your herds of cattle upon their retainers. In a word, ye with all yours will be bond-servants to the king along with your own domestics; and he, when he is come, will beget in you a memory of these words of mine and (cause you) through these sufferings to repent and to implore God to take pity on you and to grant you speedy deliverance from your kings. Howbeit He will not hearken to your prayers, but will disregard them and suffer you to pay the penalty for your own perversity."

(6) Yet even to these predictions of what was to come the multitude was deaf and obstinately refused to eradicate from their minds a resolution now deep-seated in their calculations. Nay, they would not be turned, nor recked they aught of the words of Samuel,

\[b\] Text doubtful. According to another reading, "... to the king, being made equal to your own domestics; and your suffering will beget, etc., ... and (cause you) to repent, etc."

\[c\] Or "and it was difficult."
JOSEPHUS

σεν αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαμουήλου λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο λυπαρῶς καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἡξίων ἡ δή τῶν βασιλέα

καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν τῶν ἐσομένων· ἐπί γὰρ τιμωρίᾳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνάγκη τῶν πολεμήσων σὺν αὐτοῖς ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων βασιλευμένων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν. ὅρων δ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων ἀπεστραμμένους ὁ Σαμουήλος, ἀλλ' ἐπιμενόντας "νῦν μέν," εἶπεν, "ἀπίτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκαστός, μεταπέμψομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς δέον, ὅταν μάθω παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τίνα δίδωσιν υμᾶς βασιλέα."  

(iv. 1) Ὡν δὲ τις ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτων φυλῆς ἀνήρ εὐ γεγονός καὶ ἀγαθός τὸ ἦθος, Κεῖς ὄνομα· τοῦτο παῖς ὑπήρχεν, ἢν δὲ νεανίας τὴν μορφὴν ἀριστος καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας, τὸ τε φρόνιμα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἀμείων τῶν βλεπομένων· Σαοῦλον αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν. οὗτος δ' Κεῖς, ὅνων αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς νομῆς καλῶν ἀποπλανηθεισῶν, ἦδετο γὰρ αὐταῖς ὡς οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ τῶν κτημάτων, τὸν υἱὸν μεθ' εἰσὶς ἑράπτοντος ἐπὶ ξῆτησιν τῶν κτημῶν ἐξεφεμησεν· ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν πάτριον περιήλθη φυλῆν ἐξερευνῶν τὰς ὄνους1 εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀφίκετο, οὐδ' ἐν ταύταις δ' ἐπιτυχῶν ἀπιέναι2 διεγνώκει, μὴ ποιήσῃ περὶ αὐτῶν τῷ πατρὶ λοιπῶν φρονίτιδα. τοῦ δ' ἐπομένου ἑράπτοντος ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμαθὰ πόλιν εἶναι προφήτην ἐν αὐτῇ φήσαντο ἀλήθη καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν βαδίζειν συμβουλεύσαντος, γνώσεσθαι γὰρ παρ' αὐτῶν τὸ περὶ τῶν ὄνων τέλος, οὐδὲν ἔχειν

1 ἐξερ. τ. ὄνους om. RO.  
2 ἀνέναι conj. Boysen.


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but pressed him importunately and insisted that he should elect their king forthwith, and take no thought for the future; since for the punishment of their foes they must needs have one to fight their battles with them, and there could be nothing strange, when their neighbours were ruled by kings, in their having the same form of government. So Samuel, seeing that even by his predictions they were not turned from their intent but persisted therein, said, "For the present, depart ye each to his home: I will summon you at need, when I shall have learnt from God whom He gives you for your king."

(iv. 1) Now there was a man of the tribe of Benjamin of good birth and virtuous character, named Kis. He had a son, a youth of a noble presence and tall of stature, and withal gifted with a spirit and mind surpassing these outward advantages; they called him Saul. This Kis, one day when some fine asses of his had strayed from the pastures, in which he took more delight than in all that he possessed, sent off his son with one servant in search of the beasts. And he, after going all over his father's tribe in quest of the asses, passed to the other tribes and failing there also to find them, resolved to return, lest he should now cause his father anxiety concerning himself. But when they were come over against the city of Armatha, the servant who accompanied him told him that there was there a true prophet, and counselled that they should go to him, since they would learn from him what had become of the asses. Whereunto

Ramah (v. 342 note, vi. 35): bibl. "when they were come to the land of Zuph" (1 Sam. ix. 5), naming the district in Ephraim wherein Ramah lay, cf. 1 Sam. i. 1 "a certain man of Ramathaim-zophim."
JOSEPHUS

πορευθέντας εἶπεν ἀντὶ τῆς προφητείας ὅ παράσχωσιν αὐτῷ· κεκενώσθαι γὰρ ἡδὴ τῶν ἐφοδίων. 48 τοῦ δ’ οἰκέτου τέταρτον αὐτῶ παρείναι σίκλου φήσαντο καὶ τοῦτο δώσειν, ύπ’ γὰρ ἀγνοίας τοῦ μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν προφήτην μισθὸν ἐπιλανὼν, παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πυλαῖς παρατυγχάνοντες παρθένους ἐφ’ ὕδωρ βαδίζοντας ἐρωτῶσιν αὐτᾶς τοῦ προφήτη τῆς οἰκίαν. αἱ δ’ οἰκέται καὶ οπεύδειν παρεκελέσαντο πρὶν αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ δεῖπνον κατακλυῆσαι. πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ προκατακλίνεσθαι τῶν κεκλημένων. ὥς δ’ Ὅσμουνήλος διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τότε συνήγαγε. δεομένω γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αὐτῶ τοῦ θεοῦ προετπείν τίνα ποίησε βασιλέα τῇ παρελθούσῃ τοῦτον μηνύσαντος, πέμψειν γὰρ αὐτὸς τινα νεανίσκον ἐκ τῆς Βεναμίτιδος φυλῆς κατὰ τήν τε τῆν ἤραν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δῶματος καθεξόμενος ἐξεδέχετο τὸν καιρὸν γενέσθαι, πληρωθέντος δ’ αὐτοῦ καταβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον ἐπορεύετο. συναντὰ δὲ τῷ Ὅσμολῳ καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ οἰκεῖν τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἁρέξειν μέλλοντα. Ὅσμολος δὲ πρόσεις τῷ Ὅσμουνήλῳ καὶ προσ-αγορεύσας ἐδείτο μηνύειν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ προφήτου. 51 ἔνοις γὰρ ὄν ἄγνοιει ἐφασκε. τοῦ δ’ Ὅσμουνήλου αὐτῶν εἶναι φράσαντο καὶ ἀγνότος ἐπὶ τὸ δείπνον, ὡς τῶν ὄνων ἐφ’ ὄν τὴν ζήτησιν ἐκπεμφθεὶς σεσωμέναι τά τε πάντα ἁγαθὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ κεκυρωμένα, ὑποτυχῶν’ “ἀλλ’ ἢττων,” εἶπεν, “ἐγώ, δέσποτα, ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ φυλῆς

1 Holwerda: προστιχῶν codd.

a Scripture does not say that Samuel accepted no reward.

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Saul replied that, if they went to the prophet, they had nothing to offer him in return for his oracle, since their supplies were by now exhausted. However, the servant said that he had a quarter of a shekel and would present that—for their ignorance that the prophet accepted no reward misled them—and so they went and, meeting at the gates maidsens going to draw water, they asked them which was the prophet’s house. And these pointed it out and bade them make speed ere he sat down to supper, for he was entertaining many and would take his seat before his invited guests. Now the reason why Samuel had at that hour assembled so many to the feast was this: he had been praying daily to God to reveal to him whom He would make king and, on the day before, God had announced him, saying that He would Himself send him a young man of the tribe of Benjamin at that selfsame hour. So, seated upon the housetop, Samuel was awaiting the coming of the time, and when the hour was ripe he descended to go to the supper. And he met Saul, and God revealed to him that this was he that was to rule. But Saul approached Samuel and greeting him prayed him to show him the prophet’s house, for he said that as a stranger he was ignorant of it. Samuel then told him that he was the prophet and led him to the supper, assuring him that the asses in quest of which he had been sent were safe and that for him (Saul) were destined all good things; whereat Saul broke in, “Nay, master, I am too lowly to hope for this, I come of a

According to Scripture, Samuel was not the host, but attended the feast as one in charge of public sacrifice.

The text is a little awkward, but the meaning is clear. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 20, “To whom belong all the desirable things of Israel, if not to thee (Saul) and thy father’s house?”
JOSEPHUS

μικροτέρας ἡ βασιλεάς ποιείν καὶ πατριὰς ταπεινοτέρας τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν. σὺ δὲ παίζεις καὶ γέλωτά με τίθεσαι περὶ μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν
52 ἐμὴν χώραν1 διαλεγόμενος.2 οὐ δὲ προφήτης ἀγαγων ἂυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν κατακλίνει καὶ τὸν ἀκόλουθον ἐπάνω τῶν κεκλημένων· οὐτοὶ δὲ ἦσαν ἐβδομήκοντα τὸν ἄριθμὸν· προστάσει δὲ τοῖς διακόνοις παραθείναι τῷ Σαουλῷ μερίδα βασιλικῆν. ἐπεὶ δὲ κοίτης ὥρα προσῆγεν, οἱ μὲν ἀναστάντες ἀνέλυον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐκαστοῦ, ὁ δὲ Σαουλὸς παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ σὺν τῷ θεράποντι κατεκοιμήθη.
53 (2) "Αμα δὲ ἡμέρα Σαμουήλος ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν ἐκ τῆς κοίτης προὔπεμπε καὶ γενόμενος ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν θεράποντα ποιήσαι προελθεῖν, ὑπολείπεσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ· ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ
54 τι φράσαι μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρόντος.2 καὶ ὁ μὲν Σαουλὸς ἀποτέμπειται τὸν ἀκόλουθον, λαβὼν δὲ ὁ προφήτης τῷ ἀγγείῳ,3 ἐλαῖον καταχεῖ τῆς τοῦ νεανίσκου κεφαλῆς καὶ κατασπασάμενος "ισθι," φησί, "βασιλεύς ύπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτομημένος ἐπὶ τε Παλαιστίνους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ 'Εβραίων ἄμαναν. τούτων δὲ ἔσται σοι σμιεῖν ο ἐ σε
55 βουλόμαι προγνώσκειν· ὅταν ἀπέλθῃς ἐντείθην καταλήψῃ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ ὀδῷ προσκυνήσαι τῷ θεῷ πορευομένους εἰς Βέθηλα, ὥν τὸν μὲν πρῶτον τρεῖς ἄρτους ὀψει κομίζοντα, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἔριφον, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἅσκον οὐν οὐν οὐρων φέρων

1 χρείαν MSP.  2 μηδενὸς παρόντος om. RO.  3 ROE Lat. (cf. 1 Sam. x. 1, LXX τῶν φακῶν τοῦ ἑλαῖον): ἄγιον rell.

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tribe too little to create kings, and of a family of humbler sort than all others. Thou but mockest and makest sport of me in speaking of matters too high for my station." Howbeit the prophet led him to the banquet-chamber, gave him and his attendant places above the invited guests, who were seventy in number, and charged his henchmen to set a royal portion before Saul. Then, when bedtime came, the rest arose and departed each to his own home, but Saul and his servant slept at the prophet's house.

(2) At break of day Samuel roused him from his bed, escorted him on his way, and, when outside the town, bade him cause his servant to go on before and to remain behind himself, for he had somewhat to tell him privately. So Saul dismissed his companion, and the prophet, taking his vial, poured oil upon the young man's head and kissed him and said:

"Know that thou art king, elected of God to combat the Philistines and to defend the Hebrews. And of this there shall be unto thee a sign which I would have thee learn beforehand. When thou art departed hence, thou shalt find on thy road three men going to worship God at Bethel; the first thou shalt see carrying three loaves, the second a kid, and the third

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* So LXX: Heb. "about thirty," 1 Sam. ix. 22.
* After LXX, which here preserves the true text, καὶ διέστρωσαν τῷ Σαοὺλ ἐπὶ τῷ δῶματι καὶ ἐκοιμήθη, Heb. "he communed with S. upon the housetop," 1 Sam. ix. 25.
* In the Biblical narrative the sacrifice and subsequent feast are held at "the high place," whence Samuel and Saul descend to the city to the prophet's house.

• Josephus reverses the Biblical order of the first two incidents: there the meeting with the messenger at Rachel's tomb comes first.

• "One carrying three kids and another carrying three loaves," 1 Sam.
ἀκολουθήσει. ἀσπάσονται δὲ σε οὐτοὶ καὶ φιλοφρονήσονται καὶ δώσουσι σοι ἄρτους δύο, σὺ δὲ
56 λήψῃ. κάκειθεν ἥξεις εἰς τὸ Ῥαχήλας καλουμένον μνημείον, ὅπου συμβαλεῖς τῷ σεσώθαι
σου τὰς ὀνόμα εὐαγγελισμένων ἔπειτʼ ἐκείθεν ἐλθὼν εἰς Γαβαθὰ προφήταις ἐκκλησιάζουσιν ἐπίγειον καὶ γενόμενος ἔνθεος προφητεύοις σὺν αὐτοῖς, ὡς πάνθ’ ὄντων ὁρώντα ἐκπλήττεσθαι τε καὶ θαυμάζειν λέγοντα "πόθεν εἰς τούτῳ εὑ-
57 δαμιονίας ὁ Κεσαίου παῖς παρῆλθεν," ὅταν δὲ σοι ταῦτα γένηται τὰ σημεῖα, τὸν θεόν ἵσθι μετά
σοῦ τυγχάνοντα, ἀσπασί τε τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ τοὺς συγγενείς. ἥξεις δὲ μετάπεμπτος εἰς Γάλγαλα ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα χαριστήρια τούτων θύσωμεν τῷ θεῷ." φράσας ταῦτα καὶ προειπὼν ἀποπέμπει τὸν πενίσκον τῷ Σαουλῷ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν
58 (3) Ὡς δ’ ἤλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, τοῦ συγγενοῦς αὐτοῦ Ἀβηνάρου, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖον τῶν ἄλλων οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἐστεργεῖ, ἀνερωτώντος περὶ τῆς ἀποδήμας καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν γεγονότων, τῶν μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρύψατο οὐδ’ ὡς ἀφίκοιτο παρὰ Σαμούηλ τὸν προφήτην οὐδ’ ὡς ἐκεῖον αὐτῶ μάρτυρας τὰς ὀνόμα ἔφρασε, περὶ δὲ τῆς
59 βασιλείας καὶ τῶν κατ’ αὐτὴν, ἃ φθόνον ἀκούο-

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1 Ἐβαβάδα RO: Γαβαθὰ SP.  
3 εἷς OE.  
4 αὐτῶν ROE.  
5 ὡ καὶ MSP Lat.

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α Bibl. "two men."

β Bibl. "to Gibeah (or "the hill," lxx τὸν βουνὸν) of God." Cf. on § 95.

c These last words are amplification. Scripture has "do what thy hand shall find."

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will follow bearing a wine-skin. These men will salute thee, show thee kindness and give thee two loaves; and thou shalt accept them. And thence thou shalt come to the place called 'Rachel's tomb,' where thou shalt meet one who will bring thee news that thy asses are safe. Thereafter, on coming thence to Gabatha, thou shalt light upon an assembly of prophets and, divinely inspired, thou shalt prophesy with them, insonmuch that whosoever beholdeth thee shall be amazed and marvel, saying, 'How hath the son of Kis come to this pitch of felicity?' And when these signs are come unto thee, know thou that God is with thee; and go to salute thy father and thy kinsfolk. But thou shalt come, when summoned by me, to Galgala, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these mercies.' After these declarations and predictions he let the young man go; and everything befell Saul as Samuel had foretold.

(3) But when he entered his house and his kinsman Abenar—for he was of all his relatives the one whom he loved the best—questioned him concerning his journey and the events thereof, Saul concealed from him nothing of all the rest, how he had visited Samuel the prophet and how he had told him that the asses were safe. But concerning the kingdom and all relating thereto, deeming that the recital

d Gr. "the"; perhaps render "the house of his kinsman A. . . . and he questioned him." Josephus appears to have read in 1 Sam. x. 13 "he came to the house" (a reading preferred by modern critics) instead of "he came to the high place."

e Scripture mentions his "uncle," here unnamed but elsewhere called Ner. Josephus speaks of his cousin Abner, the son of Ner and afterwards captain of Saul's host, 1 Sam. xiv. 50. Cf. § 130.
The renewed strictures of Samuel are an amplification of Scripture. His earlier warning (1 Sam. viii. 10) is given above in § 40.

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thereof would excite jealousy and distrust, he held his peace; nay, even to one who seemed most loyal of friends and whom he loved more affectionately than all those of his blood, he judged it neither safe nor prudent to disclose this secret—reflecting, I ween, on what human nature in truth is, and how no one, be he friend or kinsman, shows unwavering loyalty or preserves his affection when brilliant distinctions are bestowed by God, but all men straightway regard these eminences with malice and envy.

(4) Samuel now called the people together to the city of Masphatha and made them an address, which he delivered, as he told them, at the commandment of God. He said that, albeit God had granted them liberty and enslaved their enemies, they had been unmindful of His benefits and rejected His sovereignty, unaware that it was to their highest interest to have the best of all rulers at their head and that the best of all was God; nay, they chose to have a man for their king, who would treat his subjects as chattels at his will and pleasure and at the impulse of his other passions, indulging his power to the full; one who, not being the author and creator of the human race, would not lovingly study to preserve it, while God for that very reason would cherish it with care. "Howbeit," he added, "since it pleases you thus, and this intent to outrage God has prevailed, range yourselves all of you by tribes and families and cast lots."

a The Gr. σκῆπτρον, lit. "staff," is the usual LXX rendering of Heb. shēbēt which means both "staff" and "tribe." Josephus here reverses the order of words in the LXX, 1 Sam. x. 19, where σκῆπτρον = "tribe" and φυλή = "family"; φυλή in the LXX usually = "tribe," less often = "family."
62 (5) Ποιησάντων δὲ τούτῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ τῆς Βεναμίτιδος κλήρος ἔξειπεν, ταύτης δὲ κληρωθείσης ἠλαχεν ἡ Ματρίς καλουμένη πατριά, ἢς κατ᾽ ἄνδρα κληρωθείσης λαγχάιει ὁ Κεισαίων
63 βασιλεύειν παῖς Σαούλος. γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ᾽ ὁ νεανίσκος φθάσας ἐκποδῶν αὐτόν ποιεῖ μὴ βουλόμενος, οἶμαι, δοκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἐνεδείξατο ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ὅστε τῶν πλείστων οὐδὲ ἐπὶ μικραῖς εὑπραγιώς τὴν χαρὰν κατασχεῖν δυναμένων, ἀλλ᾽ εἰς τὸ πᾶς γενέσθαι φανεροὺς προπιπτόντων; 1 ὁ δ᾽ οὐ μένον οὐδὲν ἐνέφηνε τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῷ τοσοῦτῳ καὶ τηλικούτῳ ἐθνῶν ἀποδεδείχθαι δεσπότης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὅφεις αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν βασιλευθησομένων ἐξεκλείψειν καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ περί
64 τοῦτο ποιεῖν παρεσκεύασεν, ὡς ἀμηχανοῦντων καὶ φροπτυχόντων ὁ τι καὶ 2 γένοιτο ἀφανῆς ὁ Σαούλος, ὁ προφήτης ἵκετεν τῶν θεῶν δεῖξαι ποῦ ποτ᾽ εἴη καὶ παρασχεῖν εἰς ἐμφανεῖς τὸν νεανίσκον.
65 μαθῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τόπον ἐνθὰ κέκρυπται 3 ὁ Σαούλος πέμπει τοὺς ἄξονας αὐτὸν καὶ παραγενόμενον ἵστησι μέσον τοῦ πλῆθους. ἐξεῖχε δὲ ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ ψύχος ἢς βασιλικότατος.
66 (6) Λέγει δὲ ὁ προφήτης· "τοῦτον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἐδωκε βασιλέα· ὅρατε δὲ ὁς καὶ κρείττων ἐστὶ πάντων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιος." ὡς δ᾽ ἐπευφήμησε τῷ βασιλείῳ σωτηρίαν ὁ λαὸς, τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεθαι καταγράφας αὐτοῖς ὁ προφήτης ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκροωμένου καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τίθησιν

1 RE: προπιπτόντων refl.
2 καὶ om. MSP: ἐτὶ μὴ conj. Schmidt.
3 κρύπτεται ROE.

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(5) The Hebrews having so done, the lot fell to the tribe of Benjamin, and when lots had been cast for it the family called Matris was successful; and lots being cast for the individuals of that family Saul, son of Kis obtained the kingdom. Learning thereof, the young man promptly took himself away, not wishing, I imagine, to appear eager to take the sovereignty. Nay, such was the restraint and modesty displayed by him that, whereas most persons are unable to contain their joy over the slightest success but rush to display themselves before all the world, he, far from showing any such pride on obtaining a kingdom and being appointed lord of all those mighty peoples, actually stole away from the view of his future subjects and forced them to search for him, not without trouble. These being baffled and perplexed at Saul’s disappearance, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was and to bring him before their eyes. And having learnt from God the place where Saul lay in hiding, he sent to fetch him and, when he was come, set him in the midst of the throng. And he overtopped them all and in stature was indeed most kingly.

(6) Then said the prophet, “This is he whom God hath given you for king; see how he both excels all and is worthy of sovereignty!” But after the acclamations of the people, “Long live the king!” the prophet, having put in writing for them all that should come to pass, read it in the hearing of the king and then laid up the book in the tabernacle of Saul chosen king. 1 Sam. x. 20.

Saul is acclaimed and returns home. 1 Sam. x. 24.

a Bibl. Matri, l.xx Mattapei, etc.
b Rabbinic tradition (cf. Ginzberg, vi. 231) also emphasizes Saul’s modesty.
c 1 Sam. x. 25 “Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom and wrote it in a book.”
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67 Μαρτύριον δὲν προείρηκε. ταύτ' ἐπιτελέσας ὁ Ἰασονήλος ἀπολύει τὴν πληθυν' καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἁρμαθὰ παραγίνεται πόλιν, πατρίς γὰρ ἡν αὐτῷ, Ἰασονήλῳ δὲ ἀπερχομένῳ εἰς Γαβαθηνα, ἦς ὑπήρχε, συνήχοντο πολλοὶ μὲν ἀγαθοί τὴν προσήκουσαν βασιλεῖ τιμήν νέμοντες, πονηροὶ δὲ πλείουσ, οἱ καταφρονοῦσις αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἐχλεύαζον καὶ οὔτε δώρα προσέφερον οὔτ' ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν Ἰασονήλον ἐτίθεντο.

68 Μηνὶ δ' ὑπερον ἀρχεῖ τῆς παρὰ πάντων αὐτῶ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσην πόλεμος τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλείαν ὁ ἄλλος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κατωκημένους τῶν Ἰουσαίων διατίθησι, μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ μαχῆμαι στρατεύματος διαβάζει ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰς δουλεῖαν ὑπάγεται, ἵσχυ μὲν καὶ βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοῦς χειρωσάμενος, σοφία δὲ καὶ ἐπινοια πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ αὕτης ἀποστάνται συνηθήμενα τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶ δουλεῖαν διαφυγεῖν ἀσθενεῖς ποιῶν τῶν γὰρ ἡ κατὰ πίστιν ὦς αὐτῶν ἀφικνομένων ἡ λαμβανομένων πολέμου νόμω τοὺς δεξίους ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξέκοπτεν. ἔποιει δὲ τοῦτο, ὡς τις ἀριστερᾶς αὐτοῖς ὀψεως ὑπὸ τῶν θυρέων καὶ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλείας ταῦτ᾽ ἐγκατασκέψεις τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλατίους λεγο-

1 πολλοῦς ROE. 2 SP: ἀρχή rell.

* Josephus follows the LXX, which begins a new chapter (1 Sam. xi.) with the words μετὰ μήνα, probably reading mi-hōdesh "after a month," whereas the Heb. (x. 27 = end of 200
God, as a testimony to after generations of what he had foretold. That task accomplished, Samuel dismissed the multitude and betook himself to the city of Armatha, his native place. Saul, for his part, departed for Gabatha, whence he was sprung; he was accompanied by many honest folk, tendering him the homage due to a king, but by knaves yet more, who, holding him in contempt, derided the rest and neither offered him presents nor took any pains or care to gain the favour of Saul.

(v. 1) However, a month later, he began to win the esteem of all by the war with Naas, king of the Ammanites. For this monarch had done much harm to the Jews who had settled beyond the river Jordan, having invaded their territory with a large and war-like army. Reducing their cities to servitude, he not only by force and violence secured their subjection in the present, but by cunning and ingenuity weakened them in order that they might never again be able to revolt and escape from servitude to him; for he cut out the right eyes of all who either surrendered to him under oath or were captured by right of war. This he did with intent—since the left eye was covered by the buckler—to render them utterly unserviceable. Having then so dealt with the people beyond Jordan, the Ammanite king carried his arms against those called Galadenians. preceding chapter) has maharish "was silent," referring to Saul's attitude toward the disaffected elements.

a Bibl. Nahash, lxx Naás.

b Bibl. Nahash, lxx Naás.

c These earlier conquests of Nahash are not mentioned in Scripture.

d Bibl. Jabesh Gilead, that is the city Jabesh (perhaps modern Wady Yabis) in Gilead, the country east of the Jordan, extending north and south of the river Jabbok.
μένους ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν πολεμίων, Ἰαβίς δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις κελεύων ὧδη 
παραδούναι σφάς αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς δεξίους αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἑξορύζαι, ἡ πολιορκήσει 
η ἦπειλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀναστήσεις τῇ δ' αἴρεσιν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς εἷναι, πότερον ποτε βραχὺ τι τοῦ σώματος ἀποτεμεῖν θέλουσιν ἡ παντάπασιν ἡ ἀπολολέναι.

72 οἱ δὲ Γαλατηνοὶ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς οὐδέτερον μὲν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, οὐτ' εἰ παραδίδοσιν αὐτοὺς οὔτ' εἰ πολεμοῦσιν, ἀνοχὴν δ' ἁμερῶν ἐπτὰ λαβεῖν ἥξιωσαν, ὅνα προσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὀμοφόλους παρακαλέσωσι συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ μὲν ἐλθοὶ βοήθεια πολεμῶσιν, εἰ δ' ἀπορὰ ἐν τὰ παρ' ἐκεῖνων, παραδώσεων αὐτοὺς ἐφασκὸν ἐπὶ τῷ παθεῖν δ' τι ἀν αὐτῷ δοκῇ.

73 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ναάσης καταφρονήσας τοῦ τῶν Γαλα- 
δηνῶν πλῆθος καὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῶν, δίδωσι 
τε αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀνοχὴν καὶ πέμπει πρὸς οὓς ἂν 
θέλωσι συμμάχους ἐπιτρέπει. πέμψατε ὅπως κατὰ πόλιν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις διήγησαν τὰ παρὰ 
τοῦ Ναὰσου καὶ τῆς ἀμηχανίας ἐν ἡ καθεστή-

74 κεσαν. οἱ δ' εἰς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς 
τῶν περὶ τοὺς Ἰαβίσνους προήχθησαν καὶ πέρα 
τούτων οὐδέν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πράττειν συνεχώρει το 
δέος· γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαουλ 
τοῦ βασιλέως πόλει καὶ τοὺς κωδύνους ἐν ὦς εἶναι 
συνέβαιναι τοὺς Ἰαβίσνους φρασάντων, ὅ μὲν 
λαὸς ταῦτα τοῖς πρῶτοι ἐπασχεν· ὡδύρετο γὰρ

1 RO: ἥ rell. 2 conj. Niese: πολιορκήσαi cold. 3 πάντες MSP Lat. 4 πέμπουσιν ROE. 5 ὁ ἡγγελον RO.
Pitching his camp near the capital of his enemies, to wit Jabis, he sent envoys to them, bidding them instantly to surrender on the understanding that their right eyes would be put out: if not, he threatened to besiege and overthrow their cities: it was for them to choose, whether they preferred the cutting out a small portion of the body or to perish utterly. The Galadenians, terror-struck, durst not reply at all to either proposal, whether they would surrender or whether they would fight; but they asked for a seven days' respite, in order to send envoys to their countrymen and solicit their support: if assistance were forthcoming they would fight, but if there should be no hope from that quarter, they undertook to deliver themselves up to suffer whatsoever should seem good to him.

(2) Naas, contemptuous of these Galadenian people and their answer, gave them their respite and permission to send to whatever allies they would. They therefore straightway sent messengers to each city of the Israelites to report the menaces of Naas and the desperate straits whereto they were reduced. These, on hearing of the plight of the men of Jabis, were moved to tears and grief, but, beyond that, fear permitted them to do no more. When, however, the messengers reached the city of king Saul and recounted the peril wherein they of Jabis lay, the people here too were moved even as were those others,
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75 τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν· ὁ δὲ Σαουλός ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν παραγενόμενος ἐργὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτυγχάνει κλαίουσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ κατηφείας αὐτῶν μανθάνει τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἄγγέλων. καὶ ἐνθεός γενόμενος ἀποπέμπει μὲν τοὺς Ἰαβισήνους, ὑποσχόμενοι αὐτοῖς ἥξειν βοήθος τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ πρὶν ἡλιον ἀνασχεῖν κρατήσει τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα καὶ νεικηκότας ἡδὴ καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπηλλαγμένους ὁ ἡλιος ἐπιτείλας ὦθη· ὑπομείναι δὲ ἐκελευσέ τως αὐτῶν ἡγησομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ.

77 (3) Βουλόμενος δὲ φόβων ζημίας τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀρμανίτας ἐπιστρέφαι πόλεμον καὶ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὀξύτερον, ὑποτεμῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ βοῶν τὰ νεῦρα ταυτά 1 διαθήσεις ἥπειρα τοὺς ἄπαντων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὠπλισμένοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἄπαντησουσιν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφήτῃ, ὅπου 78 ποτὲ ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀγάγωσι. τῶν δὲ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς κατεπηγγελμένης ζημίας εἰς τὸν ὦρισμένον καιρὸν συνελθόντων ἔξαρισθείται ἐν Βαλαὶ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος· εὐρίσκει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν χωρίς τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς εἰς ἐβδομήκοντα μυριάδας συνελεγμένους, τῆς δὲ φυλῆς ἐκείνης ἦσαν μι- 79 ριάδες ἐπτά. διαβᾶσ δὲ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ σχοινῶν

1 Niese: ταῦτα RO Lat.: ταύτη SPE: τούτο M.
for they bewailed the calamity of their brethren; but Saul, entering
the city from his labours in husbandry, encountered his fellow-citizens in tears and, on asking
the reason for their distress and dejection, learnt the messengers' report. Thereon, divinely
inspired, he dismissed the men from Jabis with a promise to come to their aid on the third day and ere
sunrise to defeat the foe, so that the ascending sun should see them already victors and freed from their fears.
Some, however, among them he bade remain with him so that they might guide him on his march.

(3) Then wishing to urge the people, through fear of the penalty, to the war against the Ammanites
and that they might come together more quickly he cut the sinews of his own oxen and threatened to
do the like to the beasts of all who should fail to appear at the Jordan in arms on the following day
and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. But when they, through
fear of the threatened penalty, mustered at the appointed hour, he had the host numbered at the
city of Bala and found them to have gathered together to the number of 700,000, apart from the tribe
of Judah: of that tribe there were 70,000. Then crossing the Jordan and accomplishing in an all-

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a In Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 9) Saul (or, in the Heb., the Israelites) promises that deliverance will come on the morrow; moreover, the promise is made after the tribes are summoned.

b In Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 7) Saul dismembers a team of oxen and sends the pieces throughout the borders of Israel.

c Bibl. Bezek, lxx Bé'ěκ (ʔΛβέ'ěʔ eetc.) év Bαμά, perhaps the modern Khirbet Ibziq, about twelve miles N. E. of Shechem and a little W. of the Jordan, opposite Jabesh Gilead.

d Heb. 300,000, lxx 600,000.

e Heb. 30,000, lxx 70,000.
δέκα δι' ὀλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὦδον φθάνει μὲν ὦλιον ἀνύσχοντα, τριχὴ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα διελών ἐπιπίπτει πανταχόθεν αἱφνιδίως ὑπὸ προσδοκῶν τοῖς ἑχθροῖς, καὶ συμβαλών εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν 'Αμμανιτῶν καὶ Ναάσην τὸν βασιλέα. τοῦτο λαμπρὸν ἐπράξθη τῷ Σαούλῳ τὸ ἔργον καὶ πρὸς πάντας αὐτὸν διήγγειλε τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐπαινοῦμενον καὶ θαυμαστὴς ἀπολαύοντα δόξης ἐπὶ ἀνδρείας καὶ γὰρ εἰ τινες ἦσαν οἱ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνουν, τότε μετέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ πάντων ἀριστῶν νομίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἦρκεσεν αὐτῶ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς σεσωκέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν 'Αμμανιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσας χώρα πάσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέφεται καὶ πολλὴν λαβών λείαν λαμπρὸς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεφεν. ὦ δὲ λαὸς ὑφ' ἥδονής τῶν Σαούλῳ κατωρθομένων ἔχαρε μὲν ὡτι τοιοῦτον ἐχειροτόνησε βασιλέα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν ὀφελος αὐτὸν ἐσέσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι λέγοντας ἑβῶν "ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οὗτοι" καὶ "ὄστωςαν δίκην" καὶ πάνθ' ὡσα φιλεῖ λέγειν όχλος ἐπ' εὐπραγίαις ἠρμένους πρὸς τοὺς ἐξευτε- λίζοντας ἐναγχος τοὺς τούτων αἰτίοις. Σαούλος δὲ τούτων μὲν ἥσπαζέτο τῇ εὐνοιαν καὶ τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν προθυμίαν, ὠμοσε δὲ μῆτινα περιψεσθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀναρωμένων ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας· ἀτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τῇ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δε- δομένην νίκην αὕματι φύραι καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἐκ

1 λαμπρῶς ῬΩΜΗ.
night march a distance of ten schoenois,\(^a\) he arrived before the sun was up and, dividing his army into three, fell suddenly from all sides upon the foe, who looked for no such thing, and having joined battle he slew multitudes of the Ammanites and king Naas himself.\(^b\) This brilliant exploit achieved by Saul spread his praises throughout all the Hebrews and procured him a marvellous renown for valiance; for if there were some who before despised him, they were now brought round to honour him and to deem him the noblest of all men. For, not content with having rescued the inhabitants of Jabis, he invaded the country of the Ammanites, subdued it all, and, having taken much booty, returned in glory to his own land.\(^c\) The people, in their delight at Saul's achievements, exulted at having elected such a king, and, turning upon those who had declared that he would bring no profit to the state, they cried, "Where now are those men?" "Let them pay for it!"—in short all that a crowd, elated by success, is wont to utter against those who were of late disparaging the authors of it. But Saul, while welcoming their goodwill and devotion to himself, yet swore that he would not suffer one of his countrymen to be put to death that day, for it were monstrous to defile that God-given victory with bloodshed and murder of men of

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\(^a\) The schoenos varied in length between thirty and forty stades, that is, roughly between four and five miles. The length of Saul's march, not given in Scripture, was, therefore, between forty and fifty miles. The distance between the supposed sites of Bezek and Jabesh Gilead is less than twenty miles.

\(^b\) 1 Sam. xi. 1 "not two men were left together."

\(^c\) This conquest of Ammonite territory is not mentioned in Scripture.
ταύτων γένους αὐτοῖς, πρέπει δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὑμενῶς διακειμένους ἐορταζεῖν.

83 (4) Ὁμολόγησεν δὲ φήσαντος καὶ δευτέρα δεῖν χειροτονία ἵππου τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρώσαι συνίας πάντες εἰς Γάλγαλα πόλιν. ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοῦς ἐκέλευσεν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ πάλιν ὀρῶντος τοῦ πλήθους ὁ προφήτης χρίει τὸν Ἐσωάν τῷ ἀγίῳ ἔλαιῳ καὶ δεύτερον ἀναγορεύει βασιλεά. καὶ ὁ ἄρτος τῶν Ἐβραίων πολιτεία εἰς βασιλείαν

84 μετέπεσεν. ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέως καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ, δὲ ἂν στρατηγός, ἀριστοκρατοῦ- μενοι διετέλουν, μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἔτει τοὺς πάσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτους ὅκτω τὸ

85 πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε. μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ ἡ προτέραν ἐπανήλθον πολιτείαν τῷ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀριστῶ δοξαντί γεγενήθαι καὶ κατ' ἀνδρείαν περὶ τῶν ὀλὼν δικάζει ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας κριτῶν ἐκάλεσαν.

86 (5) Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ Ὁμολόγησεν ἰκαὶ ποιήσας ὁ προφήτης τῶν Ἐβραίων "ἐπομνύμαι," ἐποίησιν, "ὑμῖν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, δὲ τοὺς ἄδελφους τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς ἐκείνους, λέγω δὴ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἰαχώνα, παρήγγειλεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξηρπασειν Ἀγγειο- τῖνων καὶ τῆς ὑπ’ αὐτοῖς δουλείας, μηδὲν μὴτ’ αἴδοιχρισάμενους μήτε ὑποστειλαμένους φόβω μήτε ἄλλω τωλ’ πάθει παραχωρησοντας ἐπεῖν, εἰ’ τι μοι πέρπαται σκαῖν καὶ ἠδικον ἢ κέρδους ἔνεκα ἢ

87 πλεονεξίας ἡ χάριτος τῆς πρὸς ἄλλους. ἐλέγξας δὲ

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1 τῶν ἐκ ταύτων . . . διακειμένους SP: τῶν πρὸς ἄλλους συγγενῶν RO. 2 ἐκείνων SP Lat. 3 ἐπομνύμαι SPE. 4 τοὺς ἁγαθοὺς om. RO. 5 el om. ROME.
their own race, and it better beseemed them to keep 
est in a spirit of mutual goodwill.\(^a\)

(4) Samuel having now declared it necessary to 
confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second election,
all assembled at the city of Galgala,\(^b\) for thither had 
he bade them eome. So yet again, in the sight of all 
the people, the prophet anointed Saul with the holy 
oil, and for the second time proclaimed him king. 
And thus was the government of the Hebrews trans-
formed into a monarchy. For under Moses and his 
disciple Joshua, who was commander-in-chief, they 
remained under aristocratic rule: after Joshua's 
death for full eighteen years\(^c\) the people continued 
in a state of anarchy: whereafter they returned to 
their former polity, entrusting supreme judicial 
authority to him who in battle and in bravery had 
proved himself the best; and that is why they called 
this period of their political life the age of Judges.

(5) Samuel the prophet now called an assembly of 
the Hebrews and said: "I adjure you by the most 
High God, who brought those excellent brothers, I 
mean Moses and Aaron, into this world, and rescued 
our fathers from the Egyptians and bondage beneath 
their yoke, that without showing favour through 
respect, without suppressing aught through fear, 
without giving room to any other feeling, ye tell me 
if I have done anything sinister and unjust through 
love of lucre or cupidity or out of favour to others.

\(^a\) Variant reading (after "bloodshed"): "and to celebrate 
it (the victory) with the murder of their kinsmen."

\(^b\) Bibl. Gilgal. Probably the city near Jericho is meant. 
Cf. A. v. 20.

\(^c\) The only basis for this number seems to be the interval 
of Moabite oppression after the death of Kenaz, the first 
judge (according to Josephus). Cf. A. v. 187.
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eἰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τι προσηκάμην, μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον, ἢ πρὸς προφὴν ἀνεμέσθην δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἢ εἰ τινὸς υποζύγιον εἰς ἐμὴν ἀποσπάσας χρείαν ἐλύσησα, τούτων ἐν τῷ κατεπεῖν παρόντος ὑμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως." οἱ δὲ ἀνέκραγον τούτων οὐδέν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, προστήναι δὲ ὁσίως αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως τοῦ ἐθνοῦς.

88 (6) Σμμονῆλος δὲ ταύτης εξ ἀπάντων τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῶ γενομένης "ἐπεί δεδώκατε μοι," φησὶ, "τὸ μηδὲν ἀτοπον ἐδέ οὕμας περὶ ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν, φέρε νῦν μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκούσατε μον ἡγόντος, ὅτι μεγάλα ἰσεβήσατε ἐἰς τὸν θεόν, αὐτησάμενοι βασιλέα. διαμανημονεύειν δὲ ὑμᾶς προσήκεν, ὅτι σὺν ἐβδομήκοντα μόνοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἦμων ὁ πάππος Ἰάκωβος διὰ λιμῶν εἰς Λιγυπτίων ἠλθε, κακεῖ πολλῶν μυρίάδων ἐπιτεκνωθεῖσών, ὃς εἰς δουλείας καὶ χαλεπᾶς ὤβρεις ἦγαγον οἱ Λιγυπτίων, ὁ θεὸς εὐξαμένων τῶν πατέρων χωρίς βασιλέως παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ὑπερσαθαὶ τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸ πλῆθος, Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἰαρώνα πέμψας ἀδελφοῖς, οἱ ἡγαγόν ὑμᾶς εἰς τήν ἅγιν, ἡν νῦν ἔχετε. καὶ τούτων ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προδιδόκατε τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίους γενομένους ἢλευθέρωσε πρῶτον μὲν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἱσχύος ὑπερτέρους ἀπεργασάμενος, ἔπειτα Ἀμμαντῶν κρατήσας παρασχὼν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ τελευταίων1 Παλαιστίνων. καὶ ταύτ' οὐ βασιλέως ἠγομένου διεπράξασθε, ἀλλ' Ἰεθάον καὶ Γε-

1 τελευταίων ΜΣΡ.
Convict me if I have accepted aught of such things, heifer or sheep, the acceptance of which for food is yet deemed void of offence; or if I have aggrieved any man by purloining his beast of burden for my own use, convict me of any one such crime here in the presence of your king.” Thereat all cried out that he had done none of these things, but had governed the nation with holiness and justice.

(6) Then Samuel, having received this testimony from them all, said: “Seeing that ye grant me that ye can lay no crime to my charge to this day, come now and hearken while I tell you with all boldness what great impiety ye have shown towards God in asking for a king. Nay, it behoved you to remember how that with but seventy souls of our race our grandsire Jacob, through stress of famine, came into Egypt; and how there, when his posterity, increased by many myriads, had been subjected to bondage and grievous outrage by the Egyptians, God, at the prayer of our fathers, without any king, brought deliverance to the multitude from their distress by sending to them the brothers Moses and Aaron, who brought you into this land which ye now possess. And yet after enjoying these things from God, ye have been traitors to His worship and His religion. Yet for all that, when ye were fallen under the hand of your enemies, He delivered you, first by causing you to triumph over the Assyrians and their might, then by granting you victory over the Ammanites and Moabites, and last over the Philistines. And all this ye accomplished, not under the leadership of a king, but with Jephthah

* A reference to the victory over King Cushan of Aram-Naharaim (Jd. iii. 8), whom Josephus, *A. v.* 180, calls “king of the Assyrians.”
91 δεόντος στρατηγοῦντων. τίς οὖν ἐσχεν ύμᾶς ἀνοικ ἕγειν μὲν τὸν θέον, ὡς βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι θέλειν; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέδειξα τούτον ὅν αὕτως ἐπελέξατο. ἵνα μέντοι γε φανερὸν ύμῖν ποιήσω τὸν θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον καὶ δυσχεραίνοντα τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ύμῶν αἱρέσει, δηλώσαι τούθ' ύμῖν τὸν θεὸν παρασκευάσω διὰ σημείων ἐναργῶς. οὐ γὰρ οὖν ὁ διότεν πρότερον εἰδεν3 ύμῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα γεγενημένον, θέρους ἀκμῆς χειμῶνα, αὐτησάμενος τὸν θεὸν παρέξω τούτον ύμῖν ἐπιγυνώναι. καὶ ταῦτα εἰσόντος πρὸς τὸ πλήθος τοῦ Σαμουήλου, βρονταίς σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀστραπάς καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾶ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ πάντων ἀλήθειαν, ὡς τεθαμβηκότας αὐτοὺς καὶ περιδεείς γυνομένους ἀμαρτείν τε όμολογεῖν καὶ κατ' ἄγνων εἰς τούτο προσπεείν, καὶ ἱκετεύειν τὸν προφήτην ὡς πατέρα χριστοῦ καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, τὸν θεὸν αὕτως εὐμενῆ καταστῆσαι καὶ ταύτην ἀφεῖνα τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, Ἦν πρὸς οἷς ἐξύβρισαν ἄλλοις καὶ παρ-

93 ἡνόμησαν προσεξειργάσαντο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχεῖται καὶ παρακάλεσεν τὸν θεὸν συγγυνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς καὶ πείσειν, συνεβούλευς μέντοι δικαίους εἶναι καὶ ἄγαθοὺς καὶ μημονεύειν ἀεὶ τῶν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς κακῶν συμπεσόντων καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἑλεσέως νομοθεσίας, εἰ σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία. ἔλεγεν ήξεν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεί ηγάλην ἐκ θεοῦ πληγήν. καὶ ὁ4 Σαμουήλος μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις προφη-

1 ύμῖν om. RO. 2 τὸν θεὸν om. RO. 3 οἷον conj. Niese. 4 ὁ om. RO.

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and Gedeon for generals. What madness then possessed you to flee your God and to wish to be under a king? Nay, I have appointed him whom He Himself hath chosen. Howbeit, to manifest to you that God is wroth and ill-content at your choice of kingly rule, I will prevail with Him to reveal this to you by signs clearly. For that which not one of you ever saw befall here before—a tempest at midsummer—that through prayer to God I shall cause you now to witness.” Scarcely had Samuel spoken these words to the people, when the Deity by thunderings, lightning, and a torrent of hail, attested the truth of all that the prophet had said; whereat astounded and terrified they confessed their sin, into which, they said, they had fallen through ignorance, and implored the prophet, as a kind and gentle father, to render God gracious to them that He might forgive this sin which they had committed in addition to all their other insolences and transgressions. And he promised that he would beseech God to pardon them in this thing and would withal move Him thereto; howbeit, he exhorted them to be righteous and good, and ever to remember the ills that their transgression of virtue had brought upon them, the miracles of God and the legislation of Moses, if they had any desire for continued salvation and continued felicity under their king. But should they neglect these things, there would come, said he, both on them and on their king a great visitation from God. And after thus prophesying to the Hebrews, Samuel dismissed them to their
τεύχας ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα βεβαιώσας ἐκ δευτέρου τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν.

95 (vi. 1) Ὅτι δὲ ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς περὶ τρισχιλίους, τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ἦστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτῶν λαβῶν αὐτὸς διέτριβεν ἐν πόλει Βεθήμβω, ἢ Ἰωνάθη δὲ τῷ παιδὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς δοὺς ἦστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτῶν εἰς Γέβαλ.photos  ὁ δὲ ἐκπολυρρήκει τι φροῦρον τῶν Παλαιστίνων οὐ πόρρω Γέβαλῶν. οἱ γὰρ Παλαιστίνου καταστρεφόμενου τοὺς Ἰούδαιοὺς τὰ τε ὅπλα αὐτοὺς ἀφήσοντο καὶ τοὺς χυρωτάτους τῆς χώρας τόπους φρουρᾶς κατελαμβάνοντο καὶ σιδηροφορεῖν χρήσθαι6 τε καθάπαξ ἀπηγόρευον σιδήρῳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόρρησιν7 οἱ γεωργοί, εἴποτε δεχόμεν τοὺς ἐπισκευάζατε τι τῶν ἐργαλείων, ἡ ὑπὲρ ἡ δικέλλαν8 ἡ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν χρησίμων, φοιτῶντες εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ταῦτα ἐπραττον. ὡς δὲ ἧκοῦσθη τοῖς Παλαιστίνους ἡ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀναίρεσις ἀγανακτήσαντες καὶ δεινὴν ὑβρὶς τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἠγησάμενοι στρατεύοντον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰούδαιοὺς πεζῶν μὲν τριάκοντα μυρίαν ἄρματι δὲ τρισμυρίοις, ἢπον δὲ ἐξακισχιλίαν ἐπήγγεστο· καὶ στρατοπεδευσαμένων9 πρὸς πόλει Μαχμά, τοῦτο Σαούλος ὁ τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλεὺς

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1 περὶ om. RO. 2 ὡστε ... αὐτῶν om. Lat.
3 Bethleem Lat. 4 Γαβάθας MSP: Gabatha Lat.
5 + τῆς Γαβάθας MSP: Lat.
6 κεχρησθαι Schmidt cum RO.
7 πρόρρησιν RO: causam Lat.
8 RO: μάκελλαν (-ης) rell.
9 στρατοπεδεύονται MSP Lat.

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a Gr. Bethēbos, bibl. Bethel.
b The repetition of the Greek phrase "to guard his body" indicates a text corruption.

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homes, having for the second time confirmed the kingdom to Saul.

(vi. 1) But Saul chose out of the multitude some three thousand men, and taking two thousand for his bodyguard abode for his part in the city of Bethel (os); the rest he gave as guards to his son Jonathan and sent him to Gebala. And Jonathan besieged and took a fortress of the Philistines not far from Gebala. For the Philistines, in their subjugation of the Jews, had deprived them of their arms and occupied the strongest positions in the country with garrisons, further forbidding the vanquished to carry any weapon of iron or to make any use at all of iron. In consequence of this interdict, whenever the peasantry needed to repair any of their tools, ploughshare or mattock or other agricultural instrument, they would go to the Philistines to do this. So when the Philistines heard of the destruction of their garrison, infuriated and deeming such scorn of them a monstrous affront, they marched against the Jews with 300,000 footmen, 30,000 chariots, and 6000 horse to support them, and pitched their camp beside the city of Machma. On learning of this, Saul, king of Saul prepares war with the Philistines. 1 Sam. xiii. 2.
μαθὼν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβαίνει πόλιν καὶ διὰ πάσης κηρύσσει τῆς χώρας, ἐπ’ ἑλευθερίᾳ καλῶν τὸν λαὸν ἑπὶ τῶν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Παλαιστίνους, τὴν δύναμιν ἐκφαυλίζων αὐτῶν καὶ διασύρων ὡς οὐκ ἀξίολογον οὐδ’ ὥστε φοβεῦσθαι διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς αὐτούς. κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ Σαουλοῦ κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς υπονόμους ἔκρυψαν αὐτούς, οἱ πλείους δὲ εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου γῆς ἐφυγον· αὐτὴ δ’ ἦν Γάδου καὶ Ῥουβήλου.

100 (2) Πέμψας δὲ Σαουλὸς πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτὸν συνδιασκεφόμενον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. οὐ δὲ περιμένειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν καὶ παρασκευάζειι θύματα· μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ξὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤζευν, ὡςθισσωι τῇ ἐβδομῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐπειθ’ οὕτως συμβάλωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ περιμένει μὲν ὡς ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλεν, οὐκέτι μὲντοι γε διατηρεὶ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἑώρα βραδύνοντα μὲν τὸν προφήτην, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταλειπόμενον, λαβὼν τὰ θύματα τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετελεί̃· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Σαμουήλον ἢκουσε προσιόντα ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ σύμονεον ἐξῆλθεν. οὐ δ’ οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ἐφι πεποιηκέναι παρακούσαντα ὡς ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸς καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν παρουσίαν, ἦν κατὰ βούλησιν γνωμένην τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλῆθους προλάβοι, κακῶς ἱερουργήσας καὶ προπετής γενόμενος. ἀπολογουμένον δὲ τοῦ Σαουλοῦ καὶ περιμενίᾳ μὲν τὰς

1 om. RO: septem Lat.  
2 προσήγαγεν MSP.
the Hebrews, came down to the city of Galgala and sent heralds throughout all the country to call up the people in the name of liberty to the war against the Philistines, belittling and disparaging their strength as inconsiderable and not such that they need fear to hazard battle with them. But, on perceiving that host of Philistines, Saul’s recruits were in consternation; and while some hid themselves in the caverns and cavities, the more part fled beyond the Jordan, into the territory of Gad and Rubel.

(2) Saul then sent word to the prophet, summoning him to his presence to confer with him concerning the war and the situation. Samuel bade him wait where he was and make ready victims for sacrifice, for after six days he would come to him, that so they might sacrifice on the seventh day and, that done, join battle with the enemy. So Saul waited awhile as the prophet had enjoined upon him; then, however, he would observe his command no longer, but when he saw that the prophet tarried and that his own soldiers were deserting him, he took the victims and performed the sacrifice himself. Then, hearing that Samuel was approaching, he went out to meet him. But the prophet told him that he had not done rightly in disobeying his injunctions and anticipating his advent: he was paying that visit in accordance with the will of the Deity to preside at the prayers and the sacrifices on behalf of the people, and now he had forestalled him by having offered sacrifice wrongly and by his precipitate haste. Thereat Saul excused himself, saying that he had waited during those

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*a Saul’s disparaging remarks about the Philistines are an addition to Scripture.

*b 1 Sam. xiii. 7 “and the land of Gad and Gilead.”

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Ημέρας ἂς ὦρισε λέγοντος, ὡποὶ δὲ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν διὰ φόβου, στρατοπεδεύσας δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Μαχμᾶ καὶ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἔπ’ αὐτὸν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβάσεως επειδήναι πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ 104 Σαμούηλος "ἀλλὰ σῦγε," φησίν, "εἰ δίκαιος ἡσθα καὶ μή παρήκουσας ἐμοῦ μηδ’ ὁν ὑπέθετο μοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁ θεὸς ὤλιγώρησας ταξύτερος ἣ συνέφερε τοῖς πράγμασι γεγονός, σοὶ τ’ αὐτῷ πλείστον ἃν βασιλεύσαι χρόνον ἔξεγένετο 105 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐγγόνοις." καὶ Σαμούηλος μὲν ἀχθομένος ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνεχώρησε παρ’ αὐτόν, Σαούλος δὲ εἰς Γαβαὼν πόλιν ἔχων ἔξακοσίους ἡμεθ’ ἐαυτοῦ μόνον ἥκε σὺν Ἰωνάθη τῷ παιδί. τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείοις οὐκ ἔχον ὀπλα, τῆς χώρας σπανιζοῦσις σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ὀπλα χαλκεύειν δυναμένων· οὐ γὰρ εἴων οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ταῦτα εἶναι, καθὼς 3 μικρὸν ἐμπρόσθεν δεδη- 106 λώκαμεν. διελόντες δ’ εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν στρατιάν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κατὰ τοσάττας ὁδοὺς ἐπερχόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ἰδραίων χώραν ἑπόρθουν, βλεπόντων τοῦ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἀμφιῆ τῇ γῇ, μεθ’ ἔξακο- 107 σῶν γὰρ μόνων ἦσαν, οὐ δυναμένων. καθεξόμενοι δ’ αὐτὸς τε καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἄρχηρεως Ἀχίας, ἀπόγονος ὥν Ἰλὶ τοῦ ἄρχηρεως, ἐπὶ βουνοῦ υψηλοῦ καὶ τὴν γῆν λεηλατομενὴν ὀρῶντες ἐν ἀγωνία δεινῇ καθεστήκεσαν. συντίθεται δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς τῷ ὀπλοφόρῳ, κρύφα πορευθέντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολὴν ἐκδρα- 1 ἐκγόνοις MSP. 3 καὶ SP: καθὰ καὶ M. 2 διακοσίους E. 4 Ἐξίας RO.
days which Samuel had appointed, but that necessity, the desertion of his terrified troops, the enemy’s encampment at Machma and a report of their intended descent upon him at Galgala, had impelled him to speed the sacrifice. Then Samuel rejoining, “Nay, but for thy part,” said he, “hadst thou been righteous and not disobeyed me nor lightly regarded the counsels which God has given me touching the present matter, by acting more hastily than befitted the matter, then would it have been given thee to reign exceeding long, and to thy posterity as well.” So Samuel, vexed at what had befallen, returned to his home, while Saul, with but six hundred followers, came with his son Jonathan to the city of Gabaon.

Most of his men had no arms, the country being destitute of iron and of men capable of forging arms; for the Philistines had prohibited this, as we said just now. And now, dividing their army into three companies and advancing by as many routes, the Philistines proceeded to ravage the country of the Hebrews under the eyes of Saul, their king, and of his son Jonathan, who, with but six hundred followers, were powerless to defend their land. Seated on a lofty hill, Saul and his son and the high priest Achias, a descendant of Eli the high priest, as they watched the devastation of the land, were in a state of deepest anguish. Saul’s son then proposed to his armour-bearer that they should secretly sally out alone into the enemy’s

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\[a\] Bibl. Gibeath Benjamin. Cf. on § 95.

\[b\] § 96.

\[c\] 1 Sam. xiii. 17 specifies the roads to Ophrah, Beth Horon and “the way of the border looking toward the valley of Zeboim”—all in the territory N. of Jerusalem.

\[d\] Bibl. Ahiah. His genealogy is given in 1 Sam. xiv. 3. Cf. on § 122.
μείν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐμποιήσαι καὶ θόρυβον αὐτοῖς. 108 τοῦ δὲ ὀπλοφόρου προθύμος ἐφεύσεθαι2 φήσαντος ὅποι ποτ’ ἂν ἦγηται, καὶ ἀποθανεῖν δέχῃ, προσ- λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου συνεργίαν καὶ καταβὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπορεύετο. ήπὶ δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ κρημνοῦ,3 τρισὶν ἄκραις εἷς λεπτὸν ἀπηκονημέναις μῆκος πέτρας ἐν κύκλῳ περιστεφανούσης ὦσπερ προ- βόλοις τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπομαχόμενοι. ἔνθεν συν- έβανεν ἡμελήσαν τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ στρατοπέδου διὰ τὸ φύσει περιείναι τῶν χωρίων τὴν ἀσφάλειαν καὶ παντὶ νομίζειν ἀμήχανον εἶναι κατ’ ἐκείνας 109 οὐκ ἀναβήναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθεῖν. ὡς οὖν ἦκον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρ- εθάρσαν τὸν ὀπλοφόρον καὶ "προσβάλωμεν τοῖς πολεμίοις," ἐλεγε, "καὶ μὲν ἀναβήναι κελεύσωσι πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἱδόντες, σημείων τούτο νῖκης ὑπολάμβανε,5 εἰς δὲ φθέγχωνται μηδὲν ὡς οὐ 110 καλοῦντες ἡμᾶς, ὑποστρέψωμεν."6 προσιόντων δὲ αὐτῶν τῶν στρατοπέδω τῶν πολεμίων ὑποφαν- νούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἱδόντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι, πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐλεγον ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων καὶ τῶν σπηλαίων προέιναι τοὺς 'Εβραίους, καὶ πρὸς Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ὀπλοφόρον αὐτοῦ "δεῦτ"," ἔφασαν, "ἀνέλθετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ἡμᾶς τιμωρησώμεθα 111 τῶν τετολμημένων ἁξίως." ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν φωνὴν οὗ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς ὡς νίκην αὐτῶ ση- μαίνουσαν, παραυτίκα μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν εξ ὦσπερ

1 αὐτοῖς om. RO.  2 SP: ἐπεσθαῖ rell.  3 S: κρημνῷ rell.  4 πάντῃ M: valde Lat.  5 M: ὑπολαμβάνειν SP.  6 ὑποστρέψωμεν RO.  7 τῶν om. RO.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 107-112

camp and create confusion and panic among them. When the armour-bearer replied that he would gladly follow whithersoever he led, though it were to his death, Jonathan, having gained the young man’s support, descended from the hill and set off towards the enemy. Now the enemy’s camp lay on a cliff, enclosed in a ring of rocks, with three peaks tapering to a long narrow ridge and serving as a bulwark to beat off all attacks. Consequently it came about that no care had been taken to guard the camp, because nature had given the place security and it was believed to be absolutely impossible for any man not merely to scale those crags but even to approach them. When therefore they were nearing the encampment, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, saying: "Now let us attack the enemy; and if, on seeing us, they bid us mount up to them, take that for a presage of victory, but if they utter not a word, as though they invited us not, let us then return.” But, as they drew nigh to the enemy’s camp, just at the dawn of day, the Philistines espied them and said one to another, "Here are the Hebrews coming out of their holes and caverns,” and then to Jonathan and his armour-bearer, "Come on,” they cried, "come up to us, to receive the due punishment for your audacity.”" But Saul’s son welcoming that shout as a token of victory, they straightway withdrew from the spot where they

a Scripture mentions only two peaks, Bozez and Seneb.
b The time of the attack is not given in Scripture.
c 1 Sam. xiv. 12, “come up and we will show you a thing.”
Details of the fight are an amplification, in harmony with Josephus's rationalizing tendency.

The unscriptural details about the rocks are perhaps suggested by the LXX rendering, in some mss. (ἐν πέτροις), of the obscure Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xiv. 14.
had been sighted by the enemy and, turning aside from it, reached the rock which by reason of its strength had been left destitute of guards. Thence, creeping up with great labour, they forced their way over the difficulties of the ground and mounted up to the enemy; falling upon these as they slept, they slew some twenty of them and filled the host with such tumult and alarm, that some flung off all their arms and fled, while the more part, not recognizing their comrades, because of the many nationalities of which their army was composed, and taking each other for enemies—for they did not suppose that there had come up against them two only of the Hebrews—they turned to fight one another. And some of them perished by the sword, others as they fled were driven over the rocks and hurled headlong.

(3) Saul's spies having now reported to the king that there was a commotion in the camp of the Philistines, Saul inquired whether any of his men had gone from him. Then, on hearing that his son and, with him, his armour-bearer were absent, he ordered the high priest to don his high-priestly robes and to prophesy to him what would befall. The high priest having declared that it would be victory and triumph over his enemies, the king set off against the Philistines and fell upon them while they were yet panic-

* In agreement with the LXX which reads "ephod" against the Heb. which has "ark," although the ark was presumably still at Kirjath Jearim. Josephus may, however, have read 'ephod for 'aron (ark) in his Heb. text, in which some scholars suspect a deliberate alteration to obviate the inference that there was more than one ark. (Cf. W. R. Arnold, Ephod and Ark.) The rabbinic commentaries on this passage explain that the ephod with the Urim and Thummin was in the ark.
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116 προσβάλλει καὶ φονεύουσιν ἄλληλοις. προσρέουσι ἃ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ πρότερον εἰς τέ τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια συμφυγόντες, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι νικὰ Σαούλος· γενομένων δὲ ὡς μυρίων ἡδή τῶν Ἐβραίων διώκει τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐσκορπισμένους τὴν χώραν. εἴτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νύχῃ χαρᾶς οὕτω παραλόγως γενομένη (συμβαίνει γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοὺς οὕτως εὐτυχήσαντας) εἰθ' ὑπὸ ἁγνοιας, εἰς δεινὸν προ-

117 πέπτει¹ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχον κατάμεμψιν ἔργον· βουλόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ τε τιμωρήσαι καὶ δίκην ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπαρᾶται τοῖς Ἐβραίοις, ἣν εἰ τις ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ φωνεύειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φάγοι² μέχριν νῦς ἐπελθοῦσα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοὺς παύσει τῶν πολεμίων, οὕτος ἐπάρατος ἦν· τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦτο φήσαντος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τινα δρυμὸν ἐγένοντο βαθὺν καὶ μελισσῶν γέμοντα τῆς Ἐφράμων κληρονομίας, ὃ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς οὐκ ἐπακηκώως τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ πλῆθους ὁμολογίας, ἀποθέλησα τι κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος ἡσθε. μεταξὺ δὲ γνων ὅτι μετὰ δεινῆς ἀρᾶς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπείπε μὴ γεύσασθαι τίνα πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἐσθίων μὲν ἐπαύσατο, ἑφ' δὲ οὐκ ὁρθὼς⁴ κωλύσαι τὸν πατέρα· μετὰ μειζόνος γὰρ ἱσχύος ἂν καὶ προ-

¹ προσπέπτει MSP.  
² + καὶ μὴ codd. Glycas: an leg. καὶ δῆ?  
³ μέχρι σὲ MSP Glycas; ἐως σὲ E: antequam Lat.  
⁴ + τοῦτο MSP
stricken and massacreing one another. Moreover those who earlier had taken refuge in the tunnels and eaves, on hearing that Saul was victorious, came streaming toward him; and with now some ten thousand Hebrews at his back, he pursued the enemy scattered over the whole countryside. But, whether through exultation at a victory so unexpected—for men are apt to lose control of reason when thus blest by fortune—or through ignorance, he rushed into a dreadful and very blameworthy deed. For, in his desire to avenge himself and to exact punishment from the Philistines, he invoked a curse upon the Hebrews, that should any man desist from slaughtering the foe and take food, before oncoming night should stay them from carnage and the pursuit of the enemy, he should be accursed. Now after that Saul had so spoken, when they were come to a dense oak-coppice swarming with bees in the portion of Ephraim, Saul’s son, not having heard his father’s curse nor the people’s approbation thereof, broke off a piece of a honeycomb and began to eat. But learning, as he did so, how his father under a dire curse had forbidden any man to taste aught before sun-down, he ceased to eat, but said that his father’s interdict was not right, for they would have had more strength and ardour for the pursuit, had they

\[\text{a} \text{ So in the LXX; Heb. omits the number.}\]

\[\text{b} \text{ Cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 24 Σαούλ ἠγνόησεν ἀγνοιαν μεγάλην; Heb. has nothing corresponding.}\]

\[\text{c} \text{ The “oak-coppice” is taken from the LXX; Heb. has ya'ar which may mean either forest (so the Targum here) or honeycomb.}\]

\[\text{d} \text{ So the LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 23; not mentioned in Heb.}\]

\[\text{e} \text{ 1 Sam. xiv. 27, “put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand and dipped it in the honeycomb.”}\]

\[\text{f} \text{ Scripture does not say that he ceased to eat.}\]
120 (4) Πολλάς γοῦν κατακόμβατες μυριάδας τῶν Παλαιστίνων, δείλης οἰμίας ἐπὶ διαρπαγήν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Παλαιστίνων τρέπονται, καὶ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ βοσκήματα λαβόντες κατασφάξουσι καὶ ταύτ’ ἔναιμα κατήσθιον. Ἀπαγγέλλεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων ὅτι τὸ πλήθος εἰς τὸν θεόν ἐξαμαρτάνει θύσας καὶ πρὶν ἥ τὸ αἷμα καλῶς ἀποπλῦναι καὶ τὰς σάρκας ποιήσαι καθαράς ἐσθίων. καὶ ὁ Σαούλος κελεύει κυλισθῆναι λίθων μέγαν εἰς μέσον καὶ κηρύσσει θύειν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄχλον τὰ ἱερεῖα, καὶ τὰ κρέα μὴ σών τῷ αἵματι δαινύσας· πρῶτο γάρ οὐκ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον. τούτῳ δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως ποιησάντων ἠστησεν ἐκεῖ βωμὸν ὁ Σαούλος καὶ ὠλοκαύτωσεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἡ τῷ θεῷ. τούτον πρῶτον βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

122 (5) Ἀγείν δ’ εὐθὺς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βουλόμενος πρὶν ἡμέρας, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὄκνωντων ἐπεσθαί, πολλὴν δ’ εἰς ὁ προστάτευσ προθυμίαι ἐνδεικνυμένων, καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίτωβον τὸν ἄρχιερέα κελεύει· αὐτὸν γνώναι εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ συνχωρεῖ βαδίσασιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν ἑχθρῶν

1 RO: δ’ οὖν MSP: οὖν E.
2 SPE: ἐν αἵματι rell.
3 ἐκεῖ secl. edd.; cf. lxx, 1 Sam. xiv. 34.
4 ἐκέλευσεν MSP.
partaken of food, and would thus have captured and slain many more of the foe.

(4) Many, for all that, were the myriads of Philistines whom they cut down ere at dusk they turned to the pillage of the enemy’s camp; where, having taken much booty and cattle, they slaughtered and set to devouring them all reeking with blood. Thereupon it was reported to the king by the scribes,\(^a\) that the host were sinning against God in that, having sacrificed, they were now eating, before they had duly washed away the blood and made the flesh clean.\(^b\) Then Saul ordered a great stone to be rolled into the midst and made proclamation to the throng to sacrifice their victims thereon and not to feast upon the flesh with the blood, since that was not well-pleasing to God. And when all had so done in obedience to the king’s command, Saul set up an altar there and offered burnt-offerings\(^c\) thereon to God. This was the first altar that he built.

(5) Being now desirous to lead his army forthwith to the enemy’s encampment to plunder everything therein before daybreak, and seeing that his soldiers, far from hesitating to follow him, showed great alacrity to obey his orders, the king summoned Achitob\(^d\) the high priest and bade him ascertain whether God would grant and permit them to proceed to the camp of the foe and destroy such as were

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* Not mentioned in Scripture.
* Cf. A. iii. 260 on Lev. xix. 26, Deut. xii. 16.
* Scripture does not specify that the sacrifices were burnt-offerings, as do Josephus and the rabbis in their discussion of this passage, Bab. Talmud, Zebahim 120 a.
* Priest’s name not mentioned in Scripture; according to § 107, the high priest at this time was Achias (bibl. Ahiah), the son of Achitob (bibl. Ahitub).
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123 διαφθείραι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὸν θεον ἃλλ' οὐ διχα αἰτίας, ἐίπεν ὁ Σαούλος, "πυνθανομένους ἡμῖν φωνῆν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεὸς, ὥς πρὸτερον αὐτὸς προεμήνυε πάντα καὶ μηδ' ἐπερωτῶσιν ἐφθασε· λέγων, ἀλλ' ἔστι τι λανθάνων ἐξ ἦμων ἁμάρτημα

124 πρὸς αὐτοῦ αὐτίον τῆς σιωπῆς. καὶ ὡμυμῆ γε τούτον αὐτόν, ἢ μὴ κἂν ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰωνάθης ἢ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὔτως ἵλασασθαι, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ παρ' ἄλλουρίον καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντος τὴν

125 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην ἀπελάμβανον." τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐπιβοήσαντος, παραχρῆμα πάντας ἱστησαν εἰς ἑνα τόπον, ἵστατε δὲ καὶ αὐτῶς σὺν τῶ παιδί κατ' ἄλλο μέρος καὶ κλήρῳ τὸν ἡμαρτη-κότα μαθεῖν ἐπεξῆτε· καὶ λαγχάνει δοκεῖν οὕτος

126 εἶναι Ἰωνάθης. ἐπερωτῶμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τὶ πεπλημμέληκε καὶ τὶ παρὰ τὸν βίον οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὔτε ὀσίως αὐτῷ διαπραξαμένω συνέγνωκε "πάτερ," εἶπεν, "ἄλλο μὲν οὔδεν," ὅτι δὲ χθές ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἄραν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄρκον μεταξὺ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγεῦσατο κηρίων. Σαούλος δὲ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ὀμνυσε καὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ

127 τῆς φύσεως τῶν φίλτρων ἐτύμησε· τὸν ὄρκον. ὃ δ' οὐ καταπλήττεται τὴν ἀπειλὴν τοῦ θανάτου, παραστησάμενος δ' εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως "οὐδ' ἐγὼ σε," φησίν, "ικετεύους φείσασθαί μου, πάτερ, ἓδιστος δὲ μοι ὁ θάνατος ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σῆς

1 + τινὸς SP.

2 edd.: ἐφθανὲ MSP: φθάσαι RO.
3 codd.: ἀποκτείνειν Hudson. 4 ἵλασασθαι Naber.
5 τὶ περ RO: τὶ πεποίηκε καὶ τὶ SP Glycas.
6 προτιμήσαι ed. pr.: praeponeret Lat.
found therein. The priest having reported that there was no response from God, "Nay, but it is not without cause," said Saul, "that God gives no answer to our inquiry, He who ere now forewarned us of all Himself and spoke to us even before we inquired of Him. Nay, it is some secret sin against Him on our part that is the cause of this silence." Aye and I swear by God Himself that verily, be it my own son Jonathan who hath committed this sin, I will slay him and thus propitiate God, even as though it were from a stranger without kinship with me that I was taking vengeance on His behalf." The multitude thereon calling upon him so to do, he forthwith caused them all to stand in one place, and stood himself with his son in another, and sought by the lot to discover the sinner; and the lot indicated Jonathan. Being asked by his father wherein he had gone astray and of what wrong or unholy act in all his life he was conscious, "Of nothing, father," said he, "save that yesterday, all ignorant of that imprecation and oath of thine, while in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted a honeycomb." Saul thereat swore to slay him, respecting his oath more than the tender ties of fatherhood and of nature. Yet Jonathan quailed not before this menace of death, but surrendering himself nobly and magnanimously, "Neither will I," said he, "entreat thee to spare me, father. Very sweet to me were death undergone for thy

a First part of Saul's speech is an addition to Scripture.
b Here the Gr. changes to indirect speech.
eυσεβείας γυνόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη λαμπρᾶ· μέγιστον γὰρ παραμυθίων τὸ καταλιπεῖν Εβραίους Παλαι-
128 στίνων κεκρατηκότας.’ ἐπὶ τούτους ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἤλεγχε καὶ συνεπαθεν, ὥμοιος τε μὴ περιώψεσθαι
tὸν αἴτιον τῆς νίκης Ἰω νάθην ἀποθανόντα. καὶ τὸν
mὲν οὔτως ἐξαρπάζουσι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἁρᾶς, αὐτοῦ
de εὐχάς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιοῦνται τῷ θεῷ
ὡσ’ αὐτὸν ἀπολύσαι τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος.
129 (6) Καὶ ὁ Σαουλὸς εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ὑπ-
έστρεφε διαφθείρας ὁσεὶ μυριάδας ἐξ τῶν πολε-
μίων. βασιλεύει δὲ εὐνυχῶς, καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα
tῶν ἑθνῶν πολεμήσας χειροῦν τὸ τε Ἀρμανιτῶν
cαὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ Ἡσυχίτων καὶ εἰς εἰς Ἀμαλχίτωνας
cαὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Σωβᾶς.4 ἦσαν δὲ παιδεῖς αὐτῶν τρεῖς μὲν ἀρσενες Ἰω νάθης
cαὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Μέλχισες, θυγατέρες δὲ Μερόβη
καὶ Μιχαάλ.5 στρατηγὸν δὲ εἰ χε τὸν τοῦ θείου
130 παιδα Ἀβηναροῦ. Νῆρος δ’ ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο,
Νῆρος δὲ καὶ Κείς ὁ Σαουλὸς πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ
ήσαν, νῦν δ’ Ἀβελίου.6 ἦν δὲ καὶ πλήθος ἀρ-
μάτων Σαουλῶν καὶ ἱππέων, οἰς7 δὲ8 πολεμήσειε
νικήσας ἀπηλλάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς
eὐπραγίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαμονίας προηγάγετο
καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπεδείξεν ἑδυνών δυνατώτερος,9
καὶ τῶν10 νέων τούς δὴ καὶ μέγεθε καὶ κάλλει
dιαφέροντας φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

1 καὶ om. RO. 2 τε καὶ SP: om. rell.
3 om. Lat.: + τε ROME.
4 Bosius ex Lat.: όβᾶς codd. E: σοῦζά Zon.
5 M: μελχαά SP: χθαάλ RO.
6 Abihel Lat.: Ἀβιήλου conj. Hudson ex lxx. 7 oις SE.
8 RO: δ’ ἄν rell. 9 ROE: δυνατώτατος rell. Lat.
10 καὶ τῶν RO: τῶν δὲ MSP.
piety’s sake and after brilliant victory; for highest consolation were it to leave Hebrews triumphant over Philistines.”

Thereupon all the people were moved to grief and sympathy and they swore that they would not suffer Jonathan, the author of that victory, to die. Thus then did they snatch him from his father’s curse, and themselves offered prayers for the young man to God, that He would grant him absolution from his sin.

(6) So Saul returned to his own city after destroying some sixty thousand of the enemy. He then reigned happily and, having made war on the neighbouring nations, subdued those of the Ammanites and Moabites, besides Philistines, Idumaeans and Amalekites, and the king of Sōba. He had three sons, Jonathan, Jesus and Melechis, and his daughters were Merobe and Michal. For commander of his army he had Abēnar, his uncle’s son; that uncle was named Ner, and Ner and Kis, the father of Saul, were brothers, sons of Abelios. Saul had, moreover, abundance of chariots and horsemen, and with whomsoever he fought he returned victorious; and he brought the Hebrews to greatness of success and prosperity and rendered them more powerful than the other nations, and of the young men such as excelled in stature and beauty he took for his bodyguards.

Jonathan’s speech is unscriptural.

“snatch” and “offered prayers” combine the Heb. “redeemed” (or “rescued”) and the lxx “prayed for” of 1 Sam. xiv. 46.

Bibl. Ishui, Heb. Ishwir, lxx Ἰσσίαου (v.l. Ἰσούι).

Bibl. Melchisheua, lxx Μέλχεσία.α.

Bibl. Merah, lxx Μέροβα.

Bibl. Michal, lxx Μελῆλα.


Bibl. Abiel.
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131 (vii. 1) Σαμονήλος δὲ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σαουλόν περιθῆκαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφασκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὑπομνήηῃ ὅτι βασιλέα προκύνας αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ὥς ἐπέδειξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκουν αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ὃς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν καὶ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων. Λέγειν τούτων ἐφασκε τὸν θεόν: "Ἔπει πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἐβραίους Ἀμαληκίταις διέθηκαν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ὅτε ἐξελθόντες ἀπὸ Αἰγυπτοῦ εἰς τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσιν αὐτοῖς ἐστέλλοντο χώραν, κελεύω πολέμως τιμωρησάμενον τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας καὶ κρατήσαντα μηδὲν" αὐτῶν ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάσης διεξελθεῖν ἡλικίας, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν κτείνειν καὶ νηπίων καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπέρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν εἰργάσαντο τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, φείσασθαι δὲ μῆτε ὑποζυγίων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων εἰς ὡφέλειαν καὶ κτήσαν ἰδίαν, ἀπαντά δ' ἀναθεία καὶ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ Ἀμαληκίου ὅνομα ταῖς Μωσεός κατακολούθησαν εὐτολαίῳ ἐξαλεύψαι."  

132 (2) Ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ποιήσειν Σαμονήλος τὰ προστασιόνα διότι τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεόν ὅπως εἰς τῷ ποιῆσασθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας στρατεύσαις λογιζόμενος εἰμι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τῆς ἐνομήτητα καὶ τῷ τάχος ἀναβολῆς οὐ προσούσης ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἐμφανίζειν, ἀθροίζει τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ταύτην ἐξαρθμῆσας ἐν Γαλγάλους εὐρίσκει τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐξώ τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς περὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας· ᾗς γάρ ἡ φυλή καθ' ἐκ. 

1 τὴν καὶ conj. Niese: καὶ τὴν κατ᾽ codd. 
2 S: μηδὲν rell. 
3 τῷ τὴν... ἐμφανίζειν ex Lat.: τὴν... ἐμφανίζει codd.

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(vii. 1) Samuel now came to Saul and said that he had been sent to him by God to recall to him that God had preferred him above all others and created him king, and that he ought therefore to obey and give ear to Him, for, while he had dominion over the nations, God had dominion both over him and over the universe. He thereupon announced that God had spoken thus: "Forasmuch as the Amalekites did much evil to the Hebrews in the wilderness, when they were come out of Egypt and on their way to the land that now is theirs, I command thee to take vengeance on the Amalekites in war and, when victorious, to leave not one of them remaining; but you shall deal death to all of every age, beginning with the women and infants, and in this wise take vengeance for what they did to your forefathers; thou art to spare neither beasts of burden nor any cattle at all for private profit or possession, but to devote all to God and, in compliance with the behests of Moses, to blot out the name of Amalek."

(2) These injunctions Saul promised to fulfil; and reflecting that obedience to God lay not merely in making this campaign against the Amalekites, but would be displayed yet more by an alacrity and haste that brooked no delay, he mustered all his forces and, having numbered them at Galgala, found that the Israelites, apart from the tribe of Judah, were some 400,000 men; that tribe by itself furnished 30,000

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\[a\] Cf. A. iii. 60 on Ex. xvii. 14, and A. iv. 304 on Deut. xxv. 17. Moses is not mentioned in Scripture at this point.

\[b\] So the LXX; Heb. has Telaim, a city in southern Judah.
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135 αὐτὴν ἐστὶ στρατιῶται τρισμύριοι. Σαοῦλος δὲ ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμαληκτῶν χώραν ἐνέδρας πολλὰς καὶ λόχους περὶ τὸν χειμάρρουν τίθησιν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μαχόμενος¹ αὐτοῦς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι κατὰ τὰς ὀδοὺς ἑπιπίπτον καὶ κυκλούμενος² ἀναίρεῖν· καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφθείρει πάντας, φεύγων των ἐπικολούθων. ὡς δὲ ἐκείνῳ τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν ἔχωρησε, τάς πόλεις τῶν Ἀμαληκτῶν προσέβαλε καὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανήμας, τὰς δὲ ὀργίμασιν ὑπονόμοις καὶ πείνας ἔξωθεν ἀντωκοδομήμενοις, τὰς δὲ λιμῶ καὶ δύμης, τὰς δὲ ἀλλὰς τρόπους ἐκπολυορκήσας καὶ λαβὼν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπὶ σφαγῆ γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων ἔχωρησεν, οὐδὲν ωμὸν οὐδ’ ἀνθρωπίνης σκληροτερον διαπράσσεσθαι φύσεως ἡγούμενος, πρῶτον μὲν πολεμίους ταῦτα δρῶν, ἐπείτα προστάγματι θεοῦ, ὡς 136 τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι κινδύνου εἴφερε. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐγχθρῶν Ἰαγγον αἰχμάλωτον, οὗ ἁθυμᾶσα τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ἀξίον ἐκρίνετο, οὐκέτι τοῦτο ποιών κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάθει δὲ νικώμενος ἰδίω καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀκάρως περὶ ὁν ὁὐκ ἐίχεν ἁκίνδυνον ἐξουσίαν οὐκτω. ὡς μὲν⁴ γὰρ θεὸς οὕτως ἐμίσησε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκτῶν ἔθνος, ὡς μηδὲ

¹ conj. Niese ex Lat.: μαχόμενος codd.
² conj. Niese: ἑπιπίπτεως καὶ κυκλούμενος codd.
³ μὲν om. MSP.

¹ Both numbers in agreement with most mss. of the LXX; Heb. has 200,000 and 10,000 respectively.
² Josephus here omits Saul's invitation to the Kenites to separate themselves from Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 6), before his 234
Having then invaded the country of the Amalekites, Saul posted numerous pickets and ambuscades around the ravine, with intent not only to molest them in open warfare, but also to fall upon them unexpectedly on the roads and envelop and destroy them; and in fact, on joining battle with them he routed the enemy and, pursuing the fugitives, destroyed them all. That task having, in accordance with God's prediction, been successfully achieved, he attacked the cities of the Amalekites; and when, some by engines of war, others by mining operations and exterior opposing walls, others by hunger and thirst, and yet others by other means, he had carried and stormed them all, he then proceeded to the slaughter of women and infants, deeming naught therein cruel or too savage for human nature to perform, first because they were enemies whom he was treating thus, and then because of the commandment of God, whom it was dangerous to disobey. But he also took prisoner the enemy's king, Agag, whom out of admiration for his beauty and his stature he accounted worthy to be saved; wherein he was no longer acting in accordance with the will of God, but giving way to feelings of his own, and yielding inopportune to compassion where it was not permitted to him without peril. For God so hated the race of the Amalekites that He had ordered him to spare not attack upon the latter. In § 140 he alludes to this scriptural passage in mentioning the Sikimites. *Cf. note ad loc.*

*Scripture does not tell us what ravine (Heb. nahal, "bed of a stream," cf. Arabic wady) is meant; the geographical details are vague throughout this account.

*Details of the invasion and sieges are an amplification.*

*Saul's aesthetic motive for sparing Agag is an invention of Josephus.*
JOSEPHUS

νηπίων φεύγασθαι κελεύσαι πρός ἃ μᾶλλον ἔλεος
gίνεσθαι πέφυκε, Σαούλος δὲ αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα
cαὶ τὸν ήγεμόνα τῶν εἰς Ἐβραίους κακῶν ἔσωσε,
tῆς μνήμης ὅν ἐπέστειλεν ὦ θεὸς τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου
κάλλος ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος. συνεξήμαρτε δ’
αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλήθος καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνοι τῶν ὑπο-
ζυγίων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐφείσαντο καὶ διήρ-
πασαν, μὴ τηρεῖν αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, τὰ τε
ἀλλὰ χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεφόρησαν, εἰ δὲ τι
μὴ σπουδῆς ἢν ἄξιον ὡστε κεκτῆσαί διέφθειραν.

(3) Νικήσας δὲ Σαούλος ἀπαντᾷ τοὺς ἀπὸ Πη-
λουσίου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καθήκοντας ἐως τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς
θαλάσσης διέφθειρε πολεμίους, παραλυτῶν τὸ τῶν
Σικιμίων ἔθνος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαδινῆ γὼρ
μέσοι κατώκησαί. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης πέμψα
παρῆγγελεν αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖν, μὴ τοῖς Ἀμαλκί-
ταίς κοινωνήσωσι συμφοράς· συγγενεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς
ὀντας Ῥαγουῆλος τοῦ Μωσέως πενθερὸν σώζειν
αἰτῶν ἔχειν.

(4) Καὶ Σαούλος μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς παρακούσας
ὅν ὦ προφήτης ἐπέστειλε μέλλοντι τὸν πρὸς
Ἀμαλκίτας ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν
ἐκεῖνοι ἄκριβῶς πεφυλαγμένοι γενικήκως τοὺς
πολεμίους οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων

1 αὐτῶν RÌS: regem Agag Lat.
2 RO Lat.: τῶν τῶν πολεμίων M (+ χώραν E): τὰ τῶν πολεμίων

* 1 Sam. xv. 7 “from Havilah until thou comest to Shur over against Egypt”; Josephus reverses the directions, assuming that Shur corresponds to Pelusium and that Havilah is somewhere near the Red Sea.
* 1 Sam. xv. 6 “Kenites,” “Sikimites,” which is geographically impossible (= inhabitants of Shechem), may 236
even the infants, to whom it is more natural that pity should be shown; but Saul saved their king, the author of all the injuries to the Hebrews, having had more regard for the beauty of his enemy than for memory of what God enjoined. The people too were his partners in sin; for they spared the beasts and the cattle and took for their prey what God had forbidden to be preserved, and carried off all the chattels and riches beside; but whatever was not worth coveting as a possession that did they destroy.

(3) Conquering the whole district extending from Pelusium in Egypt to the Red Sea, Saul destroyed the inhabitants as enemies, saving only the race of the Sikimites, who had settled in the heart of the country of Madian. To these he had, before the combat, sent messengers admonishing them to withdraw, lest they should share the fate of the Amalekites; for, being kinsmen of Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses, he had, as he said, good reason to spare them.

(4) So Saul, as though he had neglected none of the injunctions which he had received from the prophet when embarking on his campaign against the Amalekites, but had strictly observed them all in having conquered his enemies, returned homeward be due to corruption in Josephus's text. Rappaport makes the interesting suggestion that either Josephus wrote "Sikimites," the Greek form of the Targum's name "Shalma'ah" for the Kenites, and that this was corrupted to "Sikimites," or that he connected Shalma'ah with Shechem on the basis of Gen. xxxiii. 18 "Shalem a city of Shechem."

Cf. A. v. 127. The reference to the kinship with Moses is paralleled in rabbinic tradition. Scripture ascribes Saul's consideration to the Israelites' memory of services rendered them by the Kenites in the Exodus.
142 ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις. οὗ δὲ θεοῦ ἀξιότερος τῇ τε τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμαλχιτῶν σωτηρία καὶ τῇ τῶν βοσκημάτων διαρπαγῇ τοῦ πλῆθους, οὐτὶ μὴ συγχωρήσωτος αὐτὸν ταύτ’ ἐπράξῃ. δεινὸν γὰρ ἠγεῖτο νικῶν μὲν καὶ περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκεῖνού τὴν ἑσδύν διδόντος αὐτοῖς, καταφρονεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ παρακούσθαι μηδὲ ὡς ἀνθρωπον βασιλέα.

143 μετανοεῖν οὖν ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουήλου ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονήσαι βασιλέα τὸν Σαουλοῦν, μηδὲν ὦν αὐτὸς κελεύει πράττοντα, τῇ δ’ οἰκεία Βουλήςει χρώμενον. σφόδρα ταύτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ Σαμουήλος συνεχύθη καὶ δ’ ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς παρακαλείν ήρξατο τὸν θεὸν καταλάττεσθαι τῷ Σαουλοῦ καὶ

144 μὴ χαλεπάνως. οὗ δὲ τὴν συγνώμην οὐκ ἐπένευσεν εἰς τὸν Σαουλοῦν αὐτομένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ, λογισάμενος οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἀμαρτήματας χαρίζεσθαι παρατήσει. οὐ γὰρ εἶ ἄλλον τῶν φύτευσαι μᾶλλον ἡ τοῦ καταμαλακίζοσθαι τοὺς ἄδικοι-μένους. θηρωμένους γὰρ δοξαν ἐπεικείας καὶ χρηστότητος λανθάνειν αὐτοὺς ταῦτα γεννώντας.

145 ὥσιν ἀπείπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ τοῦ προφήτητος δεήσει καὶ δήλος ἡν μεταμελόμενος, ἢ μὴ ἡμέρα Σαμουήλου εἰς Γάλγαλα παραγίνεται πρὸς Σαουλοῦν θεσσαλεῖν δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστρέχει καὶ κατασπασάμενος “τῷ θεῷ,” φησὶν, “εὐχαριστῶ δόντι μοι τὴν νίκην, ἀπάντα μέντοι γε τὰ κελευσθέντα

146 ὕπ’ αὐτοῦ πέπρακται.” Σαμουήλος δὲ πρὸς τοῦθ’ ὑπολαβὼν “πόθεν οὖν ἀκούὼ θρεμμάτων,” εἴπε,
exultant at his success. But God was ill pleased at his sparing the life of the king of Amalek and at the people’s making plunder of the cattle, because these things had not been permitted by Him; for He deemed it an outrage that when they had conquered and defeated the foe through the might which He had given them, He should meet with such contempt and disobedience as they would show to no human king. He therefore told the prophet Samuel that He repented of having elected Saul as king, since he was in no wise executing His commands, but doing according to his own pleasure. On hearing this Samuel was sore troubled, and all night long set himself to entreat God to be reconciled to Saul and not wroth with him. But God would grant no pardon to Saul at the prophet’s request, accounting it not just to condone sins at the intercession of another; for nothing more favoured their growth than laxity on the part of the wronged, who in seeking a reputation for mildness and kindness are unwittingly the begetters of crime. When therefore God had refused the prophet’s prayer and showed that He repented Himself, Samuel at break of day repaired to Galgala to meet Saul. At sight of him, the king ran to him and embraced him. “I render thanks,” said he, “to God who has given me victory; and moreover, all His commands have been performed.” Whereeto Samuel replied, “Whence comes it then

\[a\] i.e. of having made Saul king, cf. 1 Sam. xv. 35. The variant text δῆλος ἑν μη μεταμελὸμενος “and showed no change of mind” is probably due to scribes who thought that Josephus was referring to God’s decision to punish Saul in spite of Samuel’s intercession.
“καὶ υποζυγίων βοης ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ;” ὁ δὲ τὸν λαὸν ταύτ’ εἰς θυσίας ἀπεκρίνατο τετηρηκέναι· τὸ μέντοι γε τῶν Ἀμαληκτῶν γένος ἀπαν ἐξή-
φαινόθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ περιλείπεσθαι ἄλλον μηδένα, πρὸς δ’ αὐτὸν ἀγαγεών μόνον τηρήσαντα αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, περὶ οὗ τί δὲι ποιεῖν βουλεύσε-
147 σθαὶ1 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔφασκεν. ὁ δὲ προβήτης ὅπυχθες ἔλεγεν ἤδεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαίοις· οὕτω δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τῇ βουλήσει καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ κατακολούθουντες καὶ μηδὲν ἄλλο πραξθήσεσθαι καλῶς ύβ’ ἐαυτῶν νομί-
ζοντες η’ ὃ τι ἂν ποιήσωσι τοῦ θεοῦ κεκελευκότος· καταφρονεῖσθαι γάρ οὐχ ὅταν αὐτῶ μη θύη τις,
148 ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν δοκή. “παρὰ δ’ τῶν οὐχ ὑποτασσομένων οὐδ’ ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνην τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένην θρησκευόντων θρησκείαν, οὔτ’ ἂν πολλὰ καὶ πιμελῆ καταθύσωσι ηερεία, οὔτ’ ἂν κόσμον ἀναθημάτων ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ πε-
ποιημένων προσφέρωσι, δέχεται ταῦτ’ εὐμενῶς, ἀλλ’ ἀποστρέφεται καὶ δεύγματα τῆς ποιηρίας οὐκ
149 εὐσέβειαν ἤγειται. τοῖς δ’ ἐν καὶ μόνον τοῦθ’ ὃ τι περ ἂν φθέγχεται καὶ κελεύσῃ ὁ θεὸς διὰ μνήμης ἔχουσι καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ παραβηθέν τι τούτων αἰρομένοις ἐπιστήτω, καὶ οὔτε θυσίαν ἐπιζητεῖ παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ θυόντων δὲ, κἂν ἢ λιτά, τῆς πενίας ἢδιον τῆς τιμῆς ἢ παρὰ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων
150 δεξιότατα. σὺ τούν ἦσθι σαυτὸν δ’ ὀργῆς οἴνα τῷ θεῷ· κατεφρόνησας γάρ καὶ κατημέλησας ἃν ἐπέστειλε. πῶς οὖν οἶει τῆς θυσίαν ἂν αὐτὸν προσβλέπειν ἐξ ὧν κατέκρινεν ἀπολέσθαι γινο-

1 Ernesti ex Lat.: βουλεύεσθαι codd.

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that I hear sounds of cattle and beasts of burden in the camp?" The king answered that the people had reserved these for sacrifice, but that the race of the Amalekites had been utterly exterminated in accordance with the divine command, and that not one had been left alive, save only their king, whom he had preserved and brought to Samuel, and concerning whose fate they would, he said, take counsel together. But the prophet answered that the Deity took not delight in sacrifices, but in good and righteous men, namely such as follow His will and His commandments and deem that no act of theirs will have been rightly done save what they do at God's bidding; for contempt of God, he said, is shown not in withholding sacrifice but in appearing to disobey Him. "And from such as submit not nor offer the true worship that alone is acceptable to God, even though they sacrifice many fat victims, even though they present to Him sumptuous offerings wrought of silver and gold, yet does He not receive these gifts graciously, but rejects them and regards them as tokens of iniquity rather than as piety. But they who are mindful of this one thing alone, to wit what God has spoken and commanded, and who choose rather to die than to transgress aught thereof, in them does He rejoice; from them He requires no sacrifice, or, should they offer any, however modest, more gladly does He welcome this homage from poverty than that of the wealthiest. Know, then, that thou thyself hast incurred the wrath of God, for thou hast held lightly and neglected His commandments. How thinkest thou that He could look upon a sacrifice offered from those things which He doomed
151 ἡμέλησας." Σαούλος δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὀμολόγει καὶ τήν ἀμαρτίαν ὑπὲρ ἱρνεῖτο· παραβαίνει γὰρ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου· κατὰ μέντοι γε δέος καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβον μὴ καλύσαι διαρπάζοντας αὐτοὺς τὴν λείαν μηδ’ ἐπισχεῖν. "ἀλλὰ συγγίνωςκε καὶ πρᾶσο ἴασθι:" φιλάξεσθαι γὰρ εἰς τοῦπον ἁμαρτεῖν, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν προφήτην ὑποστρέφαντα θυσίας χαριστήριοι ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ θεῷ· ὦ δὲ, οὐ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸν θεὸν διαλαττόμενον, ἀπήγε ὑπὸ ἐαυτῶν.

152 (3) Σαούλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σαμουήλον ἐλλαμβάνεται τῆς διπλοίδος, καὶ βιαίας τῆς ὀλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ’ ὀρμῆς ἀπιέναι τὸν Σαμουήλον· ἦλθον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἵματίον. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως αὐτοῦ διασχισθήναι φήσαντος καὶ λήψεσθαι ταύτην ἁγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἐμμένει καὶ ὄλων τῶν θεῶν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις, ὅσ τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφεις τὴν γνώμην ἀνθρωπίνῳ πάθους οὕτως οὐχὶ θείας ἱσχύς, δ’ Σαούλος ἀσεβήσαι μὲν ἐλεγεν· ἁγένητα δὲ ποιῆσαι τὰ πεπραγμένα μὴ δύνασθαι· τιμήσαι γε μὴν αὐτῶν παρεκάλει, τοῦ πλήθους ὅρωντος, σὺν αὐτῷ παραγειόμενον τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι. δίδωσι δὲ τούτο Σαμουήλος αὐτῷ καὶ συνελθὼν προσκυνεῖ τῷ θεῷ.

1 SPM: ὀλέθρων Μ: ὀλεθρων Ο.
2 ἐπιλαμβάνεται S Ξόν (cf. lxx codd.).
3 Dindorf: ἀπείναι codd.
4 + δὲ codd.
to destruction? Unless it be that thou regardest the sacrificing of them to God as equivalent to destroying them! Expect, therefore, that thou wilt be deprived of thy kingship and of the power upon which thou hast presumed in neglecting the God who gave it thee.” Saul admitted that he had done wrong and did not deny his sin; yes, he said, he had transgressed the prophet’s commands; yet indeed it was from fear and dread of his soldiers that he had not prevented them from plundering the spoils nor restrained them. “But,” said he, “pardon me and be merciful,” and promised to beware of offending in future. Then he besought the prophet to return (with him) and sacrifice thank-offerings to God. But Samuel, seeing that God was not to be reconciled, departed to his home.

(5) Then Saul, seeking to detain Samuel, laid hold upon his mantle and, since Samuel was hastening to be gone, pulled it so violently that he rent the garment in twain. Whereat the prophet said that even so had his kingdom been rent from him, and that one would succeed to it who was virtuous and just, for God would abide by what He had decreed concerning him, as change and reversal of judgement were the part of human frailty and not of divine power. Saul replied that, impious though he had been, he could not undo what had been done; howbeit he besought him at least to do him honour in the eyes of the multitude by coming with him to worship God. Samuel granted him this request and went with him and worshipped God. Then too was

1 1 Sam. xv. 25 “that I may worship the Lord.”
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b Josephus infers that Samuel also worshipped. Scripture says that Samuel returned with Saul and “Saul worshipped the Lord.”
JOSEPHUS

155 άγεται δε και ο των 'Αμαλκητών βασιλεύς "Αγαγος προς αυτόν· και πυθανομένου πώς είη πικρός ο θάνατος, είπεν "ώς συ πολλάς μητέρας 'Εβραίων επί τέκνους οδύρεσθαι και πένθος άγενε ἐποιήσας, οὕτως οδυνήσεις επί σαυτῷ διαφθαρέντι τήν μη-τέρα." και κελεύει παραχρήμα αυτόν εν Γαλ-γάλους ἀποθανεῖν. και αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς 'Αρμαθᾶν πόλιν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

156 (viii. 1) Σαούλος δὲ ο βασιλεύς αἰσθόμενος ὃν ἂν1 πειραθεὶ κακῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάσας, εἰς τὸ βασίλειον ἀναβαίνει Γαβᾶ, σημαίνει2 βουνόν ἐρμηνευόμενον τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνην οὐκέτι τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ὅμιν ἔρχεται τῷ

157 προφήτῃ. Σαμουὴλ δὲ λυπομένων περὶ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς φροντίδος ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός, λαβόντι δὲ τὸ ἁγιον ἐλαίον3 εἰς Βηθλέεμν ἀπελθεῖν πόλιν πρὸς Ἰεσσαίων παῦσαν Ὀββίδου καὶ χρύσι τῶν νιὼν αὐτοῦ ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιδείξῃ βασιλεά γεννήσωμεν. δὲ δὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι φήσας, μὴ τοῦτο μαθών Σαούλος ἀνέλη λοχήσας αὐτὸν ἥ καὶ φανερῶς, ὑποθεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δόντος ἀσφα-158 λείας ὅδον ἤκεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν. καὶ πάντες αὐτοῦ ήσπάζοντο τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἄφιξεως ἀνηρώτων, ἔλεγε δὲ ἤκεν ἵνα θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ποιήσας ὅν τὴν θυσίαν καλεὶ τὸν Ἰεσσαίων μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερὰ4 καὶ θεασάμενος

1 ἂν ins. Niese. 2 + δὲ MSP. 3 ἁγιον ἐλαίον] ἁγγείον τοῦ ἐλαίου E Lat. 4 ἱερεῖα MSP.

a So, apparently, the lxx and Targum of I Sam. xv. 32. The Hebrew is obscure and is variously explained by Jewish interpreters.
brought to him Agag, king of the Amalekites; and when the prisoner asked what manner of bitter death his would be,\(^a\) Samuel said, "As thou hast made many mothers of Hebrews to lament and mourn for their children, so shalt thou cause thy mother to grieve over thine own destruction." He then ordered him instantaneously to be put to death\(^b\) in Galgala, and he himself departed to the city of Armatha.

(viii. 1) But King Saul, perceiving what ills he had incurred in making God his enemy, went up to his palace at Gaba\(^c\) (a name which is interpreted to mean "hill") and from that day onward came no more into the prophet's sight. As Samuel, however, yet grieved for him, God bade him banish his care and, taking the holy oil, to repair to the city of Bethlehem to Jesse son of Obed,\(^d\) and to anoint from among his sons him whom He Himself should point out as the future king. Samuel replied that he was fearful lest Saul on learning of this should slay him by ambush or even openly; but, God having advised him\(^e\) and provided him a way of safety, he came to the city aforesaid. Here all greeted him and questioned him concerning the cause of his coming, and he said that he was come to sacrifice to God. Having then performed the sacrifice, he called Jesse with his children to the sacred feast, and when

\(^{a}\) Josephus discreetly passes over the details; 1 Sam. xv. 33 "and Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord." Rabbinic tradition states that the execution was not in accordance with Jewish forms of justice.

\(^{c}\) So Lxx; Heb. Gibeah of Saul. Cf. § 95 note.

\(^{d}\) 1 Sam. xvi. 1 "Jesse the Bethlehemite." His father's name is given earlier, A. v. 336 (Ruth iv. 22).

\(^{e}\) Scripture explains more fully by mentioning, at this point, the pretext of sacrificing.
JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν νῦν εὐμεγέθη καὶ καλὸν, εἴκασεν ἐκ τῆς εὐμορφίας τούτον εἶναι τὸν
159 μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν. διαμαρτάνει δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
προνοίας: ἐπερωτήσαντι γὰρ αὐτοῦ εἰ χρίσει τῷ
ελαίῳ τον νεανίσκον ὃν αὐτὸς ἐτεθαυμάκει1 καὶ τῆς
басилείας ἀξίων έκρινεν, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ βλέπειν
160 ἀνθρώπως εἴπε καὶ θεόν: "ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ
κάλλος ἀπιδὼν τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ δὴ τούτον ἡγῆ
ἀξίων τοῦ βασιλεύειν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ' οὐ σωμάτων
εὐμορφίας ἐπαθλον ποιοῦμαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλὰ
ψυχῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ ζητῶ δόσις ταύτης2 ἐστὶ τελέως
eὐπρεπῆς, εὐσεβεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ
πειθοί, εὖ δὲν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς συνίσταται κάλλος,
161 κατακεκοσμημένος." ταῦτα φράσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ
πάντας ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰεσσαίου τοὺς νῦν
ἐπιδείξαι Σαμουήλος. ὁ δὲ πέντε ἄλλους ἐποίησεν
ἐλθεῖν, ὃν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἔλιαβος,3 ὁ δευ-
τερος Ἀμωάδαβος, Σάμαλος ὁ τρίτος, ὁ τέταρτος
Ναθαναήλους, καὶ Ράηλος ὁ πέμπτος ἐκαλεῖτο, ὁ δὲ
162 ἔκτος Ἀσαμως. ἴδιων δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ προφήτης
μηδὲν χείρος τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου4 ταῖς μορφαῖς ἐπ-
ηρώτησεν τὸν θεὸν τίνα τούτων αἱρεῖται βασιλέα.
eἰπόντος δ' οὐδένα, πυνθάνεται τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου, μὴ
163 πρὸς τούτοις αὐτῶ καὶ ἄλλοι παιδεῖς εἰσι. φήσαντος
dὲ εἶναι Δαβίδην5 τούνομα, ποιμάνειν δὲ καὶ τῆς

1 αὐτὸς τε θαυμάζει RO.
2 ταύτῃ Coecjei: ταύτην Ernesti.
3 Ταλαβος RO.
4 πρεσβυτάτου Niese.
5 Δαβίδην RO et sic infra.

* His name, Eliab, is given below, § 161.
* These virtues, perhaps intended to correspond to the

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he beheld his eldest son, a well-grown and fair, he surmised from his comeliness that this was the destined king. But he mistook God's design; for, when he asked Him whether he should anoint with the oil this young man whom he himself had admired and accounted worthy of the kingship, He replied that men and God see not the same things. "Nay, thou, looking upon this young man's beauty, thinkest none other than him worthy to be king; but I make not of the kingdom a prize for comeliness of body, but for virtue of soul, and I seek one who in full measure is distinguished by this, one adorned with piety, justice, fortitude and obedience, qualities b whereof beauty of soul consists." When God had thus spoken, Samuel bade Jesse bring all his sons before him, and he caused five c others to appear. The eldest was called Eliab, the second Aminadab, d the third Samal, e the fourth Nathanael, the fifth Rael, f and the sixth Asam. g The prophet, seeing these to be in no way inferior to the eldest in appearance, asked God which among them He chose for king. When God answered, "None," he inquired of Jesse whether he had yet other children. He said that he had one named David, but that he was a

Platonic-Stoic cardinal virtues, are, of course, not specified in Scripture.

a 1 Sam. xvi. 10 (cf. xvii. 12) mentions seven sons excluding David, and the chapter gives the names of only the three eldest; the others' names are supplied from 1 Chron. ii. 13 ff. which tells us that there were seven sons altogether.

b So lxx; Heb. Abinadab.

c Bibl. Shammah (Chron. Shim'a), lxx Σαμά (v.l. Σαμαδ κτλ.).

d So lxx; Heb. Raddai.

e Bibl. Raddai, lxx Ζαδαί (v.l. Ζαβδαί, 'Ραβδαί), Luc. Ρηλαί.

f Bibl. Ozem (Heb. 'Ozem), lxx Ἀσαμ, Luc. Ἀσαμ.

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τών βοσκημάτων φυλακῆς ἐπιμελεῖόθαι, κελεύει καλείν αὐτόν ἐν τάχει· κατακλιθῆναι γὰρ εἰς εὐσωκίαν οὐκ εἶναι δυνατὸν αὐτοῖς ἔκεινον μὴ
164 παρόντος. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν ὁ Παύλος μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς, παῖς εἰκόνος μὲν τῆς χρώμαν γοργοῖς δὲ τὰς ὁψεῖς καὶ καλὸς ἄλλως "οὕτος ἑστίν," εἰπὼν ἤσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουήλος, "ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀρέσας τῷ θεῷ," κατακλίνεται μὲν αὐτὸς, κατακλίνει δὲ υφ’ αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸν Ἰεσσάιον
165 μετὰ καὶ τῶν παῖδων. ἔπειτα λαβὼν ὀρῶντος τοῦ Δαυίδου τὸ ἔλαιον ἄλειφε τ’ αὐτόν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἦρέμα λαλεῖ καὶ σημαίνει τοῦθ', ὅτι βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἦρηται. παρῆκαί δὲ εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ κατήκουν αὐτοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸ παραμενεὶν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τὸν οἶκον λαμπρὸν καὶ περιβόητον γενῆσθαι,1 καταστρέψεσθαι2 δὲ καὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἔθνεσι πολεμῇ νικῶντα καὶ περιόντα τῇ μάχῃ κλέος ἀοίδημον ξύντα τε ἔξειν καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ ἀπολείψειν.

166 (2) Καὶ Σαμουήλος μὲν ἀπαλλάσσεται ταῦτα παραπέσας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην μεταβαίνει τὸ θείον καταλύσαν Σαοῦλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύεις ἠρέατο τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοκυκαμένου τὸν Σαοῦλον δὲ περιήρχετο πάθη τυλί καὶ δαιμόνια πνεύμον ἀυτῷ καὶ στραγγάλας ἐπι-φερόντα, ὡς τοὺς ἱατροὺς ἀλλήλας μὲν αὐτῷ θεραπείαν μὴ ἐπινοεῖν, εἰ δὲ τίς ἐστὶν ἐξάδειν δυνάμενος καὶ ψάλλων ἐπὶ κινύρα τοῦτον ἐκέλευσαν ἥτη-

1 Dindorf: παραμένειν . . . γενησθαι codd.
2 ed. pr.: καταστρέψασθαι MSP.

a 1 Sam. xvi. 12 "with beautiful eyes."
shepherd and busied with keeping the flocks; whereat Samuel bade him call him in haste, for it was not possible for them to sit down to the feast without him. Now so soon as David appeared at his father's summons,—a lad of ruddy colour, with piercing eyes and in other ways handsome,—"This," said Samuel softly to himself, "is he whom it has pleased God to make king"; and he sat himself down and made the youth sit beside him, and then Jesse with his other sons. Then, in the sight of David, he took the oil and anointed him and spoke low into his ear, explaining that God had chosen him to be king. He also exhorted him to be righteous and obedient to His commandments, for so would the kingship long continue to be his, and his house would become splendid and renowned; he would subdue the Philistines and, victorious and triumphant over all nations with whom he might wage war, he would in his lifetime attain glorious fame and bequeath it to his posterity.

(2) So, after these exhortations, Samuel went his way, and the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy. But as for Saul, he was beset by strange disorders and evil spirits which caused him such suffocation and strangling that the physicians could devise no other remedy save to order search to be made for one with power to charm away spirits and to play upon the harp, and, whenso-

\[\text{b In Scripture, God prompts Samuel to recognize David.}\]
\[\text{c The exhortation is unscriptural.}\]
\[\text{d To Ramah.}\]
\[\text{e Scripture does not say that David prophesied.}\]
\[\text{f After the LXX of 1 Sam. xvi. 14 \(\epsilon \nu \gamma \nu \varepsilon \nu \); Heb. has simply "troubled."}\]
\[\text{g Bibl. "the servants of Saul."}\]
σαντας, ὅπόταν αὐτῷ προσθήκ' τὰ δαμοῦνα καὶ
tαράττη,2 ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στάντα ψάλλειν τε
167 καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους ἐπιλέγειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλησεν,
ἀλλὰ ξητείσθαι προσέταξε τοιοῦτον ἀνθρωπον
φήσαντος δὲ τινὸς αὐτῷ τῶν παρόντων ἐν Βηθ-
λεέμη πόλει τεθεᾶσθαι Ἰεσσαίου μὲν ύιὸν ἐτὶ
παῖδα τὴν ἤλικίαν, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ καὶ καλὸν τὰ τε
ἀλλα σπουδῆς ἄξιον καὶ δὴ καὶ ψάλλειν εἰδότα
καὶ ἄδειν ύμνους καὶ πολεμίστην ἄκρον, πέμψας
πρὸς τὸν Ἰεσσαίου ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστέλλειν αὐτῷ
tὸν Δαυίδην τῶν ποιμνίων ἀποσπάσαντα. βού-
λεσθαί γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ
168 τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀκούσας τοῦ νεανίσκου. ὁ δὲ
Ἰέσσαιος πέμπει τὸν ύιὸν καὶ ξένια δοὺς κομίσαι
tῷ Σαουλῳ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἡγοθε καὶ ποιήσας ὁπλο-
φόρον διὰ πάσης ἣγε3 τιμῆς· ἔξηδετο γὰρ ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δαμοῦνων ταραχήν,
όποτε αὐτῷ ταύτα προσέλθοι, μόνος ιατρὸς ἦν
λέγων τε τοὺς ύμνους καὶ ψάλλων ἐν τῇ κινύρᾳ
169 καὶ ποιῶν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι τῶν Σαουλὼν. πέμπει
tοῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰεσσαίου ἑάσαι
παρ' αὐτῷ τὸν Δαυίδην κελεύνων· ἠδεσθαί γὰρ αὐτῷ
βλεπομένῳ καὶ παρόντι· τὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντεπείν4 τῷ
Σαουλῳ, συγχωρήσας5 δὲ κατέχειν.
170 (ix. 1) Χρόνοις δ' ὑστερον ὦ πολλοὶς οἱ Παλαι-
στῖνοι πάλιν συνελθόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσαντες
μεγάλην ἐπίσας τοῖς Ἰσραηλῖταις καὶ μεταξὺ
Σωκοῦς καὶ Ἀζηκοῦς6 καταλαμβανόμενοι στρατο-

1 προσίοι SPE. 2 ταράττω codd. E.
3 eixe MSP.
4 τὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντ. ὁ δὲ οὐκ δὲν ἀντεπείν Holwerda.
5 RO: συνεχώρησε MSP (+ δὴ Holwerda).
6 Azeca Lat.

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ever the evil spirits should assail and torment Saul, to have him stand over the king and strike the strings and chant his songs. Saul did not neglect this advice, but ordered search to be made for such a man. And when one of those present said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, a mere boy in years, but of pleasing and fair appearance and in other ways worthy of regard, who was, moreover, skilled in playing on the harp and in the singing of songs, and an excellent soldier, Saul sent to Jesse and ordered him to take David from the flocks and send him to him; he wished, he said, to see the young man, having heard of his comeliness and valour. So Jesse sent his son, also giving him presents to carry to Saul. When he came, Saul was delighted with him, made him his armour-bearer and held him in the highest honour, for his illness was charmed away by him; and against that trouble caused by the evil spirits, whenever they assailed him, he had no other physician than David, who, by singing his songs and playing upon the harp, restored Saul to himself. He accordingly sent to Jesse, the lad’s father, desiring him to leave David with him, since the sight of the boy and his presence gave him pleasure. Jesse would not gainsay Saul, but permitted him to keep David.

(ix. 1) Not long afterwards the Philistines again assembled and mustered a great force, and marched against the Israelites; occupying the ground between Sochūs a and Azēkūs b they established their

a Bibl. Sochoh (A.V. Shochoh), lxx Σοκχωθ.  

b Bibl. Azekah. Both places are in the valley of Elah (1 Sam. xvii. 2) on the border of Judah and Philistia, about 15 miles due W. of Bethlehem.
JOSEPHUS

πεδεύονται. ἀντεπεξέγαγε δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν στρατιάν καὶ Σαούλος καὶ ἐπὶ τινὸς ὅρους στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀναγκάζει τοὺς Παλαιστίνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατόπεδον καταλιπεῖν, ὡμοίως δ' ἐπὶ τινὸς1 ὅρους ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καταληφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου

171 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι. διέστησε2 δ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα μέσος αὐλῶν τῶν ὅρων ἔφ' ὄν ἦν. καταβὰς οὖν τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Παλαιστίνων στρατοπέδου, Γολίαθος3 ὅνομα πόλεως δὲ Γίττης, ἀνήρ παμμεγεθέστατος· ἦν γὰρ πηχὼν τεσσάρων καὶ σπιθαμῆς, ὅταν τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἀναλογοῦντα περικείμενος· θώρακα μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδείπτῳ σταθμὸν ἄγοντα πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων, κόρυθα δὲ καὶ κνημίδας χαλκέας ὁποίας εἰκὸς ἦν ἄνδρος οὕτω παραδόξου τὸ μέγεθος σκεπάσας μέλη;4 δόρυν δὲ ὧν οὐ κούφον βάσταγμα δεξιάς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὦμων αὐτὸ αἵρων ἐφερεν, εἰχὲ δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἐξακοσίων σίκλων, εὔποντο δὲ πολλοὶ βαστάζοντες τὰ ὅπλα·

172 στὰς τοῖς ὄ Γολίαθος οὕτος μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων βοήν τε ἀφίησι μεγάλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σαούλον καὶ τοὺς 'Εβραίους λέγει· "μάχης μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττω· τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑμῶν5 συμπεσούσαν κακοπαθεῖν;

173 δότε δ' ὅστις ἐμοὶ μαχεῖται τῶν ὑμετέρων, καὶ βραβευθήσεται τὰ τοῦ πολέμου6 εἰν7 τῷ νεικηκότι·

1 δ' ἐπὶ τινὸς Niese; δὲ τινὸς RO: ἐπὶ ὅμοιον δὲ τινὸς MSP.  
2 διέστη ROE: διέστη Niese.  
3 Γολίαθος codd., sed infra Γολίαθος codd. plur.  
4 Niese ex Lat.: μέρη codd.  
5 SP: ἡμῶν rell.  
6 τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος MSP.  
7 εἰν ex Lat.: εἵν codd.

* Josephy infers from 1 Sam. xvii. 3, mentioning a moun-
camp there. Saul, on his side, led out his army against them, and, having pitched his camp on a certain mountain, forced the Philistines to abandon their first camp and to take up a similar position on another mountain over against that which he had occupied himself. The two camps were separated by a valley between the hills on which they lay. And now there came down from the camp of the Philistines one by name Goliath, of the city of Gitta, a man of gigantic stature. For he measured four cubits and a span, and was clad in armour proportioned to his frame. He wore a breastplate weighing 5000 shekels, with a helmet and greaves of bronze such as were meet to protect the limbs of a man of such prodigious size. His spear was not light enough to be borne in the right hand, but he carried it elevated on his shoulders; he had also a spear weighing 600 shekels, and many followed him, carrying his armour. Standing, then, between the opposing forces, this Goliath gave a mighty shout and said to Saul and the Hebrews, "I hereby deliver you from battle and its perils. For what need is there for your troops to join arms and to suffer heavy losses? Give me one of your men to fight with me, and the issue of the war shall be decided by the single victor, and to tain for the first time, that the Philistines had changed their camp.

b So most mss. of the LXX; Heb. and LXX A have "six." The figures here given equal about 6 ft. 8 in.

c Or "and it had a head weighing 600 shekels"; whether the whole spear or the spearhead alone weighed 600 shekels is not clear either from the Heb. or LXX of 1 Sam. xvii. 7. The latter, like Josephus, has λόγχη, which means either "spear" or "spearhead."

d Bibl. "and his shield-bearer went before him."

* Variant "our."
δουλεύσουσι γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοῖς ἐτέροις, ὥν ἄν ὁ νικήσας γένηται. πολὺ δὲ κρείττον οἶμαι καὶ σωφρονέστατον ἐνὸς κινδύνῳ λαβεῖν ὃ βούλεσθε ἦ τῷ ἀπάντων;᾿ ταῦτ᾿ εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ᾿ ἐχομενή πάλιν ἔλθων τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἑποιήσατο λόγους καὶ μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν οὐ διελεύπε προκαλούμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τούς πολέμιους, ὡς κατα-πλαγῆναι αὐτῶν τε τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν. καὶ παρετάσσοντο μὲν ὡς εἰς μάχην, οὐκ ἦρχοντο δὲ εἰς χείρας.

175 (2) Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου συνεστηκότος τοῖς 'Ἐβραίοις καὶ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις Σαοῦλος ἀπέλυσε τὸν Δαυίδην πρὸς τὸν πατέρα 'Ισσαϊον ἀρκούμενος αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρισὶν χίλιοις, οὕς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ τούς κινδύνους ἐπεμβεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰ ποίμνια πάλιν καὶ τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοσκημάτων παραγίνεται, μετ᾽ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ στρα-τόπεδον τῶν 'Ἐβραίων πεμφθεὶς ύπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς κομίσαι τε τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς ἐφόδια καὶ γγώναι τί πράττομει. τοῦ δὲ Γολιὰθον πάλιν ἐλθόντος καὶ προκαλομένου καὶ ονειδίζοντος ὅτι μηδεὶς ἐστιν ἀνδρεῖος ἐν αὐτοῖς, δὲ εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ τολμᾷ κατα-βῆναι, μεταξὺ τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς ἀμιλῶν Δαυίδης περὶ ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ, ἄκουσας ἀλασφημοῦντος τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ κακίζοντος τοῦ Παλαιστίνου ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν ἐτοίμως ἐχειν μονομαχῆσαι τῷ πολεμίῳ. πρὸς τοῦτο ὃ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἁδελφῶν Ἐλιάβος ἔπ- ἐπληξεν αὐτῷ, τολμηρότερον παρ᾿ ἡλικίαν καὶ ἀμαθῇ τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰπών, ἐκέλευσέ τε πρὸς τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὸν πατέρα βαδίζεις. κατ-
the people of the victor the other side shall be slaves. It is far better, I think, and more prudent to attain your end by the hazard of one man's life rather than of all."

Having so spoken he retired to his own camp. On the morrow he came again and delivered the same speech, and so, for forty days, he did not cease to challenge his enemies in these same terms, to the utter dismay both of Saul and his army. And though they remained drawn up as for battle, they never came to close quarters.

(2) Now, on the outbreak of the war between the Hebrews and the Philistines, Saul had sent David away to his father Jesse, being content with the latter's three sons whom he had sent to share the dangers of the campaign. David then returned at first to his flocks and cattle-pastures, but before long visited the camp of the Hebrews, being sent by his father to carry provisions to his brothers and to learn how they fared. Now when Goliath came again, challenging and taunting the Hebrews with not having among them a man brave enough to venture down to fight with him, David was talking with his brothers about the matters wherewith his father had charged him, and hearing the Philistine reviling and abusing their army, he became indignant and said to his brothers that he was ready to meet this adversary in single combat. Thereat the eldest of his brothers, Eliab, rebuked him, telling him that he was bolder than became his years and ignorant of what was fitting, and bade him be off to the flocks and to his

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1 Bekker: εἶναι codd.
2 Niese: τῶν ἀπάντων RO: τῷ πάντων SP.
3 MSP: Ἰανάβως RO: Aminadab Lat.
αἰδεσθεῖς δὲ τὸν Ἀκελφόν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελάλησεν ὅτι θέλοι μάχην. 179 σθαί τῷ προκαλομένῳ. δηλωσάντων δ’ ευθὺς τῷ Σαουλῷ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου προοίμισε μεταπέμπται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ πυρομένου τῷ βουλευταί λέγει· "μὴ ταπεινὸν ἔστω τὸ φρόνημα μηδε εὐλαβεῖς, ὁ βασιλεὺς· καθαρήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν ἀλαζωνίαν τοῦ πολεμίου χωρῆσας αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης καὶ τὸν υφηλίον καὶ μέγαν ὑπ’ ἐμαυτῷ βαλὼν. 180 γένοιτο μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς οὕτως καταγέλαστος, ἐνδοξὸν δὲ τῷ σὸν στράτευμα, εἰ μηδε ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς πολεμεῖν ἕδη δυναμένου καὶ πιστευομένου παράταξιν καὶ μάχασι, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἐτὶ δοκοῦντο καὶ ταύτην ἔχοντο τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποθάναι." 181 (3) Τοῦ δὲ Σαουλοῦ τὸ μὲν τολμηρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐφυκίαν θαυμάζοντος, οὐ βαρροῦντος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι διὰ ταύτην πρὸς εἰδότα πολεμεῖν μάχεσθαι λέγοντος, "ταύτ’," εἶπε Δαυίδης, "ἐπαγγέλλομαι τῷ θεῷ βαρρῶν ὃντι μετ’ ἐμοὶ· πεπείραμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς βοηθείας. λέοντα γὰρ ἐπελθόντα μοῦ ποτε τοῖς ποιμνοῖς καὶ ἄρπασαντα ἄρνα διώξας καταλαμβάνω καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρνα τοῦ αὐτοῦ τοὺς στόματος ἐξαρπάξω τοῦ θηρός, αὐτὸν δ’ ὀρμήσαντα ἐπ’ ἐμὲ τῆς οὐρᾶς βασάνασα καὶ προσρήξας τῇ γῇ διαφθείρω. ταύτ’ δὲ καὶ ἄρκτον ὁμονόμενος διατιθέμαι. νομιζόμεθα δὴ καὶ ὁ πολέμιος ἑκείνων εἶναι τῶν θηρίων, ὄνειδιζων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ βλασφημῶν ἡμῶν τὸν θεόν, ὃς αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἐμοὶ θήσει." 1 Niese: (καὶ) λέγειν codd. 2 + εἶπεν SP. 3 ἐκ τοῦ MSPE.
father. Out of respect for his brother David withdrew, but gave out to some of the soldiers that he wished to fight with the challenger. As they straightway reported the lad's resolve to Saul, the king sent for him; and David, when asked by him what he wished, said, "Let not thy spirit be downcast nor fearful, O King, for I will bring down the presumption of the foe by joining battle with him and throwing this mighty giant down before me. Thus would he be made a laughing-stock, and thine army have the more glory, should he be slain, not by a grown man fit for war and entrusted with the command of battles, but by one to all appearance and in truth no older than a boy."

(3) Saul admired the lad's daring and courage, but could not place full confidence in him by reason of his years, because of which, he said, he was too feeble to fight with a skilled warrior. "These promises," replied David, "I make in the assurance that God is with me; for I have already had proof of His aid. Once when a lion attacked my flocks and carried off a lamb, I pursued and caught him and snatched the lamb from the beast's jaws, and, when he sprang upon me, lifted him by the tail and killed him by dashing him upon the ground. And I did the very same thing in battle with a bear. Let this enemy then be reckoned even as one of those wild beasts, so long has he insulted our army and blasphemed our God, who will deliver him into my hands."

\[^{a}\text{Or "lofty-vaulting," as Professor Capps suggests.}\]
\[^{b}\text{The last part of David's speech is an amplification of Scripture.}\]
\[^{c}\text{1 Sam. xvii. 35 "I seized him by the beard (lxx and Targum "throat" or "jaws") and struck him and killed him."}\]
Τῇ προθυμίᾳ τουγαροῦν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ὁμοιον γενέσθαι τέλος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαούλος εὐξάμενος " ἀπεθανεῖν, " φησι, " πρὸς τὴν μάχην." καὶ περιθείς αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτοῦ θώρακα καὶ περιζώσαι τὸ ξίφος καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἁρ- 

μόσας εξέπεμψεν. 1 ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης βαρυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὀπλῶν, οὐκ ἔγενεμαστο γὰρ οὐδ' ἐμεμάθηκεν 

férein ὀπλα, „ταῦτα μέν,” εἶπεν, „ὡς βασιλεῦ, 

σὸς ἐστὼ κόσμος τοῦ καὶ βαστάζειν δυναμένου, 

συγχώρησον δὲ ὡς δούλῳ σου καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ βούλομαι 

μαχεῖσθαι." τίθησιν οὖν ὑπὸ ὀπλα καὶ τὴν βακτη- 

ρίαν ἀράμενος καὶ πέντε λίθους ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρ- 

ρου βαλὼν εἰς τὴν πήραν τὴν πομενικὴν καὶ 

σφενδόνην ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Γολιάθον 

ἐπορέυετο. καταφρονεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ 

πολέμιος ἐρχόμενον καὶ προσέκωσεν, ὡς οὐχ ὢν 

πρὸς ἀνθρωπον ὀπλα νενόμισται ταῦτ' ἔχων μέλλοι 

μάχεσθαι, οἷς δὲ κόμας ἀπελαύνομεν καὶ φυλασ- 

σόμεθα. μὴ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου κύνα εἶναι 

dokei; ὁ δ' οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον ἄλλα καὶ χεῖρω κυνὸς 

αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἀπεκρίνατο. κινεὶ δὲ πρὸς ὄργῃν 

τὸν Γολιάθον, καὶ ἁρὰς αὐτῷ τίθεται ἐκ τῆς 

προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δώσεων ἥπειρησεν τὰς 

σάρκας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ τοῖς μεταρσίοις 

διασπάσασθαι. ἀμείβεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Δαυίδης. " σὺ 

μὲν ἑπέρχῃ μοι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ δόρατι καὶ θώρακι, 

ἐγὼ δὲ χωρῶν ἐπί σε τὸν θεοῦ ὑπλίσμαται, δό σε τε 

καὶ τὴν πάσαν ὑμῶν στρατιῶν χερσὶ ταῖς ἥμετέραις 

diolese. karatoumhs mén gár se sýmeron kai to 

1 SP: εξέπεμψεν ME: ἐπέμψεν RO.  
2 ἀνθρώπων Niese (ex Lat. hominum).
(4) So then Saul, praying that the lad's zeal and hardihood might be rewarded by God with a like success, said, "Go forth to battle." And he clad him in his own breastplate, girt his sword about him, fitted a helmet upon his head and so sent him out. But David was weighed down by this armour, for he had not been trained nor taught to wear armour, and said, "Let this fine apparel be for thee, O King, for thou indeed art able to wear it, but suffer me, as thy servant, to fight just as I will." Accordingly he laid down the armour and, taking up his staff, he put five stones from the brook into his shepherd's wallet, and with a sling in his right hand advanced against Goliath. The enemy, seeing him approaching in this manner, showed his scorn, and derided him for coming to fight, not with such weapons as men are accustomed to use against other men, but with those wherewith we drive away and keep off dogs. Or did he perhaps take him for a dog, and not a man? "No," replied David, "not even for a dog, but something still worse." This roused Goliath's anger, and he called down curses upon him in his god's name and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of earth and the birds of heaven to rend asunder. But David answered him, "Thou comest against me with sword, spear and breastplate, but I, in coming against thee, have God for my armour, who will destroy both thee and all your host by our hands. For I will this day

David goes forth to meet Goliath. 1 Sam. xvii 37.

a 1 Sam. xvii. 37 "Go forth and may the Lord be with thee." Weill's note, "in the Bible this prayer is put in David's mouth," overlooks the fact that David's brief prayer for deliverance is given by Josephus in the preceding sentence. Here he is amplifying Saul's blessing just quoted.

b Amplification.

c So the LXX; this reply is not found in the Hebrew.
άλλο σώμα τοῖς ὀμοφύλοις κυσὶ παραβαλῶ, μαθή
σονταί δὲ πάντες ὅτι προέστηκεν Ἑβραῖων τὸ θείον
καὶ ὧμίν καὶ ἰσχὺς τοῦτ' ἐστὶ κηδόμενον,
ἡ δ' ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις ἀνωφελῆς
188 θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος.' ὁ δὲ Παλαιστῖνος ὑπὸ βάρους
tῶν ὀπλῶν εἰς ὁκυτητα καὶ δρόμου ἐμποδιζόμενος
βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυΐδην παραγίνεται καταφρονῶν καὶ
πεποίθως γυμνὸν ὀμοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἐτὶ τὴν
ήλικιαν ἀπόνως ἀνασυρέσειν.

189 (5) Ἀπενταὶ δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος μετὰ συμμάχου μὴ
βλεπομένου τῷ πολέμῳ: θεὸς δ' ἢν οὕτος. καὶ
ἀνελόμενος ἐκ τῆς πῆρας ὃν εἰς αὐτὴν κατέθηκεν
ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου λίθον ἕνα καὶ ἀρμόσας τῇ σφεν-
δόνῃ βάλλει ἐπὶ τὸν Γολίαθον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον
καὶ διήλθεν ἐως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὸ βληθὲν, ὡς
evθὺς καρῳβέντα πεσεῖν τὸν Γολίαθον ἐπὶ τὴν
190 ὀψιν. δραμῶν δ' ἐφίσταται τῷ πολέμῳ κειμένῳ
καὶ τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῇ ἑκείνου, μάχαιραν οὐκ ἔχων
191 αὐτός, ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. πεσῶν δ' ὁ
Γολίαθος ἦττα καὶ φυγῇ γίνεται Παλαιστῖνος.
tὸν γὰρ δοκιμώτατον ἰδόντες ἐρριμένον καὶ περὶ
tῶν ὀλίων δεῖσαντες οὐκέτι μένειν διέγνωσαν, ἀλλ'
αίσχρα καὶ ἀκόσμῳ φυγῇ παραδόντες ἐαυτοὺς
ἐξαρτάζεσι τῶν κυδῶν ἐπειρώτω. Σαυύλος δὲ καὶ
πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατὸς ἀλαλάξαντες ἐκ-
πηδῶσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάττοντες
dιώκουσιν ἄχρι τῶν Γίττης ὀρίων καὶ τῶν πυλῶν

* 1 Sam. xvii. 46 "I will give the carcase of the camp
cut off thine head and fling thy carcase to the dogs, thy fellows, and all men shall learn that Hebrews have the Deity for their protection, and that He in His care for us is our armour and strength, and that all other armament and force are unavailing where God is not." And now the Philistine, impeded by the weight of his armour from running more swiftly, came on toward David at a slow pace, contemptuous and confident of slaying without any trouble an adversary at once unarmed and of an age so youthful.

(5) But the youth advanced to the encounter, accompanied by an ally invisible to the foe, and this was God. Drawing from his wallet one of the stones from the brook which he had put therein, and fitting it to his sling, he shot it at Goliath, catching him in the forehead, and the missile penetrated to the brain, so that Goliath was instantly stunned and fell upon his face. Then, running forward, David stood over his prostrate foe and with the other’s broadsword, having no sword of his own, he cut off his head. Goliath’s fall caused the defeat and rout of the Philistines; for, seeing their best warrior laid low and fearing a complete disaster, they resolved to remain no longer, but sought to save themselves from danger by ignominious and disorderly flight. But Saul and the whole Hebrew army, with shouts of battle, sprang upon them and with great carnage pursued them to the borders of Gitta and to the gates of Ascalon.

of the Philistines to the birds of heaven, etc.” Josephus evidently read “thy carcase to the camp, etc.”

b Unscriptural details.


d So the LXX in the first occurrence of the name in 1 Sam. xvii. 53; in the second part of the verse it agrees with the Hebrew in reading Ekron.
192 τῶν Ἀσκάλωνος. καὶ θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς τρισμυρίους, διὰ δὲ τοσσοῦτοι τραυματίας γίνονται. Σαυόλος δὲ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν διαρράξει τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐνέπρησε· τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ Γολιάθου Δαυίδης εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν σκηνὴν ἐκόμισε καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ.

193 (χ. 1) Φθόνον δὲ καὶ μίσος τοῦ Σαυόλου πρὸς αὐτὸν αἰ γυναῖκες ἐρεθίζονυ· ὑπαντῶσι γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ νικηφόρῳ μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ παντοιας χαράς ἦδον αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, ὡς πολλὰς Σαυόλος ἀπόλλεσε Παλαιστίνων χιλιάδας, αἱ παρθένοι δὲ, ὡς μυριάδας Δαυίδης ἀφανίσει.

194 τούτων δὲ ἀκούσων ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὃς τὸ μὲν ἐλαττον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτὸς λάβοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν μυριάδων πλῆθος ἀνατεθεὶς τῷ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ λογοσάμενοι μηδὲν οὕτω μετὰ λάμπραν εὐφημίαν ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑστερεῖν αὐτῷ, φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὑποπτεύεν

195 ἥρξατο τὸν Δαυίδην. καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης τάξεως, ἐπεὶ τῷ δὲ εἰ πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἐδοξεί, ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὀπλοφόρον, μεταστήσας ἀποδείκνυσι χιλιάρχου δοὺς αὐτῷ χώραν ἀμείνονα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν δὲ ὡς ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῶν· ἐβούλετο

1 RO: την δε κεφαλην του Γ. rell.
2 σφαλεραν SP.
3 Niese: αυτω codd.

a Unscriptural numbers.
b 1 Sam. xvii. 53 "The Israelites returned from pursuing the Philistines and plundered (lxx κατεπάτων "trampled down ") their camp." Perhaps Josephus took the Heb. root δἰγ, "pursue," in its other sense "burn" (cf. Latin version of Scripture, comburentes), or possibly read κατέκαυον instead of κατεπάτων.
c The reverse of Scripture, 1 Sam. xvii. 54 which reads "And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem, but his armour he put in his tent." Later, in

262
Of the Philistines 30,000 were slain and twice as many wounded. Saul then returning to their camp destroyed the palisade and set fire to it; while David carried the head of Goliath to his own tent and dedicated his sword to God.

(x. 1) But envy and hatred of David were now aroused in Saul by the women. For they, coming to meet the victorious army with cymbals, timbrels and every sign of rejoicing, sang. The king on hearing this, and how he was given the lesser portion of the credit, while the larger number, the myriads, was ascribed to the youth, thought within himself that after so splendid an acclamation nothing more was lacking to David save the kingship, and now began to fear him and to regard him with suspicion. So he removed him from his former station—for he had made him his armour-bearer—since in his alarm he thought this far too close to his person, and appointed him captain of a thousand, thus giving him a better post, but one, as he thought, safer for himself.

§ 244, Josephus tells us, in accordance with Scripture, 1 Sam. xxi. 9 (10), that David had dedicated Goliath’s sword to God in the temple at Nob.

Josephus, with many mss. of the lxx, omits the presentation of David by Abner and the covenant with Jonathan which follow immediately upon the close of the battle, 1 Sam. xviii. 1-4.

Scripture does not distinguish the women by age.

Gr. “chiliarch.” In the Hebrew this change is made after Saul’s attack on David while playing the harp, 1 Sam. xviii. 10-11. Josephus omits the incident, as do many mss. of the lxx.

Variant “more treacherous for him (David).”
γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτοῦ ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὰς μάχας ὡς ἐν τοῖς κυνὸντοι τεθνηκόμενον.

196 (2) Δαυίδης δὲ πανταχοῦ τῶν θεῶν ἐπαγόμενος ὅποι ποτ' ἄφικοτο κατώρθου καὶ διευπραγών ἐδείκνυτο,1 ὡς δὴ ὑπερβολήν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν τε λαὸν αὐτοῦ2 καὶ τὴν Σαουλοῦ θυγατέρα παρθένον ἔτι οὔσαν λαβεῖν ἔρωται καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερκρατοῦντος γενέσθαι φανερὰν καὶ διαβληθῆναι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ὥδ' ὡς ἄφορμῇ χρήσιμομενὸς3 τῆς ἐπὶ Δαυίδην ἐπίβουλῆς ἡδέως ἠκούσε καὶ δώσειν προθύμως αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἔρωτα μηνύσαντας αὐτής ἐφή, γενησόμενοι ἀπολείας καὶ κυνικῶν αὐτοῦ ληφθομένων 'κατεγγυῶ γάρ,' εἶπεν, 'ἀυτῷ τὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς μου γάμον, ἄν ἐξακοσίας μοι κομίσῃ κεφαλᾶς τῶν πολεμίων. ὥδ' καὶ γέρως οὕτω λαμπροὶ προτέθεντος καὶ βουλόμενος ἐπ' ἔργῳ παραβόλω καὶ ἀπίστως λαβεῖν κλέος, ὀρμήσει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πράξειν, διαφθαρμένα δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ χωρῆσαι μοι τα κατ' αὐτοῦ εὐπρεπῶς ἀπαλλαγήσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ, δι' ἄλλων αὐτοῦ, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δ' ἐμαυτὸν κτείνας.'

197 διάπειραν δὴ τῆς τοῦ Δαυίδου διανοίας κελεύει τοὺς οἰκέτας λαμβάνειν, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸ γῆμα τὴν κόρην. οὐ δ' ἦρξαντο διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι στέργει μὲν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαουλοῖς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἄπασ, βούλεται δ' αὐτῷ κηδευσά την 200 θυγατέρα. ὁ δ' 'μικρὸν ἅρ' ύμίν,' εἶπε, 'δοκεῖ γεμίσθαι καταθραίδεως; ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον

1 RO: ἐβλέπετο rell. (Lat).
2 + ἐράν M.
3 M: χρησάμενος rell.

a His younger daughter, Michal, cf. § 204 note. Josephus 264
he proposed to send him out against the enemy and into battle, in the hope that amidst these dangers he would meet his death.

(2) But David, being everywhere attended by God whithersoever he went, achieved success and showed himself so fortunate in all things that by his extraordinary valour he won the heart not only of the people but of Saul’s daughter,⁴ who was still a virgin; and so overmastering was her passion that it betrayed her and was reported to her father. He, thinking to seize this occasion for plotting against David, welcomed the news and told those who had informed him of his daughter’s love that he would gladly give David the maiden, since the match, should he accept it, would prove the cause of danger and destruction to him. “For,” said he, “I pledge him my daughter in marriage, if he will but bring me the heads of six hundred of the foe. Now, at the offer of a prize so splendid and in his desire to win renown for a hazardous and incredible exploit, he will rush to perform it and be killed by the Philistines; so will my designs against him succeed admirably, for I shall be rid of him, yet cause his death at the hands of others and not my own.” He accordingly ordered his men to sound the mind of David touching marriage with the maid; and they began to speak with him, telling him that King Saul felt affection for him, as did all the people, and wished to unite his daughter with him in marriage. Whereto David replied, “Does it then seem to you a small thing to become a king’s son-in-law? To me it does not appear so, omits the Scriptural reference, 1 Sam. xviii. 17, to Saul’s offer of his elder daughter, Merab.

⁴ Bibl. “a hundred foreskins of the Philistines.”
JOSEPHUS

φαίνεται καὶ μάλιστα ὄντι ταπεινῶ καὶ δόξης καὶ
tιμῆς ἀμοίρω." Ὁ Ἰωσήφος δὲ ἀγγειλάντων αὐτῶ
τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰς τοῦ Δαίδων ἀποκρίσεις "οὐ
χρημάτων," ἐφι, "δεῖσθαι με φράζετε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ
ἐδώρων, ἀπεμπολάν γὰρ ἐστιν οὕτως τὴν θυγατέρα
μᾶλλον ἡ συνοικίζειν, γαμβροῦ δὲ ἀνδρεέαν ἔχοντος
καὶ τὴν ἀλλην ἀρετὴν ἀπασαν, ὣν ὀρᾶν ὑπάρχουσαν
201 αὐτῷ. βούλεσθαι δὴ με παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀντὶ
tοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ χρυσὸν οὖθ’ ἄργυρον
οὗτ’ ὀπως ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκιῶν
κομίσῃ, Παλαιστίνων δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ κεφαλὰς
202 αὐτῶν ἔξακοσίας. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν
ἂν οὔτε ποθεινότερον οὔτε λαμπρότερον δῶρον
γένοιτο, τῇ τε παϊδί μου πολὺ τῶν νεομιμημένων
ἐδών χειλώτοτερον τὸ συνοικεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοιοῦτῳ καὶ
μαρτυρομένῳ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἤτταν.”
203 (3) Κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὸν Δαίδη
τῶν λόγων ἡσθεὶς τὸν Ἰωσήφον ἐστοποδακέναι νομί
ζων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν συγγένειαν, οὖδὲ βουλεύσασθαι
περιμεῖνας οὖθ’ εἰ δυνατὸν ἡ δύσκολον ἐστὶ τὸ προ-
κείμενον ἔργον τῷ λογισμῷ περισφήσας ὑρμησαν
εὐθὺς μετὰ τῆς ἐταρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ
τὴν υπὲρ τοῦ γάμου καθηγελμένην πράξιν καὶ
(θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντα ποιῶν εὐμαρῆ καὶ δυνατὰ
τῷ Δαίδῃ) κτείνας πολλοὺς καὶ κεφαλὰς ἐξα-
κοσίων ἀποτεμῶν ἦκε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς
τούτων ἐπιδείξεως τὸν ἀντὶ τούτων γάμου ἀπαιτῶν.
204 Ὁ Ἰωσήφος δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἀναφυγεῖν ἕκ τῶν ὑπ-
εσχημένων, αἰσχρόν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανεν ἡ ἰεύσασθαι

1 τοῦτο Ernesti.  
2 ME: oikeiws rell. 
3 +οὔτε προτιμότερον SPE. 
4 ἀναφυγήν Naber.
especially as I am of such humble rank and with no portion of glory or honour." When Saul was informed by his men of David's response, "Tell him," he said, "that I desire no money nor wedding gifts—that would be to sell my daughter, not to give her in marriage—but a son-in-law possessed of fortitude and all other virtues, such as I see in him. I wish, therefore, to receive of him, in return for his marriage with my daughter, neither gold nor silver—not these would I have him bring from his father's house—but the punishment of the Philistines and six hundred of their heads. For to myself no gift could be more desirable or magnificent a than that, and to my child it would be far more pleasing than the customary wedding presents to be united to such a husband who has the credit for defeating our enemies." b

(3) When these words were reported to David, he was delighted at the thought that Saul was eager to be related to him, and without waiting to deliberate, without reasonably considering whether the proposed enterprise was possible or difficult, he straightway, with his companions, set upon the foe to accomplish the task that was appointed him as the condition of the marriage; and, thanks to God, who rendered all things possible and easy to David, he slew many men, cut off the heads of six hundred c and returned to the king, displaying these and claiming the bride as his recompense. So Saul, finding no way to evade his promises—since he saw that it would be disgraceful for him either to appear to have lied or to have held

a Some mss. add "nor more precious."

b Saul's speech is an amplification of 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

c 1 Sam. xviii. 27 "he and his men . . . slew of the Philistines two hundred (LXX "one hundred") and David brought their foreskins."
δοκεῖν ἢ δὲ ἐπιβουλὴν ἢ', ἀδυνάτους ἐπιχειρῶν ὁ Δαυίδης ἀποθάνῃ τὸν γάμον ἐπηγγέλθαι, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Μελχαῖνον ὀνόματι.

205 (χ. 1) Ἑμελλε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἐμμένειν Σαοῦλος ἀρα. ὡρῶν γὰρ τὸν Δαυίδην παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὀχλοῖς εὐδοκιμοῦντα κατέδεισε, καὶ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἔχων ἀποκρύψασθαι περὶ μεγάλων ὀντα, βασιλείας τε καὶ ζωῆς, ὥσπερ καὶ θατέρου στερηθῆναι συμφορὰ δεινῇ, κτείνειν τὸν Δαυίδην διεγνώκει καὶ προστάσσει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθη τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις 206 τῶν οἰκετῶν. ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Δαυίδη·

207 ἀπόρρητον καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν. συμβουλεύει μέντοι φυλάσσεσθαι γενόμενον ἐκποδῶν τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀσπάσεσθαι τὸν πατέρα καὶ καιρὸν παραφανέντος αὐτῷ διαλεχθῆσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθῆσεσθαι καὶ ταύτην ἐκφαυλίσεων, ὥς οὐ δειν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κτείνειν τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀγαθὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐργασάμενον εὐεργετὴν δ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον, δ' ἀ καὶ συγγνώμην ἄν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήσασθαι εἰκότως εὐφρατο. “δηλώσω δὲ σοι τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην.” Δαυίδης δὲ πεισθεὶς συμβουλία χρηστῆ ὑπεξίσταται τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὤψεως.

209 (2) Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον Ἰωνάθης

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1 + ὁ; codd.
2 Μελχᾶν SP: Μελχω Glycas: Melchon Lat.
3 ed. pr., Lat.: ἀσπάσασθαι codd.
out this marriage merely in order to bring about David's death on an impossible enterprise a—gave him his daughter, Melcha b by name.

(xi. 1) However Saul was not for long to acquiesce in this state of things; for, seeing David in favour both with God and with the multitude, he took alarm and, being unable to conceal his fears—concerning, as they did, such great interests as his kingdom and his life, the loss of either of which would be a dreadful calamity—he resolved to slay David and charged Jonathan his son and the most trusted of his men to make away with him. Jonathan was amazed at this change in his father's feelings toward David from great benevolence to not merely moderate dislike but to the compassing of his death; and, loving the lad and reverencing him for his virtue, he told him of his father's secret plan and intent. He counselled him, moreover, to take heed to himself and to keep out of sight on the morrow, saying that he would himself go to greet his father and, when the opportunity presented itself, would converse with him about David, and discover the reason (of his dislike); he would then make light of this, representing that he ought not on such ground to put to death one who had rendered so many services to the people and proved a benefactor to Saul himself, on account of which he might well have secured pardon for even the gravest crimes. "And I will inform thee," he added, "what is my father's mind." David, in compliance with this excellent counsel, withdrew himself from the king's sight.

(2) The next day Jonathan went to Saul and, find-

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a No such thoughts are attributed to Saul in Scripture.

b Bibl. Michal. lxx Meλχόλα.
JOSEPHUS

ἐλθὼν ὡς ἱλαρόν τε καὶ χαίροντα κατέλαβεν ἡρξατο λόγους αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Δαυίδου προσφέρεν· "τι καταγγοὺς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ μείζον ἀδίκημα, πάτερ,1 προσέταξας ἄνελειν ἄνδρα μέγα μεν αὐτῷ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ὁφελος γεγενημένον, μείζον δὲ πρὸς τὴν

210 Παλαιστίνων τιμωρίαν, ὑβρεως δὲ καὶ χλεύης ἀπ- αλλάξαντα τὸν Ἑβραίους λαὸν ἢν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος2 ὑποστήναι τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πρόκλησιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομί- σαντα μὲν ὃσας ἑπταχθῆς κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐξθρῶν, λαβόντα δ’ ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδελφὴν πρὸς γάμον, ὡς ἄν ἀλγευνὸς3 αὐτοῦ γένοιθ5 ἡμῖν ὁ θάνατος οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀρετῆν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν· συναδικεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θανάτῳ καὶ ἡ στὴ θυγάτηρ χηρείαν πρὺν Ἢ τῆς συμβιώσεως

211 εἰς οὖν ἔδθειν μέλλουσα πειρᾶσεν. ταῦτα λογι- σάμενος μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον καὶ μηδὲν πουήσης κακὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς4 εὐεργεσίαιν μεγάλην εὐεργετήσαντα τὴν στὴ σωτηρίαν, ὅτε σοι τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεῦματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθ- εξομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀπ’ αὐτῶν τῇ ψυχῇ σου παρέσχεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἐκδίκιαιν· αἰσχρὸν γὰρ τούτων ἐπιλείη-

212 σθαί·" τούτοις παρηγορεῖται τοῖς λόγοις Σαουλος καὶ μηδέν ἀδικήσειν τὸν Δαυίδην ὁμνυσι τῷ παιδὶ κρείττων γὰρ ὀργῆς καὶ φόβον δίκαιος λόγοι. Ἦωνάθης δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Δαυίδην σημαίνει τε αὐτῷ χρηστὰ καὶ σωτηρία τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς,

1 ὁ πάτερ ΜΣΠ.
ing him cheerful and gay, began to address him concerning David. "What wrongdoing small or great, father, canst thou have found in him that thou hast ordered us to put to death one who has done so much in aiding thine own welfare and yet more in punishing the Philistines, and so has delivered the Hebrew people from the contumely and derision which for forty days they had endured when no one else dared face the enemy's challenge, and who thereafter brought thee the appointed number of enemy heads and received as his recompense my sister in marriage? Thus his death would be grievous to us, not only by reason of his merits, but also of the ties of kinship; for thy daughter will likewise be wronged by his death, destined to experience widowhood before even entering on the joy of wedded life. Let these reflections move thee to greater mildness; do no injury to one who first rendered us that great service of restoring thee to health, when he drove out the evil spirit and the demons that beset thee and brought peace from them to thy soul, and then avenged us upon our enemies. Shameful would it be to forget these things." By these words Saul was won over and he swore to his son that he would do David no wrong; so does a just cause prevail over anger and fear. Jonathan then sent for David and not only informed him of the kindly and reassuring attitude

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*a* Unscriptural detail.

*b* The references to Michal and to the healing of Saul are unscriptural.
JOSEPHUS

άγει τε πρὸς αὐτὸν, καὶ παρέμενε τῷ βασιλεὶ Δαυίδης ὡσπερ ἐμπροσθεν.

213 (3) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατευσαμένων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους πέμπει μετὰ στρατιάς τὸν Δαυίδην πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις, καὶ συμβαλῶν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπ-έκτευε καὶ νικήσας ἔπανει τοῖς τὸν βασιλέα. προσδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σαούλος ὡς ἡλπισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ λυπηθεὶς ὡς ἐπισφαλέστερος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν

214 ἐκείνου πρᾶξεων γενόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν προσελθὼν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύβη πνεῦμα καὶ συν-ετάραττε, καλέσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν δ' κατέκειτο, κατέχων τὸ δόρυ προσέταξε τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὑμνοῖς ἑξάδεν αὐτὸν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιοῦντος διατεινόμενος ἀκοντίζει τὸ δόρυ· καὶ τὸ μὲν προϊόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης ἐξέκλινε, φεύγει δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὅλης ἐμευνεν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι.

215 (4) Νυκτὸς δὲ πέμψα ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ἕως φυλάττεσθαι μὴ καὶ λάθη παν-τελῶς ἀφανῆς γενόμενος, ἢν παραγενόμενος1 εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ κρίσει παραδοὺς ἀποκτεῖνη. Μελχὰ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Δαυίδου θυγάτηρ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς μαθοῦσα διάνοιαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρ-ϊσταται δειλὰς ἠχουσα τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς ἀγωνίσας· οὔδὲ γὰρ αὐτήν

216 ζῆν ὑπομνεῖν2 ἐκείνου στερηθέσαν. καὶ "μὴ σε," φησίν, "ο ἡλίος ἐνταυθοί καταλάβῃ"3· οὐ γὰρ

1 παραγενόμενος conj. Thackeray.
2 Dindorf: ὑπομνεῖν codd.
3 E: καταλάβῃ codd.

272
of his father, but brought him into his presence; and David stayed with the king as before.

(3) About this time the Philistines again took the field against the Hebrews, and Saul sent David with an army to fight against them, and he, having joined battle with them, slew many and returned victorious to the king. Saul, however, did not give him the reception which he expected after that achievement, but was aggrieved by his success, believing that David had become more dangerous to him by reason of his exploits. And when the evil spirit again came upon him to trouble and confuse him, he called David to the chamber wherein he lay, and, holding his spear in his hand, bade him charm away the spell with his harp and songs. Then, when David did as he had been commanded, Saul hurled his spear at him with all his might. David, seeing it coming, got out of its way; then he fled to his own house and remained there all that day.

(4) But at night the king sent officers with orders to guard him till dawn lest he escape and disappear altogether; Saul’s intent was to come before the court and deliver him to justice to be put to death. But when Melcha, the wife of David and daughter of the king, learned of her father’s intent, she came to aid her husband, having faint hope for him and also feeling dreadful anxiety about her own life, for she could not endure to live if bereft of him. "Let not the sun," she said, "find thee here; else it will never

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a Scripture says nothing of Saul’s intention to have David put on trial; 1 Sam. xix. 11 “Saul also sent messengers to David’s house to watch him and to slay him in the morning.”

b This motive is supplied by Josephus.
And Michal took the teraphim (A.V. "an image") and laid them in the bed and placed a goat’s skin (?) at its head" (A.V. "put a pillow of goats’ hair for his

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1 ex Lat. Niese: òς codd.
2 ταξίσει Ρ.Ο.: ταξίσσοι MSP: faciat Lat.
3 òς αὐτῆς] αὐτῆς MSP.
4 M: ἀπειλήσαντα] ἀπείλησαντα dormire Lat.
5 ed. pr.: τ’ codd.: vero Lat.

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*a* I Sam. xix. 13 "And Michal took the teraphim (A.V. "an image") and laid them in the bed and placed a goat’s skin (?) at its head" (A.V. "put a pillow of goats’ hair for his
look on thee again. Flee while the night which is still upon us permits, and may God prolong its hours for thee; for know that if thou art found by my father, thou art a lost man." And she let him down through a window and got him safely away. Next she made up the bed as for a sick person and put a goat's liver\(^a\) beneath the covers; and when at daybreak her father sent to fetch David, she told those who came for him that he had been attacked by illness during the night, and she showed them the bed all covered up, and by the quivering of the liver which shook the bedclothes convinced them that what lay there was David gasping for breath.\(^b\) When the messengers reported to Saul that David had fallen ill during the night, he ordered him to be brought just as he was, for he wished to kill him. And when they came and uncovered the bed, they discovered the woman's trick, which they reported to the king. But when her father rebuked her for having saved his enemy and tricked himself, she resorted to a plausible defence; her husband, she declared, had threatened to kill her and so, by terrify-
ing her, had secured her aid in his escape, for which she deserved pardon, seeing that she had acted under constraint and not of her own free will. "For," said she, "I cannot think that thou wert as desirous for thy enemy's death as for the safety of my life."

\(^{a}\) The details of Michal's stratagem are invented by Josephus.

\(^{b}\) The teraphim were probably household images in human form. The Heb. *kebir*, here rendered "skin," is of doubtful meaning, and was read as *kebêd*, "liver," by the Lxx, followed by Josephus. The context shows that it must have been something round and hairy to give the appearance of a human head, and so it was understood by the rabbis.
JOSEPHUS

ἐμὲ σωζέσθαι." καὶ συγγυνώσκει δὲ τῇ κόρῃ
220 Σαούλος. ὃ δὲ Δαυίδης ἐκφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἦκε
πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουήλον εἰς Ἀρμαθὰ καὶ
τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν αὐτῶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἔδηλωσε
καὶ ὃς παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ δόρατι βληθεὶς
ἀποθάνοι, μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν κακῶς γενόμενος
μήτ' ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἁγῶς ἀνανδρός,
ἀλλ' ἐν ἀπασὶ μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐπιτυχής.
τούτῳ δ' ἦν αἰτίων Σαούλῳ τῆς πρὸς Δαυίδην
ἀπεχθείας.

221 (5) Μαθὼν δ' ὁ προφήτης τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
ἀδικίαν καταλείπει μὲν τὴν πόλιν Ἀρμαθὰν,
ἀγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην ἔπι τινα τόπον Γαλβοῦαθ
όνομα ἐκεῖ διέτριβε σὺν αὐτῷ. ὃς δ' ἀπηγγέλη
τῷ Σαούλῳ παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ τυγχάνων ὁ Δαυίδης,
πέμψας ὀπλίτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν προσέταξε συλ-
222 λαμβάνοντας.3 οἱ δ' ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Σαμουήλον
καὶ καταλαβόντες προφητῶν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦ θείου
μεταλαμβάνονσι πνεύματος καὶ προφητεύειν ἤρ-
ξαντο. Σαούλος δ' ἀκούσας ἄλλους ἐπεμψεν ἐπὶ
tὸν Δαυίδην: κακείνων ταύτῳ τοῖς πρώτοις παθόν-
tων πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἑτέρους: προφητευόντων δὲ
cαὶ τῶν τρίτων τελευταίον ὀργισθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξ-
223 ὀρμησεν. ἔπει δ' ἐγγὺς ἦν ἡδή, Σαμουήλος πρὸς
ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς
αὐτὸν Σαούλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πνεύματος ἐλαυ-
νόμενος ἐκφρων γίνεται καὶ τὴν ἐσθητα περιδύσας
ἐαυτὸν καταπεσόν ἐκείνῳ δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας τε καὶ
νυκτὸς Σαμουήλον τε καὶ Δαυίδου βλεπόντων.

224 (6) Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς, ἀφικομένου πρὸς

1 (τοῦ) θυμοῦ RO: et pronus Lat.
2 Βαλγουάθ SP: Γελβοουάθον E.
3 συλλαβάντας SP.

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So Saul pardoned the girl. Meanwhile David, having escaped from danger, repaired to the prophet Samuel at Armatha, and recounted to him the king’s plot against him, and how he had wellnigh been struck by his spear and killed, though he had never dealt ill with him nor been cowardly in combating his foes, but had ever with God’s aid been indeed fortunate. Now that was the reason for Saul’s hatred of David.

(5) On learning of the king’s iniquity, the prophet left the city of Armatha and brought David to a place named Galbouath and there abode with him. Now when it was told Saul that David was staying with the prophet, he sent armed men with orders to arrest him and bring him to him. But they, on coming to Samuel and finding there an assembly of prophets, were themselves possessed by the spirit of God and began to prophesy. Saul, hearing thereof, sent others after David, and when these met with the same experience as the first, he dispatched yet more; but this third company prophesied likewise, and finally in a rage he set out himself. But so soon as he came near them, Samuel, even before seeing him, caused him too to prophesy. On reaching him, Saul, losing his reason under the impulse of that mighty spirit, stripped off his clothes and lay prostrate on the ground for a whole day and night in the sight of Samuel and David.

(6) Thence David betook himself to Jonathan, son

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a Bibl. Naioth (Heb. Navath or Nayoth), lxx Άναθ (v.l. Νααγαν ητα) έν Παμα; these forms appear to be corrupt. The Targum renders it Beth ’ulphānā “house of instruction.” The source of Josephus’s form is unknown.

b Josephus omits to state, as does Scripture, 1 Sam. xix. 24, that this incident explains the saying “Is Saul also among the prophets?”
JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸν ἑκείθεν Δαυίδου καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποδυρομένου ἐπιβουλής καὶ λέγοντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας οὐδ’ ἐξαμαρτών σπουδάζοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι, μήθ’ ἐαυτῷ τοῦθ’ ὑπονοοῦντι πιστεύειν παρεκάλει μὴτε τοῖς διαβάλ-λουσιν, εἰ τινὲς ἄρα εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ προσέχειν καὶ θαρρεῖν· μηδὲν γὰρ τοι-ούτον ἐπ’ αὐτῷ φρονεῖν τὸν πατέρα· φράσαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου καὶ σύμβουλον παραλαβεῖν, 225 τῇ κοινῇ γνώμη καὶ τάλλα πράττοντα. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ὄμνεν ἢ μὴν οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ πιστεύοντ’ ἢξιόν προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονοῦντ’ ἐπ’ ἀληθείᾳ τοῖς λόγοις τότε ἀληθεῖς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅταν ἢ θεάσηται πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν ἡ πύθηται· μηδὲν λέγειν δ’ αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα περὶ τούτων ἐφασκεν εἰδότα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ διάθεσιν. 226 (7) Λυπηθεῖσα δ’ ἐφ’ ὅτω πιστώσαμεν τὴν τοῦ Σαούλου προαίρεσιν Ἰωνάθης οὐκ ἔπεισεν, ἐπηρώτα τίνος εἰς αὐτοῦ βούλεται τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ “οἶδα γὰρ,” ἐφη, “πάντα σε χαρίζεσθαι μοι καὶ παρέχειν ἐθέλοντα· νομημαὶ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἔστων, ἔθος 227 δ’ ἔχω δειπνεῖν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ καθῆμενος· εἰ δὴ σοι δοκεῖ, πορευθεῖς ἐξώ τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδῶ λανθάνων διαμενῶ, σὺ δ’ ἐπιζητήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγε πορευθῆναι με εἰς τὴν πατρίδα Βηθλεέμν ἐορτὴν μου τῆς φυλῆς ἀγούσης, προστιθεῖς ὅτι σὺ μοι συγκεχώρηκας. καὶ μὲν, ὅπως καὶ σύνηθες ἐστὶ λέγειν ἐπὶ φίλους ἀποδημοῦσιν, ἐπ’ ἀγαθῷ

1 Dindorf: oὐτ’ codd.  
2 πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν om. RO Lat.
of Saul, and complained to him of his father’s designs, saying that though he had been guilty of no iniquity or crime, his father was making every effort to have him murdered. Jonathan entreated him to put no faith either in his own suspicions or in slanderers, if indeed there were any such, but to pay heed to him and take courage; for, he said, his father was meditating nothing of the sort, else he would have told him of it and taken him into his counsel, since in all else he acted in concert with him. But David swore that it was truly so, and he asked Jonathan to believe him and look out for his safety instead of contemptuously questioning the truth of his words and waiting to recognize their truth until he should actually behold or learn of his assassination. His father, he declared, had told him nothing of all this because he knew of his son’s friendship and affection for himself.

(7) Grieved that his assurance of Saul’s disposition failed to convince David, Jonathan asked him what he would have him do. “I know,” he replied, “that thou art ready to grant me any favour or do any thing. Now to-morrow is the new moon, when my custom is to dine with the king. If, then, it please thee, I will go forth from the city and remain concealed in the plain; but do thou, if he ask for me, say that I am gone to my native Bethlehem, where my tribe is keeping a feast, adding that thou didst give me leave. Should he then say, as is proper and customary to say about friends going away, ‘A good

a So the Hebrew; lxx “answered.”

b Or “clan”; cf. Heb. mishpāhāh (A.V. “family”), which the lxx here renders, like Josephus, by φυλή, but the latter can mean “clan” (subdivision of a tribe) as well as “tribe,” cf. § 62 note.
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βεβάδικεν' εἰπτη, ἵσθι μηδὲν ὑπολυν παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι μηδ' ἐχθρόν· ἄν δ' ὡς ἄλλως ἀποκρύνηται τοῦτ', ἐσταί τεκμήριον τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ βεβουλευ-
228 μένων. μηνύσεις δὲ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν τοῦ πατρός, οἶκτω τε νέμων τοῦτο καὶ φιλία, δι' ἣν πίστεις τε παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἡξίωκας αὐτός τε ἐμοὶ δοῦναι δεσπότης ὅν οἰκέτη σοὶ.1 εἶ δ' εὔρίσκεις τι ἐν ἐμοὶ πονηρόν, αὐτὸς ἀνελε καὶ φθάσον τὸν πατέρα.'

229 (8) Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον δυσχεράνος τῶν λό-
γων Ἰωνάθης ποιήσειν ταῦτ' ἐπηγγείλατο κἂν τι σκυθρωπὸν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ἐμφανίζων2 ἀποκρύνηται μηνύσεις.3 ἦν δ' αὐτῶ
θαρρῇ μᾶλλον, ἐξαγαγόν αὐτόν εἰς ὑπαίθριον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀέρα οὖν παρήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δαυίδου
230 σωτηρίας ὡμνε. "τὸν γὰρ θεόν," εἶπε, "τοῦτον
ὁ πολὺς ὅρας καὶ πανταχοῦ κεχυμένον, καὶ πρὶν ἐρμηνεύσαι με τοὺς λόγους τὴν διανοίαν ἡδη μου ὑπὸ την εἰδότα, μάρτυρα ποιοῦμαι τῶν πρὸς σὲ
συνθηκῶν, ὡς οὔκ ἀνήσω τὸν πατέρα πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς προαιρέσεως διάπεραν λαμβάνων, πρὶν ἥ καταμαθεῖν ἤτις ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις
231 αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς γενέσθαι. καταμαθῶν δ' οὔκ ἀποκρύψομαι, καταμηνύσω δὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πράσων ὁντα καὶ δυσμενῶς διακείμενον. οἶδε δὲ οὕτως1 ὁ
θεὸς πῶς αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ παντὸς εὐχομαῖ.
232 ώς τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀντε ὁ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς ἡ5 ἀντ' ἐγὼ
κρεῖττονα. σὺ μόνον μνημόνευε τοῦτων, κἂν ἀπο-

1 οἰκέτη σοὶ om. RO.
2 ἐμφανίζων ROMS.
3 Niese: μηνύσειν codd.
4 αὐτὸς Naber.
5 Niese: ἐν ΡΟ: om. MSP: est Lat.

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journey to him, a know that he bears no hidden malice nor enmity; but should he answer otherwise, that will be a sign of his designs against me. And thou shalt inform me of thy father's state of mind in token of thy pity and of that friendship for which thou hast seen fit to receive pledges from me and to grant me the like thyself, though thou art the master, and I thy servant. But if thou findest any wickedness in me, slay me thyself and so anticipate thy father."

(8) Although displeased by these last words, Jonathan promised to do this and said that if his father gave some sullen answer indicative of hate, he would inform David thereof. And, that he might have the more confidence in him, he brought him out into the open and pure air and swore to leave nothing undone for his safety. "This God," said he, "whom thou seest to be so great and everywhere extended, and who, before I have expressed my thought in words, already knows what it is,—Him do I take as witness of my covenant with thee, to wit, that I will not give up my constant endeavour to discover my father's purpose until I have clearly learnt it and come close to the secrets of his soul. And having learnt it, I will not hide it, but will disclose to thee whether he be graciously or evilly disposed. This God of ours knows how I pray that He may always be with thee. Indeed, He is with thee now and will not forsake thee, but will make thee stronger than thy foes, be it my father or be it myself. Do thou but remember this,

a A free rendering of 1 Sam. xx. 7 "It is well," perhaps suggested by the customary Hebrew salutation, "Go in peace."

b These divine attributes are an amplification of the Scriptural "Lord God of Israel."
θανεῖν μοι γένηται τὰ τέκνα μου σῶζε, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων μοι ἀμοιβὴν εἰς ἐκείνα κατά-
θου." ταῦτ' ἐπομόσαι ἀπολύει τὸν Δαυὶδην εἰς τινὰ τόπον ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ πεδίου φράσας, ἐν ὧν γυμναζόμενος διετέλει· γνοὺς γὰρ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἦσειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐφήσεν ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐπι-
233 ἀγόμενος παίδα. "καὶ τρία ἀκόντια δὲ βαλὼν ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν κομίσαι τῷ παιδὶ προστάσσω τὰ ἀκόντια (κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἐμπροσθέν αὐτὸν), γινώσκε μηδὲν εἶναι φαύλου παρὰ τοῦ πατρός· ἂν δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἀκούσῃς μοι λέγοντος, καὶ τὰ ἐναντία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσδόκα. τῆς μέντοι γε ἀσφαλείας τεύξῃ παρ' ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθης ἀτοποῦ· ὅπως δὲ μηθής τούτων παρὰ τὸν τῆς ἐυπραγίας καιρὸν σκοπεί καὶ τοῖς νῦνοι μου γενοῦ χρήσιμος." Δαυὶδης μὲν οὖν ταύτας λαβὼν παρὰ Ἰωνᾶθου τὰς πίστεις εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον ἀπηλλάγη χωρίον.

235 (9) Τῇ δ' ἐχομένη, νομημαία δ' ἤν,ἀγνεύσας, ὡς ἔθος εἰχεν, ὃ βασιλεὺς ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ παρακαθεσθέντων αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς Ἰωνᾶθου ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀβενήρου δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐκ τῶν ἐτέρων, ἵδον τὴν τοῦ Δαυὶδου καθέδραν κενὴν ἡσύχασεν ὑπονοῆσας οὐ καθαρεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ συνουσίας ὑστερεῖν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς νομημαίας οὐ παρῆν ἐπινυνάνετο παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνᾶθου ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρελθοῦσῃ καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ

1 S: καὶ rell. 2 + καὶ ἀν ταῦτα φησίν ἀκούσῃς RO. 3 δ' ἤν ed. pr.: δ' ἤν δ' ἤν codd.

*a Unscriptural detail.
*b So, apparently, the lxx (σχῆμας ἀκοντιζων); Heb. "arrows."

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and, should death befall me, preserve my children's lives and make over to them the recompense that is due me for my present services." After he had taken these oaths, he dismissed David, telling him to go to a certain place in the plain where he (Jonathan) was wont to exercise himself; there, he said, when he had learnt his father's mind, he would rejoin him, accompanied only by a lad. "And if, after throwing three darts at the mark, I order the lad to bring them to me, for they will be found lying in front of it, know that no mischief is to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, then look thou also for the contrary from the king. Howbeit thou wilt find safety at my hands and thou shalt suffer no harm. But see that thou rememberest this in the time of thy prosperity, and deal kindly with my children." Then David, having received these pledges from Jonathan, departed to the appointed place.

(9) The next day, which was the new moon, the king, after purifying himself as the custom was, came to the feast; and when his son Jonathan had seated himself on his right side and Abener, the commander of the army, on his left, he marked that David's seat was empty, but held his peace, surmising that he had been delayed by not having finished his purification after sexual intercourse. But when, on the second day of the feast of the new moon, David again did not appear, he asked his son Jonathan why, both on the

\(^{c}\) i.e. the mark, or perhaps "him," i.e. the lad; 1 Sam. xx. 21 "the arrows are this side of thee."

\(^{d}\) This interpretation of 1 Sam. xx. 26 "it is an accident" (A.V. "something hath befallen him") is similar to that of the rabbis, who took miqreh, lit. "happening," in its physiological sense of nocturnal emission.
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deίπνου καὶ τῆς ἐστιάσεως ὁ τοῦ Ἰεσαίου παῖς ἀπολέλειται. ὁ δὲ πεπορεύοντας κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἔφησεν αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πατρίδα, τῆς φυλῆς ἔορτὴν ἀγούσης, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτοῦ· παρακάλεσαί μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ εἰ συγχωρηθεῖν φησίν ἀπέρχεσθαι1. "τὴν γὰρ 237 εὐνοιάν μου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίστασαι." τότε τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην τοῦ πατρὸς 'Ιωνάθης ἐπέγνω δυσμένειαν καὶ τρανῶς τὴν ὀλην αὐτοῦ βουλήσων εἰδεν· οὐ γὰρ κατέσχε Σαοῦλος τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν ἐξ αὐτομόλων γεγενημένον καὶ πολέμιον ἀπεκάλει καὶ κοινώνον τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ συνεργὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ μήτ2 αὐτὸν αἰδεύοντα μήτε τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ταύτα φρονοῦντα καὶ μηδὲ βουλόμενον πεισθήναι τοῦθ', ὅτι μέχρις ὦ περίεστι Δαυίδης ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχει. "μεταπεμψαί τοιγαροῦν αὐτὸν," ἔφησεν, "ἲνα δώ δίκην."

238 ὑποτυχόντος δ' 'Ιωνάθου, "τί δ' ἀδικοῦντα κολάσαι θέλεις;" οὐκέτ' εἰς λόγους καὶ βλασφημίας τὴν ὀργὴν ο Σαοῦλος εὔηγεγκεν, ἀλλ' ἀρπάσας τὸ δόρυ ἀνεπέθυδησεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἐδρασε διακωλυθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, φανερὸς δ' ἐγένετο τῷ παιδὶ μισῶν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν, ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν δι' ἔκεινον αὐτόχερι καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς γεγονέναι.

239 (10) Καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς ἐκπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ λύπης προσενεγκασθαί δυνηθείς, κλαίων αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ κατακεκρίσθαι δ' ἀποθανεῖν Δαυίδην

1 κἂν συγχωρήσῃ ἀπέρχομαι MSP (Lat. E).
2 Dindorf: μηδ' codd.
past day and on this, the son of Jesse had been absent from the festive meal. Jonathan replied, as had been agreed, that he had gone to his native place where his tribe was keeping festival, and with his (Jonathan's) permission. "What is more," he added, "he even invited me to attend that sacrifice, and, if leave be given me, I shall go; for thou knowest the affection that I bear to him."\(^a\) Then did Jonathan discover all his father's malevolence toward David and plainly perceive his whole intent. For Saul did not restrain his wrath, but with curses denounced him as the offspring of renegades and an enemy, and accused him of being in league with David and his accomplice, and as having respect neither for himself nor for his mother in taking that attitude and in refusing to believe that, so long as David lived, their hold upon the kingdom was insecure. "Now then, send for him," said he, "that he may be punished." "But," Jonathan objected, "for what crime wouldst thou punish him?" Whereupon the wrath of Saul found vent no more in words and abuse, but, seizing his spear, he leapt toward him with intent to slay him. And although his friends prevented him\(^b\) from perpetrating the deed, he had now made plain to his son how he hated David and craved to make away with him, seeing that on his account he had wellnigh become the slayer even of his own son.

(10) The king's son instantly rushed from the feast and, prevented by grief from tasting a morsel, passed the night in tears at the thought that he himself had narrowly escaped death and that David was doomed to die.

* David's invitation to Jonathan is unscriptural.

\(^a\) Unscriptural detail.

\(^b\) Unscriptural detail.
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dieunuk térēseven. Æma de ἡμέρα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὡς γυμνασόμενος μὲν δηλώσων δὲ τῷ φίλῳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διάθεσιν, ὡς συνέθετο, 240 πρόεισι. ποιήσας δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὰ συγκείμενα τὸν μὲν ἐπόμενον ἀπολύει εἰς τὴν πόλιν παῖδα, ἡν δ’ ἡρεμία1 τῷ Δαυίδῃ παρελθεῖν2 εἰς ὁμίν αὐτῷ καὶ λόγους. ἀναφανεῖς δ’ οὕτος πίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωνάθου ποδῶν καὶ προσκυνῶν σωτήρα αὐτοῦ τῆς 241 ψυχῆς ἀπεκάλει. ἀνίστησε δ’ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ περιπλακέντες ἄλληλοι μακρὰ τῇ ἡσπάζοντο καὶ δεδακρυμένα, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἀποθηρνοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐφθονιμένην ἔταιρικαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα διαχώρισμόν, δὲ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδοκε θανάτου διαφέρειν. μόλις δ’ ἐκ τῶν θρήνων ἀνανήσαντες καὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὀρκῶν ἄλληλοι παρακελευσάμενοι διελύθησαν.

242 (xii. 1) Δαυίδης δὲ φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θάνατον εἰς Ναβαν παραγίνεται πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον3 τὸν ἄρχιερέα,4 ὁς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνῳ ἥκοντα ἰδεῖν καὶ μήτε φίλον σὺν αὐτῷ μήτ’ οἰκέτῃ παρόντα ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι 243 σὺν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἢθελεν. ὁ δὲ πρᾶξιν ἀπόρρητον ἐπιταχύνῃ παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφησεν, εἰς ὃν συνοδίας αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἔδει. “τοὺς μέντοι θεράποντας εἰς τόνδε μοι τὸν τόπον ἀπαντάν

1 ὁ δ’ ἐν ἐρήμῳ MSP (Lat.).
2 παρῆλθεν MSP: ἤθελεν E.
3 ROE Zonaras: Ἀχιμέλεχον MSP (Lat.).
4 ιερέα MSP Lat.

a Unscriptural detail.
b Josephus omits the account, 1 Sam. xx. 36-37, of Jona- 286
to die. But at daybreak he went out into the plain before the city, seemingly for exercise,\(^a\) in reality to make known to his friend, in accordance with their agreement, the temper of his father. Then, after doing what had been prearranged, Jonathan sent back the boy who attended him to the city,\(^b\) and David was undisturbed in coming out to meet him and to speak with him. Appearing in the open, he fell at Jonathan’s feet and did him homage, calling him the preserver of his life. But Jonathan raised him from the ground, and, putting their arms about each other, they took a long and tearful farewell, bewailing their youth, the companionship which was begrudged them and their coming separation,\(^c\) which seemed to them nothing less than death. Then, hardly recovering from their lamentation and exhorting each other to remember their oaths, they parted.

(xii. 1) But David, fleeing from the king and death at his hands, now came to the city of Naba\(^d\) to Abimelech\(^e\) the high priest, who was astonished to see him arrive alone with neither friend nor servant in attendance, and desired to know the reason why no man accompanied him. He replied that he had been charged by the king with a secret matter for which he required no escort since he wished to remain unknown. “Howbeit,” he added, “I have ordered my servants to join me at this place.”\(^f\) He also relates the shooting the arrows beyond the lad to indicate Saul’s displeasure.

\(^a\) These details of their parting are an amplification.

\(^b\) Bibl. Nob, lxx Νηθμα. The exact site is uncertain, but it was probably a little north of Jerusalem, in the territory of Benjamin, cf. Neh. xi. 32.

\(^c\) Variant Achimelech, as in Scripture; the lxx mss. also vary between the two forms.

\(^d\) Bibl. “at such and such a place.”
προσεταξά.” ἥξιον δὲ λαβεῖν ἐφόδια· φίλου γὰρ
αυτὸν ποιῆσειν ἔργον παρασχόντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ
244 προκείμενον συλλαμβανομένου. τυχών δὲ τούτων
ήτει καὶ ὄπλον τι μετὰ χείρας ῥομφαίαν ἢ δοράτων
παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σαυύλου δοῦλος γένει μὲν Σύρος
Δώηγοςδ δὲ ὄνομα τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμίονοις
νέμων· ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι
εἶπε τοιούτοις, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Γολιάθου ῥομφαίαν, ἣν
ἀποκτείνας τὸν Παλαιστίνων αὐτὸς ἀναθείη τῷ θεῷ.
245 (2) Λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Δαυίδης ἐξοι τῆς τῶν
Ἐβραίων χώρας εἰς Γίτταν διέφυγε τὴν Παλαι-
στίνων, ἢς "Ἀγχος ἐβασίλευεν.ἔπιγνωσθεῖς δὲ
ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκετῶν καὶ φανερὸς αὐτῷ
gενόμενος, μηνύντων ἐκείνων ὅτι Δαυίδης ὁ πολλάς
ἀποκτείνας Παλαιστίνων μυριάδας εἶν, δεῖσας μὴ
πρὸς αὐτοῦ θάνῃ καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὃν ἔξεφυγε παρὰ
Σαυύλου παρ’ ἐκείνου πειράσθη προσποιεῖται μανίαν
καὶ λύσαν, ὡς ἀφρόν κατὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ
φερόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὡς συνίστησι μανίαν
πίστιν παρὰ τῷ Γίττης βασιλεὶ γενέσθαι τῆς νόσου.
246 καὶ τοῖς οἰκεταῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς προσδοσχεράνας ὃς
ἐκφρόνα πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἀγάγοιεν ἀνθρωπον ἐκέλευσε
τὸν Δαυίδην ὡς τάχους ἐκβάλλειν.
247 (3) Διασωθεῖς δὲ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς Γίττης εἰς τὴν
Ἰουδα paragynetai phulh kai en tw pros 'A douλ-

1 ρομφ. ἢ δορ. om. Lat. E.  2 Δώηgos SPE.
3 SP: ἐβασίλευεν rell.
4 + δὲ MSP.  5 μανίας MSP.
6 Niese: γενήσεσθαι ROM: γεγενήσθαι SP.
7 οὗτος ROME.

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quested him to furnish him with provisions for a journey; in so doing, he would, he said, be acting like a friend and assisting the cause in hand. Having obtained these, he further asked for any weapon in his keeping, sword or spear. Now there was present also a certain slave of Saul, of Syrian race, by name Doeg, keeper of the king's mules. The high priest replied that he himself possessed no such thing, but that he had there that sword of Goliath which David himself, after slaying the Philistine, had dedicated to God.

(2) Taking this weapon, David fled beyond Hebrew territory to Gitta, a city of the Philistines, of which Anchus was king. Here he was recognized by the king's servants who then made his presence known to the king, reporting that this was that David who had slain many myriads of Philistines. Thereat David, fearing that he would be put to death by him and, after escaping that peril at the hands of Saul, meet the like fate at his hands, feigned raging madness, foaming at the mouth and displaying all the other symptoms of madness, so as to convince the king of Gitta of his malady. The king was exceedingly angry with his servants for having brought him a madman and gave orders for David's instant expulsion.

(3) Having thus escaped with his life from Gitta, he betook himself to the tribe of Judah and, taking

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*a* Josephus omits the Scriptural details about the hallowed bread which was the only food at the priest's disposal.

*b* So the LXX; Heb. "an Edomite."

*c* So the LXX; Heb. "chief of the shepherds" (A.V. "herdsmen").

*d* Cf. § 192.

*e* So the LXX (Luc. 'Aκχούς); bibl. Achish.

*f* The reference to Judah is an added detail.
λάμη¹ πόλει σπηλαίων διατρίβων πέμπτε πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δηλῶν αὐτοῖς ἐνθα εἰη. οἱ δὲ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας ἤκον πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὅσοις ἦς χρεία ἦν ἡ φόβος ἐκ Σαουλοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως συνερρύθησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκεῖνω δοκοῦντα ἐτούμως ἔχειν ἔλεγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ 248 πάντες ὅσιε τετρακόσιοι. θαρρήσας δὲ ὡς καὶ χειρὸς αὐτὸ καὶ συνεργίας ὑδῆ προσγεγενημένης ἀπάρας ἐκείθεν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα, καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐαυτοῦ χώραν προσδεξάμενον ἔως ἃν ἐπιγνωστέρα τὸ καθ' αὐτοῦ τέλος ἔχειν παρεκάλει· κατανεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ πάσης τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ Δαυΐδου τιμῆς παρ' ὑμῖν ἔτυγχανον παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον ἀξιώσαντος. 249 (4) Αὐτὸς τοῦ προφήτη του κελεύσαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἐκλίπειν, πορευθέντα δ' εἰς τὴν κληρονομίαν τῆς Ἰουδαὶ νοῦν ἐν αὐτῇ διάγειν πείθεται καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Σάρμνα νξ πόλιν εἰν αὐτῇ 250 κατέμενε. Σαουλὸς δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι μετὰ πλῆθους ὑφθείη ὁ Δαυίδης, οὐκ εἰς τυχόντα θρόμμον καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέπεσεν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν οὐδὲν εἰς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀνακύψεως ἔργον, ὑφ' οὗ κλαίσθηκεν πάντως καὶ 251 πονησεων, ὑπενόησε. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἑγεμόνας καὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἔξ ᾧ αὐτὸς ἦν

¹ Μ: 'Ἀδολλαμάμη ΡΟ: 'Ἀδυλλάμη ΡΗ ΣΠ.
² ἔως οὖ ἐπὶ ΡΟ: ἔως ἀπὸ γνωριμίαν ρελ. Λατ.
³ Σάρμν ΡΗ ΣΠ.

—a Called Odollam (as in the lxx) in A. viii. 246; bibl. “cave of Adullam.” It has been identified by some with the modern Khirbet 'Aid el-Ma, 12 miles S.W. of Bethlehem, by others with Khirbet esh-Sheikh Madhkûr close by. Both 290
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up his abode in a cave close to the city of Adullam, David's rebel camp in the cave of Adullam. David's
sent word to his brothers where he was to be found. They, with all his kinsfolk, came to him; and besides them, all who were in want or in fear of King Saul streamed to him and declared themselves ready to obey his orders. They were in all about four hundred. Encouraged at now finding himself with a force to assist him, David departed thence and made his way to the Moabite king and besought him to receive his parents into his country and to keep them until he himself should know what was finally to become of him. This favour the king accorded him and showed all honour to David's parents so long as they were with him.

(4) David himself was bidden by the prophet to quit the desert and repair to the territory of the tribe of Judah and remain there; so, obedient to this counsel, he came to the city of Saris and there abode. But Saul, on hearing that David had been seen with a large following, was thrown into no ordinary confusion and dismay; for, knowing the mettle and hardihood of the man, he surmised that it would be no small labour that would arise from David's acts, but one that would surely cause him regret and suffering. So summoning to him his friends and chieftains and the tribe from which he himself came, to the hill where places, incidentally, are at the southern end of the Valley of Elah, cf. § 170 note.

b The prophet Gad, according to Scripture.

c So, nearly, the lxx; Heb. "forest of Hareth"; the site is uncertain but is identified by some with the modern Kharas, 7 miles N.W. of Hebron, and a little S.E. of the supposed sites of Adullam.

d Josephus, like the lxx, takes Gibeah ("hill") as a common noun.
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βουνόν, οὗ τὸ βασιλείαν εἶχε, καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ Ἀρούρης, τόπος δ' ἦν τις οὗτῳ προσαγορευόμενος, τιμῆς πολιτικῆς περὶ αὐτοῦν οὐσίσης καὶ τάξεως σωματοφυλάκων λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς: "ἀνδρεῖς ὀμόφυλοι, μέμνησθε μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν εὐεργεσίων, ὅτι καὶ ἀγρῶν τινας ἐποίησας δεσπότας καὶ τιμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλῆθει καὶ τάξεων 252 ἡξίωσα. σπυθάνομαι τοιγαροῦν εἰ μείζονας τούτων δωρεάς καὶ πλείονας παρὰ τοῦ 'Ιεσσαίου παιδὸς προσδοκάτε, οίδα γὰρ ὅτι πάντες ἐκείνων προστέθεσθε3 τοῦμοι παιδὸς 'Ιωνάθου αὐτοῦ τε 253 οὗτως φρονήσαντος καὶ ὑμᾶς ταύτα4 πείσαντος· οὐ γὰρ ἁγιων τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Δανίδην αὐτὸ γεγενημένας, οὔτ' ὅτι σύμβουλος μὲν καὶ συνεργὸς 'Ιωνάθης ἐστὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ συντεταγμένων, μέλει δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδενὶ περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποβηθομένων ἁσυχάζοντες σκοπεῖτε." 254 σωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλος μὲν οúdeis ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν παρόντων, Δώνιος δ' ὁ Σύρος ὁ τὰς ἡμῖνους αὐτοῦ βόσκων εἶπεν ὡς ἵδοι τὸν Δανίδην εἰς Ναβαν πόλιν πρὸς 'Αβιμέλεχον ἔθλοντα τὸν ἄρχερεά τά τε μέλλοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος μαθεῖν, καὶ λαβόντα ἐφόδια καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν τοῦ Γολιάθου πρὸς οὗ ἐβούλετο μετὰ ἀσφαλείας προπεμφθῆναι.

255 (5) Μεταπεμψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἄρχερεά καὶ πάσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γενεὰν Σαουλός "τι παθῶν εὖ ἐμοὶ," εἶπε, "δεῖν δὲν καὶ ἄχαρι τὸν 'Ιεσσαίου παῦδα προσεβείξω καὶ οἰτίων μὲν αὐτῷ μετέδωκας καὶ ὅπλων:

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1 οὗτος προσ. om. RO. 2 καὶ om. codd. 3 (R)ΜΕ: προστήθησεθε O: προστίθησθε SP Lat. 4 Ernesti: ταύτα codd.
he had his palace, and seating himself at a certain
spot called Arura, with his officers of state and his
company of bodyguards around him, he addressed
them thus: "Fellow tribesmen, you remember, I
doubt not, my benefactions, how I have made some
of you owners of estates and to others have granted
honours and high positions among the people. I ask
you, therefore, if you look for larger and more
bounties than these from the son of Jesse? I know
very well that you have all gone over to him, because
my own son Jonathan himself has taken this stand
and has persuaded you to do the like. Nor am I
ignorant of those oaths and covenants that he has
made with David, nor that Jonathan is the counsellor
and accomplice of those who are arrayed against me;
and not one of you is concerned about these things,
but you are quietly waiting to see what will happen."
When the king was silent, no other of those present
made reply; only Doeg the Syrian, the keeper of
his mules, said that he had seen David when he came
to the city of Naba to Abimelech the high priest,
where through the priest's prophecies David had
learnt what was to come, and, having received pro-
visions and the sword of Goliath, he had safely been
sent on his way to those whom he was seeking.
(5) Saul, therefore, sent for the high priest and all
his family, and said: "What wrong have I done thee
or what injury that thou didst receive the son of
Jesse and gavest food and arms to him who is a
plowland"; so the lxx translates Heb. 'ôšel, a kind
of tree (A.V. "tamarisk"). Cf. § 377

a "Plowland"; so the lxx translates Heb. 'ôšel, a kind
of tree (A.V. "tamarisk"). Cf. § 377

b Bibl. "servants."
JOSEPHUS

όντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβούλω, τί δὲ δὴ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἐχρημάτιζες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σε φεύγων
256 ἐμὲ καὶ μισῶν τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἑλάνθανεν." ὁ δ’ ἀρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἔπ’ ἀρνησιν ἐτράτη τῶν γεγονότων,
ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν ὑμωλόγει οὐχὶ Δαυίδη χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ’ αὐτῷ· πολέμιον γὰρ
σὸν οὐκ εἰδέναι ἐφασκέ, πιστῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα δοῦλον καὶ χιλιάρχων καὶ τὸ τοῦτων μείζον γαμ-
βρόν τε ἡδὴ καὶ συγγενή. ταῦτα δ’ οὐκ ἑχθροῖς
παρέχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς εὐναία καὶ
τμῆ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀρίστοις. προφητεύσαι δὲ
οὐ νῦν πρῶτον αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε
τούτο πεποιηκέναι· "φίλοιστι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμ-
φθηναι κατὰ πολλῆν σπουδὴν ἐπί πρᾶξιν, τὸ¹ μηδὲν
παρασχεῖν ὦν ἐπεζήτει, σοι μᾶλλον ἀντιλέγειν ἢ
258 ἐκείνω περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογιζόμην. διὸ μηδὲν ποιηρὸν
κατ’ ἐμὸν φρονήσῃς μηδὲ πρὸς ἀ νῦν ἀκοῦεις
Δαυίδην ἐγχειρεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν τότε μου
dοκοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑποπτεύσῃς· φίλω γὰρ καὶ
γαμβρῷ σῷ καὶ χιλιάρχῳ παρέσχων, οὐ πολεμῶ." ²
259 (6) Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἀρχιερεύς οὐκ ἐπείσε τὸν
Σαοῦλον (δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ φόβος μηδ’ ἀλήθει πιστεύειν
ἀπολογία), κελεύει δὲ τοῖς ὀπλίταις περιστάσιν²
αὐτὸν μετὰ τὰς γενεὰς ἢ ἀποκτείναι. μὴ θαρροῦν-
tων δ’ ἐκεῖνων ἠφασθαί τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀλλὰ τὸ
θείον εὐλαβομένων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρακούσαι τοῦ
βασιλέως, τῷ Σύρῳ Δωγήγω προστάσει τὸν φόνον.
260 καὶ παραλαβὼν ὁμοίως αὐτῷ ³ ποιηροὺς ἐκεῖνος
ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ·

¹ τῷ ex Lat. Niese.
² περισταθείσιν ROME.
³ μετὰ τ. γεν. om. RO.
⁴ Niese: ὁμοίως αὐτῷ codd.
plotter against my realm? And why, pray, didst thou deliver oracles concerning the future? For assuredly thou wert not ignorant that he was fleeing from me and that he hated my house." The high priest did not resort to a denial of what had taken place, but frankly confessed that he had rendered those services, yet not to gratify David, but Saul. "I knew him not," said he, "for thine enemy, but as one of thy most faithful servants and thy captain, and, what is more, as thy son-in-law now and kinsman. Men bestow such dignities not on their enemies, but on those who show them the greatest goodwill and esteem. Nor was this the first time that I prophesied for him; often have I done so on other occasions as well. And when he told me that he had been sent by thee in great haste on a certain matter, had I refused any of his desires, I should have thought this to be gainsaying thee rather than him. Therefore, think not ill of me, nor, from what thou now hearest of David's designs, regard with suspicion what I then deemed an act of humanity; for it was to thy friend and to thy son-in-law and captain that I rendered it, not to thine enemy." (6) These words of the high priest did not persuade Saul, for fear is strong enough to disbelieve even a truthful plea; and he ordered his soldiers to surround him and his kin, and slay them. But as they dared not lay hands on the high priest, dreading more to offend the Deity than to disobey the king, he charged Doeg the Syrian to carry out the murder. This fellow, taking to help him others as wicked as himself, slew Abimelech and his kin, who were in all

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*This last sentence is an addition to Scripture.

*In Scripture, Doeg alone slays the priests.


261 ἃτις ἀντικρισίαν ἱππικάνων ὑποκείμενοι, οὗ γυναικῶν

262 ὑπὸ τῶν ὁποῖος ἰδίαν ώμον ἄρχει μετανοηθήναι ἢθελείς

263 ὅτι μὲν εἰσὶν Ἰωάννης τῆς τῆς τῆς δικαίως τῆς ἀδικίας

1 ex Lat. Niese (cf. lxx): πέντε καὶ ὄχθηκοντα RO: πέντε καὶ ὄχθηκοντα καὶ τριάκόσιοι MSP: πεντακόσιοι καὶ τριάκόσιον E.

2 conj. edd.: αὐτῶθι codd.: om. Lat.

3 αὐτῷ Niese.
some three hundred and five. Moreover Saul sent men to Naba, the city of the priests, and slew all therein, sparing neither women nor infants nor those of any age, and burnt the town. One son of Abimelech alone escaped, Abiathar by name. Now all these things came to pass in full accordance with what God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when He declared that by reason of the iniquities of his two sons his posterity should be destroyed.

(7) But as for King Saul, by perpetrating a deed so cruel as slaughtering a whole family of high-priestly rank, feeling neither pity for infants nor reverence for age, and then proceeding to demolish the city which the Deity Himself had chosen as the home and nurse of priests and prophets and set apart as the sole place to produce such men—Saul thereby gave all to know and understand the character of men, namely that so long as they are of private and humble station, through inability to indulge their instincts or to dare all that they desire, they are kindly and moderate and pursue only what is right, and turn thereto their every thought and endeavour; then too, concerning the Deity, they are persuaded that He is present in all that happens in life and that He not only sees the acts that are done, but clearly knows even the thoughts whence those acts are to come. But when once they attain to power and sovereignty, then, stripping off all those qualities and laying aside their habits and ways as if they were

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*a Emended text, agreeing with the lxx, 1 Sam. xxii. 18, where the Heb. has 85; the mss. vary between 85 and 385, while the Epitome has 530. Below, § 268, Josephus has 300.
*b Heb. Ebyathar.
*c Cf. A. v. 350.
*d With this digression in criticism of Saul contrast the eulogy below, §§ 343 ff.
JOSEPHUS

προσωπεῖα τὰ ἡθη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀποδέμενοι μεταλαμβάνουσι τόλμαν ἀπόνουαν καταφρόνησιν ἀν-
265 θρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα δεὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἐγγυτά τοῦ
φθονεῖσθαι γεγενημένοι καὶ πάσι φανερῷ ἐφ’ ὦν νοῆσωσιν ἦ πράξωσι καθεστώς, τὸθ’ ὡς
οὐκέτι βλέπωντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἣ διὰ τὴν
ἐξουσίαν δεδιότος οὕτως ἐμπαροινοῦσι τοῖς πράγ-
266 μασιν. ἄ δ’ ἂν ἡ φοβηθῶσιν ἀκούσαντες ἡ
μισήσωσι * * θελήσαντες2 ἡ στέρξωσιν ἀλόγως,
ταῦτα κύρια καὶ βέβαια καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀνθρώπους
ἀρεστὰ καὶ θεὼ δοκοῦσι, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων λόγος
267 αὐτοῖς οὗδὲ εἰς· ἀλλὰ τιμῶσι μὲν τοὺς πολλὰ
talaiωρήσαντας, τιμήσαντες δὲ φθονοῦσι, καὶ
παραγαγόντες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν οὗ ταύτῃς ἀφαιρόνται
μόνον τοὺς τετυχικότας, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην καὶ τοῦ
ζην ἐπὶ πονηραῖς αἰτίαις καὶ δι’ ὑπερβολὴν αὐτῶν
ἀπιθάνους· κολάζουσι δ’ οὐκ ἐπ’ ἐργοις δίκης
ἀξίως, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ κατηγορίας ἀ-
βασιανίστοις, οὗδ’ ὦσος3 ἔδει τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἀλλ’
268 ὦσος ἀποκτείναι δύνανται. τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ἦμῖν
ὁ Κείσου παῖς, ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν
καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς πολιτείαν Ἐβραίων βασι-
λεύσας, φανερὸν πεποίηκε τρικασίους ἀποκτείνοις
ἰερέας καὶ προφήτας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβμελέχου
ὑποψίας, ἐπικαταβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν,
καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν ναόν σπουδῶσας ἱερέων καὶ
προφητῶν ἐρήμων καταστήσει, τοσούτους μὲν ἀν-

1 ἀκούσαντες conj. Thackeray.
2 θελήσαντες SP: έθελοκαθήσαντες Naber.
3 οὔς Niese. 4 καὶ om. RO.
5 + ἐν codd.
298
stage masks, they assume in their place audacity, recklessness, contempt for things human and divine; and at the moment when they most need piety and righteousness, being now within closest reach of envy, with all their thoughts and acts exposed to all men, then, as though God no longer saw them or were overawed by their power, they break out into these riotous acts. Their fear of rumours, their wilful hates, their irrational loves—these they regard as valid, sure and true, acceptable to man and God, but of the future they take not the least account. They first honour those who have toiled in their service, and then envy them the honours which they have conferred; and, after promoting men to high distinction, they deprive them not only of this, but, on its very account, of life itself, on malicious charges which their extravagance renders incredible. Their punishments are inflicted not for acts deserving of chastisement, but on the faith of calumnies and unsifted accusations, nor do they fall on those who ought so to suffer, but on whomsoever they can put to death. Of this we have a signal example in the conduct of Saul, son of Kis, the first to become king of the Hebrews after the period of aristocracy and the government under the judges, for he slew three hundred priests and prophets from suspicion of Abimelech, and further demolished their city and strove to leave what was virtually their temple by first slaying so many of

Text uncertain.

The first real temple was, of course, to be built later in Jerusalem by Solomon.

The reference to prophets is unscriptural.
elów, meînai δ' éássas ou'dè tìn patrí́da autòv pròs 
tò kai met' ékeívous állovs geneśthai.

269 (8) 'O δ' 'Aβiáðaros ὁ τοῦ 'Aβimelékon paìs δ' 
móνos diašwthnài1 duvòtheis èk tòu gévous tòn ὕπο 
Σαουλòv fòvenvdéntwv ieréwn fùgòwv pròs Dauídhèn 
tìn tòw oikeíavn autòv sumfòrañ èdhìlwse kai tìn 
tòu patróv ánairèsvn. δ' ouk ángnoèiv ëphi táuta 
perí autòvs èsòmena idàvn tòn Dòághòv̱ upònošsai 
gàr diáblhthésseh òpò autòv tòn áρχierá tòw 
basileí, kai tìs átvxías tautìs autòv̱ autòv̱ ëtìáto. 
mènèv² δ' autòthi kai sòn autòw diatríbèvón 
wò ouk èn àllò tòpòw lèsòmenon ou'tòs ἥξión.

270 (xiii. 1) Kata' dé tou'ton tòn kai'roù àkouvás o 
Dauídhès toûs Palaiástívous èmbeblhkhótais eis tìn 
Kíllanwòn xòrapan kai taútìn díarpatáxontas di'dòswn 
èautòv stràteùen èp' autòvs, tòv òtheòv dià tòu 
pròfì'tou puthómenos eì èpìtrèpei níkhn. tòu dé 
sûmaínèv φèşantos èxòrmhèsvn èpì tòus Palai-
stívous meta' tòn ètàirwvn kai fònov te autòv̱ 
272 polùn èçèchæ kai leíavan ἥλased. kai para'ménav 
tòis Kíllanwòis, èwos où tás álwovs³ kai tòv karptòv 
súnneîlon àdewòs, Σαουλòw tòw basileí ìmphètai pàr 
autois òwn: tò gàr èrgoun kai tò katóròvma ouk 
émeíne páρ' oîs ègèneto, fùmì̄uí4 d' èpìsavn eis te tás 
tòw àllow àkòas kai pròs tás toû básiléwv 
dièkoomísèh autòv̱ te sùnivtánov kai tòv pépòiý-
273 kótà. xàíreí dé Σαουλòs àkouvás èn Kíllà tòv̱

1 diašwth. om. RO.
2 tò mènev codd.
3 álòw codd.; álònas ed. pr.
4 fùmì̄uí Ernesti.
5 autò Dindorf.

⁵ Cf. below on § 273.

In Scripture no mention is made at this point of a prophet,
them and then not suffering even their native place to remain, that others might come after them.

(8) Now Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, who alone of the family of priests slaughtered by Saul had been able to escape, fled to David and told him of the tragedy of his kin and the slaying of his father. David replied that he had known that this fate would befall them, when he saw Doeg; he had, he said, suspected that the high priest would be denounced to the king by this man, and he blamed himself as the cause of this misfortune to them. Howbeit he besought Abiathar to abide there and to live with him, since nowhere else would he be so safely hidden.

(xiii. 1) At this same time David, hearing that the Philistines had invaded the country of the Killanians and were ravaging it, offered to take the field against them, after inquiring of God through the prophet whether He would grant him victory. And when the prophet reported that God had so signified, he threw himself upon the Philistines with his companions, made a great slaughter of them and carried off their spoils. As he then remained with the Killanians until they had secured their threshing-floors and safely got in their crops, his presence there was reported to King Saul. For this exploit and its success did not remain confined to those who had witnessed them, but the fame of it was carried abroad to the ears of all, the king's included, with praise of the deed and the doer of it. Saul rejoiced to hear but in 1 Sam. xxiii. 9 we read that David consulted God about leaving Keilah, through the priest Abimelech by means of the ephod—a detail omitted in Josephus's account below, § 274.

c The safeguarding of the crops is an amplification of Scripture.
Δαυίδην, καὶ "θεὸς ήδη χερσὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ὑπέθετο αὐτὸν," εἶπὼν, "ἐπεὶ καὶ συνηγάκασεν ἐλθεῖν εἰς πόλιν τείχη καὶ πύλας καὶ μοχλοὺς ἔχουσαν," τῷ λαῷ παντὶ προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κιλλαν ἐξορμῆσαι καὶ πολιορκῆσαι καὶ ἐλόντι τὸν Δαυίδην ἀποκτεῖναι. τάῦτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι μείναντα παρ' αὐτοῖς οἱ Κιλλῖται ἐκδώσουσι τῷ Σαούλῳ, παραλαβὼν τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὴν ἔρημον ἔπανῳ τῆς 'Ενγεδών' λεγομένης. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτὸν πεφευγότα παρὰ τῶν Κιλλίτων ἐπαύσατο τής ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρατείας.

275 (2) Δαυίδης δὲ ἐκείθεν ἄρας εἰς τινα τόπον Καυνὴν2 καλομένην τῆς Ζυφνής παραγίνεται, εἰς οὐ 'Ἰωνάθης ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ καὶ κατασπασάμενος θαρρέων τε καὶ χρηστὰς περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἤχεον ἐλπίδας παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ κάμνει τοῖς παροῦσι βασιλεύσει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ πᾶσαι τὴν 'Εβραίων δύναμιν ἤξειν υφ' ἐαυτῷ, φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σὺν μεγάλοις ἀπαντᾷν πόνοις.

276 πάλιν δ' ὁ ῥόκους ποιησάμενος τής εἰς ἀπαντὰ τὸν βίον πρὸς ἄλληλους εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως καὶ τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα καλέσας, ὅπειρασάτο αὐτῷ παρα·

1 'Ενγελαίν MS: 'Ενγελαίν P: 'Ενγεδάιν Naber.
2 M Lat.: Καυνὴn ROSPE.
that David was in Killa. "At last," said he, "God has delivered him into my hands, since He has forced him to enter a city with walls, gates and bars," and he ordered the whole people to march against Killa and, when they had besieged and taken it, to kill David. But when David discovered this and learned from God that if he remained in Killa the inhabitants would give him up to Saul, he took his four hundred men and withdrew from the city into the desert lying above a place called Engedôn. Thereupon the king, hearing that he had fled from the people of Killa, abandoned his campaign against him.

(2) David, departing thence, came to a place called Kainê ("New") in the region of Ziphēnē. Here he was met by Jonathan, son of Saul, who, after embracing him, bade him take courage, hope well for the future and not be crushed by his present state, for (he assured him) he would yet be king and would have all the forces of the Hebrews under him, but such things were wont to demand great toil for their attainment. Then, having renewed his oaths of life-long, mutual affection and fidelity, and having called God to witness the curses which he invoked

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a Bibl. Keilah, lxx Keelá, perhaps the modern Khirbet Qīla, about 2 miles S. of the supposed site of Adullam (cf. § 247 note).
b Or "besieged it and taken him."
c So the lxx; Heb. 600.
d Bibl. Engedi; mentioned below, § 282. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13 "and went whithersoever they could go."
e So the lxx, reading Heb. ḥadāshāh "new" for hōreshāh "thicket" in 1 Sam. xxiii. 15; the latter is perhaps to be taken as a proper name, and may be the modern Khirbet Khoreisa.
f Bibl. Ziph, lxx Zelph, probably the modern Tell Zif, 4 miles S.E. of Hebron.
βάντι τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ μεταβαλλομένων ἡπ’ ἀντίθετα, τὸν μὲν αὐτὸθε παθητεὶς μικρά τῶν ἑφαρμοσμένων, αὐτὸς δὲ 277 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέρχεται. ὁ δὲ Ζιφηνὼς χαριζόμενος τῷ Σαουλῷ μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ παρ’ αὐτοῖς διατίθεσιν τὸν Δανίδην καὶ παραδώσειν ἐμφανεῖν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι· καταληφθείσης γὰρ τῶν τῆς Ζιφηνῆς 278 στενῶν οὐκ εἶναι φυγεῖν αὐτῶν ἡπ’ ἄλλους. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπήνευσεν αὐτούς, χάριν ἔχειν ὀμολογήσας τὸν ἑξῆρτον αὐτῷ μεμνυκόσι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀμείβοσθαι τῆς εὐνοίας ἐποποίημενος αὐτούς, ἐπεμψε τοὺς ἔσπεροντας τὸν Δανίδην καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐξέρχοντας, αὐτὸς δὲ ἀκολουθήσεις ἀπεκρίνατο. 279 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θέραν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ Δανίδου προῆγον τὸν βασιλέα σπουδάζοντες μὴ μόνον αὐτῷ ἐμφανεῖτο ἐκεῖθεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐξουσίαν φανερωτέραν καταστῆσαι αὐτῷ τὴν εὐνοίαν· διήμαρτον δὲ τῆς ἀδίκου καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, οἱ μὴ δὲν κινδυνεύως ἐμελητοῦν ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτ’ ἐμφανίσατο τῷ Σαουλῷ, διὰ δὲ κολακεῖαν καὶ κέρδους προσδόκιμαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄδρα θεοφιλή καὶ παρὰ δίκην ἔσκισαν καταστῆσαι τοῖς διεξάγοντος ἐκεῖθεν καὶ παραδώσεις ὑπέσχοντο· γνωσὶ γὰρ ὁ Δανίδης τὴν τῶν Ζιφηνῶν κακοπῆθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐφόδου ἐκλειπεῖ μὲν τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας,

1 μεταβαλλομένων Bekker.
2 φυγεῖν αὐτῶ SP: φυγεῖν αὐτῷ M.
3 Niese: ἀμείβασθαι codd. (Lat. vid.).
4 αὐτῷ τῷ MSP.
5 αὐτῷ τῇ εὐνοίᾳ om. RO: post ἑκθῆν (supra) rell.

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* At Gibeah (lxx “the hill,” cf. § 251 note), 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. 304
upon himself should he violate their covenant and change to the contrary, he left him there, having a little lightened his cares and fear, and returned to his own home. But the men of Ziph, to win favour with Saul, reported to him that David was sojourning among them, and promised, if he would come after him, to deliver him up; for, if the passes into their country were occupied, it would be impossible for him to escape elsewhere. The king commended them and expressed his thanks for their having given him information of his enemy, and promised that their loyalty should not long await its reward; he then sent a party to search for David and to seour the desert, assuring them that he would himself follow. Thus they spurred the king on to the pursuit and capture of David, because they were anxious not merely to denounce his enemy to him, but to give more palpable proof of their loyalty to him by actually delivering David into his hands. They failed, however, in their iniquitous and base desire, which was the more so in that they would have incurred no risk by not informing Saul of these things; yet, from obsequiousness and in the expectation of receiving gain from the king, they calumniated and promised to deliver up a God-favoured man whose death was being unjustly sought, and who might have remained concealed. For David, learning of the evil designs of the Ziphites and the king's approach, quitted the

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*a* This promise is not mentioned in Scripture.

*c* These reflections on the conduct of the Ziphites are an addition to Scripture.
JOSEPHUS

fe'ýgei dé ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην πέτραν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Σύμωνος ἐρήμῳ.

281  (3) "Ωρμησεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκεῖνην διώκειν Σαούλον· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὄδον ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκ τῶν στενῶν μαθὼν τὸν Δαυὶδην, ἐπὶ τὸ ἔτερον μέρος τῆς πέτρας ἀπῆρεν. ἀντιπεριέσπασαν δὲ τὸν Σαούλον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοῦ Δαυὶδου μέλλοντος ἦδη συνλαμβάνεσθαι Παλαιστίνου πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Εβραίων ἐστρατευκέναι χώραν ἀκούσθεντες· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἀνέστρεψε φύσει πολεμίους ὄντας, αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι κρίνας ἀναγκαίοτερον ἢ τὸν ἴδιον σπουδάζοντα λαβεῖν ἐχθρον ὑπερίδειν τὴν γῆν κακωθεῖσαν.

282  (4) Καὶ Δαυὶδης μὲν οὕτως ἐκ παραλόγου τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγῶν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Εγγεδηνῆς ἀφικνεῖται· Σαούλῳ δὲ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἦκον ἀπαγγέλλοντες τινες τὸν Δαυὶδην ἐν 283 τοῖς Εγγεδηνῆς διατρίβειν ὅροις. λαβὼν δὲ τρισχίλιον ἐπιλέκτους ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἑπείγετο, καὶ γενόμενος οὐ πόρρω τῶν τόπων ὅρα παρά τὴν ὄδον σπήλαιον βαθὺ καὶ κοιλὸν, εἰς πολὺ καὶ μῆκος ἀνεωγγός καὶ πλάτος, ἕνθα συνεβαίνε τὸν Δαυὶδην μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κεκρυφθαι· ἐπειγόμενος οὖν ὕπο τῶν κατὰ φύσιν εἴσευσιν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνον θεαθεῖς 284 δ' ὕπο τινος τῶν μετὰ Δαυὶδου· καὶ φράσαντος

1 ἐπιλέκτους post ὀπλίτας MSP: om. E Lat.

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a 1 Sam. xxiii. 24 "in the wilderness of Maon, in the plain on the south (lit. "right") of Jeshimon," LXX ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ Μαὼν (ἐ.λ. Μαὼν, Luc. ἐν τῇ ἐπηκὼς) καθ' ἐσπέραν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Ἰεσαίμων. Thackeray, Josephus the Man, etc., p. 88, writes "both in Josephus and in Lucian an intrusive initial shin has converted the proper name [Maon] into Shim'ôn . . . Lucian translates it by ἐπηκοός 'into the
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defiles of their country and fled to the great rock which is in the wilderness of Simon.\(^a\)

(3) Thither Saul hastened to pursue him; for he had learnt on the way that David had withdrawn from the defiles, and so he set off for the other side of the rock. But, just as David was about to be caught, Saul was diverted from the pursuit by the news that the Philistines had made a fresh invasion into Hebrew territory. He accordingly returned to face them as his natural enemies, judging it more imperative to fight against them than, through his zeal to capture his personal enemy, to leave the land to be ravaged.\(^b\)

(4) David, after this unexpected escape from danger, repaired to the narrow passes of Engedêne;\(^c\) but, after Saul had expelled the Philistines, word was brought to him that David was sojourning within the borders of Engedêne. So, with three thousand picked soldiers, he pressed on after him. And, when he was not far from the region, he saw by the wayside a deep and hollow cave, extending to a great distance both in length and breadth, where, as it chanced, David with his four hundred men lay concealed. Urged then by the needs of nature, Saul entered it alone, and was espied by one of David’s companions.

listening wilderness,’ as in fact Josephus does elsewhere,” and refers to A. i. 304 “the name Σεμέων signifies that God listened (ἐπήκουν γεγονέναι).” I think, however, that Josephus’s Simôn represents the bibl. Jeshimon (Heb. Yeshîmôn), which it might easily have done if Josephus had read it in a form like that of the Targum where, with the preposition l* \(c\), it is liyshîmôn (by a phonetic law, the consonant y is assimilated to the preceding vowel), from an apparent root Shîmôn = Gr. Simôn.

\(^{b}\) The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.

\(^{c}\) Bibl. En-gedi, lxx Ἐβγαδώς, modern ‘Ain Jidy, a rocky height half-way down the west shore of the Dead Sea.
τού θεασαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ, ρον ἐχειν ἀμύνης καὶ συμβουλεύοντος τοῦ Σαουλοῦ ἀποτεμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς ἀλης αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἀναστὰς ἀναίρει μὲν τὴν κροκύδα1 τοῦ ἱματίου μονόν οὗ Σαουλος ἀμπείχετο, μετανοήσας δὲ εὐθὺς "οὐ δίκαιον," εἶπε, "φοινεύων τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην, οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλέας ἀξιωθέντα: καὶ γὰρ εἰ τονηρὸς οὕτος εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμὲ 285 δεῖ τουτὸν εἶναι πρὸς αὐτόν." τοῦ δὲ Σαουλοῦ τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκλιπόντος προσελήφθη2 ὁ Δαυίδης ἐκραγεν, ἀκοῦσαι τοῖς Σαουλοῦ ἄξιων. ἐπιστραφέντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσκυνεῖ τοὺς πεπόντος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, ὡς έθος, καὶ φήσαν: "οὐ πονηροῖς, ὁ βασιλεύ, καὶ ψευδείς πλάττουσι διαβολάς παρέχοντα δεὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐκεῖνοι τὸ πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ φιλτάτους δι' ὑπονοιάς ἐχειν, ἀλλὰ τὸις ἔργοις σκοπεῖν τὴν ἀπάντων διά- 286 θεσιν. διαβολή μὲν γὰρ ἀπατᾶ, σαφῆς δ' ἀπό- δείξεις εὐνοίας τὰ πραττόμενα· καὶ λόγος μὲν ἐπ' ἀμφότερα πέφυκεν ἀληθῆς τε καὶ ψευδῆς, τὰ δὲ 287 ἔργα γυμνήν ὑπ' οὕτε τὴν διάνοιαν τίθησιν. ἐσθι τοῦν ἐκ τοῦτων καλῶς ἐχειν μὲ πρὸς σὲ καὶ τὸν σὸν οἰκὸν καμιῶ;3 πιστεῦσαι δεί, καὶ μὴ τοῖς κατ- ηγοροῦσιν οὕτως μὴ, eis νοῦν ἐβαλόμην μήτε δύναται γενέσθαι προσθέμενοι μεταδιώκεις τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν, καὶ μηδὲν μὴν ἡμέρας μὴτε νυκτὸς ἐχειν διὰ φροντίδος ἡ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἡν οἳδος μετα-

1 ἀναίρει . . . κροκύδα] ἀποτέμει . . . πτέρυγα SPE (Lat.).
2 E: προσελήφθων codd. Lat.
3 ex Lat. conj. Thackeray: ἔμοι codd.

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The man who saw him said to David that here was his God-sent opportunity for vengeance on his enemy and counselled him to cut off Saul’s head and so deliver himself from his long wandering and misery, whereupon David arose and only pulled off some of the woollen nap of the mantle that Saul was wearing; but, repenting forthwith, said, "It is not right to murder one’s own master or one whom God has accounted worthy of kingship. And even though he treats me ill, yet I must not do the like to him." Then, when Saul had left the cave, David came forth and cried aloud, beseeching Saul to hear him. And, as the king turned, he prostrated himself before him with his face to the ground, as the custom was, and said, "Thou oughtest not, O King, to give ear to miscreants and fabricators of lying charges and do them the honour of believing their lies, while holding thy best friends in suspicion; no, but by their actions shoulddest thou judge the character of all men. For calumny only deceives, while actions clearly reveal the honest friend; words are of two-fold nature, either true or false, but deeds lay bare to sight the intention. Know then by these tokens that I wish well to thee and to thy house, and thou shouldst trust in me, instead of putting faith in those who accuse me of things which I never took into my head to do and which could never even have been done, and constantly seeking my life, with no thought day or night except for my destruction, for which thou

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a Bibl. "do to him as it shall seem good unto thee.”

b Variant (as in Scripture) "cut off the skirt" ($\pi\tau\bar{e}\rho\nu\gamma$α); this latter text is found below, § 289.

c The last remark, like some of the other moral reflections in David’s speech, is an amplification of Scripture.
288 Πορεύην· πώς γάρ οὐχὶν ἰσευδὴ περὶ ἐμοῦ δόξαν εἰλθήσας ὡς ἀποκτείναί σε θέλοντος· ἡ πώς οὐκ ἀσέβεις εἰς τὸν θεὸν, ἄνθρωπον τήμερον αὐτῷ τιμωρήσαι δυνάμενον καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην καὶ μὴ θελήσαντα μήδε τῷ καρφῷ χρησάμενον, δόν εἰ σοὶ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ περιέπεσεν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἀρχήκας, διαχρῆσασθαι ποθὸν καὶ νομίζων πολέμιον; ὅτε γάρ σου τὴν πτέρνα τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπέτεμον, τότε σου καὶ τὴν κεφαλήν ἱδυνάμην.” ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὸ ράκος ἱδεῖν πιστεύειν παρείχεν. “ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεσχόμην δικαίας ἀμύνης,” φησιν, “σὺ δὲ μίσος ἀδικον οὐκ αἰθὴ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ τρέφων.” ο θεὸς ταῦτα δικάσει καὶ τὸν ἐκατέρου τρόπον ἰμῶν ἐλέγξει.”

289 Σαουλὸς δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς σωτηρίας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου μετρήτητα καὶ φύσιν ἐκπλαγεὶς ἀνώμωξε. τὸ δ’ αὐτὸ κακεῖνον ποιήσαντος αὐτὸν εἶναι δίκαιον στένειν ἀπεκρίνατο· “σὺ μὲν γάρ,” φησί, “ἀγαθῶν αἰτίος ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ συμφορῶν. ἐπεδείξω δὲ σήμερον τὴν ἀρχαίων ἔχοντα σαυτὸν δικαιοσύνην, οἱ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ λαβόντας σώζειν παρ-

290 ἡγγελλον. πέπεισμα δὴ νῦν ὅτι σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς φυλάττει καὶ περιμένει σε τὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑβραίων κράτος. δὸς δὴ μοι πίστεις ἐνόρκους μὴ μου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσαι μηδ’ ἐμοὶ μνησικακώντα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγγόνους ἀπολέσαι, τηρήσαι δὲ μοι καὶ σώσαι τὸν οἶκον.” ὁμοσάς δὲ καθὼς ἥξιωκεν Ἰακώβης Σαουλοῦ μὲν εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν ἀπέλυσε βασιλείαν,
strivest so unjustly. How indeed could the opinion not be false which thou didst hold of me, namely that I wished to kill thee, or how canst thou be other than impious toward God when thou art eager to destroy, and accountest as an enemy, a man who this day had it in his power to avenge himself and to punish thee, and yet refused to do so or to avail himself of an opportunity, which, had it been given to thee to use against me, thou wouldst never have let slip? For when I cut off the skirt of thy mantle, I might at the same time have cut off thy head.” And here he produced the piece of cloth in token of the truth of his words. “But yet,” he continued, “I refrained from righteous vengeance, while thou art not ashamed to nurse unjust hatred against me. May God be judge thereof and examine the motives of us both.” Thereupon Saul, in wonder at his extraordinary escape and amazed at the youth’s forbearance and nature, wailed aloud. And when David did the like, he replied, “It is for me to moan, a since thou hast brought me only good, while I have brought thee affliction. Thou hast shown thyself this day to have the righteousness of the ancients, who bade those who captured their enemies in a lonely place to spare their lives. b Now, therefore, I fully believe that God is reserving the kingdom for thee and that dominion over all the Hebrews awaits thee. Give me then assurance on oath that thou wilt not exterminate my race nor, from rancour against me, destroy my posterity, but wilt save and preserve my house.” David gave the desired oath and let Saul depart to his kingdom,

a Unscriptural detail.

b An amplification of 1 Sam. xxiv. 19 (20) (of which, however, the text seems to be defective), “If a man find his enemy will he let him go well away?”
autós de metà tôn sún autò eis tìn Maśṣerôwv anéby stenyn.

292 (5) 'Aποθνήσκει de kata touton tôn kairom kai Σαμονήλος o proφh̄tēs, anhē ou tēs tυχοῡshs apolaûsas1 para tois 'Eβretaioi toimiēs' ενεφάνισε γαρ tēn ārētēn autō kai tēn tōn plēthous prōs autōn eūνουν tō pēniōs, o ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ λαὸς ēγγετο, kai ἥ pēri tīn tαφhēn autō kai tēn tōn νομιζομένων ἀναπληρωσαν φιλοτιμία τε 293 kai ἱπτούν. ἡαπτοῦσι γαρ αὐτὸν εν τῇ πατρίδι 'Αρμαθᾶ kai ἐπὶ πολλὰs πάνυ ἡμὲρας ἐκλαυσαν, οὐ κοινὸν τοῦτο πάσχοντεs ὡς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίου τελευτῆ;

294 ὡς2 οἴκεῖον ὃ ἐκαστὸs ὅδιον ποιθῶν. ἐγένετο ὁ ἄνὴρ δίκαιοs kai χρηστός την φύσιν kai διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φίλος τῷ θεῷ. ἤρξε δὲ kai προέστη τῷ λαῷ μετά τῆν Ἡλεῖ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτῆν μόνος μὲν ἐτη δῶδεκα, μετά δὲ Σαμοῦλ τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ὅκτω. kai τά μὲν πέρι Σαμονήλον οὕτω πέρας ἔσχεν.

295 (6) Ἡν δὲ τις τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἐκ πόλεως 'Εμμᾶν3 πλούσιος καὶ πολυθρέμμιαστος ἐρυθρίλιοι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ4 ποίμνη προβάτων ἐνέμετο, χίλιοι δὲ αἰγῶν. ταῦτα Δαυίδης ἀσυνή τηρεῖν τε καὶ ἀβλαβή παρ-ηγγελλε τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μῆτε ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας μῆτε ὑπὸ ἐνδείας μῆτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι

1 SP: ἀπολάβων RO: ἀπολαύων Niese cum Hudson.
2 + eis MSP.
3 'Εμμᾶ MSP Exc.: Ammon Lat.
4 Cocceji: autōv codd. E.

a Heb. 'al ha-mesûdāh "up to the stronghold"; Josephus follows the LXX which takes this as a proper name and, in a duplicate rendering, translates it as eis tīn Μεσσαρά στενήν.
while he with his men went up to the pass of Masthera.\(^a\)

(5) About this time the prophet Samuel died, a man who had enjoyed no common esteem among the Hebrews. His virtue and the affection of the multitude for him were manifested by the prolonged mourning which the people made, and by the display and zeal given to his burial and to the observance of the customary rites. For they buried him in his native Armatha and wept for him very many days, with no mere public mourning as for the death of a stranger, but each privately grieving as for his own.\(^b\) He was a man of just and kindly nature and for that reason very dear to God. He was ruler and leader of the people after the death of the high priest Eli, for twelve years alone, and together with King Saul for eighteen more.\(^c\) Such then was the end of Samuel.

(6) Now there was a certain Ziphite of the city of Emman,\(^c\) who was wealthy and had much cattle; indeed he maintained a flock of three thousand sheep and a thousand goats. Now David had charged his men to see that these flocks should be safe and unharmed, and that neither through greed nor want nor because they were in the wilderness and could escape detection, should they do them any injury,

\(^a\) The details of the burial and mourning are additions to Scripture.

\(^b\) No figures are given in Scripture; the common rabbinic tradition fixes Samuel’s term as prophet at 12 years, another, also found in Julius Africanus, makes it 40 years. Ginzberg plausibly suggests that the latter figure was reached by combining Josephus’s statement that Samuel began to prophesy at 12 years, \(A.\ v. 348\), with the rabbinic tradition that Samuel was 52 years old when he died.

\(^c\) Bibl. "A man of Maon"; his possessions were in Carmel, just south of Ziph.
λανθάνειν καταβλάπτειν, τούτων δ’ ἀπάντων ἐπάνω τίθεσθαι τὸ μηδέν’ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀπετεθαί δεινόν ἤγείσθαι καὶ πρόσαντες τῷ θεῷ. 296 ταῦτα δ’ ἐδίδασκεν αὐτούς οἰόμενος ἄνθρωπος χαρίζεσθαι ἀγάθῳ καὶ ταύτης τυγχάνεις ἄξιω τῆς προνοίας· ἢν δὲ Νάβαλος, τούτῳ γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα, σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν έκ κυνικῆς ἀσκήσεως πεποιημένοις τὸν βίων, γυναίκος δ’ ἀγαθὴς καὶ σώφρονος καὶ τὸ εἴδος σπουδαίας λελογχώς. 297 πρὸς οὖν τὸν Νάβαλον τούτον καθ’ ὃν ἐκειρε τὰ πρόβατα καιρὸν πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης ἀνδρᾶς δέκα τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται καὶ συνείχεται τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐπ’ ἐτη πολλά· παρασκεύων δὲ ἐξ ὧν δυνατός ἐστιν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει μαθόντα3 παρὰ τῶν πομενῶν ὦ ἡμέν αὐτοὺς ἥδικησαν,4 ἀλλὰ φύλακες αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν πομηνίων γεγόνασι4 πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατρίβοντες ἣδη χρόνον· μετα- 298 νοήσει δ’ οὐδὲν Δαυίδης παρασχόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων διακοινοησάντων πρὸς τὸν Νάβαλον ἀπανθρώπως σφόδρα καὶ σκληρᾶς ἀπήντησεν· ἐρωτήσας γὰρ αὐτούς, τίς ἐστι Δαυίδης, ὡς τὸν υἱὸν ἢκουσεν Ἰεσσαίου, “νῦν ἀρα,” εἶπε, “μέγα φρονοῦσιν ἐφ’ αὐτοῖς οἱ δραπέται καὶ σεμυνούν- 299 ταῖς δεσποτᾶς καταλυπτές.” ὀργίζεται δ’ αὐτῶν φρασάντων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τετρακοιόντων μὲν ὑπλισμένους αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἐπεσθαι, διακο- σίως δὲ φύλακας τῶν σκευῶν καταλυτῶν, ἣδη γὰρ ἐξεχει ἐξακοσίως, ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβαλον ἐβάδιζεν ὁμόσας

1 μηδένα Exc.: μηδέν codd. Lat.
2 ὤραίας λελογχώς RO.
3 Exc., edd.: μαθόντι codd.
4 RO Lat.: ἥδικησαει ... γεγόναει rell.
but should hold it more important than all these things to wrong no man and should reckon it a crime and an offence against God to touch what belonged to another. These instructions he gave to his men in the belief that he was obliging a good man and one worthy of such consideration. But Nabal—such was his name—was a hard man and of bad character, who lived according to the practices of the cynics. He had, however, been blessed with a wife who was virtuous, discreet and good to look upon. At the time, then, when this Nabal was shearing his sheep, David sent ten of his men by whom he greeted him and joined him in praying that he might be so employed for many years to come. He then besought him to grant him somewhat from his abundant means; he would have learnt from his shepherds that David and his men had done them no wrong, but had been the guardians of their persons and of their flocks throughout their long sojourn in the wilderness, nor would he ever repent of having given anything to David. The messengers acquitted themselves of this mission to Nabal, but he gave them a very uncivil and harsh reception. He first asked them who this David was, and, on being told that he was the son of Jesse, said, "So then nowadays fugitives think much of themselves and boast about deserting their masters." These words being reported to David aroused his indignation, and bidding four hundred of his men to follow him in arms and leaving two hundred to guard the baggage—for he had by now six hundred men—he marched against Nabal, having sworn utterly to

a David’s instructions are an amplification of Scripture.
b Bibl. “and he was a Calebite”; lxx, reading Heb. keleb “dog,” καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κυνικός, which Josephus takes in its technical philosophical sense.
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ёкеивη τῇ νυκτὶ τῶν οίκων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ κτήσιν ἀλην ἀφανίσεως οὔ γάρ ἀχθεσθαι μόνον ὅτι γέγονεν ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτοὺς, μηδὲν ἐπιδοὺς πολλὴς φιλοκυνητία πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησάμενος, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσεβλασφήμησε καὶ κακῶς εἶπε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν λευτημένος.

300 (7) Δούλου δὲ τινος τῶν τὰ ποίμνια φυλασσόντων τὰ τοῦ Ναβάλου πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν μὲν ἐαυτοῦ γυναῖκα ἐκείνου κατειπόντος ὅτι πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μηδενὸς τίχων τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσυβρισθεῖν βλασφημίας δειναίς πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοῦς προνοία καὶ φυλακῆ τῶν ποιμνίων χρησάμενος, γέγονεν δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ κακῷ

301 τῷ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ αὐτῆς· ταῦτ' ἐκείνου φήσαντος Ἀβιγαία, προσηγορεύετο γὰρ οὕτως, ἐπισάξασα τοὺς ὅνους καὶ πληρώσασα παντοίων ξενίων καὶ μηδὲν ἐπισύνα τάνδρι, ὑπὸ γὰρ μέθης ἀναισθητος ἦν, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Δαυίδην· καταβαινοῦσῃ δὲ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπήντησε Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐπὶ Ναβάλον ἐρχόμενος. θεασαμένη δ' αὐτοῦ ἡ γυνὴ κατειπήδησε καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνηε καὶ τῶν μὲν Ναβάλου λόγων ἐδείη μὴ μημονεύειν, οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖ αὐτοῦ ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ὀνόματι, Νάβαλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν 'Εβραίων γλῶτταν ἀφροσύνην δηλοῖ, αὐτὴ δὲ ἀπελογείτο μὴ θεάσασθαι τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·

302 "διὸ συγγίνωσκε μοι," φησί, "καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν

1 RO: γεγονέναι rell.  2 αὐτῆς ex Lat. ins. Niese.
3 εὐθέως ἐπισ. SP.  4 προσεκύνηε ROE.
5 οὐ γὰρ ἀγν. om. ROE Lat.

α The latter motive is not found in Scripture.
destroy his house and all his possessions that self-same night; for he was angry not merely at his ingratitude in making no return to those who had shown him such great kindness, but also because he had further insulted and abused those from whom he had received no injury.

(7) But one of the slaves that kept the flocks of Nabal brought word to his mistress, Nabal's wife, that David had sent a message to her husband and not only had failed to receive a fair answer but had been further insulted with shocking abuse, although he had shown all consideration to the shepherds and had protected their flocks. Such action, he added, would result in mischief for his master and for herself. At the servant's story, Abigaia—such was her name—saddled her asses, loaded them with all manner of presents and, without a word to her husband, who was insensible from drink, set off to find David. And as she was descending the defiles of the mountain, she was met by David coming against Nabal with his four hundred men. At sight of him the woman leapt to the ground, and falling on her face bowed down before him; she entreated him not to mind the words of Nabal, for he could not be ignorant that the man was like his name (Nabal in the Hebrew tongue signifies "folly"), while for herself she pleaded that she had not seen David's messengers. "Wherefore pardon me," she said, "and render thanks to God who has prevented thee

\[\text{Abigail (Abigaia), Nabal's wife, appeases David by presents.} \]

\[1 \text{ Sam. xxv. 14.}\]

\[\text{b Bibl. "young men."} \]

\[\text{c Bibl. Abigail, lxx 'Ab\textaela.}\]

\[\text{d In the form of provisions, according to Scripture.}\]

\[\text{e Unscriptural detail, anticipating 1 Sam. xxv. 36, cf. § 306.}\]

\[\text{f So also the lxx translates.}\]
JOSEPHUS

304 γενοῦ ἐὰν εὐμενής μοι κρίναν ἀξίαν τοῦ παρ’ ἐμοῦ ταῦτα δεξασθαι, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὄργην τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τιμὴν ἀφεῖς. πρέπει γὰρ ἡμέρων σοι καὶ φιλανθρώπως τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν.’’

305 ο’ δὲ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενοι ‘‘ἄλλα σε,’’ φησίν, ‘‘ὡ γὰρ, θεῶς εὐμενῆς ἤγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τήμερον, οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἡμέραν εἴδες, ἐμοῦ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Νάβαλον διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ὠμόσαντος ἀπολέσεως καὶ μηδένα ὑμῶν ἀπολείψεως ἀπὸ ἄνδρος πονηροῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστου πρὸς ἐμὲ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐταίρους γενομένου. νῦν δὲ φθάσασα προέλαβες καταμειλήσασθαι μου τὸν θυμὸν κηδομένου σου τοῦ θεοῦ. ἄλλα Νάβαλος μὲν κἂν ἂρεθῇ διὰ σὲ νῦν τῆς τιμωρίας οὐ φεύξεται τὴν δίκην, ἂλ’ ὁ τρόπος αὐτοῦ ἀπολεῖ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἄλλην.’’

306 (8) Ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπολύει τὴν γυναῖκα. ἦ δ’ εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καταλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ πολλῶν εὐωχούμενον καὶ κεκαρωμένον ἡδη, τότε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων διεσάφει, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ νιψοντι ἀπαντα δηλώσασα παρεθήκαι καὶ πάν αὐτῷ νεκρωθήκαι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς λύπης ἐποίησε· καὶ δέκα οὐ πλεῖους ἐπιζήσας ἡμέρας τὸν βίον κατέστρεφεν ὁ Νάβαλος. 307 ἀκούσας δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτήν ὁ Δαυὶδ ἐκδικηθήναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλώς ἐλεγεν. ἀπο-

1 Niese: ἀπολέσαι codd. 2 + ἐως τετραπόδου RO.
from soiling thy hands with human blood. For if thou remainest clean, He Himself will avenge thee on the wicked; and may the evil that awaits Nabal fall likewise on the heads of thy foes. But be gracious to me in deigning to receive these presents from me, and, out of regard for me, dismiss thy indignation and wrath against my husband and against his house. For it becomes thee to show mildness and humanity, especially as thou art destined to be king." And David accepted the presents and said, "In truth, lady, it was gracious God who led thee to us this day; else thou wouldst not have seen the coming day, for I had sworn to destroy the house of Nabal this very night and to leave not one of you, belonging as you do to a man who has been so mean and ungrateful to me and to my comrades. But now thou hast forestalled me and mollified my wrath, since thou art in God's care. But as for Nabal, though for thy sake to-day he be spared chastisement, yet will he not escape retribution, but his conduct will find another occasion to prove his ruin."  

(8) Having so spoken, he dismissed the woman. And she, returning to her home, found her husband carousing with a large company and already heavy with drink, and so, at the moment, she revealed nothing of what had passed; but on the morrow, when he was sober, she told him all, causing him to collapse and his whole body to become dead through her words and the pain they produced. Ten days and no more did Nabal remain alive and then departed this life. And when David heard of his death, he said that he had been well avenged by God, for Nabal

* This prediction is unscriptural.
θανεῖν γὰρ Νάβαλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἴδιας πονηρίας καὶ δοῦναι δίκην αὐτῷ καθαρὰν ἔχοντι τήν δεξίαν· ἐγνω δὲ καὶ τότε τοὺς πονηροὺς ἑλαυνομένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπως ὑπερορῶντος, διδόντος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ ὀμοία, τοῖς δὲ πονηροῖς ὀξεῖαι ἐπιφέροντο τὴν πονήν. πέμψας δὲ αὐτῶν πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνοικήσουσαν καὶ γαμηθησομένην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτόν· ἢ δὲ ἀναξία μὲν εἶναι καὶ ποδῶν ἅμασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας ἐλεγεν, ὡμως δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς θεραπείας ἤκε. καὶ συνώκησε μὲν αὐτῷ ταύτην λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμήν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν τρόπον σώφρονα εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, τυχόνσα δὲ αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος. εἰχε δὲ Δαυίδης γυναῖκα πρότερον, ἣν ἔξ Ἀβισάρου πόλεως ἐγήμη. Μελχὰν δὲ τὴν Σαουλοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα τὴν γενωμένην τοῦ Δαυίδου γυναῖκα ὁ πατὴρ τῶν Φελτίῳ νῦν Λίσον συνέζευξεν ἕκ πόλεως ὑπὲ Γεθλᾶς.  

310 (9) Μετὰ ταύτα τινες ἐλθόντες τῶν Ζυφηνῶν ἀπῆγγελαν τῷ Σαουλῷ, ὡς εἰ ἐπί πάλιν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ δύνανται συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν βουλομένην συνεργήσαι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρισχιλῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπὶ αὐτὸν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπελθοῦσας ἐστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ των τόπων Σικέλλας λεγο-

1 + καὶ codd.  2 ROP: ἀξίαν MS Exc. Lat.  3 + idias E Lat.  4 Goliath Lat. (cf. 1xx4).  5 Σικέλλα M: Σικέλλα (Σικέλλα ἱνθρα) SP: Sicela Lat.

* Variant “condign.”
* 1 Sam. xxv. 41 “let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord.”
* Called Achima below, §320; Bibl. Ahinoam, lxx Ἀχινάαι (v.l. Ἀχινάαι).
had died through his own wickedness and had given him revenge, while he himself still had clean hands. At the same time he learnt that the wicked are pursued by God who overlooks no act of man but repays the good in kind, while He inflicts swift punishment upon the wicked. David then sent to the woman, inviting her to live with him and become his wife. She replied to the messengers that she was unworthy so much as to touch his feet, but came nevertheless with all her servants. And so she lived with him, having attained that honour because of her modest and upright character and also because of her beauty. David already had a wife, whom he had taken from the city of Abisar; as for Melcha, the daughter of Saul and once the wife of David, her father had given her in marriage to Pheltias son of Lisos of the city of Gethla.

(9) After this certain of the Ziphites came and informed Saul that David was again in their country and that they could catch him, if Saul would lend them aid. So with three thousand soldiers he marched against him and, on the approach of night, encamped at a place called Sikella. David, hearing Saul's life a second time, 1 Sam. xxvi. 1.
311 μένω. Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Σαουλοῦ ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἢκοντα πέμψας κατασκόπους ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, τοῦ τῆς χώρας Σαουλοῦ ἡδὴ προσεληλύθοι.1 τῶν δ' ἐν Σικέλλα φρασάντων διαμυκτερεύειν διαλαθῶν τοὺς ἰδίους εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σαουλοῦ στρατόπεδον παράγιναι ἐπαγόμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Σαρουίας Ἀβίσαίον καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον2 τὸν Χετ-
312 ταῖον. τοῦ δὲ Σαουλοῦ κοιμώμενον καὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀβεινήρου κεμένων, ὁ Δαυίδης εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ τοῦ Σαουλοῦ, ἐπιγνώσι αὐτοῦ τὴν κοίτην ἐκ τοῦ δόρατος, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεπεπήγει, οὔτε τὸν Ἀβίσαίον βουλόμενον φονεῖσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὄρμηκότα εἴασεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι δεινὸν ἀποκτεῖναι κἂν ἢ πονηρός, ἢξεν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δόντος τὴν ἄρχην σὺν χρόνῳ τὴν δίκην, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὀρμῆς.
313 σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ κτείναι δυνηθεὶς ἀποσχέσθαι λαβῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ύδατος, ὅς ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ κειμένος3 τῷ Σαουλῷ, μηδενὸς αὐτθομένου τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ πάντων δὲ κατακομμωμένων ἐξῆλθεν, ἄδεως πάντ' ἐργασάμενος ὡσα καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ δόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς τόλμης διεύθηκε τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως. διαβᾶς δὲ τὸν χείμαρρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνελθὼν τοῦ ὀρους,

1 Niese: προσεληλύθοι, —ει codd.
2 Ἀμιλέχον MSP Lat.
3 ὅς . . . κειμ.] + κοιμώμενῳ P(S): ὅς κοιμώμενῳ παρέκειτο
Μ: appositum dormienti Saul Lat.

α Bibl. Abishai, lxx Ἀβεσσά (v.l. Ἀβεσσά κτλ.).
that Saul was coming against him, sent out scouts with orders to report what part of the country Saul had now reached; and when they told him that he was passing the night at Sikella, he set off, without the knowledge of his men, for Saul's camp, taking with him Abisai, son of his sister Saruia, and Abimelech the Hittite. Saul was sleeping, with his soldiers and their commander Abenner lying in a circle around him, when David penetrated to the king's camp; yet he would not himself slay Saul, whose sleeping-place he recognized from the spear fixed in the ground at his side, nor would he permit Abisai, who wished to kill him and darted forward with that intent, to do so. He objected that it was monstrous to slay the king elected of God, even if he was a wicked man, saying that from Him who had given him the sovereignty punishment would come in due time; and so he stayed Abisai from his purpose. However, in token that he might have slain him and yet had refrained, he took the spear and the flask of water that was placed just beside Saul and, unseen by any in the camp where all lay fast asleep, he passed out, having safely accomplished all the things that the favourable opportunity and his daring had enabled him to inflict on the king's men. Then, after crossing a stream and climbing to the top of

\[\text{b} \quad \text{Bibl. Zeruiah (Heb. Šerūyāh), lxx} = \text{Josephus. That she was David's sister is stated in 1 Chron. ii. 16.}
\]

\[\text{c} \quad \text{Variant (as in Scripture) Achimelech; the lxx mss. also vary between the two forms. According to Scripture, however, only Abishai accompanied David.}
\]

\[\text{d} \quad 1 \text{ Sam. xxvi. 13 “Then David went over to the other side and stood on the top of a hill afar off; a great space being between them.” Josephus naturally thought of the space as being a wady, the bed of a winter stream (\(\chiε\mu\alpha\rho\rho\\nu\varepsilon\)), such as are common in Palestine.}
\]
315 Δαυίδης εἶπεν· "ἐγώ, παῖς μὲν Ἰεσσαίου, φυγάς ἐν ὑμέροις. ἀλλὰ τί δήποτε μέγας τε ὡν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔχων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμῆν, οὕτως ἀμελῶς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότου φυλάσσεις σῶμα, καὶ ὑπνὸς ἡδίων ἔστι σοι τῆς τοῦτον σωτηρίας καὶ προνοίας; βαμάτου γὰρ ἀξία ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρίας, οἷς γε μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν εἰσελθόντας τινάς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ὅποι ἐνοίησατε. Ξήτησον οὖν τὸ δόρυ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ύδατός καὶ μαθήσῃ πηλίκον ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε κακὸν ἐντὸς γενόμενον." Ὁ Σαουλὸς δὲ γνωρίσασ τὴν τοῦ Δαυίδου φωνὴν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἐκδότον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑπνοῦ καὶ τῆς τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμελείας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐφείσατο δικαίως ἃν αὐτὸν ἀνελῶν, χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἐλεγε καὶ παρεκάλει θαρροῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ἐτί πείσεσθαι δεινόν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φοβοῦμενον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα·

317 πεπείθοι γὰρ ὅτι μηδ' αὐτοῦ οὖσας ἀγαπήσειν, ὡς ὑπ' ἐκείνου στέργεται, δὲ τὸν μὲν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον καὶ πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας παρεσχημένον ἔλαβον καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν φυγῇ χρόνον καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγωνίαις ἡνάγκασε ξησάλανον καὶ συγγενῶν ἐρήμων αὐτὸς δ' οὗ παύεται

1 ἐπί... ἄλλους om. RO: καὶ... ἄλλους om. E.
2 ex Lat. Bekker: αὐτοῦ codd.
3 ὡς RO.
a hill from which his voice could be heard, he shouted to the troops of Saul and to their commander Abenner, and, awaking them from their sleep, addressed him and his people. When the commander heard this and asked who was calling him, David replied, "I, son of Jesse, the fugitive from you." But how comes it that one so great as thou, holding the first rank in the king's service, art so negligent in guarding the person of thy master, and that sleep is more to thy liking than his safety and protection? This conduct indeed merits the punishment of death, for a little while since some men penetrated right through your camp to the king's person and to all the others, and you did not even perceive it. Look now for the king's spear and his flask of water and thou wilt learn what mischief has befallen in your midst without your knowing of it." Then Saul, when he recognized the voice of David and learned that though he had had him at his mercy, being asleep and neglected by his guards, he had yet not slain him but spared the life which he might justly have taken, gave him thanks for his preservation and exhorted him to be of good courage and, without fear of suffering further injury from himself, to return to his home. For, he said, he was now persuaded that he did not love his own self so well as he was loved by David, seeing that he had pursued this man who might have been his safeguard and who had given many proofs of his loyalty, and that he had forced him to live so long in exile, in terror of his life, bereft of friends and of kindred, while he himself had been repeatedly spared by him  

This phrase is unscriptural. There is also some amplification in the rest of David's speech.  

Josephus omits David's protest against Saul's treatment of him, 1 Sam. xxvi. 18-20.
JOSEPHUS

πολλάκις¹ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωζόμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν
318 φανερῶς ἀπολυμένην λαμβάνων. ὦ δὲ Δαυίδης
πέμψατα ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν
φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπειπών ὡς "ὁ θεὸς ἐκατέρω
τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγ-
μένων ἔσται δικαστὴς, ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παροῦσαν
ήμεραν ἀποκτείναι σε δυνήθεις ἀπεσχόμην οἶδε."

319 (10) Καὶ Σαουλὸς μὲν δεύτερον διαφυγόν τάς
Δαυίδου χειρὰς εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν οἰκείαν
ἀπηλλάσσετο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ Δαυίδης μὴ μένων
αὐτὸν συλληφθῆ υπὸ τοῦ Σαουλοῦ, συμφέρειν
ἐκρυεῖν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην καταβᾶς² διατρίβειν
ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἔξακοσίων, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν
ἔσαν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀγχοῦν τὸν Γιττῆς βασι-
320 λέα· μία δ' ἦν αὐτὴ τῶν πέντε πόλεων. δεξαμένου
δ' αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ δόντος
οἰκητήριον, ἔχων ἀμα καὶ τὰς δύο γυναικὰς Ἀχι-
μὰν καὶ Ἀβιγαίαν διήγεν ἐν τῇ Γίττῃ. Σαουλὸς
δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντι λόγος οὐκέτ' ἦν πέμπειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν
ἂν βαδίζειν· διὸς γὰρ ἥδη κυνδυνεῦσαι παρὰ
μικρὸν ἐπ' ἑκείνῳ γενόμενον, συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν σπου-
δάσαντα. Δαυίδη δ' οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν
Γιττῶν μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐδεήθη τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν,
ὡ' ἐπειδὴ φιλωθρόπως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο
χαρίσηται, τόπον τινὰ τῆς χώρας δοὺς αὐτῷ πρὸς
κατοίκησιν· αἰδεύοντα γὰρ διατρίβων ἐν τῇ πόλει
322 βαρὺς αὐτῷ καὶ φορτικὸς εἶναι. δίδωσι δὲ Ἀγχοῦς

¹ πολλάκις om. RO.
² ex Lat. Niese: ἀναράτα codd.

a Saul's speech is greatly amplified by Josephus.
326
and had received at his hands a life clearly marked for destruction. David then bade him send someone to fetch the spear and the flask of water, adding, "God shall be judge of the character of either of us and of the actions arising therefrom. He knows that when this day I had power to slay thee I refrained."

(10) So Saul, having for the second time escaped from David's hands, returned to his palace and his country; but David, fearful of being captured by Saul if he remained where he was, deemed it wise to go down to the land of the Philistines and abide there. With his band of six hundred followers he betook himself to Anchus, king of Gitta, which was one of their five cities. The king welcomed him and his men and gave them a habitation; and so, along with his two wives, Achima and Abigaia, he settled in Gitta. Saul, on hearing of this, thought no more of sending or marching against him, for twice already he had been in imminent danger of falling into his hands while striving to catch him. David, however, was not minded to remain in the city of Gitta, but besought its king, since he had given him kindly welcome, to grant one favour more and give him some place in his country to dwell in; he had scruples, he said, about being a burden and encumbrance to him by continuing to live in that city. So Anchus gave

* The return of the flask of water is not mentioned in Scripture.
* The five Philistine cities were Gath (Gitta), Ekron (Akkaron), Ascalon, Gaza, Ashdod (Azotus), cf. A. v. 128, vi. 8.
* This reason is not mentioned in Scripture.
* David's scrupulous request is an amplification of 1 Sam. xxvii. 5.
323 μήνες τέσσαρες πρὸς ταῖς εἰκοσιοκοῦροις τῶν Παλαιστίνων Σερρίτας καὶ 'Αμαληκίτως διήρπαξεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ λείαν πολλὴν κτημὸν καὶ καμήλων λαμβάνων ὑπέστρεφεν· ἀνθρώπων γὰρ ἀπείχετο δεδωκα τῇ καταμηνύσσων αὐτὸν πρὸς Ἀγχοῦν τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ μέντοι γε τῆς λείας μέρος

324 αὐτῷ δωρεάν ἐπεμπέ. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως πυθομένου τίσιν ἐπιθέμενος τὴν λείαν ἀπῆλασε; τοῖς πρὸς τὸν νότον τῶν 'Ιουδαίων τετραμμένοις καὶ ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι κατοικοῦσίν εἰπὼν πεῖθεν τὸν Ἀγχοῦν φρονῆσαι οὕτως· ἡλπίσε γὰρ οὕτος ὅτι Δαυίδης ἐμίσησε τὸ ἱδιον ἔθνος, καὶ δοῦλον ἔξειν παρ' ὅν ζῆν χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖ καταμείνοντα.

325 (xiv. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τῶν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεύειν διεγνωκότων καὶ περιπεμφάντων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους ἀπαντα, ἵνα παρῶσιν' αὐτῷ εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰς

1 συμπαρώσων MSP.

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a Bibl. Ziklag (Heb. 'Siqlag), lxx Σεκελακ. The site is uncertain; it may be the modern Khirbet Zuheiliqah, about 10 miles S.E. of Gaza.

b 1 Sam. xxvii. 6 "Wherefore Ziklag pertaineth to the kings of Judah unto this day."

c The only other reference to Ziklag is in §§ 356 ff. where its sack by the Amalekites is described.

d Heb. "a year (lit. "days") and four months," lxx "four months."
him a certain village called Sekella, which David so well liked after becoming king that he regarded it as his private domain, as did his sons after him. But of that we shall speak elsewhere. Now the time during which David dwelt in Sekella in Philistia was four months and twenty days. He made clandestine raids on the neighbours of the Philistines, the Serrites and Amalekites, ravaging their country and returning with abundant booty of cattle and camels; he refrained from (taking captive) any men, for fear that they would denounce him to King Anchūs, to whom, however, he sent a present of a portion of the spoils. And when the king inquired whom he had attacked to have carried off all this booty, he said it was the people lying southward of the Judaeans, inhabiting the plain, and succeeded in making Anchūs believe this. For the king had hopes that David had come to hate his own nation and that he would have him for his servant so long as he lived, settled among his own people.

(xiv. 1) About the same time the Philistines resolved to take the field against the Israelites and sent word around to all their allies to join them at

David makes raids from Ziklag (Sekella) on neighbouring tribes. 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

Achish enlists David in Philistine

Bibl. the Geshurite and Girzite (Targum Gizrite, A.V. Gezrite), LXX τὸν Γεσειρί, Luc. τὸν Γεσουραίον καὶ τὸν 'Ieṣraίoν.
A euphemism for "killed," cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 9, 11 "and left neither man nor woman alive." Other translators take ἀπείχετο in its usual sense of "spared" and note the contradiction to Scripture.

Scripture does not say that David sent Achish a portion of the spoils.

1 Sam. xxvii. 10 specifies the peoples involved.

So the Targum of 1 Sam. xxvii. 12; Heb. "is in bad odour among his people" (A.V. "made his people Israel utterly to abhor him"), LXX "is put to shame among his people."
JOSEPHUS

'Ρεγάν, ἕνθεν ἔμελλον ἀδροισθέντες ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀγχοῦς συμμαχήσαι τὸν Δαυίδην αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἱδίων ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε. τοῦ δὲ προθύμως ὑποσχομένου καὶ φήσαντος παραστῆναι καὶρόν, ὡ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτῶ τῆς εὐρεγείας καὶ τῆς ξενίας ἀποδώσει, ποιῆσειν αὐτὸν καὶ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ τοὺς ἁγώνας τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο, τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ὑποσχέσει τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον αὔξων.

327 (2) Ἐπιε γὰρ ἢ Σαούλος ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην τέχνην ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβεβληκῶς ἔξω τῶν προφητῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἥδη παρόντας καὶ ἐγγυστὰ Σούνης πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ ἐστρατοπεδευκότας ἐξώρμησεν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς ὅρει τοῦ Γελβουὲ καλομένῳ βάλλεται στρατόπεδον ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων. ταράττει δ᾽ αὐτὸν

2 ἐκέλευς E: ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἡξίου MSP Lat.
4 +κειμένης SP Exc. Lat. (-γ M).

* No such place is mentioned in Scripture; it is explained by Mez ap. Thackeray, op. cit. p. 88 n. 39, as a corruption of φάραγγα(ν) "valley," which was, in turn, a mistranslation of the Targum ἡλᾶ meaning both "valley," and "warfare"
Rega \textsuperscript{a} whence they would make a combined assault upon the Hebrews. Accordingly Anchūs, king of Gitta, bade David aid him with his own soldiers. David promptly promised to do so, declaring that here was an opportunity for him to repay Anchūs for his good offices and hospitality, whereupon the king undertook to make him his bodyguard \textsuperscript{b} after the victory, if the outcome of the struggle against the enemy should be favourable to them.\textsuperscript{c} By this promise of honour and confidence he hoped to increase David's ardour still more.

(2) Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had, as it happened, banished from the country the diviners, ventriloquists \textsuperscript{d} and all practitioners of such arts, except the prophets.\textsuperscript{e} Hearing now that the Philistines were upon him and had encamped quite close to the city of Sūnē\textsuperscript{f} in the plain, he went out against them at the head of his forces, and, on reaching a mountain called Gelboue,\textsuperscript{g} pitched his camp over against the enemy. But here he was greatly disor "host"—the latter rendering being called for by the Heb. ṣāḇā' "warfare" in 1 Sam. xxviii. 1.

\textsuperscript{b} Bibl. "keeper of my head," LXX ἄρχισωματοφιλάκα "chief of the bodyguard."

\textsuperscript{c} In Scripture, Achish does not make the conferring of the title conditional upon victory in battle.

\textsuperscript{d} So the LXX translates Heb. ṣōḇ (A.V. "one that had familiar spirits"); the exact meaning is unknown, but its Biblical use and Jewish tradition show that a talisman as an instrument of divination is meant, rather than a person—the latter being called in Hebrew ba'āl ṣōḇ "possessor of the ṣōḇ."

\textsuperscript{e} The prophets are not expressly excepted in Scripture.

\textsuperscript{f} Bibl. Shunem, LXX Σωμάν (v.l. Σωμάν); the modern Solam in the Plain of Esdraelon, about half-way between Nazareth and Mt. Gilboa in a N.W.–S.E. line.

\textsuperscript{g} So the LXX; bibl. Gilboa, modern Jebel Fukhā. 331
329 οὐκ ἀποκρυμένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐτίμαλλον ὁ Σαῦλος κατέδεικε καὶ τὴν ψυχήν ἀνέπεσε, τὸ κακὸν οἶον εἰκὸς οὐ παρόντος αὐτῶς κατὰ χεῖρά τοῦ θεοῦ προσροώμενος. ξητῆθηναι δ' αὐτῷ κελεύει γνώιαν τι τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ τὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων ψυχὰς ἔκκαλουμένων ὧς οὕτως γνωσομένων ποῖ χωρεῖν αὐτῷ μέλλει τὰ πράγματα·

330 τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων γένος ἀνάγον τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ψυχὰς δι' αὐτῶν προλέγει τοῖς δειμένοις τὰ ἀποβησίμενα. μηνυθέντος δ' αὐτῷ παρὰ τυὸς τῶν οἰκετῶν εἰναί τι γνώιαν τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρων, λαθὼν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μετεκδύς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα δύο παραλαβὼς οἰκέτας, οὗς ἤδει πιστοτάτους ὄντας, ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Δώρον πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ παρεκάλει μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνάγειν

331 αὐτῷ ψυχὴν οὔπερ ἄν αὐτὸς εἴπῃ. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀπομαχομένης καὶ λεγούσης οὐ καταφρονήσειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὁς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν μάντεων ἔξηλασεν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀδικηθέντα μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐνεδρεύοντα δὲ εἰς τὰ κεκωλυμένα λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἵνα δῷ δίκην, ὁμοσε μηδένα γνώσθεισθαι μηδὲ παρ' ἄλλον ἄγειν αὐτῆς τὴν μαντείαν, ἔσεσθαι δ' ἀκίνδυνον. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ορκοῖς αὐτὴν ἐπεισε μὴ δειδείναι, κελεύει τὴν Σαμουήλου ψυχὴν ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. ἡ δ' ἀγνοοῦσα τὸν Σαμουήλου ὡστὶς ἤν καλεῖ τοῦτον ἐξ ἰδου' φανέντος δ' αὐτοῦ θεα-

1 ἰδόντα om. ROE.
2 'Αενδώρφ MSP : Endor Lat.
3 ἀνδρας RO: om. Lat.
332
mayed at sight of the hostile force which was very large and, as he surmised, superior to his own; and he asked through the prophets for an oracle from God concerning the battle and its issue. But, as no response came from God, Saul was yet more afraid and his heart failed him, foreseeing inevitable disaster since the Deity was no longer at his side. However, he gave orders to search out for him a woman among the ventriloquists and those who call up the spirits of the dead, that so he might learn how matters would turn out for him. For this sort of ventriloquist raises up the spirits of the dead and through them foretells the future to those who inquire of them. Being informed by one of his servants that there was such a woman in the city of Dor, Saul, without the knowledge of any in the camp, stripped off his royal robes and, accompanied by two servants whom he knew to be quite trustworthy, came to Dor to this woman and besought her to bring up for him by divination the soul of whomever he should name. The woman, however, objected, saying that she would not defy the king, who had expelled that class of diviners; nor was it fair on his part, who had suffered no wrong from her, to lay this snare to catch her in forbidden acts and cause her to be punished. Thereupon Saul swore that none should know of it, that he would tell no one else of her divination and that she should be in no danger. Having by these oaths persuaded her to forget her fears, he bade her bring up for him the soul of Samuel. The woman, ignorant who Samuel was, summoned him from Hades. And when he

The witch raises the spirit of

—a Bibl. Endor, lxx 'Aeλδὼρ (v.l. 'Αενδώρ, cf. v.l. in Josephus); modern 'Endor, about 3 miles N.E. of Shunem, on the slopes of Jebel Dûhy.

333
Josephus

σάμενον τὸ γύναιον ἀνδρὰ σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπὴ
tαράττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὁμὴν ἐκπλαγέν, “οὐ σὺ,”
φησίν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰ Σαουλὸς;” ἐδήλωσε γὰρ
333 αὐτὸν Σαμοῦηλος. ἐπινεύσαντος δ’ ἐκείνου καὶ
tὴν ταραχὴν αὐτῆς ἐρομένου πόθεν γένοιτο, βλέ-
πειν εἶπεν ἀνελθόντα τῷ θεῷ τινα τῷ μορφῆν
ὁμοιον. τοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φράζειν⁵ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα
tοῦ θεαθέντος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν κελεύσαντος,² γέ-
ροντα μὲν ἦδη καὶ ἐνδοξὸν ἐσήμαινεν, ἱερατικὴν
334 δὲ περικείμενον διπλοίδα. ἐγνώρισεν ἐκ τούτων ὁ
βασιλεὺς τὸν Σαμοῦηλον ὤντα καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν
γῆν ἡσαΐζετο καὶ προσεκύνησε: τῆς δὲ Σαμοῦηλον
ψυχῆς πυθομένης διὰ τὶ κινήσειν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀν-
αχθῆναι ποιήσειν, τὴν³ ἀνάγκην ἀπωδύρετο· τοὺς
πολέμιους γὰρ⁴ ἐπικείσθαι βαρεῖς αὐτῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ
ἀμηχανεῖν τοὺς παροῦν ἐγκαταλελειμμένον ὑπὸ
tοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲ⁵ προρρῆσεως τυγχάνοντα μήτε
dιὰ προφητῶν μήτε διὰ ὀνειρῶν, “καὶ διὰ τοῦτο
ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν⁶ ἐμοὶ προνοησόμενον” κατέφυγον.”
335 Σαμοῦηλος δὲ τέλος αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἧδη τῆς μετα-
βολῆς ὀρῶν “περισσὸν μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ἐτί καὶ παρ’
ἐμοὶ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλελοκότος
αὐτὸν: ἀκουὲ γε μὴν ὦτι βασιλεύσαι δεῖ Δαυὶδην
336 καὶ κατορθώσαι τὸν πόλεμον, σὲ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν

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1 + εἰπόντος SPE.
2 κελεύσαντος om. ROE.
3 τὴν om. ROE.
4 γὰρ Hudson cum cod. Vat.: om. rell.
5 Dindorf: μήτε codd.
6 + ἀεὶ M Lat.
7 προνοησάμενον ed. pr. Lat.

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² Scripture does not tell us how the witch recognized Saul; ¹ Sam. xxviii. 12 “Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.” Rabbinic tradition accounts for it by the legend 334
appeared, the woman, beholding a venerable and
godlike man, was overcome and, in her terror at the
apparition, cried, "Art thou not King Saul?" for
Samuel revealed who he was. When Saul indicated
that it was so and asked whence came her alarm, she
replied that she saw someone arise in form like God.
Saul then bade her describe the appearance, the
dress and the age of the man she saw, and she repre-
sented him as of advanced age, of distinguished
aspect and clad in a priestly mantle. By these
tokens the king recognized him to be Samuel and,
falling to the ground, saluted him and made obeisance.
Being asked by the shade of Samuel wherefore he
had disturbed him and caused him to be brought up,
Saul bewailed his necessity; the enemy, he said, was
pressing heavily upon him and he was helpless in his
present plight, being abandoned by God and failing
to obtain an oracle whether through prophets or
through dreams. "That is why I have betaken
myself to thee, for thou wilt provide for me." But
Samuel, seeing that Saul was now approaching a final
change of fortune, said, "It is idle to seek to learn
any more from me, since God has abandoned thee.
But this much thou mayest hear, that David is
destined to be king and to achieve success in this war,
while thou must lose both thy sovereignty and thy

that spirits appear head downward unless summoned by a

king.

b Heb. me'il "upper garment" (A.V. "mantle"), LXX
δπλοις. Josephus adds the word "priestly" because me'il
is the word used regularly in later Hebrew of the priest's
robe. Tradition states that this garment worn by Samuel's
spirit was the same as that made for him by his mother when
he was a child (1 Sam. ii. 19) and that he had been buried in.

c Lit. "having already an end of change."
JOSEPHUS

kaì tìn ζωήν ἀπολέσαι, τοῦ θεοῦ παρακούσαντα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀμαλχίτας πολέμῳ καὶ τὰς έντολὰς αὐτοῦ μὴ φυλάξαντα, καθὼς προεφήτευσά σοι καὶ ζών. ἦσθι τούν καὶ τῶν λαῶν ὑποχείριον τοῖς ἐξ θρώις γεννησόμενοι καὶ σαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αύριον πεσόντα ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης μετ' ἐμοῦ γεννησόμενον.’’

337 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σαουλὸς ἄφωνος ὑπὸ λύπης ἐγένετο καὶ κατενεχθεῖς εἰς τοῦτον, εἶτε διὰ τὴν προσπεσόνσαν ἐκ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ὁδών, εἶτε διὰ τὴν ἐνεδει, οὐ γὰρ προσενήκετο τροφῆν τῇ παρελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τε καὶ νυκτί, ῥαδίως ἐκείτο

338 νέκυς ὡς τις.1 μόλις δὲ ἐαυτοῦ γεννησόμενον συνηνάγκασεν ἡ γυνὴ γεύσασθαι, ταῦτην αὐτομενή παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀντὶ τῆς παραβόλου μαντείας, ἤν οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῇ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀγνοουμένου τῆς ἑκ, ὡς ὑπέστη καὶ παρέσχεν. ἀνθ' ὅτι παρεκάλει τραπεζάν τε αὐτῷ παραθείναι καὶ τροφῆν, ὡς ἄν τὴν ἰσχυν συλλεξάμενος εἰς τὸ τῶν οὐκείων ἀποσωθῆ στρατόπεδον ἀντέχοντα δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπεστραμμένον

339 ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἐβιάσατο καὶ συνέπεσεν. ἔχουσα δὲ μόσχον ἕνα συνήθη καὶ τῆς κατ' οἶκον ἐπιμελείας καὶ τροφῆς ἄξιομενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς γυνὴ χερνήτις καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσαναπαυμένη τῷ κτήματι,

1 Niese: ἐκείτο νέκυς ὡς τις RO: κατενήκετο MSP (Exc.): non facile valebat exurgere Lat.

Text uncertain.

Or “joined (his servants) in constraining”; cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 23 “But his servants, together with the woman, compelled him.”
life, because thou disobeyedst God in the war with the Amalekites and didst not observe His commandments, even as I foretold to thee while I was alive. Know then that thy people shall be delivered into the hands of their foes and that thou thyself with thy sons shalt fall to-morrow in the battle, and thou shalt be with me.”

(3) On hearing these words, Saul was made speechless by grief and, falling to the ground, whether from the shock inflicted by these revelations or through exhaustion—for he had taken no food during the past day and night—lay inert as a corpse. Then, when with difficulty he had come to himself, the woman constrained him to partake of food, asking this favour of him in return for that hazardous act of divination, which though not lawful for her to perform through fear of him so long as she had not recognized him, she had nevertheless undertaken to carry out. Wherefore she entreated him to let her set a table with food before him, that so having collected his strength he might return safely to his own camp; and, when in his despondency he refused and resolutely turned away, she insisted and helped to persuade him. Though she owned but one calf, which she had brought up and had taken trouble to care for and feed beneath her roof, for she was a labouring woman and had to be content with this as her sole

The language of Josephus is ambiguous. It may mean that the witch feared to defy the king, whom she did not recognize in the person of Saul, or that she had been afraid to do Saul’s bidding so long as she was ignorant of his identity.

a The witch of Endor succours Saul. 1 Sam. xxviii. 20.
d Lit. “familiar” or “tame”; Heb. marbeq “tied up” (A.V. “fat,” cf. Targum “fatted”), lxx δαμαλίς νομάς “grazing heifer” (Luc. μοσχάριον γαλαθηνήν “sucking calf”).
JOSEPHUS

κατασφάξασα τούτον καὶ τὰ κρέα παρασκευάσασα τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ παρατίθησι. καὶ 
Σαούλος μὲν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἤλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατό-
πεδον.

340 (1) Δίκαιον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας τὴν 
γυναῖκα, ὅτι καὶ περὶ τῆς τέχνης κεκωλυμένη ἥρη-
σασθαί ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρ’ ἦς ἂν αὐτῇ τὰ 
κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἦν ἁμείνω καὶ διαρκέστερα, καὶ 
μηδέποτε αὐτὸν πρότερον τεθεαμένη οὐκ ἐμνησ-
κάκησε τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καταγωνισθείσης,
οὐκ ἀπεστράφη δὲ ὡς ξένον καὶ μηδέποτε ἐν
341 συνηθείᾳ γεγενημένον, ἀλλὰ συνεπάθησε τε καὶ 
παρεμψάσατο καὶ πρὸς ἅ διεκεῖτο λίαν ἀγδώς 
προετρέψατο, καὶ τὸ μόνον αὐτῇ παρὸν ὡς ἐν 
πενίᾳ τούτῳ παρέσχεν ἐκτενῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως,
οὐθ’ ὑπὲρ εὐρεγεσίας ἁμειβομένη τινὸς γεγενη-
μένης οὔτε χάριν μέλλουσαν θηρωμένη, τελευτη-
σοντα γάρ αὐτὸν ἠπίστατο, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἡ 
πρὸς τοὺς ἁγάθου τι παρεσχημένους φιλοτιμο-
μένων, ἡ παρ’ ὃν ἄν τι δύνηται λαβεῖν ὅφελος
342 τοῦτος προθεραπευόντων. καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ μιμε-
σθαί τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ποιεῖν εὗ πάντας τοὺς ἐν χρεία 
γενομένους, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἁμεινὸν μηδὲ 
μᾶλλον τι προσήκειν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τού-
τοι μηδ’ ἐφ’ ὧν τὸν θεον εὐμενη καὶ χορηγόν τῶν 
ἀγαθῶν ἐξομεν. 2 καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς 
343 ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἀρκεῖ δεδηλωθαὶ τοῦ δὲ πόλεσι καὶ 
δήμους καὶ έθνεις συμφέροντα λόγον καὶ προσ-

1 ὃτε S 2 Vat. ap. Hudson.
2 μᾶλλον ἐξομεν conj. Naber.

* The following eulogy of the witch of Endor is, of course, an addition to Scripture.

338
possession, she slaughtered it, prepared the meat and set it before his servants and himself. And Saul that night returned to his camp.

(4) Here it is but right to commend the generosity of this woman who, though she had been prevented by the king from practising an art which would have made it easier and more comfortable for her at home, and though she had never seen Saul before, yet bore him no resentment for having condemned her profession nor turned him away as a stranger and as one with whom she had never been acquainted; but instead she gave him sympathy and consolation, exhorted him to do that which he regarded with great unwillingness, and offered him with open friendliness the one thing which in her poverty she possessed. And this she did, not in return for any benefit received, nor in quest of any favour to come—for she knew that he was about to die,—whereas men are by nature wont either to emulate those who have bestowed some kindness upon them or to be beforehand in flattering those from whom they may possibly receive some benefit. It is well, then, to take this woman for an example and show kindness to all who are in need, and to regard nothing as nobler than this or more befitting the human race or more likely to make God gracious and ready to bestow upon us His blessings. Concerning this woman, then, let these words suffice. But now I shall touch on a subject profitable to states, peoples and nations, and of

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b That is, to partake of food.

c Contrast the eulogy of Saul which follows (and is an addition to Scripture) with the characterization above, §§ 262 ff. So also rabbinic tradition is divided between blame of Saul’s pride and praise of his heroism.
 Hôm carta tois ágathois, ὑφ’ οὖ προαχθήσουνται πάντες ἀρετῆς διώκειν καὶ ζηλοῦν τὰ δοξαί καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν δυνησόμενα, ποιήσομαι, πολλὴν καὶ βασιλεύσων ἐθνῶν καὶ ἀρχοῦσι πόλεων ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐνθήσοντα, καὶ πρός τε κινδύνους καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων θάνατον προτρεψόμενον, καὶ πάντων καταφρονεῖν διδάξοντα τῶν δεινῶν. ἔχω δ’ αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου τοῦτο Σωκόλων τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλέα. οὕτος γὰρ καίπερ εἰδῶς τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐπικείμενον θάνατον τοῦ προφῆτον προειρήκότος οὐκ ἔγνω φυγείν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ φιλοψυχῆς προδὸνεῖ μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τοῖς πολεμίοις καθυβρίσαι δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ παραδόος αὐτὸν πανοικὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς κινδύνοις καλὸν ἡγήσατο εἶναι πεσεῖν μετὰ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῶν βασιλευμένων μαχόμενος, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀποθανεῖν μᾶλλον ἁγαθοῦς οὕτας ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἐπ’ ἀδήλῳ τῷ ποδαπολε γενήσονται τοῖς τρόποις. διάδοχον γὰρ καὶ γένος τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν ἀγήρῳ μνήμην ἐξεῖν. οὕτος οὖν δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ σώφρων ἐμοί γε δοκεῖ μόνος καὶ εἰ τις γέγονε τοιοῦτος ἡ γενήσεται τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπ’ ἀρετῆς καρποῦσαι παρὰ πάντων ἄξιος· τοὺς γὰρ μετ’ ἐλπίδων ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξελθόντας ὡς καὶ κρατήσοντας καὶ σῶς ὑποστρέψοντας, ἐπειδὰν τὸ διαπράξονται λαμπρῶν, οὐ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀνδρείους.

1 Dindorf: διώκειν codd.
3 δυνησόμενον ROS Ἐκc.
4 διάδοχην MSP Ἐκc.
5 δοκεῖν καὶ μόνος conj. Niese.
6 εἰς ΡΟ: σῶς MSP Ἐκc.
7 Bekker: ἐπιστρέψοντας codd.

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interest to all good men—one whereby all should be induced to pursue virtue and to aspire to those things which may procure them glory and eternal renown, one, moreover, that should instil into the hearts of kings of nations and rulers of cities a great desire and zeal for noble deeds, should stimulate them to face dangers and death for their country’s sake, and teach them to despise all terrors. The occasion for this discourse I find in the person of Saul, king of the Hebrews. For he, although he knew of what was to come and his impending death, which the prophet had foretold, yet determined not to flee from it or, by clinging to life, to betray his people to the enemy and dishonour the dignity of kingship; instead, he thought it noble to expose himself, his house and his children to these perils and, along with them, to fall fighting for his subjects. He preferred to have his sons meet death as brave men rather than leave them behind, while still uncertain what kind of men they might prove to be; for thus, as successors and posterity, he would obtain glory and an ageless name. Such a man alone, in my opinion, is just, valiant and wise, and he, if any has been or shall be such, deserves to have all men acknowledge his virtue. For men who have gone forth to war with high hopes, thinking to conquer and return in safety, and have accomplished some brilliant feat are, to my mind, mistakenly de-

The rabbis also emphasize Saul’s heroism in exposing himself and his sons to danger in battle. That is, glory etc. would take the place of physical posterity. The last phrase is perhaps a conscious echo of αἰσχρον ἐπαινοῦ in Pericles’ funeral oration, Thucydides ii. 43.
άποκαλούντες, ὃσοι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγράμμασιν εἰρήκασιν.

347 ἀλλὰ δίκαιοι μὲν εἰσὶ κάκεινοι τυγχάνειν ἀποδοχῆς, εὐφυχοὶ δὲ καὶ μεγαλότολμοι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν καταφρονητὰ μόνοι δικαίως ἂν λέγουσιν πάντες οἱ ὁμοῖοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰδότας τί μέλλει συμβῆσαι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς μὴ μαλακισθῆναι περὶ αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλω τῷ μέλλοντι παραδόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ σαλεύειν οὕτω γεν.

348 ναῖον, κἂν ἔργα πολλὰ διαπραξόμενοι τύχωσι: τὸ δὲ μηδὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστῶν προσδοκῶνται, ἀλλὰ προειδοτάς ὡς δεὶ θανεῖν καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν μαχομένους, εἶτα μὴ φοβηθῆναι μηδὲ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ δεινὸν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι προγνωσκόμενον, τοῦτ' ἀνδρείου ἀληθῶς τεκμηρίον ἐγὼ κρύω.

349 Σαοῦλος τούτων τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐπιδεῖξαι ὅτι πάντας μὲν προσήκει τῆς μετὰ τῶν θάνατον εὐφημίας γλυχομένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, εἰς ὅν ἂν αὐτοῖς ταύτην καταλείποιεν, μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας, ὡς οὐκ ἔξοι αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἄρχης οὐ μόνον οὐ κακοῖς εἶναι περὶ τούς ἀρχόμενους, ἀλλ' οὔδε μετρίως χρηστοῖς. ἔτι τούτων πλείω περὶ Σαοῦλου καὶ τῆς εὐφυχίας λέγειυ ἡδυνάμην, ὥλην ἡμῖν χορηγήσας τής ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ' ἰνα μὴ φανόμεν ἀπειροκάλως αὐτοῦ χρῆσαι τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐπάνευμι πάλιν ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τούτους ἔξεβην.

351 (5) Καταστρατοπεδευκότων γὰρ τῶν Παλαιστινῶν, ὡς προείπον, καὶ κατὰ ἐθνῆ καὶ βασιλείας καὶ σατραπείας ἐξαριθμοῦντων τὴν δύναμιν, τελευ-

1 οὐδ' οὕτως M Exc.: οὐχ οὕτως SP: non valde Lat.
2 καταλίποιεν SP: -λίποιε M.
scribed as valiant by the historians and other writers who have spoken of such persons. Certainly it is just that these too receive approbation; but the terms "stout-hearted," "greatly daring," "contemptuous of danger" can justly be applied only to such as have emulated Saul. That men, not knowing what is to happen to them in war, should not flinch from it, but should commit themselves to an uncertain future and ride the stormy seas of chance—all this still falls short of magnanimity; however many the exploits they may accomplish. On the other hand, to harbour in one's heart no hope of success, but to know beforehand that one must die and die fighting, and then not to fear nor be appalled at this terrible fate, but to meet it with full knowledge of what is coming—that, in my judgement, is proof of true valour. And this Saul did, thereby showing that it behoves all men who aspire to fame after death so to act as to leave such a name after them; especially should kings do so, since the greatness of their power forbids them not merely to be bad to their subjects, but even to be less than wholly good. I might say still more than this about Saul and his courage, for they are subjects which afford us ample material; but, lest we should appear to lack good taste in delivering this panegyric, I will return again to the point from which I made this digression.

(5) The Philistines had pitched their camp, as I said before, and were reviewing their forces by nations, kingdoms and satrapies, when last of all

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*Variant "is not so magnanimous."

* Suggested by the LXX σαράπαι τῶν ἀλλοφύλων = Heb. גננה פליסתים (A.V. "lords of the Philistines"); cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 2 "And the lords of the Philistines passed on by hundreds and by thousands."
ταῖος βασιλεὺς παρῆλθεν Ἀγχοὺς μετὰ τῆς ἱδίας στρατιάς καὶ Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν ἐξακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν
352 εἶπεν. θεασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων, πόθεν εἶχαν ἡκοντες οἱ Ἐβραῖοι καὶ τίνων καλεσάντων ἢρώτων τὸν βασιλέα. δὲ Δαυίδην ἔλεγεν εἶναι, ἐν ὑπὸ φυγὸν Σαούλον τὸν ἐαυτοῦ δεσπότην καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δεξασθαι, καὶ νῦν τῆς χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτίσαι βουλόμενοι καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Σαούλον συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς. 353 ἐμέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄνδρα παρειληφῶς ἐπὶ συμμαχία πολέμιον, καὶ ἀποπέμπεις συνεβούλευν, μὴ καὶ λάβῃ μέγα δὴ αὐτὸν κακὸν τοὺς φίλους ἐργασάμενος· καὶρὸν εἰς αὐτῷ τοὺς παρέξειν τοῦ καταλαγήναι πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην κακώσαντι 354 τὴν ἴμετέραν δύναμιν. δὲ δὴ καὶ προορόμενον εἰς τὸν τόπον ὃν ἐδωκεν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐκέλευον ἀποπέμπεις σὺν τοῖς ἐξακοσίοις ὀπλιταῖς· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν Δαυίδην, ὃν ἐδούσιν αἱ παρθένοι πολλὰς μυριάδας Παλαιστίνων ἀπολέσαντα. ταῦτ' ἀκοῦσας ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ καλῶς εἰρήσθαι λογισάμενος καλέσας τὸν Δαυὶδην "ἐγὼ μέν," 355 εἶπε, "μαρτυρῶ σοι πολλὴν περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδὴν καὶ εὔνοιαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο σε σύμμαχον ἐπηγόμην· οὐ δοκεῖ δὲ ταύτῳ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς. ἀλλ' ἀπὶ μὲθ' ἡμέραν εἰς ὃν ἐδωκά σοι τόπον μηδὲν ὑπονοοῦν ἀτοποῦν, κάκει φύλασσέ μοι τὴν χώραν, μὴ τινες εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβάλωσιν. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ  

1 + μετὰ τοῦτον (αὐτῶν) δ' (δὲ) ὁ MSPE.: et post eum Lat.  
2 Niese: τῶν codd.  
3 M Lat.: καὶ rell.  
4 οὔτω RO.  
5 + πρόφασιν SP.  
6 Naber: κακώσαντα vel κακώσαντα codd.  
7 τὸν om. MSPE.
appeared King Anchus with his own troops, followed by David with his six hundred soldiers. On seeing him, the Philistine generals asked the king whence these Hebrews had come and who had summoned them. The king replied that this was David who had fled from Saul, his master, and had come to him; he had received him, and now David, wishing to repay that favour and to be avenged on Saul, was fighting in their ranks. The generals, however, reproached him for having taken as an ally one that was their enemy, and they advised him to dismiss him lest on David's account he should unwittingly do grave mischief to his friends; for he would be affording David an opportunity of becoming reconciled to his master by injuring their army. Accordingly they bade him with this in mind to send David with his six hundred soldiers back to the place which he had given him for his habitation; for this was that same David of whom the virgins sang that he had slain many myriads of the Philistines. Having listened to these words and considering them well spoken, the king of Gitta called David and said, "For myself, I can testify to the great zeal and friendliness which thou hast shown to me, and it was for that reason that I brought thee as an ally; but such is not the view of our chiefs. Now then, go within a day's time to the place which I have given thee, and suspect nothing untoward. There keep guard for me over the country, lest any of the enemy invade it. That too

a So the Hebrew, 'Ibrim; lxx, reading 'iburim "passers-by," has διαπορευόμενοι.

b This explanation of David's motives is added by Josephus.
356 τούτο συμμαχίας μέρος," καὶ Δαυίδης μὲν, ώς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς, ἦκεν εἰς Σέκελλαν. καθ’ ὅν δὲ καίρον ἔξ αὐτῆς συμμαχήσων τοῖς Παλαιστίνους ἀπῆλθε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαλκιτῶν ἔθνος ἐπελθὼν αἱρεῖ τὴν Σέκελλαν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες καὶ πολλὴν λείαν ἕκ τ’ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν Παλαιστίνων χώρας λαβόντες ἀνεχώρησαν.

357 (6) Ἐκπεπορθημένην δὲ τὴν Σέκελλαν καταλαβὼν ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ δυσραγμένα πάντα καὶ τὰς γυναίκας τὰς ἐαυτοῦ, δό γὰρ ἤσαν, καὶ τὰς γυναίκας τῶν ἑταίρων σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἥχμαλω-358 τισμένας, περιρρήγνυται εὐθὺς τὴν ἐσθῆτα. κλαῖων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενοι μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρείθη τοῖς κακοῖς, ὧστε αὐτὸν ἐπιλυπεῖν ἤδη καὶ τὰ δάκρυα· ἐκυιδύνευες δὲ καὶ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταίρων ἀλγοῦντων ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀποθανεῖν· αὐτὸν γὰρ 359 τῶν γεγονότων ἠτίωντο. ἀνασκὼν δ’ ἐκ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῆς διάνοιας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναστήσας παρεκάλεσε τὸν ἄρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρον ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ ἐπερωτήσας τὸν θεὸν καὶ προφητεύσας εἰ διώξαντι τοὺς Ἀμαλκιτὰς δίδωσι καταλαβεῖν καὶ σῶσαι μὲν τὰς γυναίκας καὶ τὰ 360 τέκνα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς ἑχθροὺς. τοῦ δ’ ἄρχιερέως διώκειν κελεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὄπλιτῶν εἴπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις· παραγενόμενος δ’ ἐπὶ τινα χειμάρρουν Βάσελον λεγό-

1 λείαν ἄλλην codd.: ἄλλην om. Lat.
2 κυνδυνεύεται RO.

This last instruction to guard Philistine territory is an amplification of the lxx addition to 1 Sam. xxix. 11, φυ-346
is the part of an ally." So David, as the king of Gitta ordered, went to Sekella. But at the very time when he had left there to lend aid to the Philistines, the Amalekite nation had made an invasion and taken Sekella by storm, and, after setting fire to it and capturing much booty both from that town and from the rest of the Philistine territory, had retired.

(6) Now when David found that Sekella had been sacked and everything therein pillaged and that his two wives and the wives of his comrades along with their children had been taken captive, he straightway rent his clothes, and, wailing and lamenting with his friends, he was so utterly undone by this calamity that at length even tears failed him. Moreover he was not far from being stoned to death by his comrades, who were deeply grieved by the capture of their wives and children, and held him responsible for what had happened. Recovering from his grief, however, and lifting his thoughts to God, he besought the high priest Abiathar to put on his priestly robe and to inquire of God and predict to him whether, if he pursued the Amalekites, He would grant him to overtake them, and to rescue the women and children and avenge himself on his foes. And when the high priest bade him pursue, he rushed off with his six hundred soldiers on the track of the enemy. On reaching a stream called Baselos, he came upon

λάσσει τὴν γῆν; the Hebrew says merely "And David and his men rose early in the morning to return to the land of the Philistines."

b The rendering of the clothes is an unscriptural detail.

c 1 Sam. xxx. 7 "bring me hither the ephod."

d Bibl. Besor, LXX Boσόρ; site unknown.
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μενον καὶ πλανωμένω τινὶ περιπεσόν Αἰγυπτίω
μὲν τὸ γένος ὑπ’ εἰδεῖας δὲ καὶ λυμοῦ παρει-
μένῳ, τρισὶ γὰρ ἠμέραις ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενος
ἀσιτὸς διεκαρτέρησε, πρῶτον αὐτὸν ποτῷ καὶ
tροφῇ παραστησάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπύθετο
361 τίς¹ τι εἶξα καὶ πόθεν. ὦ δὲ γένος μὲν ἐσήμαινεν
Αἰγυπτίοις ὃν, καταλειφθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου
κατ’ ἀρρωστίαν ἔπεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενοι· ἐδήλου δὲ
αὐτῶν² τῶν καταπρησάμενοι καὶ διηρπακότων ἄλλα
362 τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τῆν Σέκελλαν εἶναι. χρησά-
μενος οὖν ὁ Δαυίδης τούτων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας
ὁδηγῷ καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτούς³ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρρυ-
μένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστώντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
μεθύοντας ἥδη καὶ λευμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ
τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπολαύοντας, ἐπιπεσῶν
αἰφνιδίως πολὺν αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσατο· γυμνὸι
γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκώντες τοιοῦτον, ἄλλα
πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τετραμμένοι πάντες
363 ἦσαν εὐκατέργαστοι. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐτὶ τῶν
τραπεζῶν παρακεμένων ἐπικαταλαβανόμενοι παρ’
αὐταῖς ἀνηροῦτο καὶ παρέσυρεν αὐτοῖς τὰ σιτία
καὶ τὴν τροφὴν τὸ αῖμα, τοὺς δὲ δεξιομενοὺς
ἀλλήλους ταῖς προπόσεσι διεφθείρειν, εὐίνους δὲ καὶ
πρὸς ὑπὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου κατεννημέγενοι,
ὅπόσοι δ’ ἐφθασαν περιθέμενοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἐξ
ἐναντίας αὐτῶν⁴ στήναι, τοῦτοι οὐδὲν ἤττον εὐχερῶς
364 τῶν γυμνῶν κατακεμένων ἀπέσφατε.⁵ διεμείναν
dὲ οἱ σὺν τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ αὐτῶν⁶ ἀναρώντες ἀπὸ

¹ τίνος MSP Lat. (cf. LXX).
² Edd.: αὐτῶν ROM: αὐτῷ SP.
³ αὐτοὺς om. RO.
⁴ ed. pr.: τὲ (τ’) αὐτῷ codd.
⁵ ἀπέσφατον RO.
⁶ αὐτὸς conj. Niese.

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a straggler, an Egyptian by race, who was exhausted from want and hunger, having endured three days' wandering in the wilderness without food. After he had first revived him and restored him with food and drink, David asked him who he was and whence he came. He revealed that he was of Egyptian race and had been left behind by his master, being unable to follow because of sickness; he further made known that he was one of those who had burnt and ravaged Sekella as well as parts of Judaea. So David made use of the man to guide him to the Amalekites, and came upon them lying around on the ground, some at their morning meal, others already drunken and relaxed with wine, regaling themselves with their spoils and booty. Falling suddenly upon them, he made a great slaughter of them, for, being unarmed and expecting no such thing but intent upon drinking and revelry, they were all an easy prey. Some, being surprised at the outspread tables, were massacred beside them, and their streaming blood swept vittuals and food away; others were drinking each other's health when he slew them; still others, under the influence of strong drink, were plunged in sleep; while those who had been quick enough to put on their armour and make a stand against him—these too he cut to pieces with no less ease than those who lay defenceless on the ground.\( ^b \) David's companions too continued the slaughter from the first

\( ^a \) Variant (as in Scripture) “to whom he belonged.”

\( ^b \) The details of the massacre are an amplification of Scripture.
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πρώτης ὄρας ἔως ἐσπέρας, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθῆναι τῶν Ἀμαλκητῶν πλείονας ἡ τετρακοσίους· καὶ οὕτω δέ δρομάσι καμήλους ἐπιβάντες διέφυγον. ἀνέσωσε δὲ τὰ τ' ἄλλα πάντα ἀ διήρτασαν αὐτῶν οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰς τε αὐτοῦ γυναίκας καὶ τὰς 365 τῶν ἐταίρων. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφοντες ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον, ἐνθα διακοσίοις μὴ δυναμένους αὐτοῖς ἐπεσθαὶ καταλελοίπεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν σκευῶν, οἱ μὲν τετρακόσιοι τῆς μὲν ἀλλής ὕφελείας ἐκ καὶ λείας οὐκ ἦξιον αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζεις· οὐ συνακολουθήσαντας γὰρ ἄλλα μαλακισθέντας περὶ τὴν δίωξιν ἀγαπήσεων ἀνασεσωσμένας τὰς γυναίκας ἀπολαμβάνοντας ἔλεγον· Δαυίδης δὲ πονηρὰν καὶ ἀδικον αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέφηνε τὴν γνώμην· εἶναι γὰρ ἄξιος, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμύνασθαι μὲν τοὺς πολέμιους, κομίσασθαι δὲ πάντα τὰ αὐτῶν, πᾶσιν εἰς τοῖς συστρατευσμένοις μερίζεσθαι τὴν ὕφελειαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν 366 σκευῶν μεμενηκότων. καὶ εἴς ἐκεῖνον νόμος οὗτος ἐκράτησε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἕνα ταύτα τοῖς μαχομένους λαμβάνωσιν οἱ τὰ σκεύη φυλάσσοντες. γενόμενος δ' ἐν Σεκέλλα Δαυίδης διέπεμψε πάσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδα φυλῆς συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπομοίρας τῶν λαφύρων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Σεκέλλων πόρθησιν καὶ Ἀμαλκητῶν ἀναίρεσιν οὕτως ἐγένετο. 368 (7) Τῶν δὲ Παλαιστίνων συμβαλόντων καὶ καρ
terᾶς μάχης γενομένης νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστίνοι καὶ πολλοὺς ἀναφορῇ τῶν ἐναντίων, Σαουλὸς δὲ ὁ

1 Niese: τὰ ἄλλα vel τὰ λλα codd.
2 νικῶσι μὲν SP Lat.

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hour until evening, so that there were left of the Amalekites no more than four hundred; these, by mounting swift camels, had escaped. So David recovered not only the booty which the enemy had carried off, but also his wives and those of his companions. When, on their return, they arrived at the spot where they had left in charge of the baggage two hundred men who were unable to follow, the other four hundred were unwilling to share with them in their gains and booty, saying that, as they had not gone along but had been unequal to the pursuit, they ought to be content with getting back their wives who had been rescued. But David pronounced this view of theirs wicked and unjust; for, he said, seeing that God had enabled them to avenge themselves on their enemies and to recover all their possessions, they were bound to give an equal share of their gains to all who had taken part in the expedition, especially as they had remained to guard the baggage. And thenceforward this law has prevailed among them, that those who guard the baggage receive the same share as those who do the fighting. Moreover, on his return to Sekella, David sent around portions of the spoils to all his acquaintances and friends in the tribe of Judah. a Such, then, was the affair of the sacking of Sekella and the slaughter of the Amalekites.

(7) Meanwhile b the Philistines had joined battle with the Israelites and, after a sharp contest, the Philistines were victorious and slew multitudes of

a Bibl. "to the elders of Judah, to his friends" (lxx "kinsmen"). Josephus omits the names of the favoured cities, 1 Sam. xxx. 27-30.

b Continuing the account of the battle near Mt. Gilboa from §§ 327 ff.
τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ πάση προθυμία χρώμενοι, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῶν καλῶς ἀποθαυμαί καὶ παραβόλως διακινδυνεύσαντος πολούς τῶν Παλαιστίων καταβαλόντες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀμνάδαβος καὶ Μέλχισος. τούτων πεσόντων τρέπεται τὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων πλῆθος καὶ ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις γίνεται καὶ φόνος ἐπικεμένων τῶν πολεμίων. Σαούλος δὲ φεύγει τὸ καρτερὸν ἦχων2 περὶ αὐτῶν καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίων ἐπιπεμψάντων ἀκοντιστάς καὶ τοξότας πάντας μὲν ἀποβάλλει πλὴν ὀλίγων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνιζόμενος καὶ πολλά τραύματα λαβών, ὡς μηκέτι διακαρτερεῖν, αὐτᾶς ἀντέχει ταῖς πληγαί, ἀποκτείναι μὲν αὐτῶν ἢσθένει, κελεύει δὲ τὸν ὀπλοφόρον σπασάμενον τὴν ῥομφαίαν ταύτην αὐτοῦ διελάσαι, πρὶν ζῶντα συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους. μὴ τολμῶν τὸς ὀπλοφόρον κτεῖναι τὸν δεσπότην, αὐτὸς τὴν ἱδίαν σπασάμενος3 καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ῥέπτει κατ' αὐτῆς ἐαυτῶν ἀδυνατῶν δὲ4 μήτ5 ὠσασθαῖ6 μήτε ἐπερείται διαβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ νεανίσκου τίνος ἐστῶτος πυθόμενος τίς εἶν καὶ μαθῶν ὡς Ἀμαλη-

1 Σαούλον παῖδες MSP Lat.
2 καρτερὸν στίφος ἦχων M: καρτερὸν ἦχων στίφος SP.
3 + μάχαιραν SP Lat. Glycas.
4 'ὁ ins. Niese: ἀδυνατῶν RO: καὶ μή δυνάμενος MSPE.
5 μητ codd.
6 ῥασασθαί RO.

a So most mss. of the lxx (v.l. Ἰωνάδαβ); bibl. Abinadab.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 368-371

their adversaries. Saul, king of Israel, and his sons struggled valiantly and threw all their ardour into the fight, as though their entire glory rested solely on their dying nobly and desperately hazarding all against the enemy, for nothing else was left them. Thus they drew upon themselves the whole line of the foe and, so surrounded, perished, after laying many of the Philistines low. Now his sons were Jonathan, Aminadab and Melchis. When these fell, the Hebrew host took flight, disorder and confusion ensued, and there was a massacre as the enemy fell upon them. But Saul fled, having the ablest men around him; of these, when the Philistines sent javelin-throwers and archers after him, he lost all but a few. He himself, after fighting magnificently and receiving numerous wounds, until he could no longer hold out nor endure under these blows, was too weak to kill himself and bade his armour-bearer draw his sword and thrust it through him before the enemy should take him alive. But, as the armour-bearer did not dare to slay his master, Saul drew his own sword himself and, fixing it with its point toward him, sought to fling himself upon it, but was unable either to push it in or, by leaning upon it, to drive the weapon home. Then he turned and, seeing a youth standing there, asked him who he was, and, on learning that he was an Amalekite,

So the LXX ἐπραματίσθη. 1 Sam. xxxii. 3, translating Heb. wayyâhel, which the Targum and Jewish interpreters render "was afraid." The details of the rout are unscriptural.

Josephus has combined the contradictory accounts of Saul's death given by Scripture in 1 Sam. xxxi. and 2 Sam. i. In the earlier account Saul kills himself after his armour-bearer declines to do so through fear; in the later chapter he is slain, at his own request, by the Amalekite. Josephus repeats the second account below, A. vii. 1 ff.
κυτής ἐστὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἐπερείσαντα τὴν ῥομφαίαν,
διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῖς χεραῖν αὐτοῦ τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι, παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ὀποῖαν αὐτὸς
372 βούλεται. ποιῆσας δὲ τούτο καὶ περιελόμενος τὸν
περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ χρυσὸν καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν
στέφανον ἐκποδῶν ἐγένετο. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ ὀπλο-
φόρος Σαούλον ἀνηρμῆνεν ἀπέκτεινεν εαυτὸν· δι-
εσώθη δ' οὖνδεις τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως,
ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔπεσον περὶ τὸ καλοῦμενον Γελβοῦνε
373 ὀρος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἔβραιῶν οἱ τὴν κοιλάδα
πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ
πεδίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες, ὅτι Σαούλος πέπτωκε καὶ
οἱ παίδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σῶν αὐτῶν πλῆθος ἀπό-
λωλε, καταλιπόντες τὰς εαυτῶν πόλεις εἰς ὀχυ-
ρότητας ἐφυγον. οἱ δὲ Παλαιστίνου τὰς κατα-
λελειμμένας ἐρήμους εὑρόντες κατώκησαν.
374 (8) Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ σκυλεύοντες οἱ Παλαιστίνοι
τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς
τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτοῦ σῶμασι καὶ
σκυλεύοντες ἀποτέμνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλάς,
καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιήγγειλαν τὴν χώραν πέμ-
ψαντες ὅτι πεπτώκασιν οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ τὰς μὲν
πανοπλίας αὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν εἰς τὸ Ἀστάρτεων
ιερὸν, τὰ δὲ σώματα ἀνεσταύρωσαν πρὸς τὰ τείχη
τῆς Βηθσαϊν πόλεως, ἡ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται.
375 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἦκουσαν οἱ ἐν Ἰαβει Πόλει τῆς Γαλατίδων
κατοικοῦντες, ὅτι λελώημηται τὸν Σαούλου νεκρὸν

1 τοῦτο . . . ποιῆσαι MSP: δύνασθαι RO: διὰ τὸ . . .
ποιῆσαι om. E Lat.
2 Cocc.ὑρπρητάτας (ὁ-τάτας) codd.
3 RO: Βηθσαϊν rell.: Bessar Lat.
4 E: Ναβεί ΡΟ: Ιαβείς(ε)ις εψ SP: Iabes Lat.
begged him to force the sword in, since he could not do this with his own hands, and so procure him such a death as he desired. This he did, and, after stripping off the bracelet of gold on Saul’s arm and his royal crown, disappeared. Then the armour-bearer, seeing that Saul was dead, killed himself; and of the king’s bodyguard not a man escaped, but all fell on that mountain called Gelboue. And when the Hebrews who inhabited the valley across the Jordan and those who had their cities in the plain a heard that Saul and his sons had fallen and that all his host had perished, they forsook their cities and fled to the strongholds b; and the Philistines, finding these cities deserted, settled therein.

(8) On the morrow the Philistines, while stripping the corpses of their enemies, came upon the bodies of Saul and his sons; these they stripped and cut off their heads, and then sent tidings throughout all the country round about that their enemies had fallen. Their armour they set up as an offering in the temple of Astarte,c and impaled their bodies to the walls of the city of Bethsan,d which is now called Scythopolis. But when the inhabitants of Jabis e in the region of Galaditis heard that they had mutilated the corpses

a Of Esdraelon.

b Emended text; mss. “to the strongest (cities).” Scripture says simply “they fled.”

c 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 does not make clear where the temple was; 1 Chron. x. 10 reads “And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon,” that is, in Philistia. Recent excavations have uncovered a Canaanite temple of the fifteenth century B.C. and figures of Astarte (bibl. Ashtoreth) in Beth Shan.


kaĩ toûs tōn paîdnωn auτou, deînôn ἡγησάμενοι
perιûdeûn akûdêutous, ἔξελθοντες oî ânðreiûtatoi
kaĩ tólμη diαfêrōntes (ἡ δὲ πόλις αὐτη kai σώ-
μασιν ἄλκιμους kai ψυχαῖς φέρει) kai δι᾽ ὀλης τῆς
376 νυκτὸς ὀδεύσαντες ἦλθον εἰς Βηθσαν· καὶ προσ-
elθοντες τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων ὁ kathâlontes
tὸ σῶμα Σαουλου καὶ τὰ τῶν paîdnων auτou koum-
ζουσιν εἰς Ἰαβγσαν μηδὲ τῶν πολεμίων auτοῦ
κωλύσαι δυνήθεντων ἡ· τολμησάντων διὰ τὴν ἀν-
377 dremeîan. oî δὲ Ἰαβγσανοῦ πανδήμεi klaûsântes2
θάπτοντι τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ καλλιστῷ τῆς χώρας
tópω 'Αρούρης λεγομένῳ, καὶ πένθος ἐφ᾽ ἡμέρας
ἐπτα σὺν γυναιξὶ kai têknoιs ἐπ' auτοῖς ἡγο
κοπτόμενου kai ὑρηνδόντες τὸν βασιλέα kai τοὺς
paîdas auτou μήτε τροφῆς μήτε ποτὸν γευσάμενοι.
378 (9) Τοῦτο Σαουλος τὸ τέλος ἐσχε προφητεύσαντος
Σαμουήλου δiὰ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἔπ
'Αμαλκίταις ἐντολῶν, καὶ ὄτι τὴν 'Αβιμέλεχου
tοῦ ἄρχιερῶν γενεὰν καὶ 'Αβιμέλεχον auτοῦ kai
tὴν τῶν ἄρχιερῶν πόλιν ἀνέλεν, ἔβασιλευσε δὲ
Σαμουήλου ζώντουs ἐτη ὡκτῶ πρὸς τοὺς δέκα, τελευ-
tήσαντος δὲ δύo kai eîkosi.3 καὶ Σαουλος μὲν
οὕτω κατέστρεφε τὸν βίον.

1 δύν. ἡ om. ROE. 2 kaiûsântes conj. Niese (cf. lxx).
3 δ. καὶ eîkosi] duos Lat.

Unscriptural detail.

So the mss., klaûsântes; Niese conjectures kaiûsântes
"having burnt," to make Josephus agree with Scripture,
1 Sam. xxxi. 12.

So the lxx; Heb. ἔσχελ, a kind of tree; cf. § 251 note.

Cf. § 336.

Josephus agrees with rabbinic tradition in making the
of Saul and his sons, they were horrified at the thought of leaving them unburied, and so the most valiant and hardy among them—and this city breeds men stalwart of body and soul—set forth and, having marched all night, reached Bethsan. Then, having advanced to the enemy's ramparts and taken down the bodies of Saul and his sons, they bore them to Jabesa, and the enemy was neither able nor dared to hinder them, because of their prowess. The Jabesënians with public mourning buried the bodies in the fairest spot in their country, called Aroura ("Plowland"), and, with their wives and children, continued for seven days to mourn for them, beating the breast and bewailing the king and his sons, without touching either meat or drink.

(9) To such an end did Saul come, as Samuel had predicted, because he had disobeyed God's commandments touching the Amalekites, and because he had destroyed the family of Abimelech the high priest and Abimelech himself and the city of the high priests. He reigned eighteen years during the lifetime of Samuel and for twenty-two years more after the latter's death. Thus then did Saul depart this life. The summary of predicted, because he had disobeyed God's commandments touching the Amalekites, and because he had destroyed the family of Abimelech the high priest and Abimelech himself and the city of the high priests. He reigned eighteen years during the lifetime of Samuel and for twenty-two years more after the latter's death. Thus then did Saul depart this life.

Or (with Lat.) "two," i.e. 20 years in all, instead of 40. This would agree with A. x. 143 and with later Jewish tradition (Sepher Yuhasin) citing this passage. No figures are given in Scripture, but cf. the lxx addition to 1 Sam. xiii. 1 stating that Saul reigned 2 years (Luke 30 years). On the other hand the tradition in Acts xiii. 21 gives 40 years. Rappaport suggests that a Christian scribe has changed the text of Josephus here to "twenty-two" to make it conform to the New Testament, and that the author of Sepher Yuhasin is indirectly combating this view.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ζ

(i. 1) Συνέβη δὲ ταύτην γενέσθαι τὴν μάχην καθ’ ἴνα ἤμέραν καὶ Δανίδης τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας νικήσας εἰς Σέκελλαν ὑπέστρεψεν. Ἡδὴ δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο ἤμέρας ἔχοντος ἐν τῇ Σέκελλᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ παραγίνεται διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς Παλαιστίνου ὁ τὸν Σαούλον ἀνελὼν, τὴν τε ἑσθήτα περιερρηγμένοις καὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ τέφραν περι-2 χεάμενοι. καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτῶν πυνθανομένῳ πόθεν ἤκοι τοιοῦτος, ἀπὸ τῆς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν μάχης ἔλεγε· γενέσθαι δ’ ἀτυχεὶς αὐτῆς τὸ τέλος ἐδήλου πολλῶν μὲν ἀναίρεθεισῶν τοῖς Ἐβραίοις μυριάδων, πεσόντος δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν

3 Σαούλου μετὰ τῶν τέκνων· ταῦτα δὲ σημαίνειν ἐφασκεν αὐτῶς παρατυχῶν τῇ τροπῇ τῶν Ἐβραίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ πεφευγότι παρῶν, ὅν καὶ κτείναι μέλλοντα ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων λαμβάνεσθαι παρακληθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑμολόγει· τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιπεσόντα διὰ τὴν τῶν τραυμάτων ὑπερβολὴν

4 αὐτὸν¹ ἀσθενήσαι κατεργάσασθαι. καὶ σύμβολα² τῆς ἀναίρέσεως ἐπεδείκνυν τὸν τε περὶ τοῖς βραχίοις χρυσὸν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν στέφανον,

1 edd.: αὐτῶν codd. 2 + δὲ (δ’ P) αὐτοῦ SP Lat.

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BOOK VII

(i. 1) Now this battle, as it happened, took place on the same day on which David returned to Sikella after his victory over the Amalekites. And when he had already been two days in Sikella, there came, on the third day, the slayer of Saul, who had escaped from the battle with the Philistines, with his clothes rent and ashes sprinkled on his head. He prostrated himself before David and, to his question whence he had come in such condition, replied, "From the battle of the Israelites." He then went on to tell that its issue had been disastrous to the Hebrews, for many tens of thousands of them had been slain and Saul, their king, had also fallen along with his sons. These things he claimed to report as one who had himself been present at the rout of the Hebrews and had been with the king when he fled, and he further confessed to having killed Saul at his own request when he was about to be taken by the enemy; for, after he had fallen upon his sword, he had been too weak, because of the great number of his wounds, to do away with himself. As token of Saul's having been slain, he showed the gold ornament that had been on the king's arm and his crown, which he had

\( a \) Scripture says merely that David returned to Ziklag (Sikella) after Saul's death.

\( b \) Earth, according to Scripture.

\( c \) Cf. A. vi. 371 note.
ἀ περιδύσας τὸν Σαουλὸν νεκρὸν κομίσειεν αὐτῷ. Δανίδης δὲ μηκέτ’ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων ἀλλ’ ἐναργὴ
tεκμήρια τοῦ Σαουλοῦ θανάτου βλέπων καταρ-
ρηγνύει μὲν τὴν ἐσθήτα, κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος
μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων ὅλην διεκαρτήρησε τὴν ἡμέραν.
5 ποιεῖ δ’ αὐτῷ τὴν λύπην χαλεπωτέραν ὁ Σαουλὸ
παῖς Ἰωνάθης πιστότατός τε ὁ ἕνοις αὐτῷ καὶ
σωτηρίας αὐτίος γεγενημένος. τοσαύτην δ’ ἔπεδει-
ξάτο τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Σαουλὸν εὖνοιαν,
ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι χαλεπῶς ἔνεγκειν,
pολλάκις ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κυνδυνεύσας ἁφαρεθήναι τὸν
6 βίον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα κολάσαι. φήσας
γὰρ πρὸς αὐτόν, ὡς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ2 γένοιτο κατ-
ήγορος ἄνελῶν τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ μαθὼν ὡς εἶ
πατρὸς Ἀμαλκητοῦ γένος, ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἀπ-
ολέσθαι. ἔγραψε δὲ καὶ θρήνους καὶ ἑπιταφίους
ἐπαίνους Σαουλὸν καὶ Ἰωνάθου, οὐ καὶ μέχρις ἐμὸν
dιαμένουσιν,
7 (2) ’Εσπεὶ δὲ τούτοις ἔξετίμησε τὸν βασιλέα,
pαυσάμενος τοῦ πένθους ἱρετο τὸν θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ
προφήτου τόν διδώσων αὐτῷ κατοικῆσαι πόλιν
τῆς Ἰουδὰ καλουμένης φυλῆς. φήσαντος δ’ αὐτὸν
dιδόναι Χεβρῶνα3 καταλιπτών τὴν Σέκελλαν εἰς
ἐκείνην παραγίνεται τάς τε γυναῖκας ἐπαγόμενος
tὰς αὐτοῦ, δύο δὲ ἢσαν, καὶ τοὺς ὀπλίτας τοὺς
8 σὺν αὐτῶ. συνελθὼν δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπας δ’ τῆς
φυλῆς τῆς προειρημένης λαὸς ἀποδείκνυσιν αὐτὸν
βασιλέα. ἀκούσας δ’ ὅτι τὸν Σαουλὸν καὶ τοὺς
νιῶσι αὐτοῦ θάψειαν οἶ ἐν Ἰαβησῷ4 τῆς Γαλατίτιδος

1 ἐπολεῖ SP. 2 ex Lat. Naber: αὐτοῦ ed. pr.: om. codd. 
3 Ἑβρῶνa RO hic et infra: Chebrón Lat. 
4 Ἰαβῆσω M: Ἰαβῆσω S: Ἰαβῆσω PE: Iabes Lat.
stripped from the corpse of Saul and brought to him. David, being no longer able to doubt him with these clear proofs of Saul's death before his eyes, rent his garments and continued all of that day to weep and lament together with his companions. His grief was made heavier by (the thought of) Saul's son Jonathan who had been his most faithful friend and had been responsible for saving his life. And such nobility did David show and such loyalty to Saul that not only was he grieved at his death, although he had several times been in danger of losing his own life at his hands, but he also punished the man who had killed him; he told him that he had accused himself of having slain the king, and when he learned that his father was of the Amalekite race, he ordered him to be put to death. David also composed laments and eulogies for the funeral of Saul and Jonathan, which have survived to my own time.\(^a\)

(2) After he had duly paid these honours to the king and had ceased to mourn, he inquired of God through the prophet \(^b\) what city He granted him to dwell in among those of the tribe called Judah, and, when God answered that He granted Hebron, he left Sikella and went to that place, taking along his wives, of whom there were two, and the soldiers then with him. There all the people of the aforesaid tribe gathered to him and proclaimed him king. Now when he heard that those who inhabited Jabesos of

\(^a\) A reference to the dirge in 2 Sam. i. 19 ff.
\(^b\) No prophet is mentioned in Scripture.
κατοικούντες, ἔπεμψε πρὸς αὐτούς ἐπαίνων καὶ ἀποδεχόμενοι αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον, καὶ χαρίται ἀποδώσειν ἀντὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς τεθνηκότας σπουδῆς ὑπισχυομένος, ἀμα δὲ καὶ δηλῶν ὡς ἡ Ἰουδὰ φυλή κεχειροτόνηκεν αὐτὸν βασιλέα.

9 (3) Ὁ δὲ τοῦ Σαουλου μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγος Ἀβεννήρος Νήρου δὲ παῖς, ἀνήρ δραστήριος καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὴν φύσιν, ὡς ἔγνω πεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν Ἰωνάθην καὶ τοὺς δύο τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτοῦ παιδῶς, ἐπειχθεὶς εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν καὶ τὸν περιλειπομενον ἐξαρπάσας ύιὸν αὐτοῦ, Ἰέβοσθος δὲ ἐκαλεῖτο, διαβιβάζει πρὸς τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἱορδάνου καὶ παντὸς ἀποδείκνυσι τοῦ πλῆθους βασιλέα πάρεξ τῆς Ἰουδᾶ φυλῆς. βασιλείων δ᾽ ἐποίησεν αὐτῷ τὴν κατὰ μὲν τὴν ἐπιχώριον γλῶτταν Μάναλων, κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἑλλήνων Παρεμβολᾶς λεγομένην ὠρμησὲ δ᾽ ἐκεῖθεν Ἀβεννήρος μετὰ στρατιᾶς ἐπιλέκτου, συμβαλεῖν τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδᾶ φυλῆς προαιρούμενος ὁργιστὸ γὰρ αὐτοῖς βασιλέα τὸν

10 Δαυίδην κεχειροτονήκοσιν. ἀπήντησε δ᾽ αὐτῷ πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Δαυίδου Σαραδίας μὲν παῖς, πατρὸς δὲ Σουρί, ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐκεῖνου γεγονός αὐτῷ Ἰώαβος ἀρχιστράτηγος ὑν αὐτοῦ, μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἀβίσαίου καὶ Ἀσαήλου καὶ πάντων τῶν Δαυίδου ὀπλιτῶν καὶ περιτυχῶν ἐπὶ τῶν

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*a* Bibl. Jabesh-Gilead, also called Jabis (A. vi. 71, 375) and Jabesa (A. vi. 376).

*b* Bibl. Ish-bosheth (a deliberate alteration of the Canaanite name Ish-baal, attested by 1 Chron. viii. 33 and some lxx 362
Galaditis had buried Saul and his sons, he sent them messages of praise and commendation for their act, and promised that he would repay them for their devotion to the dead; at the same time he informed them that the tribe of Judah had chosen him king.

(3) When Saul's commander-in-chief Abenner, son of Ner, a man of action and of good character, learned that the king and Jonathan and his two other sons had fallen, he hastened to the camp and, carrying off his surviving son, who was called Jebosthos, brought him over to the people across the Jordan and proclaimed him king of all the multitude except the tribe of Judah, and as his royal residence he appointed the city called Manalis in the native tongue, which in Greek means "Camps" (Parembolai).

From there Abenner set out with a picked army, intending to engage the men of the tribe of Judah, for he was angry that they had chosen David king. He was met by Joab, who had been sent by David—Joab was a son of Saruia and of Suri, his mother being a sister of David whose commander-in-chief he was—and along with him were his brothers Abisai and Asaël and all of David's soldiers. Joab, coming

**Notes:**

1. Scripture does not give the name of Joab's father. Possibly Josephus thought of Seraiah (lxx Σαραί), the father of a Joab mentioned in 1 Chron. iv. 14.
κρηνίδος ἐν Γαβαὼν πόλει παρατάσσεται πρὸς
12 μάχην. τοῦ δ’ Ἀβεννήρου φήσαντος πρὸς αὐτὸν
βουλεθαίν μαθεῖν πότερος αὐτῶν ἀνδρειότερους
στρατιώτας ἔχει, συντίθεται παρ’ ἀμφότερων δυο-
κάθεικα μαχησμένους συμβαλεῖν. προελθόντες⁴
τοῖν ν ἔσ τὸ μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων οἱ πρὸς τὴν
μάχην ύφ’ ἐκατέρων τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξειλεγμένοι
καὶ τὰς αἰχμὰς ἐπ’ ἀλλήλους ἀφέντες στῶνται τὰς
μαχαίρας καὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν ἐλλαμβανόμενοι κατ-
ἐχοντες αὐτοὺς ἔπαιον εἰς τὰς πλευρὰς καὶ τὰς
λαγόνας ἀλλήλους ταῖς ῥομβαίαις, ἔως ὦ πάντες
13 ὠσπέρ ἐκ συνθήματος ἀπὸλυντο. πεσόντων δὲ
tοῦτων συνέρρηξε καὶ ἡ λοιπὴ στρατιὰ, καὶ καρ-
tερᾶς τῆς μάχης γενομένης ἥττηθησαν οἱ τοῦ
Ἀβεννήρου καὶ τραπέντες οὐκ ἀνέι διώκων
᾽Ιώβαος, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς τε ἐπέκειτο παρακελεύομενος
tοὺς ὅπλατα ἐκ ποδὸς ἐπέσθαι καὶ μὴ κάμειν
14 ἀναιροῦντας, οἱ τε ᾧδελφοὶ προθύμως ἤγωνίσαντο,
καὶ διαφανέστερος τῶν ἄλλων μάλιστα ὁ νεώτερος
Ἀσάγλος, ὅσ ἐπὶ ποδὼν ὕκυτητι κλέος εἶχεν· οὐ
γὰρ ἀνθρώπους ἐνίκα μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππῳ κατα-
stάντας εἰς ἀμιλλαν λέγουσι παραδραμεῖν, καὶ τὸν
Ἀβεννήρον ἐδώκευν ὕπο ρύμης καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ ὀρθὸν
15 φορᾶς εἰς οὐδέτερον ἐγκλιθεῖς τῶν μερῶν. ἐπι-
στραφέντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀβεννήρου καὶ καταισφιξθεὶς
τὴν ὀρμὴν αὐτοῦ πειρωμένου καὶ ποτὲ μὲν εἰπόν-
tος ἐνὸς τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν ἀφέμενος τῆς
dιώξεως ἀφελέσθαι τὴν πανοπλίαν, πάλιν δ’ ὦς

¹ ex Lat. Bekker: προσελθόντες codd.
⁴Niese: ἵππῳ ROM: ἵππον SP: ἵππου E Lat.

¹ Bibl. Gibeon, lxx Γαβαὼν. Probably the modern el-Jib, 364
upon him at a certain spring in the city of Gabaon, drew up his men for battle. Abenner then said to him that he wished to discover which of them had the braver soldiers, and it was agreed that twelve men from either side should meet in combat. Accordingly there advanced to the space between the opposing lines the men who had been chosen by either of the commanders. They threw their spears and then drew their swords and each, taking hold of his opponent's head and holding him fast, pierced the other's ribs and flanks with his sword until all were killed as though by agreement. And when these had fallen, the rest of the army also went into action and, after a stubborn fight, Abenner's men were defeated. Once they were routed, Joab did not relax the pursuit, but himself pressed after them and gave orders to his soldiers to follow at their heels and not weary in dealing death. His brothers also fought with eagerness, and most conspicuous among them was the youngest, Asaël, who was famous for his fleetness of foot, for not only could he beat men, but he was said to have outrun a horse with which he had been matched in a race. So he pursued Abenner with a rush, dashing straight ahead, and turning neither to the one side nor to the other. Abenner, however, turned around and attempted to talk him out of his fixed intent, first telling him to stop pursuing and take the armour of one of his own soldiers for c. 5 m. N.W. of Jerusalem, is meant. Josephus mentions the spring in A. v. 58, vii. 283, where he locates it at 40 stades (c. 5 m.) from Jerusalem, and in B.J. ii. 516 at 50 stades (c. 6 m.).

b The spears are not mentioned in Scripture.

c Asahel's race with a horse is an invention of Josephus. Scripture says merely, "And Asahel was as light of foot as one of the roes in the field."
οὐκ ἔπειθε τοῦτο ποιεῖν κατασχεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ μὴ διώκειν παρανυόντος, μὴ κτείνας αὐτὸν ἀπολέσῃ τὴν πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ παρρησίαν, οὐ προσέμενον1 τοὺς λόγους, ἀλλ' ἐπιμείναντα τῇ διώξει2 φεύγων ὡς εἶχε τὸ δόρυ πλήξας εἰς τούτισσον

16 καυρίως παραχρήμη ἀπέκτεινεν. οἱ δὲ μετ' αὐτοῦ διώκοντες τὸν Ἁβεννήρον ὡς ἦλθον ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον οὗ κεῖσαν συνέβαινε τὸν Ἀσάηλον, περιστάντες τὸν νεκρὸν οὐκέτι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδίωκον· οὐ δὲ Ἰώαβος αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἁβισαίος παραδραμόντες τὸ πτώμα καὶ τῆς πλείονος ἐπὶ τὸν Ἁβεννήρον σπουδὴς αἴτιαν τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος ὁργὴν λαβόντες, ἀπίστω τάχει καὶ προθυμία χρώμενοι μέχρι τόπου τυνός, Ἀμμάταν3 καλοῦσιν, ἐδίωξαν τὸν Ἁβεννήρον, ἡδὴ περὶ δυσμᾶς

17 οὖντος ἡλίου. ἀναβὰς δ' ἐπὶ τινα βουνόν, ὡς ἐστὶν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μετὰ4 τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, αὐτοὺς τε κατεσκέπτετο καὶ τὸν Ἁβεννήρον. τοῦτον δὲ ἀνακεκραγότος καὶ φήσαντο μὴ δεῖν ἀνδρὰς ὁμοφύλους εἰς ἔριδα καὶ μάχην παροξύνειν, ἀμαρτεῖν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ Ἀσάηλον, ὅς παραινοῦσιν μὴ διώκειν οὐκ ἐπείσθη καὶ διὰ τοῦτο βληθεὶς ἀπέβαθαι, συμβρονήσας καὶ παράκλησιν ἡγησάμενος τούτους τοὺς λόγους δ' Ἰωάβος ἀνακαλεῖ τῇ σάλπιγγι σημάνας τοὺς στρατιώτας καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ

1 προσέμενον RO. 2 ed. pr.: τὴν διώξεων codd. 3 Ἄμματον M: δὲ Ματὸν RO: (nomine) Maton Lat. 4 μέγας RO: corruptelam latere statuit Niese.

1 Bibl. "with the hinder part of the spear."
2 Bibl. Ammān, lxx 'Αμμά, 'Αμμά, Luc. Ἐμμάθ. The site is unknown, although Scripture adds, "that lies before Giah (lxx Γαί) on the way to the wilderness of Gibeon."
himself, and then, as he could not persuade him to do this, urging him to restrain himself and give up the pursuit, lest he should kill him and so end his friendly relations with his brother (Joab). But as Asaël paid no attention to these words and continued in pursuit, Abenner, while still in flight, with a well-aimed blow of his spear hurled backwards,\(^a\) struck him dead on the spot. When the men who were pursuing Abenner with Asaël came to the place where he lay, they surrounded his dead body and gave up their pursuit of the enemy. But Joab himself and his brother Abisai ran past the corpse and, finding cause for pressing still harder after Abenner in their wrath at the death of Asaël, with incredible speed and determination pursued Abenner up to a certain place called Ammata \(^b\) it being now about sunset. Climbing a certain hill in that place, Joab caught sight of Abenner and the men of the tribe of Benjamin who were with him.\(^c\) Abenner then cried out and said that it was not right to stir up fellow-countrymen to strife and warfare, and furthermore that Joab’s brother Asaël had been in the wrong in not listening to him when he had urged him to give up the pursuit, for which reason he had been struck and killed. Accepting his view and considering these words as an expression of sympathy, Joab gave a signal on the trumpet and recalled his men, so putting a stop to

\(^a\) The text is probably corrupt. Scripture says that the Benjamites were gathered together with Abner on a hill. Perhaps the variant \(\mu\iota\gamma\alpha\sigma\) as in Josephus conceals the name \(\Gamma\alpha\) (bibl. Giah), mentioned in the verse quoted in the preceding note. I suspect that the text originally read somewhat as follows: “Climbing a certain hill in Gai (in the territory) of the tribe of Benjamin, Joab caught sight of them (\textit{i.e.} the Benjamites) and Abner.”
18 πολὺ διώξεως ἐπέσχε. 1 καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἐπ᾽ ἐκείνου καταστρατοπεδεύεται τὸν τόπον τὴν νύκτα ταύτην, Ἀβεννήρος δὲ δὴ ὄλης αὐτῆς ὁδεύσας καὶ περαίωσάμενος τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τοῦ Σαουλοῦ παῖδα εἰς τὰς Περαιβολὰς Ἰέβουθον. τῇ δὲ ἔχομεν ὑπὸς νεκροὺς ὁ Ἰωάβος
19 ἐξαριθμήσας ἀπαντᾶς ἐκήδευσεν. ἐπεσον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἀβεννήρου στρατιωτῶν ὡς τριακόσιοι καὶ ἐξήκοντα, τῶν δὲ Δαυίδου δέκα πρὸς τοὺς ἔννεα καὶ Ἀσάήλος, οὐ τὸ σώμα κομίσαντες ἐκείθεν Ἰωάβος καὶ Ἀβισαῖος εἰς Βηθλεέμην καὶ θάφαντες ἐν τῷ πατρῷῳ μνήματι πρὸς Δαυίδην εἰς Χεβρώνα
20 παρεγένοτο. ἤρξατο μὲν οὖν εἰς ἐκείνου τοῦ χρόνου τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐμφύλιος πόλεμος καὶ διέμενεν ἄχρι πολλοῦ, τῶν μὲν μετὰ Δαυίδου κρειττόνων ἅνε γινομένων καὶ πλείων ἐν τοῖς κυνόνοις φερομένων, τοῦ δὲ Σαουλοῦ παιδὸς 2 καὶ τῶν υπηκόων αὐτοῦ κατὰ πᾶσαν σχεδὸν ἡμέραν ἐλαττομένων.

21 (1) Ἑγένεσθαι δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ παῖδες Δαυίδη τὸν ἄριθμὸν ἐξ, ἐκ γυναικῶν τοσούτων, 3 ὡς ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτατος ἐκ μητρὸς Ἀχίνας γενόμενος Ἀμυών ἐκλήθη, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιγαίας Δαυίδηλος, τῷ τρίτῳ δὲ ἐκ τῆς Θολομαίου δυνατοῦ Μαχάμης φύντω τοῦ Γεσσηρῶν βασιλέως Ἀβάλωμος 4 ὄνομα, τὸν δὲ τέταρτον Ἀδωνίαν ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀγιάθης 5 προσ-

1 ἐπιχών RO.
2 ex Lat. Niese: τῶν δὲ Σ. παίδων codd. E.
3 ἐκ . . . τοσούτων om. RO.
4 RO: Ἀβεσ(σ)άλωμος rell. hic et infra.
5 Ἀγιάθης RO.

a In Hebron, as Scripture adds. The sons born to David in Jerusalem are enumerated in § 70.
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further pursuit. Then, while Joab encamped that night upon the spot, Abenner marched through the whole night and, after crossing the river Jordan, came to Saul’s son Jebosthos at “The Camps.” On the following day Joab counted the dead and gave them all burial. There had fallen about three hundred and sixty of Abenner’s soldiers, and of David’s nineteen beside Asaël, whose body Joab and Abisai brought from there to Bethlehem and buried it in the tomb of their fathers; then they came to David at Hebron. Beginning with this time there was civil war among the Hebrews which lasted for a long while; those on David’s side continually became stronger and came off best in the fortunes of war, while Saul’s son and his subjects grew weaker almost daily.

(4) About this time also there were born to David six sons by as many wives; the eldest of these, whom he had by Achina, was called Amnon; the second, by Abigaia, was Daniel; the name of the third, born to Machamé, daughter of Tholomaios, king of the Gesserites, was Absalom; the fourth, by his wife Agithē, he named Adonias; the fifth, son
ηγόρευσε, τὸν πέμπτον δὲ Σαφατίαν τῆς Ἀβιτάλης καὶ τὸν ἐκτον Ἰεθρόαν τῆς Λυγλᾶς ἐπινόμασε. 22 τοῦ δ' ἐμφύλου πολέμου συνεστῶτος καὶ συμπιπτόντων εἰς ἔργα καὶ μάχην πυκνῶς τῶν μεθ' ἐκατέρου τῶν βασιλέων, Ἀβενήρος δ' τοῦ Σαούλου παιδὸς ἀρχιστράτηγος συνετὸς ὦν καὶ σφόδρα εἰς·ον ἔχων τὸ πλῆθος πάντας συμμεῖναι τῷ Ἰεβοσθῳ παρεσκεύασε· καὶ διέμειναν ἵκανον 23 χρόνον τὰ ἐκείνων φρονοῦντες. ὦστερον δ' ἐν ἐγκλήματι γενόμενοι Ἀβενήρος καὶ λαβὼν αὐτῶν ὡς συνελήφθη τῇ Σαούλου παλακῇ Ῥεσφά μὲν τούνομα Σιβάτου δὲ θυγατρὶ, καὶ καταμεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ Ἰεβόσθου περιαλγήσας καὶ θυμωθεῖς, ὡς οὐ δικαίων τῶν παρ' αὐτῶν τυγχάνοι πάση προνοία περί αὐτῶν χρώμενος, ἡπείλησε μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς Δαυίδην περιστήσειν, ἐπιδείξειν δὲ ὡς οὐχὶ διὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ρώμην καὶ σύνεσιν ἄρχοι τῶν πέραν Ἰορδάνου, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτὸς στρατηγίαν τε καὶ 24 πίστων. καὶ πέμψας εἰς Χεβρώνα παρὰ Δαυίδην λαβεῖν ὥρκους τε καὶ πίστεις ἡξίου, ἡ μὴν ἔξεων αὐτὸν ἐταῖρον καὶ φίλον ἀναπείσαντα τὸν λαὸν τοῦ Σαούλου μὲν ἀποστῆναι παιδός, αὐτὸν δὲ ἀποδεί-

2 Γαλαάς RO: Γάλα M Lat.: Λυγλῆς E. 
3 τὸν μεθ' cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: μεθ' rell.: utriusque regis exercitus Lat. 
4 τὸ Ἰεβοσθῳ om. RO.

b So Luc. in Sam. and most mss. of lxx in Chron.; bibl. Shephetaiah (Heb. Shephatyāh), lxx Σαβατεία.
c Bibli. Egliah, lxx Αἰγαλ, 'Αγλά κτλ. (Chron. 'Αλά, 'Αγλά).
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of Abitale,\textsuperscript{a} he called Saphatias\textsuperscript{b}; and the sixth, by Aigla,\textsuperscript{c} he named Jethroas.\textsuperscript{d} Now when civil war broke out and the followers of each of the two kings had frequent encounters and fights, Abenner, the commander-in-chief of Saul's son, being a clever man and enjoying very great favour with the populace, contrived to keep them on the side of Jebosthos, and for a considerable time they supported him. Later, however, when Abenner was made the object of complaints and accused of intimacy with Saul's concubine, named Respha,\textsuperscript{e} the daughter of Sibatos,\textsuperscript{f} and was censured by Jebosthos, he was very much hurt and angered at receiving what he thought was unjust treatment from him in spite of all the kindness he had shown Jebosthos. He therefore threatened to transfer the kingship to David and to show that it was not through his own strength and understanding that Jebosthos ruled over the people across the Jordan, but through his generalship and loyalty. Then he sent to David at Hebron\textsuperscript{g} and asked for a sworn pledge\textsuperscript{h} that he would own him as a comrade and friend when once he had persuaded the people to revolt from Saul's son and caused David to be

\textsuperscript{a} Bibl. Ithream (Heb. \textit{Yithre\text{"a}m}), LXX \textit{Ie\theta\varphi\alpha\acute{a}} (Chron. \textit{I\theta\varphi\alpha\acute{a}}, 'Ie\theta\varphi\alpha\acute{a} \kappa\tau\lambda.), Luc. \textit{Ie\theta\varphi\acute{a}}.

\textsuperscript{b} Bibl. Rizpah (Heb. \textit{Risp\aa})

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. Luc. \textit{\S}ei\beta\acute{a}; bibl. Aiah, LXX \textit{\'I\acute{a}\lambda}, \textit{\'I\omega\lambda} (but \textit{\'A\\lambda} 2 Sam. xxii. 8 ff.).

\textsuperscript{d} So Luc.; LXX \textit{ei\sigma \Thetaai\lambda\acute{a}}, apparently Telem or Telaim, a city in the south of Judah. The Hebrew "sent messengers to David where he was, saying, 'To whom is the land?" is corrupt.

\textsuperscript{e} This "sworn pledge" is probably derived from the Targum's rendering of the obscure Hebrew verse quoted in the preceding note, "Let us swear by Him who made the earth."
25 ξαντά πάσης τῆς χώρας βασιλεά. τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου ποιησαμένου τὰς ὁμολογίας, ἦσθι γὰρ ἐφ’ οἷς Ἄβεννήρος διεπρεβεύσατο πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πρῶτον τεκμήριον παρασχεῖν τῶν συνθηκῶν ἀξιόσαντος ἀνασώσαντα πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν γυναίκα μεγάλοις ὤνθείσαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κινδύνοις καὶ Παλαιστίνων κεφαλαίς ἐξακοσίαις, ἂς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐκώμισε τῷ

26 πατρί Σαουλῳ, πέμπει μὲν αὐτῷ τὴν Μελχάλην ἀποσπάσας Ὀφελτίου τοῦ τότε συνοικοῦντος αὐτῇ, πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ Ἰεβόσθου συμπράξαντος· ἐγεγράφει γὰρ αὐτῷ Δαυίδης τὴν γυναίκα δικαίως ἀπολαβεῖν· συγκαλέσας δὲ τοὺς γεγηρακότας τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ ταξιάρχους καὶ χιλιάρχους λόγους ἐποίησατο πρὸς

27 αὐτοὺς, ὥς ἔχοντας ἑτοίμως ἀποστήναι μὲν Ἰεβόσθου Δαυίδη δὲ προσβῆσθαι ταύτης ἀποστρέφειε τῆς ὄρμης, νῦν μὲντοι γε ἐπιτρέποις χωρεῖν οἱ βουλόνται· καὶ γὰρ εἰδέναι τὸν θεὸν διὰ Σαμοῦήλου τοῦ προφήτου Δαυίδην χειροτονήσαντα πάντων Ἐβραίων βασιλεά, προειπεῖν δ’ ὅτι Παλαιστίνους ἔκεϊνοι αὐτὸς τιμωρήσεται καὶ ποιήσει κρατήσας

28 ὑποχειρίους. ταῦτ’ ἀκούσαντες οἱ πρεσβύτεροι καὶ ἤγεμόνες, ὥς καὶ τὴν Ἁβεννήρου γνώμην ἢν πρότερον ἔχον αὐτοὶ περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων σύμφωνον προσέλαβον, τὰ Δαυίδου φρονεῖν μετ-

29 εβάλοντο. πεισθέντων δὲ τούτων Ἁβεννήρος συγκαλεῖ τὴν Βενιαμιτῶν φυλῆν· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ ταύτης

καὶ χιλ. om. ROM Zonaras.

2 καὶ om. RO.

3 ex Lat. Niese: ἢ RO: ἢν MSP.

4 μετεβάλλοντο ROS.

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2 Cf. A. vi. 203 note.
3 Bibl. Michal; cf. A. vi. 204, where she is called Melcha, and vii. 85, where she is called Michalē.

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declared king of the whole country. When David, pleased at the offer which Abenner had made to him through his envoys, accepted these terms, he asked Abenner to furnish a first proof of carrying out their agreement by recovering for him the wife who had been purchased by him with great perils and the heads of six hundred Philistines, which he had brought as payment for her to her father Saul. Accordingly, Abenner took Melchale away from Opheltias who was then living with her, and sent her to David, Jebosthos also assisting in the matter, for David had written to him that he had a just claim to recover his wife. Then Abenner called together the elders of the people and the lower officers and the captains of a thousand, and addressed them, saying that when they had prepared to revolt from Jebosthos and to join David's side, he had dissuaded them from this attempt, but that now he gave them leave to go where they liked, his reason being that he knew that God, through the prophet Samuel, had chosen David king of all the Hebrews and had foretold that none other than he would chastise the Philistines and, by his victories, make them subject. When the elders and the leaders heard this and perceived that Abenner's view of the situation was in agreement with that which they themselves had previously held, they changed over to David's side; and when they had been won over, Abenner called together the tribe of Benjamin—for it was from this tribe that all the body-
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άπαντες Ἰεβώσθου σωματοφύλακες ἦσαν· καὶ ταύτα¹ πρὸς αὐτοὺς διαλεξθείς, ἔπει μηδὲν ἀντικρούντας ἔωρα, προστιθεμένους δ' οἶς ἐβούλετο, παραλαβὼν ὡς εἴκοσι τῶν ἑταῖρων ἦκε πρὸς Δαυίδην, τοὺς ὄρκους παρ' αὐτοῦ ληφόμενος αὐτὸς (πιστότερα γὰρ τῶν δι' ἄλλου πραττομένων ὅσα δι' αὐτῶν ἕκαστοι ποιοῦμεν εἶναι δοκεῖ) καὶ προσέτι τοὺς γενομένους αὐτῷ λόγους πρὸς τε τοὺς ἥγε-30 μόνας καὶ τὴν φυλήν ἀπασάν σημανῶν.² ὑπο-δεξαμένου δ' αὐτὸν φιλοφρόνως καὶ λαμπρὰ καὶ πολυτελεὶ τραπέζῃ ξενίσαντος ἐπὶ πολλὰς³ ἡμέρας, ἦξίωσεν ἀφεθείς ἀγαγεῖν τὸ πλῆθος, ἵνα παρόντι καὶ βλεπομένῳ παραδώσῃ⁴ τὴν ἀρχήν.

31 (5) Ἐκτέμψαντος δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου τοῦ 'Αβεν-νήρου οὐδὲ ὀλίγον διαλυτῶν εἰς Χεβρῶνα ἦκεν Ἰώάβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος⁶ αὐτοῦ, καὶ μαθὼν ὡς εἰς παρὼν πρὸς αὐτὸν 'Αβενήρος καὶ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἀπηλλαγμένος ἐπὶ συνθήκαις καὶ ὀμολογίαις τῆς ἡγεμονίας, δείσας μὴ τὸν μὲν ἐν τιμῇ καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ ποιῆσει⁶ τάξει συνεργόν τε τῆς βασιλείας ἐσόμενον καὶ τάλλα δεινὸν ὄντα συνδεἰν πράγματα καὶ τοὺς καρδῶς ὑποδραμεῖν, αὐτὸς δ' ἐλαττωθείς καὶ τῆς στρατηγίας ἀφαιρεθείς,⁷ κακ-32 οὕργον καὶ πονηρὰν ὄδὸν ἀπείσι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἐπιχειρεῖ διαβαλεῖν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, φυλάτ-τεσθαι παραίνων καὶ μὴ προσέχειν οἰς 'Αβενήρος συντίθεται· πάντα γὰρ ποιεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῶ βε-

¹ Ernesti: τὰ αὐτὰ E: ταύτα codd.: ista Lat.
² E: σημαίνων codd. ³ συχνάς MSPE.
⁴ Niese: παραδώσει ROMS²P²: παραδώγη Σ¹P¹: traderet Lat.
⁵ ἀντιστράτηγος RO: pro eo militiae princeps Lat.
⁶ Niese: ποιῆσει codd.: ποιήσηται ed. pr.
⁷ ἀφεθείς RO.
guards of Jebosthos came—and made the same speech to them. As he saw that they made no objection but acceded to his wishes, he took some twenty companions and came to David in order to receive his oath in person—for we all seem to have more faith in what we do ourselves than in what is done through others,—and also to acquaint him with the speech he had made to the leaders and to the whole tribe. David received him in friendly fashion and entertained him with splendid and lavish feasts that lasted many days. Then Abner asked to be dismissed and given leave to bring the people, in order that they might hand over the royal power to David when present and before their eyes.

(5) Hardly had David sent Abner away when Joab, his commander-in-chief, came to Hebron and, when he learned that Abner had been there to see David and had departed a little while before, after reaching an understanding and agreement about the sovereignty, he feared that David might give him honours of the first rank as one who would help him in securing the kingdom and who was, besides, apt in understanding matters of state and in seizing opportunities, while he himself might be set down and deprived of his command. He therefore took a dishonest and evil course; first of all he attempted to calumniate Abner to the king, urging him to be on his guard and not to pay attention to the agreements Abner had made; for he was doing everything, he said, in order to secure the sovereignty for

a Addition to Scripture.
b The "many days" is a detail added by Josephus.
c This motive for Joab’s hatred of Abner is supplied by Josephus; cf. § 36.
βιοσασθαι τῷ Σαουλοῦ παιδὶ τὴν ἰγγεμονίαν, ἐπὶ δὲ ἀπάτη καὶ δόλῳ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα μεθ᾽ ἕσεβολετο νῦν ἐλπίδος καὶ οἰκονομίας τῶν κατα-
33 σκευαζομένων ἀπέλθειν. ὡς δ᾽ οὐκ ἔπευθε τὸν Δαυίδην τούτου οὐδὲ παροξυνόμενον ἔωρα, τρέ-
πεται ταύτης τολμηροτέραν ὅδον καὶ κρύας Ἀβεν-
ήρον ἀποκτείναι πέμπει τοὺς ἐπιδιώκοντας, οἷς καταλαβοῦσι προσέταξεν αὐτὸν καλεῖν ἕκ τὸν Δαυίδον ὄνοματος, ὡς ἔχοντος αὐτοῦ τινα περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀ μὴ διεμνημόνευσε
34 παρόντος, εἰςεῖν. Ἀβενήρος δ᾽ ὡς Ἑκουσε τὰ παρὰ τῶν ἁγγέλων, κατέλαβον γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τόπω τοῖς Βησηρᾶ καλουμένων ἀπέχοντι τῆς Χεβρώνος σταδίων ένκοσι, μηδὲν ὑπιδόμενον1 τῶν συμβιοσ-
μένων ὑπέστρεφεν. ἀπαντήσας δ᾽ αὐτῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ ὁ Ἰωάβος καὶ δεξιωσάμενος ὡς μάλιστ᾽ εὕνους καὶ φίλους, ὑποκρίνονται γὰρ ἰκανῶς πολ-
λάκης εἰς τὸ ἀνύποπτον τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὰ τῶν ἀληθῶς ἁγαθῶν οἱ πράγμασιν ἐγχειροῦντες ἀτόποις,
35 ἀποστὰ μὲν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ ὡς ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλεξόμενος, παραγαγὼν δὲ εἰς τὸ ἐρημότερον τῆς πύλης μόνος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν Ἀβισαιῶν τῶ ἄδελφῶν ὑποσάμενος τὴν μάχαιραν ὑπὸ τὴν λαγόνα παίει.
36 καὶ τελευτᾶ μὲν Ἀβενήρος τούτων ἐνδεδρεύεις τὸν τρόπον ὑπὸ Ἰωάβου, ὡς μὲν αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν τιμω-
ρῆσαντος Ἀσαὴλ ἔδεξαν τῶ ἄδελφῶν, ὁμοὶοιοὶαν λαβών Ἀβενήρος ἀπέκτεινεν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Χεβρών μάχῃ,
ὡς ἐδέξαντος ἕχε δείσαντος περὶ τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί τιμῆς, μὴ τούτων μὲν

1 Bekker: ὑπείδομενος codd.

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a Joab's message is an amplification of Scripture.
b Bibl. Bor-sirah ("cistern of Sirah"), lxx Φρέατος τοῦ
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Saul's son, and, after having come to David with deceit and guile, he had now gone away with the hope of realizing his wish and carrying out his carefully laid plans. But as he could not persuade David by these means and saw that he was not moved to anger, he turned to a course still bolder, and, having decided to kill Abenner, sent men in pursuit of him, to whom he gave orders that when they came up with him they should call to him in David's name and say that he had certain things to discuss with him concerning their affairs, which he had forgotten to mention when Abenner was with him. When Abenner heard this from the messengers—they had come upon him at a certain place called Bēsēra,\textit{b} twenty stades distant from Hebron—he turned back with no suspicion of what was to come. Joab met him at the gate and greeted him with the greatest show of goodwill and friendship—for very often those who undertake disgraceful acts assume the part of truly good men, in order to avert suspicion of their design—and then, having drawn him apart from his attendants, as if to speak with him privately, led him to a more deserted part of the gate, where he was alone with his brother Abisai, drew his sword and struck him under the flank. So died Abenner through this treachery of Joab, who claimed to have done it to avenge his brother Asaēl, for when he had pursued Abenner, the latter had caught and slain him in the fight near Hebron; but in truth it was because he feared for his command of the army and his place of honour with the king, of which he himself might have been.

\textit{Σεειράμου, Luc. Σεειρά. The site is unidentified. Its distance from Hebron (c. 2 ½ m.) is a detail added by Josephus.}

\textit{A slip for "Gibeon," as in Scripture and in the account given earlier by Josephus, § 11.}
JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸς ἀφαίρεθείη, λάβοι δὲ παρὰ Δαυίδου τὴν
37 πρώτην τάξιν 'Αβεννήρῳ, ἐκ τούτων ἂν τὰς κατανοήσειν, ὅσα καὶ πηλίκα τολμῶσιν ἀνθρωποὶ
πλεονεξίας ἐνεκα καὶ ἀρχῆς καὶ τοῦ μηδενὶ τούτων παραχωρῆσαι· κτήσασθαι γὰρ αὐτὰ ποθοῦντες διὰ μνημῶν κακῶν λαμβάνουσι, καὶ δείσαντες ἀποβαλεῖν πολλῷ χείροσι τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς τῆς
38 παραμονῆς περιποιοῦσιν, ὡς ὦν ὡμοίων δεινοὶ τυγχάνοντος μὴ πορίσασθαι τηλικοῦτον μέγεθος εξουσίας, καὶ συνήθη τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶς ἀγαθοῖς γενόμενον ἔπειτ' αὐτὴν ἀπολέσαι· τοῦτο δὲ ύπερβολὴν ἐχοντος συμφορᾶς, διὰ τοῦτο καὶ χαλεπώτερα μη-χανώντας καὶ τολμῶσιν ἐργα3 ἐν φόβῳ πάντες τοῦ ἀποβαλεῖν γενόμενοι. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν βραχέσιν ἀρκεῖ δεδηλῶσθαι.
39 (6) Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας ἀνηρμεμένον τῶν 'Αβεννήρου ἡλυχησε μὲν τῆς ψυχῆς, ἐμαρτύρατο δὲ πάντας ἀνατείνων εἰς τὸν θεὸν τὴν δεξιὰν καὶ βοῶν, ὡς οὔτε κοινωνῶς εἴη τῆς 'Αβεννήρου σφαγῆς, οὔτε κατ' ἑντολὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἱδίαν ἀποθάνοι. ἀρὰς δὲ κατὰ τοῦ πεφονευκότος αὐτὸν δεών ἐτίθετο, καὶ τὸν οἶκον ὅλον αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς συμπράξαντας υπευθύνους ἐποιεῖτο ταῖς ὑπὲρ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος
40 ποιναῖς· ἔμελε γὰρ αὐτῷ μὴ δόξαι παρὰ τὰς πίστεις καὶ τοὺς ὀρκους οὓς ἔδωκεν 'Αβεννήρῳ τοῦτο εἰργά-σθαι. προσέταξε μέντοι γε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ κλαίειν καὶ πενθεῖν τὸν ἀνδρά καὶ τοῖς νομιζομένως τιμῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σώμα περιρρηξαμένῳ μὲν τὰς ἐσθήτας

1 μὴ ins. Cocceji.
2 Holwerda: ἐν codd.
3 ἐργα post φόβῳ hab. codd.: del. Holwerda.
deprived while Abenner received the foremost place from David. From this one may perceive to what lengths of recklessness men will go for the sake of ambition and power, and in order not to let these go to another; for, in their desire to acquire them, they obtain them through innumerable acts of wrong-doing and, in their fear of losing them, they ensure the continuance of their possession by much worse acts, their belief being that it is not so great an evil to fail to obtain a very great degree of authority as to lose it after having become accustomed to the benefits derived therefrom. Since this last would be a surpassing misfortune, they accordingly contrive and attempt even more ruthless deeds, always in fear of losing what they have. But concerning such matters it is enough to have discoursed thus briefly.

(6) When David heard that Abenner had been slain, he was grieved in spirit and, with his right hand upraised to God and in a loud voice, called upon all to bear witness that he had had no share in Abenner's murder and that it was not by his command or at his own wish that Abenner had died. He also called down terrible curses upon the man who had murdered him and declared his whole house and his accomplices liable to the penalties for having caused his death; for he was concerned that he himself should not seem to have brought this about in violation of the sworn pledges which he had given Abenner. Furthermore, he commanded all the people to weep and mourn for the man and to honour his body with the customary rites by rending their gar-

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\[a\] Lit. "all in fear of losing." The text is doubtful.

\[b\] 2 Sam. iii. 29 "Let there not fail from the house of Joab one that has an issue or is a leper or leans on a staff or falls by the sword or lacks bread."
JOSEPHUS

ενδύντι δὲ σάκκους, ταῦτα δὲ ποιεῖν προάγοντας
41 τὴν κλίνην. αὐτὸς δὲ ἐφείπτετο μετὰ τῶν γεγε-
ρακότων καὶ τῶν ἐν ἡγεμονίαις οὗτων κοπτομενός
tε καὶ τοῖς διακρύσις ενδεικνύμενος τὸ τε εὑνοῦν τὸ
πρὸς τὸν ζῶντα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τεθνηκότι λύτην, καὶ
42 οὗτος δ' αὐτὸν ἐν Χεβρώνι μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπιταφίας τε
συγγραφάμενοι θρήνους αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῦ τάφου στὰς
πρώτους ἀνεκλαύσατο καὶ παρέδωκε τοῖς ἄλλοις.
οὕτως δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἀβεννήρου συνέσχε τάνατος ὡς
μηδὲ τροφὴν ἀναγκαζόντων αὐτὸν τῶν ἐταῖρων
λαβεῖν, ἀλλ' ὄμοσε γεύσεσθαι μηδενὸς άχρι ἡλίου
43 δυσμῶν. ταῦτ' εὑνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ πληθοὺς
ἐγέννησεν: οἳ τε γὰρ πρὸς τὸν Ἀβεννήρου φιλο-
stóργοις διακείμενοι σφόδρα αὐτὸῦ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν
tημήν ἀποθανόντα καὶ φυλακὴν τῆς πίστεως ἡγά-
pῆσαν, ὅτι2 πάντων αὐτῶν ἄξιωσειν τῶν νομίζο-
μένων ὡς συγγενῆ καὶ φίλον, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐχθρὸν
gενόμενον ὑβρίσειν ἀκόσμω ταφῆ καὶ ἡμελημένην.
tὸ τε ἄλλο πάν ὡς ἐπὶ χρηστοῦ καὶ ἡμέρῳ τὴν
φύσιν ἔχαρε, τὴν αὐτὴν ἐκάστος λογομελέουν
πρόνοιαν εἰς αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν τοῖς ὀμοίοις
ἀστάς αἰνήσαντα τὸν Ἀβεννήρου νεκρὸν ἑώρα.
44 πρὸς τούτους4 οὖν μάλιστα Δαυιδὴν γλύχεσθαι
dοξῆς ἀγαθῆς ποιούμενον πρόνοιαν εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν,
ὡς5 οὐθέσις ύπενόησεν ὡς αὐτῶν φονευθῆναι τὸν
Ἀβεννήρον. ἐλέησε δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος ὡς αὐτῶ

1 ex Lat. Niese: γεύσασθαι codd.
2 ἐτὶ RO: ἐτὶ δὲ ὡς conj. Thackeray (vid.).
3 Niese: ὅποιος codd.: ὅποιον ed. pr.: ὅποιας Naber.
4 πρὸς τούτους κτλ. corrupta esse susp. Niese.
5 εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὡς conj.: ὡς εἰκὸς μὲν ἦν ὡς SP: ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν RO.
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ments and putting on sackcloth, and in this fashion to escort the bier. He himself followed with the elders and those in office, beating his breast and showing by his tears both his affection for him when alive and his grief for him in death, and also that the slaying had not been in accordance with his will. He then gave him a magnificent burial in Hebron and composed laments for the dead; standing by his grave, he himself first began the wailing which was taken up by the others. So greatly did Abenner’s death affect him that he did not take the food which his comrades forced upon him, but swore that he would taste nothing until the setting of the sun. This conduct procured for him the favour of the people, for those who held Abenner in affection were greatly pleased with him for honouring the dead man and keeping faith with him, in that he had seen fit to pay him all the customary tributes as if he had been a kinsman and friend, and had not treated him shamefully, as if an enemy, by giving him a bare and neglectful funeral; and all the others rejoiced that he was of so kind and gentle a nature, for each thought he himself would in like circumstances receive from the king the same care that he saw the corpse of Abenner receive. Moreover it was quite natural that David should desire to merit a good opinion by showing care (for the dead), so that no one suspected that Abenner had been murdered by him. He also said to the people that he himself felt more

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There are reminiscences of Thucydides in this sentence (ἐν ἡγεμονίαις . . . τὸ εἰνονν). A reference to the brief lament in 2 Sam. iii. 33, 34. The last remarks are an addition to Scripture. Text doubtful.
JOSEPHUS

μὲν οὖν ἡ τυχόσα λύπη γένοιτ' ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τετελευτήκότος, οὐ μικρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἐβραίων πράγμασι βλάβη στερηθέντων τοῦ καὶ συνέχειν αὐτὰ καὶ σώζειν βουλαῖς τε ἀρίστας καὶ ρώμῃ χειρῶν 45 ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις δυναμένου. "‗άλλα θεὸς μὲν,‘ εἶπεν, ‗οὐ μελεί πάντων, οὐκ ἔσει τοῦτον ἡμῖν ἀνεκδίκητον. ἐγὼ δ’ ἐπίστασθε ὡς οὐδὲν Ἰωάβοι καὶ Ἀβισσαῖον τοὺς Σαρωνίας παῖδας πολεῖν ἰκανός εἰμὶ πλέον ἐμοῦ δυναμένους, ἀλλ’ ἀποδώσει τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν τετολμημένων αὐτοῖς ἀμοιβὴν τὸ θέτον.’ καὶ Ἀβεννήρος μὲν εἰς τοιούτο κατέστρεψε τέλος τὸν βίον.

46 (ii. 1) Ἀκούσας δὲ τὴν τελευτήν αὐτοῦ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς Ἰέβωσθος οὐ πρᾶς ἤγεγκεν ἀνδρὸς στερημένος συγγενεὺς καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν αὐτῶς παρασχόντος, ἀλλ’ ὑπερεπάθησε καὶ λίων αὐτοῦ ὑδύνησεν ὁ Ἀβεννήρου θάνατος. ἔπεβις δ’ οὐδ’ αὐτῶς πολὺν χρόνου, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρέμμωνος νῦν Βανά,' ἐπέρω δὲ Ἀχινὸς ὁνομα ἦν, ἐπιβουλευ- 47 θεῖς ἀπέθανεν. οὗτοι γὰρ ὅτες τὸ μὲν γένος Βεν- νιαμίται τοῦ δὲ πρώτου τάγματος, λογισάμενοι δ’ ὃς ἄν ἀποκείμενοι τὸν Ἰέβουσθον μεγάλων παρὰ Δανίδου τεύχονται δωρεῶν, καὶ στρατηγίας ἥ τινος

1 Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.
2 καὶ συνέχειν αὐτὰ om. MSP Lat.
3 ὡς μὴn MSP.
4 Ἐρέμμωνος MSP: Ἐρεμμάτως E: Remnon Lat.
5 Βαναδὶ (ἢ P) MSP: Βανασθάυνον E: Bana (sive Bena) Lat.
6 Θαῦνος SP: Θάννος M: Βαὴβου E: Ratha Lat.

* Josephus properly omits the reference at this point in Scripture (2 Sam. iv. 4) to the laming of Jonathan’s son Mephibosheth, with whom Saul’s son Ishbosheth is confused.
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than passing grief at the death of so good a man, while the fortunes of the Hebrews had suffered a great blow when they were deprived of one who could have held them together and preserved them, both by his excellent counsels and by his bodily strength in time of war. "But God," he said, "who has all things in His care will not let us see this deed go unavenged. As for me, you know that I can do nothing to Joab and Abisai, the sons of Saruia, who are more powerful than I, but the Deity will inflict upon them just punishment for their lawless deed." In such manner, then, did Abenner meet his end.

(ii. 1) When Saul's son Jebosthos heard of Abenner's passing, he took it not lightly to heart, for he was deprived of a kinsman and one who had procured him the kingship; indeed he suffered exceedingly and was sorely afflicted by Abenner's death. He himself did not long survive, but died the victim of a plot by the sons of Eremmōn, whose names were Bana and Thaēnos. These men, who were Benjamites by birth and of the foremost rank, reckoned that if they killed Jebosthos they would receive great gifts from David and that their deed would bring them a military command or some other mark of

Jospehus follows the Hebrew in making Ishbossheth, not Mephibossheth (as in the lxx), the victim of the plot narrated in the following lines.

b Bibl. Rimmon, lxx 'Pēmmōn.
d Bibl. Rechab (Heb. Řēkāh), lxx 'Pēkāb. Josephus's form Thaēnos (var. Thaunan, Thannos) is puzzling. I suspect that it has arisen from a careless reading of the Targum, which translates "the name of the second (son was) Rechab" by shum tinjānā etc.; tinjānā, "second," was taken as a proper name and corrupted to Thaēnos etc. in the Greek.
e From Beeroth (2 Sam. iv. 5).
48 αὐτῶν, μόνον εύροιτες μεσημβρίζοντα καὶ κοιμώμενον τὸν Ἰέβοσθον καὶ μῆτε τοὺς φίλακας παρόντας μῆτε τὴν θυρωρὸν ἐγγρηγορίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτήν ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ἐργασίας, ἢν μετεχειρίζετο, καὶ τὸν καύματος εἰς ὑπόνοιαν καταπεσοῦσαν, παρελθόντες εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ὃς συνέβαινε κατακεκομισθαί τὸν Σαουλοῦ παῖδα, κτείνουσιν αὐτὸν.

49 καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντες καὶ διὶ ὀλίσθη νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ποιησάμενοι τὴν πορείαν, ὦς ἑν χειρόγοντες ἐκ τῶν ἤκουσμένων πρὸς ὑπὸ τῶν ληφόμενον τε τὴν χάριν καὶ παρέξοντα τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, εἰς Χεβρὼνα παρεγένοντο· καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιδείξαντες τῷ Δαυίδῃ τὴν Ἰεβόσθου συνίστων αὐτῶς ὡς εὐνους καὶ τὸν ἔχθρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας

50 ἀνταγωνιστὴν ἀνηρηκότας. ὦ δ' οὐκ ὡς ἡλπιζον οὕτως αὐτῶν προσεδέξατο τὸ ἔργον, ἀλλ' εἰπὼν· ἢ κάκιστοι καὶ παραχρήμα δίκην ὑφέξοντες, οὐκ ἔγνωτε πῶς ἐγὼ τὸν Σαουλοῦ θεωρέα καὶ τῶν κομισαντά μοι τὸν χρυσὸν αὐτοῦ στέφανον ἠμώναμην, καὶ ταύτα ἐκεῖνω χαρίζομεν τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἵνα

51 μὴ συλλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμοιοι; ἡ μεταβεβηλήσθαι με καὶ μῆκτε εἰλαCUS τὸν αὐτῶν ὑποπτεύσατε, ὡς χαίρειν κακοῦργοι άνδρας καὶ χάρισας ἠγιασθαι τὰς κυριοκτόνους ὑμῶν πράξεις, ἀνηρηκότων ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ κοίτης άνδρα δίκαιον καὶ μηδένα μηδέν κακὸν εἰργασμένον, ὡμᾶς δὲ καὶ διὰ

52 πολλῆς εὐνοίας καὶ τιμῆς ἐσχηκότα; διὸ δώσετε ποιήσαν μὲν αὐτῶ κολασθέντες, δίκην δ' ἐμοὶ τὸ νομίσαντας ἦδεως ἐξεν με τὴν Ἰεβόσθου τελευτὴν

1 τῇ ... τελευτῇ SPE.
confidence from him. So, when they found Jebosthos alone, taking his noonday rest and lying asleep with no guards present and not even the portress awake—she too had fallen asleep as a result of fatigue from the labour she had performed and the heat—a—they made their way into the particular room where Saul's son lay asleep, and killed him. Then they cut off his head and, travelling a whole night and day with the thought of fleeing from those whom they had wronged to one who would accept their deed as a kindness and offer them security, they came to Hebron. Here they showed the head of Jebosthos to David and presented themselves as his well-wishers, who had removed his enemy and rival for the kingdom. He did not, however, receive their deed in the manner which they had expected, but cried, "Vile wretches, you shall suffer instant punishment! Did you not know how I requited the murderer of Saul who brought me his gold crown, and that too although he slew him as a kindness in order that the enemy might not capture him? Or perhaps you suspected that I have changed and am no longer the same man, so that I take pleasure in evildoers and consider your regicidal deed a favour—when you slay in his own bed a righteous man who has done no one a single wrong and even showed you great friendliness and honour. You shall, therefore, make amends to him by being punished and shall give satisfaction to me for having slain Jebosthos in

*In 2 Sam. iv. 6 the Hebrew reads, "And they (feminine!) came into the midst of the house, taking (or "buying") wheat,"—obviously corrupt. Josephus follows the LXX which reads, "and the portress was cleansing wheat and she became drowsy and slept."

*b Scripture says merely "all night."*

* Cf. § 5.
JOSEPHUS

tοῦτον ἀνελείν· οὐ γὰρ ἐδύνασθε μᾶλλον ἀδικῆσαι τὴν ἐμὴν δόξαν ἢ τοῦ ὑπολαβόντες. ’’ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν πᾶσαν αἰκίαν αὐτοὺς αἰκισάμενος διεχρή-

σατο καὶ τὴν Ἱεβζόσθου κεφαλὴν ἐν τῷ Ἀβεννήρου τάφῳ πάντων ἀξιώσας ἐκήδευσε.

53 (2) Τούτων δὲ τοιούτων λαβόντων τέλος ἤκον ἁπαντες οἱ τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἐβραίων πρῶτοι πρὸς Δαυίδην εἰς Χεβρῶν οἱ τε χυλιάρχοι καὶ ἥγεμόνες αὐτῶν, καὶ παρεδίδοσαν αὐτοὺς, τὴν τε εὐνοιαν, ἢν ἔτι καὶ Σαοῦλον ζῶντος εἰχον πρὸς αὐτόν, ὑπομιμνήσκοντες καὶ τὴν τιμήν, ἢν γενόμενον τοτε χυλιάρχον τιμώντες οὐ διέλπον, ὅτι τε βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ Σαμουήλου τοῦ προφήτου χειρο-

τονηθεὶν καὶ παίδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ὡς τὴν Ἐβραίων χώραν αὐτῷ σώσας καταγωνισμένω Παλαιστίνως ἤδεδωκεν ο θεὸς ἐμφανίζοντες. ὁ δὲ ταύτης τε ἀποδέχεται τῆς προθυμίας αὐτοὺς καὶ παρα-

καλέσας διαμένειν, οὐ γὰρ ἐσεσθαὶ μετάνοιαν αὐτοίς ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου, καὶ κατευχήσας καὶ φιλοφρονη-

σάμενος ἐπεμψε τὸν λαὸν παρ’ αὐτὸν ἁξοντας ἁπαντα. καὶ συνῆλθον ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς ὁπλιτῶν ὡς ὀκτάκόσιοι καὶ ἕκασκιχίλιοι φοροῦντες ὁπλα θυρεόν καὶ σιρομάσθην’ οὕτω δὲ τῷ Σαοῦλον παιδὶ παρέμενον· τούτων γὰρ χωρὶς ἡ Ἰουδα φυλῆ 55 τὸν Δαυίδην ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα. ἐκ δὲ τῆς Σεμεω-

νίδος φυλῆς ἐπτακισχίλιοι καὶ ἐκατόν. ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἢ

* Or, less probably, “my thoughts (or “intentions”).”

The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.

b 2 Sam. iv. 12 “And David commanded his servants and

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the belief that I should be glad of his death, for you could not have done my reputation a greater wrong than by supposing such a thing." When he had so spoken, he inflicted every kind of torture b on them and put them to death. The head of Jebosthos he buried in Abenner’s grave with every honour.

(2) When these matters had thus been brought to an end, there came to David at Hebron all the principal men of the Hebrew people, the captains of thousands and their leaders, c and offered themselves to him while reminding him of the loyalty they had shown him when Saul was still alive, and the honour which they had not ceased to pay him since he had become captain of a thousand; they also declared that he had been chosen king by God through the prophet Samuel, together with his sons, and that God had given him power to save the Hebrews’ country by conquering the Philistines. David commended them for their devotion and urged them to continue in it, for, he said, they would have no regrets for so doing. Then, after entertaining them and treating them hospitably, he sent them to bring all the people to him. d 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 and had not joined the tribe of Judah in proclaiming David king. e From the tribe of Simeon came seven thousand one hundred. From the tribe of Levi came they slew them and cut off their hands and feet and hanged them beside the pool in Hebron."

a Scripture says merely "all the tribes of Israel."

b David’s reply and the entertainment are not mentioned in Scripture.

c The last clause is a detail added by Josephus.
4600 according to Scripture. Josephus omits the 3700 of the house of Aaron under Jehoiada (cf. next note).

b Bibl. Jehoiada (Heb. "Yehūyāḏāḏ"), LXX 'Israel, 'Israel'.

c 3000 according to Scripture.

d 2 Chron. xii. 33 "men that had understanding of the times, to know what Israel should do."

e Heb. "their leaders were two hundred and all their..."
four thousand seven hundred with Jōdamos commanding; among them were the high priest Sadok and twenty-two kinsmen as leaders. From the tribe of Benjamin came four thousand armed men; for (the rest of) the tribe hesitated in the expectation that someone of the family of Saul would still be king. From the tribe of Ephraïm came twenty thousand eight hundred of the ablest and exceptionally powerful men. From the half tribe of Manasseh came eighteen thousand. From the tribe of Isachar came two hundred who could foretell the future, and twenty thousand armed men. From the tribe of Zabulon came fifty thousand picked men, for this tribe was the only one which joined David as a whole. All these had the same armour as the tribe of Judah. From the tribe of Nephthali came a thousand eminent men and leaders whose weapons were shield and spear, and (the rest of) the tribe which followed was innumerable. From the tribe of Dan came twenty-seven thousand six hundred picked men. From the tribe of Asher came forty thousand. From the two tribes across the Jordan and the rest of the tribe of Manasseh came a hundred brothers were at their commandment" ( électum ). Possibly Josephus has taken the words 'electum' to mean "in proportion to them" and assumed that the proportion is 100 to 1. Weill suggests that Josephus read 'esrim aleph, "20,000," instead of 'electum'. The LXX has merely "200, and all their brothers were with them."

Apparently an interpretation of the obscure Heb. text of 1 Chron. xii. 34 "to fight without heart and heart," which some rabbinic commentators explain as "with singleness of mind."

Reinach's plausible emendation for "Gad," which has not yet been mentioned.

37,000 according to Scripture.

Heb. 28,600, LXX 28,800.
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οπλισμένων θυρεών καὶ δόρων καὶ περικεφαλαίαν καὶ ῥομφαίαν μυριάδες δώδεκα: καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ
60 φυλαὶ ῥομφαίαις ἐχρῶντο. τούτω δὴ πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος εἰς Χαβρώνα πρὸς Δαυίδην συνῆλθε μετὰ πολλῆς
παρασκευῆς σιτίων καὶ οἴνου καὶ τῶν πρὸς τροφὴν πάντων, καὶ μιὰ γνώμη βασιλεύειν τὸν Δαυίδην
ἐκύρωσαν. ἐπὶ δὲ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐστάσαντος τοῦ
λαοῦ καὶ κατευσχηθέντος ἐν Χαβρώνω, ὁ Δαυίδης
μετὰ πάντων ἐκείθεν ἁρας ἤκεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα.
61 (iii. 1) Τῶν δὲ κατοικοῦντων τὴν πόλιν Ἰεβου-
σαίων, γένος δ' εἰσὶν ὦτοι Χανααίων, ἀποκλει-
σάντων αὐτῶ τὰς πύλας καὶ τοὺς πεπηρωμένους
tὰς ὀψεις καὶ τὰς βάσεις καὶ πᾶν τὸ λευκαμένον
στραγάντων ἑπὶ χλεῦν τὸ βασιλεύς ἑπὶ τοῦ τείχους
καὶ λεγόντων κωλύσεως αὐτὸν εἰσέλθειν τοὺς ἀνα-
πήρους, ταῦτα δ' ἔπραττον καταφρονοῦντες τῇ
tῶν τείχῶν ὁχυρότητι, ὀργυσθεὶς πολιορκεῖν ἡρέστο τὰ
62 Ἰεροσόλυμα. καὶ πολλῇ σπουδῇ καὶ προθυμίᾳ
χρησάμενος ὡς διὰ τοῦ ταύτην ἐλεῖν εὐθὺς ἐμ-
φανίσων τὴν ἱσχὺν καὶ καταπληξίμενος εἰ τινὲς
ἄρα καὶ ἄλλοι τὸν αὐτὸν ἔκεινον τρόπον διέκειντο
πρὸς αὐτὸν, λαμβάνει κατὰ κράτος τὴν κάτω πόλιν.
63 ἐτὶ δὲ τῆς ἀκρας λειπομένης ἐγνω τιμῆς ὑποσχέσει
καὶ γερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς προθυμοτέρους ἑπὶ τὰ ἔργα
tους στρατιῶτας παρασκευάσαι, καὶ τῶ διὰ τῶν
ὑποκειμένων φαράγγων ἑπὶ τὴν ἀκραν ἀναβάντι

1 δὲ ex Lat. ins. Niesc. 2 Niesc: κωλύσεως codd. 3 Ernesti: ἐμφανίσων codd.

a 1 Chron. xii. 37 "with all weapons of an army in war."
b καταφρονεῖν with the dat. has this peculiar force in
Josephus. The details about the cripples on the wall are
added by Josephus, who takes literally the Jebusites' state-
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and twenty thousand, armed with shield, spear, helmet and sword. The other tribes also used swords. All this multitude, then, assembled before David at Hebron, with a great supply of grain, wine and all sorts of food, and with one voice confirmed David as king. For three days the people feasted and made good cheer at Hebron, and then David with all of them departed from there and came to Jerusalem.

(iii. 1) But the Jebusites who inhabited the city and were of the Canaanite race shut their gates against him and placed on the wall those who had lost an eye or a leg or were crippled in any way, to mock at the king; these cripples, they said, would prevent him from entering, and they so acted because of their sublime confidence in the strength of their walls. David's wrath, however, was aroused and he began to besiege Jerusalem. By displaying great zeal and ardour in order to show his strength at once by the capture of the city, and to strike terror into any others who might treat him in the same manner as the Jebusites had done, he took the lower city by force. As the citadel still remained, the king decided to increase his soldiers' ardour for their task by the promise of honour and rewards, and offered to give to any man who should climb up to the citadel mention in 2 Sam. v. 6, "thou shalt not come in hither unless thou remove the blind and the lame, thinking 'David shall not come in hither'." 

c Probably the southern part of the eastern hill of Jerusalem. The topography of ancient Jerusalem is still uncertain. This "lower city" is not mentioned in Scripture.

d The LXX, like Josephus, has ἄκπα for Heb. meššidāh (A.V. "stronghold"), called "the City of David." This was probably north of the lower city, mentioned above, although Josephus, B.J. v. 137, identifies it with the S.W. hill, the upper agora, as did early Christian tradition.
καὶ ταύτην ἐλόντι στρατηγίαν ἀπαντος τοῦ λαοῦ
dῶσειν ἐπηγγεῖλατο. πάντων δὲ φιλοτιμομένων
ἀναβῆναι καὶ μηδένα πόνον ὁκνοῦντων ύφίστασθαι
dι' ἐπιθυμίαν τῆς στρατηγίας, ὁ Σαρονίας παῖς
Ἰωάβου ἐβηθ οὗς ἄλλους, καὶ ἀναβάς ἐβόησε
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, τὴν στρατηγίαν ἀπαιτῶν.

65 (2) Ἐκβαλὼν δὲ τοὺς Ἰεβοουσαίους ἐκ τῆς ἅκρας
καὶ αὐτὸς ἀνοικοδομησάς τὰ Ἰερουσόλυμα, πόλιν
αὐτὴν Δαυίδου προσηγόρευσε, καὶ τὸν ἀπαντά
χρόνον ἐν αὐτῇ διέτριβε βασιλεύων. ὁ δὲ χρόνος
ὁ ἐν τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς ἦρξε μόνης ἐν Χεβρών
ἐγένετο ἐπὶ ἐπτά καὶ μήνες ἔξ. ἀποδείξας δὲ
βασιλεύον τὰ Ἰερουσόλυμα λαμπροτέρους αἰεὶ καὶ
μᾶλλον ἔχριτο τοῖς πράγμασι, τοὺς θεοῦ προνοο-
μένου κρείττω ποιεῖν αὐτὰ καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπίδοσιν.

66 πέμψας δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ Εἰρώμος τὸν Ῥώμαν
βασιλέας φιλιάν καὶ συμμαχίαν συνέθετο· ἔπεμψε
δ' αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεάς εὐλα κέδρια καὶ τεχνίτας
ἀνδράς τέκτονας καὶ οἰκοδόμους, οἱ κατασκευά-
σειαν βασιλεύον ἐν Ἰερουσολύμοις. Δαυίδης δὲ τὴν
τε κάτω πόλιν περιλαβὼν καὶ τὴν ἅκραν συνάψας
αὐτῇ ἐποίησεν ἐν σώμα, καὶ περιτειχίσας ἐπιμελή-

67 τὴν τῶν τειχῶν κατέστησεν Ἰωάβου. πρῶτος οὖν
Δαυίδης τοὺς Ἰεβοουσαίους ἐξ Ἰερουσολύμων ἐκ-
βαλὼν ἀφ' ἐαυτοῦ προσηγόρευσε τὴν πόλιν· ἐπὶ
gάρ Ἀβράμου τοῦ προγόνου ἡμῶν Σόλυμα ἐκα-

1 VE: 'Ερώμος (I. R) RO: Χειράμος SP: Εἰράμος M: Χηραμ Lat.
2 κατεσκεύασαν RO Lat.
3 SP: ἀρω rell. E Lat.
4 παραλαβὼν E: muniens Lat.

α Bibl. Hiram or Huram (Chron.), lxx Χειράμ. 392
from the valley that lay beneath it and capture it, the command of all the people in war. They all vied with each other to make the climb and, in their desire for the post of commander, did not draw back from facing any difficulty, but Joab, the son of Saruia, outdistanced the others and, when he had reached the top, shouted to the king, claiming the office of commander.

(2) When David had driven the Jebusites out of the citadel and had himself rebuilt Jerusalem, he called it the City of David and continued to dwell in it for the whole length of time that he reigned. Now the time that he ruled over the tribe of Judah alone at Hebron was seven years and six months. But after he had chosen Jerusalem for his royal residence, he enjoyed ever more brilliant fortune because of God's provident care in enhancing it and causing it to increase. Eirōmos also, the king of Tyre, wrote to him, proposing friendship and alliance, and sent him gifts of cedar wood and skilled men as carpenters and builders to construct a palace in Jerusalem. And David enclosed the lower city and joined it to the citadel so as to form one whole, and, having put a wall around this, appointed Joab keeper of the walls. Thus David, who was the first to drive the Jebusites out of Jerusalem, named the city after himself; for in the time of our forefather Abraham it was called

Variant "upper city." In view of the uncertainty as to the ancient topography, it is difficult to establish Josephus's text on the basis of 2 Sam. v. 9, "And David built around from Millo and inwards." The meaning and location of "Millo" are not certain. Probably Scripture means that David joined the northern part of the E. hill (the citadel) to the southern spur, the Ophel (the lower city).

d Lit. "body."

e i.e. "the city of David" (1 Kings iii. 1 et al.).
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λείτο, μετὰ ταῦτα δὲ αὐτὴν ἡνόμασεν Ἰεροσόλυμα·
tὸ γὰρ ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλώτταν ἡνόμασε
68 τὰ Σόλυμα ο ἐστὶν ἀσφάλεια. ἦν δὲ πᾶς ὁ
χρόνος ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰησοῦ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ ἐπὶ Ὀλον–


69 (3) Ποιήσομαι δὲ καὶ μνήμην Ὁρόντα πλουσίου
µὲν ἄνδρος τῶν Ἱεβοουσαίων, οὐκ ἀναρεθέντος δὲ
ἐν τῇ Ἰεροσόλυμων πολυρκίᾳ ὑπὸ Δαυίδου διὰ τὴν
πρὸς τοὺς Ἑβραίους εὐνοιαν αὐτὸῦ καὶ τινα καὶ
χάριν καὶ σπουδὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν γενομένην τὸν

1 post αὐτὴν] φασί τινες ὅτι καὶ Ὁμήρος ταῦτ' add. codd.
2 ἱερὸν RO: ἱερὸν (τὰ) Σόλυμα MSP.
3 τὰ Σόλυμα om. MSP.
4 Hudson (cf. § 329): Ὁρόντα M: Ὅρφαν ᾧ ROSPLV: Orfin
Lat.

"But afterwards" etc.: text doubtful. The mss. read
"but some say that afterwards Homer called it Hiero-
solyma": these words are probably a gloss, although in
Ap. i. 172 f. Josephus, quoting from the Greek poet
Chorerilus (a contemporary of Herodotus), who alludes to the
"Solymian hills" after Homer (Od. v. 283), identifies them
with Jerusalem. In view of the reference in B.J. vi. 438 f.
(cf. also A. i. 180) to Melchizedek, who "gave the city,
previously called Solyma, the name of Jerusalem," Niese
(Praef. vol. i. p. xxxii) has reconstructed the present
passage as follows: μετὰ ταῦτα δὴ αὐτὴν Μελχισε
dékeis των Ὀλον–


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Solyma, but afterwards they named it Hierosolyma, calling the temple (hieron) Solyma, which, in the Hebrew tongue, means “security.” Now the whole period from the time of Joshua, the commander of the expedition and war against the Canaanites in which he conquered them and apportioned this (city) to the Hebrews—although the Israelites were not able to drive the Canaanites out of Jerusalem—until David took it from them by siege, was five hundred and fifteen years.

(3) I shall also make mention here of Oronnas, who was a wealthy Jebusite but was not slain by David in the siege of Jerusalem because of his friendliness to the Hebrews and also because of a certain kindness and devotion to the king himself which I shall not attempt to account for. Weill finds that the figures given in A. bks. v.-vii. for the various judges and rulers between Joshua and Solomon add up to only 504 1/2 years. But Josephus has no consistent scheme of Biblical chronology, for in A. xx. 230 and Ap. ii. 19 he gives 612 instead of 592 years for the interval between the Exodus and the building of the temple. Moreover, Weill finds that the figures given in A. bks. v.-vii. for the various judges and rulers between Joshua and Solomon add up to only 504 1/2 years.

Bibl. Aruna (Chron. Ornan), lxx Όρνᾶ. Scripture first mentions him in 2 Sam. xxiv. 16.
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βασιλέα, ἐν μικρὸν ὑστερον εὐκαιρότερον σημανὼ.

70 ἔγγυμε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας γυναίκας πρὸς ταῖς οὕσαις αὐτῷ Δαυίδης καὶ παλακάς ἐσχεν. ἐποιήσατο δὲ καὶ παιδάς ἐνδεκα¹ τὸν ἄριθμόν, οὓς προσηγορεύεσθεν 'Αμασέ, 'Αμνοῦ, Σεβάν, Νάδαν, Σολομώνα, 'Ιεβαρῆ, 'Ελιήν, Φαλναγένη, Ναφήν, 'Ιεναέ, 'Ελιφαλέ,² ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ θυγατέρα Θαμάραν. τούτων οἱ μὲν ἐννέα ἔξεινεν ὡς σαυροὺς, οὓς δὲ τελευταῖός εἰρήκαμεν δύο ἐκ τῶν παλακίδων. Θαμάρα δὲ ὀμομύτριος 'Αψαλώμῳ ἦν.

71 ὥ (iv. 1) Γνώντες δ' οἱ Παλαστῖνοι τὸν Δαυίδην βασιλέα ὑπὸ τῶν 'Εβραίων ἀποδεδειγμένον στρατεύονσιν ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς 'Ιεροσόλυμα καὶ κατα-

λαβόμενοι τὴν κοιλάδα τῶν Γιγάντων³ καλομένην,

τόπος δὲ ἐστιν οὗ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν αὐτῇ

72 στρατοπεδεύονται. ὦ δὲ τῶν 'Ιουδαίων βασιλεὺς

(οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀνει προφητείας καὶ τοῦ κελεῦσαι τὸν

θεὸν καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐσομένων λαβεῖν ἐγγυηθῆν

ἐκείνων ἐαυτῷ ποιεῖν ἐπέτρεπεν) ἐκέλευσε τὸν

ἀρχιερέα τι ὀδοκη ὑπὸ θεῶ καὶ ποδαπὸν ἑσται τὸ

73 τέλος τῆς μάχης προλέγειν αὐτῷ. προφητεύσαντος

δὲ νίκην καὶ κράτος ἐξάγει τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τοὺς

¹ ed. pr.: ἐννέα codd.
² 'Αμασέ ... 'Ελιφαλέ] cf. Hudson ad loc.: "innumerā

et monstrosas illorum varietates ... referre piget."

³ Titania SP.

a §§ 329 ff.

b It is impossible to restore the correct forms of these names in Josephus's text, except those of Nathan and Solomon. Moreover, three separate lists are found in Scripture and neither in the Hebrew nor in the Greek do the various lists exactly agree. It may suffice to give the Biblical forms found in the first passage, 2 Sam. v. 14: Shammuu, Shobab, Nathan, Solomon, Ibar, Elishua, Nepheg, Japhia, Elishama, 396
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point out a little later in a more suitable place. Now David married still other wives in addition to those he had, and took concubines and begot eleven sons whom he named Amase, Amnū, Seba, Nathan, Solomon, Jebarē, Eliēs, Phalmageēs, Naphēs, Jenaē, Eliphale, and also a daughter, Thamara. Of these nine were the offspring of well-born mothers, but the two last mentioned, of concubines. Thamara had the same mother as Absalom.

(iv. 1) When the Philistines learned that David had been chosen by the Hebrews as their king, they marched against him to Jerusalem and, when they had taken the so-called Valley of the Giants—the place not far from the city—they encamped there. But the king of the Jews, who permitted himself to do nothing without an oracle and a command from God and without having Him as surety for the future, ordered the high priest to foretell to him what was God's pleasure and what the outcome of the battle would be; and when he prophesied a decisive victory, David led his force out against the Eliada, Eliphelet. The two lists in Chron. repeat Eliphelet and add Nogah, giving 13 names.

David's children. 2 Sam. v. 13; 1 Chron. iii. 5, xiv. 4. The Philistines are defeated by David. 2 Sam. v. 17; 1 Chron. xiv. 8.

The Philistines are defeated by David. 2 Sam. v. 17; 1 Chron. xiv. 8.

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Παλαιστίνους· καὶ γενομένης συμβολής αὐτὸς κατόπιν αἰφνιδίως ἐπιπέδων τοῖς πολεμίοις τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς φυγὴν ἔτρεψατο. 74 ὑπολάβῃ δὲ μηδείς ὀλίγην τὴν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατιάν ἑλθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῷ τάχει τῆς ἡττησ καὶ τῷ μηδὲν ἔργον ἐπιδείξασθαι γενναίον μηδὲ μαρτυρίας ἁξίων στοχασμένοις αὐτῶν τὴν βραδυτήτα καὶ τὴν ἀγέννειαν, ἀλλὰ γνωσικέτω Συρίαν τε ἀπάσαν καὶ Φοινίκην καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἄλλα ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ μάχαμα συστατεῦσαν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦ πολέμου κοινωνήσας· δὲ καὶ μόνον ἡν αὐτοῖν τοσαυτάκις αὐτοῖς νικώμενοι καὶ πολλὰς ἀπο- βαλοῦσι μυριάδας μετὰ μεῖζονος ἑπιέναι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις δυνάμεως. ἀμέλει καὶ ταῦτας πται- σαντες ταῖς μάχαις τροπλάσιοι στρατὸς ἐπῆλθε τῷ Δαυὶδ καὶ εἰς ταῦτο χωρίον ἐστρατοπεδέσατο. 75 πάλιν δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων ἐρωμένον τὸν θεόν περὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν μάχην ἔξοδου, προφη- τεύει ὁ ἁρχιερεὺς ἐν τοῖς ἀλασεῖ τοῖς καλομένοις Κλαυθμοῦ κατέχει τὴν στρατιὰν οὐκ ἀπωθην τοῦ τῶν πολεμίων στρατοπέδου, κυνεί δ’ αὐτὸν μὴ πρότερον μηδ’ ἁρχεσθαι τῆς μάχης, πρὶν ἡ τὰ 76 ἠλπὶ σαλεύσαι μὴ πνεόντος ἀνέμου. ὡς δ’ ἐσαλεύθη τὰ ἄλπη καὶ ὁ καιρὸς ὃν αὐτῷ προσέπεν ὁ θεὸς παρῆν, οὐδὲν ἐπισχὼν ἐφ’ ἐτοιμὴ ἤδη καὶ φανερὰν ἐξῆλθε τὴν νύκην· οὐ γὰρ ὑπέμειναν αὐτῶν

1 + μὲν οὖσιν ΜSP Lat.: + οὖσιν Ε.

* According to Scripture, it was in the second battle with the Philistines (described below) that David took them by surprise in the rear.
* The participation of other nations in the war is an invention of Josephus.
* Unscriptural detail.
* Cf. § 72 note.

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Philistines. At the first encounter he fell suddenly upon the enemy's rear, a slew part of them and put the rest to flight. Let no one, however, suppose that it was a small army of Philistines that came against the Hebrews, or infer from the swiftness of their defeat or from their failure to perform any courageous or noteworthy act that there was any reluctance or cowardice on their part; on the contrary, it should be known that all Syria and Phoenicia and beside them many other warlike nations fought along with them and took part in the war. b It was for this reason alone that, after having been defeated so often and lost so many tens of thousands, they attacked the Hebrews with a larger force. In fact, after their discomfiture in these battles, they came against David with an army three times as large, c and encamped on the same site. Again the Israelites' king inquired of God concerning the issue of the battle, and the high priest d gave the prophetic warning to hold his army in the so-called Weeping Groves e not far from the enemy's camp, and not to move nor begin battle until the grove should be agitated with no wind blowing. And, when the grove was agitated and the moment came which God had foretold to him, f he delayed no longer but went out to seize the victory which he saw awaiting him. The enemy's

David's second victory over the Philistines.
2 Sam. v. 22;
1 Chron.
xiv. 13.

a So the LXX, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλσους τοῦ κλαυθμῶνος, translating Heb. mimmûl bekā'îm "opposite the balsam(?)-trees" (A.V. "mulberry-trees") as if bekā'îm were from the root bkh "to weep." The Targum and other versions correctly take bekā'îm as a kind of tree, as does the LXX in Chronicles, πλατύν τῶν ἄπιων "near the pear-trees."

b 2 Sam. v. 24 "when thou hearest the sound of marching in the tops of the balsam-trees, then thou shalt bestir thyself, for then is the Lord gone out before thee to smite the camp of the Philistines."

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The plundering of the camp is a detail added by Josephus. Moreover, Scripture mentions the Philistine gods (Heb. "idols") only in connexion with the first battle. According to 1 Chron. xiv. 12 (cf. the Targum on 2 Sam. v. 21) David burnt them.

In mentioning the council of elders, etc., Josephus follows Chronicles. 2 Samuel merely says that he collected 30,000 (lxx 70,000) chosen men.
lines did not stand up under his attack but from the very first encounter were routed, with David close behind, slaughtering them. He pursued them as far as the city of Gazara, which is the border of their country, and, when he plundered their camp, found in it great wealth; he also destroyed their gods.\footnote{Bibl. Kirjath Jearim, cf. A. vi. 17.}

(2) But when this battle also had come to such an end, David, after consulting with the elders, leaders and captains of thousands, decided to summon to him those of his countrymen throughout the entire land who were in the prime of life,\footnote{The thought here attributed to David is an amplification of 1 Chron. xiii. 3.} and then have the priests and Levites proceed to Kariathjarim\footnote{Bibl. Abinadab, cf. A. vi. 18 note.} to take the ark of God from there and bring it to Jerusalem; there they should in future keep it and worship the Deity with such sacrifices and other forms of homage as are pleasing to Him, for, he believed, if they had done this while Saul was still reigning, they would not have suffered any misfortune.\footnote{2 Sam. vi. 3 “and Uzzah and Ahio, the sons of Abinadab, drove the new cart.” Josephus follows the LXX in reading *ehaw* “his brothers” for *αὕαριο* “Ahio” (the two forms are identical in the consonantal text). The LXX also repeats the phrase *οἱ ἀδελφοὶ αὐτοῦ* “his brothers,” meaning Uzzah’s, but Josephus takes the *αὐτοῦ* to refer to Abinadab, Uzzah’s father. Finally, the omission of Uzzah’s name at this point in Josephus’s text may be due to a lacuna, as Nieze suspects.} So then, when all the people had assembled in accordance with this plan, the king came to the ark, and the priests carried it out of the house of Aminadab\footnote{Bibl. Abinadab, cf. A. vi. 18 note.} and placed it upon a new wagon which they permitted his brothers and sons\footnote{401} to draw with the help of oxen. Before it went

The ark is brought to Jerusalem.

2 Sam. vi. 1; 1 Chron. xiii. 1.
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πάν σὺν αὐτῷ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεοῦ καὶ ἄδοντες πάν εἰδὸς μέλους ἐπιχώριον σὺν τῇ ἡχῳ ποικιλοὶ κρουσμάτων τε καὶ ὀρχήσεων καὶ ψαλμῶν· ἐτι δὲ σάλπιγγος καὶ κυμβάλων κατάγοντες τὴν
81 κιβωτόν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα. ὡς δ′ ἀχρὶ τῆς Χειδῶνος ἁλωνος, τόπου τινὸς οὔτω καλουμένου, προῆλθον, τελευτᾷ 'Οζᾶς κατ' ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ· τῶν βοῶν γὰρ ἐπισυναντῶν τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐκτείναντα τὴν χεῖρα καὶ κατασχεῖν ἐθελήσαντα, ὅτι μὴ ὅπως ἡμᾶτο
82 ταῦτῃς, ἀποθανεῖν ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐδυσφόρησαν ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ τοῦ 'Οζᾶ, ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ὧν ἐτελεύτησεν 'Οζᾶ διακοπὴ καλεῖται. δεῖσας δ′ ὁ Δαυίδος καὶ λογισάμενος μὴ ταῦτα πάθη τῷ 'Οζᾶ δεξάμενος τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ᾽ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει, ἐκείνου διότι μόνον ἐξέστειλε τὴν
83 χεῖρα πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀποθανόντος, οὐκ εἰσδέχεται μὲν αὐτὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐκκεύσας εἰς τὶ χωρίον ἀνδρὸς δικαίου, 'Ωβαδᾶρος διόμια Λησίου τὸ γένος, παρ᾽ αὐτῷ τὴν κιβωτὸν τίθησιν· ἐμείνε δ᾽ ἐπὶ τρεῖς ὀλοὺς μηνίας αὐτῶθι καὶ τὸν οἴκον τὸν 'Ωβαδᾶρον ἥξισε τε καὶ πόλιν
84 αὐτῶ μετέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὅτι ταῦτα συμβέβηκεν 'Ωβαδᾶρῳ καὶ ἐκ τῆς προ-

1 Χειλῶνος RO: Χήλωνος E: Χειδῶνος S Exc. Suidas: Χειδῶνος
P: Chedon Lat.
2 ἐτι νῦν 'Οζὰ MSP Lat.
3 Βαδᾶρον SP: 'Ωβαδᾶμον ME: 'Ωβεδᾶμον Exc.: Obidam Lat.

a So the Hebrew in 1 Chron. xiii. 9 (some ἱεκ. mss. have Χειλῶν; cf. the variant in Josephus). In 2 Sam. vi. 6 the Hebrew has Nachon; ἱεκ. Νωδᾶς, Ναχώρ. It is probable that Nachon ( Nackôn) is not a proper name but a passive (niphhal) ptc. of the verb κύν and means "prepared" or the like, as the Targum renders it.

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the king and all the people with him, chanting in praise of God and singing all manner of native melodies; thus, with the mingled sounds of stringed instruments and with dancing and singing to the harp, as well as with trumpets and cymbals, they escorted the ark to Jerusalem. When they had come as far as the threshing-floor of Cheidon—a so the place was called,—Ozas b met his death through the wrath of God, for, when the oxen tilted the ark forward, he stretched out his hand in an attempt to hold it in place and, because he had touched it though not a priest, God caused his death. c Both the king and his people were displeased at the death of Ozas, and the place where he died is called Breach of Ozas. d David, therefore, fearful at the thought that he might suffer the same fate as Ozas if he received the ark into his house in the city, since the former had perished in this way merely because he had stretched out his hand toward it, did not bring it into his house in the city; instead he brought it elsewhere to a certain place belonging to a righteous man named Obadaros, e a Levite f by descent, and deposited the ark with him. It remained there for three whole months and brought increase to Obadaros's house, and for himself procured great good. But when the king heard what had befallen Obadaros, and that from his former poverty and

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b Bibl. Uzzah, lxx 'Qêâ.

c This explanation of Uzzah's death is not given in Scripture, but is derived by Josephus, as by the rabbis, from the Mosaic prescriptions, Num. iv. 5 ff., concerning the duties of priests and Levites in transporting the ark.

d Bibl. Perez-Uzzah. Josephus follows the lxx in translating Perez (Peres) "breach" by διακοπή.

f Bibl. Obed-Edom, lxx 'Aβεδάδα, Luc. 'Aβεδάδαν.

According to 1 Chron. xv. 18. In 2 Sam. vi. 10 he is called a Gittite, i.e. a native of Gath.
tēras¹ pevía kai taphewpósthos ἀθρόως ευδαίμων kai ἔγινεν παρά πάσι τοῖς ὁρῶσι καὶ πυνθανομένοις τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτοῦ, θαρσήσας ὡς οὕδενος κακοῦ πειρασμένος τὴν κιβωτὸν πρὸς 85 αὐτὸν μετακομίζει, τῶν μὲν ἱερέων βασταζόντων αὐτῆν, ἐπτὰ δὲ χορῶν οὓς διεκόσμησεν ὁ βασιλεὺς προαγόντων, αὐτοῦ δ' ἐν κινήρα παίζοντος καὶ κροτοῦντος, ὡστε καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα Μιχάλην² Σαουλοῦ δὲ θυγατέρα τοῦ πρώτου βασιλέως ἱδοῦσαν αὐτὸν 86 τοῦτο ποιοῦντα χλευάσαι. εἰσκομίσαντες δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν τιθέασιν ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνήν, ἣν Δανίδης ἐπιτύγχαν αὐτῆς,³ καὶ θυσίας τελείας⁴ καὶ εἰρήνικά ἀνήγεγκε, καὶ τὸν ὄχλον εἰστίασε πάντα καὶ γνώσει καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ νηπίων διαδόσει κολλυρίδα ἀρτικοῦ ἐκ σχαρίτην καὶ λάγανον τηγανιστόν καὶ μερίδα θύματος. καὶ τὸν μὲν λαὸν οὕτως κατευνάχθη ἀπέπεμψεν, αὐτὸς δ' εἰς τὸν οἶκον τοῦ αὐτοῦ παραγίνεται.

87 (3) Παραστάσα δὲ αὐτῷ Μιχάλη καὶ γυνὴ Σαουλοῦ δὲ θυγάτηρ τὰ τε ἅλλα αὐτῶ κατηχέτο καὶ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι ἤτει πάνθ' ὁσα παρασχεῖν αὐτῶ δυνατῶν εὑμεῖν μυχάνοντι, καὶ δὴ κατεμέμψατο ὡς ἀκοσμήσεις ὅρχούμενος δ' τηλικοῦτος βασιλεὺς

1 τῆς προτέρας om. ROM Exc.
2 Μελχάλην RE: Μελχάλην SP Lat. hie et infra.
3 post αὐτῆς lacunam statuit Niese hand recte.
4 τελείας] τε ἐπετέλεσε πολυτελεῖς (om. τε Exc.) MSP Exc.: πολυτελῶς E: copiosas Lat.

a An amplification of 2 Sam. vi. 11 “and the Lord blessed Obed-Edom and all his house.”
b Josephus here follows the order of 2 Sam.; in 1 Chron. the narrative of the ark's entry is preceded by an account of 404
humble station he had all at once risen to prosperity and become an object of envy to all those who saw his house or heard about it,\(^a\) he was encouraged in the belief that he would suffer no harm, and removed the ark to his own house.\(^b\) It was carried by the priests and these were preceded by seven choirs \(^c\) whom the king had marshalled, while he himself played the harp and loudly plucked its strings,\(^d\) so that Michalë,\(^e\) the daughter of Saul the first king, laughed mockingly to see him act in this way. Then they brought the ark into the city and placed it under a tent which David had set up for it, and he sacrificed whole burnt-offerings and peace-offerings, and feasted the people, distributing among men, women and children twists of bread, ash-baked bread, fried mealcakes and a portion of the sacrifice.\(^f\) Having thus entertained the people, he dismissed them, while he himself went to his own home.

(3) Then Michalë his wife, the daughter of Saul, came to his side and invoked blessings upon him and also asked of God that all those things should be granted him which He in His graciousness might bestow.\(^g\) None the less, she reproached him for his unseemly behaviour in dancing—so great a king as

David dances before the ark.

David

Sam. vi. 14.

Michal rebukes David.

Sam. vi. 20.

Hiram’s embassy, David’s family, and the preparation of the Levites (1 Chron. xiv.–xv. 24).

So the i.xx, 2 Sam. vi. 13; the Heb. has something quite different, “And when those who bore the ark had gone six paces, they sacrificed an ox and a fatling”; 1 Chron. xv. 26 “those who bore the ark sacrificed seven bullocks and seven rams.”

Or perhaps “stamped his feet.”


f The last is a detail added by Josephus.

\(^a\) Scripture says nothing of Michal’s blessing, but merely that she came to meet David and reproached him for his unseemly conduct.
καὶ γυμνούμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ὁρχήσεως καὶ ἐν δούλοις 88 καὶ ἐν θεραπανίσιν. οὗ δ' οὐκ αἰδεύσθαι ταῦτα ποιήσας εἰς τὸ τῇ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον ἔφασκεν, ὃς αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων προετίμησε· παίξειν τε πολλάκις καὶ χορεύσειν,1 μηδένα τοῦ δόξαι ταῖς θεραπανίσις αἰσχρόν 89 καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ γυμνόμενον ποιησάμενος λόγον. ἢ δὲ Μιχάλη αὐτῇ Δαυίδη μὲν συνοικούσα παίδας οὐκ ἐποίησατο, γαμηθείσα δὲ ύστερον ὃ παρεδώκεν αὐτῇν ὁ πατήρ Σαοῦλος, τότε δὲ ἀποσπάσας αὐτὸς εἶχε, πέντε παίδας ἔτεκε. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

90 (4) Ὅροιν δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς κατὰ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα σχεδόν ἡμέραν ἁμείνω γυμνώμενα ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως ἐνόμιζεν ἐξαμαρτάνειν αὐτὸν εἰ μένων αὐτὸς ἐν οὐκοις ἐκ κέδρου πεποιημένοις υψηλοῖς τε καὶ καλλίστην τὴν ἀλλήν κατασκευὴν ἔχουσι περιορᾷ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐν σκηνῇ κειμένην. 91 ἐβούλετο δὲ τῷ θεῷ κατασκευάσαι ναὸν, ώς Μωυσῆς προείπε,2 καὶ περὶ τούτων Νάθα3 τῷ προφήτῃ διαλεγόμενοι, ἐπεὶ ποιεῖν ὃ τι περ ὧρμηται προσέταξεν αὐτὸν ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς ἀπάντη αὐτῷ συνεργοῦ παρόντος, εἶχεν ἡδὴ περὶ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ 92 κατασκευὴν προθυμοτερον. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ κατ'

1 παίξειν ... χορεύσειν] Niese: παίξειν ... χορεύσαι codd.
2 εἶπε RO.
3 Νάθαν O: Ναθάνα MSP Exc.: Nathan Lat. hic et infra.

9 Similar to the lxx, 2 Sam. vi. 22 ἔσομαι ἀχρεός ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς σου καὶ μετὰ τῶν ποιιδωκῶν ὧν εἰτάς με μὴ δοξασθήμαι (v.l. om. υἱ): Heb. "I shall be base in mine own eyes, and

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he was—and in uncovering himself, as he danced, in the presence of slaves and maid-servants. He replied, however, that he was not ashamed of having done what was pleasing to God, who had honoured him above her father and all other men, and that he would often play and dance without caring whether his actions seemed disgraceful to her maid-servants or herself. Now this Michal, while she lived with David, bore no children, but, after her later marriage to the man on whom her father Saul bestowed her—at this particular time David, who had taken her away from him was again her husband—she bore five children. But of this we shall treat in its proper place.

(4) When the king saw that almost from day to day his affairs prospered more and more by the will of God, he thought that he should be guilty of sin if while he himself lodged in a lofty dwelling made of cedar wood and beautifully appointed in other ways, he allowed the ark to lie in a tent. He wished, therefore, to build such a temple to God as Moses had formerly spoken of, and after discussing this with the prophet Nathan, when he bade him do as he was minded, seeing that God was with him to help him in all things, he became still more eager to build the temple. But God appeared to Nathan that very with the handmaids of whom thou hast spoken, with them I shall have honour.”

b Adriel, the son of Barzillai, 2 Sam. xxi. 8.

c Josephus harmonizes the contradictions in Scripture. According to 2 Sam. vi. 23 Michal had no children as long as she lived, but 2 Sam. xxi. 8 states that she bore five children to Adriel. Rabbinic tradition following the Targum holds that the five children were Merab’s but were brought up by Michal (cf. Luc. which has Merab for Michal in 2 Sam. xxi. 8).

d Michal is not mentioned again in our text of Josephus.
εἰκών Τῆς νύκτα τῷ Νάθα φανέντος καὶ φράσαι κελεύσαντος τῷ Δαύιδι ὡς τῇ μὲν προαίρεσιν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἀποδέχεται, μηδενὸς μὲν πρότερον εἰς νοῦν βαλομένου ναὸν αὐτῷ κατασκευάσαι, τούτῳ δὲ ταύτῃ τὴν διάνοιαν λαβοντός· οὐκ ἐπιτρέπειν δὲ πολλοὺς πολέμους ἡγωνισμένω καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἐχθρῶν μεμιασμένω ποιῆσαι ναὸν 93 αὐτῶ. μετὰ μέντοι γε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῦ, γηράσαντος καὶ μακρὸν ἀνύσαντος βίον, γενήσεσθαι τὸν ναὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς τοῦ μετ’ αὐτὸν τὴν βασιλείαν παραληψομένου κληθομένου δὲ Σολομῶνος, ὁ προστίθεσθαι καὶ προνοήσειν ὡς πατήρ μιὸν κατετηγγέλλετο, τὴν μὲν βασιλείαν τέκνων ἐγγόνως φιλάξων καὶ παραδώσειν, αὐτὸν δὲ τιμωρήσων, 94 ἀν ἀμαρτῶν τύχῃ, νόσῳ καὶ γῆς ἀφορίᾳ. μαθὼν ταῦτα παρὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαύιδης καὶ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ τῇ ἄρχῃ διαμένουσαν ἐγνωκέναι βεβαιῶς, καὶ τὸν οὐκον αὐτοῦ λαμπρὸν ἐσόμενου καὶ περιβόητον πρὸς τὴν 95 κιβωτὸν παραγίνεσαι καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον ἢρξατο προσκυνεῖν καὶ περὶ πάντων εὐχαριστεῖν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῷ αὐτῷ παρέσχηκεν ἤδη ἐκ ταπεινοῦ καὶ ποιμένος εἰς τηλυκοῦτο μέγεθος ἡγεμονίας τε καὶ δόξης ἀναγαγών, ὅτι τοῖς ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καθυπέσχετο, ἐτι δὲ περὶ 3 τῆς προνοιάς, ἣν

1 + Nian ROS.
2 Niese: γενέσθαι RO: estesethai rell.: faciendum Lat.
3 ετί δὲ περὶ ex Lat. add. Niese: καὶ Naber cum Hudson.

a This expression of God’s approval is unscriptural.
b 1 Chron. xxviii. 3.
c 2 Sam. vii. 14 “with the rod of men and with the stripes of the children of men,” which some rabbinic authorities take to mean evil spirits.
night and bade him tell David that while He approved of his purpose and desire—for no one before him had taken it into his mind to build Him a temple, as David had thought to do,—still He could not permit him to construct a temple for Him, because he had fought in many wars and was stained with the blood of his enemies; but in any case, He said, after David's death at an advanced age and at the end of a long life, the temple should be brought into being by his son and successor to the kingdom, whose name would be Solomon, and whom He promised to watch over and care for as a father for his son, and to preserve the kingdom for his children's children and transmit it to them, but He would punish him, if he sinned, with sickness and barrenness of the soil.

When David heard this from the prophet, he rejoiced greatly to know assuredly that the royal power would remain with his descendants and that his house would become glorious and renowned. Then he went to the ark and, falling on his face, began to worship God and render thanks to Him for all that He had already done for him in raising him from the humble station of a shepherd to so great a height of power and glory, and for His promise to his descendants, and

\[d\] 2 Sam. vii. 18 "and he sat before the Lord (i.e. the ark)." Rappaport suggests that Josephus's paraphrase ("falling on his face" instead of "sat") may have some connexion with the controversy in the Hasmonean period between the partisans of the king and those of the high priests as to whether kings of Davidic lineage had the right to sit in the temple court or not, and that the controversy centred about the interpretation of the verb "sat" in this verse of Scripture.

\[e\] In Scripture the reference to David's humble origin is found earlier (2 Sam. vii. 8) in God's charge to David by Nathan, and not in David's prayer, as in Josephus.
The account of the preparations is an amplification of Scripture, which merely says, "And after this David smote the Philistines."

1 Chron. xviii. 1 "and took Gath and its villages out of the hand of the Philistines"; the parallel verse 2 Sam. viii. 1, "and David took Metheg-ha-ammah, etc.," is obscure.
also for His care of the Hebrews and their liberty. When he had so spoken and recited the praises of God, he departed.

(v. 1) After a short interval of time, he decided that he ought to march against the Philistines, and not permit any idleness or slackness in his conduct of affairs, in order that he might, as God had foretold to him, overthrow his enemies and leave behind descendants who would reign thereafter in peace. So once again he assembled his army and gave them orders to be in readiness and equipped for war, and, when they seemed to him to be in good condition, he left Jerusalem and advanced upon the Philistines.

Having overcome them in battle, he cut off much of their territory and annexed it to the country of the Hebrews. Then he carried the war over to the Moabites, and, upon defeating them in battle, destroyed two-thirds of their army and took the rest captive; he also ordered them to pay a yearly tribute. He next marched against Adrazaros,\textsuperscript{d} the son of Araos,\textsuperscript{e} king of Sophéné,\textsuperscript{f} and encountered him beside the Euphrates river, where he slew some twenty thousand of his infantry and about five and probably corrupt; the LXX has καὶ ἔλαβεν Δαυίδ τὴν ἀφορισμένην ἐκ χιλιός τῶν ἄλλοφυλῶν.

\textsuperscript{d} 2 Sam. viii. 2 “And he smote Moab and measured them with the line, making them lie down on the ground, and he measured two lines to put to death, and one full line to keep alive.” Josephus follows the LXX, which has ἔξωγρησεν “took captive” for the Heb. “keep alive.”

\textsuperscript{e} Variant Artazaros; bibl. Hadadezer, LXX Ἀδραάζαρ, Luc. Ἀδραάφ.

\textsuperscript{f} Bibl. Zobah (Ṣōbāh), LXX Σουβά: an Aramaean state N.W. of Damascus in the valley between Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, according to Kraeling, Aram and Israel, p. 40. Josephus’s “Sophene” is misleading, as this is the Greek name of a district in Armenia.
ίπποτων ως πεντακισχιλίους. ελαβε δὲ καὶ αυτοῦ ἀρματα χίλια, καὶ τὰ πλείω μὲν αυτῶν ἡφάνισεν, ἐκατόν δὲ μόνα προσέταξεν αὐτῷ φιλαχθῆναι.

100 (2) Ἀκούσας δὲ ὁ Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Σύρων βασιλεὺς Ἀδαδός ὅτι πολεμεῖ Δαυίδης τὸν Ἀδράζαρον, φίλος ὃν αὐτῷ μετὰ δυνάμεως ἤκεν ἱσχυρὰς συμμαχίσσων· ἀπήλλαξε δὲ οὐχ ὃς three proscedóka συμβαλῶν πρὸς τῷ Εὐφράτῃ ποταμῷ, πταίσας δὲ τῇ μάχῃ πολλοὺς ἀπέβαλε τῶν στρατιωτῶν· ἐπεσον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀναρούμενοι τῆς Ἀδάδου δυνάμεως δισμύριοι, οἱ δὲ λουποὶ πάντες ἔφυγον.

101 μέμνηται δὲ τούτοις τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ Νικόλαος ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἑστοριῶν λέγων οὕτως· "μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πολλῷ χρόνῳ ύστερον τῶν ἐγχωρίων τις Ἀδαδὸς ὄνομα πλεῖον ἱσχύσας Δαμασκοῦ τε καὶ τῆς Ἀλῆς Συρίας ἔξω Φοινίκης ἐβασίλευσε. πόλειμον δὲ ἐξενέγκας πρὸς Δαυίδην βασιλέα τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις κριθείς, ύστατῇ δὲ παρὰ τὸν Εὐφράτην, ἐν ᾐ ἧπτατο, ἄριστος ἐδοξεν ἐναὶ βασιλέων ρώμη καὶ ἀνδρεία." πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀπογῶνον αὐτοῦ φησιν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνου τελευτὴν ἐξεδέχοντο παρ’ ἀλλήλων καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγων οὕτως· "τελευτήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἀπόγονοι ἐπὶ δέκα γενεάς ἐβασίλευσον ἐκάστῳ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀμα καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοῦνοι ἐκδεχομένου, ὦσπερ οἱ Πτολε-

1 ἐπτακισχιλίους MSP. 2 edd.: αὐτῷ codd. 3 οὐχ ὃς] Niese: ὃς ROM: ὃς οὐ P. 4 ὃς δισμύριοι E Lat. 5 κ. τ. ἀρχὴν] τῇ ἀρχῇ MSP Lat.

a 7000 according to 1 Chron. and the lxx in 2 Sam., cf. variant in Josephus; 1700 according to the Heb. of 2 Sam. 412
thousand of his cavalry. He also seized a thousand of his chariots, most of which he destroyed, and ordered that only one hundred be kept for himself.

(2) Now when Adados, king of Damascus and Syria, heard that David was warring with Adrazaros, whose friend he was, he went to his aid with a powerful force, but came off otherwise than he had expected when he encountered David at the Euphrates river, and, as a result of his defeat in the battle, lost many of his men. For there fell at the hands of the Hebrews twenty thousand of Adados's force, and all the rest fled. This king is also mentioned by Nicolas in the fourth book of his History, who writes as follows: "A long while after this, one of the natives, Adados by name, attained to great power and became ruler of Damascus and the rest of Syria excepting Phoenicia. He waged war against David, king of Judaea, and, after trial of many battles, the last of which was fought beside the Euphrates, where he was defeated, he gained the reputation of being the most vigorous and courageous of kings." In addition, he speaks also of his descendants and tells how, after his death, they succeeded one another in his kingdom and his name. This is what he says: "Upon his death, his posterity reigned for ten generations, each receiving from his father both his authority and his name, as did the Ptolemies in

David's victory over the king of Damascus. 2 Sam. viii. 5; 1 Chron. xviii. 5.

The king's name is not given in Scripture, which has "Aram of Damascus," i.e. the Aramaeans of Damascus, Συρία Δαμασκοῦ (Chron. Σύρος ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ). Syria is the Greek name for the Heb. Aram. As Weill suggests, Josephus probably took the name Adados from Nicolas's account, which follows.

Bibl. 22,000.

On the historian Nicolas of Damascus, a contemporary of Herod the Great, cf. A. i. 94 note.
JOSEPHUS

103 μαῖοι ἐν Λιγύπτω. μέγιστον δὲ ἀπάντων δυνηθεὶς ὁ τρίτος ἀναμαχεσάθαι βουλομένως τὴν τοῦ προ-
pάτορος ἦτταν στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐπορθησε τὴν νῦν Σαμάρειτιν καλουμένην γῆν." οὐ διήμαρτε δὲ τῆς ἀληθείας· οὕτος γὰρ ἔστιν Ἄδαδος ὁ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Σαμάρειαν Ἀλχάβων

βασιλεύνοντος τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων, περὶ οὐ κατὰ χώραν ἐροῦμεν.

104 (3) Δαυίδης δὲ στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Δαμασκὸν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην Συρίαν, πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ὑπῆκοον ἐποιήσατο, καὶ φρουρᾶς ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ καταστήσας καὶ φόρους αὐτοὺς τελεῖν ὀρίσας ὑπέστρεψε· καὶ τὰς τε χρυσὰς φαρέτρας καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας, ἀσ οἱ τοῦ Ἄδαδον σωματοφύλακες ἐφόρουν, ἀνέθηκε τῷ

105 θεῷ εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα· ὡς ὑστερον ο τῶν Λιγυπτίων βασιλεὺς Σοῦσακός στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὸν ωἰωνόν αὐτοῦ Ὦροβώαμον ἐλαβε καὶ πολὺν ἄλλον ἐκ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων ἔξεφόρησε πλοῦτον· ταῦτα μὲν ὅταν ἠλθόμεν ἐπὶ τὸν οἰκεῖον αὐτῶν τόπον δηλώσομεν.

ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων βασιλεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ συμπνέοντος αὐτῷ καὶ τοὺς πολέμους συγκαταρθοῦντος καὶ ταῖς καλλίσταις τῶν Ἀδραζάρου πόλεων ἐπεστράτευσε

1 + ὑστερον MSP Lat.

a Ant. viii. 363 ff.

b In 2 Sam. viii. 7 the Heb. has shilṭé, here meaning "shields" according to Jewish tradition; the lxx has χλίδωνας "bracelets" or "anklets," and in 1 Chron. κλόον "collars." In Ezek. xxvii. 11 the lxx translates shilṭé by φαρέτρας "quivers," as does Josephus here.

414
Egypt. The most powerful of all these kings was the third, who, in his desire to make good his grandfather’s defeat, marched against the Jews and sacked the country now called Samaritis.” And in so writing he has not departed from the truth, for this is the Adados who invaded Samaria when Ahab reigned over the Israelites. About this we shall speak in the proper place.

(3) David then led his army against Damascus and the rest of Syria, and made all of it subject to him; and, after stationing garrisons in their country and fixing the amount of tribute they must pay, he returned home. The gold quivers and the suits of armour which the bodyguards of Adados wore, he dedicated to God in Jerusalem. These were afterwards taken by the Egyptian king Susakos, who marched against David’s grandson Roboamos and carried off much other wealth from Jerusalem. But these things we shall narrate when we come to their proper place. Now the king of the Hebrews, with the encouragement of God who gave him success in war, attacked the fairest of Adrazaros’s cities, Battaia.

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Not mentioned in Scripture.

Bibl. “the servants of Hadadezer.”

Bibl. Shishak, lxx Σουσακείμ. Josephus here follows the lxx, which anticipates the invasion of Shishak (described later in 1 Kings xiv. 25 ff.), while the Heb. omits it at this point. In the later passage the Heb. mentions only Shishak’s taking the gold shields which Solomon had made, while the lxx adds a reference to the spears taken by David from the servants of Hadadezer.

Bibl. Rehoboam, cf. § 190 note.

A. viii. 253 ff.

2 Sam. Betch, lxx Μετεβάκ, Μασβάκ κτλ.; 1 Chron. Tibbath, lxx Μεταβηθάς, Μασβθάθ κτλ., Luc. Taβάθ. (The syllable μα- or με in the lxx forms has arisen from the Heb. preposition μή “from” before the name Tibbath.)
JOSEPHUS

Βατταίᾳ καὶ Μάχωνι, καὶ λαβὼν αὐτὰς κατὰ
106 κράτος διήρπασε. χρυσὸς δ’ ἐν αὐταῖς εὐρέθη
πάμπολος καὶ ἄργυρος ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ χαλκός, ὅν τοῦ
χρυσοῦ κρείττον’ ἔλεγον, ἐξ οὗ καὶ Σολομών τὸ
μέγα σκέδος θάλασσαν δὲ καλοῦμενον ἐποίησε καὶ
τοὺς καλλίστους ἐκείνους λουτῆρας, οτὲ τῷ θεῷ
τὸν ναὸν κατεσκεύασεν.

107 (4) Ως δὲ ο τῆς Ἀμάθης βασιλεὺς τὰ περὶ τὸν
Ἀδράζαρον ἐπύθετο καὶ τὴν δύναμιν αὐτοῦ διεφθαρ-
μένην ἤκουσε, δεῖσας περὶ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν Δαυίδην
πρὶν ἔπ’ αὐτὸν ἐλθοὺς φιλία καὶ πίστει γνών
εἰδήσασθαι, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἀδώραμον νῦν
αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἀδράζαρον ἔχθρον ὁντ’
αὐτῷ πολεμήσαι χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶν, καὶ συμ-
108 μαχίαν πρὸς αὐτοῦ καὶ φιλίαν ποιούμενος. ἔπεμψε
δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ δώρα σκεύη τῆς ἀρχαίας κατασκεύης
χρύσεα καὶ ἀργύρεα καὶ χάλκεα. Δαυίδης δὲ
ποιησάμενος τὴν συμμαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Θαῖνον, τοῦτο
γάρ ἢν ὄνομα τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς Ἀμάθης, καὶ τὰ
δώρα δεξάμενος ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοῦ τὸν νῦν μετὰ
tιμὴς τῆς πρεποῦσης ἑκατέρους. τὰ δὲ πεμφθέντα
ὐπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἄλλον χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, ὅν ἐκ
τῶν πόλεων εἰλήφει καὶ τῶν κεχειρωμένων ἑθνῶν,
109 φέρων ἀνατίθησι τῷ θεῷ. οὐκ αὐτῷ δὲ πολεμοῦντι

1 Niese: ἔλθη codd.

a Cf. 1 Chron. Heb. ūmikkūn “and from Kun (?)”; 2 Sam. Berothai. In both places the LXX has “from the
chosen cities,” probably reading behūrōth “chosen” (pass.
pte. fem. pl.) instead of Berōthai.

b Scripture does not mention gold or silver at this point
(2 Sam. viii. 8), but in vs. 11 speaks of the silver and gold

416
and Machôn, a took them by storm and plundered them. There was found in them a great amount of gold and silver b and that kind of bronze, c said to be finer than gold, out of which Solomon made the great vessel called “sea,” and those very beautiful lavers, when he built the temple to God. d

(4) When the king of Amathē e learned of Adrazaros’s fate and heard that his army had been destroyed, he became alarmed for himself and decided, before David should come against him, to bind him by a sworn agreement of friendship. He therefore sent his son Adoramoso f to him, expressing his thanks to him for having made war on Adrazaros who was his enemy, and offering to make an alliance of friendship with him. He also sent him presents of gold, silver and bronze vessels of ancient workmanship. g David thereupon made an alliance with Thainos h—that was the name of the king of Amathē—and, having accepted the gifts, sent away his son with the honours befitting both sides. The objects sent by Thainos and the rest of the gold and silver which he had taken from the conquered cities and nations, he carried away and dedicated to God. Now it was not “that he had dedicated of all nations that he had subdued.”

A.V. translates Heb. neḥōsheth (lxx χαλκός) by “brass.”

These details about Solomon’s vessels are found in 1 Chron. and in the lxx of 2 Sam., but are omitted in the Heb. of the latter book.

Bibl. Ḥamath, lxx Ἡμάθ, Luc. (Chron.) Ἦμαθ: an important Hittite city on the river Orontes in N. Syria. On the king’s name cf. § 108 note.

So Luc. in 1 Chron. where the lxx has Ἰδουραμ and the Heb. Hadoram; 2 Sam. Joram (Yōrām), lxx Ἰεδουρᾶν.

“Ancient workmanship” is a detail added by Josephus.

2 Sam. Toi (Ṭūi), lxx Θοῖον, Θοῦ, Θάλ; 1 Chron. Tou (Ṭūʿ), lxx Θῶα, Θῶον.
μόνον καὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς ἥγουμένω τὸ νικᾶν καὶ κατορθοῦν παρείχεν ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ δυνάμεως εἰς τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν Ἀβισαὰν τὸν Ἰωάβον τοῦ ἄρχιστρατῆγου ἀδελφόν, δι᾿ ἐκείνου τῆς τῶν Ἰδουμαίων νίκην ἔδωκε· μυρίων γὰρ αὐτῶν καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιον Ἀβισαῖος διέφθειρε τῇ μάχῃ. καὶ τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν ἀπασαν φρουραῖς διαλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς φόρους ὑπέρ τε τῆς χώρας καὶ τῆς ἐκάστου κεφαλῆς παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐδέχετο. ἦν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος τὴν φύσιν καὶ τὰς κρίσεις πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀφορῶν ἑποιεῖτο. στρατηγὸν δὲ ἀπάσης εἰχε τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸν Ἰωάβον· ὥπὶ δὲ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων Ἰωσάφατον νιὸν Ἀχίλου κατέστησεν· ἀπέδειξε δὲ ἐκ τῆς Φινεέσου οἰκίας τὸν Σάδωκον ἄρχιερέα μετ’ Ἀβιαθάρου, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῶ· γραμματέα δὲ Σεισανος ἐποίησε. Βαναία δὲ τῷ Ἰωάδου τῇ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἄρχῃν παρα-

1 ἀντιστρ. ROM hic et infra.
2 Eisán RO: Isan Lat.

a So 1 Chron.: in 2 Sam. the victory over Edom (Idumaea) is attributed to David himself, but here the Heb. has Aram (A.V. “Syrians”), a corruption of Edom. Cf. also the superscription of Ps. lx., where the victory seems to be attributed to Joab.

b An amplification of 2 Sam. viii. 14 (1 Chron. xviii. 13). “and he put governors (nesibim: A.V. “garrisons”) in Edom, throughout all Edom he put governors.” Rabbinic commentators explain nesibim as officers to collect taxes.

c Bibl. Ahilud, lxx Ἀχεῖα, Ἀχιλοῦδ κτλ., Luc. Ἀχεῖναβ.
only when he himself fought and led the army that God granted him victory and success, but even when he sent Abisai, the brother of Joab the commander-in-chief, with a force into Idumaea, God gave David, through him, victory over the Idumaeans, of whom Abisai slew eighteen thousand in battle. The king then occupied the whole of Idumaea with garrisons and collected tribute both from the country (as a whole) and from the separate individuals therein. He was of a just nature and, when he gave judgement, considered only the truth. As general of his entire army he had Joab; as keeper of the records he appointed Josaphat, the son of Achilros; from the house of Phinees he chose Sadok as high priest together with Abiathar, who was his friend; he made Seisa scriber; and to Banaia, son of Joados, he entrusted the command of the bodyguards, while

\(\text{David's officers.} \)

\(2\text{ Sam. viii. 16}; 1\text{ Chron. xviii. 15.} \)

\(\text{Subjection of Edom (Idumaea).} \)

\(2\text{ Sam. viii. 14}; 1\text{ Chron. xviii. 12.} \)

\(\text{a That is, a descendant of Aaron's third son Eleazar, father of Phinehas, whereas Abiathar was supposedly a descendant of Aaron's youngest son Ithamar, cf. A. v. 361 note, viii. 12 note.} \)

\(\text{b Many Biblical critics recognize that 2 Sam. viii. 17, "And Zadok the son of Ahitub, and Ahimelech the son of Abiathar, were the priests," should be corrected to read, "And Zadok and Abiathar the son of Ahimelech the son of Ahitub were the priests." Ahimelech, the father of Abiathar, had been killed earlier by Saul (cf. A. vi. 260 = 1 Sam. xxii. 16 ff.), whereas Abiathar continued to be the chief priest (together with Zadok) until he was removed by Solomon (cf. A. viii. 10 ff. = 1 Kings ii. 26 ff.). Josephus is, therefore, correct in omitting his name here.} \)

\(\text{f Called Susa in § 292; 2 Sam. Seraiah, lxx ' Açá, Ζασά κτλ.; 1 Chron. Shavsha, lxx 'Τσβούς, Σωσά.} \)

\(\text{g So most mss. of the lxx; bibl. Benaiyahu (Benajahu).} \)

\(\text{h So Lucc.; bibl. Jehoiada (Yehóyadá), lxx 'Ιοδάε.} \)

\(\text{i Bibl. "Cherethites and Pelethites," probably Philistine mercenaries.} \)
JOSEPHUS

δίδωσιν: οί δὲ πρεσβύτεροι παῖδες αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὴν τούτου φυλακὴν ἤσαν.

111 (5) Ἐμνήσθη δὲ καὶ τῶν πρὸς Ἰωνάθην τὸν Σαουλόν παίδα συνθηκῶν καὶ ὅρκων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοῦ φιλίας τε καὶ σπουδῆς: πρὸς γὰρ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπασίν ἀγαθοῖς οἳ εἶχεν ἐτι καὶ μνημονικώτατος τῶν εὗ ποιησάντων παρὰ τὸν ἄλλον1 χρόνον ὑπῆρχε. προσέταξεν οὖν ἀναζητεῖν εἵ τις ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ σῶζεται, ὃ τὰς ἀμοιβὰς ἅς ῥήμαι Ἰωνάθη τῆς ἑταρίας ἀποδώσει. ἀχθέντος οὖν τινος ἥλευθερωμένου μὲν ὑπὸ Σαουλοῦ δυναμένου δὲ γυνώσκειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ περιόντας, ἀνέκρινεν εἵ τινα ἐξοι λέγειν τῶν Ἰωνάθη προσηκόντων ζῶντα καὶ κομίσασθαι τὰς τῶν ἐνεργεσίων χάριτας δυνάμενον, δὲ καὶ αὐτοῖς ἐπιχε παρὰ Ἰωνάθου. φήσαντος δ’ ὑιῶν αὐτοῦ περιλείπεσθαι Μεμφίβοσθον ὁνόμα πεπηρωμένον τὰς βάσεις: τῆς γὰρ τροφῆς μετὰ τὸ προσαγγελθήναι τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τὸν πάππον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεσόντας ἄρπασαμένης καὶ φευγοῦσης, ἀπὸ τῶν ὦμων αὐτοῦ2 κατενεχθῆναι καὶ βλαβῆται τὰς βάσεις: μαθὼν ὅπου τε καὶ παρὰ τίνι τρέφεται πέμψας πρὸς τὸν Μάχειρον εἰς Λάβαθα πόλιν, παρὰ τούτῳ γὰρ ὁ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐτρέφετο, μετα-

1 ὅλον RO. 2 αὐτὸν MSP.

"Elder sons," etc.: so Josephus understands 2 Chron. xviii. 17, "and the sons of David were first next (lit. "to the hand of") the king," taking "first" as an attributive adj. with "sons" in the sense of "elder"; cf. lxx νἱοὶ Δαβίδ όι πρῶτοι διάδοχοι τὸν βασιλέως. 2 Sam. viii. 18 reads, "and the sons of David were priests" (A.V. "chief rulers"); for "priests" the lxx has "princes of the court," Targum "nOBles."
his elder sons were in attendance on him and guarded his person.  

(5) He also remembered his sworn covenant with Jonathan, the son of Saul, and Jonathan's friendship and devotion to him, for, beside all the other good qualities he possessed, was also that of being ever mindful of those who had benefited him at any time. Accordingly, he gave orders to inquire whether any of his family survived, to whom he might repay the debt he owed Jonathan for his comradeship. Thereupon there was brought to him one of Saul's freedmen who would know whether any of his family remained alive, and David asked him whether he could name any kinsman of Jonathan who was alive and might be the recipient of kindness in return for the benefits which he himself had received from Jonathan. The man replied that a son was left to him, named Memphibosthos, who was crippled in his feet, for, after the news came that the child's father and grandfather had fallen in battle, his nurse had snatched him up and fled, and he had slipped from her shoulder, thereby sustaining an injury to his feet. When David learned where and by whom he was being brought up, he sent to the city of Labatha to Macheiros—this was the person by whom Jonathan's 

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**Bibl.** "servant." His name, Siba (bibl. Ziba), is given below, § 115.

**Bibl.** Mephibosheth, LXX Μεμφιβοσθῆς, Luc. Μεμφιβοσθῆς. His real name was probably Meribbaal (cf. 1 Chron. viii. 34, ix. 40), but was altered by Hebrew scribes who disapproved of the Canaanite Baal-name. For a similar alteration cf. § 9 note on Ish-bosheth (Jebosthos).

**Bibl.** Lo-debar, LXX Λοδαβαρ, Λωδαβαρ; site unidentified but probably near Mahanaim in Gilead.

**Bibl.** Machir, LXX Μαχείρ.
114 πέμπεται πρὸς αὐτὸν. Ἐλθὼν δὲ ὁ Μεμφίβοσθος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα πεσὼν ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης θαρρεῖν τε προντρέπετο καὶ τὰ βελτίων προσδοκῶν· δίδωσι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατρὸν οἶκον καὶ πάσαν τὴν οὐσίαν, ἢν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ Σαοῦλος ἐκτήσατο, σύσσωτον τε καὶ ὀμοτράπεζον ἐκέλευσεν εἰναι καὶ μηδεμίαν ἠμέρων
115 ἀπολεῖπεσθαί τῆς σὺν αὐτῷ διαίτης. τοῦ δὲ παιδὸς προσκυνήσαντος ἐπὶ τε τοῖς λόγοις καὶ ταῖς δωρεαῖς, καλέσας τὸν Σιβαν τὸν πατρὸν οἶκον ἔλεγε δεδωρηθαί τῷ παιδί καὶ πάσαν τὴν Σαοῦλου κτήσιν, αὐτὸν τε ἐκέλευσεν ἐργαζόμενον αὐτοῦ τὴν γῆν καὶ προνοοῦμενον, ἀπάντων τὴν πρόσοδον εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα κομίζειν, ἀγεῶν τε αὐτὸν καθ’ ἔκαστην ἠμέραν ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τράπεζαν αὐτὸν τε τὸν Σιβαν καὶ τοὺς νίους αὐτοῦ, ἢσαν δ’ οὕτως πεντεκαίδεκα, καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας εἰκοσι
116 τῷ παιδὶ χαρίζεται Μεμφιβόσθων. ταῦτα διαταγαμένου τοῦ βασιλέως ὁ μὲν Σιβᾶς προσκυνήσας καὶ πάντα ποιῆσαι εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν, ὁ δὲ Ἰωνάθου παῖς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις κατῴκηκε συνεστιώμενος τῷ βασιλείᾳ καὶ πάσης ὡς νίους αὐτοῦ θεραπείας τυγχάνων· ἐγένετο δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ παῖς, ὁν Μίχανον² προσηγόρευσε.
117 (vi. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν περιλειφθέντες ἐκ τοῦ Σαοῦλου γένους καὶ Ἰωνάθου τούτων ἐτυχον παρὰ Δαυίδου τῶν τιμῶν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ κατ’ ἐκείνων τὸν χρόνον³ τοῦ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεῶς Ναάσου (φίλος δ’ ἢν οὕτως αὐτῶ) καὶ διαδεξαμένου τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀννῶν τοῦ παιδός, πέμψας Δαυίδης

¹ τραπεζῆς MSP Lat.
² Μίχαν Hudson, Naber cum Cod. Vat. Lat.
³ καὶρὸν SPE.
son was being brought up—and summoned him to his presence. Memphibosthos came before the king and, falling on his face, did obeisance to him, but David bade him take heart and look forward to a better lot. He then gave him his father's house and all the substance which his grandfather Saul had acquired, and gave orders that he should share his own food at his table and not let a day pass without eating with him. In acknowledgement of these words and gifts, the lad did obeisance to him. Then David called Siba \(^a\) and told him that he had made the lad a present of his father's house and all of Saul's possessions, and he ordered Siba to work his land and take care of it, to send all the yield to Jerusalem and to bring the lad to his table every day. David also presented Memphibosthos with Siba himself, his sons, of whom there were fifteen, and his servants, twenty in number. When the king had given these instructions, Siba did obeisance to him, saying that he would do all these things, and withdrew. So Jonathan's son dwelt in Jerusalem, sharing the king's hospitality and receiving every attention as though he were his own son. There was also born to him a son, whom he called Michanos.\(^b\)

(vi. 1) Such, then, were the honours which those who were left of the family of Saul and Jonathan received from David. Now there died at this time the Ammanite king Naasēs,\(^c\) who was a friend of David, and his son Annōn \(^d\) succeeded to his throne.

\(^a\) Bibl. Ziba (Σιβᾶ), lxx Σειβᾶ.
\(^b\) Bibl. Micha, lxx Μειχᾶ.
\(^d\) So lxx; bibl. Hanun, Luc. 'Avvāv.
πρὸς αὐτὸν παρεμυθήσατο, πράως τε φέρειν ἐπὶ τῷ
θανάτῳ τοῦ πατρὸς παραγών καὶ τήν αὐτὴν φιλιάν
diamevein, ἢ πρὸς ἑκείνου ἢν, τούτῳ προσδοκαῖν.

118 οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανίτῶν ἄρχοντες κακοκῆθως ἄλλα
οὐ κατὰ τὸν Δαυίδου τρόπον ταῦτ’ ἐδέξαντο, καὶ
παρώτρυναν τὸν βασιλέα λέγοντες κατασκόπους
πεπομφέναι τῆς χώρας Δαυίδην καὶ τῆς αὐτῶν
dυνάμεως ἐπὶ προφάσει φιλανθρωπίας, φυλά-
tεσθαὶ τε συνεβούλευν καὶ μὴ προσέχειν τοῖς
λόγοις αὐτοῦ, μὴ καὶ σφαλεῖς ἀπαρηγορήτω

119 συμφορὰ περιπέτευ. ταῦτ’ οὖν δόξας πιθανώτερα
λέγειν τοὺς ἄρχοντας ἢ τάληθες εἰχεν, ο τῶν
Ἀμμανίτων βασιλέας Ἀινών τοὺς παρὰ τοῦ
Δαυίδου πεπομφένας πρέσβεις χαλεπῶς περιύβρισ-
ευρήσας γὰρ αὐτῶν τὰ ἡμιση τῶν γενείων καὶ τὰ
ἡμίσῃ τῶν ἴματῶν περιτεμών, ἔργους ἀπέλυσε
κομίζοντας οὐ λόγοις τὰς ἀποκρίσεις. ἦδαν δὲ
ταῦθ’ ὁ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἡγανάκτησε καὶ
δήλος ἦν οὐ περιουσιόμενος τὴν υβρίν καὶ τὸν προ-
πηλακισμόν, ἀλλὰ πολεμήσων τοὺς Ἀμμανίτας καὶ
tιμωρίαν αὐτῶν τῆς παρανομίας τῆς πρὸς
tους

121 πρεσβευτὰς εἰσπραξόμενοι τὸν βασιλέα. συνέντες
dὲ οἱ τε αναγκαῖοι καὶ οἱ ἱγγεμόνες ὅτι παρεσποιδή-
κασι καὶ δίκην ὑπὲρ τούτων ὁφείλον, προπαρα-
sκευάζονται εἰς τὸν πόλεμον καὶ πέμψαντες πρὸς
Σύρων τῶν τῶν Μεσοποταμίων βασιλεά χίλια
tάλαντα σύμμαχον αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τούτῳ γενέσθαι τῷ

1 Niese: διαμένεω ROE: μένεω MSP. 2 eis MSP.

a. Josephus omits the Scriptural detail “to their buttocks”
or (Chron.) “hips,” lxx “cloak.”
b. According to Scripture David was told of the insult and
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII. 117–121

David thereupon sent and comforted him, exhorting him to bear his father's death with resignation, and bidding him to look for the continuance of the same friendship that had been with his father. The Ammanite princes, however, received this message in an ugly spirit and not as David had intended it, and incited the king against him by saying that David had sent men to spy on their country and their forces, on the pretext of friendly offices; they advised him to be on his guard and pay no attention to David's words, lest he be tricked and meet with irremediable disaster. To these words of the princes Amōn, the king of the Ammanites, gave more credence than they actually deserved, and grievously misused the envoys sent by David by shaving off a half of their beards and cutting off a half of their garments, and then dismissed them to bring back his answer in the form of acts instead of words. At sight of them the king of the Israelites was indignant and made it plain that he would not overlook this insult and outrage, but would make war on the Ammanites and exact satisfaction from their king for their lawless treatment of his envoys. Then the relatives and chiefs (of the Ammanite king), realizing that they had violated the treaty and were liable to punishment for this offense, sent a thousand talents to Syros, the king of the Mesopotamians, and invited him to become their ally ordered the envoys to remain in Jericho until their beards should have grown.

Of silver according to 1 Chron.; the sum is not mentioned in 2 Sam.

Of silver according to 1 Chron.; the sum is not mentioned in 2 Sam.

War with Ammon and its Syrian allies.
2 Sam. x. 5; 1 Chron. xix. 5.

"Syrians") of Beth-Rehob, lxx τῆν Συρίαν (L.c. τὸν Σύρων, as in Josephus) ἑαυτὰ ἐκ τὴσ θηρίων; 1 Chron. Aram Naharaim = the Aramaeans of Mesopotamia, lxx Συρίας Μεσοποταμίας. Josephus has mistaken an ethnic for a personal name.
μισθῶν παρεκάλεσαν καὶ Σουβάν· ἦσαν δὲ τοὺς βασιλεύον τούτοις πεζοὺς δύο μυριάδες. προσεμε-
θώσαντο δὲ καὶ τὸν ἕκ τῆς Μιχᾶς καλομενής κχόρας βασιλέα καὶ τέταρτον Ἰστοβοῦ ὄνομα, καὶ
tούτους ἔχοντας μυρίους καὶ δυσχιλίους ὀπλίτας.

122 (2) Οὐ κατεπλάγη δὲ τὴν συμμαχίαν καὶ τὴν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν δύναμιν ὁ Δαυίδης, τῷ δὲ θεῷ πεποι-
thῶς καὶ τῷ δικαίως αὐτοῖς ἀνθ' ὄν υβρίσθη πολε-
μίων μέλλειν, Ἰωάβον τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον δοὺς αὐ-
τῷ τῆς στρατιᾶς τὸ ἀκμαίοτατον, ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπεμβεν
123 ἐπ' αὐτοὺς. ὁ δὲ πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν Ἀμμα-
νιτῶν Ῥαββαθά ἐκατεστρατοπεδεύσατο. τῶν δὲ πολε-
μίων ἐξελθόντων καὶ παραταξαμένων οὐχ ὁμοῦ,
διότι δὲ, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἑπικουρικὸν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καθ' αὐτὸ ἐτάξθη, τὸ δὲ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν στρά-
τευμα πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἀντικρὺ τῶν Ἑβραίων,

124 ἰδὼν τοῦτο Ἰωάβος ἀντιμηχανάται· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀνδρειοτάτους ἐπιλεξάμενος ἀντιπαρατάσσεται τῷ
Σῦρῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῦσί, το δ' ἄλλο
παραδοὺς Ἀβισαίῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ τοῖς Ἀμμανιταῖς
ἐκέλευσεν ἀντιπαρατάξασθαι, εἰπών, ἀν τοὺς Σῦρους
ἵδη βιαζομένους αὐτὸν καὶ πλέον δυναμένους,
μεταγαγόντα τὴν φάλαγγα βοηθεῖν αὐτῶν τὸ δ'

1 πεζῶν MSP.
2 + τῶν Ἀμαληκτῶν βασιλέα καὶ τῶν SP.
3 καὶ τῷ Niese: καὶ RO: τῷ M: ἐν τῷ SP.
4 Hudson: Ἄραβαθα P: Ἄραμαθα rell. Lat.

2 Sam. Aram-Zoba = the Aramaeans of Zoba, lxx τὴν
Συπλαν Σουβᾶ: 1 Chron. “and from Zoba,” lxx παρὰ Σωβάλ.
Here Josephus has apparently mistaken a place-name for a
personal name. On the location of Zoba cf. § 99 note.
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for this payment, and they also invited Sūba. These kings had twenty thousand infantry. In addition they engaged the king of the country called Micha, and a fourth named Istobos, these latter having twelve thousand armed men.

(2) Undismayed either by this confederacy or by the Ammanite force, David put his trust in God and in the justice of his cause in going to war to avenge the insult he had suffered, and, giving Joab, his commander-in-chief, the flower of his army, at once sent him against them. Joab pitched his camp close to the Ammanite capital Rabatha. Then the enemy issued forth with their men drawn up not in one body but in two, for the auxiliary force was stationed by itself in the plain, and the Ammanite army at the gates, opposite the Hebrews. When Joab saw this, he contrived counter-measures; he selected the bravest of his men and drew them up over against Syros and the kings with him; the rest he turned over to his brother Abisai, with orders to draw them up over against the Ammonites, and, if he saw the Syrians pressing him hard and getting the better of him, to bring over his division and assist him; he

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*b* Bibl. Maacah, lxx 'Aμαλήκ (Chron. Mωχά), Luc. Μααχά; the region N.E. of the lake of Huleh.

c Bibl. Ish-tob, lxx Εἰστῶβ, 'Ιστῶβ. Ish-tob may have meant "the men of Tob," a region probably in the neighbourhood of these Aramaean states.

d 13,000 according to 2 Sam. (1000 with the king of Maacah + 12,000 with Ish-tob).

e Variant Aramatha; Bibl. Rabbah, lxx 'Ραββάθ. The name of the city is not given in Scripture, which says that the Ammonites were drawn up for battle "at the entrance of the gate" (Chron. "entrance of the city"). The city is located c. 25 m. E. of the Jordan on the upper waters of the river Jabbok; in Hellenistic times it was called Philadelphia, and as the modern 'Ammān is the capital of Transjordania.
JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸ τοῦτο ποιήσειν καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐὰν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀμ-
125 μανιτῶν αὐτὸν καταπονοῦμενον θεάσηται. προτρε-
ψάμενος οὖν τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ παρακαλέσας εὐφύχως
καὶ μετὰ προθυμίας ἄνθρασιν αἰσχύνη φοβουμένους
πρεποῦσης ἀγωνίσασθαι, τὸν μὲν ἀπέλυσε τοῖς
'Ἀμμανίταις μαχησόμενον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς Σὺροις
126 συνέβαλε, καὶ πρὸς ὅλιγον ἀντισχόντων αὐτῶν
καρτέρῳ, πολλοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν 'Ἰώαβος,
ἅπαντας δὲ ἦνάγκασεν εἰς φυγὴν τραπῆναι. τούτο
ιδόντες οἱ 'Ἀμμανίται καὶ δεῖσαντες τὸν 'Ἀβισαῖον
καὶ τὴν μετ’ αὐτῶν στρατιάν οὐκ ἔμειναν, ἀλλὰ
μυμψάμενοι τοὺς συμμάχους εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἔφυγον.
κρατήσας οὖν τῶν πολεμίων 'Ἰώαβος εἰς Ἰερ-
σόλυμα πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα λαμπρῶς ὑπέστρεψε.
127 (3) Τούτῳ τὸ πταῖσμα τοὺς 'Ἀμμανίτας οὐκ
ἔπεεσεν ἥρεμειν οὔδὲ μαθόντας τοὺς κρείττονας
ήσυχίαν ἄγειν, ἀλλὰ πεμψάντες πρὸς Χαλαμαῖν τὸν
τῶν πέραν Εὐφράτου Σὺρων βασιλέα μισθοῦνται
τοῦτον ἐπὶ συμμαχία, ἕχοντα μὲν ἀρχιστράτηγον,
Σέβεκον, πεζῶν δὲ μυρίάδας ὅκτω καὶ ἵππων
128 μυρίους. γνοὺς δ’ ὁ τῶν 'Εβραίων βασιλεὺς πάλιν
ἐπ’ αὐτὸν τοὺς 'Ἀμμανίτας τοσαύτην δύναμιν συν-
ηθροικότας, οὐκετί διὰ στρατηγῶν αὐτοῖς πολε-
μεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς σὺν ἀπάσῃ τῇ δυνάμει
diabας τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν καὶ ὑπαντήσας αὐτοῖς

1 συμμαχίαν MSP.
2 ex Lat. Niese: ἀντιστράτηγον codd.

* Again Josephus has mistaken a place-name for a personal name; in 2 Sam. x. 16 it is Helam, lxx Χαλαμά (with doublet Αιλάμ), Luc. Χαλαμά; in the following verse it appears as 428
himself would do the same if he saw Abisai being worn down by the Ammanites. Then, after encouraging his brother and exhorting him to fight bravely and with an ardour expected of men who fear disgrace, he sent him off to face the Ammanites in battle, while he himself engaged the Syrians. Although the latter resisted stoutly for a short time, Joab slew many of them and compelled all the rest to turn and flee. At this sight the Ammanites, who were afraid of Abisai and his army, waited no longer, but followed the example of their allies and fled to their city. Having thus overcome the enemy, Joab returned in triumph to the king at Jerusalem.

(3) This defeat did not persuade the Ammanites to remain quiet or to keep the peace in the knowledge that their enemy was superior. Instead they sent to Chalamas, the king of the Syrians across the Euphrates, and hired him as an ally with his commander-in-chief Sebekos and eighty thousand infantry and ten thousand cavalry. When the king of the Hebrews learned that the Ammanites had again assembled a very large force against him, he decided not to conduct the war through generals any longer, but himself crossed the river Jordan with his entire force and, when he met them, engaged them in a

Helama, lxx Αἰλάμ; the name is missing in 1 Chron. Some scholars think that Helam is the modern Aleppo, but Kraeling, Aram and Israel, p. 43, holds that this is too far north, and identifies it with Alema of 1 Mace. v. 26, apparently near the head-waters of the river Jarunik.

b 2 Sam. Shobach, lxx Σωβάκ, Lue. (with doublet) Σωβάκ καὶ Σαφεαὶ; 1 Chron. Shopach, lxx Σωφάρ, Σωφάχ κτλ. In Scripture he is called the commander of the army (A.V. "captain of the host") of Hadarezer (Hadadezer), who brought the auxiliary force from Helam.

c These numbers are invented by Josephus.
JOSEPHUS

ςυνάψας εἰς μάχην ἐνίκησε· καὶ ἀναίρει μὲν αὐτῶν πεζῶν μὲν εἰς τέσσαρας μυριάδας ἵππεων δὲ εἰς ἐπτακισχύλιους, ἔτρωσε δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν τοῦ

129 Χαλαμά Σέβεκου, ὁς ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς ἀπέθανεν. οἱ δὲ Μεσοποταμίται τοιούτῳ γενομένου τοῦ τέλους τῆς μάχης αὐτοὺς Δαυίδη παρέδοσαν καὶ δώρα ἐπεμψαν αὐτῷ. καὶ ὁ μὲν ὦρα χειμώνος ἀν- ἐστρεφεν εἰς Τερσολύμα, ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ ἔαρος ἐπέμψε τὸν ἀρχιστράτηγον Ἰωάβον πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Ἀμμανίταις. ὁ δὲ τὴν τε γῆν αὐτῶν ἀπασαν ἐπερχόμενος διέβλειε καὶ αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν μητρό- πολιν συγκλείσας Ἀραβαθᾶν ἐπολιόρκει.

130 (vii. 1) Συνέπεσε δὲ καὶ Δαυίδη πταίσμα δεινὸν ὅτι φύσει δυκαίω καὶ θεοσεβεῖ καὶ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους ἵσχυρῶς φυλάσσοντι· θεασάμενος γὰρ δείλης ὀψίας ἀπὸ τοῦ στέγους τῶν βασιλείων, ἐν ὦ περι- πατεῖν κατ’ ἐκεῖνο τῆς ὀρας τὴν ἔθος, γυναῖκα λουμένην ἐν τῇ αὐτῆς οἰκίᾳ ψυχρῶ ύδατι καλ- λίστην τὸ εἴδος καὶ πασῶν διαφέρουσαν, ὅνομα αὐτῆς ἦν Βεεθσαβῆ, ηττάται τοῦ κάλλους τῆς γυναικός· καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας κατασχεῖν οὐ δυνά- μενος μεταπεμψάμενος αὐτῆς συνέρχεται. γενο- μένης δ’ ἐγκυὸν τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ πεμψάς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὅπως τῷ ἀμαρτήματι σκέψηται τῶν τοῦ λαθείν ὀδῶν, ἀποδανεῖν γὰρ αὐτὴν κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους καθήκειν νόμους μεμοιχευμένην, μετα-

1 Hudson: Ἀραβαθᾶ (-a R) RMSP Lat.: Ἀραβᾶ Ὠ: Ἀρα- 

2 τέγους SP.

3 Βεεθσαβῆ SP hic et infra; cf. ad § 348.

4 κρατεῖν Naber.

5 μεταπεμ. αὐτῆν] αὐτῆ RO.

6 Niese: καθήκει M: προσήκει rell.

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battle in which he was victorious and slew some forty thousand of their infantry and seven thousand of their cavalry, while he also wounded Sebekos, Chalamas's commander, who afterwards died of the wound. Upon the conclusion of the battle in this manner, the Mesopotamians surrendered to David and sent him gifts. Then, as it was the winter season, he returned to Jerusalem; but, at the beginning of spring, he sent his commander-in-chief Joab to make war on the Ammanites. Joab, after overrunning all their country and ravaging it, shut them up in their capital Rabatha and laid siege to it.

(vii. 1) Now David, although he was by nature a righteous and godfearing man, and one who strictly observed the laws of his fathers, nevertheless fell into grave error; for late one evening he saw from the roof of his palace, where he was accustomed to walk at that hour, a woman bathing in her house with cold water. She was very beautiful to look upon and surpassed all other women; her name was Beethsabe. He was captivated by the beauty of the woman and, as he was unable to restrain his desire, he sent for her and lay with her. And when she became pregnant and sent to the king, asking him to contrive some way of concealing her sin—for, according to the laws of the fathers, she was deserving of death as an adulteress—he summoned the

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a So 1 Chron.; 2 Sam. "Seven hundred chariots and forty thousand horsemen."

b Detail added by Josephus.

c Variant Beersabé, cf. § 318; bibl. Bath-sheba, lxx Βησαβεί (cod. Α Βησαβεί), Luc. Βησαβεί (-αε).

d Bath-sheba's request and the comment on the penalty are an amplification of Scripture, which says, "the woman conceived and she sent and told David, and said, I am with child."
καλεῖται τὸν Ἰωάβου μὲν ὀπλοφόρον ἐκ τῆς πολιορκίας άνδρα δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς Οὐρίαν ὄνομα, καὶ παραγενόμενον περὶ τῆς στρατιάς καὶ τῆς πολιορκίας ἀνέκρινε. λέγοντος δὲ πάντα κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῦς κεχωρηκέναι τὰ πράγματα βαστάσας ἐκ τοῦ δείπνου μέρη προσδίδωσιν αὐτῷ καὶ κελεύει πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα ἀπελθόντα ἀναπαύσασθαι σὺν αὐτῇ. ὁ δὲ Οὐρίας τούτῳ μὲν οὐκ ἐποίησε, παρεκομιζόντως δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν τοῖς ἅλλοις ὀπλοφόροις. 

133 ὡς δὲ γνοὺς τοῦθ᾽ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὸν ὧτι μὴ πρὸς τὴν οἰκίαν ἔλθοι μηδὲ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα διὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνου, πάντων ἀνθρώπων ταῦτην ἐχώντων τὴν φύσιν ὅταν ἔλθωσιν εἰς ἀποδημίας, οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἐφή τῶν συστρατιωτῶν αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ χαμὴν κοιμώμενόν ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων χώρᾳ, μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ ἀναπαύσεθαι καὶ τρυφάν. ταῦτ᾽ εἶπόντα μέναι τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι ὡς εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσιαν ἀπολύσων αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν ἄρχονταργήγον. κληθεὶς δὲ ἐπὶ δείπνου ύπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως Οὐρίας καὶ μέχρι μέθης προελθὼν ἐν τῷ πότῳ, δεξιομενοῦ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῦ ἐπίτηδες ταῖς προπόσεσιν, οὐδὲν ἤτοι σὰρ πάλιν πρὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως θυρῶν ἐκομιμηθῇ μηδεμίαν λαβὼν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπιθυμίαν. ἐπὶ τούτως δὲ δυσανασχετῆσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐγραψε τῷ Ἰωάβῳ κολάσαι προστάτων τοῖς Οὐρίαις ἄμαρτεῖν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐδήλου καὶ τὸν τρόπον τῆς τιμωρίας ὡς μὴ γένηται φανερὸς αὐτῶς τοῦτο βουληθεῖς ὑπεθέτο· κατὰ γὰρ τὸ δυσμαχώτατον αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσε μέρος  

1 + αὐτὸν εἰς MSP Lat.  
2 προσέταξεν MSPE.
woman's husband, whose name was Uriah and who was also Joab's armour-bearer,\(^a\) from the siege, and, when he appeared, questioned him about the army and the siege. When the man told him that everything had gone as they wished, he took some portions of his supper and gave them to him with the command to go home to his wife and rest with her. Uriah, however, did not do so but slept near the king with the other armour-bearers. And, when the king learned of this, he inquired of him why he had not gone to his house after so long a period of absence, saying that this was the natural thing for men to do when they return from abroad. To this he replied that it was not right for him to enjoy luxurious rest in the company of his wife, while his fellow-soldiers and his commander were sleeping on the ground in their camp in enemy territory. When he had so spoken, the king ordered him to remain there that day, saying that he would send him back to the commander-in-chief on the morrow. So Uriah was invited to supper by the king and continued drinking until he was intoxicated, as the king deliberately pledged his health in cup after cup. Nevertheless he again slept before the king's door and felt no desire for his wife. In great displeasure at this, the king wrote to Joab, ordering him to punish Uriah, whom he made out to be a guilty man\(^b\); and, in order that he himself should not appear to have willed his punishment, he suggested the manner of it, which was to order Uriah to be stationed opposite the most

\(^a\) Unscriptural detail.

\(^b\) Scripture says nothing of any accusation made by David in the letter to Joab. Some of the rabbis, however, held that Uriah deserved death for disobeying David's order to go home to his wife.
τῶν πολεμίων τάξαι καὶ καθ’ ὁ κινδυνεύσει μαχό-
μενος ἀπολειφθεῖς μόνος· τοὺς γὰρ συμπαραστάτας ἀναχωρήσαι εκ τῆς μάχης γινομένης ἐκέλευσε.
ταῦτα γράψας καὶ σημειώμενος τῇ αὐτοῦ σφραγίδι τὴν ἐπιστολὴν ἔδωκεν Ὀυρία κομίσαι πρὸς Ἰωάβουν.

137 δεξάμενος δὲ Ἰωάβος τὰ γράμματα καὶ τὴν τοῦ
βασιλέως προαίρεσιν ἀναγνώσας, καθ’ ὃν ἦδει τόπον
tοὺς πολεμίους χαλεποὺς αὐτῶν γενομένους κατὰ
tοῦτον ἔστησε τὸν Ὀυρίαν δοὺς αὐτῶν τινας τῶν
ἀρίστων τῆς στρατιῶς· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀπάση τῇ δυνάμει
προσεπιθήκεσε ἐφῆσεν, εἰ δυνηθεῖν ἀνατρέ-
ψαντες τι τοῦ τείχους εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλειν.

138 ὄντα δ’ αὐτὸν γενναίον στρατιώτην καὶ δόξαν
ἔχοντα παρά τε τῶν βασιλεί καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὁμο-
φύλοις ἔτ’ ἀνδρεία, χαίρειν τοῖς μεγάλοις πόνοις
ἀλλὰ μὴ προσαγανακτεῖν ἤξιον. τοῦ δ’ Ὀυρία
προθύμως ὑποστάντος τὸ ἔργον, τοῖς μετ’ αὐτοῦ
παρατασσομένοις ἴδια καταλπεῖν ὅταν ἔξορμήσαν-

139 τας ἰδῶσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐδήλωσε. προσβαλόντων
οὖν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἑβραίων δείσαντες οἱ Ἀμ-
μανίται, μὴ κατ’ ἐκείνων τῶν τόπων, καθ’ ὃν
Ὀυρίαν συνέβαινε τετάχθαι, φθάσαντες ἀναβώσων
οἱ πολέμιοι, προστησάμενοι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους
αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν πύλην ἀνοίξαντες αἰφνιδίως καὶ
μετὰ ῥύμης καὶ δρόμου πολλοῦ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς

140 ἐπεξῆλθον. ἰδόντες δὲ αὐτοὺς οἱ σὺν τῷ Ὀυρίᾳ
πάντες ἀνεχώρησαν ὁπίσω, καθὼς Ἰωάβος αὐτοῖς
προείπεν· αἰσχυνθεῖς δ’ Ὀυρίας φυγεῖν καὶ τὴν
τάξιν καταλπεῖν ὑπέμενε τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ τὴν
ὄρμην αὐτῶν ἐκδεξάμενος ἀναίρει μὲν οὐκ ὁλίγους,
formidable part of the enemy, where, if left to fight alone, he would be in greatest danger; he also ordered his comrades in arms to retire when the battle began. When he had written this letter and stamped it with his own seal, he gave it to Uriah to carry to Joab. On receiving the letter and learning from it the king’s intention, Joab stationed Uriah at the place where he knew the enemy had been most troublesome to himself, and gave him some of the bravest men in the army. He also said that he would come to his assistance with his whole force if they could throw down part of the wall and enter the city. He therefore asked Uriah, as a good soldier and as one who was esteemed by the king and by all his countrymen for his bravery, to welcome his difficult task rather than object to it. And when Uriah eagerly undertook the work, Joab privately instructed the men who were stationed with him to desert him when they saw the enemy charge. Now when the Hebrews attacked the city, the Ammanites, in their fear that the enemy might surprise them by climbing up at the point where Uriah happened to be posted, put their bravest men in front and, suddenly opening the gates, rushed out upon the enemy with great violence and speed. At sight of them, the men with Uriah all retreated, as Joab had instructed them. But Uriah, who was ashamed to flee and abandon his post, remained to face the foe, and met their charge, slaying not a few; but finally, being surrounded on

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1 Niese: κινδυνεύει ROM: κινδυνεύεισει SP.
2 post μαχιμενος lacunam statuit Niese.
3 Naber: αὐτῷ codd.
...
all sides, he was caught and killed, and along with him there fell a few others from among his comrades.\textsuperscript{a}

(2) After this had taken place Joab sent messengers to the king, instructing them to tell him that he had made every effort to take the city quickly, but that, after an assault on the wall, he had lost many men and had been forced to retire; they were, he said, to add to this, if they saw that the king was wrathful, the news of Uriah’s death. But when the king heard the messengers’ report, he was greatly displeased and said that the army had blundered in assaulting the wall,\textsuperscript{b} whereas they ought to have tried to take the city with mines and engines, especially as they had before them the example of Abimelech, the son of Gedeon,\textsuperscript{c} who, in his attempt to take the town of Thebae\textsuperscript{d} by force, had been struck down by a rock hurled by an old woman and, in spite of being so very brave, had ignominiously perished because of his unfortunate method of attack.\textsuperscript{e} And with this in mind they ought not to have approached the enemy’s wall, for it was best to have in mind all things that had been tried in war, whether successfully or otherwise, under the same conditions of danger, in order to imitate the one and avoid the other. But when, on hearing the messenger’s report, show displeasure at Joab’s conduct of the siege, but it is Joab himself who anticipates David’s displeasure and his reference to the incident of Abimelech. The \textit{lxx} has an additional verse, in which David repeats almost verbatim the criticism anticipated by Joab. Josephus simplifies matters by attributing the speech to David after the messenger’s report.

\textsuperscript{a} Bibl. Jerubbesheth (for original Jerubbaal), \textit{lxx} Περοβαία, Luc. Περοβαίαλ; this was another name for Gideon, \textit{cf.} Jd. vi. 32, A. v. 214 note.

\textsuperscript{b} Bibl. Thebez, \textit{lxx} Θαμασί (in Jd. Θαμασί).

\textsuperscript{c} \textit{Cf.} A. v. 251 ff.
144 τεσθαί. ἐπεὶ δὲ οὕτως ἔχοντι καὶ τὸν Οὐρία θάνατον ἐδήλωσεν ὁ ἄγγελος, παύεται μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, Ἰωάβων δὲ ἐκείλευσεν ἀπελθόντα λέγειν ἀνθρώπινον εἶναι τὸ συμβεβηκός καὶ τὰ τοῦ πολέμου φύσιν ἔχειν τοιαύτην, ὡστε ποτὲ μὲν τοῖς ἐναντίοις εὐ πράττειν συμβαίνειν κατ’ αὐτὸν, ποτὲ

de τοῖς ἐτέροις. τοῦ λοιποῦ μὲντοι γε προνοεῖν τῆς πολιορκίας, ὅπως μηδὲν ἔτι πταῖσωσι κατ’ αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ χώμασι καὶ μηχαναὶ ἐκπολιορκήσαντας καὶ παραστησάμενοι τὴν μὲν πόλιν κατασκάψαι, ἀπαντᾷς δ’ ἀπολέσαι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὃ μὲν ἄγγελος τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἑντελεμένα κομιζών πρὸς Ἰωάβον ἡπείγετο. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Οὐρία γυνὴ Βεεθσαβῆ τὸν θάνατον τάνδρος πυθομένη ἐπὶ συχνάς αὐτοῦ ἥμερας ἐπένυθεσεν, παυσαμένην δὲ τῆς λύπης καὶ τῶν ἐπ’ Οὐρία δακρύων ὁ βασιλεὺς εὐθὺς ἀγεταί γυναῖκα, καὶ παῖς ἄρρην ἐξ αὐτῆς γίνεται αὐτῷ.

146 (3) Τοῦτον οὐχ ἡδέως ἐπείδευν ὁ θεὸς τὸν γάμον, ἀλλὰ δὲ ὀργῆς ἔχων τὸν Δαυίδην, τῷ προφήτῃ Νάπαθα φανεῖς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸνους ἐμέμφετο τὸν βασιλέα. Ὁ δὲ Νάδας ἀστεῖος καὶ συνετός ὃν ἀνήρ, λογισάμενος ως οἱ βασιλεῖς ὦταν εἰς ὀργὴν ἐμπέσωσι ταύτη πλέον ἡ τῷ δικαίῳ νέμουσι, τὰς μὲν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγενημένας ἀπειλᾶς ἥσυχάζειν ἐκρίνην, ἀλλος δὲ λόγους χρηστοὺς πρὸς αὐτὸν διεξῆλθε, καὶ δὴ τοιούτοι τινὰ τρόπον περὶ οὐ καὶ τί φρονεῖ ποίησαι σαφές αὐτῷ παρεκάλει: “δύο γάρ,” φησίν, “ἀνδρές τὴν αὐτὴν κατόκουν πόλιν,

1 M: ἔχοντα RO: ἔχοντα ἐγνω SP.

a David’s instructions to Joab are an amplification of Scripture.  
b Detail added by Josephus. 
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while he was in this humour, he was further informed by the messenger of Uriah's death, he ceased being angry and ordered him to go back and tell Joab that what had happened was human destiny, and such was the nature of war that now one of the opposing sides happened to be successful therein, and now the other; for the future, however, they should look to the siege and avoid meeting with another reverse in the course of it. They should rather besiege the city with mounds and engines and, after forcing it to surrender, raze it to the ground and destroy all those within it. So the messenger hastened to carry back to Joab the commands of the king, while Beethsabē, the wife of Uriah, learning of her husband's death, mourned for him many days. But, as soon as she had ceased grieving and weeping for Uriah, the king took her to wife, and had by her a son.

(3) God, however, did not look upon this marriage with favour, but was angry with David, and, appearing to the prophet Nathan in a dream, He found fault with the king. Thereupon Nathan, being a man of tact and understanding, and reflecting that when kings fall into a passion they are more influenced by this than by a sense of justice, decided to keep silence about the threats that had been made by God, and instead addressed him in mild terms, and somewhat in the following manner asked him to give him his opinion of a like case:

"There were," he said, "two men living in the same city, one of..."
ὅν ὁ μὲν πλοῦσιος ἦν καὶ πολλὰς εἶχεν ἀγέλας ὑποξυγίων τε καὶ θρεμμάτων καὶ βοῶν, τῷ πένητι
149 δ' ἀμνάς ὑπῆρχε μία. ταύτην μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ¹ ἀνέτρεφε συνδιαιρούμενος² αὐτῇ τὰ σιτία καὶ ἐλθόντος τῷ πλούσιῳ τῶν μὲν ὕδιων οὐδὲν ἦξίωσεν ἐκεῖνος βοσκημάτων καταθύσας εὐωχήσας τὸν φίλον, πέμψας δὲ τὴν ἀμνάδα τοῦ πένητος ἀπέσπασε, καὶ ταύτην παρασκεύασας εἰσῆλθε τὸν ἔξον."  
150 σφόδρα δ' ἐλύπησεν ὁ λόγος οὗτος τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πονηρὸν πρὸς τὸν Νάθαν τὸν ἀνθρωπον ἐκεῖνον, ὅσ δὴ τούτῳ τὸ ἔργον ἐτόλμησεν, ἀπεφήνατο καὶ τετραπλῆν ἀποτίσαι τὴν ἀμνάδα δίκαιον εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τούτων θανάτῳ κολασθῆναι. Νάθας δ' ὑποτυχῶν αὐτὸν ἐλεγεν ἐκεῖνον εἶναι τὸν ἄξιον ταῦτα παθεῖν ὑφ' ἐαυτοῦ κεκριμένου τολμήσαντα μέγα
151 καὶ δεινον ἔργον. ἀνεκάλυπτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παρεγύμνου τὴν ὁργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πονήσαντος μὲν αὐτὸν βασιλέα πάσης³ τῆς 'Εβραίων δυνάμεως καὶ τῶν ἐν κύκλῳ πάντων ἐθνῶν πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων κύριον, ῥυσομένου δ' ἔτι πρὸ τούτων ἐκ τῶν Σαουλου χειρῶν, δόντος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ γυναίκας ὡς δικαίως καὶ νομίμως ἡγάγετο, καταφρονήθεντος δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄσβηθεντος, ὅς ἀλλοτριὰν τε γῆμας ἔχοι⁴ γυναίκα καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς ἀποκτέινειν
152 ἐκδοὺς τοῖς πολεμίοις· δῶσειν οὖν αὐτῶν ἀντὶ τούτων δίκας τῷ θεῷ καὶ βιασθήσεθαι μὲν αὐτοῦ τὰς γυναίκας ὑφ' ἐνὸς τῶν παίδων, ἐπιβουλευθή-

¹ αὐτὸς MSP.       ² συνδιαιρούμενος M: συνδατούμενος Naber.
³ πάσης om. MSP.
⁴ Hudson: ἔχει RMSP: ἔχειν O.

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whom was wealthy and possessed many herds of beasts of burden, sheep and cattle, while the other had only one ewe lamb. This he brought up with his own children, sharing his food with it and giving it the same affection that one would give one's own daughter. Now once, when the wealthy man was visited by a guest, he did not see fit to slaughter one of his own animals for the feasting of his friend, but he sent men to take away the ewe lamb from the poor man, and prepared it for the delectation of his guest.” This story greatly distressed the king and he declared to Nathan that the man who had had the heart to do this thing was a villain, and that it was just that he repay the lamb fourfold and in addition be punished with death. Nathan thereupon rejoined that David himself was the one who deserved this punishment, having been condemned by himself of perpetrating a great and terrible crime. He also revealed to him in the plainest fashion the wrath of God, for though He had made him king of all the Hebrew host and lord of all the many great nations around them, and had, even before that, delivered him from Saul’s hands, and had given him wives to take in rightful and lawful marriage, yet He had been disregarded and impiously treated by him when he took another’s wife in marriage and caused his death by giving him up to the enemy. For this, he said, he should make amends to God, and his wives should be violated by one of his sons, and he too

a So Heb. and Luc.; lxx “sevenfold.” Cf. Ex. xxii. 1 (Heb. xxii. 37) on the fourfold penalty for the theft of a sheep.

b i.e. Absalom, cf. § 213 (=2 Sam. xvi. 21 f.). At this point, Scripture merely says, “I will take thine wives before thine eyes, and give them unto thy neighbour.”
σεσθαί δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπ’ ἐκεῖνον, καὶ τὸ ἁμάρτημα τούτῳ κρύφα δράσαντα φανερὰν τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ δίκην ὑφέξειν. τεθυγγεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸν παιδὰ σου παρα-
153 χρῆμα τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγενημένον. ταραξθέντος δ’ ἐπί τούτως τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ συσχεθέντος ἱκανῶς καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καὶ λύπης ἁσβῆσαι λέγοντος, ἣν γὰρ ὁμολογουμένως θεοσβήσει καὶ μηδὲν ἁμαρ-
τῶν ὀλως περὶ τὸν βίον ἡ τὰ περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναῖκα, ὑκτερεύον ὁ θεὸς καὶ διαλαπτεῖται, φυλά-
ξειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπ-
αγγελίμενος· μετανοοῦντι γὰρ περὶ τῶν γεγενη-
μένων οὐκέτι χαλεπῶς ἔχειν ἔφασκε. καὶ Νάθας μὲν ταῦτα τῷ βασιλεὶ προφητεύσας οἰκάδε ἐπαν-
ήλθε.
154 (1) Τῶν δ’ ἐκ τῆς Οὐρία γυναίκος γενομένῳ παιδὶ Δαυὶδ θανοῦν ἐνυκῆπτει χαλεπὴν τὸ θεῖον, ἐφ’ ὡς δυσφορὰν ὁ βασιλεὺς τροφῆν μὲν ἐφ’ ἡμέρας ἐπὶ διότι χαὶ ἁμαρτανόντων τῶν οἰκεῖων οὐ προσηγκατο, μελαινὴν δὲ περιθέμενοι ἔσθητα πεσῶν ἐπὶ σάκκον κατὰ γῆς ἐκείνω κατὰ τὸν θεὸν ἑκτετέων ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίας· σφόδρα
155 γὰρ ἐστέργεν αὐτοῦ τὴν μυτέρα. τῆς δ’ ἐβδομῇ τῶν ἡμερῶν τελευτῆσαντος τοῦ παιδὸς οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν τῷ βασιλεῖ τούτῳ μηνύσει οἱ θεράποντες λογικῶ-
μενοι μὴ γινοῦσ’ ἐτὶ μάλλον ἀπόσχηται καὶ τροφῆς καὶ τῆς ἁλλῆς ἐπιμελείας ὡς ἀν ἐπὶ ποθείνοντ᾽ τέκνον τετελευτηκότος, ὀτε καὶ νοσοῦντος οὔτως

1 οὐγχύσαντος MSPE: confuso Lat.
2 Niese: ποθηροῦ RO: ποθείνει SP Lat.: πόθω (post τέκνον) M.

α In Scripture, Nathan’s prophecy of the child’s death is made after David’s confession of sin.

b The black garment is not mentioned in Scripture, which
should be plotted against by this same son; and for this sin, which he had committed secretly, he should suffer the penalty in the sight of all. Furthermore the son whom she would bear him would die soon after birth.\(^a\) At these words the king was dismayed and greatly troubled, and with tears of grief admitted his impiety—for he was, as all agreed, a god-fearing man and never sinned in his life except in the matter of Uriah’s wife—, whereupon God took pity on him and was reconciled to him. And He promised to preserve both his life and his kingdom, for, He said, now that he repented of his deeds, He was no longer displeased with him. Then Nathan, after prophesying these things to the king, returned to his home.

(4) Now upon the child whom Uriah’s wife bore to David the Deity caused a grave illness to fall, and the king, in his unhappiness over this, did not partake of food for seven days, although his servants tried to force him to do so. Instead he put on a black garment and, throwing himself upon sackcloth, lay on the ground, beseeching God to spare the life of the child,\(^b\) whose mother he so deeply loved. But on the seventh day the child died, and the servants dared not inform the king, for they feared that when he learned of it he might even more completely refuse food and other necessary care, in his desolation at the death of his son, seeing that even during the child’s illness he had, in his grief, so greatly afflicted says, “David therefore besought God for the child, and David fasted and went in and lay all night upon the earth,” but Luc. and some lxx codd. add (after “went in”) “and he slept in sackcloth.” On the black garments worn by accused persons on appearing before the judge cf. A. xiv. 172 (Herod before the Synhedrion), B.J. i. 506 (Pheroras before Herod).
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156 ὑπὸ τῆς λύπης ἐαυτὸν ἐκάκου. ταραττομένων δ’ αἰσθόμενος τῶν οἰκετῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ταῦτα πασχόντων, ἀ μάλιστα συγκρύβαι τι θέλουσι συμβαίνει, συνεὶς ὅτι τέθυνειν ὁ παῖς προσφωνήσας ἐνα τῶν οἰκετῶν καὶ μαθῶν τάληθες ἀνίσταται, καὶ λοιπάμενος καὶ λαβὼν ἐσθήτα λευκὴν εἰς τὴν

157 σκηνήν τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται, καὶ κελεύσας δείπνον αὐτῷ παραθείναι πολλὴν ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τοῖς τε συγγενέσι καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ἐκπληξὶ παρεῖχεν, ὅτι μηδεν ποιῶν ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι τῷ παιδὶ ποιῆσας πάνθ᾽ ὅμοι τετελευτηκότος ἐπρατείν. τὴν τε αἰτίαν, δεηθέντες ἐπιτρέψαι πρῶτον αὐτῶς πυθεῖν. 158 οἴσαι, παρεκάλουν εἰπεῖν τῶν γεγενημένων. ὃ δὲ ἀμαθεῖς εἰπὼν αὐτοὺς ἐδίδασκεν ὡς ἐτι μὲν ξόντος τοῦ παιδὸς ἑξὼν ἑλπίδα σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ δεόντως πάντ᾽ ἐποίει, τὸν θεὸν ἐγγυμένος τοῦτοι εὐμενῇ καταστήσει, ἀποθανόντος δ᾽ οὐκέτι χρείαν εἶναι λύπης ματαίας. ταῦτ᾽ εἰπόντος ἐπήνεσαν τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν τοῦ βασιλέως. συνελθὼν δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ Βεεθσαβη ἐγκυνον αὐτὴν ἐποίησε, καὶ γενόμενον' ἄρρεν παιδίον Σολομώνα2 προσηγόρευσεν, οὕτως Νάθα τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος.

159 (5) Ἰώαβος δὲ τῇ πολιορκίᾳ τούτῳ Ἀμμανίτας ἱσχυρῶς ἐκάκου τῶν τε ὑδάτων αὐτοὺς ἀποτεμνόμενος καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλλων εὐπορίας, ὅς πάνυ τολαπωρεῖν ἐνδεία ποτοῦ καὶ τροφῆς. ἐξ ὁλίγου γὰρ

1 γεννησαμένην R: γεννησαμένν O: procreavit Lat.
2 + τοῦτον RO.

* Scripture says merely that “he changed his apparel.” Weill and Rappaport find here an allusion to customs followed in Josephus’s own time. But in the literature cited by 4:44
himself. The king, however, perceived that they were disturbed and were acting in such a manner as is usual with those who wish to conceal something, and so he realized that the child had died. Then he called to him one of his servants and, when he learned the truth, he arose, bathed, put on a white garment and went to the tent of God; and when he ordered a meal to be prepared for him, he caused great astonishment at his strange conduct among his relatives and servants, because he had done none of these things during the child’s illness, and was suddenly doing them now that he was dead. So, having first requested permission to inquire, they asked him to tell them the reason for these acts. Thereupon he called them dullards, and explained that while the child was still alive, he had hoped for its recovery and had therefore done everything proper, with the thought of rendering God gracious to him by such means; but now that it was dead, he no longer had any need of vain grief. At these words they praised the king’s wisdom and understanding. Then David lay with his wife Beethsabe, and she conceived and bore a son, whom he named Solomon, at the bidding of the prophet Nathan.

(5) Now Joab in besieging the Ammanites was inflicting great damage on them by cutting off their water and other supplies, so that they were in a very pitiable condition for lack of food and drink, for they the latter we have references only to the wearing of white garments on solemn holy days such as New Year, the Fast of Ab and the Day of Atonement.

b The approval of the people is a detail added by Josephus.

c Scripture adds that the child was also called Jedidiah ("beloved of Yah"), "for the Lord's sake," who "had sent by the hand of Nathan."
The details of the siege are an amplification of 2 Sam. xii. 27, “And Joab sent messengers to David, and said, I have fought against Rabbah, and I have taken the city of waters.”

So the Heb. malkâm “their king”; but the lxx reading Μελχῶν τοῦ βασιλέως indicates that the Ammonite god Milcom (cf. 1 Kings xi. 5) was originally meant.

Scripture speaks only of a “precious stone,” lxx λίθον.
were dependent on a small well and this had to be carefully controlled in order that the spring might not fail them altogether because of too frequent use. Accordingly, he wrote to the king, informing him of this and inviting him to come to the capture of the city in order that he might have the victory ascribed to himself. Upon receiving Joab's letter, the king commended his loyalty and faithfulness; then he took along the force that was with him and came for the sacking of Rabatha, which he took by force and allowed his soldiers to plunder. He himself took the crown of the Ammanite king, which weighed a talent of gold and had in its centre a precious stone, a sardonyx; and thereafter David always wore it on his own head. He also found much other splendid and valuable spoil in the city. As for the inhabitants, he tortured them and put them to death. And the other Ammanite cities, which he took by force, he treated in the same way.

(viii. 1) But when the king returned to Jerusalem, a great misfortune overtook his household, arising from the following cause. He had a daughter who The story of Ammon and Tamar (Ishmaela), 2 Sam. xiii. 1

\[\text{τωμίου}\]. It may be noted that in A. iii. 165 Josephus uses σαρδώνιβος to translate Heb. eben sōhām "onyx" (?), lxx σάρδικον "emerald" (?) of Ex. xxviii. 9, while in A. iii. 168 he uses the same word to translate Heb. 'ōdem "sardins" (A.V. "carnelian"), lxx σάρδια of Ex. xxviii. 17. Evidently Josephus, like the lxx translators, was not sure of the meaning of some Heb. names of precious stones; the same uncertainty marks our renderings to-day.

\[d\] It is not clear from Scripture whether David thereafter wore the crown or only the jewel in it.

\[e\] The Heb. text of 2 Sam. xii. 31 is obscure and probably corrupt, leaving it uncertain whether the Ammonites were tortured or merely put to forced labour. It is probable that Josephus omits the Scriptural details because of the difficulty of the text.
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θένος μὲν ἐτὶ τὸ δὲ κάλλος εὐπρεπῆς, ὃς ἀπάσας ὑπερβάλλειν τὰς εὐμορφοτάτας γυναῖκας, Θαμάρα ὄνομα, τῆς δ' αὐτῆς Ἀβαλώμῳ μητρὸς κεκοιμώ- 
163 νηκύια. ταύτης ὁ πρεσβύτατος1 τῶν Δαυίδου παίδων Ἀμνὸν ἔρασθείς, ὡς οὖτε διὰ τὴν παρθενίαν αὐτῆς οὖτε διὰ τὴν φυλακὴν τυχεῖν τῆς ἑπιθυμίας ἐδύνατο, χαλεπῶς διέκειτο, καὶ τὸ τε σῶμα τῆς ὀδύνης αὐτὸν κατεσθοῦσις κατασχναί- 
164 νετὸ καὶ τὴν χρόαν μετέβαλε. δῆλος δὲ γίνεται ταύτα πάσχων 'Ἰωνάθη τινι συγγενεῖ καὶ φίλῳ. συνετὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος ἐν τοῖς μᾶλατα καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ὄξυς. ὁρῶν οὖν καθ' ἐκάστην πρωΐαν τὸν Ἀμνὸν μὴ κατὰ φύσιν ἔχοντα τῷ σώματι προσελθὼν ἠρώτα φράσαι τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶ, εἰκά- 
ζειν μέντοι γε αὐτὸς ἐλεγεν εῖς ἐρωτικὴν οὖτως 
165 ἔχειν αὐτὸν ἑπιθυμίας. τοῦ δὲ Ἀμνῶνος ὁμολογή- 
σαντος τὸ πάθος, ὅτι τῆς ἄδελφῆς ἐρὰ τυγχανούσης ὁμοπατρίας, ὅδον αὐτῶ καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὸ περι- 
γενέσθαι τῶν εὐκταίων ὑπέθετο. νόσου γὰρ ὑπο-
κρίνασθαι παρῆσεν, ἐλθόντα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν 
πατέρα πέμψα τὴν ἄδελφην αὐτῶ διακοινοσμένην 
ἐκέλευσε παρακάλεσαι. μίω2 γὰρ ἐσεθαί καὶ 
ταχέως ἀπαλαγήσεθαι τῆς νόσου τοῦτου γενο-
166 μένου. πεσών οὖν ὁ Ἀμνὸν ἐπὶ τὴν κλίνην νοσεῖν προσεποιεῖτο κατὰ τὰς 'Ἰωνάθου ὑποθήκας. παρα-
γενομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ σκεπτομένου 
πῶς ἔχου, τὴν ἄδελφην ἐδείτο πέμψαι πρὸς αὐτὸν: 
ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἀχθῆναι. ἡκοῦσθι δὲ προσ-

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1 E Glycas: πρεσβύτερος codd.
2 Ernesti: ρα'ων, ρα'ων codd.

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a Bibl. Tamar, lxx Θημάρ, Cod. A and Luc. Θαμάρ.
b An added detail, suggested, I suspect, by the Targum's

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was still a virgin and of such striking beauty that she surpassed all the fairest women; her name was Thamara and she had the same mother as Absalom. Now the eldest of David's sons, Amnon, fell in love with her but, since he could not obtain his desire because of her virginity and because she was closely guarded, he became very ill and, as the pain consumed his body, he wasted away and lost his colour. His unhappy state then became apparent to a certain Jonathes, a relative and friend and a man who was exceedingly clever and sharp-witted. So when he saw Amnon every morning in a bodily state that was not natural, he went up to him and asked him to tell him the reason, but, he said, he himself guessed that he was in this state as a result of love-sickness. And Amnon confessed his passion, saying that he was in love with his sister on the father's side, whereupon the other suggested to him an ingenious way of obtaining his wishes. He advised him to feign illness and, when his father came to him, to request him to send his sister to wait on him. If he did this, he said, he would get better and would soon be rid of his illness. Accordingly, Amnon took to his bed and, following Jonathes' suggestion, pretended to be ill. Then, when his father came and inquired how he felt, he begged him to send his sister to him; thereupon the king immediately ordered her to be brought rendering of 2 Sam. xiii. 2, where the Heb. has "it was difficult in the eyes of Amnon (A.V. "and it seemed hard to Amnon") to do anything to her"; for "it was difficult" Targum has havá mekassá "it was concealed," but Josephus apparently took the ptc. mekassá as feminine and as referring to Tamar.

Bibl. Jonadab, lxx Ιωνᾶδᾶς, Luc. Ιωνᾶθάρ. Scripture adds that he was a son of Shimeah, David's brother, cf. § 178.

d Detail added by Josephus.
étaξεν ἀρτῶς αὐτῷ πουήσαι τηγανιστοὺς αὐτουργῶ.  
167 γενομένην· προσούσεσθαι γὰρ ἀδιον ἐκ τῶν ἐκείνης 
χειρῶν. ἡ δ' ἐμβλέποντος τάδελφοὶ φυράσασα τὸ 
ἀλευρὸν καὶ πλάσασα κολλυρίδας καὶ τηγανίσασα 
προσήνεγκεν αὐτῶ. ὁ δὲ τότε μὲν οὐκ ἐγένηστο, 
προσέταξε δὲ τοῖς οὐκέτασι παρατήρησασθαι πάντας 
πρὸ τοῦ δωματίου· βούλεσθαι γὰρ ἀναπαύσασθαι, 
168 θορύβου καὶ παραχῆς ἀπηλλαγμένος. ὃς δὲ τὸ 
κελευσθὲν ἐγένετο, τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἦξισεν εἰς τὸν 
ἐνδοτέρω οἶκον τὸ δεδύτω αὐτῷ παρενεχκεν 
ποιησάσης δὲ τούτο τῆς κόρης λαβόμενος αὐτῆς 
συνελθεῖν αὐτῷ πείθειν ἑπειράτο. ἀνακραγοῦσα δ' 
ἡ παῖς "ἀλλὰ μὴ σὺ γε τούτο βιάσῃ με μηδὲ 
ἀσεβήσῃς," εἶπεν, "ἀδελφέ, τοὺς νόμους παραβᾶς 
καὶ δεινῶν περιβαλῶν σαυτὸν αἰσχύνῃ· πῶς δ' 
οὕτως αὗτοι καὶ μιαρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, ἐξ ἦς ὁ νείδη 
169 και κακοδοξίαν ο οἶκος ἡμῶν κερδανεί." συν-
εβουλευε τε περὶ τούτον διαλειχθῆναι τῷ πατρὶ 
συγχωρήσειν γὰρ ἐκείνοι. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγε βουλο-
μένη τὴν ὁμῆν αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀρέξεως πρὸς τὸ παρόν 
διαφυγείν. ὁ δ' οὐ πείθεται, τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι κατο-
μενος καὶ τοῖς τοῦ πάθους κέντροις μνωπιζόμενος 
170 βιάζεται τὴν ἀδελφὴν. μίκος δ' εὐθέως μετὰ τὴν 
διακόρησιν εἰσέρχεται τὸν Ἀμνώια καὶ προσ-

1 κορεῖαν (-ίαν) ROE: διακορίαν S: διακορίας Ζοναρας.

a Heb. šte lehibōth "two heart-shaped (or "round")
ceakes," Targum tartôn haliltâthâ "two dumplings" (dough 
stirred and boiled in water, sometimes fried after boiling), 
IXX δῖο κολλύριας (v.l. -ιδας) "two rolls." The IXX word is 
used by Josephus in § 167.

b According to Scripture (Heb., Targum and IXX) they 
were boiled.

c Marriage with a half-sister on the father’s side was thus
and, when she arrived, instructed her to make some fried a cakes for Amnon with her own hands. for, David said, he would eat more readily from her hands. And so, while her brother looked on, she kneaded the flour and formed it into rolls which she fried b and brought to him. He, however, did not immediately taste them, but ordered his servants to send away all who stood at the door of his chamber, as he wished to rest and be free from noise and disturbance. When they had done as he ordered, he asked his sister to serve the meal to him in his inner chamber, and the maid did so, whereupon he took hold of her and attempted to persuade her to lie with him. But the girl cried out and said, “Oh no, do not force me to this nor be so impious, my brother, as to transgress the law and bring upon yourself dreadful shame. Give up this unrighteous and unholy desire, from which our house will reap only disgrace and ill fame.” She further counselled him to speak of the matter with his father, for he would consent to their marriage. c Thus she spoke in order to escape for the moment from the violence of his lust. He, however, did not listen to her, but, burning with desire and goaded by the spur of passion, violated his sister. But no sooner had Amnon ravished d her than he was filled with loathing of her, evidently permitted in David’s time, although prohibited in the law ascribed to Moses, Lev. xviii. 6 ff. (which scholars generally regard as actually much later than Moses). The rabbis, attempting to reconcile this early practice with the Mosaic law, explained that Tamar’s mother had given birth to her before being converted to Judaism, and that therefore Tamar was not strictly a blood-relative of Amnon according to Jewish law. d T. Reinach, hesitating to accept the reading διακόρησιν, suggests μετὰ κόρον “after surfeit.”
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λουδορισάμενος ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστάσαν ἀπιέναι. 1 τῆς δὲ χειρὶ τὴν ύβριν καὶ διὰ τούτο ἀποκαλούσης, εἰ βιασάμενος αὐτὸς μὴν ἀχρὶ νυκτὸς ἐπιτρέπει μεῖναι παραχρήμα δὲ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι κελεύει ἐν ἡμέρᾳ καὶ φωτὶ, ἵνα καὶ μάρτυς τῆς αἰσχύνης περιπέσοι, προσέταξεν αὐτὴν ἐκβαλεῖν τῷ οἰκείῳ.

171 ἡ δὲ περιάλγη ἐπὶ τῇ ύβρὶ καὶ τῇ βίᾳ γενομένῃ περιρρήξασα τὸν χειρωνίσκον, ἐφόρουν γὰρ αἱ τῶν ἀρχαίων παρθένους χειριδωτοὺς ἀχρὶ τῶν σφυρῶν πρὸς τὸ μὴ βλέπεσθαι χιτῶνας, καὶ σποδὸν κατα-χειρισμὴ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀπῆδε διὰ τῆς πόλεως μέσης

172 βοώσα καὶ ὀδυρομένη τῆς βίας. περιτυχῶν δ' αὐτῆς ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀψαλώμος ἀνέκρυ σῖνος αὐτῆς δεινοῦ συμβάντος οὕτως ἔχει κατειπούσης δ' αὐτῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν τὴν ύβριν, ἡναιχάζειν καὶ μετρίως φέρειν παρηγόρει καὶ μὴ νομίζειν ύβρίσθαι φθα-ρεύσαν ὑπ' ἀδελφοῦ. πεισθείσα οὖν παύεται τῆς βοής καὶ τοῦ πρὸς πολλοὺς τὴν βίαν ἐκφέρειν, καὶ πολὺν χρόνον χηρεύουσα παρὰ Ἀψαλώμῳ τῷ ἀδελφῷ διεκαρτήσει.

173 (2) Γνοὺς δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ πατὴρ Δαυίδης τοῖς μὲν πεπραγμένοις ἤχθετο, φιλῶν δὲ τὸν 'Αμνῶνα σφόδρα, πρεσβύτατος γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸς νιός, μὴ λυπεῖν αὐτὸν ἡγακάζετο. ὁ δὲ Ἀψαλώμος ἐμύσεις ἁλεπίῶς αὐτὸν καὶ λατάνων καιρὸν εἰς ἀμυναν αὐτοῦ

174 τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἐπιτύδειον παρεμφύλαττεν. ἦτος δ' ἦδη τοῖς περὶ τήν ἀδελφήν αὐτοῦ πταίσμασι

1 Zonaras: ἀπείναι codd. E.
2 + γε MSP: + γὰρ Naber: + τε Ernesti.
and, heaping abuse upon her head, he ordered her to rise and be gone. And when she denounced it as a still worse outrage that, after himself violating her, he did not allow her to remain until night but ordered her to depart immediately in broad daylight that she might encounter witnesses of her shame, he told his servant to throw her out. Then, in her distress at the outrage and the violence done her, she rent her tunic—in ancient times virgins wore long-sleeved tunics reaching to the ankle, in order not to be exposed—and poured ashes on her head and went away through the midst of the city, crying aloud and bewailing the violence she had suffered. Her brother Absalom meeting her inquired what misfortune had befallen her that she acted in this way. And when she told him of the outrage, he exhorted her to be quiet and to take it calmly and not consider herself outraged in having been ravished by her brother. So she obeyed him and ceased crying and publishing the violation abroad, and remained desolate in the house of her brother Absalom.

(2) Now when her father David learned of this, he was grieved by what had happened, but, as he loved Amnon greatly,—for he was his eldest son—he was compelled not to make him suffer. Absalom, however, hated him fiercely, and in secret waited for a favourable opportunity to take vengeance for his crime. When the second year had already passed since his
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διεληλύθει δεύτερον, καὶ μέλλων ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἰδίων κουράν ἐξεναί θρεμμάτων εἰς Βελσεβών, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν αὐτή τῆς Ἐφραίμου κληρουχίας, παρακαλεῖ τὸν πατέρα σὺν καὶ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐλθεῖν πρὸς

175 αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἐστίασιν. παρατηρησμένον δ' ὡς μὴ βαρὺς αὐτῷ γένοιτο, τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἀποστείλαι παρεκάλεσε. πέμψαντος δὲ τοῖς ἰδίοις ἐκέλευσεν, ὀπηνίκ' ἀν¹ ἱδωσι τὸν 'Αμιῶνα μέθη παρεμένον καὶ κάρω, νευσάντως αὐτοῦ φονεύσωσι μηδένα φοβηθέντες.

176 (3) 'Ως δ' ἐποίησαν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐκπλήξις καὶ παραχῇ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαμβάνει, καὶ δείσαντες περὶ εαυτῶν ἐμπιθήσαντες τοῖς ἱπποῖς ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. φθάσας δὲ τις αὐτοὺς ἀπάντας ὑπὸ Ἀψαλώμου πεφοινεύθαι τῷ πατρὶ πρὸς ἀγίαν

177 γείλην. ὁ δ' ὡς ἐπὶ παισὺν ὁμοῦ τοσοῦτοι ἀπολογότοι καὶ τοῦθ' ὑπ' ἀδελφοῦ, τῆς λύπης κἀπὶ τῷ κτείνας δοκοῦντι γινομένης πικρότερον, συναιστήνεις ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους οὔτε τὴν αὐτίαν ἀνέκριμεν οὔτ' ἀλλ' τι μαθεῖν, οἴνον εἰκὸς τηλικοῦτον προσηγελιμένον κακοῦ καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστίαν ἔχοντος, περείμενεν, ἀλλὰ καταρρηξάμενος τὴν ἐσθήτα καὶ ρύμας εαυτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐκείτο πενθῶν τοὺς νόσου ἀπάντας καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανεῖν δεδηλωμένους καὶ τὸν

178 ἀνηρηκότα. ὁ δὲ Σαμᾶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ παῖς

¹ Niese: ὀπηνίκα codd. E: ὅπως ὀπηνίκα Holwerda: ὅπως ὀπηνίκ' ἀν Hudson.
² + δυναμένης, ∼aις codd.

a Bibl. "Baal-hazor, which is beside (lit. "with ") Ephræim," lxx ἐν Βααλασσώρ τῇ ἐξόμενα Ἐφραίμ, Luc. Βααλασσώρ παρὰ Γοφράιμ. The Γοφράιμ of Luc. is apparently Ophrah, a city in the territory of Benjamin, not of Ephraim, cf. Joshua xviii. 23; if this is so, it confirms the theory that Baal-hazor 454
sister’s misfortune, and as he was about to depart for Belsephon—a this is a city in the territory of Ephraim—a—to shear his sheep, he invited his father, along with his brothers, to come to his home for a feast. But David declined on the ground that he would be a burden to him, whereupon he urged him to send his brothers. Then Absalom sent a message to his men, giving orders that when they saw Amnon overcome by drink and in a daze, they should, at a signal from himself, murder him without fear of anyone.

(3) And when they carried out these commands, dismay and confusion seized his other brothers, and in fear for their lives they leaped on their horses and rode away to their father. But someone reached there before them and reported to the king that they had all been murdered by Absalom. At the loss of so many sons at once and especially at the hands of a brother—his grief being more bitter when he thought who the supposed murderer was—he was overcome by his trouble and did not inquire the reason nor take time to learn anything else,—as might have been expected in view of the greatness of the reported tragedy and its unbelievable atrociousness—but rent his garments and threw himself on the ground to lie there mourning for all his sons, both those whose deaths had been announced and him who had slain them. Then Jonathes, a son of his brother Sama,* is the modern Tell 'Asur, about 5 miles N.E. of Beitin (bibl. Bethel).

* Bibl. "mules."

† The text appears to be corrupt, but no plausible emendation suggests itself.

‡ These reflections are, of course, unscriptural.

§ So the i.xx; bibl. Shimeah. Cf. § 164 note.

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Iωνάθης ἀνεῖναι τι τῆς λύπης παρεκάλει καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μὴ πιστεύειν ὡς τεθνάσων, οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτίαν εὐρίσκειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, περὶ δὲ Ἀμνώνος ἐξετάζειν ἐφθαίνειν εἰκὸς γὰρ διὰ τὴν Θαμάρας ὑβρίν ἀποτολμήσαι τὸν Ἀφάλωμον τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῆν ἐκείνου. μεταξὺ δὲ κτύπος ἵππων καὶ θόρυβος προσόντων τινῶν αὐτοὺς ἐπέστρεψεν· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖδες οἱ διαδράντες ἀπὸ τῆς ἐστιάσεως. ὑπαντᾷ δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ πατὴρ θρηνοῦσι λυπομένους καὶ παρ' ἐπίδας ὅρων οὐς ἀκηκόει μικρόν ἐμπροσθεῖν ἀπολωλότας. ἤν δὲ παρὰ πάντων δάκρυα καὶ στόνος, τῶν μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀδελφῷ τετελευτηκότι, τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ὡς ἐπὶ παιδὶ κατεσφαγμένῳ. θεύγει δ' Ἀφάλωμος εἰς Γεσσύραν1 πρὸς τὸν πάππου τὸν πρὸς μητρὸς δυναστεύοντα τῆς ἐκεί χώρας, καὶ τρισίν ὅλοις ἔτεσι παρ' αὐτῷ καταμένει.

181 (1) Τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου προσαίρεσιν ἐχοντος ἐπὶ τὸν νεόν Ἀφάλωμον πέμπευς, οὐκ ἐπὶ τιμωρίᾳ κατελευτήσατον, ἀλλ' ὅπως εἰς σὺν αὐτῷ, καὶ γὰρ τὰ τῆς ὀργῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου λελωφῆκε, πρὸς τὸν μᾶλλον αὐτὸν Ἰῶαβος ὁ ἀρχιστράτηγος παρώρ- 

182 μῆς· γύναιον γὰρ τὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν ήδη προβεβηκός ἐποίησαν αὐτῷ προσελθεῖν ἐν σχήματι πενθῶς, ὡς2 παῖδων ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγροκίας αὐτῆς διενεχθέντων καὶ πρὸς φιλονεκίαν τραπέντων, οὐδενὸς τοῦ κατα- 

183 παύσαι δυναμενον παραφανέντος ἔλεγεν ὑπὸ θατέρου τὸν ἐτερον πληγέντα ἀποθανεῖν· ἦδον τε τῶν συγ- 


1 Γεσσύρα M: Γεθοσύραν SP: Gessyr Lat. 

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urged him to moderate his grief somewhat and not believe that his other sons were dead, as he found no reason for supposing such a thing; but, as for Amnon, he ought to make inquiries, for it was likely that, because of the outrage to Thamara. Absalom had been reckless enough to slay him. Meanwhile the clatter of horses and the noise of approaching men caused them to look around; and there were the king's sons who had escaped from the feast. When their father greeted them, they were in tears, and he himself was grief-stricken because it was more than he had hoped for when he beheld those of whose death he had heard but a little while before. So there were tears and laments on both sides, on theirs for their dead brother, and on the king's for his slaughtered son. But Absalom fled to Gessūra to his maternal grandfather, who ruled over that country, and remained with him three whole years.

(4) Now David had the intention of sending for his son Absalom, not that he might be punished on his return, but in order that he might be with him, for in the course of time his anger had abated; to this decision his commander-in-chief Joab strongly urged him on by causing a certain woman, well advanced in years, to come to him in mourner's garb with a story that her sons, having a dispute in the field, had come to an open quarrel and, as no one appeared who could have stopped it, one of them was struck by the other and killed; she had asked her relatives who had set out to hunt the slayer and slay

* Unscriptural details.
* Bibl. Geshur, lxx Γεσσούρ (v.l. Γεσσεύρ); an Aramaic kingdom lying east of the Sea of Galilee.
* His name, Talmai (cf. § 21 note), is given, at this point, in Scripture.
των αυτού ἄνελείν, χαρίσασθαι τῇν σωτηρίαν αὐτῇ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ μὴ τὰς ἐπιλοίπους ἡς γηροκομίας αὐτῇν ἐλπίδας προσαφαιρεθῆναι. τούτο δ' αὐτῇ κωλύσαντα τοὺς βουλομένους ἀποκτείναι τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῆς παρέξειν· οὐ γὰρ ἐφέξειν ἐκεῖνοι ἄλλω τινί τῆς ὁποιοῦν η τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ φόβων, τοῦ δὲ συγκατανεύσαντος οἰς τὸ γύναιον ἴκετευσεν, ὑπολαβὼν πάλιν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα "χάρις μέν," εἶπεν, "ηδὴ σου τῇ χριστότητι κατουκτεραντός μου τὸ γῆρας καὶ τὴν παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπαιδίαν, ἀλλ' ἵνα βέβαια τὰ παρὰ τῆς σῆς μοι ἡ3 φιλανθρωπίας, τῷ σαυτοῦ παιδὶ πρῶτον καταλάγητι καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὀργήν ἀφεῖν· πῶς γὰρ ἀν πεισθεὶν ἐμοῖ σε ταύτην ἀληθῶς4 δεδωκέναι τὴν χάριν αὐτοῦ σοῦ μέχρι νῦν ἐφ' ὦ μούις ἀπεχθανομένου τῷ παιδὶ;" τελέως δ' ἄνοιχτο5 εἶναι προσθείναι τῷ παρὰ γνώμην ἀποθανόντι υἱῶ6 ἄλλων ἐκουσίως. συνήχισε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπόβλητον οὐσαν τὴν σκῆψιν ἐν Ἰωάβου καὶ τῆς τούτου σπουδῆς· καὶ ἔπειθη παρὰ τῆς προσβότιδος πυθόμενος οὔτως ἔχων τάληθες ἐμαθει, προσκαλεσάμενοι τὸν Ἰωάβου ἐπηυχεῖν τιν τοῦ προκειμένου κατὰ νοῦν ἐφασκε καὶ τὸν 'Αψάλωμον ἄγειν ἐκέλευσεν· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι χαλέπως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἦδῃ τὴν ὀργήν καὶ τὸν θυμὸν ἀφεικέναι. δ' δὲ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς λόγους ἀπασάμενος ἐξώρισεν εἰς τὴν Γεσσούραν παραντικά καὶ τὸν 'Αψάλωμον παραλαβὼν ἤκεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα.

1 ἐτὶ λυπᾶς (-ἀν Ἐ) ROE.
2 συγκατανεύσαντος MSE: adnuente Lat.
3 Μ: εἰς rell. Ἐ.
4 ἀληθῶς om. RO.
5 δ' ἄνοιχτον] δ' ἀν ΣΠ: δ' ἂν Μ: ἄνοιχτον δ' Ἐ.
6 ἀποθαν. υἱῶ] ἀποθανόντος τοῦ υἱὸν MSP: ἀποθανόντι καὶ Ἐ.
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him in turn, to spare her son's life for her sake and not further deprive her of her last remaining hope of support in her old age. This, she said, the king would secure to her by preventing those who wished to kill her son from so doing, for nothing would restrain them from their purpose except their fear of him. And when he aeceded to the woman's petition, she again addressed him with these words, "I do indeed thank you for your kindness in taking pity on my old age and on my near-childlessness, but, in order that I may have full assurance of your humane treatment of me, be first reconciled to your own son and let your anger toward him cease. For how should I be persuaded that you have truly granted me this kindness if you yourself still feel hate toward your son for a like reason? It would be utterly unreasonable if, after one son has perished against your will, you were willingly to cause the death of another." Then the king perceived that this pretended case was an invention of Joab and due to his zeal for Absalom's cause. And when, by questioning the old woman, he learned that it was so in truth, he summoned Joab to tell him that he had gained his end, and he bade him bring Absalom, for he was no longer hostile to him but had already got over his anger and displeasure. Thereupon Joab did obeisance to the king, receiving his words with joy, and at once set out for Gessûra, from which place he brought Absalom back with him to Jerusalem.

a The woman's second speech is considerably amplified by Josephus.
(5) Προέπεμψε δ' ἐμπροσθεν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν ὦν ὡς ἥκουσε παραγενόμενον καὶ πρὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν: οὐ πώ γὰρ οὔτως ἔχειν ὡς τ' εὐθὺς ἰδεῖν κατελθόντα. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο τοῦ πατρὸς κελεύσαντος ἐξείκλυε τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῦ καὶ διετέλει τῆς παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων θεραπείας τυγχάνων.

189 οὐκ ἐπεβέβλαττο δ' εἰς τὸ κάλλος ὑπὸ τε τῆς λύπης καὶ τοῦ μὴ τυγχάνει τῆς προσηκούσης ἐπιμελείας ἦν βασιλέως, ἀλλ' ἐτὶ γὰρ ἐξείχε καὶ διέπρεπε πάντων τῳ τε εὐδει καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ σώματος καὶ τοῦ ἐν πολλῇ τρυφῇ διακοσμοῦν ὑπερέβαλλε. τοσούτου μέντοι γε ἦν τὸ βαθὸς τῆς κόμης, ὡς μόλις αὐτὴν ἠμέραις ἀποκείμεν ὁκτὼ, σταθμὸν ἔλκουσαν σίκλους διακοσιάς· οὗτοι δ' εἰσὶ

190 πέντε μναῖ. διέστρεψε μέντοι γε ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ἐτή δύο, τριῶν μὲν ἅρρενων πατὴρ γενόμενος μᾶς δὲ θυγατρὸς τὴν μορφὴν ἀριστῆς, ἦν ὁ Σολωμὼν υἱὸς Ποβόαμος ὑστερον λαμβάνει, καὶ 191 γίνεται παιδίων εἴς αὐτῆς Ἀβίας ὁνομα. πέμψας

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1 Niese: πᾶν ROM: πάντας SP: om. E.

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a Bibl. "it was at every year's end that he polled it," Heb. ἀρχῆς ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας. The Targum and Jewish tradition recognize that the expression ἀρχῆς ἡμερῶν generally means "from year to year," but some rabbis took it here, as did Josephus, to mean "from week to week," explaining that Absalom was permitted, though a Nazirite, to clip it slightly every week because his hair was particularly heavy (Ginzberg v. 105).

b Bibl. "two hundred (Luc. "one hundred ") shekels after the king's weight." Reinach's note that the shekel was one fiftieth of a mina and that Josephus should therefore have 460
When the king heard of his son's arrival, he sent to him beforehand, ordering him to retire to his own house, for he was not yet in a mood to see him immediately upon his return. So Absalom, in accordance with this command of his father, avoided his presence and continued at the same time to be waited on by his servants. Now he had not suffered any loss of beauty through sorrow or the lack of care proper to a king's son, but was still remarkable and distinguished among all for his looks and bodily stature, and surpassed even those who lived in great luxury. Furthermore, so great was the thickness of his hair that he could scarcely cut it within a week, its weight being two hundred shekels, which equal five minae. He dwelt, however, in Jerusalem two years and became the father of three sons and of one very beautiful daughter, whom Solomon's son Roboamos married later and by whom he had a son named Abias. Then Absalom himself sent to

written "four minae" instead of "five minae" overlooks the fact that in Josephus's time there was a mina of forty shekels as well as one of fifty (cf. S. Krauss, Talmudische Archäologie, ii. 406). But it must be admitted that Josephus is as inconsistent in metrology as in chronology, cf. A. xiv. 106 note.

c Bibl. Rehoboam, lxx Poβεοε. The Heb. at this point mentions Absalom's daughter Tamar (whom Josephus calls Thamara in § 244), but not her subsequent marriage to Rehoboam; this detail is found in the lxx addition to this verse, 2 Sam. xiv. 27. Rehoboam's wife is called Maacah (1 Kings xv. 2; 2 Chron. xi. 20) or Micaiah, the daughter of Uriel (2 Chron. xiii. 2); Luc. removes the difficulty by reading Maacah for Tamar in 2 Sam., but that Josephus here evades it, as Weill supposes, is doubtful in view of § 244. Moreover, instead of evading the difficulty, Josephus resolves it, in A. viii. 249, by making Rehoboam's wife Maacah, a daughter of Absalom's daughter Tamar.

d Bibl. Abijah, lxx (2 Sam.) Ἄβια (v.l. Ἄβια).
δ’ αὐτοῦ 'Ἀψάλωμος πρὸς 'Ἰώαβον ἐδείτ’ αὐτοῦ τελέως καταπραύναι τὸν πατέρα καὶ δεηθῆναι ὅπως αὐτῷ συγχωρήσῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠλθόντι θεάσασθαί τε καὶ προσεῖπεν. καταμελήσαντος δὲ Ἰωάβου, τῶν ἰδίων τινὰς ἀποστειλας τὴν ὁμοροῦσαν αὐτῷ χώραν ἐπυρπόλησεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ πρακθὲν μαθὼν ἦκε πρὸς τὸν 'Ἀψάλωμον ἐγκαλῶν τε αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυνθανόμενος. ὁ δὲ "στρατήγημα τούτ’, εἶπεν, 'εὗρον ἁγαγεῖν σε πρὸς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἁμελοῦν τῶν ἐντολῶν, ὡς ἴσα μοι τὸν πατέρα διαλλάξῃς ἐποιούμην. καὶ δὴ δεόμαι σου παρόντος ἡμερῶσαι μοι τὸν γεγεννηκότα· ὡς ἐγὼν ἰδεινοτέραν τῆς φυγῆς κρινώ τὴν καθοδὸν ἐτὶ τοῦ πατρὸς εὐρή μένοντος." πεισθεὶς δ’ ὁ Ἰώαβος καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην αὐτοῦ κατοικτείρας ἐμεσίτευσε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ διαλεξθείς περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς σουτῶν αὐτὸν ἡδέως διατίθησιν, ὡς εὐθέως καλέσαι πρὸς αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ρύπαντος αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος καὶ συγγνώμην αἰτουμένου τῶν ἡμαρτημένων ἀνίστησι τε καὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἀμηστίαν ἐπαγγέλλεται.

193 ἐν ὀργῇ μένοντος."

194 (ix. 1) ‘Ο δὲ 'Ἀψάλωμος τοιούτων αὐτῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρός ἀποδάντων πολλῶς μὲν ἵππους ἐν ὀλίγω πάνω χρόνῳ πολλὰ δ’ ἀρματα ἐκέκτητο, καὶ ὁπλοφόροι περὶ αὐτὸν ἤσαν πεντήκοντα· καθ’ ἐκάστην δ’ ἠμέρων ὀρθρίος πρὸς τὰ βασιλεία παρεγίνετο καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὰς κρίσεις ἦκουσι καὶ ἐλαττομοῦνοι πρὸς ἤδονήν ὁμιλῶν, ὡς παρὰ τὸ μὴ συμβούλου ἀγάθους εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τάχ’ αὐτῶν καὶ αἰδίκως ἐπιτακίτων τῶν περὶ τὴν κρίσιν.

1 + καὶ βασιλέως SP: βασιλέως (om. πατρός) M.  

2 αὐτῷ ROM.

* The first part of Absalom’s request is a detail added by Josephus.

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Joab, asking him to appease his father \(^a\) and request that he allow him to come to see him and speak with him. But as Joab paid no attention to this,\(^b\) he sent some of his men to set fire to a field adjacent to him.\(^c\)

When Joab heard what had been done, he came to Absalom to complain of it to him and to learn the reason for it, whereupon the other said, "I hit upon this scheme as something which might bring you to me, since you have disregarded the injunctions which I laid upon you to reconcile my father to me. Now indeed, that you are before me, I request you to soften my parent toward me, for I hold my return to be a greater misfortune than exile while my father still persists in his anger." Joab was persuaded to do so and, having pity on his need, interceded for him with the king, to whom he spoke about his son and disposed him so favourably toward him that he straightway summoned him into his presence. Then Absalom threw himself upon the ground and asked pardon for his sins, whereupon David raised him up\(^d\) and promised forgetfulness of what had happened.

(ix. 1) After this experience with his father, Absalom in a very short time acquired a great number of horses and chariots, and had fifty armed men\(^e\) about him. And every day, early in the morning, he went to the palace and spoke ingratiatingly to those who had come for judgement and had lost their suit, suggesting that they had lost the ease because his father had not had good counsellors or because

\(^a\) Absalom sends twice to Joab in Scripture.

\(^b\) i.e. Joab. Scripture says that the field belonged to Joab and was adjacent to Absalom.

\(^c\) Bibl. "and the king kissed Absalom."

\(^d\) Bibl. "fifty men to run before him."
εὑνοιαν αὐτῷ παρὰ πάντων κατεσκεύαζε λέγων ὡς αὐτὸς ἄν εἰ ταύτην εἴχε τὴν ἐξουσίαν πολλὴν
196 αὐτοῖς ἐβράβευσεν εὐνομίαν. τούτοις δημαγωγῶν
tὸ πλῆθος ὡς βεβαιῶν ἔχειν ἡδὴ τὴν παρὰ τῶν
ὀχλῶν εὐνοιαν ἐνόμιζε, μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς
αὐτῶν καταλαμὴν τεσσάρων ἑτῶν ἡδὴ διεληλυθότων,
ἐδείτο προσελθὼν εἰς Χεβρώνα συγχωρήσας πορευ-
θέντι θυσίαν ἀποδοῦναι τῷ Θεῷ. φεύγοντα γὰρ
αὐτὸν εὐξασθαί. τοῦ δὲ Δαυίδου τὴν ἀξίωσιν ἐφ
έντος3 πορεύεται, καὶ πολὺς ἐπισυνερρεύσειν ὀχλος
ἐπὶ πολλοὺς αὐτοῦ διαπέμψαντος.
197 (2) Παρῇ δὲ καὶ ὁ Δαυίδου σύμβουλος ὁ Γελ-
μωναῖος Ἀχιτόφελος καὶ διακόσιοι τινες εἰς αὐτῶν
Ἱεροσολύμων ὡς εἶδότες μὲν τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν, ὡς
dὲ ἐπὶ θυσίαν μετεσταλμένοι καὶ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ
πάντων ἀποδείκνυται, τοῦτο γενέσθαι στρατηγήσας.
198 ὡς d᾽ ἀπηγγέλθη ταῦτα Δαυίδη καὶ παρ᾽ ἑλπίδας
αὐτῷ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς ἡκούσθη, δείσας ἀμα
καὶ τῆς ἁσβείας καὶ τῆς τόλμης αὐτοῦ θαυμάσας,
ὅτι μηδὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμιαρτημένοις συγγνώμης
ἐμνημόνευσαν, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνων πολὺ χεῖροι καὶ
παρανομωτέρους ἐπεβάλετο βασιλεὺς πρῶτον μὲν
ὑπὸ θεοῦ οὐ δεδομένη, δεύτερον δὲ ἐπὶ ἀφαιρέσει
τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, ἐγνω φεύγειν εἰς τὰ πέραν τοῦ
199 Ἰορδάνου. καὶ συγκαλέσας τῶν φίλων τοὺς ἐπι-
τηδειστάτους καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς ἀπονοίας

1 ἔχειν om. RO.  
2 Niese: αὐτῶν codd.  
3 Niese: ἀφέντος codd. E fort. recte.

a So Luc.; Heb. and lxx “forty” (“and it came to pass at the end of forty years,” etc.). The rabbis, who realized the difficulty of reading “forty years,” which apparently means from the time of David and Absalom’s reconciliation, reckoned it from the time when Saul was chosen king.  
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of an injustice; and he won the goodwill of all by saying that if he himself had had this power he would have dispensed full and equal justice to them. By these means he curried favour with the multitude, and, when he thought that the loyalty of the populace was secured to him,—four years having now passed since his father's reconciliation with him—he went to him and asked for permission to go to Hebron and offer sacrifice to God seeing that he had so vowed when in exile. And, when David granted his request, he departed, and a great multitude streamed to him, for he had sent out messages to many.

(2) There were with him also David's counsellor Achitophel the Gelmonite and two hundred men from Jerusalem itself, who knew nothing of the business in hand, but thought themselves summoned to a sacrifice; and he was chosen by them all as king, as he had contrived should be done. When these things were reported to David and he heard of these unexpected acts of his son, he was both alarmed and surprised at his impiety and audacity, for Absalom was not even mindful of having been pardoned for his sins, but was guilty of much greater acts of lawlessness in having designs upon the kingship, which, in the first place, had not been given him by God and, in the second place, involved the removal of his parent. He therefore decided to flee to the country across the Jordan. And he called together his closest friends and, having taken counsel with them concerning his son's madness, committed

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κοινολογησάμενοι αὐτοῖς καὶ περὶ πάντων ἐπι-
τρέψας κριτὴ τῷ θεῷ, καταλυσάν τὰ βασίλεια
φυλάσσειν δέκα παλαιάσαν ἀπήρεν ἐκ τῶν Ἰερο-
σολύμων, τοῦ τε ἄλλου πλήθους προθύμως· αὐτῷ
συνεξορμήσαντο καὶ τῶν ἐξακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν, οἱ
καὶ τῆς πρώτης αὐτῷ φυγὴς ἐκοιμώνουν, ὡδ' ἔξη

200 Σαουλὸς. τὸν δὲ Ἀβιασπόρον καὶ Σάδωκον τοὺς ἀρχιερεῖς συναπαίρεστοι αὐτῷ· διεγνωκότας καὶ
Λησυθάτας ἀπαίτατο μετὰ τῆς κιβωτοῦ μένειν ἐπεισέν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἡ μετακομισμένης

201 αὐτῆς ὑσομένου. ἐνετείλατο δ' ἐκατὰ τῶν γυναι-
κῶν νάθρα διαγγέλλειν αὐτῷ. πιστοὺς δ' ἐσχε
πρὸς πάντα διακόνους παῖδας Ἀχίμαν, μὲν Σα-
δώκων Ἰωνάθην δὲ Ἀβιασπόρον. Ἔδειον δ' ὁ Γεθαῖος
συνεξορρημένης αὐτῷ βιοσάμενος τὴν Δαυίδου βου-
λησίαν (μένειν γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνέπειθε) καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

202 μᾶλλον εὔνους αὐτῷ κατεφάνη. ἀναβαινόντος δ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τοῦ Ἑλαϊωνὸς ὄρους γυμνοῖς τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ πάντων σὺν αὐτῶ διακρότως, ἀγγέλλεται καὶ
ὁ Ἀχισόφελος συνών τῷ Ἀγαλώμῳ καὶ τὰ τοῦτο

203 φρονῶν. ἐπέτευε δ' αὐτῷ ὁ λυπηρὸν τοῦτο
ἀκούσθεν, καὶ τὸν θεοῦ ἐπεκαλεῖτο δεόμενος ἀπ-
ἀλλοτρώσατι τὴν Ἀγαλώμον διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν
Ἀχισόφελον. ἐδείκε γὰρ μὴ ταὐτικὰ συμβου-
λεύσεις πείσειν αὐτῶν, ἀνὴρ ὁν̄ φρενήρης καὶ συν-

1 προθύμως om. RO. 2 αὐτῷ om. RO.
3 ed. pr.: ὅπως codd.
4 Ο: Γεθαῖος rell.: Ictheus Lat.

a v.l. Achimanos; bibl. Ahimaaz (Heb. Ἀχίμας), lxx Ἀχιμαλας, Luc. Ἀχιμᾶς.
b Called Ethaios in § 233; bibl. Ittai, lxx Σεθδελ, Luc.
the entire matter into the hands of God as judge. Then, having left the palace in the keeping of his ten concubines, he departed from Jerusalem with a large number who were eager to accompany him, and also the six hundred armed men who had taken part in his former flight in the lifetime of Saul. But Abiathar and Sadok, the high priests, who had intended to depart with him, and all the Levites he persuaded to remain behind with the ark, for God, he said, would deliver him even if it were not brought along. He also instructed them to report to him secretly everything that happened. In all these matters he had as his faithful aids Achimasp, the son of Sadok, and Jonathan, the son of Abiathar. Ethisc the Gittite also set out with him, having overcome the objections of David who had tried to persuade him to stay, and in this way he showed his loyalty even more clearly. Now as David was ascending the Mount of Olives with bare feet and with all his company in tears, news was brought to him that Achitophel was with Absalom and now belonged to his party. And when David heard this, his grief was intensified and he called upon God, beseeching Him to alienate Absalom's feeling from Achitophel, for he feared that his hostile counsels might prove persuasive to him, as those of a man of ready wit and quick to see an advantage. And when he reached the crest of the mountain, he gazed

'Hēl. In Scripture Ittai is mentioned before the high priests' sons.

c The preceding sentence is an amplification of David's prayer in 2 Sam. xv. 31, "O Lord, I pray thee, make foolish the counsel of Ahitophel."

d So the Heb., which has rōš "head"; LXX transliterates this as a proper name 'Pōwēs.
JOSEPHUS

πολλῶν δακρύων ὡς ἄν βασιλείας ἐκπεσῶν ἡυχετο τῷ θεῷ· συνήνητησε δ’ αὐτῶ φίλος ἄνηρ καὶ βέβαιος

Χουσίς ὄνομα. τοῦτον ὦρων τὴν ἐσθήτα κατερρηγμένον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σποδοῦ πλήρη καὶ θρηνοῦντα τὴν μεταβολήν παρηγόρει καὶ πάυσασθαι τῆς λύπης παρεκάλει καὶ τέλος ἰκέτευσεν ἀπελθόντα πρὸς Ἀφάλωμον ὡς τὰ ἐκείνου φρονοῦντα τά τε ἀπόρρητα τῆς διανοίας αὐτοῦ κατανοεῖν καὶ ταῖς Ἀχιτοφέλου συμβουλίαις ἀντιπράττεν· οὐ γὰρ τοσοῦτον ὑφελήσειν αὐτῷ συνερχόμενον, ὅσον παρ’ ἐκείνω γενόμενον. καὶ ο’ μὲν πεισθεὶς τῷ Δαυίδῃ καταληπτῶν αὐτὸν ἤκεν εἰς Ἡροσόλυμα· ἀφικνεῖται δ’ εἰς αὐτὰ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ Ἀφάλωμος.

(3) Ὁλίγων δὲ τῷ Δαυίδῃ προελθόντι Σιβᾶς ὁ τοῦ Μεμφίβοσθον δοῦλος συνήνητησεν, ὃν προνοησόμενον ἀπεστάλκει τῶν κτήσεων ἃς δεδώρητο τῷ Ἰωνάθου τοῦ Σαουλου παιδὸς νῦν, μετὰ ξεύγους ὅνων καταπεφορτισμένων τοῖς ἐπιτηδείοις, εἴ ὁν ἐκέλευσε λαμβάνειν ὅν αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ συν αὐτῷ δέουστο. πυθανομένου δὲ ποῦ καταλέλυπε τὸν Μεμφίβοσθον, ἐν Ἡροσόλυμοις ἔλεγε προσδοκώντα χειροτονηθῆσθαι βασιλέα διὰ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν ταραχὴν εἰς μνήμην ὡς εὐρεγήτησεν αὐτοῖς Σαουλος. ἀγανακτήσας δ’ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πάνθ’ ὅσα τῷ Μεμφίβοσθῳ παρεχώρησε Σιβᾶ χαρίζεται· πολὺ γὰρ δικαιότερον αὐτὸν ἐκείνου ταῦτ’ ἔχειν ἐπεγνωκέναι· καὶ ο’ μὲν Σιβᾶς περιχαρῆς ἦν.

1 ed. pr. Lat.: προσελθόντι codd.

a Bibl. Hushai the Arcite, lxx Νουσέλ ο’ Ἀρξί; some lxx mss., followed by the ancient versions, mistakenly took Ἀρξί 468
upon the city and with many tears, as if already fallen from royal power, prayed to God. Then there met him a man who was a firm friend of his, named Chūsis,a and when David saw him with his garments torn and his head covered with ashes, b weeping over the change of fortune, he comforted him and ex-horted him to cease grieving, and finally implored him to go back to Absalom under pretence of being on his side, in order to discover his secret plans and oppose the counsels of Achitophel. He would not, said David, be of as great help to him by coming along as he might be by staying with Absalom. And so, at David’s persuasion, he left him and came to Jerusalem, where, not long after, Absalom also arrived.

(3) Now David had gone on a little further when he was met by Siba, the servant of Memphibosthos, whom David had sent to take charge of the property which he had presented to the son of Jonathan, the son of Saul e; Siba had with him a couple of asses laden with provisions, from which he bade David take whatever he himself and his men might need. And, when he was asked where he had left Memphibosthos, he said, “In Jerusalem,” where he was waiting to be chosen king in the midst of the prevailing confusion, in recognition of the benefits which Saul had con-ferr’d on the people. In his indignation at this, David made a present to Siba of all that he had granted to Memphibosthos, for, he said, he recognized that he had a far juster claim to possess them than had the other. And so Siba was greatly pleased.

as an adjective compound with the following noun ἐταῖρος, reading ἀρχιεταῖρος “chief friend”; cf. § 216 note.

Hushai (Chusis) returns to Jerusalem as David’s agent.
2 Sam. xv. 32.

Ziba (Siba) meets David with provisions.
2 Sam. xvi. 1.

a Bibl. “earth.”

b Cf. §§ 114 f.

c Cf. §§ 114 f.
207 (1) Δαυίδη δὲ γενομένω κατὰ Χώρανον τόπον οὖτως καλούμενον ἑπέρχεται τοῦ Σαουλοῦ συγγενῆς Σαμουώς μὲν ὄνομα υἱὸς δὲ Γηρᾶ, καὶ λίθωσ τε ἐβαλλεν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐκακηγόρει. περιστάτων δὲ τῶν φίλων καὶ σκέποντων ἐτί μᾶλλον ὁ Σαμουώς βλασφημῶν διετέλει, μιαφόνοι καὶ πολλῶν ἀρχηγῶν κακῶν ἀποκαλῶν. ἐκέλευε δὲ καὶ τῆς γῆς ὡς ἐναγη καὶ ἐπάρατον ἐξιέναι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν ὁμολογεῖ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἀφελομένω καὶ διὰ παιδὸς ὑίον τὴν ύπὲρ ὅν ἡμαρτεν εἰς τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην δίκην αὐτοῦ εἰσπραξαμένω. πάντων δ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠρεθισμένων ὑπ' ὀργῆς καὶ μάλιστα Ἀβισαίον διαχρήσασθαι βουλομένων τὸν Σαμουών

208 Δαυίδης αὐτὸν τῆς ὄργης ἐπέσχε, "μὴ τοῖς παροῦσι κακοῖς ἐτέραν προσεξεργασώμεθα," φησί, "κανοντέραν ἀφορμήν· οὐ γὰρ δὴ τοῦ προσλυσσόντος μοι τούτου κυνὸς αἰδώς τις ἡ φροντίς υπέρχεται, τῷ θεῷ δὲ εἰκὼ, δι' ὧν οὕτος ἐφ' ἡμᾶς ἀπενοήθη. θαυμαστῶν δ' οὐδὲν ὑπὸ τούτου με ταῦτα πάσχειν, ὅποι γε καὶ παιδὸς ἀσέβοις πεπείραμαι. ἀλλ' ἐσται τις ἰσως οἴκτος ἡμῖν ἐκ θεοῦ καὶ κρατήσομεν τῶν ἐχθρῶν τούτου θελήσαντος." ἦνεν οὖν τήν ὁδὸν οὐ φροντίζων τοῦ Σαμουών παρὰ τὸ ἐτερον μέρος τοῦ ὄρους διατρέχοντος καὶ πολλὰ κακηγοροῦντος· παραγενόμενος δ' ἢ

1 Χώραμον M: Βαουρι P: Χώραν δν RO: Choran Lat. (cf. infra ad § 225).
2 Σεμεί, -εί (M)SPE: Sumas Lat. (sed infra, § 208, Σουμάν MSP).
3 Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.: ἐαυτοῦ Hudson cum cod. Vat.
4 ἑπέρχεται RO.
5 ἰσως om. RO.

* Bibl. Bahurim, lxx Βουρείμ, Luc. Χορράμ. The variant in Josephus is probably due to scribal correction from the 470
(4) When David came to Chōranos, as the place was called, there came out a relative of Saul, named Samūis, the son of Gera, who threw stones at him and abused him. And although the king's friends stood around him and protected him, Samūis only continued the more to curse him and denounce him as one stained with blood and as the author of many crimes. He also bade him leave the country as one under a ban and accursed; and he gave thanks to God for having deprived David of his kingdom and for having exacted punishment of him, through his own son, for the crimes which he had committed against his master. Though they were all provoked to anger at him, especially Abisai, who wished to make an end of him, David restrained his anger, saying, "Let us not add to our present ills by causing new ones to arise, for certainly no feeling of shame or concern touches me on account of this eun's raving against me; but I submit to God, by whom this fellow has been moved to frenzy against us. Nor is there anything strange in my being so treated by him, when I have experienced the impiety of a son. Nevertheless, God's compassion will rest on us, and we shall overcome our enemies by His will." And so he continued on his way, taking no notice of Samūis, who ran along with him on the other side of the mountain, abusing him freely. And, when

lxx. In § 225 the name is written Bocchores. The village lay on the road from Jerusalem to Jericho, but the exact site has not been identified.

b Bibl. Shimei, lxx Zeqeeel. The name appears as Sūmūis in § 388.

c i.e. Saul.

d According to Scripture, it is Abishai who calls Shimei "a dead dog."
επὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἀνελάμβανε τοὺς ἰδίους ἐνταῦθα κεκοσμώμενος.

211 (5) Ἀψαλώμου δὲ καὶ Ἀχιτοφέλου τοῦ συμβούλου παραγενομένων εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα σὺν ἀπαντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος ἦκε πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ προσκύνησας αὐτὸν συνηχέτευ τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς αὐνά καὶ τὸν πάντα παραμεῖναι χρόνον. φήσαντος δὲ ἐκείνου πρὸς αὐτοῦ, τί δήποτε φίλος ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ γεγενημένοι καὶ πρὸς ἀπαντα πιστῶς εἶναι δόξας οὐ σὺν αὐτῷ νῦν ἐστὶν, ἀλλὰ καταλπῶν ἐκείνον μεταβαίη πρὸς αὐτὸν, δεξιῶς ἀποκρύνεται καὶ σωφρόνως· εἰπὲ γὰρ ἐπέσθαι δεῖν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῷ παντὶ πλήθει. "τοὺς οὖν μετὰ σοῦ, ὦ δέσποτα, γεγενημένως εἰκότως ἐπομαι κἀγώ· τὴν γὰρ βασιλείαν ἐλαβὲς παρά τοῦ θεοῦ. τὴν αὐτὴν μέντοι γε πίστιν καὶ εὐνοιαν ἐνδείξωμαι πιστεύομένου εἶναι φίλος, ἕν οἴσθα με τῷ πατρὶ σου παρεσχημένον. ἀγανακτεῖν δ’ οὐδέν προσῆκε τοὺς παροῦσιν· οὐ γὰρ εἰς ἀλλην οἰκίαν ἡ βασιλεία μεταβεβηκε, μεμένηκε δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς, ὡς ἀδιάλλακτα σοι τὰ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐστὶ, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς συντρατεύσεσθαι προσθηκαὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πατέρα· μέχρι δὲνρο γὰρ φανερὰν ἐχθραν ἀναλαμβάνειν δεδιέναι προσδοκῶντας ὑμᾶς ὀμονοήσειν.

1 + αὐτῶν codd. 2 ed. pr.: -ασθαι codd.

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he reached the Jordan, he allowed his weary men to rest there.
(5) As soon as Absalom and Achitophel, his adviser, arrived at Jerusalem with all the people, David's friend a came to them and did obeisance to him, praying for him that his kingship should continue always and for all time. And when Absalom asked him just why he, who was one of his father's best friends and supposed to be altogether faithful to him, was not now with him, but had deserted him and had gone over to himself, he made a skilful and prudent reply, saying that one ought to follow God and the entire people. “Now, my lord, since they are with you, it is fitting that I too should follow, for you have received the kingdom from God. Furthermore, I shall show the same faithfulness and loyalty to you, if I am accounted a friend, as you know I gave to your father. There is no good reason,” he added, “to be dissatisfied with the present state of things, for the kingship has not passed to another house, but remains in the same one, since the king's son has succeeded to it.” These words of his won over Absalom, who had before suspected him, and he called Achitophel to deliberate with him about what should be done. The latter advised him to lie with his father's concubines, for, he said, by this act the people would know with certainty that Absalom could not be reconciled to him, and they would join with great eagerness in the fight against his father; up to that time they had been afraid to proceed to open hostility because of their expectation that the two would reach an understanding. b Taking this

a i.e. Hushai.
b The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.
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214 πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ κελεύει σκηνὴν αὐτῶν πῆξαι τοὺς οἰκέτας ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλείου καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ὀρώντος παρελθὼν συνέρχεται ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς παλαιά. ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο κατὰ τὴν Νάθα προφητείαν, ἵνα τῷ Δαυίδι σημαίνων τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐσομένην ἐπίθεσιν προεφήτευσε.

215 (6) Ποιήσας δ' Ἀφάλωμος τὰ παραπέμποντα αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀχίτοφέλου δεύτερον αὐτοῦ ἡξίου συμβουλεύειν περὶ τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. μνιόνας δ' αὐτὸν ἐπιλέκτους αὐτήσαντος ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν τε πατέρα κτενεῖν; αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ ζωοὺς ἀνάξειν ὑποσχομένου καὶ βεβαιάν τότε τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσεσθαι φήσαντο, Δαυίδου μηκέτι ζωότος, ἀρεσθεὶς τῇ γνώμῃ μετακαλεῖται καὶ τὸν Χουσών τὸν Δαυίδου ἄρχιφίλου. οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκεῖνος ἐκάλει· καὶ τὴν Ἀχίτοφέλου γνώμην αὐτῶν δηλώσας, τί καὶ αὐτῶ δοκεῖ περὶ αὐτῆς ἐπιθάνετο. συνιδόν ὃτι γενομένων ὃν Ἀχίτοφελος συνεβούλευσε κυιδυνεύσει Δαυίδης συλληθεῖς ἀποθανεῖν, ἐναντίαν ἐπειράτο γνώμην εἰσφέρειν.

216 "οὖ γὰρ ἄγνοεις" εἶπεν, "ἀδρα ταῖσα, τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὴν τῶν συνόντων αὐτῶ ἀνδρείαν, ὅτι καὶ πολλοὺς πολέμους πεπολέμηκε καὶ πάντοτε κρατῶν τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀπήλλακται. νῦν δὲ εἰκός αὐτὸν ἐπὶ στρατοπέδου μένειν στρατηγῆσαι γὰρ ἰκανώτατος καὶ προίδειν ἀπάτην ἐπερχομένων

1 Niese: αὐτῷ codd. E.
2 καὶ ante τοῦ πλῆθους ex Lat. Niese: post ὀρώντος hab. codd.
3 Niese: κτένειν codd. 4 σώους RMSP Lat.
5 φίλον SP: amicum antiquum Lat.

a Cf. § 152. Scripture does not allude at this point to the prophecy of Nathan.
b So Luc.; Heb. and lxx "twelve thousand."
advise, Absalom ordered his servants to pitch a tent for him on the roof of the palace, and, in the sight of the people, went in and lay with his father's concubines. And this came about in accordance with the prophecy which Nathan had made when he revealed to David that his son would one day rise up against him.\(^a\)

(6) After Absalom had acted on the advice given him by Achitophel, he requested him to give him further counsel, this time concerning the war against his father. Thereupon he asked him for ten thousand\(^b\) picked men, and promised to kill his father and bring back his men alive\(^c\); then, he said, with David no longer alive, his throne would be secure. Absalom was pleased with this proposal, but also summoned Chūsis, David's chief friend\(^d\)—so David called him—and, after informing him of Achitophel's proposal, inquired what he too thought of it. But Chūsis, perceiving that, if Achitophel's advice were acted on, David would be in danger of being captured and put to death,\(^e\) attempted to introduce a counter-proposal. "You are not ignorant, O King," he said, "of the bravery of your father and the men with him, or that he has fought many wars and in every case has come off victorious against the enemy. Just now it is likely that he is remaining within the camp, for he is a very able general and can foresee the ruse of an

\(^a\) Variant "safe"; cf. 2 Sam. xvii. 3 "all the people shall be in peace."

\(^b\) The variant φίλον "friend" in mss. SP is probably due to the copyists taking ἀρχι in ἀρχίφιλον "chief friend" as a proper name, as does the lxx, translating Heb. "Hushai the Arcite," cf. § 203 note. A parallel to Josephus's term is afforded by the lxx of 1 Chron. xxvii. 33, where Hushai is called πρώτος φίλος τοῦ βασιλέως "first friend of the king."

\(^c\) This reflection of Hushai is an amplification of Scripture.
218 πολεμίων· ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀπολιπών τοὺς ἰδίους ή εἰς τῶν αἰλάων ἐαυτὸν ἀποκρύψει ή πρὸς πέτρα ταῖς λοχήσεις συμβαλόντων δὲ τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι πρὸς μικρὸν ὑποχωρήσουσιν αὐθίς δὲ θαρσῆσαντες1 ὡς τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἐγγὺς ὄντος ἀντιστήσονται, καὶ μεταξὺ τούτων μαχομένων ὁ πατὴρ ἐπιφανεῖς ἐξαίφνης τοῖς μὲν εὐφυχίαν πρὸς τοὺς κυνδύνους παρα-
219 σκευάσει τοὺς δὲ σοὺς καταπλῆξεται. παράθου δὴ τοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν συμβουλίαν τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ ταυτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἀριστα τὴν μὲν Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην παραίτησαι, πέμψας δ' εἰς πάσαν τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἐβραίων παράγγειλον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα σου στρατεύειν καὶ παραλαβὼν αὐτὸς τὴν δύναμιν τοῦ πολέμου γίνον στρατηγὸς καὶ μὴ πιστεύσῃς
220 τοῦτον ἑτέρως. νικήσεις γὰρ προσδόκα βαδίως αὐτὸν, ἂν ἐν φανερῷ καταλάβῃς ὅτα μετ' ὄλγων, αὐτὸς πολλὰς ἔχων μυριάδας βουλομένων τὴν περὶ σε σπουδὴν ἐπιδείξασθαι καὶ προθυμεῖν. ἂν δ' ὁ πατὴρ αὐτὸν εἰς πολιορκίαν περικλείσῃ, μηχανήμασι καὶ ὁρύγμασιν ὑπονόμους καθαιρήσομεν ἐκεῖ-
221 νην τὴν πόλιν.' ταυτ' εἴπων εὐδοκήμησε μᾶλλον Ἀχιτοφέλου τῆς γὰρ ἐκείνου γνώμης ἡ τούτου προεκρίθη παρ' Ἀχιτοφέλου. θεὸς μέντοι γε ἤν ὁ τούτον τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν τοῦ Χουσί συμβουλίαν συστήσας ἀμείω ἐναι δοκεῖν.
222 (7) Σπεύσας δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιερέας Σάδωκον καὶ Ἀβιάθαρον καὶ τὴν τε Ἀχιτοφέλου γνώμην

* Unscriptural detail, and apparently a misunderstanding
attacking enemy; but toward evening he will leave his men and will hide himself in some hollow, or will wait in ambush behind some rock. And when our force attacks, his men will give way for a little, but then they will take heart at the thought that the king is beside them, and will make a stand against us; in the meantime, while the fight is going on, your father will suddenly appear and will inspire them to face danger valiantly, but into your men he will strike terror. Therefore weigh well my counsel also in your mind and, recognizing that it is the best, reject the proposal of Achithophel. And send throughout the entire land of the Hebrews, summoning them to the campaign against your father; then lead out your force and take personal command of the war, and do not entrust it to another. For you may look to defeat him easily if you take him in the open with few men about him, while you yourself have many tens of thousands ready to show their zeal and ardour on your behalf. But if your father shuts himself up to stand a siege, we shall destroy that city by means of engines and mines. This speech of Chusis met with more favour than Achithophel’s, for his proposal was preferred by Absalom to the other’s. It was God, however, who contrived that Chusis’s counsel should seem better to his way of thinking.

(7) Then Chusis hastened to the high priests Sadok and Abiathar, and, having told them all about of 2 Sam. xvii. 12 “and we will camp (A.V. “light”) upon him as the dew falleth on the ground.”

The “engines and mines” are an anachronism, not uncommon in Josephus’s amplified descriptions of biblical battles. The whole of Hushai’s speech, moreover, is an amplification of 2 Sam. xvii. 8-13.

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ἐξευπών αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ ὅτι δέδοκται τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ παρανεθέντα πράττειν, ἐκέλευσε μηνύειν πέμψαντας Δαυιδὴ καὶ φανερὰ ποιεῖν τὰ συμβεβουλευμένα καὶ προσπαρακελεύσασθαι ταχέως διαβηθεῖν τὸν Ἰώρδανον, μὴ μεταγγος ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ διώκειν ὀρμήσῃ καὶ πρὶν ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ γένηται φθάσας

223 καταλάβην. οἱ δὲ ἀρχιερεῖς ἐξεπίθεντος τοὺς συν ἐξὼ τῆς πόλεως κεκρυμμένους εἶχον, ὡς διακομίσσωσι πρὸς τὸν Δαυιδὴν τὰ πραττόμενα· πέμψαντες οὖν πιστὴν θεραπαινίδα πρὸς αὐτοὺς φέρουσαν τὰ βεβουλευμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀψαλώμου προσέταξαν μετὰ σπουδῆς παῦτα Δαυιδῆ σημαινεῖν.

224 οἱ δ' οὐδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς καὶ μέλλησιν ὑπερέθεντο, λαβόντες δὲ τὰς τῶν πατέρων ἐντολὰς εὐσεβεῖς ἀμα καὶ πιστοὶ γίνονται διάκονοι· καὶ τῆς ὑπηρεσίας τὸ τάχος καὶ τὴν ὀδύτητα κρίναντες ἄριστα εἶναι

225 ἦπείγοντο συμβαλεῖν Δαυιδῆ. γενομένους δ' αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ στασίων τῆς πόλεως δύο θεώντα τινες ἱππεῖς καὶ διαβάλλουσι πρὸς τὸν Ἀψαλώμον ὁ δ' εὐθὺς ἐπεμψε τοὺς συλληψομένους· νοῆσαντες δὲ τοῦτο οἱ τῶν ἀρχιερέων παῖδες ἐκτραπέντες τῆς ὅδος παραχρῆμα εἰς κόμην τινὰ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων οὐκ ἀπώθεν αὐτοὺς ἐδωκαν, Βοκχόρης ἢν ὄνομα τῇ κώμῃ, καὶ γυναικὸς ἐθείρησάν τινος κρύψαι καὶ

226 παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν. ἡ δὲ καθισμάσα σα τοὺς νεανίσκους εἰς φρέαρ καὶ πλάκας ἄνωθεν

1 O: Βοκχόρης rel.: Bachor Lat. 2 πόλεις O.

a At En-rogel, according to Scripture; it was a spring in the valley of Kidron S.E. of the city.
b ὁδὲν εἰς ἀναβολάς is a Thucydidean phrase recurring in A. xvii.-xix.
c The distance is not given in Scripture.
f Their appeal for refuge is an unscriptural detail.
Achitophel's proposal and his own, and also that it had been decided to act upon his advice, he bade them send information of this to David and make plain to him what counsel had been given, and exhort him further to cross the Jordan as quickly as possible lest his son change his mind, set out in pursuit of him, and take him by surprise before he could reach a place of safety. Now the high priests had purposely kept their sons in hiding outside the city in order that they might bring David word of what occurred. So they sent a faithful maidservant to bring them news of Absalom's plans, and instructed them to make haste and report these to David. And they, without any delay or hesitation, set off with their fathers' instructions, like obedient and loyal helpers. And, deciding that speed and dispatch were the best form of service, they made all haste to meet David. Now, when they were two stades from the city, they were seen by some horsemen, who informed against them to Absalom; and he immediately sent men to arrest them. But the high priests' sons, becoming aware of this, at once turned aside from the road and betook themselves to a certain village not far from Jerusalem—the name of the village was Bocchores—and begged one of the women to hide them and afford them safety. So she let the youths down into a well and spread layers of wool over it.

78 Bibl. "and the woman took and spread the covering over the well's mouth and strewed groats thereon"; "groat" is the A.V.'s rendering of Heb. ריפוח, a word of uncertain meaning, Targum דעילאן "dates" (?) (perhaps a variant of דגיין "grits"), LXX (transliterating) ἀραφῶθ, Luc. παλάθας "fruit-cakes." The Jewish commentators explain ריפוח as "crushed wheat." It is just possible that the LXX ἀραφῶθ was vaguely connected by Josephus with ἐραφω "kids," which he supposed equivalent to ἐρίων "wool."
ἐρών ἐπιβαλοῦσα, ὡς ἦκον οἱ διώκοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀνέκριναν ἐνθάδαιο, ἰδεῖν μὲν oὐκ ἠριησατο· πιόντας γὰρ παρ' αὐτῆς πάλιν ἀπελθεῖν· εἰ μέντοι γε συντόνως διώξουσι καταλήψεσθαι προὐλεγεν. ὡς δ' ἐπὶ πολὺ διώξαντες οὐ κατέλαβον, ἀνέστρεψαν εἰς τουπίσω. θεασαμένη δ' αὐτοὺς ἀναζεύζαντας ἡ γυνὴ καὶ μηδένα φόβον τοῖς νεανίσκοις ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἔτι συλλήψεως εἶναι, ἀνυησας τὴν προκειμένην ὁδὸν αὐτῶν σε παρεκελεύσατο· καὶ πολλῆ σπουδῆ καὶ τάχει χρησάμενοι περὶ τὴν ὀδοποιίαν ἦκον πρὸς Δαυίδην καὶ πάντ' ἀκρίβως ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῶς τὰ παρ' Ἀσαλώμου βεβουλευμένα. ὁ δὲ διαβήνει τὸν Ἱόρδανον τοὺς μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ προσέταξεν ἡδὲ νυκτὸς ὕπνος καὶ μηδὲν ὁκνεῖν δι' αὐτὴν.

228 (8) Ἀχιτόφελος δὲ τῆς γυνώμης αὐτοῦ παρευδοκιμηθείς ἐπιβας τοῦ κτήμους ἐξώριμησεν εἰς Γελμώνα τὴν πατρίδα· καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς οἰκείους ἄπαντας ἀ συνεβούλευσεν Ἀσαλῶμῳ ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς διεζήλθε, καὶ ὡς οὐ πεισθές φανερός ἐστιν ὁ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἀπολούμενος· Δαυίδην δὲ κρατήσεις' ἐλεγεν καὶ ἐπανήξειν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. ἡμὲνον οὐν ἐφησεν εἰναι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἐξαγαγεῖν ἐλευθέρως καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως ἡ παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν


* Amplification. The woman's answer in the Heb. of 2 Sam. xvii. 20 is not wholly intelligible: A.V. "they be gone over the brook of water." The word mikal here trans-
and, when those in pursuit of them came and inquired about them, asking whether she had caught sight of them, she did not deny having seen them; they had, she said, drunk at her house and then had gone away. If, however, they pursued them hotly, they would, she predicted, overtake them. But, though they did pursue for a considerable distance, they did not overtake them, and so they turned back. And, when the woman saw them ride away, and that there was no longer any fear of the youths being captured by them, she drew them up out of the well and urged them to continue on their appointed way. So, after travelling with great haste and speed, they came to David and informed him in detail of all Absalom’s plans; and he thereupon commanded his men to cross the Jordan, although it was already night, and permitted no delay on that account.

(8) Now Achitophel, when his proposal failed of acceptance, mounted his beast and set off for Gelmôn, his native city. And, having called together all his people, he recounted to them the advice he had given Absalom, saying that, as Absalom had not followed it, he was clearly destined to perish before very long, for David would conquer him and be restored to his throne. Therefore, he said, it was better for him to remove himself from the world in a free and noble manner.

"brook" is obscure and probably corrupt, as the different versions indicate: Targum "they have already crossed the Jordan," LXX παρῆθαν μικρὸν τοῦ ἔδαπος "they passed a little distance from the water" (§), Luc. διεληλύθασιν ἑπειδοντες "they have gone by in haste." Unscriptural detail. Bibl. "they came up out of the well and went."

Or "accurately."

The Biblical name, which is not mentioned at this point in Scripture, is Giloh, cf. § 197 note.
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eἰς κόλασιν Δαυίδη, καθ’ οὖ πάντα συνέπραττεν Ἰασάλωμῷ. ταῦτα διαλέγεις καὶ παρελθῶν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῆς οίκιας ἀνήρτησεν ἑαυτὸν. καὶ τὸν μὲν Ἀχιτόφελον τοιοῦτον θανάτου δικαστὴν αὐτῶ γενόμενον καθελόντες ἐκ τῆς ἀγχόνης ἐκήδευσαν οἱ

230 προσήκοντες. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον, καθὼς προερήκαμεν, εἰς Παρεμβολὰς καλλίστην καὶ ὀχυρωτάτην πόλιν παραγίνεται· δέχονται δ’ αὐτὸν ἀσμενέστατα πάντες οἱ πρῶτοι τῆς χώρας κατὰ τε αἰδὼ τῆς τότε φυγῆς καὶ κατὰ τιμῆν τῆς προτέρας εὐπραγίας. ἦσαν δὲ οὕτωι Βερξελάτος ὁ Γαλαδίτης καὶ Σειφάρ ὁ τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος δυνάστης καὶ Μάχειρος ὁ τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος χώρας

231 πρῶτος. οὕτωι πᾶσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνου τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἐκτένειαν1 παρέσχον, ὡς μήτε κλίνας ἐπιλυπεῖν ἐστρωμένας μήτε ἀρτοὺς καὶ οἶνον, ἄλλα καὶ θυμάτων ἀφθονίαν χορηγῆσαι καὶ τῶν εἰς ἀνάπαυσιν ἡδὴ2 κεκοπωμένοις καὶ τροφὴν χρησίμων εὐπορίαν διαρκῆ παρασχεῖν.

232 (x. 1) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐν τούτοις ἦσαν Ἰασάλωμος δ’ ἀθροίσας μεγάλην στρατιάν τῶν Ἰσραήλ3 ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα καὶ διαβὰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν οὐ πόρρῳ κατέξευξε τῶν Παρεμβολῶν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδίτιδω χώρᾳ, καταστήσας στρατηγὸν πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως Ἀμασάν4 εἰς τὴν Ἰωάβου τάξιν τοῦ

1 εὐθείαν SP: copiam Lat.
2 ἅμα MSP.
3 + ἦγεν SPE.
4 Ἀμασάν O: Ἀμασάν ME: Ἀμασάν SP: Anessam Lat.

a Ahitophel’s speech is an amplification of the brief Scriptural phrase “and he put his household in order.”

b Unscriptural detail.

c Bibl. Mahanaim, cf. § 9 note.

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spirit than surrender himself to David to be punished for having in all ways helped Absalom against him. After this speech he went into the innermost part of the house and hanged himself. Such was the death to which Achitophel, as his own judge, sentenced himself, and his relatives cut him down from the rope and gave him burial. But David, having, as we said before, crossed the Jordan, came to The Camps, a very fine and well-fortified city. There he was most cordially received by the leading men of the region, both out of regard for his feelings as an exile and in honour of his former greatness. These were Berzelaios the Galadite, Seiphar, the ruler of Ammanitis, and Macheirou, the chief man of the country of Galaditis. They supplied him and his men liberally with everything needed, so that beds with covering were not lacking, nor bread and wine; moreover, they provided an abundance of slaughtered animals and furnished a plentiful supply of all things necessary for the refreshment and nourishment of exhausted men.

(x. 1) Such, then, was their position. As for Absalom, having collected a great army of Hebrews he led them against his father, and crossing the river Jordan, halted not far from The Camps in the country of Galaditis. He had appointed as commander of his entire force, in Joab’s place, Amasa,
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συγγενεύος αὐτοῦ· πατρὸς μὲν γὰρ ἦν Ἰεθράου μητρὸς δὲ Ἀβιγαίας, αὐτὴ δὲ καὶ Σαρονία ἦν.

1 1 τὴν στρατιὰν om. R.O.

2 Dindorf: Ἐσθάω R.O.: Ἐσθαίῳ rell.: Estheo Lat.

3 Hudson: παρασκευάζειν codd. E.

4 Ε.: ἴσθεις codd. Lat.

αὐτὸν πρὸς ὑπάρχουσι καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους καὶ διελθεῖν εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν στρατιὰν ἡ τοῦ μεν τῶ στρατηγῶ παρέδωκεν Ἰωάβων, τὸ δὲ τῶ ἀδελφῶ αὐτοῦ Ἀβισαίῳ, τὴν δὲ τρίτῃ μοῦραν ἐνεχείρισεν Ἐθαίῳ· συνήθει μὲν ὄντι καὶ φίλω ἐκ δὲ τῆς Γιττῶν πόλεως ὑπάρχοντι.

234 Βουλόμενον δὲ συνεκστρατεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἔδοσαν οἱ φίλοι γνώμη κατασχόντες σοφοτάτην· νυκήθεντες μὲν γὰρ σὺν αὐτῷ πάσαν ἀποβαλεῖν ἐλπίδα χρηστήν ἐφασκον, ἀν δὲ ὑπῆκοντες ἐν μέρει τῆς δυνάμεως τῶ λοιπῶ πρὸς αὐτὸν φόνονειν ἀμείνονα παρασκευάσειν αὐτὸν ἰσχύν· ὑπονοήσειν δὲ καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους εἰκὸς ἐστὶν ἄλλο μετ᾽ αὐτοῦ στρατευμα εἰναι. πεισθεὶς δὲ τῇ συμβουλίᾳ ταύτη μένειν μὲν αὐτὸς ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς ἔκρινε, ἐκπέμπτων δὲ τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον παρεκάλει προβημαίνει ἐναποδείξαυσθαι καὶ πόστιν καὶ μνήμην, εἰ τινος τῶν μετρίως ἐχόντων παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἑτυχον· φείσασθαι δὲ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἀβιαλόμοι κρατήσαντας ἠντιβόλει, μη κακὸν αὐτὸν

a Bibl. Ithra (Heb. Yithrá), i.xx Ἰσθόρ.

b No number is given in Scripture. Josephus apparently
a relative of the latter, for his father was Jethraos and his mother was Abigaia, and she and Saruia, the mother of Joab, were both sisters of David. Now when David numbered his men and found that they were some four thousand, he decided not to wait for Absalom to attack him, but appointed captains of thousands and captains of hundreds to the men he had with him, and divided the army into three parts; one division he entrusted to Joab, another to the latter’s brother Abisai, while the third part he turned over to Ethaios, who was his comrade and friend although he came from the city of Gitta. He himself wished to go out with them to battle, but his friends would not allow it and kept him back by a very wise decision; for they said that if they were defeated with him present, they would lose every fair hope, but if, on the other hand, one part of their force were beaten and they fell back upon David with the remainder, he would bring them renewed strength, and the enemy would probably suspect that there was still another army with him. So David took this advice and decided to remain at The Camps himself while he sent out his friends and generals to war, exhorting them to show themselves eager and faithful and mindful of whatever fair treatment they might have received from him. He also implored them to spare his son Absalom, if they were victorious,

assumes that each of the three generals had more than a thousand men.

This argument is an amplification or an interpretation of the obscure text in 2 Sam. xviii. 3, which seems to mean simply that even if David’s men were routed, the enemy would consider it less important than David’s capture.

Variant “was pleased with this advice.”

This exhortation is an addition to Scripture.
erγάσηται τι τελευτήσαντος αυτοῦ. καὶ δὲ μὲν νίκηρ
αυτοὶς ἐπευξάμενος ἐκπέμπει τὴν στρατιὰν.

236 (2) Ἰωάβου δὲ παρατάξαντος τὴν δύναμιν ἀντι-
kρὺ τῶν πολεμίων ἐν πεδίῳ μεγάλῳ ἐξόπισθεν
περὶβεβλημένῳ δρμὸν ἀντεξάγει τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ
Ἀψάλωμος. καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἔργα μεγάλα
χειρῶν τε καὶ τόλμης παρ’ ἀμφοτέρων ἐπεδείκνυτο,
tῶν μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν Δαυίδην
παρακυδυνεύοντων καὶ πάση προθυμία χρωμένων,
tῶν δ’, ἵνα μὴ ταύτην Ἀψάλωμος ἀφαιρεθῇ καὶ
dῦ τῷ πατρὶ δύκας κολασθεῖς ἀνθ’ ὧν ἐτόλμησεν.

237 οὕδεν ὀκνοῦντων οὕτε ποιεῖν οὕτε πάσχειν, ἐτὶ δὲ
tῶν μὲν πλειόνων ἵνα μὴ κρατηθῶσιν ὑπὸ τῶν σὺν
Ἰωάβῳ καὶ τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ στρατηγοῖς ὀντῶν
ὀλίγων, αἰσχύνην γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ’ εἶναι μεγίστην,
tῶν δὲ Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἵνα τοσοῦτοι μυριάδῶν
κρατήσωσι φιλοτιμομένων, ἔρις ἐγένετο καρτέρα,
καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Δαυίδου ῥώμῃ τε προύχοντες καὶ
238 τῇ τῶν πολεμικῶν ἐπιστήμῃ. φεύγοντας δὲ διὰ
dρυμῶν καὶ φαράγγων ἐπόμενοι τοὺς μὲν ἔλαι-
βανον πολλοὺς δὲ ἀνήρους, ὡς φεύγοντας πεσεῖν
πλείονας ἡ μαχομένους· ἔπεσον γὰρ ὡς δισμύριοι
ἐπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας. οἱ δὲ τοῦ Δαυίδου πάντες
ὡρμησαν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἀψάλωμον. φανερὸς γὰρ αὐτοῖς
ὕπο τε τοῦ κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ἐγένετο.

239 δείσας δὲ μὴ καταλάβωσιν αὐτὸν οἱ πολέμιοι,

a David’s threat to harm himself and the prayer for victory are also unscriptural details.
b This account of the battle, which as usual is greatly amplified, has Thucydidean echoes in πάση προθυμία χρωμένων “making every effort” and προύχοντες . . . ἐπιστήμη “because of their greater . . . knowledge of war.”

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threatening to do himself some injury if Absalom met his death. And so, with a prayer for their victory, he sent his army out.a

(2) Then Joab drew up his force opposite the enemy in a great plain bordered by a wood in the rear, and Absalom led out his troops against him. In the ensuing engagement great deeds of strength and daring were performed on both sides, the one scorning danger and making every effort that David might recover his kingdom, while the other did not shrink from doing or suffering anything to prevent Absalom from being deprived of it and being punished by his father for his rash attempt; moreover, the larger force did its best not to be conquered by Joab's men and generals, who were few in number, for that would have brought upon them the greatest disgrace, while, on the other hand, David's soldiers were ambitious to conquer so many tens of thousands, and for these reasons the battle was a fierce one. Finally David's men were victorious because of their greater vigour and knowledge of war. And they pursued the fleeing enemy through woods and ravines, capturing some, but slaying so many that more fell in flight than on the field of battle; for there fell on that day some twenty thousand.b Then all of David's men went after Absalom, who was plainly visible to them because of his beauty and great stature,c and he, in fear of being captured by his enemies, mounted his Absalom's force is routed, 2 Sam. xviii. 6.

Absalom in flight, is entangled by his hair 2 Sam. xviii. 9.

A detail apparently derived from the Luc. reading in 2 Sam. xviii. 9 ἦν μεγάς Ἀβσαλὼν ἐνώπιον τῶν παιδῶν Δαυΐδ "and Absalom was great in the sight of David's servants," where most lxx mss. have συνήρτησεν Ἀβσαλὼν κτλ. which agrees with the Heb. "and Absalom met the servants of David."

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ἐπιβάς τῆς ἡμών τῆς βασιλικῆς ἐφευγε· φερόμενος δὲ μετὰ ρύμης καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σάλου καὶ τῆς κυνήσεως κούφος ὄν, ἐμπλακεῖσις αὐτῷ τῆς κόμης τραχεῖ δένδρω μεγάλοις ἐπὶ πολὺ κλάδοις ἐκτεταμένω παραδόξως ἀνακρεμνᾶται. καὶ τὸ μὲν κτήμοι ὑπ' ὀξύτητος ὦς ἐπικείμενον τὸν δεσπότην ἐπὶ φέρων ἐχώρει προσωτέρω, ὁ δ' ἐκ τῶν κλάδων 240 αἰωροῦμενος ἐκρατεῖτο. 1 τοῦτο τις ἤδων τῶν Δαυίδου στρατιωτῶν ἐδήλωσεν Ἰωάβῳ, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀν αὐτῷ δεδωκέναι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ φήσαντος, εἰ βαλῶν ἀπέκτεινε τὸν Ἀψάλωμον, "οὐδ' ἐι χιλίους," εἶπεν, "ἐμελλέσ μοι παρέξειν, τούτ' ἀν διεθηκα μοι τοῦ δεσπότου παιδα, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνου πάντων ἡμῶν ἀκούντων φείσασθαι" 2 τοῦ νεανίσκου δεθέντος." ὁ δὲ κελεύσας αὐτῷ δεξίαι ποὺ κρεμάμενον ἤδω τὸν Ἀψάλωμον τοξεύσας κατὰ τῆς καρδίας ἀπέκτεινεν· οἳ δὲ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου κομίζοντες ὅπλα περιστάντες ἐν κύκλω τὸ 242 δένδρῳ κατασπάσα τὸν νεκρόν· καὶ τὸν μὲν εἰς χάσμα βαδὸ καὶ ἄχανες ῥίψαντες ἐπιβάλλουσιν αὐτῷ λίθους, ὡστε ἀναπληρωθῆναι καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τάφου καὶ μέγεθος λαβέων, σημῆνας δὲ ἀνακλητικὸν ὁ Ἰωάβος ἐπέσχει 3 τοῦ διώκειν τοὺς οἰκείους στρατιώτας τῆς τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, φειδόμενος τῶν ὁμοφύλων.

243 (3) Ἐστησέ δ' Ἀψάλωμος ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι τῇ

1 + τοῖς πολεμίοις codd.: secl. Niese.  
2 cod. Vat. apud Hudson: + τὲ RO: + σὲ MSP.  
3 Coecceji: ἀπέσχετο codd.: revocavit Lat.

a Variant "was seized by the enemy."

b So some lxx mss. and Luc.; Heb. and most lxx mss.

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royal mule and fled. As he rode along at full speed, he was lifted up by the unsteady motion, and his hair became entangled in a rugged tree with great branches extending far out, and in this strange fashion he remained suspended. But his swiftly moving beast went on further as though still carrying his master on his back, while Absalom swung from the branches, which held him up.\(^a\) This was seen by one of David’s soldiers, who informed Joab of it, and, when the commander said he would have given him fifty \(^b\) shekels if he had struck Absalom and killed him, he replied, “Not if you had been ready to give me a thousand, would I have treated my master’s son in that way, especially as we all heard him plead that the youth’s life be spared.” Joab thereupon ordered him to show him where he had seen Absalom hanging, and shot an arrow \(^c\) into his heart and killed him. Then Joab’s armour-bearers surrounded the tree and pulled down the corpse,\(^d\) and, casting it into a deep yawning pit, they threw stones into this until it filled up and took on the form and size of a tomb.\(^e\) Meanwhile Joab sounded the retreat and kept his own soldiers from pursuing the enemy force, and so spared his countrymen.

(3) Now Absalom had set up in the Valley of Kings have “ten (shekels) of silver,” while all texts add “and a girdle.”

\(^a\) Bibl. “took three darts and thrust them”; the Heb. \(\text{šebālím} “darts”\) is translated by \(\beta\ell\eta\) in the LXX, and by \(\alpha\kappa\delta\alpha\ς\) in Luc., either of which may mean “arrows” as well.

\(^b\) According to Scripture Joab’s ten armour-bearers completed his work by striking Absalom until he was dead.

\(^c\) An interpretation of bibl. “and placed (A.V. “laid up”) a very great heap of stones upon him,” probably suggested by the fact that the Heb. \(\text{yassibū “placed”}\) also has the technical meaning of “erect” a monument, grave-stele, etc.
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βασιλικὴ στήλην λίθου μαρμαρίνου δύο σταδίων ἀπέχουσαν Ἱεροσολύμων, ἦν προσηγορευσεν ἓδιαν χείρα, λέγων ὡς καὶ τῶν τέκνων αὐτοῦ διαφθαρέντων ἐν τῇ στήλης μενεὶ τὸ ὄνομα· τέκνα γὰρ ἢν αὐτῷ τρία μὲν ἄρρενα, θυγάτηρ δὲ μία Θαμάρα.

244 τούτοις, ὡς προειρήκαμεν· συνοικισάσθης δ’ αὐτής τῷ Ὁσομῶνος νῦν Ἡροδάμων γίνεται παῖς ὁ διαδεξάμενος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀβίας. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ύστεροις οἰκειότερον τῇ ἱστορίᾳ δηλώσομεν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἀβαλάμων τελευτήν ὁ μὲν λαὸς εἰς τὰ οἰκεῖα διεσπάρη.

245 (4) Ἀχίμας δὲ ὁ Σαδώκου τοῦ ἄρχιερέως νῦν Ἰωάβῳ προσελθὼν ἐδείτο αὐτοῦ τὴν νίκην ἐπιτρέψας πορευθέντι Δαυίδη μηνύσαι, καὶ ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας ἐτυχε καὶ προνοίας εὐαγγελίσασθαι. 246 σθαί. καὶ τὸν μὲν, οὐ προσήκειν εἰπών αὐτῷ καλὸν ἀγγελον ἄει γεγενημένον νῦν ἀπιέναι ὁ δηλώσοντα θάνατον τῷ βασιλεί τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ, μένειν ἥξιον, καλέσας δὲ τοῦ Χουσίων ἐκείνω προσέταξε τὸ ἐργον, ἔν ὀπερ αὐτὸς εἰδέ τούτῳ μηνύσει τῷ βασιλεί. 247 τοῦ δ’ Ἀχίμα πάλιν δεηθέντος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγγελίαν ἐφείναι, περὶ μόνης γὰρ αὐτὴν ποιήσεσθαι τῆς

1 O : Θαμάρα rel. : Thamar Lat.
2 Σολομῶνος υἱὸς R Lat. : Δανίδου Σολομῶνος υἱὸς O : Δανίδου νιώντι MSP.
3 Coceji : ἀπείναι codd.
4 Hudson : ποιήσασθαι codd.

a Unscriptural detail.
b The distance is not given in Scripture.
c So the lxx; Heb. yad, lit. “hand” (A.V. “place,” agreeing with the Targum), here has the meaning of “monument” or “stele.”
d § 190 (cf. note ad loc.). Josephus, in attributing to 490
a marble column, two stades distant from Jerusalem, which he named Absalom’s Hand, saying that if his children should perish, his name would remain in connexion with the column. He had, in fact, three sons and one daughter, named Thamara, as we have said before. And from her marriage to Solomon’s son Roboamos, there was born a son, Abias, who succeeded to his throne. But of this we shall speak later, in a more suitable part of our history. And so, after the death of Absalom, the people dispersed to their homes.

(4) Then Achimas, the son of the high priest Sadok, went to Joab and asked him for permission to go and announce the victory to David and bring him the good news that he had obtained help and guidance from God. Joab replied that it was not fitting that he who had always been a messenger of good tidings should now go and inform the king of his son’s death, and so asked him to stay, while he called Chûsis and charged him with the task of reporting to the king what he had himself seen. But when Achimas again requested him to entrust the message to him, saying that he would mention only the victory and Absalom the fear that his children might die before him, disposes of the difficulty caused by the contradiction between 2 Sam. xiv. 27, referred to in § 190, and the present verse, 2 Sam. xviii. 18, which reads, “for he said, I have no son to keep my name in remembrance.” A rabbinic tradition has it that Absalom’s sons died before him as a punishment for having set fire to Joab’s field; another tradition states that Absalom left sons “but they were so insignificant that Scripture speaks of them as though he died childless” (Ginzberg, op. cit. vi. 268).

Josephus, like the lxx, confuses kûši “Cushite” (or “Ethiopian,” i.e. a negro slave) with Hûšai, the name of David’s counsellor.
νίκης ἦσυχάσεων δὲ περὶ τῆς Ἀφαλώμου τελευτῆς, ἐπέτρεψεν αὐτῷ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Ἀκώληθον ἀφίξεως. καὶ τὴν ἐπιτυμωτέραν ἐκβαλὼν1 τῶν ὅδων, καὶ γὰρ 248 μόνος αὐτῆς ἐγκώμισε, τὸν Χοουσίν φθάνει. καθεξημένῳ δὲ Ἀκώληθος μεταξὺ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ περι-
μένοντι πότ' αὐτῶν τις ἐλθὼν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης ἀπαγ-
γειλη2 τὰ κατ' αὐτήν, τῶν σκοπῶν τις ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀχίμαν τρέχοντα καὶ μὴ πώς τις ἐστὶ γνωρίσαι δυνάμενος εἶπε3 βλέπειν των παραγινόμενον πρὸς 249 αὐτόν. τοῦ δὲ ἄγγελον εἶναι φήσαντος ἁγαθῶν,4 μετ' οὖν ἐπέσθανεν καὶ ἔτερον ἐξῆλθεν αὐτῶν. κακεῖνον δὲ ἄγγελον εἰπόντος, ἰδὼν τὸν Ἀχίμαν ὁ σκοπὸς ἡγῆ ἐγγὺς γεγενημένον τὸν Σαμώκου παῖδα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως προσπρέχει ἐσθημαιν. ὁ δὲ Ἀκώληθος περιχαρῆς γεγομένοις ἁγαθῶν ἄγγελον τοῦτον ἤφησεν εἶναι καὶ τι τῶν εὐκταίων αὐτῷ φέρεν ἀπὸ τῆς μάχης.

250 (5) Καὶ μεταξὺ ταῦτα λέγοντος τοῦ βασιλέως φανεὶς ὁ Ἀχίμας προσκυνεῖ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πυθομένῳ περὶ τῆς μάχης νίκην εὐαγγελίζεται καὶ κράτος. ἐρωμένου δὲ εἰ τι καὶ περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐχούν μὲν ἐφάσκεν εὐθὺς ὅρμησαι πρὸς αὐτόν τῆς τροπῆς τῶν πολεμίων γεγομένης, ἀκοῦσαι δὲ μεγάλης φωνῆς5 διωκόντων τὸν Ἀφαλώμου καὶ πλείον τοῦτον μηδὲν δεδυνήθησαι5 μαθεῖν διὰ τὸ πεμφθέντα ὑπὸ Ιωάβου δηλώσαι τὴν νίκην ἐπεί-

1 ἐκλαβῶν SP: tenens Lat.
2 ἀπαγγελεῖ O: ἀπαγγελεῖ M: ἀγγελεῖ Niese.
3 + πρὸς τὸν Ἀκώληθον codd.: secl. Niese.
4 Niese: ἁγαθῶν codd. Lat.
5 βοής MSPE: voces Lat.
6 μὴ δύνασθαι SP: μὴ M.

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would keep silence about the death of Absalom, Joab granted him permission to make the journey to David. And so, by striking off into a shorter road, which he alone knew, he arrived before Ch̄ūsîs. Now as David sat between the gates, waiting until someone should come from the scene of battle and report how it had gone, one of the look-outs saw Achimās running along, and, though he could not yet recognize who it was, told David that he saw someone coming toward him. The latter replied that it was a messenger of good tidings, and when, a moment later, the man informed him that still another was following, David said that he too was a messenger. Then the lookout recognized Achimās, who was now very close, and announced that the man running toward them was the son of the high priest Sadok. At that, David was overjoyed and said that he was a messenger of good tidings and was bringing from the field of battle news of something such as they had prayed for.

(5) While the king was saying this, Achimās appeared and did obeisance to the king, and, in answer to his inquiry about the battle, announced the welcome news of a decisive victory. But when David asked whether he could also tell him something about his son, he said that he had hastened to him immediately upon the rout of the enemy, and, though he had heard a great shouting of those who were pursuing Absalom, he had been unable to learn anything more than this because he had been sent off in haste by Joab to report the victory. Then,

a Details added by Josephus. According to Scripture Ahimaaaz ran by way of "the (Jordan) valley" (A.V. "the plain").

b On the hendiadys cf. § 73 note.
251 γεσθαί. παραγενομένου δὲ τοῦ Χουαὶ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος καὶ τὴν νίκην σημηνάντως, περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέκρινεν. ὁ δὲ ἔχθροῖς, ἐπε, "τοῖς σοῖς οία συμβέβηκεν Ἀφαλώμῳ γένοιτο."  
252 οὗτος δὲ λόγος οὐδὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τὴν νίκην χαρὰν εἰσεῖν οὕτ’ αὐτῷ μεῖναι μεγίστην ὅδειν οὕτε τοῖς στρατιώταις αὐτῷ μὲν γὰρ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τὸ ὑψηλότατον τῆς πόλεως ἀπεκλαίετο1 τὸν ὕδων τυπτόμενος τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν σπαραττόμενος καὶ παντοίως αὐτὸν αἰκίζομενος καὶ "τέκνον," ἐκβοῶν, "εἶδε μοι τὸν θάνατον ἐπελθεῖν ἐγένετο καὶ ἁμα σοι τελευτῆσαι"· φύσει γὰρ ὄν φιλόστοργος, πρὸς ἐκείνου μᾶλλον συμπαθῶς εἰχεν. ἡ στρατιὰ δὲ καὶ Ἰωάβος ἀκούσαντες ὅτι πενθεὶ τὸν ὕδων οὕτως ὁ βασιλεὺς, ἰσχύσθησαν μετὰ τοῦ τῶν νενικητῶν σχήματος εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, κατηφεὶς δὲ καὶ δεδακρυμένοι πάντες ὡς ἄφ’ ἦττης παρῆλθον.  
253 κατακαλυφθαμένου δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ στένοντος τὸν ὕδων εἴσεισι πρὸς αὐτὸν Ἰωάβος καὶ παρηγορῶν "ὡ δέσποτα," φησί, "λαυθάνεις διαβάλλων σαυτὸν οἷς ποιεῖς, ὅτι τοὺς μὲν ἀγαπῶντάς σε καὶ περὶ σοῦ κινδυνεύοντας καὶ σαυτόν καὶ τὴν σὴν γενεὰν δοκεῖς μισεῖν, στέργειν δὲ τοὺς ἑχθροτάτους καὶ ποθείν οὐκέτ’ ὄντας, οἱ δίκη τεθνήκασιν· εἰ γὰρ Ἀφαλώμος ἐκράτησε καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαιώς κατέσχεν, οὐδὲνος ἤν ἡμῶν ὑπελείφθη λείψανον, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἄν ἀπὸ σοῦ καὶ τῶν σῶν ἀρξάμενοι  

1 ἀνεκλαίετο Μ: ἀνεκάλείτο SPE.

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a Bibl. "to the chamber over the gate." It is possible, as Reinach suggests, that πόλεως "city" in Josephus's text is a scribal error for πόλης "gate."

b Details added by Josephus, amplifying the biblical phrase "the king weeps and mourns."
when Chûsis arrived and, with an obeisance, announced the victory, David questioned him about his son. "May your enemies," he replied, "suffer the same fate as Absalom." These words took away from both him and his soldiers all their joy over the victory, great as that was. As for David, he went up to the highest part of the city and bewailed his son, beating his breast, tearing his hair and doing himself every kind of injury, and crying out "O my son, would that death had come to me and that I had died with you!" for he was by nature affectionate, and was especially attached to Absalom. And, when the army and Joab heard how deeply the king mourned for his son, they were ashamed to enter the city with the appearance of victors, and, instead, they all came in, as if from a defeat, with bowed heads and tearful faces. Then, while the king with veiled head was moaning for his son, Joab went into him and consoled him, saying, "My lord, you are unwittingly slandering yourself by this conduct, for you seem to hate those who love you and are risking their lives both for you yourself and for your family, while you hold dear those who are most hostile to you, and long for them when they are no longer alive, although they have justly died. For, if Absalom had conquered and had firmly secured the kingdom, not one of us would have been left to survive, but all of us, beginning with you and your children, would

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII. 251–255

David's lament for Absalom. 2 Sam. xviii. 33. (Heb. xix. 1.)

Joab compels David to cease mourning. 2 Sam. xix. 5 (6).

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"would God I had died in thy place" (A.V. "for thee"); the Targum adds, "and that thou wert alive this day."

"Consoled him," etc. Joab's language is less respectful in Scripture, "Thou hast shamed this day the faces of all thy servants."
JOSEPHUS

téknwv ἀπωλώλειμεν οἴκτρώς, οὐ κλαιόντων ἡμᾶς τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλὰ καὶ χαιρόντων καὶ τοὺς ἐλεοῦντας ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς κολαζόντων. σὺ δὲ οὐκ αἰσχύνῃ ταῦτα ποιῶν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἔχθρῷ, ὥστε σοῦ 256 υἱὸς ὁ ἄσεβὴς οὕτως ἐγένετο. παυσάμενος οὖν τῆς ἀδίκου λύπης προελθὼν ὥθησε τοὺς σαυτὸς στρατιῶτας καὶ τῆς νίκης αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς περὶ τοὺς ἀγώνας προθυμίας εὐχαρίστησαν. ὡς ἐγὼ τήμερον, ἃν ἐπιμείνη τοῖς ἄρτι πραττομένοις, ἀναπείσας ἀποστῆσαι σου τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐτέρω παραδοῦναι, τότε σου πικρότερον καὶ ἀληθές 257 ποιῆσω τὸ πένθος." ταῦτ' εἰτῶν Ἰώαβος ἀπέστρεψεν ἀπὸ τῆς λύπης καὶ ἤγαγεν εἰς τὸν περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων λογισμὸν τῶν βασιλέαν: μετασχηματίσας γὰρ ἔαυτὸν Δαυίδης καὶ ποιήσας ἐπιτήδειον εἰς τὴν τοῦ πλήθους θέαν πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ἐκάθισεν, ὡς ἀπαντα τὸν λαὸν ἀκούσαντα συνδραμεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ κατασπάσασθαι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν τούτων ἔσχε τὸν τρόπον.

258 (xi. 1) Οἷ δ' ἐκ τῆς μάχης ἀναχωρήσαντες τῶν Ἐβραίων τῶν μετ' Ἀθαλώμου γενόμενοι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐκατον διεπέμποντο κατὰ πόλεις ὑπομνήσκοντες αὐτοὺς δὲν εὐδρέγετησέν αὐτοὺς 1 Δαυίδης καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, ἣν ἐκ πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλων 259 ρυσάμενοι αὐτοὺς πολέμων παρέσχε, μεμφόμενοι δ' ὅτι τῆς βασιλείας αὐτοῦ ἐκβαλόντες ἄλλω ταῦτην ἐνεχείρισαν καὶ νῦν τεθνηκότος τοῦ κατασταθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἡγεμόνοις οὗ παρακαλοῦσι Δαυίδην παῦσασθαι μὲν τῆς ὀργῆς, εὐνοϊκῶς δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔχειν, τῶν δὲ πραγμάτων καθὼς ἦδη καὶ πρότερον

1 αὐτοῖς om. ROE.
have perished miserably, and the enemy, instead of weeping for us, would have rejoiced and punished any who pitied our misfortunes. And yet you are not ashamed to behave in this way about a man who is the more hateful for having been so impious, though your own son. Cease, therefore, from your unjustified grief and go out and show yourself to your soldiers and thank them for the victory and for their ardour in the fight. For, if you persist in doing as you have just been doing, I will this very day persuade the people to revolt from you and give the kingdom over to another, and then I shall make your sorrow more bitter and real."  

By these words Joab diverted the king from his grief, and brought him to taking thought about the matter. So David, changing his appearance, made himself presentable to the people, and sat by the gates, until all the people heard of it and ran to greet him. And this was how these matters were.

(xi. 1) Now when those Hebrews on Absalom's side who had escaped from the battlefield returned to their several homes, they sent round to their cities, reminding them how David had benefited them and had procured their freedom by delivering them in many great wars; and they blamed themselves for having driven him from the throne and given it over to another, and because now, when the leader appointed by them was dead, they had not appealed to David to abate his anger, show himself friendly toward them, and resume his throne to take up the

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\[a\] Joab's speech is considerably amplified.

\[b\] Or "his dress."

\[c\] Unscriptural detail.

The rebels make peace with David.  
2 Sam. xix. 9 (10).
ποιεῖσθαι πρόνοιαν, τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβόντα.
260 ταῦτα μὲν ὦν συνεχέστερον ἀπηγγέλλετο Δαυίδης·
κάκείνος οὖδὲν ἦττον ἔπεμψε πρὸς Σάδωκον καὶ
Ἀβιάθαρον τοὺς ἁρχιερεῖς, ἵνα τοῖς ἀρχουσί μὴν
Ἰουδὰ φυλής διαλεχθῶσιν, ὡς αὐτοχρόν ἐστιν·
αὐτοὶ ἄλλας φυλάς πρὸ ἐκείνης Δαυίδην χειροτονήσαν
βασιλέα, "καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῶν συγγενῶν ὄντων καὶ
κοινὸν αἷμα πρὸς αὐτὸν κεκληρωμένων." τὰ δὲ
αὐτὰ καὶ Ἀμασὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ προσέταξεν αὐτοῖς
λέγειν, ὅτι τῆς ἁδελφῆς υἱὸς ὦν αὐτοῦ μὴν πείθει
tὸ πλῆθος Δαυίδη τῆν βασιλείαν ἀποδοῦναι·
προσδοκάν ἔπειτα αὐτοῦ μὴ διαλαγῆ μόνον,
tοῦτο γὰρ ἥδη γέγονεν, ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἀπαντος τῶν
λαῶν στρατηγιῶν, ἥν αὐτῷ καὶ Ἀφάλωμος παρέσχε.
262 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἁρχιερεῖς δὲ μὲν τοῖς τῆς φυλῆς ἁρχουσὶ
dιελεχθησαν ἃ δὲ τὸν Ἀμασὰν ἔπεισαν, τὰ παρὰ
τοῦ βασιλέως πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπόντες, ἐγχειρεῖν ταῖς
ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ φροντίσσι, καὶ πείθει γε τὴν φυλῆν
παραχρῆμα πέμψαι πρὸς Δαυίδην πρέοσβεις παρα-
kαλουτας εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπανελθεῖν βασιλείαν.
τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ πάντες ἐποίουν οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται
προτρεψαμένου τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ.
263 (2) Τῶν δὲ πρέοσβεων ἄφικομένων πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς
Ἰεροσόλυμα παρεγένετο· πάντας δὲ τοὺς ἄλλους
ἐφθασέν ἡ Ἰουδὰ φυλή πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν
ἀπαντῆσαι τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ ὁ Γῆρα παῖς Σαμοῦης
μετὰ χιλίων ἀνδρῶν, οὕς ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς

1 ἐστιν om. RO.
2 Σουμοῦης R: Σεμείας MS(P): Σεμεῖας E: Semei Lat.

"They had not appealed," etc. is an amplification of
2 Sam. xix. 10 (Heb. 11) "Now therefore why speak ye not
a word of bringing the king back?"
direction of affairs just as before. Such were the reports that were continually brought to David, but he none the less sent a message to the high priests Sadok and Abiathar that they should tell the chiefs of the tribe of Judah what a disgrace it was for them that the other tribes had chosen David king before they did, "especially," they were to add, "as you is his kin and have common blood with him." And he instructed them to speak to Amasa, the commander, in the same vein and ask why, although he was a son of David's sister, he had not persuaded the people to restore the kingdom to David; and they were to say that he might expect not only a reconciliation with him,—which had already taken place—but also the chief command of the entire people, like that which Absalom had given him. So the high priests gave the one message to the chiefs of the tribe (of Judah), and the other message of the king they gave to Amasa, whom they persuaded to undertake measures on his behalf. He, in turn, persuaded the tribe immediately to send envoys to David, inviting him to return to his own kingdom. And all the Israelites, at the suggestion of Amasa, did the same thing.

(2) After the envoys came to him, David went on to Jerusalem. And first of all the tribes to meet the king at the river Jordan was Judah; also Samúis, the son of Gera, with a thousand men whom he had brought from the tribe of Benjamin, and Siba, the...

In Scripture David does not mention the exact relation, but merely says "art thou not of my bone (Targum "my kinsman") and flesh?"

The reconciliation with Amasa and the latter's action in persuading the Israelites to send envoys are unscriptural details.
JOSEPHUS

ἐπήγετο, καὶ Σιβᾶς δὲ ο ἀπελευθερος Σαούλου καὶ
οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ πεντεκαίδεκα τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντες
264 μετὰ οἰκετῶν εἰκοσιν. οὔτοι σὺν τῇ 'Ἰουδα φυλῆ
τὸν ποταμὸν ἐγεφύρωσαν, ἵνα βάσανον διαβῇ μετὰ
τῶν ἰδίων ο βασιλεύς. ὡς δὲ ἤκειν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδανὸν
ἡσπάσατο μὲν αὐτὸν ἡ 'Ἰουδα φυλῆ, προσπέσων δ’
ἀναβάντι ἐπὶ τὴν γέφυραν Σαμουῖς καὶ κατασχῶν
αὐτοῦ τοὺς πόδας ῥάδιόν τιν περὶ τῶν εἰς
αὐτὸν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ μὴ γειέσθαι πικρὸν αὐτῷ
μηδὲ τούτῳ πρῶτον ἡγήσασθαι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐν
ἐξοισία γενόμενου, λογίσασθαί δ’ ὅτι καὶ μετα-
νοήσας ἐφ’ οἷς ἐσφάλη πρώτος ἐλθεῖν πρὸς αὐ-
265 τὸν ἐπίσκοπο. 1 ταῦτα δ’ ἀντιβολοῦντος αὐτοῦ καὶ
οἰκτιζόμενον Ἀβίσαῖος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἄδελφος, “διὰ
τούτῳ οὖν,” εἶπεν, “οὐ τεθνήξη βλασφημήσας τὸν
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατασταθέντα βασιλεύς;” Δαυίδης
δ’ ἐπιστραφεῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν, “οὐ παύσεσθ,” εἶπεν,
“ἀ τὰ Σαμουίας παῖδες; μὴ κυνήσῃε πάλιν ἦμῖν
266 καὶ αὐτὸς ταῖς πρώταις παραχάς καὶ στάσεις; οὐ
γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν υμᾶς προσῆκεν ὅτι σήμερον ἀρχομαι
τῇ βασιλείᾳ. διὸ πάσων ἀφέναι τὰς κολάσεις τοῖς
ἀσεβήσασιν ὄμνυμι καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἁμαρτόντων
ἐπεξελθεῖν. σὺ τε,” εἶπεν, “ἄτο Σαμουῖ, θάρρει καὶ
deίσης μηδέν ως τεθνήξομενος.” δ’ ὅδε προσκυνήσας
αὐτὸν προῆγεν.

267 (3) Ἀπήντησε δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ Σαούλου υἱὸς
Μεμφίδοθος ῥυπαράν τε τὴν ἐσθήτα περικείμενος
καὶ τὴν κόμην βαθεῖαν καὶ κατημελημένην ἔχων.
μετὰ γὰρ τὴν Δαυίδου φυγῆν οὔτ’ ἀπεκείρατο
λυπούμενος οὔτ’ ἐκάθηρε τὴν ἐσθήτα κατακρίνας

1 ἐσπούδασε MSP.
freedman of Saul, and his sons, who were fifteen in number, together with twenty servants. These latter with the tribe of Judah made a bridge over the river, in order that the king and his men might cross the more easily. And, when he came to the Jordan, he was welcomed by the tribe of Judah; then, as he mounted the bridge, Samúis fell down before him and clasped his feet, asking pardon for the wrongs he had done him, and that he should not be harsh with him nor let his first thought, on coming into power, be one of vengeance; he should, Samúis said, take into account that he had repented of his errors and had hastened to be the first to come to him. While he thus made supplication and begged for mercy, Abisai, the brother of Joab, said to him, “Shall you, then, not die for having cursed the one appointed by God to reign?” But David turned to him and said, “Will you not be quiet, sons of Saruia? Do not stir up for us new disorders and dissensions to follow the first. You must not fail to realize that with to-day I begin my reign. I have, therefore, sworn to forgo punishment for acts of rebellion, and not to prosecute any offender. And you, Samúis,” he said, “take courage and have no fear that you will be put to death.” The other then did obeisance to him and went on before him.

(3) And there also met him Saul’s grandson Mephibosthes, wearing a soiled garment and with his hair long and unkempt, for, after David’s flight, he had not, because of his grief, either cut his hair or washed his garment, but had condemned himself to:

a Heb. ’āberāh (for ’āberû?) hā-ābārāh seems to mean “they ferried across,” as the Targum translates; lxx διέβην η διάβασαν, lit. “the crossing went over,” is more obscure than the Heb.  
b Bibl. “as he was crossing the Jordan.”
αὐτοῦ συμφορᾶν ταύτην ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως μεταβολήν. διεβέβλητο δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτρόπου Σιβᾶ 268 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀδίκως. ἀσπασμένου δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ προσκυνήσαντος ἦρξατο πυνθάνεσθαι τί δήποτ' ὦ συνεξήλθεν αὐτῷ καὶ κοινώνος ἦν τῆς φυγῆς; ὥ δ' ἀδίκημα τούτ' ἐλεγεν εἰναι Σιβᾶ· κελευσθεὶς γὰρ παρασκευάσαι τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον οὐκ ἐφροντίσεν, ἀλλ' ὠσπερ ἀνδραπόδου τινὸς οὕτως παρήκουσεν. 269 'ει μέντοι γε τὰς βάσεις εἶχον ἐρρωμένας, οὐκ ἄν ἀπελεύθην σοι, χρησάμεν πρὸς τὴν φυγήν ταῦτας δυνάμενος. οὐ τούτῳ δὲ μόνῳ ἤδικησε μου τὴν πρὸς σὲ, δέσποτα, ευσέβειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσδιέβαλε καὶ κατέπλησσατο κακοῦργων. ἀλλ' οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι τούτων οὐδὲν ἢ σῇ διάνοια προσέται δικαιὰ τε 270 οὔσα καὶ τὴν ἄλληθειαν, ἢν ἰσχύει τε βούλεται καὶ τὸ θείον, ἀγαπῶσα: μείζωνα γὰρ κινδυνεύσας παθεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ πάππου τούμοι καὶ τῆς ὀλῆς ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ὀφειλοῦσης εἰς ἑκεῖνα ἀπολωλέναι, σὺ γε 2 μέτριος καὶ χρηστὸς ἐγένου, τότε μάλιστα πάντων ἑκείνων λήθην ποιησάμενος, ὀτ' ἐξουσίαν τῆς ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν τιμωρίας εἶχεν ἡ μνήμη. φίλον δὲ σὸν ἕκρινας ἔμε καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης εἶχες ὁσιμέραι, καὶ οὐδὲν ἀπέλευσον τῶν συγγενῶν τοῦ μάλιστα 271 τιμωμένου.' ταῦτ' ἐπόντος οὔτε τοῦ Μεμφίβοσθον ἐγών κολάζεων οὔθ' ὡς κατατευθυνόμου τοῦ Σιβᾶ καταδικάζεων, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ μὲν τοῦ μὴ μετὰ Σιβᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν 3 ἐλθεῖν ἑκείνω πάντα χαρίσασθαι φήσας 1 ἢν ... βούλεται] ἐνσυχίειν βουλομένη RO. 2 σὺ γε] Niese: σὺ τε RO: σὺ MSP. 3 πρὸς αὐτὸν post Σιβᾶ 1ο ΡΟ.

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1 Variant "for it is just and wishes the truth to prevail and loves the Deity."
this unhappy state on the king's fall from power. He had, moreover, been unjustly accused before David by his steward Siba. And so, when he greeted David and did obeisance to him, the latter inquired just why he had not gone out with him and shared his exile, whereupon he replied that this was Siba's fault, for, although he had been ordered to prepare for the departure, he had paid no attention, but had disregarded him quite as if he had been a mere slave. "If, indeed," he added, "I had sound feet and had been able to use them in flight, I should not have been far behind you. But this is not the only way, my lord, in which he has wrongfully hindered my obedience to you, for he has also slandered me and has maliciously lied about me. I know very well, however, that none of these calumnies finds admittance into your mind, for it is just and loves the truth, which the Deity also wishes to prevail; and, though you were exposed to great hardships at the hands of my grandfather, on which account our whole family was deserving of extinction, you were, none the less, forbearing and kind in making yourself forget all these things at the very time when you might have remembered them and also had the power to take vengeance. But you considered me your friend and had me daily at your table, and in no way was I less well treated than the most honoured of your relatives." After this speech of his, David decided neither to punish Memphibosthos nor to condemn Siba for having made false charges, but he told Memphibosthos that, because he had not come to him with Siba, he had presented all his substance to the latter; however,

Text obscure, lit. "when your memory had power to take vengeance upon them."
αὐτῶν συγγυνώσκειν ὑπέσχετο, τὰ ἡμίση τῆς οὗσιας αὐτῶν κελεύσας ἀποδοθῆναι. ὦ δὲ Μεμφίβοσθος "πάντες ἡκέτω μέν," εἶπε, "Σιβᾶς, ἐμοὶ δ' ἀπόχρη τὸ σὲ τὴν βασιλείαν ἀπολαβεῖν."

272 (4) Βεέρζελον δὲ τὸν Γαλαδίτην ἄνδρα μέγαν καὶ καλὸν καὶ πολλὰ παρεσχημένον ἐν ταῖς Παρεμβολαῖς αὐτοῦ Δαυίδην τε ἑπταμεντακώρες καὶ τοῦ Ἰσραήλου παρεκάλει συνελθεῖν ἐως τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων. γηροκομήσειν γὰρ αυτὸν ἐν πάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ ὡς πατρὸς ἐπιμεληθήσεσθαι καὶ προνόησεν ἐπηγγέλλετο. ὦ δὲ πόθῳ τῶν οὐκὶ παρητείτο τὴν μετ' αὐτοῦ διατριβήν· καὶ τὸ γῆρας λέγων τοιοῦτον αὐτῶν τυχανείν, ὡστε μη` ἀπολαύειν τῶν ἱδέων εἰς ὁγογήκοντα ἐτή προβεβηκότος, ἄλλῳ ὡστε καταλύσεως ἤθη καὶ ταφῆς προνοεῖν, ἐπὶ ταύτης ἓσεώς βουλόμενον αὐτῶν χαρίζεσθαι εἰς κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολύσαι· οὕτε γὰρ τροφῆς οὕτε ποτοῦ συνιέναι διὰ τὸν χρόνον, ἀποκεκλείσθαι δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς ἀκοὰς ἤθη πρὸς αὐλῶν ἥχους καὶ μέλη τῶν ἀλλῶν ὀργάνων, ὥσα παρὰ βασιλεῖσθι τέρπει τοὺς συνιατωμένους. οὕτως δὲ λυπαρῶς δεομένου, "σὲ μέν," εἶπεν, "ἀπολύσω, τὸν δ' ὕιν Ἀχίμανον ἄφεσο μοι πάντων γὰρ αὐτῶν μεταδῷσθων 275 τῶν ἀγαθῶν." καὶ Βεέρζελος μὲν καταλύπον τὸν ὕιν καὶ προσκυνήσας τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντων ἐπευξάμενος αὐτῶ τέλος ὃν ἔχει κατὰ ψυχὴν

1 Δαυίδην τε] Δαυίδης RO: Δαυίδης ex E Niese.
2 οὐ τοιοῦτον MSP.
3 μή om. MSP.

* David's reply to Mephibosheth is an amplification of 2 Sam. xix. 29 "and the king said, why speakest thou any
he promised to forgive him and ordered that half the property be restored to him. Thereupon Memphibosthos exclaimed, “Let Siba have it all! As for me, it is enough that you have recovered your kingdom.”

(4) Now Beerzelos the Galadite, a great and noble man, who had furnished David many supplies at The Camps, and had escorted him as far as the Jordan, was invited by him to come with him to Jerusalem; for, he said, he would cherish him in his old age with every honour, and he promised to take care of him and provide for him as for a father. But Beerzelos, who longed to be home, declined to stay with him, saying that his age was such that he could not enjoy pleasures,—he was now eighty years old—but must think of his end and burial, and he asked David, if he wished to gratify his desires, to release him for this purpose. He had, he said, no taste for food and drink because of his age, and his ears were deaf to the sound of flutes and the music of other instruments which delight those who live with kings.

To this earnest entreaty David replied, “I do release you, but leave me your son Achimanos, for I shall give him of all good things.” So Beerzelos left his son behind and, after doing obeisance to the king and praying for the fulfilment of his heart’s desire, re-

more of thy matters? I have said, thou and Ziba divide the land.”

b Called Berzelaios in § 230, cf. note.

c Cf. Targum “harps and songs of praise”; Heb. and LXX “singing men and women.”

d Josephus, contrary to his usual procedure, abridges Barzillai’s speech.

e Cf. Luc. Αχίμανδρος (v.l. Αχίμανδρος κτλ.); bibl. Chimham, LXX Χαμανά. In Scripture it is Barzillai who proposes that his son remain with David.
οἵκατ' ὑπέστρεψε. παραγίνεται δ' εἰς Γάλαγαλα Δαυίδης τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἥδη τὸ ἡμισυ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐξων καὶ τὴν 'Ιουδα φυλήν.

276 (5) Ἀφικνοῦνται δ' εἰς Γάλαγαλα πρὸς αὐτὸν οἱ πάσης φυλῆς1 πρῶτοι μετὰ πολλοῦ πλῆθους2 καὶ τὴν 'Ιουδα φυλήν κατεμέμφοντο λάθρα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθοῦσαν, ὥς δὲν ὁμοῦ πάντας μιᾷ γνώμῃ ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπάντησιν. οἱ δ' ἀρχοντες τῆς 'Ιουδάς φυλῆς μη δυσχεραίνειν αὐτοὺς ἡζίουν προληφθέντας· καὶ γὰρ συγγενεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον προνοοῦμενοι καὶ στέργοντες φθάσαι, οὐ μέντοι γε διὰ τὸ προελθεῖν δῶρα λαβεῖν αὐτοὺς, ἢ' ἐχωσιν ἐπὶ τούτω δυσφορεῖν ύστεροι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντες.

277 ταῦτα τῶν τῆς 'Ιουδάς φυλῆς ἡγεμόνων εἰπόντων οἱ τῶν ἅλλων ἀρχοντες οὐχ ἱσύχασαν, ἀλλ' " ἡμεῖς μὲν," ἠφασαν, " ὦ ἀδελφοί, θαυμάζομεν ὡμαὶ αὐτῶν ἀποκαλοῦντας μόνων συγγενὴ τὸν βασιλέα· ο γὰρ τὴν ἀπάντων ἐξουσίαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβῶν πάντων ἡμῶν εἶναι συγγενῆς κρίνεται. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ο μὲν λαὸς ἀπασ3 ἐνδέκα μοιρὰς ἔχει, μιὰν δ' ἡμεῖς, καὶ πρεσβύτεροι ἐσμὲν, καὶ οὐκ ἑπονήσατε δίκαια κρύφα καὶ4 λεληθότως ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα."

278 (6) Τοιαῦτα τῶν ἡγεμόνων πρὸς ἅλληλοις διαλεχθέντων ἀνήρ τις ποιηρὸς καὶ στάσει χαίρων, ὁνομα Σαβαῖος υἱὸς δὲ Βοχορίου5 τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς, στὰς ἐν μέσῳ πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος μέγα βοήσας εἵπεν. "οὔτ' ἔχει τις ἡμῶν6 παρὰ Δαυίδου μοῖρας

1 πάσης φυλῆς] τῆς χώρας MSPE: provinciae Lat.
2 πολλοῦ πλῆθους] πολλῆς πληθύοις MSPE.
3 ἀπας om. RO.
4 κρύφα και om. RO.
5 Beddadi Lat.
6 E Lat.: ἕμων codd.

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turned to his home. And David came to Galgala, having with him now half of all the people, and the tribe of Judah.

(5) Then there came to him at Galgala the leading men of every tribe with a great multitude, and they reproached the tribe of Judah for having come to him secretly, saying that they should all have met him together at one time. But the chiefs of the tribe of Judah begged them not to be annoyed at having been anticipated, for, they said, they were David’s relatives and, being for that reason more thoughtful for him and fonder of him, they had come there first; but they had not indeed, by coming first, received any gifts of which the others, who came to him later, could have reason to complain. The chiefs of the other tribes were not silenced by these words of the leaders of the tribe of Judah, but said, “We are amazed, brothers, that you call the king a relative only of yourselves, for he who receives from God authority over all must be considered a relative of us all. And for this reason the entire people has eleven parts (in him), while you have but one, and we are older; and so you have not done right in coming to the king in secrecy and by stealth.”

(6) While the leaders were thus arguing with each other, there stood up among them a certain man of evil character and a lover of dissension, named Sabaios, the son of Bochorios, of the tribe of Benjamin, who addressed the multitude in a loud voice, saying, “None of us has any portion of David or any

\[a\] Variant “of the country.” \[b\] Bibl. “ten.”
\[c\] Or “have a prior claim.”
\[d\] Bibl. Sheba, lxx Σαβιος.
\[f\] Variant “you.”

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279 οὕτε κλήρον παρὰ τῷ 'Ιεσσαίου παιδί.' καὶ μετὰ
tους λόγους σαλπίζας κέρατι σημαίνει πόλεμον
πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, καὶ πάντες ἥκολούθησαν ἐκείνω
Δαυίδῃ καταλιπόντες· μόνη δ' αὐτῷ παρέμεινεν ἡ
'Ιουδὰ φυλή καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ ἐν 'Ἰερο-
σολύμοις βασίλευν. καὶ τὰς μὲν παλλακὰς, αἷς
ὁ νῖός αὐτοῦ συνήλθεν 'Αψάλωμος, εἰς ἄλλην μετ-
ήγαγεν οἰκίαι, πάντα προστάζως αὐταῖς χορηγεῖν
tὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοὺς ἐπιμελημένους, αὐτὸς δ' οὐκέτι
280 ἐπιλησίαν αὐταίς. ἀποδείκνυσι δὲ καὶ τὸν 'Αμα-
σᾶν στρατηγὸν καὶ τὴν τάξιν αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἢς 'Ιώαβος
ἡν δίδωσιν ἐκέλευσε τε στρατιάν ὅση δύναται
συναγαγόντ' ἐκ τῆς 'Ιουδᾶ φυλῆς μεθ' ἡμέρας τρεῖς
ὅσι' αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν, ίνα παραδῷ αὐτῷ πᾶσαν τὴν
dύναμιν ἐκπέμψῃ πολεμήσωντα τὸν νῖον τοῦ Βοχο-
281 ρίου. ἐξελθόντος δὲ τοῦ 'Αμασᾶ καὶ περὶ τὴν
ἄθροισιν τῆς στρατιάς βραδύνοντος, ὡς οὐκ ἐπανήρ
tῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν 'Ἰώαβον
ἐλεγεν οὐκ εἶναι σύμφορον ἀνοχὴν τῷ Σαβαὼ
διδόναι, μὴ γενόμενος ἐν πλείουν παρασκευῇ,
μειζόνων κακῶν καὶ πραγμάτων αἴτιοι, ἡ 'Αψάλω-
282 μος αὐτοῖς κατέστη, γένηται. "μὴ περίμενε τοίνυν
μηδένα,2 ἀλλὰ τὴν οὖσαν παραλαβὼν δύναμιν καὶ
τοὺς ἐξακοσίους μετὰ 'Αβισαίου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ σου
dιώκει τόν πόλεμον. καὶ ὅποιν ποτ' ἀν αὐτὸν κατα-
λάβῃς ὀντα πειράθητι συμβαλεῖν· σπούδασον δ' αὐτὸν
φθάσαι, μὴ πόλεις ὑψαρα καταλαβόμενος
ἀγώνας ἡμῖν καὶ πολλοὺς ἱδρώτας παρασκευάσῃ."
283 (7) 'Ἰωάβος δ' οὐκέτι μέλλειν ἐκρινεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν

1 πρὸς ROE. 2 ἐτὶ μηδέν MSP.

* It is not clear from Scripture, 2 Sam. xx. 4, whether David appointed Amasa commander in Joab’s place, or simply
lot with the son of Jesse." And with these words he blew his horn and declared war on the king, and they all deserted David to follow him; only the tribe of Judah stood by him, and brought him back to his palace in Jerusalem. And the concubines, with whom his son Absalom had lain, he transferred to another dwelling, instructing their attendants to provide them with all things necessary, but he himself never again came near them. Then he appointed Amasa commander, giving him the office which Joab had held, and ordered him to collect as large an army as possible from the tribe of Judah and to come to him after three days, in order that he might give the entire force over to him and send him out to make war on the son of Bochorios. So Amasa went out, but he was slow in assembling an army, and, as he did not return on the third day, the king said to Joab that it was not a good thing to grant Sabaios a breathing-space, lest he prepare a greater force and cause them more harm and trouble than Absalom had done. "Do not, therefore, wait for anyone, but take the force now here and the six hundred men and, with your brother Abisai, pursue the enemy. And wherever you may come upon them, try to engage them. And now hasten to prevent them from seizing fortified cities and so causing us great exertion and sweat."

(7) So Joab decided not to wait any longer and, as a commander of equal rank. Josephus adopts the latter view in § 284.

To Abishai, in Scripture, although it is there implied (vs. 7) that Joab is with Abishai.

Bibl. "thy lord's servants," that is, the bodyguard of Cherethites, Pelethites and "mighty men" mentioned in the next verse, 2 Sam. xx. 7.
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τε ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐξακοσίους παραλαβῶν καὶ ὅση λοιπῇ δύναμις ἢν ἐν τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμωις ἔπεσθαι κελεύσας ἐξώρισεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν. ἥδη δ' ἐν Γαβρίλω (κἀπὶ δ' ἐστίν ἀυτὴ σταδίους ἀπέχουσα τεσσαράκοντα τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων) γεγενημένος πολλὴν Ἀμασᾶ δύναμιν ἀγαγόντος, ἀπήνυσεν αὐτῷ διεξωμένοις μάχαιραι καὶ θώρακα ἐνδεδυμένοις ὁ

284 Ἰωάβος· προσίντος δὲ ἀσπάσασθαι τοῦ Ἀμασᾶ φιλοτεχνεῖ2 τὴν μάχαιραν αὐτομάτως ἐκ τῆς θήκης ἐκπεσειν,3 βαστάσας δ' αὐτὴν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τῶν Ἀμασᾶν ἐγγὺς γενόμενον ὡς καταφυλάσσων τοῦ γενείου λαβόμενος, οὗ προϊόμενον4 εἰς τὴν γαστέρα πλήξας ἀπέκτεινε, ἀσβέσ ἔργων διαπράξαμενος καὶ παντελῶς ἀνόιον, ἀγαθὸν νεανίαν καὶ συγγενῆ καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσαντα ξηλοτυπήσας τῆς στρατηγίας καὶ τῆς παρὰ τῷ βασιλεί πρὸς αὐτὸν

285 ἰσοτιμίας· διὰ ταύτην γὰρ τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν Ἀβενήρον ἐφόνευσεν. ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνο μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸ παρανόμημα πρόφασις εὐπρεπῆς συγγνωστὸν ἐδόκει ποιεῖν ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀσάγλος εἰκασθήσαται νομιζόμενος, τοῦ δ' Ἀμασᾶ φόνου οὐδὲν τοιοῦτον ἔσχε

286 παρακάλυμμα· ἀποκτείνας δὲ τὸν συστράτηγον ἐδίωκε τὸν Ἑλληνικὸν καταληπτῶν ἐνα πρὸς τῷ νεκρῷ, βοᾷν ἐντελόμενος πρὸς τὴν στρατίαν ὅτι τεθηκέν Ἀμασᾶς δικαίως καὶ μετ' αὐτίας κολαζοῦσης. "εἰ δὲ φρονεῖτε τὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐπεσθε τῷ στρατηγῷ αὐτοῦ Ἰωάβος καὶ Ἀβισσαίῳ τῷ τούτῳ ἀδελφῷ." 287 κειμένου δὲ τοῦ σώματος ἐπὶ τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ παντὸς τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπ' αὐτῶ συνεργόντος καὶ οἶνον όχλος

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1 post ἀγαγόντος lacunam statuit Niese.
2 ἐκπεσειν MSPE et fort. Zonaras.
3 ἐποίησεν ἐκπεσειν MSPE et fort. Zonaras.
4 Bekker: προειδομένον codd.
taking with him his brother and the six hundred men and ordering the rest of the force in Jerusalem to follow, he set out to attack Sabaios. But when he reached Gabaon,—this is a village forty stades distant from Jerusalem—a he found Amasa there at the head of a large force, and Joab went to meet him with his sword girded on and wearing a breastplate. Then, as Amasa approached to greet him, he artfully contrived to have his sword fall, as if by itself, out of its sheath. And he picked it up from the ground, and with his other hand seized Amasa, who was now near him, by the beard as if to kiss him, and with an unforeseen thrust in the belly killed him. This impious and most unholy deed he committed against a brave youth, who was, moreover, his relative, and had done him no wrong, because he envied him his office of commander and his being honoured by the king with a rank equal to his own. It was for this same reason that he had murdered Abenner also, except that the former crime seemed to have a decent pretext to make it pardonable, that is, when considered as an act of vengeance for his brother Asael; but for the murder of Amasa he had no such excuse. And, when he had killed his fellow-commander, he started in pursuit of Sabaios, leaving behind one man with the corpse, whom he instructed to call out to the army that Amasa had been justly put to death and punished deservedly, and to say, "If you are for the king, follow his commander Joab and his brother Abisai." So the dead body lay in the road, and all the people swarmed around it and, as is the way of crowds, pressed for-

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a On the distance of the bibl. Gibeon from Jerusalem, not given in Scripture, cf. § 11 note.
b Bibl. "and as he went forth, it fell out."
c A Thucydidean phrase.
filēi ἑθαύμαζον ἴλεον ¹ προϊστάμενοι². βαστάσας δ' ἐκείθεν ὁ φύλαξ καὶ κομίσας εἰς τι χωρίον ἀποτατόν τῆς ὅδου τίθησιν αὐτὸθα καὶ καλύπτει ἵματίων. τούτου γενομένου πάς ὁ λαὸς ἰκολούθησε τῷ Ἰωάββῳ, διώξαντι δ' αὐτῷ διὰ πάσης τῆς Ἰσραηλιτῶν χώρας τὸν Σαβαίον ἤδοις τίς ἐν όχυρᾳ πόλει τυγχάνειν Ἀβδελωχέα ³ λεγομένην. παραγενόμενος δ' ἐκεῖ καὶ τῇ στρατιᾷ περικάθισας τὴν πόλιν καὶ χαράκωμα περί αὐτὴν πηξάμενος ὑπορύσσει ἐκέλευσε τοῖς στρατιωταίς τὰ τείχη καὶ καταβάλλειν αὐτά· μὴ δεξαμενῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει χαλεπῶς πρὸς αὐτοὺς διετέθη.

(8) Γύναιον δὲ τι σώφρον καὶ συνετὸν ἐν ἑσχάτοις ἴδῃ τὴν πατρίδα κειμένην θεασάμενον ἀναβάν ἐπὶ τὸ τείχος προσκαλεῖται διὰ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν τὸν Ἰωάββον. προσελθόντος δ' ἤρξατό λέγειν ὡς δ' θεός τοὺς βασιλείας καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς ἀποδείξειν, ἵνα τοὺς πολεμίους τοὺς Ἐβραίων ἐξαιρῶσι καὶ παρέξωσιν αὐτοῖς εἰρήνην ἀπ' αὐτῶν ⁴. "σοῦ δὲ σπουδάζεις μητρόπολιν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καταβαλεῖν καὶ 290 πορθήσαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτούσαν." ὁ δὲ ἱλεών μὲν

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¹ πλεόν MSP: post ἑθαύμαζον lacunam statuit Niese.
² προϊστάμενοι SP: ἰστάμενοι Μ.
³ 'Ἀβελωχέα MSP Lat.: 'Ἀβελωχά E.
⁴ ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἅπαντων MSP.

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¹ Text doubtful; the variant seems to mean "standing beside it, they wondered (or "stared") at it a great while."
² Bibl. Abel Beth-maachah, lxx 'Ἀβέλ Βαϊθμαχά. It has been tentatively identified with the modern 'Abi in the upper Jordan valley, about 10 miles N. of Lake Huleh.
³ With Josephus’s χαράκωμα cf. Luc. χάρακα; lxx has πρόσ-χωμα.
⁴ Bibl. “all the people with Joab were devising (so lxx 512
ward to wonder at it and pity it, until the guard lifted it up and carried it away from there to a place far from the road, where he laid it down and covered it with a cloak. After this was done, all the people followed Joab. And, after he had pursued Sabaios through the entire Israelite country, someone informed him that he was in a fortified city called Abelöchea. So he went there, and invested the city with his army, and set up a palisade around it; then he ordered his soldiers to undermine the walls and overthrow them, for, as those within the city refused to admit him, he felt very bitter toward them.

(8) But a certain wise and intelligent old woman, seeing that her native place was now in its last extremity, went up on the wall and summoned Joab through his soldiers. And, when he came near, she began by saying that God had chosen kings and commanders to drive out the enemies of the Hebrews and to secure them peace from these. But you,” she said, “are bent on destroying and sacking a mother-city of the Israelites, which has done no wrong.”

and Targum translate Heb. mashhithim) to throw the wall down.” Josephus evidently takes mashhithim (a ptc. mase, pl.) as a denominative verb from the root shahath “pit,” hence his rendering “undermine,” a meaning proposed in modern times by Ewald. The usual meaning of the verbal root is “destroy” (A.V. here has “battered”).

The corrupt and therefore obscure Heb. of 2 Sam. xx. 18, 19a reads lit., “And she spoke, saying, ‘In former times they would ask of Abel and so they concluded. I—the peaceful (?) and faithful of Israel, etc.’” Josephus’s interpretation seems to be based in part on the Targum, which renders, “And she spoke, saying, ‘Let me mention what is written in the Book of the Law, that one should first ask of a city; thus you should have asked Abel whether it wished to make peace. We are making peace with Israel in good faith, etc.’”
eὐχεταὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ διαμένειν, αὐτὸς δ’ οὖτως ἔχειν εἶπεν, ὡς μηδένα τοῦ λαοῦ φονεύσαι οὐχ ὅτι πόλιν ἔξελεῖν βούλευσαί τηλικαύτην· λαβὼν μέντοι παρ’ αὐτῶν τὸν ἀντάραντα τῷ βασιλεί πρὸς τιμωρίαν Σαβαίον νῦν δὲ Βοχορίου, παύσεσθαι' 291 τῆς πολιορκίας καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπάξειν. ὡς δ’ ἠκούσεν ἡ γυνὴ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ἰωάβου μικρὸν ἐπισχεῖν δεηθείσα, τὴν γὰρ κεφαλὴν εὐθέως αὐτῷ ριψῆς θεῖα τῇ τοῦ πολεμίου, καταβαίνει πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας καὶ 'βούλεσθ', εἶποῦσα, 'κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπολέσθαι μετὰ τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν ὑπὲρ ἀνθρώπου πονηροῦ καὶ μηδὲ τὶς ἐστὶ γνωριζομένου καὶ τούτον ἔχειν ἀντὶ Δανίδου τοῦ τοσαῦτ' εὐργετήσαντος ὑμᾶς βασιλέα, καὶ πρὸς δύναμιν τοσαῦτὴν 292 καὶ τηλικαύτην ἀνταίρειν μίαν πόλιν;’ πείθει τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμόντας τοῦ Σαβαίου ῥύσα ταύτην εἰς τὸ τοῦ Ἰωάβου στρατεύμα. τούτοις γενομένιοι σημήνας ἀνακλητικὸν τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως στρατηγὸς ἔλυσε τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα παντὸς ἀποδείκνυται πόλιν τοῦ λαοῦ 293 στρατηγὸς. καθίστησι δὲ καὶ Βαβαίαν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ τῶν ἐξακοσίων, Ἀδώραμον δ’ ἐποίησεν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων καὶ Ἰωσαφατοῦ νῦν Ἀχίλλου ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπομνημάτων, Σουσαν δὲ γραμματέα, Σάδωκον δὲ καὶ Ἀβιαθαρον ἀπέφηνεν ἱερεῖς.

294 (xii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ ταύτα τῆς χώρας λυμῷ φθειρομένης ἴκέτευεν δ’ Δανίδης τὸν θεὸν ἐλεήσαι τὸν λαὸν

1 Dindorf: παύσασθαι codd. E.
2 ὑμᾶς OP.
3 ἴκέτευεν MSP Lat.

<sup>a</sup> "To be gracious to him" is derived from lxx ἔδωκ μοι (sc. ὁ θεὸς), a free translation of Heb. ἡλιλάχ λί “far be it from me.”

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Thereupon he prayed that God might continue to be gracious to him, and said that for his part he had no wish to slay any of its people, much less destroy so great a city; furthermore, if he could get them to deliver up for punishment Sabaios, the son of Bochorios, who had rebelled against the king, he would give up the siege and withdraw his army. When the woman heard Joab's words, she asked him to wait a little while, and his enemy's head would very soon be thrown to him; then she went down to the inhabitants of the city and cried, "Do you wish to perish most miserably with your children and wives for the sake of a worthless fellow whom no one even knows, or have him for a king in place of David, who has been your benefactor in so many ways, and set yourselves up, as a single city, against so great and so mighty a power?" And so she persuaded them to cut off Sabaios's head and throw it to Joab's army. When this was done, the king's commander sounded the retreat and raised the siege. Then he came to Jerusalem and was again appointed commander of all the people. The king also put Banaias over the bodyguard and the six hundred, and gave Adoramos charge of the tribute, and Josaphat, the son of Achilos, the records, and designated Susa as scribe, and Sadok and Abiathar as priests.

(xii. 1) After these events, the country was ravaged by a famine, and David supplicated God to send a famine to avenge the
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καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν αὐτῶ καὶ τὴν ἴασιν φανερὰν ποιήσαι τῆς νόσου. τῶν δὲ προφητῶν εἰσόντων βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἐκδικίας τυχεῖν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας, οὓς Σαοῦλος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀποκτείνας ἔσβησεν ἐξαιτητῆς καὶ τοὺς ὅρκους αὐτοῖς, οὓς ὁ στρατηγὸς 295 Ἰησοῦς ὠμοσε καὶ ἡ γερουσία, μὴ φυλάξας· εὰν τούς δίκην ἢν αὐτοὶ θέλουσιν οἱ Γαβαωνίται λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀνηρμένων ταύτην αὐτοῖς παράσχη, διαλαγήσεσθαι καὶ τὸν ὀχλὸν ἀπαλλάξειν 296 τῶν κακῶν ἑπηγγέλλετο. ὡς οὖν ταύτα παρὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἐμαθεὶς ἐπὶ ζητείν τὸν θεὸν, μεταπέμπεται τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τίνος βούλονται τυχεῖν ἑπηρώτα. τῶν δὲ ἐκ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Σαοῦλου παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ ταίδας ἀξιωσάντων πρὸς τιμωρίαν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀναζητήσας παρέδωκεν αὐτοῖς, 297 Ἰεβοσσοὺς φεισάμενος τοῦ Ἰωνᾶθου παιδός. παραλαβόντες δὲ οἱ Γαβαωνίται τοὺς ἀνδρὰς ὡς ἐβούλοντο ἐκόλασαν. ἡρέτῳ δὲ ὑεὺς παραχρῆμα θεὸς καὶ τὴν γῆν πρὸς γονὴν καρπῶν ἀνακαλεῖν, ἀπολύσας τοῦ πρότερον αὐχμοῦ· καὶ πάλιν εὐθυνήσεν ἡ τῶν Ἐβραίων χώρα. 298 Στρατεύεται δὲ μετ' οὖ² πολὺν χρόνον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ συνάψας μάχην αὐτοῖς καὶ

1 Memphinos Lat.: Μεμφιβόσθου ed. pr.
2 μετ' οὗ ed. pr. Lat.: μετὰ codd.

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* Here, as elsewhere (e.g. § 72), Josephus makes the prophets God’s interpreters where Scripture has merely “And the Lord answered.”
* Cf. A. v. 55 (Jos. ix. 15).
* The last part of God’s reply is an amplification of Scripture.

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have pity on the people and reveal to him the cause of the affliction, and the remedy. Then the prophets declared that God wished the Gabaonites to be avenged, whom King Saul had wickedly killed and with whom he had dealt treacherously, in violation of the oaths which the commander Joshua and the elders had sworn to them. If, then, he would permit the Gabaonites to exact such satisfaction as they might desire for those who had been slain, God would, He promised, be reconciled to them and would free the multitude from its affliction. Accordingly, after learning from the prophets that this was God’s desire, he sent for the Gabaonites and inquired what satisfaction they wanted. And, when they asked that seven sons of Saul’s family be given up to them for punishment, the king had a search made for them and surrendered them to the Gabaonites, but he spared Jebosthos, the son of Jonathan. Then the Gabaonites took them and punished them as they saw fit. And God at once began to send rain and to restore the land to its fruitfulness, by delivering it from drought. And once more the country of the Hebrews flourished.

Not long after this, the king took the field against the Philistines and, after joining battle with them,

d An allusion to the two sons of Saul and Rizpah and the five sons of Saul and Michal, 2 Sam. xxi. 8.
" A slip for Memphibosthos (Mephibosheth), corrected in the first printed edition of Josephus.
" Josephus omits the Scriptural detail that they were hanged, 2 Sam. xxi. 9, and also passes over the following verses, which tell of Rizpah’s mourning and David’s removal of the bones of Saul and Jonathan from Jabesh-gilead for burial in the sepulchre of Kish in Benjamin.
" Variant “after a long time.” In Scripture no interval of time is mentioned.
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trefảμενος ἐμοιώθη διώκων καὶ γενόμενος ἐκλυτος ὁφθη ὑπὸ τινος τῶν πολεμίων Ἀκμόνος μὲν 299 τούνομα Ἀράφου δὲ παιδός σύντος ἦν μὲν καὶ ἀπόγονος τῶν Γιγάντων, ἔχων δὲ καὶ ἐγυστόν, οὐ τὴν λαβὴν φασιν ἐλκευν\(^1\) σταθμὸν σικλούς τριακοσίους, καὶ θύρακα ἀλυσίδωτον καὶ ῥοιμαίαν ὠρμήσεν ἐπιστραφεὶς ὡς ἀποκτεῖνον\(^2\) τὸν τῶν πολεμίων βασιλέα. παρεῖτο γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ κόπου. ἐπιφανείς δ’ ἐξαιρήθη Ἀβισαίος ὁ Ἰωάβου ἄδελφος τὸν βασιλέα μὲν ὑπερήσπισε περίβας κείμενον, ἀπέκτεινε δὲ τὸν πολέμιον. ἦνεγκε δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ παρ’ ὁλίγον κυνδυνεύσαι τὸν βασιλέα χαλεπῶς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ οἱ ἠγεμόνες ὥρκωσαν αὐτὸν μηκέτι έις μάχην ἀπαντήσαι σὺν αὑτοῖς, μὴ δ’ ἀνδρείαν καὶ προθυμίαν παθῶν τι τῶν δεινῶν στερήσῃ τὸν λαὸν τῶν δ’ αὐτὸν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα τ’ ἡδ’ παρέσχηκε καὶ ὅσων ἐτί μεθέξουσι πολὺν βιώσαντος χρόνον.
300 (2) Συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαρα πόλιν ἀκοῦσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπεµψεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς στρατιάν. ἡρίστευσε δὲ τότε καὶ σφόδρ’ ηὐδο-

\(^1\) φασιν ἐλκευ| Naber: συνελκευ codd.: συνέβη ἐλκευ Niese.
\(^2\) ex Lat. Niese: ἀποκτείνων codd.

\(^a\) Bibli. Ishbi-benob, lxx Ἰσσῆ. The Heb. consonantal text, meaning “they dwelled in Nob,” is corrupt and conceals a proper name rather different from Ishbi-benob. Weill rightly supposes that Josephus’s Akmôn represents Heb. Ἑυκμῶν, but, like others, has failed to see that it is identical with Jashobeam the Hachmonite, 1 Chron. xi. 11 (cf. § 308 note). The latter is, to be sure, one of David’s warriors, and not his enemy, as here, but whether Scripture or Josephus is responsible for this confusion, there can be no doubt of this identity of names. It may also be noted that rabbinic tradition makes Ishbi a brother of Goliath and describes at length
put them to flight; but in pursuing, he found himself alone, and in this weary state he was seen by one of the enemy, whose name was Akmôn, a Philistine giant, the son of Araphos, and who was, at the same time, a descendant of the Giants. He had a spear, the haft of which was said to weigh three hundred shekels, a breastplate of chainmail, and a sword, and he turned about and rushed forward with the intention of killing the enemy's king, who was exhausted by his exertions. But suddenly there appeared Abisai, the brother of Joab, who protected the king by standing astride over him as he lay there, and killed his enemy. But the people were distressed by the king's narrow escape from death, and the leaders made him swear that he would never again go out with them to battle, lest, through his bravery and zeal, he should suffer some injury and so deprive the people of the benefits he brought them, both those that he had already conferred, and those that they might still enjoy if he lived for a long time.

(2) Then the Philistines assembled at the city of Gazara, and, when the king heard of it, he sent an army against them. On that occasion mighty deeds of David's prowess against the Philistines.


b In “Araphos” and “Giants” Josephus combines the bibl. proper name Raphah (cf. pl. Rephaim) and its rendering by Targum and some lxx mss. as “giants” (so A.V.).

c Bibl. “was girded with a new —” (A.V. “new sword”; the noun is missing); lxx supplies κορώνην “club,” Luc. παραζώνην “girdle,” Targum Ἰσραηίπ (=’Ισραηίπ) which means either “sword” or “girdle” according to Jewish tradition.

d Unscriptural detail.

* 1 Chron. Gezer, lxx Γαξρεο; 2 Sam. Gob, lxx Υεθ (v.l. Γαξρεο κτλ.), Luc. Γαξιθ. It is uncertain what the name was in the original text of Scripture.
κύμησε Σαβρήχης¹ ο Χεττάιος εἰς τῶν περὶ Δαυὶδν ἀνδρειστάτων: ἀπέκτεινε γὰρ πολλοὺς τῶν αὐχούν
tων προγόνους τοὺς Γίγαντας καὶ μέγα ἐπ’ ἀνδρεία
φρονούντων, αὐτίος τε τῆς νίκης τοῖς Ἐβραίοις
302 ἐγένετο. καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἦτταν πάλιν ἐπο-
λέμησαν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ στρατιὰν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς
Δαυὶδου πέμψαντο ἡρῴευσαν Ἐφᾶν ο συγγενῆς
αὐτοῦ μονομαχῆς γὰρ τῶν πάντων ἀνδρειστάτω
Παλαιστῖνος ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους εἰς
φυγὴν ἔτρεψε, πολλοὶ τε αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον μαχό-
303 μενοί. διαλιπόντες δ’ ὄλγον χρόνον ἐστρατοπεδεύ-
σαντος² πρὸς Γίττης³ πόλει τῶν ὅρων τῆς Ἐβραίων
χώρας οὐκ ἀπώθεν. ἦν δ’ αὐτοῖς ἀνὴρ το μὲν ύψος
ἐξ πηχῶν, δακτύλους δ’ ἐν ἐκατέρω τῶν βάσεων
καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐνὶ περισσοτέρους ἐξε τῶν κατὰ
304 φύσιν. ἐκ τῆς οὖν πεμφθείσης ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ
Δαυὶδου στρατιὰς τούτων μονομαχῆς Ἰωνάθς ὁ
Σαμὰ⁴ νίος ἀνεῖλε τε αὐτὸν καὶ τῆς ὅλης νίκης ῥητή

¹ Σαβρήχης R: Σοβάκχης SP(M): 'Αβάκχης E: Sabuch Lat.
² Niese cum cod. Vat. apud Hudson: ἐστρατεύσαντο RO:
ἐστρατοπεδεύσαν MSP: ἐστράτευσαν E.
³ Niese: τῇ codd.: τῇ Γίττα Hudson (cf. lxx).
⁴ ed. pr.: Σομᾶ codd. Lat.

— Bibl. Sibbechai, lxx Σοβοχαλ, Luc. Σοβεχλ.
— So Luc.; bibl. the Hushathite, lxx ὁ Ἀσατωθελ.
— Scripture mentions only one victim, Saph (1 Chron.
Sippai) "that was of the giants (Heb. Ῥάφαῆ)."
— Bibl. Elhanan the son of Jaare-orégim (read Jair as
in 1 Chron.) a Bethlehemite, lxx Ἔλλαν νίος Ἄρισκείῳ ὁ
Βαιθλεμεῖτης, Luc. Ἔλλαν νίος Ἰαϊδείν; in 1 Chron. lxx has
Ἑλλὰν νίος Ἰαϊείρ.
— This was Goliath according to 2 Sam., but as Goliath was
supposedly slain by David (cf. 1 Sam. xvii. 23 ff., Ant. vi.
171 ff.), 1 Chron. harmonistically makes Elhanan's victim
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were performed and great glory was won by Sabröchēs a the Hittite, b one of David's bravest men, for he killed many of those who boasted of having the Giants for ancestors, c and thought much of their own courage; and so he was responsible for the victory of the Hebrews. After this defeat the Philistines made war a second time, and David sent an army against them, of whom the most valiant was his relative Ephān, d for, in single combat with the bravest of all the Philistines, e he killed him and put the rest to flight, many of them being slain in battle. But after a brief interval of time they encamped near Gitta, f a city not far from the border of the Hebrews' country, and there was among them a man six cubits g in height, who had, on both of his feet and hands, one more toe and finger than nature usually provides. Now, of the army sent against them by David, Jonathan, the son of Sama, h fought against this man in single combat, and by slaying him, turned the battle a brother of Goliath, and the epithet Beth ḫa-lahmi "Bethlehemite" applied to Elhanan in 2 Sam. is converted to a personal name Lahmi, giving the reading, 1 Chron. xx. 5, "And Elhanan the son of Jair slew Lahmi the brother of Goliath the Gittite." Josephus evades the difficulty more simply by omitting the name of Goliath.

f Name restored in Josephus's text from the lxx.

g Unscriptural detail. In 2 Sam. Heb. has ish mādōn "man of strife," lxx ἀνὴρ Μαδων; in 1 Chron. ish middah "man of stature," lxx ἀνὴρ ἰπερμεγέθης. Possibly Josephus was careless in taking "six," occurring twice in Scripture of the giant's fingers and toes, to apply to his height. It is unlikely that, as Weill suggests, he was thinking of Goliath's height, "six cubits and a span," 1 Sam. xvii. 4, for he follows the lxx in reading "four cubits and a span" in that passage (A. vi. 171).

h So Luc. and lxx in 1 Chron.; bibl. Shimeah, lxx (2 Sam.) Σεμέλ. He was a nephew of David.
Josephus, in characterizing Hebrew poetry, which is accentual, uses terms familiar to Greek readers, who knew only quantitative poetry. These terms may stand if taken to mean lines of three beats (trimeters) or three plus two beats (pentameters).

The following names are taken by Josephus from the LXX, 1 Chron. xxv. 1 et al., cf. A. viii. 94.

Bibl. "harp," Heb. kinnōr, elsewhere in the LXX trans-
into a complete victory, and carried off the first prize for valour; this Philistine had also boasted of being a descendant of the Giants. But after this battle they did not again make war on the Israelites.

(3) David, being now free from wars and dangers, and enjoying profound peace from this time on, composed songs and hymns to God in varied meters—some he made in trimeters, and others in pentameters. He also made musical instruments, and instructed the Levites how to use them in praising God on the so-called Sabbath day and on the other festivals. Now the forms of these instruments were somewhat as follows: the kinyra had ten strings stretched on it, which were struck with a plectrum; the nabla, which had twelve notes, was plucked with the fingers; and the kymbala were large, broad plates of brass. But now that our readers are not altogether unacquainted with the nature of the afore-mentioned instruments, let this much about them suffice.

(4) As for the men about the king, all of them were brave, but the most distinguished among them and famous for their deeds were thirty-eight in number; of these I shall relate the exploits of only five, for they will serve to make clear the heroic virtues of the rest, being powerful enough to subdue countries and
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308 ἐθνῶν κρατήσαι. πρῶτος μὲν οὖν Ἰσεβος1 νῦς Ἀχεμαίου, δὲς πολλάκις εἰς τὴν παράταξιν ἐμπηδών τῶν πολεμίων οὐ πρὶν ἀνεπαύετο μαχόμενος πρὶν ἐνακοσίους αὐτῶν καταβαλεῖν. μετ' αὐτὸν ἦν Ἔλεαζάρος νῦς Δωδείου, δὲς ἦν μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως 309 ἐν Ερασαμῷ2. οὖτος ποτε τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων καταπλαγέντων τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ φευγόντων μόνος ἕμεινε καὶ συμπεσὼν τοῖς πολεμίοις ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτῶν πολλούς, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ αἵματος προσκολληθηκαί τὴν ῥομφαίαν αὐτοῦ τῇ δεξίᾳ καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἱδόντας τετραμμένους ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταβάιτας3 διώκειν καὶ θαναμαστὴν καὶ διαβόητον τότε νίκην ἀρασθαί, τοῦ μὲν Ἔλεαζάρου κτείνοντος ἐπομένου δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ σκυλεύοντος τοὺς ἀνηρμενέους. τρίτος δὲ ἦν

1 Ἰσαάμος MSP: Ἰσαάς E: Isebus Lat.
2 Ἀρασάμω M: Ἀρασάμω SP: Respha Lat.
3 + ἀπὸ τῶν ὁρέων P Lat.

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a The Heb. text in 2 Sam. yōsheb ba-shebeth “sitting in the seat” is probably a corruption of the name Ishbaal, as indicated by Luc. ’Ισβαδή; lxx has ἱεροση; in 1 Chron. Heb. has Ἰασάμε Λεβ.; lxx Ἱσβασάδι (v.l. Ἱσβαρίς κτλ.).

b 2 Sam. “the Tachmonite” (omitting “the son of”), lxx ὁ Χαναναῖος, Luc. νῦς Θεκεμανεί; 1 Chron. “the son of the Hachmonite,” lxx νῦς Ἀχαμανε. On the confusion of the latter name with that of a Philistine cf. § 299 note.

c “Sprang repeatedly” is not found in Scripture, which says that he slew all his victims “at one time.” Possibly it is derived from the Targum’s rendering “weaving back
conquer great nations. Now the first was Isebos, a Jashobeam
the son of Achemaios, b who sprang repeatedly c upon
the enemy’s ranks and did not cease fighting until he
had felled nine hundred d of them. After him was
Eleazar, the son of Dodeios, e who was with the king
in Erasamos, f and who on one occasion, when the
Israelites fled in terror before the host of the Philis-
tines, alone held his ground and, falling on the
enemy, killed so many of them that his sword stuck
to his right hand with their blood, and the Israelites,
seeing that the Philistines had been routed by him,
returned to the contest g and pursued them and there-
upon gained a wonderful and celebrated victory, with
Eleazar dealing death, and the host following him
and despoiling the slain. The third was a son of

and forth (?) with his spear ” of the unintelligible Heb. in
2 Sam., where the lxx has “ drew his sword,” Luc. “ mar-
shalled his lines” ; 1 Chron. “ lifted his spear,” lxx, as in
2 Sam., “ drew his sword.”

d So Luc.; Heb. and lxx “ eight hundred ” in 2 Sam.,
“ three hundred ” in 1 Chron.

e Cf. Luc. vios Δουδα.; in 2 Sam. the consonantal Heb.
has “ the son of Dōdit the son of Ahōhī ” (i.e. “ the Ahohite ” as
in A.V.), while the vocalized Heb. has “ the son of his uncle
(Dōdi) the Ahohite,” lxx vios πατραδελφον. αιτουν. vios Σουσει;
1 Chron. “ the son of his uncle the Ahohite,” lxx vios Δωδάι
ο’Αρχωνει (v.l. ’Αγωνι).

f 1 Chron. Pas-dammim (for Ephes-dammim), lxx
Αθανύδουν; the text in 2 Sam. is quite different, behárephám
ba-Pilishtim “ in their reviling the Philistines,” lxx εν τῷ
πειλίδιπα αἰτόν εν τοῖς ἀλλοφυλοῖς, while Luc. has a place-name
εν Σερράν (cf. Lat. in Resfam). Josephus’s form appears
to be a corruption of the latter.

g κατασβνας, here in its military sense “ return to the
contest,” was misunderstood by a scribe as “ come down,”
its usual meaning, and, thinking that a phrase was missing,
he added the words απὸ τῶν ἄρθρων “ from the mountains ”—
hence the variant in ms. P and the Lat. trans.
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310 Ἡλοῦ μὲν νῦὸς Σαβαίας ἐὰν τοῖς πρὸς Παλαιστίνους ἀγώνων εἰς τόπον Σιαγόνα λεγόμενον αὐτῶν παραταξάμενον, ὡς οἱ 'Εβραῖοι πάλιν τὴν δύναμιν φοβηθέντες οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ὕπεστὶ μόνον ὡς στρατεύμα καὶ τάξεις, καὶ τοὺς μὲν αὐτῶν κατέβαλε τοὺς δ' οὐ καρτερήσαντας αὐτοὶ τὴν ἱσχύν καὶ τὴν βίαν ἀλλ' εἰς φυγὴν ἀπο-
311 στραφέντας ἐδίωκε. ταῦτα μὲν ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ μάχης οἱ τρεῖς ἐπεδείξαντο. καθ' ὅν δὲ καρπὸν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμωις οὐτος τοῦ βασιλέως ἐπήλθεν ἡ τῶν Παλαιστίνων δύναμις πολεµήσαι, Δαυίδης μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνήλθεν, ὡς προειρήκαμεν, πεν-
312 σομενος τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ τοῦ πολέμου, τῆς δὲ τῶν ἔχθρῶν παρεμβολῆς ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι κειμένης, ἡ μέχρι Βηθλεέμης πόλεως διατείνει σταδίους Ἱεροσολύμων ἀπεχουσις εἰκοσιν, ὅ Δαυίδης τοῖς ἑταῖροις "καλὸν ὅδωρ," εἶπεν, "ἔχομεν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι μου," καὶ μάλιστα τὸ ἐν τῷ λάκκῳ τῷ πρὸς τῇ πύλῃ θαυ-
313 μάζων, εἰ τῖς εἰς αὐτὸν πιεῖν αὐτῶ κομίσειε μάλλον ἐθελήσειν ἥ εἰ πολλὰ χρήματα διδόν. ταῦτ' ἀκού-

1 Κησαβαίος SP.
2 ἐδίωξε MSP.
3 διδοῖ Μ.: δοῖ SP.

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1 Cf. Luc. 'Ηλά; bibl. Agee (Heb. 'Age'), lxx 'Ασά. It is difficult to see any connexion between Luc. Ela and 'Age', unless, as a modern scholar, Klostermann, suggests, Agee is to be identified with Elah the father of Shimeï, Solomon's governor in Benjamin, 1 Kings iv. 18.

2 Variant Kēsabaios; bibl. Shammah, lxx Σαμαία. Weill calls attention to the resemblance of Kēsabaios son of Elos to Kabzeel (lxx Καβζεσῆλ), 2 Sam. xxiii. 20.

3 So Luc., reading λῆθι "jawbone" for Heb. la-ḥayyah "by clans" (A.V. "in a troop"); lxx, taking ḥayyah in its usual sense of "beast," has εἰς θηρία. Lehi is a site well known from the Samson story, cf. A. v. 297 (Judges xv. 9 ff.).

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Élos, a named Sabaias b; in a battle with the Philistines, who were drawn up at a place called Siagon (Jawbone), c the Hebrews were again afraid of their force and failed to stand their ground, but this man withstood them alone, being an army and battle-line in himself; some of them he felled, while the rest, who could not face his powerful attack, turned to flee, and he pursued them. These, then, were the mighty deeds of war which the three performed. And once, when the king was at Jerusalem d and the Philistine force came to fight against him, David went up to the citadel, as we have said before, e to inquire of God concerning the war; and, while the enemy lay encamped in the plain which extends as far as the city of Bethlehem, twenty stades f distant from Jerusalem, he said to his companions, "We have good water in my native place," praising especially that in the cistern near the gate, and added that he would be better pleased if someone brought him a drink from it than if he gave him a great deal of money. g As

a He was in the cave of Adullam according to Scripture, but Josephus might naturally have been confused by the Biblical account, which reads "And three of the thirty chief went down and came to David in the harvest time (Luc., Heb. 1 Chron. "to the rock") in the cave of Adullam; and the troop of the Philistines pitched in the valley of Rephaim. And David was then in the stronghold (A.V. "an hold") and the garrison (1 Chron. "commander") of the Philistines was in Bethlehem." If he was at Adullam, his men need not have run through the enemy's camp to get to Bethlehem, whereas his being at Jerusalem makes the incident understandable. The valley of Rephaim lay south of Jerusalem on the way to Bethlehem.

b §§ 71 ff.
c c. 2½ miles. The actual distance is c. 5 miles.
d This last (about money) is a detail added by Josephus.
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σαντες οι τρεις άνδρες ουτωι παραχρήμα εκδραμόν-

tes και δια μέσου των των πολεμίων ορμήσαντες

στρατοπέδου ἦκουν εἰς Βηθλεέμην, καὶ τοῦ θατος

ἀρυσάμενοι πάλιν διὰ τῆς παρεμβολῆς ὑπέστρεψαν

πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα, ὡς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους καταπλα-

γέντας αὐτῶν τὸ θράσος καὶ τὴν εὐφυχίαν ἰρεμήσαι

καὶ μηδέν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τολμήσαι1 καταφρονήσαντας

314 τῆς ὀλιγότητος. κομισθέντος δὲ τοῦ θατος οὐκ

ἐπιεν ὁ βασιλεύς, κινδύνω καὶ αἴματι φήσας ἀνθρώ-

πων αὐτὸ κεκομίσθαι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μη προσήκειν

αὐτῷ πιεῖν, ἐσπεισε δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ

τῆς σωτηρίας τῶν ἀνθρών εὐχαρίστησεν αὐτῷ.

315 μετὰ τούτοις ἢν τὸ Ἰωάβδον ἀδελφὸς Ἀβισαίος· καὶ

γὰρ οὗτος μακρὰ μὲρα τῶν πολεμίων ἐξακοσίους

ἀπέκτεινε. πέμπτοις Βαναίας ὁ ἰερεὺς τῷ γένει

προκλήθεις γὰρ ὑπ' ἀδελφῶν διασήμων εἰς τῇ

Μωαβίτιδι χώρα κατ' ἀρετὴν ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

καὶ πάλιν αὐτοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰγυπτίου τὸ γένος θαυ-

μαστοῦ τὸ μέγεθος προκαλεσμένου, γυμνὸς ὀπλισ-

μένον, τῷ δόρατι τῷ ἐκείνου βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινε·

περιελόμενος γὰρ αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀκοντα καὶ ζωντα ἐτί

καὶ μαχόμενον σκυλεύσας τοῖς ἰδίοις αὐτῶν ὀπλοῖς

316 διεχρήσατο. προσαριθμήσει δ' ἂν τις αὐτοῦ καὶ

τοῦτο ταῖς προειρημέναις πράξεσιν ἢ ἄς πρῶτον

αὐτῶν κατ' εὐφυχίαν ἢ ὡς οὗ μεῖον2· νόφοτος γὰρ

τοῦ θεοῦ λέων εἰς τινα λάκκον ὄλυθων ἐνέπεσε·

1 καὶ μηδέν . . . τολμήσαι om. RO.


a So Luc. and some lxx mss. (in 1 Chron.); Heb. “three hundred.”

b Cf. 1 Chron. xxvii. 5.

c Cf. lxx (2 Sam.) τοῦς δύο υἱῶν Ἀρίηλ τοῦ Μωῆς; Heb.

“two Ariel of Moab” (A.V. “two lionlike men of Moab,”

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soon as they heard this, the three men immediately ran out and dashed through the midst of the enemy's camp, until they came to Bethlehem, and, when they had drawn the water, came back again through the enemy's camp to the king; so amazed were the Philistines at their audacity and courage, that they remained motionless and did not venture to attack them, although they were contemptuous of their fewness. But, when the water was brought to him, the king did not drink it, saying that it had been brought at the risk of men's lives and that therefore it would not be right for him to drink it; then he poured some of it out as a libation to God, and gave Him thanks for the safety of his men. After these three men was Joab's brother Abisai, who in a single day slew six hundred of the enemy. The fifth was Banaias, of priestly descent, who was challenged by famous brothers in the Moabite country, and defeated them by his prowess. And, on another occasion, when a native Egyptian of extraordinary size challenged him, though he was unarmed against an armed foe, he struck him with his own spear and killed him, that is, he wrested the other's lance from him and, while he was still alive and fighting, stripped him of his armour and dispatched him with his own weapons. To the foregoing account of his deeds, one might add another which shows greater, or not less, valour than these: once, when God sent down snow, a lion slipped and fell into a pit, and, as the mouth

based on the etymology 'arî "lion"), Targum "two nobles of Moab."

d Of five cubits, according to 1 Chron.; in 2 Sam. Heb. "a man of appearance" (A.V. "a goodly man"), lxx ἄνδρα ὀρατὸν.

" Emended text; mss. "similar," "a different kind of."
317 ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΘΗΡΟΣ ΑΚΟΥΣΑΣ Ο ΒΑΝΑΙΑΣ, ΉΔΕΝΕ ΓΑΡ ΤΟΤΕ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΒΟΗΝ ΕΛΘΩΝ, ΚΑΤΑΒΑΣ ΕΙΣ ΤΟ ΣΤΟΜΙΟΝ ΠΛΗΞΑΣ ΑΥΤΟΝ ΜΑΧΟΜΕΝΟΝ ΤΩ ΜΕΤΑ ΧΕΙΡΑΣ ΞΥΛΩ ΠΑΡΑΧΡΗΜΑ ΑΠΕΚΤΕΙΝΕ, ΚΑΙ ΟΙ ΛΟΙΠΟΙ ΔΕΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΙ ΤΑΣ ΑΡΕΤΑΣ ΥΠΗΡΧΟΝ.

318 (xiii. 1) 'Ο ΔΕ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΔΑΠΙΔΗΣ ΒΟΥΛΟΜΕΝΟΣ ΓΝΩΝΑΙ ΠΟΣΑΙ ΜΥΡΙΑΔΕΣ ΕΙΣΙ ΤΟΥ ΛΑΟΥ, ΤΩΝ ΜΩΣΕΙΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΛΩΝ ΕΚΛΑΘΟΜΕΝΟΣ, ΘΡΙΟ ΠΡΟΕΙΠΕΝ ΕΑΝ ΕΞΑΡΙΘΜΗΘΗ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΥΠΕΡ ΕΚΑΣΤΗΣ ΚΕΦΑΛΗΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΩ ΘΕΩ ΤΕΛΕΙΝ' ΗΜΙΣΥΚΛΟΝ, ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕΝ 'ΙΩΑΒΒ ΤΩ ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΩ ΠΟΡΕΥΘΕΝΤΙ ΠΑΙΝΑ ΤΟΝ ΟΧΛΟΝ ΕΞΑΡΙΘΜΗΣΑΙ. ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΥΚ ΑΝΑΓΚΑΙΟΝ ΕΙΝΑΙ ΦΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΕΙΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΠΕΙΣΘΗ, ΠΡΟΣΕΤΑΞΕ ΔΕ ΜΙΘΕΝ ΜΕΛΛΗΣΑΝΤΑ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΗΝ ΕΞΑΡΙΘΜΗΣΑΝ ΤΩΝ 'ΕΒΡΑΙΩΝ. 'ΙΩΑΒΟΣ ΔΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΆΡΧΟΝΤΑΣ ΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΩΝ ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΙΣ, ΕΠΙΔΝ ΤΗΝ ΤΩΝ 'ΙΣΡΑΗΛΙΤΩΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟ ΠΛΗΘΟΣ ΌΣΟΝ ΕΣΤΙ ΚΑΤΑΝΟΗΣΑΣ ΥΠΕΣΤΡΕΦΕΝ ΕΙΣ ΙΕΡΟΣΟΛΥΜΑ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΜΕΤΑ ΜΗΝΑΣ ΕΝΝΕΑ ΚΑΙ ΗΜΕΡΑΣ ΕΙΚΟΣΙ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑΡΙΘΜΟΝ ΕΠΕΣΒΕΚΕν τω βασιλεί του λαου χωρις της ΒΕΝΙΑΜΙΤΙΔΟΣ ΦΥΛΗΣ 320 ΕΞΑΡΙΘΜΗΣΑΙ ΓΑΡ ΑΥΤΗΝ ΟΥΚ ΕΦΘΑΣΕΝ ΑΛΛ' ΟΥΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΛΗΜΩΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΗΝ ΜΕΤΕΝΩΨΕ ΥΑΡΙ Ο ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΩΝ ΕΙΣ

1 δε τρεις Μ: δε Χ S: δε τριάκοντα P: numero triginta et tres Lat.
2 Niese: τελέσειν MSPE: τελέσειν RO.
3 απέδωκε Μ.

a Josephus considerably amplifies the bibl. sentence, "'He went down also and slew a lion in the midst of a pit in time of snow.'"

b Cf. Ex. xxx. 12 f. This explanation of David's sin in numbering the people is also found in rabbinic tradition.
of the pit was narrow, the beast was clearly destined to perish when it should have been blocked up by the snow, and so, seeing no way of getting out or of being saved, he began to roar. But Banaias, who was just then passing by, heard the beast’s noise and, going in the direction of the sound, went down into the mouth of the pit and struck the beast, as it fought with him, with the staff which he held in his hand, and immediately killed it.\(^a\) And as for the rest (of the warriors), they were just as valiant.

(xiii. 1) Then King David, desiring to know how many tens of thousands there were of the people, forgot the injunctions of Moses \(^b\) who had prescribed that, when the populace was numbered, half a shekel should be paid to God for every person \(^b\); and he ordered Joab, his commander, to go out and take a census of the entire population. And, though Joab told him that there was no need to do this, he did not listen to him, but ordered him to proceed without delay to the numbering of the Hebrews. Joab, therefore, taking along the chiefs of the tribes and scribes,\(^c\) went through the Israelite country and noted down the extent of the population; then, after nine months and twenty days, he returned to the king at Jerusalem and reported to him the number of people, excepting the tribe of Benjamin and the tribe of Levites, which he did not have time to count,\(^d\) for Scripture, while not explaining why the census was sinful, gives two different accounts of its origin, 2 Sam. "And again the anger of the Lord was kindled against Israel and he incited David against them, saying, Go, number Israel and Judah"; 1 Chron. "And Satan stood up against Israel and incited David to number Israel."

\(^a\) Scribes are not mentioned in Scripture.
\(^b\) (Cf. I.ue. 1 Chron. οτι κατιτάξατε Λέγος τού Βασιλέως του 'Ιωάβ; Heb. "for the king’s word was abominable to Joab."
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tὸν θεὸν ἠμαρτεν. ἦν δὲ τῶν ἁλλῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀριθμὸς ἐνενήκοντα μυρίαδες ὀπλα βαστάζειν καὶ στρατευεῖσθαι δυναμένων, ἢ δὲ Ἰούδα φυλὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν τεσσαράκοντα μυρίαδες ἤσαν.

321 (2) Τῶν δὲ προφητῶν δηλωσάντων τῷ Δαυίδῃ ὅτι δὲ ὄργης ἐστιν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ, ἵκετεύειν ἠρέξατο καὶ παρακαλεῶν εὐμενὴ γενέσθαι καὶ συγγινώσκειν ἡμαρτηκότι. Γάδον δὲ τὸν προφήτην ἐπεμψεν ὁ θεὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν τρεῖς αἴρεσις κομίζοντα, ὅπως ἐκλέξηται τούτων ἢν ἄν δοκιμάσῃ πότερον θέλει λιμὸν γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν χώραν ἐπὶ ἐτή ἐπτᾶ, ἢ τρεῖς μῆνας πολεμήσας ὑπὸ τῶν ἕχθρων ἤττηθήναι, ἢ λοιμὸν ἐνακήψαι καὶ νόσον ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας τοῖς

322 Ἐβραίοις. ὁ δὲ εἰς ἀμήχανον ἐκλογὴν μεγάλων κακῶν ἐμπεσὼν ἐλυπεῖτο καὶ σφόδρ’ ἦν συγκεχυμένος. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τοῦτο δείν ἐξ ἀνάγκης γενέσθαι φήσαντος καὶ κελεύσαντος ἀποκρίνασθαι ταχέως, ὅπα ἀναγγείλῃ τὴν αἴρεσιν αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, λογισάμενοι δὲ βασιλεὺς ὂς εἰ λιμὸν αἰτήσει, δὸξει τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι τοῖς ἀλλοις αὐτῶ μὲν ἀφόβως, ὅτι πολὺν αὐτὸς ἐγκεκλεισμένου ἔχων σῶτοι, ἐκεῖνοι δὲ βλαβερῶς. ἄν δὲ¹ γε ἔληται² τοὺς τρεῖς μῆνας νικωμένους αὐτοὺς,³ ὅτι τοὺς ἀνδρειοτάτους ἔχων περὶ αὐτὸν καὶ φρούρια καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μηδὲν φοβοῦ-

1 ἂν δὲ] καὶ ῬΟ.
2 γε ἔληται M I.at.: γένηται rell.
3 post αὐτῶς lacunam statuit Niese; fort. ἐρωθὼν vel sim. desideratur.

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¹ So Luc.; Heb. and lxx 800,000 in 2 Sam., 1,100,000 in 1 Chron.
² So Luc.; Heb. and lxx 500,000 in 2 Sam., 470,000 in 1 Chron.
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the king repented of his sin against God. Now the number of the rest of the Israelites, capable of bearing arms and taking the field, was nine hundred thousand,\(^a\) while the tribe of Judah by itself was four hundred thousand.\(^b\)

(2) When the prophets informed David that God was angry with him,\(^c\) he began to supplicate and entreat Him to be gracious and forgive his sin. Then God sent the prophet Gad to offer him a choice of three things from which to choose that which seemed best to him: he might either have a famine come upon the land for seven years,\(^d\) or face his enemies in battle for three months and suffer defeat, or have pestilence and disease visited upon the Hebrews for three days. Then David, finding himself in the difficult position of having to choose among great evils, was distressed and greatly perturbed. And when the prophet said that this must inevitably come to pass, and bade him give his answer quickly, in order that he might report his choice to God, the king reflected that if he asked for the famine, it would seem to the others that he had done this without risk to himself, as he had plenty of grain stored up, but with great harm to them; if, moreover, he chose to have them suffer three months of defeat, they would say \(^e\) that he had chosen the war because he had the bravest men about him as well as fortresses, and therefore had nothing to fear; so he asked for

David's choice of punishment for his sin, 2 Sam. xxiv. 11; 1 Chron. xxi. 7.

David chooses the pestilence, 2 Sam. xxiv. 14; 1 Chron. xxi. 13.

\(^a\) No prophets are mentioned at this point in Scripture, which says, "And David said unto God, I have sinned greatly."

\(^b\) So Heb. in 2 Sam.; Heb. in 1 Chron. and LXX in both places have "three years."

\(^c\) Text uncertain.
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μενος εἶλετο τὸν πόλεμον, ἦτήσατο πάθος κοινὸν καὶ βασιλεύσι καὶ τοῦς ἀρχομένους, ἐν ὦ τὸ δεὸς ἵσον ἀπάντων γίνεται, προειπὼν ὅτι πολὺ κρείττον εἰς τάς τοῦ θεοῦ χείρας ἐμπεσεῖν ἥ τάς τῶν πολεμίων.

324 (3) Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας ὁ προφήτης ἀπήγγειλε τῷ θεῷ· ὁ δὲ τὸν λοιμὸν καὶ τὴν φθοράν ἐπεμψε τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. ἀπέθνησκον δ’ οὐ μονοτρόπως οὖν ἦστε ράδιον κατανόησαι γενέσθαι τὴν νόσου, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν κακὸν ἐν ἥν, μυρίας ἡ αὐτῶς αἰτίαις καὶ προφάσεων οὐδ’ ἐπινοῆσαι δυναμένοις ἀνήρπασεν.

325 Ἀλλος γὰρ ἔπ’ ἀλλ’ διεθεῖρετο, καὶ λαυθάνον ἐπερχόμενον τὸ δεινὸν ὄξειν τὴν τελευτὴν ἐπέφερεν τῶν μὲν αἰφνιδίως μετ’ ἀλγημάτων σφοδρῶν καὶ πικρᾶς ὀδύνης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφιέντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ μαρανομένων τοῖς παθήμασι καὶ μηδ’ εἰς κηδείαν ὑπολειπομένων, ἀλλ’ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ κάμνειν εἰς τὸ 326 παντελὲς δαπανομένου· οἱ δ’ αἰφνιδίου σκότους αὐτοῖς τὰς ὄξεις ύποδραμόντος περιπυγεῖς ἀπώμωζον, ἐνιοὶ δὲ τῶν οἰκείων τινά κηδεύοντες ἐναπέθνησκον ἀτελέσι ταῖς ταφαῖς. ἀπώλοντο δ’ ἀρξαμένης ἐωθεν τῆς λομίκης νόσου φθείρειν αὐτὸς ἐως ὑρας ἀρίστου μυριάδες ἐπτά. ἐξέτεινε δ’ ὁ ἀγγελός τὴν χείρα καὶ ἐπὶ τα Ἰεροσόλυμα, τὸ δεινὸν κάκεισε πέμπτων. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς σάκκον

1 προειπὼν Niese: dicens Lat.

a These reflections of David are an amplification of Scripture, which says merely, “And David said unto God, I am in a great strait; let me fall now into the hand of the Lord, for very great are his mercies, but let me not fall into the hand of man.” Similar to Josephus’s expansion are the explanations given in rabbinic tradition, cf. Ginzberg, iv. 112.

b This amplification of the brief Scriptural statement, “So
such an affliction as is common to kings and subjects alike, and one in which all have equal reason for fear,—first saying that it was much better to fall into the hands of God than into those of the enemy.a

(3) When the prophet heard this answer, he reported it to God, who thereupon sent pestilence and destruction upon the Hebrews. And they did not all die in the same manner so that the disease could be easily recognized, but, while there was only one (source of) evil, it carried them off for innumerable real or apparent causes, which they could not distinguish. One after the other, they perished, and the dread sickness, coming on them unperceived, brought swift death; some, in the midst of terrible suffering and acute pain, suddenly breathed their last; some were so wasted by their malady that there was nothing of them left for burial, and, in the course of their illness itself, they were completely consumed; others, with sudden darkness falling on their eyes, were suffocated as they groaned; still others died in the act of burying one of their household, and the interment was left unfinished.b And, in the destructive pestilence, which lasted from early morning until the hour of the noon meal,c there perished seventy thousand souls. Now the angel stretched out his hand against Jerusalem also and sent the plague upon it as well. And the king put on sack-

2 Sam. xxiv. 15; 1 Chron. xxiv. 14. 2 Sam. xxxii.

So lxxv in 2 Sam. (1 Chron. omits); Heb. "unto the time appointed (mô'ed)," Targum "unto the time of burning (the burnt-offering)"; rabbinic tradition, like the lxx, takes the Heb. "time appointed" to mean "midday," as if mô'ed here meant "the time appointed for the day's greatest heat."
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€νδεδυμένος ἵκειτο κατὰ τής γῆς ἱκετεύων τῶν θεῶν καὶ δεόμενος ἡδή λυφήσαι καὶ τοῖς ἀπολωλόσιν ἁρκεσθέντα παύσασθαι. ἀναβλέψας δ' εἰς τὸν ἀέρα ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ θεασάμενος τὸν ἄγγελον δὲ αὐτοῦ φερόμενον ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ μάγαραν ἐσπασ-328 μένον εἶπε πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὡς αὐτὸς εἰς κολασθῆναι δίκαιος ὁ ποιμήν, τὰ δὲ ποιμνία σῶζεσθαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντα, καὶ ἤντιβόλει τὴν ὄργην εἰς αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν γειενὲν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποσκήπτειν, φείδεσθαι δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ.

329 (4) Κατακούσας δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἱκεσίας ἐπαυσε τὸν λοιμὸν, καὶ πέμψας Γάδον τὸν προφήτην ἐκέ-λευσεν αὐτὸν ἀναβῆναι παραχρῆμα εἰς τὴν ἄλω τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου Ὁρώνα καὶ οἰκοδομήσαντα βω-μὸν ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ θυσίαν ἐπιτελέσαι. Δαυίδης δ' ἀκούσας οὐκ ἤμελησεν, ἀλλ' εὐθὺς ἔσπευσεν ἐπὶ 330 τὸν παρηγγελμένον αὐτῷ τόπον. Ὁρώνας δὲ τὸν σίτον ἀλοῦν ἐπεὶ τὸν βασιλέα προσιόντα καὶ τοὺς παιδᾶς αὐτοῦ πάντας ἐθέασατο, προσέδραμεν αὐτῷ καὶ προσεκύνησεν. ἦν δὲ τῷ μὲν γένος Ἰεβουσαῖος, φίλος δ' ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα Δαυίδου· καὶ διὰ τούτ' αὐτὸν οὐδὲν εἰργάσατο δεινὸν, ὡς τὴν πόλιν κατε-331 στρέψατο, ὡς μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἐδηλώσαμεν. τοῦ δὲ Ὁρώνα πυθομένου τῇ παρείᾳ πρὸς τὸν δοῦλον ὁ

a The word “shepherd” is found in the Targum and some LXX mss. in 2 Sam.; Heb. “ I have sinned and I have done wickedly, but these sheep, what have they done?”

b According to 2 Sam. xxiv. 16 (1 Chron. xxi. 15) God caused the angel of pestilence to stay his hand as he stood by Araunah’s threshing-floor, before David pleaded that the people be spared, while in verses 21-25 (1 Chron. verses 22-27) we read that the plague did not cease until the altar had been built. Josephus ignores this inconsistency here and in § 332. 536
cloth and lay on the ground, supplicating God and
entreating Him at last to be appeased and to rest
content with those who had already perished. Then,
looking up into the air and beholding the angel being
borne through it toward Jerusalem, with his sword
drawn, the king said to God that it was he, the
shepherd who was rightly to be punished, but the
flock, which had committed no sin, should be saved;
and he entreated Him to cause His anger to fall upon
him and all his line, but to spare the people.

(‡) And God hearkened to his supplication, and
caused the pestilence to cease, and, sending the
prophet Gad, He commanded David to go up at once
to the threshing-floor of Oronnas the Jebusite, and
there build an altar to God and offer sacrifice. When
David heard these commands he did not neglect
them, but immediately hastened to the place indi-
cated to him. Now Oronnas was threshing his grain
and, when he saw the king approaching with all his
servants, he ran to him and did obeisance; he was,
to be sure, of Jebusite descent, but he was one of
David's best friends, and for this reason, the latter
did him no harm when he overthrew the city, as we
related a little while ago. And when Oronnas in-
quired why his lord had come to his servant, David

\( c \) Bibl. Araunah, 1 Chron. Ornan, cf. § 69 note.
\( d \) Hardly "children" as Weill translates; cf. bibl. "And
Araunah looked and saw the king (melek) and his servants
crossing over to him," LXX καὶ διέκυψεν Ὄρνα καὶ εἶδεν τὸν
βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς παιδάς αὐτοῦ παραπομπὸν τὸν αὐτοῦ. Weill
may have been thinking of the corrupt Heb. in
1 Chron., "and Ornan returned and saw the angel (mal'āk),
and his four sons with him hid themselves," but here it is
Araunah's sons who are spoken of.

\( e \) § 69.
δεσπότης, εἶπεν ὑψησθαι1 παρ' αυτοῦ τῇν ἄλω, ὅπως βωμὸν ἐν αὐτῇ κατασκευάσῃ τῷ θεῷ καὶ ποιήσῃ θυσίαν. ὃ δὲ καὶ τῇν ἄλω εἶπε καὶ τὰ ἄροτρα καὶ τοὺς βῶς εἰς ὅλοκαύτωσιν χαρίζεσθαι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἤδεως εὐχεσθαι τῇν θυσίαν προσέσθαι. 332 ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἀγαπάν μὲν αὐτὸν τῆς ἀπλότητος καὶ τῆς μεγαλοπρεπείας ἔλεγε καὶ δέχεσθαι τὴν χάριν, τιμὴν δ' αὐτῶν ἥξιον λαμβάνειν πάντων· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον προῖκα θυσίαν ἐπιτελεῖν. τοῦ δὲ Ὄρονα φήσαντος ποιεῖν ὃ τι βούλεται πεντήκοντα 333 σίκλων ὄνειται παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄλω. καὶ οἰκοδομήσας τὸν βωμὸν ἱεροῦργησε καὶ ὅλοκαύτωσε καὶ θυσίας ἀνήγεγκεν εἰρημικὰς. καταπραύνεται δὲ τούτως τὸ θείον καὶ πάλιν εὐμενεῖς γίνεται. συνεβή δ' εἰς ἐκείνον ἀγαγεῖν τὸν τόπον "Ἀβραμον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰσακὸν ὡστε ὅλοκαυτώσαι, καὶ μέλλοντος ἀποσφάττεσθαι τοῦ παιδός κριὸν ἔξαφνης ἀναθανάναι παρεστῶτα τῷ βωμῷ, δι καὶ κατέθυσεν 334 Ἀβραμος ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, ὃς προεἰρήκαμεν. ὅρων δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς Δαυίδης τῆς εὐχῆς αὐτοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπήκουν γεγενημένον καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἤδεως προσδεξάμενον ἔκρινε τὸν τόπον ἐκείνον ὅλον βωμὸν2 προσαγορεύσας τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς καὶ οἰκοδομήσας ναὸν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ ταύτην εὐστόχως ἀφήκεν εἰς τὸ

1 Naber: ὑψησθαι codd.

 octave Luc. 2 Sam. τὰ ξύλα καὶ τὰ ἄροτρα and lxx 1 Chron. τὸ ἄροτρον εἰς ξύλα; Heb. 2 Sam. "threshing instruments and instruments of the oxen," lxx οἱ τροχοὶ καὶ τὰ σκειὶ τῶν βωῶν; Heb. 1 Chron. "threshing instruments for wood and wheat for the meat-offering," Luc. τὰς ἀμάξας εἰς ξύλα καὶ τὸν πυρὸν εἰς θυσίαν.

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said that it was to buy the threshing-floor from him, in which to build an altar to God and perform sacrifice. Thereupon he replied that he would present the threshing-floor, as well as the plough and oxen, as a burnt-offering, and prayed that God would graciously accept the sacrifice. The king then said that he admired him for his liberality and greatness of soul, and accepted his kind gifts, but requested him to take payment for them all, for it was not right for anyone to offer a sacrifice that cost him nothing. And when Oronnas said he might do as he pleased, he bought the threshing-floor from him for fifty shekels, and, having built the altar, he consecrated it and offered burnt-offerings and peace-offerings. By these means the Deity was appeased and once more became gracious. As it happened, it was to this very place that Abraham brought his son Isaac, to sacrifice him as a burnt-offering, and, as he was about to slaughter him, there suddenly appeared beside the altar a ram, which Abraham sacrificed in place of his son, as we related earlier. Then, when David saw that God had hearkened to his prayer and had accepted the sacrifice with favour, he resolved to call that entire place the altar of all the people, and to build a temple to God; and, in uttering this

\[\text{David buys Aranna's threshing-floor as a site for the temple.}\]

2 Sam. xxiv. 24; 1 Chron. xxvi. 25.

\[\text{So 2 Sam.; 1 Chron. "600 shekels of gold by weight."}\]

\[\text{Or "performed the sacred rites," bibl. (1 Chron.) "and called upon the Lord."}\]

\[\text{A. i. 222 f., 226. Cf. notes ad loc.}\]

\[\text{Text doubtful. For ὅλον βωμὸν Niese, following the Latin, would read ἄλων "threshing-floor." But it is likely that ὅλον βωμὸν is a corruption of (an abbreviated?) ὀλοκαυτωμάτων βωμὸν "altar of burnt offerings"; cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 1, "And David said, This is the house of the Lord God, and this is the altar of the burnt offering for Israel (ἱκὼ ὑσιαστήριον εἰς ὀλοκαυτώσιν τῷ Ἰσραήλ").}\]
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γενησόμενον τῇν φωνῇν· ο γὰρ θεὸς τὸν προφήτην ἀποστέιλας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ναὸν ἐλεγεν οἰκοδομήσειν αὐτοῦ τὸν νῦν τὸν μέλλοντα μετ' αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν διαδέχεσθαι.

335 (xiv. 1) Μετὰ δὴ ταύτην τὴν προφητείαν ἐκέλευσεν ο βασιλεὺς τοὺς παροίκους ἔξαρσιμηθῆναι καὶ εὐρέθησαν εἰς ὅκτω μυρίάδας καὶ δέκα. ἐκ τούτων ἀπέδειξε λατόμους μὲν τοὺς ὀκτακισμυρίους, τὸ δ' ἄλλο πλῆθος παραφέρειν τοὺς λίθους, τρισχιλίους δὲ καὶ πεντακοσίους τοὺς ἐργαζομένους ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπέστησεν. ἦτοιμασε δὲ καὶ πολὺν σίδηρον καὶ χαλκὸν εἰς τὰ ἔργα καὶ ξύλα κέδρινα πολλὰ καὶ παμμεγεθέστατα, Τυρίων αὐτῷ ταύτα πεμπόντων καὶ Σιδωνίων ἐπεστάλκει γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὴν τῶν ἔλεγον κηρυγίαν. πρὸς τέ τοὺς φίλους ἐλεγε· ταύτα παρασκευάζοντες νῦν, ἵνα τῷ μέλλοντι παιδὶ βασιλεύσει μετ' αὐτὸν ἐτοίμην τῇν ὑλήν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ καταλείπῃ καὶ μὴ τὸτε συμπορίζῃ νέος ἄν καὶ τῶν τοιοῦτων ἀποεροῖς διὰ τὴν ἠλικίαν, ἄλλ' ἔχων παρακεκτημένην ἐπιτελῆ τὸ ἔργον.

336 (2) Καλέσας δὲ τὸν παίδα Σολομώνα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν αὐτοῦ ἐκέλευσε διαδεξάμενον τὴν βασιλείαν, λέγων ὡς αὐτὸν βουλόμενον κωλύσειν ὅθεος αἵματι καὶ πολέμως πεφυρμένον, τοῦ ναοῦ om. RO Lat.

This last detail ("and, in uttering this word," etc.) was suggested by the lxx addition to 2 Sam. xxiv. 25 καὶ προσέθηκεν Σαλωμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον ἐπ' ἐσχάτῳ ὅτι μικρὸν ἦν ἐν πρώτοις "and Solomon added to the altar at a later time because it was small at first."

In 1 Chron. xxii. 2 there is mention of a census of aliens taken by David, but no figures are given; in 2 Chron. ii. 17 the figure given for the census taken by Solomon "after the numbering wherewith David his father had numbered
word, he came close to foretelling what was later to happen, for God sent a prophet to say that in this place a temple would be built by the son who was destined to succeed him on the throne.\footnote{David collects men and material for building the temple.\footnote{Josephus, in agreement with Heb., has 3300.\footnote{Cf. §§ 90 ff.}}

(xiv. 1) After receiving this prophecy, the king ordered the aliens to be numbered, and there were found to be one hundred and eighty thousand.\footnote{Josephus’s figure of 180,000 mistakenly includes a levy of 30,000 Israelites (therefore not aliens), and omits the 3600 overseers, whom he counts separately, cf. following note.\footnote{So LXX cod. A; Heb. 3300, LXX cod. B 3600, Luc. 3700. In A. viii. 59 Josephus, in agreement with Heb., has 3300.}} Of these, he designated eighty thousand to be stone-cutters, and the rest of their number to carry the stones; and three thousand five hundred \footnote{So LXX cod. A; Heb. 3300, LXX cod. B 3600, Luc. 3700. In A. viii. 59 Josephus, in agreement with Heb., has 3300.} of them he set over the workmen. He also collected a great quantity of iron and bronze for the work, and many cedar-trees of very great size, sent to him by the Tyrians and Sidonians, from whom he had ordered a supply of the wood. And he told his friends that he was preparing these things now, in order that he might leave the materials for the building of the temple ready for the son who was destined to reign after him, who would thus not have to procure them when he would still be a youth and inexperienced because of his age, but would have them at hand to complete the work.

(2) Then he called his son Solomon and bade him build the temple to God after he should have succeeded to the throne, telling him that he himself had wished to do so, but God had prevented him because of his being stained with blood shed in war\footnote{Josephus’s figure of 180,000 mistakenly includes a levy of 30,000 Israelites (therefore not aliens), and omits the 3600 overseers, whom he counts separately, cf. following note.\footnote{So LXX cod. A; Heb. 3300, LXX cod. B 3600, Luc. 3700. In A. viii. 59 Josephus, in agreement with Heb., has 3300.\footnote{Cf. §§ 90 ff.}}; He had them " is 153,600. This figure corresponds to the total of the classes enumerated in 1 Kings v. 15-16 (Heb. 29-30), 70,000 carriers, 80,000 stone-cutters, 3600 (lxx) overseers = 153,600. Josephus’s figure of 180,000 mistakenly includes a levy of 30,000 Israelites (therefore not aliens), and omits the 3600 overseers, whom he counts separately, cf. following note.\footnote{Josephus’s figure of 180,000 mistakenly includes a levy of 30,000 Israelites (therefore not aliens), and omits the 3600 overseers, whom he counts separately, cf. following note.\footnote{So LXX cod. A; Heb. 3300, LXX cod. B 3600, Luc. 3700. In A. viii. 59 Josephus, in agreement with Heb., has 3300.\footnote{Cf. §§ 90 ff.}}; He had them }
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προείποι δ' ὅτι Σολομῶν οἰκοδομήσει τὸν ναὸν αὐτῷ παῖς νεώτατος καὶ τοῦτο κληθησόμενος τούνομα, οὐ προνοήσειν μὲν αὐτὸς ὡς πατήρ ἐπηγγέλλετο, τὴν δ' Ἐβραίων χώραν εὐδαίμονα καταστήσειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ μεγίστῳ πάντων εἰρήνη καὶ πολέμων ἀπ' ἀλλαγὴ καὶ στάσεων ἐμφυλίων. "σὺ τοίνυν ἔπει καὶ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως ἀπεδείχθης βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πειρῶ τά τε ἄλλα γίνεσθαι τῆς τούτων προνοίας ἄξιος, εὐσεβῆς ὃν καὶ δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρεῖος, καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους οὓς διὰ Μωυσέος ἐδωκεν Ἦμων φύλαττε καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις μὴ παραβαίνεις ἐπίτρεπε. τὸν δὲ ναὸν, ὅν ὑπὸ σοῦ βασιλεύσοντος εἰλετο αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, σπουδασον ἀποδοῦναι τῷ θεῷ μὴ καταπλαγεῖς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ ἐργον μηδ' ἀποδειλάσας πρὸς αὐτῷ πάντα γάρ σοι πρὸ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τελευτῆς ἐτοιμα ποιήσω.

339 γίνωσκε δὴ γρυσοῦ μὲν ἦδη τάλαντα συνειλεγμένα μύρια, δέκα δ' ἀργυρὸν μυριάδας ταλάντων, χαλκὸν τε καὶ σίδηρον ἄριθμον πλείων συντεθεικα καὶ ξύλων δὲ καὶ λίθων ὑλῆν ἄφθονον, ἔχεις δὲ καὶ λατόμων πολλὰς μυριάδας καὶ τεκτόνων· ἃν δὲ τι τούτως προσδέχῃ, σὺ προσθῆσεις. γίνοι τοίνυν 341 ἁριστοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔχων προστάτην. προσπαρεκλεύσατο δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας τοῦ λαοῦ τῆς οἰκο-

1 τὸν ναὸν om. R.O.
2 συνετῶτατος Naber.
3 δὲ E: om. R.O: siquidem Lat.
4 γίνου ... ἁριστοῖ γινομένου τοῖνυν τοῦτον ἁριστοὺς (ἁριστοὺς M) ἐσῃ MSP: esto igitur optimus guvernator Lat.

For νεώτατος Naber conjectures συνετῶτατος “most intelligent.” Reinach, adopting the latter reading, supposes 542
also foretold that his youngest son Solomon would build Him a temple, and should be called by this name, and promised to watch over him like a father, and bring prosperity to the country of the Hebrews in his reign, with, among other things, the greatest of all blessings, namely peace and freedom from war and civil dissension. "Therefore," he said, "since, even before your birth, you were chosen by God to be king, endeavour to be worthy of His providence by being pious, just and brave; keep the commandments and the laws which He gave us through Moses, and do not permit others to transgress them; as for the temple which He has decreed shall be made for Him in your reign, take pains to complete it for God, and do not be dismayed at the magnitude of the labour, nor shrink from it, for I shall make everything ready for you before my death. You should, indeed, know that ten thousand talents of gold and one hundred thousand talents of silver have already been collected, and that I have brought together more bronze and iron than can be reckoned, and a limitless quantity of wood and stone. You also have many tens of thousands of stone-cutters and carpenters, and whatever else is needed you yourself will add. Be, then, most brave, for you have God as your protector." He further exhorted the chiefs of the people to assist his son in the building, and, that there was originally in the text an allusion to Solomon's surname of the Wise. There is, however, no reason to suspect the present text, cf. 1 Chron. xxii. 9 where the Heb. plays upon the resemblance of Solomon's name (Shelómōh) to šá'lōm "peace"—a word-play that could not be conveyed to Josephus's Greek readers.

\(^b\) Bibl. 100,000.
\(^c\) Bibl. 100,000.
\(^d\) Bibl. 1,000,000.
δομίας συλλαβέσθαι τῷ παιδὶ καὶ πάντων ἄδεείς ὄντας τῶν κακῶν, περὶ τῆν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἀσχολεῖν
καρπώσεσθαι γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἀντὶ τοῦτων εἰρήνην καὶ εὐνομίαν, οἷς ἀμείβεται τοὺς εὐσεβείς
καὶ δικαίους ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπους. οἰκοδομηθέντος δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τῆν κιβωτὸν αὐτοῦ ἀποθέσθαι προσ-
έταξε καὶ τὰ ἁγια σκεύη πρὸ πολλοῦ ναὸν ὀφείλοντα ἔχειν, εἰ τῶν ἐντολῶν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ παρήκουσαν
ἡμῶν οἱ πατέρες ἐνετελαμένου μετὰ τὸ τῆν γῆν
tαύτην κατασχεῖν οἰκοδομήσαι ναὸν αὐτῷ. ταύτα
μὲν πρὸς τοὺς ἠγεμόνας ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τὸν υἱὸν
αὐτοῦ διελέξθη.

342 (3) Πρεσβύτερος δὲ ἦν ἤδη καὶ τοὺς σώματος
αὐτῶ ψυχομένου διὰ τὸν χρόνον δύσριγος ὑπῆρχεν,
ὡς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπιβολῆς ἐκ πολλῶν ἰματίων
γυνομένης ἀναθερμαίνεσθαι. συνελθόντων δὲ τῶν
ἰατρῶν καὶ συμβουλευσάντων ὅπως ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς
χώρας εὐείδης ἐπιλεξθεῖσα παρθένος συγκαθεύδη
τῷ βασιλεί, τούτῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ῥήγος ἐσεθαί

343 (4) Ὁ δὲ τέταρτος υἱὸς Δαυίδου νεανίας εὐείδης
καὶ μέγας, ἐκ γυναικὸς αὐτῶ 'Ἀγίθης' γεγονὼς

1 ed. pr. Lat.: εἰσχολεῖν codd.
2 ed. pr. Lat.: καρπώσασθαι codd.
3 post πόλει desideratur nomen oppidi, quod in γυνη latere
4 Niese: Αἰγίσθης codd.: Aegeth Lat.

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without fear of any evil, to devote themselves wholly to the worship of God, saying that as a reward for this they would enjoy peace and order, with which God repays pious and just men. And he gave orders that, when the temple was built, Solomon should deposit in it the ark and the holy vessels, which should long since have had a temple, if our fathers had not disobeyed God's command to build a temple to Him after they had taken possession of this land.\(^a\)

Such, then, were the words which David addressed to the leaders and to his son.

(3) Now as David was already very old, and, because of his age, his body felt cold and numb so that not even by the heaping on of many garments could he be kept warm, his physicians \(^b\) came together and advised that a beautiful virgin be chosen out of the whole country to sleep with the king, as it would help him against the cold to have the maid warm him; and there was found, in the city of . . . \(^c\) a woman who surpassed all others in beauty, Abisakē \(^d\) by name, but she merely slept in the same bed with him and kept him warm, for at his age he was too feeble to have sexual pleasure or intercourse with her. Of this virgin, however, we shall speak a little later.\(^e\)

(4) Now the fourth son of David, a tall and handsome youth borne to him by his wife Agithē \(^f\) and

\(^a\) The reference to the disobedience of the fathers is added by Josephus.

\(^b\) Bibl. "his servants."

\(^c\) Shunem, the name of the city, has dropped out of Josephus's text, or has, perhaps, been corrupted to γυνή "woman," as Boysen conjectures; the Greek form of the name was probably γυνῆ, cf. Luc. in Jos. xix. 18.

\(^d\) Bibl. Abishag, lxx 'Aβισάκα.

\(^e\) A. viii. 5 ff.

\(^f\) Bibl. Haggith, cf. § 21 note.
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'Αδωνίας δὲ προσαγορευόμενος, ἐμφερής ὡν 'Αμφί-
λόμω τῇ διάνοιαν αὐτὸς ὡς βασιλεύσων ἐπήρτο
καὶ πρὸς τοὺς φίλους ἔλεγεν ὡς τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῦν δεῖ
παραλαβεῖν: κατεσκεύασε δὲ ἅμματα πολλὰ καὶ
ἵππους καὶ πεντήκοντα ἄνδρας τοὺς προδρόμους.

346 ταῦθ' ὁρῶν δὲ πατήρ ὦκ ἐπέπληττεν ὦυδ' ἐπείχεν
αὐτὸν τῆς προαιρέσεως ὥδὲ μέχρι τοῦ πυθέσθαι διὰ
τί ταῦτα πράττει προσχθή. συνεργοὺς δὲ ἐξεκα
'Αδωνίας τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα
'Αβιάθαρον, μόνοι δὲ ἀντέπραττον ὁ ἀρχιερεύς Σά-
δωκος καὶ ὁ προφήτης Νάθας καὶ Βαναίας ὁ ἐπὶ
tῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ Σιμοῦεις 2 ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος
347 καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνδρείοτατοι. τοῦ δὲ 'Αδωνία παρα-
σκευασμένον δεῖπνον ἐξῳ τῆς πόλεως παρὰ τὴν
πηγὴν 3 τὴν ἐν τῷ βασιλικῷ παραδείσῳ καὶ πάντας
καλέσαντος τοὺς ἄδελφους χωρίς Σολομῶνος,
παραλαβόντος δὲ καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον καὶ
'Αβιάθαρον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχιερας τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς,
οὕτε δὲ Σάδωκον τὸν ἀρχιερέα 4 καὶ Νάθαν τὸν
προφήτην καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων Βαναίαν
καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἐναντίας αἰρέσεως καλε-
348 σαντος 5 ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν, τούτω πρὸς τὴν Σολομώ-
νος κατημνύσει μητέρα Βεροσάβην Νάθας ὁ προ-
φήτης ὡς 'Αδωνίας βασιλεὺς ἐστι καὶ τοῦτ' ἀγνοεὶ
Δαυίδης 6 συνεβούλευσε τε σώζειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὸν
παίδα Σολομῶνα καὶ πρὸς Δαυίδην προσελθοῦσαν
μονὴν αὐτὴν λέγειν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ὁμόσμει μετ'

1 + τε ΡΟ.  2 Σεμέθης Μ: Σομοῦεις Ε: Simus Lat.
3 πύλην ΡΟ: τῆν Μ.
4 οὕτε δὲ . . . ἀρχιερέα] τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Μ: οὕτωι μὲν
πάντες παρῆκαν τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα ΣΠ.
5 οὐκ ἐκάλεσεν ΜΣΠ Λατ.
6 βασιλεὺς ἐστι . . . Δαυίδης] βασιλεύσαι βούλεται ΡΟ.

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named Adonias, had thoughts similar to those of Absalom and, aspiring to be king himself, told his friends that he ought to succeed to the royal power. So he provided himself with many chariots and horses and fifty men to run before him. When his father saw this, he did not rebuke him nor restrain him from his purpose, nor even go so far as to ask him why he did these things. And Adonias had as accomplices the commander Joab and the high priest Abiathar; the only ones opposed to him were the high priest Sadok, the prophet Nathan, Banaias, the chief of the bodyguards, David’s friend Simüeis and all the foremost warriors. And Adonias prepared a dinner outside the city beside the spring in the royal garden, and invited all his brothers except Solomon; he also brought with him the commander Joab and Abiathar and the chiefs of the tribe of Judah, but he did not invite to the feast either the high priest Sadok or the prophet Nathan or Banaias, the chief of the bodyguard, or any of the opposing party. These things the prophet Nathan reported to Solomon’s mother Bersabé, saying that Adonias was king and David did not know it; at the same time he advised her to save herself and her son Solomon, and to go alone to David and tell him that, although he had sworn

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a Bibl. Adonijah, cf. ibid.

b Cf. Luc. Σαμαίας καὶ οἱ ἑταίροι αὐτοῦ, reading ῥέα ὡς “his friends ” for the personal name Rei; bibl. Shimei and Rei, Σεμείως καὶ ’Ρησεί. Josephus read ῥέα “friend” or ῥέο “his (David’s) friend.”

c Bibl. “by the stone of Zoheleth which is by En-rogel” (En =“spring ”); on the latter cf. § 223 and § 355 notes. The “royal garden ” seems to be an invention of Josephus.

d Variant “the high priest Sadok and his followers.”

* Variant (after “Adonias”) “wished to be king.”

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII. 345–348
αὐτὸν Σολομῶνα βασιλεὺς εἰςελεύσεσθαι καὶ αὐτὸς ἐφῆς καὶ τοὺς λόγους αὐτῆς ἐπιμαρτυρῆσειν. ἦ δὲ Βερσάβη πεισθείσα τῷ Νάθα πάρεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ προσκυνήσασα καὶ λόγον αἰτησαμένη

πάντι αὐτῇ καθὼς ὁ προφήτης ὑπέθετο καὶ διεξ-ἐρχεται τό τε δείπνον τὸ Ἀδωνία καὶ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κεκλημένους Ἀβιάθαρον τὸν ἄρχορέα καὶ Ἰώαβον τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ τοὺς ὑπὸς αὐτοῦ χωρὶς Σολομῶνος καὶ τῶν ἀναγκαίων αὐτοῦ φίλων μηνύσασα· ἔλεγε το πάντα τὸν λαὸν ἀφοράν τίνα χειροτονήσει βασιλέα, παρεκάλει τε κατὰ νοῦν ἔχειν, ὡς μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῦ βασιλεύσας αὐτῆς τε καὶ Σολομῶνα τὸν ὑπὸν αὐτῆς ἀναφησει.

(5) Διαλεγουμένης δὲ ἔτι τῆς γυναικὸς ἤγγειλαν ὰι τοῦ δωματίου προεστώτες ὅτι βούλεται Νάθας ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκδέξασθαι κελεύ-σαντος εἰσελθὼν, εἴ τήμερον ἀποδείξει τὸν ᾿Αδω-νίαν βασιλέα καὶ παραδοῖ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπινοθάνετο·

λαμβρόν γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσαντα δείπνον κεκληκέναι τους ὑπὸς αὐτοῦ πάντας χωρὶς Σολομῶνος καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰώαβον, οἱ μετὰ κρότου καὶ παιδίας εὐωχούμενοι πολλῆς αἰώνιν αὐτῶ συνεύχονται τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ· ἔκάλεσε δὲ ὦτε ἐμὲ ὦτε τὸν ἄρχο-ν Σάδωκον ὦτε Βαναῖαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματο-φυλάκων· δίκαιον δ’ εἶναι ταῦτα γινώσκειν ἀπαντάς,

1 καὶ πρὸς Δανίδην . . . μεταξύ δ’] εἰσπέρ RO: βασιλεὺς μεταξῦ δ’ Μ: καὶ πρὸς Δανίδην ἐλθοῦσαν ταῦτα λέγειν Ε.
2 post παραλάβοι add. καὶ περὶ τούτου πυθῆσθαι τοῦ βασιλέως RO.
3 μὴ ἐκδέξασθαι MSP: εἰσδέξασθαι Cocceji.
that Solomon should be king after his death, Adônias had meanwhile taken over the royal power. And the prophet said that while she was telling this to the king, he himself would enter and confirm her words. So Bersabê took Nathan’s advice and went to the king; then, after doing obeisance and asking for permission to speak, she recounted to him all that the prophet had suggested, telling him of Adônias’s dinner and the guests who had been invited by him, and mentioning Abiathar, the high priest, and Joab, the commander, and the king’s sons except Solomon and the latter’s closest friends. She added that all the people were waiting to see whom he would choose king, and urged him to bear in mind that, if, after his death, Adônias became king, he would put her and her son Solomon to death.

(5) While his wife was still speaking, the keepers of the chamber announced that Nathan wished to see him, and, when the king bade them admit him, he entered and inquired whether David had that day declared Adônias king and given over the royal power to him, for, he said, he had prepared a splendid dinner and had invited all the king’s sons, except Solomon, and the commander Joab, and these were feasting to the accompaniment of clapping of hands and much jesting, and were wishing Adônias lasting sovereignty. “But,” he added, “he invited neither me nor the high priest Sadok nor Banaias, the chief of the bodyguard, and it is right that all should know

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a Variant (after “her son Solomon”) “if, indeed, Adonias had already taken over the royal power, and to inquire of the king concerning this matter.”

b Details added by Josephus; bibl. “they eat and drink before him.”

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353 εἰ κατὰ τὴν σήν γυνώμην ἐγένετο." ταῦτα τοῦ Νάθα φήσαντος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἔκελευσε καλέσαι τὴν Βερσάβην πρὸς αὐτὸν· ἐκκεπηρήκει γὰρ ἐκ τοῦ δωματίου τοῦ προφήτου παραγενομένου. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐλθούσης "οἷμυμί σοι," φησί, "τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ἦ μὴ τὸν υἱόν σου Σολομῶνα βασιλεύσειν, ός καὶ πρότερον ἡμόσα, καὶ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τοῦμοι καθιεῖσθαι 1 θρόνου· καὶ τοῦτο ἦσται τῆμερον." προσκυνησάσης δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ μακρὸν εὐξαμένης αὐτῷ βίων, Σάδωκον μεταπέμπεται τὸν ἀρχιεραὶ καὶ Βαβαίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων, καὶ παραγενομένως κελεύει παραλαβεῖν Νάθαν τὸν τε προφήτην καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν 355 αὐλὴν ὀπλίτας, 2 καὶ ἀναβιβάσαντας τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Σολόμωνα ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλικὴν ἡμίονον ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἀγαγεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν πηγὴν τὴν λεγομένην Γειών καὶ περιχρίσαντας τὸ ἄγιον ἐλαιὸν ἀποδείξας βασιλέα· τούτο δὲ ποιήσαι προσέταξε Σάδωκον τὸν 356 ἀρχιεραί καὶ Νάθαν τὸν προφήτην. ἀκολουθοῦντας τε προσέταξε διὰ μέσης τῆς πόλεως τοῖς κέρασιν ἐπισαλπίζοντας βοῶν εἰς αἰῶνα Σολομῶνα τὸν βασιλέα καθίσαι ἐπὶ τοῦ βασιλικοῦ θρόνου, ἵνα γυνὴ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἀποδεδειγμένον αὐτόν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς

1 καθιεῖσθαι SP: καθιεῖσθαι M.
2 + ἀπαντάς MSPE.
whether this was done with your approval.” When Nathan had thus spoken, the king ordered Bersabee to be summoned to him,—for she had hurried from the room when the prophet arrived —and, when his wife came, he said, “I swear to you by Almighty God that your son Solomon shall assuredly be king, as I have sworn before, and he shall sit upon my throne; and it shall be this very day.” Thereupon she did obeisance to him and wished him long life. The king then sent for Sadok, the high priest, and Banaias, the chief of the bodyguard, and, when they came, he ordered them to take with them the prophet Nathan and the soldiers about the court, and, after mounting his son Solomon upon the royal mule, to lead him outside the city to the spring called Geion, anoint him with the holy oil, and proclaim him king. This he commanded the high priest Sadok and the prophet Nathan to do. And he ordered them to accompany him through the midst of the city, blowing horns and shouting, “May King Solomon sit upon the royal throne for ever!” in order that all the people might know that he had been declared king Solomon.

* Scripture merely says that, after Nathan’s speech, David summoned Bath-sheba, and does not indicate at precisely what moment she had left his presence. Her leaving upon Nathan’s entrance was probably in accord with oriental etiquette. One medieval Jewish commentator explains that Bath-sheba had left in order to avoid any appearance of collusion with Nathan.

b The LXX form of bibl. Gihon (Heb. Gihôn), by some scholars identified with ‘Ain Sitti Maryam “Fountain of the Virgin Mary” in the valley of Kidron, S.E. of Jerusalem, c. ½ mile N. of Bir ‘Ayyâb the supposed site of En-rogel mentioned above in § 347 note.

c Bibl. “(Long) live king Solomon” (A.V. “God save king Solomon”).
These instructions are an amplification of 1 Kings i. 35. The infinitive ἐντετάλθαι is here to be taken, as elsewhere in Josephus, as a finite verb, the indirect discourse after προσέταξε “ordered” being carelessly continued, cf. lxx ἔγω ἐντεταλμένη (Lue. αὐτῷ ἐντελουμαι) τὸν εἶναι εἰς ἡγούμενον ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ καὶ Ἰουδα; Heb. “I have appointed him to be ruler over Israel and Judah.” Weill, taking ἐντετάλθαι as a continuation of David’s order to Zadok and Nathan, understands it to mean that they were to give the instructions about the kingdom to Solomon; he remarks “this last
king by his father. He then gave instructions to Solomon,a concerning the kingdom, in order that he might rule with piety and justice over all the Hebrew nation and the tribe of Judah. Then, after Banaias prayed that God might be gracious to Solomon, without delaying a moment they mounted Solomon upon the mule, escorted him to the spring outside the city, and anointed him with the oil; then they brought him into the city with acclamations, praying that his reign would be a long one, and, having conducted him to the royal dwelling, they seated him upon the throne.b And all the people gave themselves over to feasting and merrymaking with dancing and joyful playing of pipes, so that the multitude of their instruments caused the whole earth and the air to resound.

(6) When Adonias and those present at the dinner heard this noise, they were thrown into confusion, and the commander Joab said that he was uneasy about the shouting and the trumpet blast; and, with the dinner before them, which no one tasted,c all being occupied with their thoughts, there came running to them the high priest Abiathar's son Jonathan. Adonias was very glad to see the youth and called him a messenger of good tidings, but, when he told them all about Solomon and the decision detail is added by Josephus and has often been misunderstood.” It appears that Weill himself has misunderstood the construction and has overlooked the reference to 1 Kings i. 35; cf. also § 384.

a A detail added from Jonathan’s report to Adonijah, 1 Kings i. 46.

b According to Scripture they had finished eating when they heard the shouting, but perhaps Josephus understood the Heb. killû le’ekîl “they had finished eating” differently, cf. Targum sappîqû “they had enough.”
καὶ τὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ βασιλέως γνώμην· ἀναπηδήσαντες δ' ἐκ τοῦ συμποσίου ὁ τε Άδωνιάς καὶ οἱ κεκλημένοι πάντες ἐφυγον πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς ἐκαστοί.

361 φοβηθεὶς δ' Ἀδωνίας τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῶν γεγονότων ἰκέτης γίνεται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου κεράτων δ' ἰ δὴ προείχεν ἐλλαβόμενος δηλοῦται τούτῳ Σολομῶν πεποιηκὼς καὶ πίστεις ἄξιων παρ' ἑαυτῷ λαβεῖν, ὡστε μὴ μνησικακῆσαι μηδὲν.

362 ἑργάσασθαι δεινὸν αὐτῶν μηδὲν. ὦ δὲ ἡμέρως πάνω καὶ σωφρόνως τῆς μὲν τότε ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν ἀφῆκεν ἄθων, εἰπὼν δὲ, εἰ ληφθεὶ τι πάλιν καινοποίων, ἐαυτῷ αὐτῶν τῆς τιμωρίας ἐσέσθαι, πέμψας ἀνίστησιν αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱκεσίας· ἑλθόντα δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ προσκυνήσαντα εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν οἰκίαν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκέλευσε μηδὲν ὑφορώμενον καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παρέχειν αὐτῶν ἄγαθὸν ὡς αὐτῷ τούτῳ συμφέρον ἥξιον.

363 (7) Βουλόμενος δὲ Δαυίδης ἐπὶ παντὸς τοῦ λαοῦ ἀποδείξαι τὸν υἱὸν βασιλέα συγκαλεῖ τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς Λησούτας. ἐξαριθμῆσαι δὲ τούτους πρῶτον εὐρίσκει τῶν ἀπὸ τριάκοντα ἑτῶν ἐως πεντήκοντα τρισιμυρίους ὁκτακισχιλίοις. εἷς ὃν ἀπεδείξεν ἐπιμελητὰς μὲν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ δισμυρίους τετρακισχιλίοις, κριτὰς δὲ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ γραμματεῖς τοὺτων ἐξακισχιλίοις, πυλωροὺς δὲ τετρακισχιλίοις καὶ τοσούτους ὑμνώδους τοῦ θεοῦ ἄδοντας τοῖς ὀργάνοις οἷς Δαυίδης κατεσκεύασε, καθὼς προειρήκαμεν. δι'-

1 πρὸς αὐτὸν om. RO. 2 τετρακισχιλίοις MSP Lat. 3 + τοῦ οἴκου τοῦ θεοῦ MSP Lat.

Lit. “from his supplication”; bibl. “from the altar,” ἐκτὸς ἀπό τοῦ θυσιαστηρίου. The Levites. 554
of King David, Adônias and all the guests sprang up from the banquet table and fled, each to his own home. And Adônias, being afraid of the king because of what he had done, became a suppliant to God and grasped the horns of the altar,—that is, its projections; and this act of his was reported to Solomon, and also that he had asked to have a pledge from him that he would bear him no malice and do him no harm. Solomon with great mildness and moderation let him off this time without punishment for his offence, but said that if he were ever again caught in an attempt at revolution, he would have himself to blame for his punishment; then he sent men to remove him from his place of sanctuary, and, when he came before him and did obeisance, Solomon ordered him to go back to his own house without any fear, and requested him to conduct himself well in future, as this would be to his own advantage.

(7) Then David, wishing to appoint his son king over all the people, summoned to Jerusalem the chiefs and the priests and Levites, and, having first numbered these, he found that there were thirty-eight thousand of them between the ages of thirty and fifty years. Twenty-four thousand of them he appointed as overseers of the building of the temple, six thousand as judges of the people and as scribes, four thousand as gatekeepers, and an equal number to sing the praises of God to the accompaniment of the instruments which David had made, as we said

{1 Chron. xxiii. 3 "from the age of thirty years and upward"; verses 24, 27 "from the age of twenty years and upward." The upper limit of 50 years is derived from Num. iv. 3 f., viii. 25.

So lxx; bibl. "officers"; the Heb. shôterîm probably included scribes.
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εμέρισε δ’ αυτούς καὶ κατὰ πατριὰς καὶ χωρίσας ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς τοὺς ἱερεῖς εὑρε τούτων εἰκοσι τέσσαρας πατριὰς, ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίας ἐκκαίδεκα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἰθαμάρου ὄκτω, διέταξε τε μίαν πατριὰν διακονεῖσθαι τῷ θεῷ ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ ἀπὸ σαββατοῦ ἕπι σάββατον. καὶ οὕτως αἱ πατριαι πάσαι διεκληρώσαντο Δαυίδου παρόντος καὶ Σαδωκου καὶ Ἀβияδάρου τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ πάντων τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ η ἁρχωμένη οὖν ἁρχιερατικὴ ἐγράφη πρώτῃ, ἣ δὲ δευτέρα ἀκολουθιαν ἔχει τῶν εἰκοσι τεσσάρων καὶ διέμεινεν οὕτως ὁ μερισμὸς ἄχρι τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας. ἔποιήσε δὲ καὶ τῆς Λησούντιδος φυλῆς εἰκοσι μέρη καὶ τέσσαρα καὶ κληρωσμένων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν ἀνέβησαν τρόπου ταῖς τῶν ἱερεῶν ἐφημερίσε ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ὀκτώ. τοὺς δ’ ἀπογόνους τοὺς Μωυσέους ἐτίμησεν· ἔποιήσε γὰρ αὐτοὺς φύλακας τῶν θησαυρῶν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀναθημάτων, ἅ συνεβή τοὺς βασιλείς ἀναθείναι· διέταξε δὲ πάσι τοῖς ἐκ τῆς Λησούντιδος φυλῆς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῖσι δουλεύειν κατὰ ὑπκτα καὶ ἡμέραν τῷ θεῷ, καθὼς αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλε Μωυσῆς.

368 (8) Μετὰ ταῦτα διεμέρισε πᾶσαν τὴν στρατιὰν εἰς δώδεκα μοίρας σὺν ἡγεμόνι καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους καὶ ταξιάρχους. εἰχεν δ’ ἐκάστῃ τῶν μοιρῶν δισμυρίους καὶ τετρακοσίους, ὥν ἐκέλευσε προσεδρεύειν κατὰ τριάκονθ’ ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἐώς τῆς ύπτάτης Σολομών τῷ βασιλεί ὑπὸ τοῖς πάσαν om. RO.

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1 a § 306.  
2 Of Levi.  
3 These are grouped by Josephus, in Ap. ii. 108, into four  
4 556
before. He then divided them into families, and, after separating the priests from the rest of the tribe, he found that of these there were twenty-four families, sixteen of the house of Eleazar and eight of the house of Ithamar; he further arranged that one family should minister to God each week from Sabbath to Sabbath. Now this is the way in which all the families drew lots in the presence of David and the high priests Sadok and Abiathar and all the chiefs: the family which came out first in the drawing was inscribed as the first to serve, and the second similarly, and so with all twenty-four. And this apportionment has lasted down to this day. He also divided the tribe of Levites into twenty-four parts, and, according to the order in which the lots were drawn, they were chosen for a week, in the same manner as the priestly courses. And he honoured the descendants of Moses by making them keepers of the treasury of God and of such offerings as the kings had made. He also ordained that all those of the tribe of Levites and the priests should serve God night and day, as Moses had enjoined them.

(8) After this, he divided the army into twelve divisions with their leaders, captains of hundreds and lower officers, each division having twenty-four thousand men, whom he ordered to be in attendance on Solomon for thirty days at a time, from the first day of the month until the last, together with their priestly classes (Schürer suspects a corruption of 24 to 4); in 1 'lita 2 he mentions only the 24 courses (εφημεριδες), as here. This weekly alternation, not mentioned in Scripture, is found in the Mishnah and represents the arrangement in use in Josephus's time. 

Cf. § 379 note. 

Lit. "taxiarchs," cf. § 26 note; bibl. "captains of thousands and of hundreds and their officers (lxx γραμματεῖς)."
Their names are given in 1 Chron. xxvii. 25 ff.

b Heb. “and David the king stood upon his feet,” lxx καὶ ἐστή Δαυίδ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν μέσῳ τῆς ἐκκλησίας.
captains of thousands and captains of hundreds. He also appointed as chief of each division a man whom he knew to be brave and just; others he made custodians of the treasuries and of the villages, fields and cattle, but I have not thought it necessary to mention their names.

(9) When he had arranged each of these matters in the above manner, the king convoked an assembly of the heads of the Hebrews and the tribal chiefs and the leaders of the (military) divisions and those in charge of any of the king's affairs or property, and, standing upon a very high tribune, he addressed the gathering as follows: "Brothers and fellow-countrymen, I wish you to know that with the intention of building a temple to God I collected a great quantity of gold and one hundred thousand talents of silver; but God, through the prophet Nathan, has kept me from doing so, because of the wars I have fought on your behalf and because my hand is stained with the blood of the enemy, and He has commanded my son, who will succeed to my throne, to build the temple to Him. Now since, of our forefather Jacob's twelve sons, it was Judah, as you know, who was appointed king, and since I was preferred to my six brothers and received the sovereignty from God without complaint from any of them, I, in turn, ask that my sons similarly refrain from civil dissension, now that Solomon has received the kingship, and, in recognition of the fact that God has chosen him, cheerfully accept him as their lord. For it is not such a terrible thing to serve

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\[c\] Bibl. "and had made ready for the building"; no amount of money is specified at this point in Scripture.

\[d\] Nathan is not mentioned at this point in Scripture, 1 Chron. xxviii. 3, which has, "But God said unto me, Thou shalt not build," etc.
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θέλοντος οὖν ἀλλοτρίως κρατοῦντι δουλεύειν, χαί- 
egειν δ' ἐπ' ἄδελφῳ ταύτης τυχόντι τῆς τιμῆς 
προσήκεν ὡς κοινωνώντας αὐτής. εὐχομαι δὴ τὰς 
ὑποσχέσεις τοῦ θεοῦ παρελθεῖν εἰς τέλος καὶ τὴν 
eυδαιμονίαν ταύτην ἀνὰ πάσαν τὴν χώραν σπαρῆναι 
καὶ τὸν ἀπαντὰ ταύτη παραμεῖναι χρόνον, ἣν αὐτὸς 
ἐπηγγείλατο παρέξειν ἐπὶ Σολομῶνος βασιλέως. 

374 ἔσται δὲ ταύτα βέβαια καὶ καλὸν ἐξεῖ πέρας, ἂν 
eὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον σαυτὸν1 καὶ φύλακα τῶν πατρίων 
pαρέχης2 νόμων, ὃ τέκνον· εἰ δὲ μή, τὰ χείρω 
προσδόκα3 ταύτα παραβαίνων.

375 (10) Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς τούτους ποιησάμενος 
tόος λόγους ἐπαύσατο, τῇ δὲ4 διαγραφῇ καὶ 
διάταξιν τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ πάντων ὀρῶντων 
ἐδωκε Σολομῶν θεμελίων καὶ οἰκτὸν καὶ υπερφών, 
ὅσοι τε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ πηλίκοι τὸ ύψος καὶ τὸ 
ἐνδρος γένοντο, ὡσα τε σκεύη χρυσᾶ καὶ ἄργυρα 
376 τούτων τὸν σταθμὸν ἄριστο. προσπαρώρμησε δὲ 
καὶ λόγους αὐτῶν τε πάση χρήσασθαι προθυμία 
περὶ τὸ ἔργον καὶ τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ τὴν Ἀγουτῶν 
φυλὴν συναγωνίσασθαι διὰ τῇ ἁλικίαν καὶ διὰ 
tὸ τοῦ θεοῦ ἑκείνων ἑλέσθαι καὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας τοῦ 
377 ναοῦ καὶ τῆς βασιλείας προστάτην. εὐμαρηθ' 
δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ σφόδρα ἐπίπονοι τῆς οἰκοδομίαν 
ἀπέφανεν αὐτοῦ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαντα χρυσὸν πλεῖω 
δ' ἀργυρὸν καὶ ξύλα καὶ τεκτόνων πλῆθος καὶ 
λατόμων ἱδίῃ παρεσκευασμένοι σμαράγδου τε καὶ 
378 πάσης ἰδέας λίθον πολυτελοῦς· καὶ νῦν δ' ἐτι 
τῆς ἰδίας ἀπαρχῆς5 διακοινίας ἀλλὰ τρισχίλια τάλαντα

1 αὐτὸν RO: αὐτὸν Niese. 
2 παρέχη RO. 
3 προσδόκατω RO. 
4 τε RO. 
5 Niese: ἀπαρχῆς. ROSP: ἀρχῆς M: primitias Lat. (unde 
ἀπαρχᾶς conj. Niese). 

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even a foreign master, if God so wills, and, when it is one's brother to whom this honour has fallen, one should rejoice at having a share in it. I pray, then, that the promises of God will be fulfilled and that the prosperity which He Himself has declared He will send during Solomon's reign will be diffused throughout the entire land and continue with it for all time. These things will be assured and will come to a happy issue, if you show yourself to be pious and just, my son, and an observer of our country's laws. Otherwise, if you transgress them, you must expect a worse fate."

(10) Such, then, was the address which the king made, and, when he had finished, he gave to Solomon, in the sight of all, the plan and arrangement of the building of the temple, the foundations, chambers and upper rooms, showing how many there were to be and of what height and breadth, and also fixing the weight of the gold and silver vessels. Then he spoke again, further exhorting him to show the utmost zeal in the work, and also the chiefs and the tribe of Levites to assist Solomon in the labour, because of his youth and because God had chosen him to preside over the building of the temple and over the kingdom. He also made clear to them that the building would be easy for them and not very difficult, because he had already secured many talents of gold and more of silver, and wood and a host of carpenters and stonecutters, as well as emeralds and precious stones of every kind. Moreover he said that he would give as his private offering for the service an additional

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This part of David's speech is amplified by Josephus. 

Heb. šōham (A.V. "onyx"), lxx σόου, Luc. (Μθον) δνυχς.

Text doubtful.
379 μεγαλοπρεπεῖς ἐγένετο: χρυσῶν μὲν γὰρ ὑπέστησαν εἰσοίσειν τάλαντα πεντακισχίλια καὶ στατήρας μυρίων, ἄρχουν δὲ μύρια τάλαντα, καὶ σιδήρου μυριάδας ταλάντων πολλάς· καὶ εἰ τινὶ λίθος ἢν πολυτηλῆς ἐκόμισε καὶ παρέδωκεν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς, ὅν ἐπέτροπενος ὁ Μωσεώς ἔκγονος "Ἰαλος.  
380 Ἐπὶ τούτως ἡσθῆ ἔπὶ λαὸς ἄπας, καὶ Δαυίδης τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν φιλοτιμίαν τῶν ἄρχωντων καὶ ἵερεών καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἄπαντων ὄρων, τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἡρξατο, μεγαλὴ βοὴ πατέρα τε καὶ γένεσιν τῶν ὅλων ἀποκαλών καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀνθρωπίνων καὶ θείων, οἷς αὐτῶν ἐκόμισε, προστάτην τε καὶ κηδεμόνα γένους τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ τῆς τούτων εὐδαιμονίας ἴσης τε αὐτῶ βασιλείας ἔδωκεν.  
381 Ἐπὶ τούτως εὐδαίμονος τῷ τε παντὶ λαῷ τὰ ἁγαθὰ καὶ τῷ παιδὶ Σολομῶν διάνοιαν ὕγιη καὶ δικαίων καὶ πάσι τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέτρους ἐρρωμένην, ἐκέλευσε καὶ τὸ πλῆθος εὐλογεῖν τῶν θεῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν προσεκύνησαν, εὐχαρίστησαν δὲ καὶ Δαυίδης περὶ πάντων ὃν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν

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1 Niese: ἐπέτροπενος codd.

a Scripture adds, “and seven thousand talents of refined silver.”

b The priests and Levites are not included among the contributors in Scripture.

c Heb. "adarkōnîm (A.V. "drams"), lxx χρυσῶν. The "adarkōn was the Persian daric, which the Greeks called.
three thousand talents of pure gold for the shrine and for the chariot of God, the Cherubim, which were to be placed upon the ark as a covering. And, when David had done, the chiefs and priests and the tribe of Levites showed great eagerness in contributing and making offers of splendid and magnificent gifts; they undertook to bring in five thousand talents and ten thousand staters of gold, ten thousand talents of silver, and many tens of thousands of talents of iron; and whoever had a precious stone brought it and gave it to the treasury, of which Ialos, the descendant of Moses, had charge.

(11) At this all the people rejoiced, and David, seeing the zeal and rivalry in giving of the chiefs and priests and all the others, began to bless God in a loud voice, addressing Him as father and source of the universe, as creator of things human and divine, with which He had adorned Himself, and as the protector and guardian of the Hebrew race and of its prosperity and of the kingdom which He had given him. Thereupon he prayed for the happiness of all the people and that his son Solomon might have a sound and just mind, strengthened by all virtuous qualities; and then he commanded the multitude also to bless God. And so they fell upon the ground and prostrated themselves; and they also gave thanks to David for all the blessings they had en-

\begin{itemize}
  \item [\textbf{1 Chron. xxviii. 18.}] for the shrine and for the chariot of God, the Cherubim, which were to be placed upon the ark as a covering.
  \item [\textbf{1 Chron. xxix. 9.}] prayer for Solomon.
  \item [\textbf{1 Chron. xxix. 8.}] Gershonite.
  \item [\textbf{1 Chron. xxix. 11-19.}] Josephus briefly summarizes David’s prayer.
\end{itemize}
382 παραλαβόντος ἀπέλαυσαν. τῇ δ' ἐπιστολῇ θυσίας τῷ θεῷ παρέστησαν μόσχους χιλίους καὶ κριοὺς τοσούτους καὶ χιλίους ἁμνοὺς, οἷς ὅλοκαυτώσαν ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τὰς εἰρηνικὰς θυσίας, πολλὰς μυριάδας ἱερείων κατασφάξαντες. καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας ἐώρτασεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ Σολομώνα δεύτερον ἔχρισαν τὸ ἔλαιον καὶ ἀπέδειξαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα καὶ Σάδωκον ἄρχιερέα τῆς πληθυσμὸς ἀπάσης. εἰς τε τὸ βασιλείου ἀγαγόντες Σολομώνα καὶ καθίσαντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ θρόνον τοῦ πατρῴου ἀπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας ὑπήκουν αὐτῷ.

383 (xiv. 1) Μετ' ὅλων δὲ χρόνον ὁ Δαυίδης καταπέσαν εἰς νόσον ὑπὸ γήρως καὶ συνειδῶς ὅτι μέλλει τελευτᾷ καλέσας τὸν υἱὸν Σολομῶνα διελέξῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν τοιάδε: "ἐγὼ μέν, ὦ τέκνον, εἰς τὸ χρεών ἤδη καὶ πατέρας τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἀπαλλάσσομαι κοινὴν ὧδον ἀπάντων τῶν τε νῦν ὄντων καὶ τῶν ἐσομένων πορευόμενος, ἡς ὑπόκειτι οἴδον τε ἐπανελθόντα γνῶναι τι κατὰ τὸν βιόν πράττεται. διὸ ζῶν ἑτὶ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῷ γεγονός τῷ τελευτᾷ παραμώ σοι ταῦθ' ἀ καὶ πρότερον ἐφθην συμβουλεύσας, δικαίως μὲν εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς ἀρχιμένους, εὑσεβεῖ δὲ πρὸς τὸν τὴν βασιλείαν δεδωκότα θεόν, φυλάττειν δ' αὐτῷ τὰς ἑντολὰς καὶ τοὺς νόμους, οὓς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος κατέπεμψεν ἡμῖν, καὶ μὴ χάριτι μὴτε θυσεία μὴτ' ἐπιθυμίᾳ μὴτε ἄλλῳ πάθει προσ-

385 τιθέμενον τούτων ἀμελήσαι: τὴν γὰρ τοῦ θείου πρὸς σαυτὸν εὖνοοι ἀπολεῖς παραβᾶς τι τῶν νομίμων

1 + ἐντὼς M: + ἄρτι SP: iam constitutus Lat.  
2 ed. pr.: αὐτόν ROMP: αὐτὸν S.  
3 τὶ τῶν νομίμων| τὰ νόμιμα MSP Lat.  

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joyed since he had succeeded to the throne. And, on the following day, they presented to God as sacrifices a thousand calves and as many rams and a thousand lambs, which they gave as burnt-offerings; they also sacrificed many peace-offerings, and slaughtered many tens of thousands of victims. And throughout the whole day the king feasted with all the people, and they anointed Solomon with oil a second time and proclaimed him king, with Sadok as high priest of the entire nation. And they led Solomon to the palace and seated him upon his father's throne, and from that day forth they were obedient to him.

(xv. 1) Now a little while after this, David fell ill by reason of old age, and, realizing that he was about to die, he called his son Solomon and spoke to him as follows: "I am now, my son, going to my destiny and must depart to my fathers and travel the common road of all men now alive or yet to be, from which no one can ever return to learn what is happening among the living. Therefore, while I am still alive, though very close to death, I exhort you, in the same manner as when I counselled you once before, to be just toward your subjects and pious toward God, who has given you the kingship, and to keep His commandments and laws, which He Himself sent down to us by Moses; do not neglect them by yielding either to favour or flattery or lust or any other passion, for you will lose the goodwill of the Deity toward you, if you transgress any of His ordinances, and you will

In addition to these burnt-offerings with their drink-offerings, Scripture mentions only "sacrifices in abundance"; these sacrifices would naturally be peace-offerings, as Josephus supposes.

Cf. § 356 note.
καὶ πρὸς τὰναντὶʹ αὐτῷ τὴν ἀγαθὴν ἀποστρέφεις πρόνοιαν· τοιοῦτον δὲ σαυτὸν παρέχως, ὁποῖον εἶναι τε δεὶ κἀγὼ δὲ παρακαλῶ, καθέξεις ἡμῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τῷ γένει καὶ οἶκος ἄλλος Ἐβραίων οὐκ ἂν δεσπόσειεν, ἀλλ’ ἡμεῖς αὐτῷ διὰ τοῦ παντὸς αἰῶνος. μέμνησο δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἰωάβου τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παρανομίας ἀποκτείναντος διὰ ξηλοτυφίαν δύο στρατηγοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθούς, Ἀβεννἱρόν τε τὸν Νήρου παίδα καὶ τὸν 'Αμασάν νῦν 'Ιέθρα· ὥν ὡς ὅπως ἄν σοι δοξῇ τὸν θάνατον έκδίκησον, ἐπεὶ καὶ κρείττων ἐμοῦ καὶ δυνατώτερος ο Ἰωάβος ὥν μέχρι νῦν τὴν δίκην διέφυγε. παρατίθεμαι δὲ σοι καὶ τοὺς Βερξέλου τοῦ Γαλαδίτου παίδας, οὓς ἐν τιμή πάση καὶ προνοίᾳ τούτ’ ἐμοί χαριζόμενος ἐξεις· οὐ προκατάρχομεν γὰρ εὐποίας, ἀλλ’ ἁμοιβὴν ὡν ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν παρὰ τὴν φυγὴν ύπηρέξε μοι χρεολυτούμεν. καὶ τὸν Γήρα δὲ νῦν Σουμοῦν τὸν ἐκ τῆς Βεναμίτηδος φυλῆς, ὃς πολλὰ βλασφημήσας με παρὰ τὴν φυγήν, ὅτ’ εἰς Παρεμβολὰς ἐπορευόμην, ἀπήντησεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ πίστεις ἐλαβεν ὡς μηδὲν αὐτῶν παθεῖν τότε, νῦν ἐπιζητῆσας αἰτίαν εὐλογον ἄμνα."

(2) Ταῦτα παρανέσας τῷ παιδὶ περὶ τὲ τῶν ολῶν πραγμάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων καὶ οὓς ἦδει τιμωρίας ἄξιοις γεγενημένους ἀπέθανεν ἄτη μὲν βιώσας ἐβδομήκοντα, βασιλεύσας δὲ ἔπτα μὲν ἐν Χεβρῶν τῆς Ἰουδᾶ φυλῆς καὶ μήνας εξ’, ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι δὲ ἀπάσης τῆς χωρᾶς τρία καὶ τριάκοντα. οὔτος ἀριστος ἄνηρ ἐγένετο καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν έχων

1 Niese: ἀπαντ’ codd.
2 Ἰέθρα· ὥν ex Lat. Niese: Ἐβραίων RO: Ἐβραίου MSP.
3 ἄμνα ROSP1.
But, if you show yourself to be such as you should be and as I urge you to be, you will secure the kingdom to our line, and no other house than we shall be lords over the Hebrews for all time. Remember also the crime of Joab, the commander, who, because of envy, killed two just and brave generals, Abenner, the son of Ner, and Amasa, the son of Jethras, and, in whatever way you may think best, avenge their deaths; for Joab, being stronger and more powerful than I, has until now escaped punishment. But I commend to you the sons of Berzelos the Galadite, whom you shall hold in all honour and care for, and thus gratify me; for in this matter we are not the first to show kindness, but are repaying the debt owed them for their father's service to me during my exile. And as for Sūmūs, the son of Gēra, of the tribe of Benjamin, who cursed me repeatedly during my flight, on the way to The Camps, and, when he met me at the Jordan, received a pledge that he would suffer no harm for the time being,—look now for a reasonable pretext to punish him."

(2) With these recommendations to his son concerning the state and his friends and those whom he knew to be deserving of punishment, David died at the age of seventy, having reigned seven years and six months in Hebron, over the tribe of Judah, and thirty-three years in Jerusalem, over the entire country. He was a most excellent man and pos-

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\(^a\) Emended text; mss. "you will altogether alienate His kind watchfulness."

\(^b\) Called Samuis in § 207; bibl. Shimei.

\(^c\) 1 Kings has only 7 years for David's reign in Hebron; the figure given by Josephus is found in 2 Sam. v. 5.

\(^d\) Or "very brave."
δὴ ἐδει τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐθνῶν σωτηρίαν ἐγκεχειρισμένως προσεύναι ἢ ἀνδρείας γὰρ ἢν ὡς οὐκ ἄλλος τις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὑπὲρ τῶν ὑπηκόων ἄγωσι πρῶτος ἐπὶ τοὺς κυνόνους ὠρμα τῷ πονεῖν καὶ μάχεσθαι παρακελεύομενος τοὺς στρατιῶτας ἑπὶ τὰς παρατάξεις ἢ οὐκ ἄλλῳ προστάτευεν ως

391 δεσπότης, νοησάει τε καὶ συνιδεῖν καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων καὶ τῆς τῶν ἐνεστηκότων οἰκονομίας ἰκανώτατος, σώφρων ἐπιεικῆς χρηστός πρὸς τοὺς ἐν συμφοραῖς υπάρχοντας, δίκαιοις φιλάνθρωπος, ὁ μόνος ἐξαίρετα τοῖς βασιλεύσει εἶναι προσήκε, μηδὲν ὅλως παρὰ τοσοῦτο μέγεθος ἐξουσίας ἀμαρτών ἡ το περὶ τὴν Οὐρία γυναίκα. κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ πλοῦτον ὅσον οὐκ ἄλλος βασιλεύσει οὔθ 'Ἑβραϊῶν οὔτ' ἄλλων ἐθνῶν.

392 (3) 'Εθαψε δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Σολομὼν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμων διαπρεπῶς τοῖς τε ἄλλοις οἷς περὶ κηδείαν νομίζεται βασιλικὴν ἀπασί καὶ δὴ καὶ πλοῦτον αὐτῷ πολὺν καὶ ἀφθονον συνεκήθευσεν, δὴ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τεκμηρίατ' ἀν τις ῥάδιως ἐκ τοῦ λεχθῆ. 393 σομένου· μετὰ γὰρ χρόνων ἑτῶν χιλίων καὶ τριακοσίων Ἑρκαίος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς πολιορκουμένος ὑπ' Ἀντιώχου τοῦ Εὐσεβῶς ἐπικληθέντος νῦν δὲ

1 οὕτως ἀριστος... προσεύναι hand dubie corrupta: οὗτώς ἀριστῳ ἀνδρι γεγενημένως καὶ πᾶσσαν ἄρετὴν ἔχουτι καὶ τοσοῦτων ἐθνῶν σωτηρίαν ἐγκέχειρισμένως βασιλεῖ ἐδεί προσεπαινέσαι καὶ τὸ τε τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ εὐσεβεν καὶ τὸ τῆς σωφροσύνης σινετῶν ῬΩ. 2 πράξεις MSP Exc. Suidas. 3 ἐξαίρετα τοῖς] δικαίωτα ῬΩ.

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possessed of every virtue which should be found in a king entrusted with the safety of so many nations; there was no one like him for bravery, and, in the contests fought on behalf of his subjects, he was the first to rush into danger, encouraging his soldiers against the opposing lines by his labours in the fight, and not by commanding them like a master. He was also most apt in perceiving and understanding the course of future events and in dealing with the immediate situation, prudent, mild, kind to those in trouble, just and humane,—qualities which only the greatest kings are expected to have; and, with so great a measure of authority, never once did he do wrong, except in the matter of Uriah’s wife. Moreover he left behind such wealth as no other king, whether of the Hebrews or other nations, ever did.

(3) Then his son Solomon interred him in Jerusalem with all the splendour customary at royal funerals, and also buried with him a great abundance of wealth, the vastness of which one may easily gather from what is now to be related: after a period of thirteen hundred years, when Hyrcanus, the high priest, was besieged by Antiochus, surnamed

The text (from “He was a most excellent man”) is probably corrupt. The variant reads “In addition to his having been so excellent a man, possessed of every virtue and entrusted with the safety of so many nations, one must praise him for the vigour of his (bodily) strength and his prudence and intelligence.”

The siege of Jerusalem, here referred to, took place in 135/134 B.C. Josephus thus places David’s death in 1435 B.C., which is almost 500 years earlier than the generally accepted date (c. 970 B.C.).

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4 ex E Niese: τεκμήρετ R: τεκμαλρετ OS1P: τεκμαλρουτ’ MS².
Δημητρίου, βουλόμενος χρήματι αυτῷ δοθαίνα υπὲρ τοῦ λύσαι τὴν πολιορκίαν καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν, καὶ ἀλλαχόθεν οὐκ εὐπορῶν, ἁνοίξας ἑνα οἶκον τῶν ἐν τῷ Δαυίδου μνήματι καὶ βαστάσας τρισχίλια τάλαντα μέρος ἐδωκεν Ἀντιόχῳ καὶ διέλυσεν οὕτως τὴν πολιορκίαν, καθὼς καὶ ἐν ἀλλοις δεδηλώκαμεν. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο ἐτῶν πολλῶν διαγενομένων πάλιν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἡρώδης ἔτερον ἁνοίξας οἶκον ἀνείλετο χρήματα πολλά. ταῖς μέντοι γε θήκαις τῶν βασιλέων οὐδὲς αὐτῶν ἐπέτυχεν· ἦσαν γὰρ ὑπὸ τὴν γῆν μηχανικὰς κεκηδευμέναι πρὸς τὸ μὴ φανεραί εἶναι τοῖς εἰς τὸ μνῆμα εἰσοῦσιν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕμων τοσοῦτον ἀπόχρη δεδηλώσθαι.

* This was Antiochus VII. Euergetes, surnamed Sidetes, a son of Demetrius I. Soter. Josephus calls him Antiochus Soter in *A. xiii. 271*. In the same book, § 244, his surname...
Pious (Eusebes), the son of Demetrius, he wished to give the latter money to raise the siege and withdraw his army, and, as he had no other resource, he opened one of the chambers in David's tomb and carried off three thousand talents, part of which he gave to Antiochus and so put an end to the siege, as we have elsewhere related. And again, after an interval of many years, King Herod opened another chamber and took away a large sum of money. Neither of them, however, came upon the coffins of the kings, for these had been artfully buried under the earth so that they could not be seen by anyone entering the tomb. But concerning these matters let it suffice us to have related this much.

of Pious is said to have been given him because of his "extraordinary piety." These surnames, Soter and Eusebes, applied to Antiochus Sidetes by Josephus, are not found elsewhere in ancient sources.

\textsuperscript{b} B.J. i. 61 (|| A. xiii. 249). Weill has overlooked this earlier passage in his note.

\textsuperscript{c} Cf. A. xvi. 179.
(i. 1) Περὶ μὲν οὖν Δαυΐδου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁσοὶ ἀγαθῶν αὐτίων γενόμενος τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις πολέμους τε καὶ μάχαις ὁσας κατορθώσας γηραιὸς ἐτελεύτησεν, ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης 2 βιβλίῳ δεδηλώκαμεν. Σολομῶνος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ νέου τῆς ἡλικίας ἐτὶ ὄντος τῆς βασιλείας παραλαβόντος, ὅτι ἐτὶ ζῶν ἀπέφηνε τοῦ λαοῦ δεσπότην κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως, καθίσαντος ἐπί τὸν θρόνον ὁ μὲν πᾶς ὄχλος ἐπευφήμησεν, ὁ δὲ εἰκὸς ἐπὶ ἀρχομένῳ βασιλεῖ, τελευτήσαι καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ πράγματα καὶ πρὸς γῆρας ἀφικέσθαι λιπαρὸν καὶ πανεύδαιμον τὴν ἡγεμονίαν.

3 (2) Ἀδωνίας δὲ, ὃς καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐτὶ ζῶντος ἐπεχείρησε τὴν ἀρχήν κατασχεῖν, παρελθὼν πρὸς τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως μητέρα Βερσάβην καὶ φιλοφρόνως αὐτὴν ἀσπασάμενοι, πυθομένης εἰ καὶ διὰ χρέιαν τινὰ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀφίκται καὶ δηλοῦν κε- 4 λευνοῦσης ὃς ἡδέως παρεξομένης ἤρξατο λέγειν ὅτι γυνώσκει μὲν τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ πλῆθους προαίρεσιν οὖσαν αὐτοῦ, μεταβάσις δὲ πρὸς Σολομῶνα τὸν νῦν αὐτῇ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην στέργει καὶ

* In § 211 Josephus makes Solomon fourteen years old at his accession, while some of the ἕκκ μss. here add that he was twelve, with which figure rabbinic tradition agrees.

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(1) 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, we have written in the preceding book. Now when his son Solomon, whom he had while yet alive, in accordance with the will of God, proclaimed sole ruler of the people, took over the kingship, being still a mere youth, 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.

(2) But Adonias, who even in his father's lifetime had attempted to seize the royal power, went to the king's mother Bersabe and greeted her in a friendly manner, and, when she inquired whether he had come to her with any request and bade him make it known, as she would gladly grant it, 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, but since, in accordance with the wish of God, it had gone to her son Solomon, he was willing and happy

b "end ... in a rich ... old age" is an Homeric phrase, cf. Od. xi. 136 γήρω ἵππο λεπαρφ ἀρημένον.

JOSEPHUS

ἀγαπᾷ τὴν ὑπ’ αὐτῷ δουλεῖαν καὶ τοὺς παρόνιν
5 ἢδεται πράγμασιν. ἦδεται δ’ οὖν διακονήσαι πρὸς
tὸν ἄδελφον αὐτῶ καὶ πεῖσαι δούναι τὴν τῷ πατρὶ
συγκοιμὸμενήν πρὸς γάμον αὐτῶ Ἀβισάκην· οὐ
gάρ πλησιάσαι τὸν πατέρα διὰ τὸ γῆρας αὐτής.
6 μένει δ’ ἐτὶ παρθένον. ἡ δ’ Βερσάβη καὶ δια-
κονήσειν σπονδαίως ὑπέσχετο καὶ καταπράξεσθαι3
tὸν γάμον δι’ ἄμφοτερα, τοῦ τε βασιλέως αὐτῶ
χαρίσασθαι τι βουλησομένου καὶ δηεσομένης αὐτῆς
λιπαρῶς. καὶ ο’ μὲν εὐελπίς ἀπαλλάττεται περὶ
tοῦ γάμου, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Σολομὼνος μήτηρ εὐθὺς
ἐφημησεν ἐπὶ τὸν ἔνα διαλέξουμεν περὶ ὑδ’ Ἀδωνία
7 δεθέντι κατεπηγγείλατο. καὶ προὐπαντήσαντος
αὐτῆς τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ περιπλακέντος, ἐπεὶ παρῆγαγεν
αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν οἶκον οὐ συνεβαίνειν αὐτῶ κεῖσθαι τὸν
βασιλικὸν θρόνον, καθίσας ἐκέλευσεν ἐτερον εκ
δεξιῶν τεθῆναι τῇ μητρί. καθεσθείσα δ’ ἡ Βερσάβη
“μίαν,” εἶπεν, “ὡς παῖ, χάριν αἰτομένη μοι
κατάνευσον καὶ μηδὲν εἰς ἀρνήσεως δῦσκολον μηδὲ
8 σκυθρωπὸν ἀπεργάσῃ.” τοῦ δὲ Σολομὼνος προσ-
tάττεν κελεύοντος (πάντα γὰρ ὁσίον εἶναι μητρὶ
παρέχειν) καὶ τι προσμεμψαμένου τὴν ἀρχὴν ὅτι
μὴ μετ’ ἐλπίδως ἦδη βεβαίας τοῦ τυχεῖν ὁν ἄξιοι
ποιεῖται τοὺς λόγους ἀλλ’ ἀρνήσεν ὑφορμένη,
δούνα τὴν παρθένον αὐτῶν Ἀβισάκην Ἀδωνία
τάδελφῳ πρὸς γάμον παρεκάλει.
9 (3) Λαβὼν δὲ πρὸς ὀργῆν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν λόγον
ἀποπέμπεται μὲν τὴν μητέρα μειζόνων ὀρέγεσθαι

1 ἢδεται πράγμασιν om. RO.

ᵃ The last is an unscriptural detail.
to serve under him and was satisfied with the present state of affairs. He requested her, however, to intercede for him with his brother and persuade him to give him in marriage Abisakē, 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. 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 of the marriage, while Solomon's mother straightway hastened to her son to tell him of the promise she had made Adōnias upon his request. And her son came forward to meet her and embraced her, and when he had led her to the chamber where, at that time, his royal throne was, 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 she said, “I have, my son, one favour to ask; grant me this and do not act disagreeably or angrily by denying it.” And, as Solomon bade her command him, for, he said, it is a sacred duty to do everything for a mother, and added a word of reproach for the way she had begun, in that she had not spoken with a sure hope of obtaining what she requested but had been fearful of being denied, she asked him to give the virgin Abisakē to his brother Adōnias in marriage.

(3) But the king took offence at her words and sent his mother away, saying that Adōnias was aiming at

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* Bath-sheba's reply is an amplification of 1 Kings ii. 18, “Well; I will speak for thee to the king.”

* The foregoing is an amplification of 1 Kings ii. 20, “Ask on, my mother, for I will not say thee nay.”
JOSEPHUS

πραγμάτων εἰπὼν Ἦδωνίαν καὶ θανμάζειν πῶς οὐ παραχωρῆσαι καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ὡς πρεσβυτέρῳ παρακαλεῖ, τὸν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν Ἄμισάκης αἰτουμένη φίλους ἔχοντι δυνατοὺς Ἰώάβον τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ Ἄμισάκον τὸν ἱερέα, μεταπεμψάμενος δὲ Βαναίαν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων ἀποκτεῖναι

10 προσέταξεν αὐτῷ τὸν ἀδελφὸν Ἦδωνίαν. καλέσας δὲ τὸν Ἄμισάκον τὸν ἱερέα "θανάτου μέν," εἶπε, "δύναται σὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα διὰ τὸ πατρὶ μου συνέκαμει καὶ ἡ κιβωτός, ἢν σὺν αὐτῷ μετήνεγκας. ταύτην δὲ σοι τὴν τιμωρίαν ἐπιτίθημι ταξιμένῳ μετὰ Ἦδωνία καὶ τὰ ἐκείνου φρονήσατε· μήτε ἐνθάδε ἵσθι μήτε εἰς ὑμῖν ἀπάντα τῇ ἐμην, ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν πατρίδα πορευθεὶς ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ζῆθι καὶ τοῦτον ἀχρι τελευτῆς ἔχε τὸν βίον ἀμαρτῶν τοῦ μηκέτι

11 εἶναι δικαίως ἐν ἀξίαν." καταλύεται μὲν οὖν ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερατικῆς τιμῆς ὁ Ἰθαμάρου οἶκος διὰ τὴν προερχόμενην αἰτίαν, καθὼς καὶ τῷ Ἄμισάκον πάππῳ προείπεν ὁ θεὸς Ἡλεί, μετέβη δ' εἰς τὸ

12 Φινεέσσου γένος πρὸς Σάδωκον. οἱ δὲ ἰδιωτεύ- σαντες έκ τοῦ Φινεέσσου γένους μεθ' ὑπέρ καιρὸν εἰς τὸν θαμάρου οἶκον ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη μετήλθεν, Ἡλεί πρῶτον ταύτην παραλαβόντος, ἦσαν οὕτως τῷ τὸν ἀρχιερέως Ἰσσοῦν τὸν Δικασίως, τοῦτον δὲ Ἰωάμος, Ἰωάμου δὲ Μαραϊώθος, Μαραϊώθου

1 Ἰωσήπου MSP Lat.

a Anathoth.
b Cf. A. v. 338 ff. = 1 Sam. ii. 12 ff.
d With the following genealogy contrast that given in A. v. 361.

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greater things, and that he wondered she did not ask him, when seeking the marriage with Abisake 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 and Abiathar the priest. Then, having sent for Banaias, who was in charge of the bodyguard, he ordered him to kill his brother Adōnias. 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 with him; but I impose the following punishment upon you for having gone over to Adōnias’s side and sympathized with him: you shall not remain here nor ever come into my presence, but go to your native place and live in the fields and continue so to live until your death, for you have sinned too greatly to remain justly in office any longer." And so the house of Ithamar was deprived of the priestly privilege for the afore-mentioned reason, just as God had foretold to Eli the grandfather of Abiathar, and it was transferred to the family of Phinees, to Sadok. 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—were as follows: Bokkias the son of the high priest Jesus, Jōthamos the son of Bokkias, Maraiōthos the son of Jōthamos, Arophaia the

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a Bibli. Bukki, lxx Βοκκί, Βοκκαί.
1 Var. Uzzi (as Josephus writes in A. v. 362), lxx Ὀζηῖ. Josephus here omits Zerahiah the son of Uzzi.
2 Bibli. Magai, lxx Μαγαί, Μαγαίω, Luc. Μαγαίω.
3 Bibli. Amariah, lxx Ἀμαριαῖα.
Jospehus.

13 (4) Ἰωάβος δὲ ὁ στρατηγὸς τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ἀκούσας τὴν Ἀδωνία περίδεσθαι ἐγένετο, φίλος γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἡ τῶ βασιλεί Σολομῶν, καὶ κίνδυνον ἐκ τούτου διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἐκεῖνον εὐνοιαν οὐκ ἄλογως ὑποπτεύων καταφεύγει μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ἀσφάλειαν δὲ ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ πορείαν ἐκ τῆς πρὸς τὸν θεόν εὐσεβείας τοῦ βασιλέως. ὁ δὲ ἀπαγγελόντων αὐτῷ τὴν Ἰωάβου γνώμην πέμψας Βαναίαν ἐκέλευσεν ἀναστήσαντα αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸ δικαστήριον ἄγει πρὸς ἀπολογησόμενον. Ἰωάβος δὲ οὐκ ἐφη καταλείψει τὸ ίερον, ἀλλ' αὐτῶ τεθνήκε- 15 σθαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν ἐτέρῳ χωρίῳ. Βαναίου δὲ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν αὐτοῦ τῶ βασιλεί δηλώσαντος προσέταξαν ὁ Σολομὼν ἐκεῖ τὴν κεφάλην αὐτοῦ ἀποτεμείν, καθὼς βούλεταί, καὶ ταὐτὴν λαβεῖν τὴν δίκην ὑπὲρ τῶν δύο στρατηγῶν, οὗς ὁ Ἰωάβος ἀνοσίως ἀπέκτεινε, θάψαι δ' αὐτὸῦ τὸ σῶμα, οπως τὰ μὲν ἀμαρτήματα μηδέποτε καταλεύπη τὸ γένος τὸ ἐκεῖνον, τῆς δὲ Ἰωάβου τελευτής αὐτὸς τε καὶ 16 ὁ πατὴρ ἄθων τυγχάνωσι. καὶ Βαναίας μὲν τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιήσας αὐτὸς ἀποδείκνυται στρατηγὸς πάσης τῆς διαμέως, Σάδωκον δὲ ποιεὶ μόνον ἄρχιερεά ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸν Ἀβιαθάρου τόπον, ὅν μετεστήσατο.

* Bibl. Ahitub, lxx Ἀχιτώβης.
  b Josephus, like some lxx ms. and Luc., read “Solomon” for “Absalom” in 1 Kings ii. 28, “for Joab had turned after Adonijah, though he turned not after Absalom.”
  c ἀναστάαι has the technical meaning “make a suppliant leave a sanctuary.”

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son of Maraiothos, Achitōb, the son of Arophaios, and Sadok the son of Achitōb, who was the first to become high priest in the reign of David.

(4) Now when Joab the commander heard that Adōnias had been put to death, he was greatly afraid, for he was more friendly to him than to King Solomon, and, as he not unreasonably expected that danger threatened him because of his goodwill to Adōnias, he fled for refuge to the altar, where he imagined he would secure safety for himself because of the king's piety toward God. But when the king was told of Joab’s plan, he sent Banaias with orders to remove him and bring him to the judgement-hall to make his defence. Joab, however, said that he would not leave the temple but would die there rather than in any other place. When Banaias reported his answer to the king, Solomon ordered his head to be cut off there, as Joab wished it,—this being the penalty exacted for the two generals whom he had impiously slain—and his body to be buried, in order that his sins might never leave his family (in peace), while Solomon himself and his father should be blameless for Joab’s death. And so Banaias, after having carried out these orders, was himself appointed commander of the entire army, and the king made Sadok sole high priest in place of Abiathar, whom he had removed.

\[^{d}\] This detail is unscriptural (cf. a similar addition in J. v. 215). Scripture says, “Solomon sent Benaiah . . . saying, Go, fall upon him.” Rabbinic tradition gives a long account of Joab’s trial before Solomon, cf. Ginzberg, iv. 126.

\[^{e}\] According to Scripture, Solomon, while explicitly holding his father and himself guiltless of the blood of those whom Joab had slain, only implies that he is also blameless for Joab’s death, 1 Kings ii. 32, “And the Lord shall return his blood upon his own head, who fell upon two men,” etc.
17 (5) Σουμούσισι αὐτῷ προσέταξεν οἰκίαν οἰκοδομήσαντι μένειν εν 'Ἰεροσολύμωι αὐτῷ προσεδρέυσαντι καὶ μὴ διαβαίνειν τὸν χειμάρρων Κεδρώνα ἐχειν ἐξουσίαν, παρακούσαντι δὲ τούτων ἰδίαν προσέταξεν τῷ πρόστιμον.

18 ὅρκους αὐτῷ προσηνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι. Σουμούσιος δὲ χαίρειν οἷς προσέταξεν αὐτῷ Σολομῶν φήσας καὶ ταῦτα ποιήσειν πρόσωπόμοις καταληκτών τὴν πατρίδα τὴν διατριβήν ἐν τοῖς 'Ἰεροσολύμοις ἐποιεῖτο. διελθόντων δὲ τριῶν ἐτῶν ἀκούσας δύο δούλους ἀποδράντας αὐτὸν ἐν Γίττῃ τυγχάνοντας ὀρμήσει ἐπὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας. ἐπανελθόντος δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐθομένος, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐντολῶν αὐτοῦ καταφρονήσαντος καὶ τὸ μείζον τῶν ὅρκων τοῦ θεοῦ μηδεμίαν ποιησαμένου φροντίδα, χαλεπῶς εἶχε καὶ καλέσας αὐτὸν "οὐ σὺ", φησίν, "ἀμείωσας μὴ καταλείψεις ἐμὲ μὴ δὲ εξελεύσεσθαι ποτέ ἐκ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἄλλην; οὐκον ἀποδράσῃ τὴν τῆς ἐπιορκίας δίκην, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταύτης καὶ ὅν τὸν πατέρα μου παρὰ τὴν φυγήν ὑβρίσας τιμωρήσομαι σε πονηρὸν γενόμενον, ἵνα γνῶς ὅτι κερδαινοῦσιν οὐδὲν οἱ κακοὶ μὴ παρ' αὐτὰ τάδικη-ματα κολασθέντες, ἀλλὰ παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ ὁ νομίζοντι ἄδειες εἰναι μηδὲν πεπονθότες αὐξηται καὶ γίνεται μεῖζων ἡ κόλασις αὐτοῖς ἦς ἂν παραντίκα

1 Niese: τοῦτῳ codd.: τούτου Exc.
2 φύσιν RO.
3 ἀλλ' ἀντὶ τοῦ χρόνου Niese.

* Josephus follows the Heb. in making Shimei's story come directly after the appointment of Benaiah and Zadok.
As for Šūmūisos,³ he ordered him to build a house and remain in Jerusalem in attendance upon him, and did not give him permission to cross the brook Kedron, saying that if he disobeyed the commands, death would be the penalty. To the severity of this threat he added the obligation of taking an oath.⁴ So Šūmūisos, saying that he was pleased with Solomon's commands, and also swearing to observe them, left his native place and made his home in Jerusalem. But after three years had passed, upon hearing that two of his slaves who had escaped from him were in Gitta,⁵ he set out after the men. And when he returned with them, the king heard of it and, holding that he had made light of his commands and—what was worse—had shown no regard for the oaths sworn to God, he was angered and having called him, said, "Did you not swear not to leave me nor ever go out from this city to another? 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, in order that you may know that evildoers gain nothing by not being punished at the time of their crimes, 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 LXX inserts, between vss. 35 and 36 of 1 Kings ii., a long passage concerning Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter (cf. Heb. iii. 1), his buildings and officers.


The oath is mentioned at this point, 1 Kings ii. 37, in the LXX, but in the Heb. not until vs. 42.

Bibl. Gath.
πλημμελησάντες ἔδοσαν," καὶ Σοφιοῦσον μὲν κελευσθεὶς Βαναίας ἀπέκτεινεν.

21 (ii. 1) "Ηδὴ δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν βεβαίως ἔχων Σολομών καὶ τῶν ἔχθρῶν κεκολασμένων ἀγεται τὴν Φαραώθου τοῦ τῶν Ἀγγελικῶν βασιλέως θυγατέρα· καὶ κατασκευάσας τὰ τείχη τῶν Ἰεροσόλυμων πολλῷ μείζω καὶ ὀχυρώτερα τῶν πρόσθεν ὄντων διείπτε τὰ πράγματα λοιπὸν ἐπὶ πολλῆς εἰρήνης μηδ' ὑπὸ τῆς νεότητος πρὸς τε δικαιοσύνην καὶ φυλακὴν τῶν νόμων καὶ μνήμην ὅτι τὸ πατήρ τελευτῶν ἐπέστειλε βλαπτόμενος, ἀλλὰ πάντ' ὅσα οἱ τοῖς χρόνοις προβεβηκότες καὶ πρὸς τὸ φρονεῖν ἀκμάζοντες μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας ἐπιτελῶν.

22 ἦγνω δ' εἰς Γιβρώνανα ἀπαγενόμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ χαλκοῦ θυσιαστηρίου τοῦ κατασκευασθέντος ὑπὸ Μωυσέου θύσαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ χίλια τὸν ἄριθμον ἀλοκαύτωσεν ἱερεία. τούτῳ δὲ ποιήσας μεγάλως ἐδοξε τὸν θεὸν τετιμηκέναι· φανείς γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους ἐκεῖνης τῆς νυκτὸς ἐκέλευσεν αἰρεῖσθαι τίνας ἀντὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας παράσχῃ δωρεάς αὐτῷ.

23 Σολομών δὲ τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μέγιστα καὶ θεῷ παρασχεῖν ἂειστα καὶ λαβεῖν ἀνθρώπως συμφορότατα τὸν θεὸν ἐκεῖς· οὐ γὰρ χρυσὸν οὔτε ἄργυρον οὐδὲ τὸν ἄλλον πλοῦτον ὃς ἀνθρώπους καὶ νέος ἦξισεν αὐτῷ προσγενέσθαι (ταῦτα γὰρ σχέδον νενόμισαι παρὰ τοῖς πλεῖστοις μόνα σπουδῆς ᾃς καὶ θεοῦ δῶρα εἶναι) ἀλλὰ "δός μοι," φησίν.

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1 Γαβαδωνα ex lxx conj. edd.

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a The latter part of Solomon's speech is an amplification.

b Here again Josephus follows the Heb. order, cf. 1 Kings iii. 1 ff.; in the lxx the execution of Shimei is followed by 582
the very moment of their wrongdoing." Then Banaias at the king's command put Sûmusos to death.

(ii. 1) Solomon, having now firm possession of the kingdom, and his enemies having been chastised, married the daughter of Pharaôthês the king of the Egyptians. He also made the walls of Jerusalem much greater and stronger than they had been before, and thereafter governed the state in perfect peace, nor was he hindered by his youth from dealing justice and observing the laws and remembering the injunctions of his dying father, but performed all tasks with as great scrupulousness as do those of advanced age and mature wisdom. And he decided to go to Gibron and sacrifice to God upon the bronze altar built by Moses, and he offered whole burnt-offerings of a thousand victims. By having done this he seemed greatly to have honoured God, for He appeared to him that night in his sleep and bade him choose what gifts He should confer upon him in return for his piety. And Solomon asked for the most excellent and greatest gifts, most pleasing to God to confer and most beneficial for man to receive, for it was not gold or silver or other form of wealth that he asked to be bestowed upon him, as a man and a young one might have done—such are considered by most men as almost the only things worthy of regard and as gifts of God—but he said, "Give me, O

an account of Solomon's revenues and officers, corresponding in part to the Heb. of iv. 20 ff.

\(^c\) (=Bibl. Hebron), either a slip for, or a corruption of, Ἠβρον, bibl. Gibeon.

\(^d\) The bronze altar, made by Bezalel, is mentioned in connexion with the tabernacle of Moses at Gibeon in 2 Chron. i. 3 ff.
JOSEPHUS

"...δέσποτα, νοῦν ύγιὴ καὶ φρόνησιν ἀγαθήν, οἷς ἀν τὸν λαὸν τάληθη καὶ τὰ δίκαια λαβῶν<sup>1</sup> κρύνομι." 24 τούτων ἡσοθ τοῖς αὐτήμασιν ο θεὸς καὶ τά τε ἀλλα πάνθ' ὅποι ἐμνήσθη παρὰ τὴν ἐκλογήν δώσειν ἐπηγενεῖν, πλούτον δόξαν νύκτη πολέμιων, καὶ πρὸ πάντων σύνεσιν καὶ σοφίαν οἶνον ὅποι άλλος τις ἀνθρώπων ἔσχεν οὕτε βασιλέων οὕτε ἱδωτῶν φυλάξειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐκγόνοις αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπὶ πλείστον ὑποσχεῖτο χρόνον, ἀν δίκαιος τε ὁ ἰσ ομένη καὶ πειθόμενος αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν πατέρα
25 μιμούμενος ἐν οἷς ἦν ἄριστος. ταύτα τοῦ θεοῦ Σωλομών ἀκούσας ἀνεπήδησεν εὐθὺς ἐκ τῆς κοίτης καὶ προσκυνήσας αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεφεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς μεγάλας ἐπιτελέσας θυσίας κατενώχει τοὺς ἰδίους<sup>2</sup> ἀπαντας.

26 (2) Ταύταις δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις κρίσις ἐπ` αὐτοῦ ἡχθῇ δυσχερής, ἢς τὸ τέλος εὑρεῖν ἢν ἐπίπονον· τὸ δὲ πράγμα περὶ οὗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι τὴν δίκην ἀναγκαίων ἡγησάμην δηλώσαι, ἵνα τοῖς ἐντυγχάνονσι τὸ τε δύσκολον τῆς κρίσεως γνώριμον ὑπάρξῃ, καὶ τοιούτων μεταξὺ πραγμάτων γενόμενοι λάβωσιν ὥσπερ ἐξ εἰκόνος τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ἁγχυνοίας τὸ βαδίως ἀποφαίνεσθαι περὶ τῶν ξητον 27 μένων δυνηθήναι. δύο γυναίκες ἐταίραι τὸν βλων ὅκον ἐπ` αὐτοῦ, ὅν ἡ ἀδικεῖσάδαι δοκοῦσα πρώτη λέγειν ἢρξατο· "οἰκῶ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεύ, μετὰ ταύτης ἐν ἐνὶ δωματίῳ, συνεβή δ` ἀμφοτέραις ἡμῖν ἐπὶ μιᾶς ἡμέρας ἀποτεκεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν 28 ὥραν ἀρρενα παιδία. τρίτης δὲ ἡμέρας διελθοῦσις

<sup>1</sup> λαλῶν cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.
<sup>2</sup> Ιουνίαζος RO: om. L.at.

<sup>a</sup> Var. "'the Jews""; bibl. "his servants."
Lord, a sound mind and good understanding whereby I may judge the people, having truth and justice in me." With this prayer God was pleased, and promised to give him, in addition to what he had chosen, also the other things he had not mentioned, wealth, honour and victory over his enemies and, above all, intelligence and wisdom such as no other man whether king or commoner had ever had. And He also promised to preserve the kingdom for his descendants a very long time, if he continued to be righteous and to imitate his father in those things wherein he was excellent. When Solomon heard these words of God he at once leaped from his bed and did obeisance to Him; then he returned to Jerusalem and, after offering great sacrifices before the tabernacle, feasted all his household.

(2) Now in these days a difficult case was brought before him, for which it was troublesome to find a solution. I have thought it necessary to explain the matter about which the suit happened to be, in order that my readers may have an idea of the difficulty of the case and that those who are involved in such matters may take example from the king's sagacity so as to be able to give a ready opinion on questions at issue. Two women who lived as harlots came before him and she who seemed to be the injured one first began to speak, saying, "I, O King, live with this woman in the same room, and it so happened that we both gave birth on the same day and at the same hour to male children. But on the

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According to Scripture, the plaintiff's child was born three days before the other woman's. Probably, as Rappaport suggests, Josephus was confused by a phrase in the preceding verse (1 Kings iii. 17), "And I was delivered of a child with her in the house."
JOSEPHUS

ἐπικοινωθεῖσα τῷ αὐτῆς παιδίω αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὲν ἀποκτείνει, βαστάσασα δὲ τούμον ἐκ τῶν γονάτων πρὸς αὐτὴν μεταφέρει καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν ἐμοῦ κοιμω- 

29 μένῃς εἰς τὰς ἀγκάλας μου τίθησι. πρώτο δὲ θηλῆν ὀρεξαὶ βουλομένη τῷ παιδίῳ τὸ μὲν ἐμὸν οὐχ εὑρον, τὸ δὲ ταύτης νεκρὸν ὅρῳ μοι παρακείμενος ἀκριβῶς γὰρ κατανοήσασα τοῦτο ἐπέγνων· ἦθεν ἀπαίτω τὸν ἐμὸν υἱὸν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολαμβάνουσα καταπέφυγα, δέσποτα, ἐπὶ τὴν παρὰ σοῦ βοηθείαν· τῶν γὰρ εἶναι μόνας ήμᾶς καὶ μηδένα τὸν ἐλέγχαι δυνάμενον φοβεῖσθαι καταφρονοῦσα ἵσχυ-

30 ρῶς ἀρνουμένη παραμένειν. ταῦτ' εἰπούσης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνέκρινε τὴν ἐτέραν τί τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἀντιλέγειν ἔχει. τῆς δὲ ἀρνουμένης τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι, τὸ δὲ παιδίον τὸ αὐτῆς ζῆν λεγοῦσα, τὸ δὲ τῆς ἀντιδίκου τεθυμηκέναι, μηδενὸς ἐπισυνόντως τὴν κρίσιν ἀλλ' ὦσπερ ἐπ' αἰνίγματι περὶ τὴν εὑρεσιν αὐτοῦ πάντων τῇ δινοῖα τετυφλωμένων μόνος ὁ

31 βασιλεὺς ἐπεινόησε τι τοιοῦτον· κελεύσας κομισθήναι καὶ τὸ νεκρὸν καὶ τὸ ζῶν παιδίον μεταπέμπται τινα τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ σπασάμενον ἐκέλευσε2 τὴν μάχαραν ἀμφότερα διχοτομῆσα τὰ παιδιά, ὡσποδεικτέονδα λάβωσιν ἀνά ἠμίου τοῦ τε

32 ξώντος καὶ τοῦ τετελευτηκότος. ἐπὶ τοῦτο πᾶς μὲν ὁ λαὸς λανθάνων ἐχευθαζεν ὡς μειράκιον τῶν βασιλέων, μεταξὶ δὲ τῆς μὲν ἀπαιτούσης καὶ ἀληθοῦς μητρὸς ἀνακραγούσης τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν ἀλλὰ παραδιδόναι τῇ ἐτέρᾳ τὸ παιδίον ὑπὸ ἐκείνης, ἀρ-

1 Hudson: τὸ RMSP: τοῦ Ο. 2 προσέταξε MSPE.

a Scripture does not imply, as does Josephus, that Solomon waited for the others to find a solution.

b Josephus follows Luc. in saying that both the living
third day this woman by sleeping on her child caused its death, and she took my child from my lap and carried it over to her side and then laid the dead child in my arms as I slept. And in the morning when I wished to give the breast to the child, I did not find my son but I saw this woman’s dead child lying beside me, for I looked at it carefully and recognized whose it was. I therefore demanded my son back, and, as I have not obtained him, I have come to appeal to you, my lord, for help; for, contemptuously relying on the fact that we were alone and that she has no one to fear who can convict her, she stubbornly persists in her denial.” After she had spoken the king asked the other woman what she had to say in contradiction to these statements. And she denied having done this thing, saying that it was her child that was alive, while her adversary’s was the dead one. And when no one could see what judgement to give, but all were mentally blinded, as by a riddle, in finding a solution, the king alone devised the following plan: he ordered both the dead and the living child to be brought, and then sent for one of the bodyguard and ordered him to draw his sword and cut both children in half, in order that either woman might take half of the dead child and half of the living child. Thereupon all the people secretly made fun of the king as of a boy. But meanwhile the woman who had demanded the child and was its true mother cried out that they should not do this but should give the child over to the other woman as if and the dead child were to be divided; the Heb. and rxx mention only the division of the living child. Perhaps the Luc. addition is, as Weill suggests, a reminiscence of the procedure followed in another case, cf. Ex. xxi. 35.

a Unscriptural detail.
JOSEPHUS

κείσθαι γὰρ τῷ ζῆν αὐτῷ καὶ βλέπειν μόνον κἂν ἀλλότριον δοκῇ, τῆς δὲ ἔτερας ἐτοίμως ἔχουσις διαιρούμενον ἰδεῖν τὸ παιδίον καὶ προσέτι βασάνοις 33 θήναι καὶ αὐτὴν ἁξιοῦσις, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιγνοῦς τὰς ἐκατέρων φωνὰς ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας γεγενημένας τῇ μὲν ἀνακραγούσῃ τὸ παιδίον προσέκρυνε, μητέρα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀληθῶς εἶναι, τῆς δὲ ἄλλης κατέγινῳ ποιηρίᾳ τὸ τε ἴδιον ἀποκτεινάσῃ καὶ τὸ τῆς φίλης σπουδαζούσης ἀπολλύμενον θεᾶσαι. 34 τούτῳ μέγα δείγμα καὶ τεκμήριον τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως καὶ σοφίας ἐνόμιζε τὸ πλήθος, καὶ ἐκεῖνης τὸ λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ὡς θείαν ἔχοντι διάνοιαν αὐτῷ προσειχόν.

35 (3) Στρατηγοὶ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἡγεμόνες ἦσαν τῆς χώρας ἀπάσης οἶδεί· τῆς μὲν ’Εφραίμου κληρουχίας Οὔρης’ ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Βιθίεμες' τοπαρχίας ἤν Διοκλήρως: τὴν δὲ τῶν Δέωρων καὶ τὴν παραλίαν Ἀβινάδαβος εἶχεν ύφ’ αὐτῶ 2 γεγαμηκώς τὴν 36 Σολωμώνου θυγατέρα· τὸ δὲ μέγα πεδίον ἦν ὑπὸ Βαναία τῷ 'Ἀχίλου παιδί, προσεπήρχε' δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀχρὶ Ἰορδάνου πᾶσις· τὴν δὲ Γαλαδίτων καὶ Γαυλανίτων ἐως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ πόλεις ἔξηκοντα

1 Βηθλεέμ: SP: Bethlem Lat.: Βιθίεμες Bosius: Βαιθίεμες Schotanus.
2 Dindorf: ὑπ’ αὐτῷ codd.
3 Hudson: προσεπήρχε codd.

That is, to prove her veracity; the text may, however, mean that she wished her opponent to be tortured. The phrase is an unscriptural detail.

Josephus here omits the list of Solomon's court officers, given in 1 Kings iv. 2 ff.


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it were hers, for she would be content to have it alive and only look at it, even if it should seem to be another's, while the other woman was prepared to see it divided and even asked that she herself be put to torture. Thereupon the king, recognizing that the words of either were prompted by her true sentiments, adjudged the child to the one who cried out, holding that she was really its mother, and condemned the other for her wickedness both in having killed her own son and in being anxious to see her friend's child destroyed. This the multitude considered a great sign and proof of the king's prudence and wisdom, and from that day on hearkened to him as to one possessed of a godlike understanding.

(3) Now his generals and governors of the whole country were as follows: over the territory of Ephraim was Ures; and over the toparchy of Bithiemes was Dioklēros; the district of Dor and the coast were under Abinadab, who had married Solomon's daughter; the great plain was under Banaias the son of Achilos, who also governed all the country as far as the Jordan; all of Galaditis and Gaulanitis up to Mount Lebanon was governed by

\[ ^{d} \text{Bibl. Beth-shemesh, lxx } \text{Baithsámus. Scripture adds three other cities as belonging to this district.} \]

\[ ^{e} \text{Heb. Ben Deqer (A.V. son of Dekar), lxx } \text{νίός } \text{Δακόρ, cod. B } \text{Πηχάς, Luc. } \text{Πηχάβ. Josephus's form, if not a corruption of the first lxx form, may be a deliberate Hellenization of the name.} \]

\[ ^{f} \text{So the Heb. and some lxx mss.; other lxx mss. } \text{Ἀμφαδάβ. Josephus omits Hesed, the governor of Aruboth, Sochoh and Hepher, vs. 10.} \]

\[ ^{g} \text{Including Taanach, Megiddo and Beth-shean.} \]

\[ ^{h} \text{Bibl. Baana, lxx } \text{Baañá, cod. } \text{B Baxhá, Luc. Baxá.} \]

\[ ^{i} \text{Bibl. Ahilud, lxx 'Aχλωθθ, cod. B 'Aχλωμάχ, Luc. 'Aχλάβ.} \]

\[ ^{j} \text{Bibl. Gilead and Argob in Bashan.} \]

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μεγάλας καὶ ὄνυρωτάτας ἔχων ὑφ’ αὐτὸν Γαβάρης διείπεν. Ἀχιναάδαβος δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας ὄλης ἀχρὶ Σιδώνους ἐπετρόπευε συνοικῶν καὶ αὐτὸς θυγατρὶ
37 Σωλομώνος Βασίμα τοῦνομα. τῆν δὲ περὶ ’Ακὴν παραλιάν εἰχε Βανακάτης. Σαφάτης δὲ τὸ Ἰσαπο-βύριον ὅρος καὶ Καρμήλιον καὶ τῆν κάτω Γαλιλαίαν ἀχρὶ τοῦ ποταμοῦ Ἰορδάνου χώραν: πάσαν ἐπετε-ραπτο. Σουμοὺς δὲ τὴν Βεσμανίτιδος κληρουχίαν ἐγκεχείριστο. Γαβάρης δὲ εἰχε τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδανοῦ χώραν. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦτων εἰς πάλιν ἀρχιν
38 ἀποδεδεικτο. θαυμαστὴν δὲ ἐπίδοσον ἠλαβεν ὁ τε τῶν Ἐβραίων λαὸς καὶ ἡ Ἰουδα φυλή πρὸς γεωρ-γίαν τραπέντων καὶ τῆς γῆς ἐπιμέλειαι εἰρήνης γὰρ ἀπολαύσεις καὶ πολέμιοι καὶ ταραχαῖς μὴ περισσοῦμενοι καὶ προσέτι τῆς ποθενοτάτης ἐλευθερίας ἀκρατῶς ἐμφοροῦμενοι πρὸς τὸ3 συναύξειν ἐκαστος τὰ οἶκεία καὶ ποιεῖν ἄξια πλείονος ὑπηρεχεν.
39 (4) Ἡσαν δὲ καὶ ἐτεροὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ ἢγεμόνες, οἱ τῆς τε Σύρων γῆς καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων, ἦτις ἡν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου ποταμοῦ διήκουσα μέχρι τῆς

1 περὶ ’Ακὴν M: Περιαλκῆ R: Πετρακῆ SP: circa arear civitatem Lat.: περὶ ’Αρκῆν Ναβερ.
2 + ἐπὶ (δὲ) τοῦτων (τοῦτω) codd. 3 τῷ Niese.

b Josephus here combines two verses, 1 Kings iv. 14, 15, which mention two separate governors, “14. Ahinadab, the son of Iddo, had Mahanaim. 15. Ahimaaz was in Naphtali; he also took Basmath (lxx Βασεμμάθ), the daughter of Solomon, to wife.”
c Bibl. Asher and Aloth; this was west of Naphtali, in the neighbourhood of Tyre.
e Bibl. Jehoshaphat, lxx Ἰωσαφὰτ. Josephus follows the 590
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Gabarēs, who had under him sixty great and strongly fortified cities; Achinadab administered all of Galilee as far as Sidon, and he was also married to a daughter of Solomon, named Basima; the coast about Akē was under Banakatēs; to Saphatēs was entrusted Mount Itabyrion and Mount Carmel and all of lower Galilee as far as the river Jordan; Sūmūis was given the territory of Benjamin to rule; Gabarēs had the country across the Jordan. And one more was appointed as ruler over these. Now a wonderful increase was obtained by the people of the Hebrews and the tribe of Judah when they turned to husbandry and the cultivation of the soil, for, as they enjoyed peace and were undistracted by wars and disturbances and also enjoyed to the fullest most desirable freedom, they devoted themselves, each one to increasing his holdings and making them more valuable.

(4) The king also had other governors, who ruled the land of the Syrians and the non-Israelites, extending from the Euphrates river to Egypt, and col-

Heb. in mentioning Jehoshaphat directly after Baanah, while the LXX inserts two verses mentioning Shimei in Benjamin and Geber in Gilead.

Scripture does not specify, saying only "in Issachar."

Bibl. Shimei, LXX Σεμεί, Luc. Samaad.

Bibl. Geber, LXX Γαβερ.

Heb. (vs. 19 end), "and one governor (ngēlib) was in the land" (A.V. "and he i.e. Geber, was the only officer which was in the land"), LXX καὶ Νασιφ εἶς ἐν γῆ γεφ ιοῦδα (Luc. εν τῇ γῇ). The Biblical text is obscure and probably corrupt. Josephus's "appointed" seems to be based on the Targum.

Heb. "from the river of the land of the Philistines," which must be corrected, as is done in 2 Chron. ix. 26, to "from the river (i.e. the Euphrates, the river par excellence) to the land of the Philistines," etc.
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Λιγυπτίων, ἐπὶ ῥχον ἐκλέγοντες αὐτὸ φόρους παρὰ τῶν ἑθῶν. συνετέλουν δὲ καὶ τῇ τραπεζῇ καθ’ ἡμέραν καὶ τῷ δείπνῳ τοῦ βασιλέως σεμιδάλεως μὲν κόρους τριάκοντα, ἀλεύρου δ’ ἐξήκοντα, σιτιστοὺς δὲ βόσι δέκα καὶ νομιάδας βόσι εἴκοσι, σιτιστοὺς δὲ ἄριστος ἑκατόν. ταῦτα πάντα πάρεξ τῶν ἀπ’ ἄγρας, ἐλάφων λέγω καὶ βουβάλων καὶ τῶν πετειών καὶ ἱχθύων, ἐκομίζετο καθ’ ἡμέραν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρὰ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων. τοσοῦτον δὲ πλῆθος ἦν ἀρμάτων Σολομόν, ὡς τέσσαρας εἶναι μυριάδας φατνῶν τῶν ὑποζευγημένων ἵππων. χωρὶς δὲ τούτων ἦσαν ἐπίπεδοι δισκίλιοι καὶ μῦροι, ὅν οἱ μὲν ἡμίσεις τῷ βασιλεὶ προσήδρευον ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις, οἱ δὲ λουποὶ κατὰ τὰς βασιλικὰς διεσπαρμένους κόμις ἐν αὐταῖς κατέμενον. ο’ δ’ αὐτὸς ἤγεμὼν ὁ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως δαπάνην πεπιστευμένος καὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἔχορήγη τὰ ἐπιτήδεια συγκομιζόν εἰς ὅν δ’ ὁ βασιλεὺς διέτριβε τόπον.

42 (5) Τοσαυτῇ δ’ ἦν ὁ θεός παρέσχε Σολομὼν φρονήσιν καὶ σοφίαν, ὡς τοὺς τε ἀρχαίους ὑπερβάλλειν ἀνθρώπους καὶ μηδὲ τους Αἰγυπτίους, οἱ πάντων συνέσει διενεγκέαν λέγονται, συγκρινομένους λείπεσθαι παρ’ ὅλιγον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πλείστον ἀφεστηκότας τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως φρονήσεως ἐλέγχεσθαι. ὑπερήφανος δὲ καὶ διψαυκεῖ σοφία καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν δόξαν ἐχόντων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπὶ δεινότητι, ὅν οὐ παρελεύσομαι τὰ

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—a The kor, also called homer, was equivalent to about 370 litres or 11 bushels.

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lected tribute for him from the nations. They also contributed daily to the king's table for his dinner thirty kors\(^a\) of fine flour, sixty of meal, ten fattened oxen and twenty pastured oxen and a hundred fattened\(^b\) lambs,—all these, in addition to wild game, that is, deer and antelopes and birds and fish, were daily brought to the king by the foreigners. And Solomon had so great a number of chariots that there were forty thousand stalls for the yoked horses.\(^c\) Beside these he had twelve thousand horsemen, half of whom attended the king in Jerusalem, while the rest were scattered about the royal villages and dwelt in them. And the same officer who was entrusted with the king's expenses also furnished supplies for the horses, bringing them to the place where the king resided.\(^d\)

(5) Now so great was the prudence and wisdom which God granted Solomon that he surpassed the ancients,\(^e\) and even the Egyptians, who are said to excel all men in understanding, were not only, when compared with him, a little inferior but proved to fall far short of the king in sagacity. He also surpassed and excelled in wisdom those who in his own time had a reputation for cleverness among the Hebrews, and whose names I shall not omit; they were Athanos.\(^f\)

\(^a\) Unscriptural detail.
\(^b\) Recent excavations at Megiddo have uncovered stables of the Solomonic period, built to accommodate some 300 horses, cf. Olmstead, History of Palestine and Syria, pp. 344 f.
\(^c\) Scripture, 1 Kings iv. 28 (Heb. v. 8), does not make clear whether these provisions were brought to the place where the king resided or where the various officers were.
\(^d\) So the l.xx, translating Heb. benê qedem "sons of the east"; the variant is readily understandable since the root qâm also means "ancient."
\(^e\) Bibl. Ethan, l.xx Πατήρ, Luc. Αἴδρ. 

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ὁνόματα: ἦσαν δὲ "Λαθανὸς καὶ Λάμανὸς καὶ Χάλ.
44 κεος καὶ Δάρδανος νῦν Ημάωνος. συνετάξατο
de καὶ βιβλία περὶ φώνων καὶ μελῶν πέντε πρὸς
toῖς χωλίων καὶ παραβολῶν καὶ εἰκόνων βίβλους
tρισχιλίας· καθ’ ἐκαστὸν γὰρ εἶδος δἐνδρον παρα-
βολὴν ἑπεν ἀπὸ υσσοῦπον ἐως κέδρον, τὸν αὐτὸν
de τρόπον καὶ περὶ κτηνῶν καὶ τῶν ἐπιγείων
ἀπάντων χῶν καὶ τῶν νηκτῶν καὶ τῶν ἀερίων,
οὐδεμίαν γὰρ φύσιν ἠγιόησεν οὐδὲ παρῆλθεν
ἀνέξατον, ἀλλ’ ἐν πάσαις ἐφιλοσόφησε καὶ τὴν
ἐπιστήμην τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ἰδιωμάτων ἄκραν ἐπεδεί-
45 χαρέ. παρέσχε δ’ αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τὴν
κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην εἰς ωφέλειαν καὶ θερα-
pείαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπωδᾶς τε συνταξάμενος
αἰς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα καὶ τρόπους ἐξ-
ορκώσεων κατέλειπεν, ὅσ τι οἱ ἐνδούμενοι τὰ δαί-
μόνια ὡς μηκέτ’ ἐπανελθεῖν ἐκδιώκουσι.3 καὶ αὐτὴ
μέχρι νῦν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἡ θεραπεία πλείστον ἰσχύει
ἰστόρησα γὰρ τινα Ἐλεάζαρον τῶν ὀμοφύλων
Οὐεσπασιανοῦ παρώντος καὶ τῶν νῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ
χιλιάρχων καὶ ἄλλου στρατιωτικοῦ πλῆθους τούς
ὑπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων λαμβανομένους ἀπολύοντα τοι-
tων. ὁ δὲ τρόπος τῆς θεραπείας τοιοῦτος ἦν.

1 + τοῖτων MSP.
2 οἱ ἐνδούμενοι RO: ἐνδούμενοι MP: ἐνδούμενα E Lat.: ἐνδούμενα S.
3 ἐκδιώξοντι ROE.

a Bibl. Heman, lxx Λιλάν, Ημάν, Luc. Λιμάν.
b Bibl. Chalcol, lxx Χαλκάδ, Χαλκάλ, Luc. Χαλκάχ.
c Bibl. Darda, lxx Δαραλά, Δαρᾶ, Luc. Δαρᾶς. Reitzen-
stein, Poinandres, p. 163, sees here a reference to the Dar-
danos often mentioned in Graeco-Egyptian magical texts
as the founder of the mysteries of the Mother Goddess.
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and Haimanos, and Chalkeos and Dardanos, sons of Hémaôn. He also composed a thousand and five books of odes and songs, and three thousand books of parables and similitudes, for he spoke a parable about every kind of tree from the hyssop to the cedar, and in like manner about birds and all kinds of terrestrial creatures and those that swim and those that fly. There was no form of nature with which he was not acquainted or which he passed over without examining, but he studied them all philosophically and revealed the most complete knowledge of their several properties. And God granted him knowledge of the art used against demons for the benefit and healing of men. He also composed incantations by which illnesses are relieved, and left behind forms of exorcisms with which those possessed by demons drive them out, never to return. And this kind of cure is of very great power among us to this day, for I have seen a certain Eleazar, a countryman of mine, in the presence of Vespasian, his sons, tribunes and a number of other soldiers, free men possessed by demons, and this was the manner of the cure: he

\[a\] Bibl. Mahol, lxx Μαωυλ, Μάλ.
\[b\] So the Heb.; lxx 5000. Both texts, however, refer to the number of songs, not the number of books of songs.
\[c\] Here too Scripture gives the number of parables, not the number of books of parables.
\[d\] Though Scripture says nothing of Solomon's power over demons and skill in healing, both Jewish and Christian as well as Muslim tradition contain many legends on these subjects, some of them to be found in the Arabian Nights.
\[e\] Perhaps, as Weill suggests, he was an Essene, for this sect possessed books of medicine attributed to Solomon. Cf. Ginzberg vi. 291 note 48, "the recognized authorities of rabbinic Judaism condemn the use of the conjuring books ascribed to Solomon, whereas the early Church held them in high esteem."
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47 προσφέρων ταῖς μισὶ τοῦ δαμομικημένου τὸν δακτυλιον ἐχοντα ὑπὸ τῇ αφραγίδι βίζαν ἐς ὃν ὑπέδειξε Σολομῶν ἐπειτα ἐξείλκεν ὁσφρομένῳ διὰ τῶν μυκτήρων τὸ δαμόνι, καὶ πεσόντος εὐθὺς ταῦθρώπου μηκέτ' εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπανήσεν ὁ ὅρκον Σολομῶνας τε μεμημένοις καὶ τὰς ἐπωδᾶς ἄς
48 συνέθηκεν ἐκεῖνος ἐπιλέγων. βουλόμενος δὲ πείσαι καὶ παραστήσαι τοῖς παρατυχάνονσιν ὁ 'Ελεάζαρος ὅτι ταῦτην ἔχει τὴν ὕσχων, ἐτίθει μικρόν ἐμπροσθεν ἡτοι ποτήριον πλήρες ύδατος ἡ ποδονυπτριν καὶ τῷ δαμονίῳ προσέταττεν ἐξιόντι ταῦθρώπου ταῦτ' ἀνατρέψαι καὶ παρασχεῖν ἐπιγενόμενα τοῖς ὀρῶσιν ὅτι καταλέλοιπε τὸν ἄνθρωπον.
49 γενομένου δὲ τούτου σαφῆς ἢ Σολομῶνος καθιστασών σύνεσις καὶ σοφία δὴ ἦν, ἵνα γνῶσιν ἀπαντεῖ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τὸ μεγαλεῖον τῆς φύσεως καὶ τὸ θεοφιλές καὶ λάθη μηδένα τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ήλιον ἢ τοῦ βασιλέως περὶ πάνι εἰδός ἀρετῆς ὑπερβόλη, περὶ τούτων εἶπεν προήχθημεν.
50 (6) 'Ο δὲ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς Εἰρώμος ἀκούσας ὅτι Σολομῶν τῇ τοῦ πατρὸς διεδέξατο βασιλείαν ὑπερήσθη (φίλος γὰρ ἐτύγχανε τῷ Δαυίδι) καὶ πέμψας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤσπάζετο τε καὶ συνέχαιρεν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀγαθοῖς. ἀποστέλλει δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σολομῶν γράμματα δηλοῦντα τάδε:
51 ἡ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν Εἰρώμω βασιλεῖ. ἵσθι μοι τὸν πατέρα βουληθέντα κατασκευάσαι τῷ θεῷ ναὸν ὑπὸ τῶν πολέμων καὶ τῶν συνεχῶν στρατευών κεκωλυμένου· ὁ γὰρ ἐπαύσατο πρότερον τοὺς ἐχθροὺς καταστρεφόμενος πρὶν ἡ πάντας αὐτοὺς

1 ἐπανελθεῖν MSPE.
2 Niese: γινομένου codd.
put to the nose of the possessed man a ring which had under its seal one of the roots\(^a\) prescribed by Solomon, and then, as the man smelled it, drew out the demon through his nostrils, and, when the man at once fell down, adjured the demon never to come back into him, speaking Solomon's name and reciting the incantations which he had composed. Then, wishing to convince the bystanders and prove to them that he had this power, Eleazar placed a cup or foot-basin full of water a little way off and commanded the demon, as it went out of the man, to overturn it and make known to the spectators that he had left the man. And when this was done, the understanding and wisdom of Solomon were clearly revealed, on account of which we have been induced to speak of these things, in order that all men may know the greatness of his nature and how God favoured him, and that no one under the sun may be ignorant of the king's surpassing virtue of every kind.

(6) Now when Eirōmos,\(^b\) the king of the Tyrians, heard that Solomon had succeeded to his father's kingdom, he was overjoyed, for he was a friend of David, and sent him greetings and congratulations on his present good fortune. Then Solomon wrote a letter in return, the contents of which were as follows:\(^c\) "King Solomon to King Eirōmos. Know that my father wished to build a temple to God but was prevented by wars and continual expeditions, for he did not leave off subduing his enemies until he

\(^a\) T. Reinach plausibly conjectures that this was the baaras plant described in B.J. vii. 180 ff.


52 φόρον ὑποτελεῖς πεποιηκέναι. 1 ἐγὼ δὲ χάριν οἶδα τῶν θεῶν τῆς παρούσης εἰρήνης καὶ διὰ ταύτην εὔσχολῶν οἰκοδομήσαι τῷ θεῷ βουλομαι τὸν οίκον καὶ γὰρ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τούτον ἔσεθαι τῷ πατρί μου προείπεν ὁ θεός. διὸ παρακαλῶ σε συμπέμψαι τυνά τοῖς ἐμοῖς εἰς Λίβανον τὸ ὄρος κόψωντας ξύλα· πρὸς γὰρ τομῆν ὑλῆς ἐπιστημονεῖστερον ἔχουσι τῶν ἡμετέρων οἱ Σιδώνιοι. μιθῆν δ' ὅν ἂν ὀρίσῃς ἐγὼ τοῖς ἱλουργοῖς παρέξω."  

53 (7) Ἄναγνοὺς δὲ τὴν ἐπιστολὴν Εἰρώμος καὶ τοῖς ἐπεσταλμένοις ἡσθεὶς ἀντιγράφει τῷ Σολομῶνι: "βασιλεὺς Εἰρώμος βασιλεῖ Σολομῶνι. τὸν μὲν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν ἄξιον ὅτι σοι τὴν πατρῶν παρέδωκεν ἡγεμονιὰν ἀνδρὶ σοφῷ καὶ πάσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχοντι, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτοις ἠδομένοις ἀπαντά ὑπογράφω τὰ ἐπεσταλμένα· τεμὼν γὰρ ξύλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κέδρου τε καὶ κυπάρισσον διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν καταπέμψαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύσω τοὺς ἐμοὺς σχεδίαν πηγαμένους εἰς ὅν ἂν βουληθής τόπον τῆς σαυτοῦ χώρας πλεῦσαι ἀποθέσαι. ἔπειθ' οἱ σοὶ διακομίσουσιν εἰς 'Ιεροσόλυμα. ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ παράσχῃς ἦμιν ἀντὶ τούτων σῶτον, οὐ διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν δεόμεθα, φροντίσοιν."  

54 ἐπεσταλμένα· τεμὼν γὰρ ξύλα πολλὰ καὶ μεγάλα κέδρου τε καὶ κυπάρισσον διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν καταπέμψαι ἐπὶ θάλασσαν καὶ κελεύσω τοὺς ἐμοὺς σχεδίαν πηγαμένους εἰς ὅν ἂν βουληθής τόπον τῆς σαυτοῦ χώρας πλεῦσαι ἀποθέσαι. ἔπειθ' οἱ σοὶ διακομίσουσιν εἰς 'Ιεροσόλυμα. ὅπως δὲ καὶ σὺ παράσχῃς ἦμιν ἀντί τούτων σῶτον, οὐ διὰ τὸ νῆσον οἰκεῖν δεόμεθα, φροντίσοιν."  

55 (8) Διαμένει δὲ ἄχρι τῆς τῆμερον τὰ τῶν ἐπιστολῶν τούτων ἀντίγραφα οὐκ ἐν τοῖς ἡμετέροις μόνον σωζόμενα βιβλίοις ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ Τυρίοις, ὡστ' εἰ τις ἐθελήσει τὸ ἀκριβές μαθεῖν, δεηθεῖς τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦ 2 Τυρίων γραμματοφυλακεῖον δημοσίων εὐροὶ συμφωνοῦντ' ἂν 3 τοῖς εἰρήμενοις ὑφ' ἡμῶν ὑπ' τὰ παρ' ἐκείνοις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν διεξήλθον Βου-

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1 ἐποίησεν MSP.  
2 Niese: τῶν codd.  
3 ἂν add. Niese.
had forced all of them to pay tribute. But I give thanks to God for the peace I now enjoy, and as on
that account I am at leisure, I wish to build a house
to God, for He indeed foretold to my father that this
would be made by me. I therefore request you to
send some men along with mine to Mount Lebanon to
cut timber, for the Sidonians are more skilful in
cutting timber than are our men. And whatever
wage you may fix, I will give it to the woodcutters.”

(7) When Eirōmos read this letter, he was pleased
with the request contained in it, and wrote back to
Solomon, “King Eirōmos to King Solomon. It is
proper to praise God for having given to you, who
are a wise man endowed with every virtue, your
father’s royal power. As for me, I am very glad of
this and I will assist you in all the things mentioned
in your letter. I will have my men cut down many
great cedars and cypresses \(^a\) and send them down to
the sea, and will order my servants to put together a
raft and sail and deliver them at whatever place in
your country you may choose, and then your men shall
carry them to Jerusalem. And take care, on your
part, to furnish us in return for them with grain, of
which we are in need because we live on an island.” \(^b\)

(8) To this day there remain copies of these letters,
preserved not only in our books but also by the
Tyrians, so that if anyone wished to learn the exact
truth, he would, by inquiring of the public officials
in charge of the Tyrian archives, find that their
records are in agreement with what we have said. \(^c\)

These things I have given in detail because I wish

\(^a\) \text{LXX } \pi\epsilon\kappa\iota\kappa\iota\alpha \text{ “pines”; Heb. } \beta\epsilon\rho\omicron\sigma \text{, which is elsewhere in the \text{LXX translated as } \kappa\upsilon\pi\alpha\rho\omicron\alpha\sigma\oslash \text{ “cypress.”}

\(^b\) Or “peninsula” (\nu\gamma\sigma\oslash \text{ means both), which Tyre really
was. The detail is unscriptural.}

\(^c\) Cf. \text{ Ap. i. 106 ff.}
JOSEPHUS

λόμενος γυνώνα τούς ἐντευξομένους ὅτι μηδὲν μᾶλλον ἔξω τῆς ἀλθείας λέγομεν, μηδὲ πιθανοῖς τις καὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην καὶ τέρψιν ἐπαγωγοῖς τὴν ἱστορίαν διαλαμβάνοντες τὴν μὲν ἐξέτασιν φεύγεται πειρώμεθα, πιστεύεσθαι δὲ εὐθὺς ἁξιόμενον, οὐδὲ συγκεκριμένον ήμῖν κατεξωσταμένοις τοῦ πρέποντος τῇ πραγματείᾳ ἀθέως ὑπάρχειν, ἀλλὰ μηδεμιὰς ἀποδοχῆς τυγχάνειν παρακαλόντες, ἀν μὴ μετὰ ἀποδείξεως καὶ τεκμηρίων ἰσχυρῶν ἐμφανίζεις δυνώμεθα τὴν ἀλήθειαν.

57 (9) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ὡς ἐκομίσθη τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως γράμματα τὴν τε προθυμίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν ἐπῆμεσε καὶ οἷς ἠξίωσε τοὺς αὐτὸν ἡμείσματο, σίτον μὲν αὐτῷ κατ' ἐτος πέμπῃς δισμυρίους κόρους καὶ τοσούτους ἐλαίου βατούς. ὁ δὲ βάτος δύναται ἐξετάζον ἐβδομήκοντα δύο τὸ δ' αὐτὸ μέτρον καὶ οὐκόν παρείχεν. ἦ μὲν οὖν Εἰρώμον φιλία καὶ Σολομῶνος ἀπὸ τούτων ἐτι μᾶλλον ἤξις καὶ διαμενεῖν ἀμοσαν εἰς ἀπαν. ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ἐπέταξε παντὶ τῷ λαῷ φόρον ἐργάτας τρισμυρίους, οἷς ἀπονόμησαν τὴν ἐργασίαν κατέστησε μερίσας αὐτὴν συνετῶς: μυρίους γὰρ ἐποίησε κόπτοντας ἐπὶ μήνα ἔνα ἐν τῷ Λιβανίῳ ὁρεί δύο δὲ μῆνας ἀναπαύεσθαι παραγενομένους ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία, μέχρις οὐ δ' πάλιν οἱ δισμυρίου τὴν ἐργασίαν ἀναπληρώσωσι κατὰ τὸν ὁρισμένον χρόνον ἐπευθεὶς ὦτως συνεβαίνει τοὺς πρώτους μυρίους διὰ τετάρτου μηνὸς ἀπαντάν ἐπὶ

1 ὡς οἶδ' Naber. 2 ἀθέως MSPE. 3 Niese: τῆς πραγματείας codd. 4 + χωρίσαi MSP Theodoretus (vid.). 5 Niese: διαμένειν codd. 6 ἀν Naber. 7 ἀναπληρώσουσι conj. Niese.

600
my readers to know that we have said nothing more than what is true, and have not, by inserting into the history various plausible and seductive passages meant to deceive and entertain, attempted to evade critical inquiry, asking to be instantly believed; nor should we be indulgently held blameless if we depart from what is proper to a historical narrative; on the contrary, we ask that no hearing be given us unless we are able to establish the truth with demonstrations and convincing evidence.

(9) Now King Solomon, on receiving the letter from the king of the Tyrians, commended his zeal and goodwill, and gave him in return the supplies he had requested, sending him yearly twenty thousand kors of grain and as many baths of oil—the bath containing seventy-two sextarii (xestai). He also furnished the same measure of wine. And so the friendship of Eirómos and Solomon increased through these things, and they swore that it should continue for ever. And the king imposed on all the people a levy of thirty thousand workmen, whose labour he made less difficult by dividing it wisely among them, for he had ten thousand cut timber for a month on Mount Lebanon and then return to their homes and rest for two months until the other twenty thousand had finished their work in the appointed time. Thus it would then be the turn of the first ten thousand to return to their work in the fourth month. The

\[a \text{ Cf. } § 40 \text{ note.}\]

\[b \text{ So LXX; Heb. has } \text{"} 20 \text{ baths} \text{"} \text{ instead of } 20,000; \text{ both texts in the parallel passage, 2 Chron. ii. 10, add } \text{"} 20,000 \text{ kors of barley}.\text{"} \]

\[c \text{ The bath was equivalent to about 36 litres or 9 gallons; it contained 72 logs, which are thus equated by Josephus with sextarii.}\]
tò ἔργον. ἐγεγόνει δ’ ἐπίτροπος τοῦ φόρου τοῦτου Ἀδώραμος. ἦσαν δ’ ἐκ τῶν παροίκων οὓς Δαυίδης καταλελοίπει τῶν μὲν παρακομιζόντων τὴν λιθίαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην χλόην ἐπτά μυριάδες, τῶν δὲ λατομοῦντων ὀκτάκις μύριοι, τοῦτων δ’ ἐπι-
60 στάται τρισκήλιοι καὶ τριακόσιοι. προστετάχει δὲ λίθους μὲν αὐτοῖς τέμνειν μεγάλους εἰς τοὺς τοῦ ναοῦ θεμελίους, ἀρμόσαντας δὲ πρῶτον καὶ συν-
δήσαντας ἐν τῷ ὀρεί κατακομίζειν οὕτως εἰς τὴν πόλιν. ἐγίνετο δὲ τάυτ’ ὥς παρὰ τῶν οἰκοδόμων τῶν ἑγχωρίων μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὃν ὁ Εἰρώμος ἔπεμψε τεχνίτων.

61 (iii. 1) Τῆς δ’ οἰκοδομίας τοῦ ναοῦ Σολομῶν ἦρετο τέσσαραν ἐτῶν ἦδη τῆς βασιλείας ἐχών μηνὶ δευτέρῳ, ὅπερ Μακεδόνες μὲν Ἀρτεμίζιον καλοῦσιν Ἐβραίοι δὲ Ἰάρ, μετὰ ἐτής πεντακόσια καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ δύο τῆς ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἕξοδου, μετὰ δὲ χίλια καὶ εἴκοσι ἐτη
tῆς Ἀβράμου εἰς τὴν Χαναάλαν ἐκ τῆς Μεσο-
ποταμίας ἀφίξεως, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἐπομβρίας μετὰ
62 χίλια καὶ τεσσαράκοσι καὶ τεσσαράκοντα: ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ πρώτου γεννηθέντος Ἀδάμου ἔως οὗ τῶν ναὸν ὕκοδόμησε Σολομῶν, διεληλύθει τὰ πάντα ἐτη
tρισκήλια καὶ ἐκατόν καὶ δύο. καθ’ ὅν δὲ ὁ ναὸς

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and lxx have 3600 in 2 Chron. ii. 18. Cf. A. vii. 335 note.
c Josephus gives the later Hebrew name (Iyyar) of the
month = April-May. Scripture here uses the old Canaanite
name, Ziw (A.V. Zif).
d Heb. and Luc. 480, lxx 440. Josephus’s figure agrees
with that given in A. vii. 68 (cf. note ad loc.), but differs
officer in charge of this levy was Adōramos. And of the aliens whom David had left, there were seventy thousand to carry stone and other material, and eighty thousand stone-cutters, and over them were three thousand three hundred overseers. Now he had ordered them to hew large stones for the foundations of the temple and, after fitting them and binding them together on the mountain, to bring them down in this way to the city. And this was done not only by the native builders but also by the artisans whom Eirōmos had sent.

(iii. 1) Solomon began the building of the temple in the fourth year of his reign, in the second month, which the Macedonians call Artemisios and the Hebrews Iar,\(^e\) five hundred and ninety-two years after the Israelites’ exodus from Egypt,\(^d\) one thousand and twenty years after the coming of Abraham to Canaan from Mesopotamia,\(^c\) one thousand four hundred and forty years after the deluge;\(^f\) and from the creation of Adam the first man to the time when Solomon built the temple there elapsed altogether three thousand one hundred and two years.\(^g\) And

\(^e\) In A. ii. 318 (= Ex. xii. 40) Josephus dates Abraham’s coming to Canaan 430 years before the exodus, i.e. 1022 years before the building of the temple.

\(^f\) According to this reckoning, 420 years (1440–1020) elapsed between the deluge and Abraham’s coming to Canaan, but in Ant. i. 148 ff. the interval is to be reckoned as 1067 years.

\(^g\) According to Ant. i. 82 the deluge came 2262 years after Adam’s creation; if to this we add 1440 years, given above as the interval between the deluge and the building of the temple, we get 3702 instead of 3102 years between Adam’s creation and the building of the temple. For an explanation of these chronological discrepancies cf. Ant. i. 82 note.
63 (2) Βάλλεται μὲν οὖν τῷ ναῷ θεμελίωσος ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπὶ μῆκιστον τῆς γῆς βάθος ύλῆς λίθων ἱσχυράς καὶ πρὸς χρόνον ἀντέχειν δυναμένης, οἱ τῇ τῇ γῇ συμφυνέστες ἐμελλὼν ἔδαφος καὶ ἑρείσμα τῆς ἐποικοδομηθησομένης3 κατασκευῆς ἔχοντες καὶ διὰ τὴν κάτωθεν ἱσχύν ὦδεῖν ἀπόνως μέγεθός τε τῶν ἐπικειμένων καὶ κάλλους πολυτέλειαν, ἢ βάρος ἐμελλὲν οὖχ ἢττον εἶναι τῶν ἄλλων ὡσα πρὸς ύψος καὶ πρὸς ὄγκον κόσμου τε χάριν καὶ
64 μεγαλουργίας ἐπενοεῖτο. ἀνήγαγε δ' αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ὀροφῆς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου πεποιημένον. τὸ μὲν οὖν ύψος ἢν ἐξήκοντα πηχῶν, τῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μῆκος, εὗρος δ' εἶκοσι. κατὰ τούτου δὲ ἄλλος ἦν ἐγγεγραμένος ὅσοι τοῖς μέτροις, ὡστε εἶναι τὸ πᾶν ύψος τῷ ναῷ πηχῶν ἐκατόν καὶ εἰκοσι: τέτραπτο
65 δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολήν. τὸ δὲ προνάιον αὐτοῦ προούστησαν4 ἐπὶ πῆχεις μὲν εὔκοσι τὸ μῆκος πρὸς τὸ εὗρος τοῦ ὀἴκου τεταμένον,5 ἔχον δὲ πλάτος πῆχεις δέκα εἰς ύψος δὲ ἀνεγγεγραμένον πηχῶν

1 ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ed. pr. Lat.: τῆς δὲ codd.
2 ex Lat. Bekker: οἴκησεως codd.
3 ἐποικοδομηθησομένης ROM.
4 προὔστησεν Ναβερ.
5 τεταμένον MSP.

a Twelfth, according to Ap. i. 126.
5 Justinus, in his Epitome of Trogus Pompeius, xviii. 3. 5, says that Tyre was founded a year before the fall of Troy. This, in turn, is dated by the Parian marble (cf. Cambridge 604
at the time when the temple began to be built—in that same year, Eirōmos was already in the eleventh year of his reign at Tyre; from the founding (of this city) to the building of the temple there was an interval of two hundred and forty years.  

(2) And so the king had the foundations for the temple laid very very deep in the ground, the material being strong stones capable of resisting the wear of time, which would grow to the soil and be a base and support for the structure to be erected upon them, and which, because of their strength from below, would without difficulty bear the great mass resting on them and the precious ornaments, the weight of which would be no less than that of the other parts designed for height and massiveness and for graceful beauty and magnificence as well. He built it up to the roof of white marble; its height was sixty cubits, its length was the same, and its breadth was twenty cubits. Upon it was erected another story of equal proportions, so that the total height of the temple was a hundred and twenty cubits; it faced toward the east. Then they placed a porch in front of it, twenty cubits in length, extending the width of the building, and ten cubits wide, and rising to a

**Ancient History, i. 178)** in the year corresponding to 1209–1208 B.C.

* In the foregoing description Josephus has greatly amplified Scripture.
* This detail shows a confused understanding of 1 Kings vi. 3 and the parallel passage, 2 Chron. iii. 4, which speak of the porch before the temple, 120 cubits high according to 2 Chron. Josephus proceeds, in the next sentence, to describe this same porch.
Scripture does not state how many chambers there were. This number may be derived from the description of Ezekiel's temple, Ezek. xL. 17, or, as Weill thinks, may have been reckoned by Josephus on the basis of the length of three sides of the temple (140 cubits), divided by the width of each chamber (5 cubits); this gives 28 chambers, and with the addition of 2 chambers at the corners 30 chambers altogether.

Unscriptural detail.

The height of the chambers is not given in Scripture.
height of a hundred and twenty cubits. And all around the temple he built thirty a small chambers which, surrounding it on the outside, were to hold it together by their compactness and number. He also made entrances in them, leading from one to the other. b Each of these chambers was five cubits in breadth, the same in length, and twenty cubits in height. c And above these were built other chambers and again still others above them, equal in proportion and number, d so that they reached a combined height equivalent to that of the lower building, the upper story not having chambers built around it. And a roof of cedar was put over the edifice. But the chambers each had a separate roof not joined to the next, while the rest of the building had a common roof constructed of very long beams crossing one another and reaching all sides, e so that the middle walls, f being held together by the same pieces of timber, were thereby made stronger. And under the beams he laid a ceiling of the same material, which was all smoothly divided into panels and overlaid with gold. The walls he covered at intervals with cedar boards, which he embossed with gold, so that the

Josephus apparently divides 60 cubits, the height of the temple, by 3 (the number of stories of chambers).

d Josephus omits to state that these rows of side chambers projected from the temple wall in step fashion, each story extending one cubit beyond the story below, cf. 1 Kings vi. 5.

e The text is difficult: in part it seems to refer to brackets running diagonally from the horizontal ceiling timbers to the vertical timbers of the walls. Josephus apparently takes Heb. yas'ia (A.V. "chambers") in 1 Kings vi. 10 in the sense of "bracing timbers," cf. lxx évôǐμονος "bondings."

f Which middle walls are meant is far from clear. Possibly Josephus means the walls as they were before being covered with cedar and gold.
άπαντα τὸν ναὸν καὶ περιλάμπεσθαι τὰς οὖσις τῶν εἰσιότων ὑπὸ τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ παν- 
69 ταχόθεν φερομένης. 1 ἢ δὲ ὄλη τοῦ ναοῦ οἰκοδομία κατὰ πολλὴν τέχνην ἐκ λίθων ἀκροτόμων ἐγένετο 
συντεθέντων ἄρμονίως πάνω καὶ λείως, ὡσ μῆτε 
σφύρας μήτε ἄλλου τινὸς ἐργαλείου τεκτονικοῦ 
τοῦ κατανοοῦσιν ἐργασίαν δηλοῦσθαι, ἀλλὰ δίχα 
τῆς τούτων χρήσεως πάσαν ἡρμοῦσθαι τὴν ἥλιον 
προσφυώς, ὡσ ἐκούσιον τὴν ἄρμονίαν αὐτῆς δοκεῖν 
μᾶλλον ἢ τῆς τῶν ἐργαλείων ἀνάγκης. ἐφιλο-
τέχνησε δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀνόδου εἰς τὸν ὑπερών 
οίκον διὰ τοῦ εὔρους τοῦ τοίχου· οὐ γὰρ εἰχὲ 
θύραν μεγάλην κατὰ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ὡς εἰχὲν ὁ 
κάτωθεν οίκος, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν πλευρῶν ἦσαν εὐσόδοι 
διὰ μικρῶν πάνω θυρῶν. διέλαβε δὲ τὸν ναὸν καὶ 
ἐνδοθεν καὶ ἐξωθεν ξύλοις κεδρίνοις ἀλύσει 
παχείας συνδεδεμένους, ὡστε ἀντ' ὀχυρωμάτων 
καὶ ρώμης τοῦτο2 εἶναι.
70 (3) Διελών δὲ τὸν ναὸν εἰς δύο τὸν μὲν ἐνδοθεν 
οίκον εἰκοσὶ πηχῶν ἐποιήσεν ἀδυτου,3 τὸν δὲ τεσ-
σαράκοντα πηχῶν ἁγίον ναὸν ἀπέδειξεν. ἐκτεμὼν 
δὲ τὸν μέσον τοίχον θύρας ἐπέστησε κεδρίνας 
χρυσόν αὐταῖς πολὺν ἐνεργασάμενὸς καὶ τορεῖαν 
71 ποικίλην. κατεπέτασε δὲ ταύτας οὖσις εὐανθε-
stάτοις ἐξ ὑακίνθου καὶ πορφύρας καὶ κόκκου 
πεποιημένοις, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ βύσσου λαμπρο-

1 φαινομένης Naber.
2 τοῦτ' αυτοῖς Naber. 3 + εἶναι SP.
whole temple gleamed and dazzled the eyes of those who entered by the radiance of the gold which met them on every side. And the whole construction of the temple was carried out with great skill by means of stones cut fine and laid together so neatly and smoothly that to the beholder there appeared no sign of the use of mallets or other work-tools, but all the material seemed to have fitted itself together naturally without the use of these things, so that their fitting together seemed to have come about of itself rather than through the force of tools. And the king contrived a stairway to the upper story through the thickness of the wall, for it had no great door on the east as the lower building had, but it had entrances through very small doors on the sides. He also overlaid the temple both inside and outside with cedar boards fastened together with thick chains, so as to serve as support and strength.

(3) And he divided the temple into two parts, and made the inner space of twenty cubits an adytum, while the rest, forty cubits long, he designated as the Holy Temple. Then he cut through the middle wall and set doors of cedar in it, working into them much gold and intricate carving. And he curtained these with a cloth brightly coloured in hyacinth blue and purple and scarlet, which was, moreover, made

A very free paraphrase of 1 Kings vi. 7 "And the house, when it was in building, was built of stone made ready before it was brought thither, so that there was neither hammer nor axe nor any tool of iron heard in the house while it was in building."

At the western end of the temple.

Heb. debir or qôdeš qodâšim (A.V. "oracle" or "most holy place"), LXX δαβίδρ ό λαγίν τῶν ἀγίων.

Heb. hêkâl (A.V. "temple"), LXX ναός.

The wall dividing the adytum from the temple.
JOSPEHUS

τάτης καὶ μαλακωτάτης. ἀνέθηκε δ’ εἰς τὸ ἀδυτον εἰκοσι πηχῶν τὸ εὗρος τῶν δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ μήκος δύο Χερουβεῖς ὀλοχρύσους πηχῶν ἐκατέραν τὸ ύψος πέντε, δύο δ’ ἴσαι ἐκατέρα πτέρυγας ἐπὶ 73 πέντε πῇ χεῖς ἐκτεταμέναι. διὸ καὶ οὐ μακρὰν ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων αὐτὰς ἀνέστησεν, ἵνα τῶν πτερύγων τῇ μὲν ἀπτωνται τοῦ κατὰ νότον κειμένου τοίχου τοῦ ἀδυτοῦ, τῇ δὲ κατὰ βορέαν, αἱ δ’ ἀλλαι πτέρυγες αὐταῖς συνάπτουσαι τεθείση μεταξὺ αὐτῶν τῇ κιβωτῳ σκέπῃ τυγχάνωσι. τὰς δὲ Χερουβεῖς οὐδεὶς ὁποιαὶ τινες ἴσαι2 εἰπεῖν οὐδ’ 74 εἰκάσαι δύναται. κατέστρωσε δὲ καὶ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἔδαφος ἐλάσμασι χρυσοῦ, ἐπέθηκε δὲ καὶ τῷ πυλῶν τοῦ ναοῦ θύρας πρὸς τὸ ύψος τοῦ τοίχου συμμετρημένας εὗρος ἐχοῦσας πηχῶν εἰκοσι, 75 καὶ ταύτας κατεκάλλησε χρυσῷ. συνελόντι δ’ εἰπεῖν, οὐδὲν εἴασε τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος οὔτε ἔξωθεν οὔτε ἐνδοθεν, δ’ μὴ χρυσὸς ἤν. κατεπέταυσε δὲ καὶ ταύτας τὰς θύρας ὀμοίως ταῖς3 ἐνδοτέρω κατα- πτεράσμασιν. ἡ δὲ τοῦ προναίου πύλη τούτων οὐδέν εἴχε.

76 (4) Μεταπέμπτει δ’ ἐκ Τύρου Σολομὼν παρὰ Εἱρώμου τεχνίτην Χεἰρωμον4 οὗομα μητρὸς μὲν ὀντα Νεφθαλίτιδος τὸ γένος ἐκ γαρ ταύτης

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1 οὐ μακρὰν ed. pr.: μακρὰν οὐκ codd. E.
2 εἰσιν RO.
3 Dindorf: τοῖς codd.
4 Χεἰρωμον MSP: Chirom Lat.

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a Josephus closely follows the wording of the LXX in 2 Chron. (1 Kings omits the curtain) but fails to mention the figures of cherubim woven in the curtain. On this reluctance to dwell on them cf. next note but one.

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of the most gleaming and softest linen. In the adytum, which was twenty cubits in length and the same in breadth, he set up two cherubim of solid gold, each five cubits in height and each having two wings with a spread of five cubits; for that reason he set them up not far from each other, in order that they might with one of their wings touch the southern wall of the adytum, and with the other the northern wall, while their inner wings joined each other so as to form a covering for the ark, which was placed between them. As for the cherubim themselves, no one can say or imagine what they looked like. And he also paved the floor of the temple with plates of gold, and to the gate of the temple set doors in proportion to the height of the walls, in breadth twenty cubits, and these he inlaid with gold. In a word, he left no part of the temple, whether on the outside or on the inside, which was not gold. These doors he also overhung with curtains in the same way as those within. But the entrance of the porch had none of these.

(4) And Solomon summoned from Tyre, from Eriomos’s court, a craftsman named Cheirōmos, who was of Naphthalite descent on his mother’s side—for

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\[\text{\small \text{\textsuperscript{b} Bibl. ten.}}\]

\[\text{\small \text{\textsuperscript{c} In this statement Rappaport sees an attempt to smooth over the theological difficulties involved in Solomon’s apparent disregard of the prohibition in the Decalogue against the making of images.}}\]

\[\text{\small \text{\textsuperscript{d} Unscriptural detail. Reinach compares Ezek. xli. 2.}}\]

\[\text{\small \text{\textsuperscript{e} According to Scripture they were carved and embossed with gold, but had no curtain.}}\]

\[\text{\small \text{\textsuperscript{f} Heb. here, 1 Kings vii. 1 ff., gives a description of Solomon’s palace, which Josephus, like the lxx, postpones, cf. §§ 130 ff.}}\]

\[\text{\small \text{\textsuperscript{g} Bibl. Hiram (Heb. \textit{Hîrām}), lxx \textit{Χειρόμ}.}}\]
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υπήρχε τῆς φυλῆς) πατρὸς δὲ Οὐρίων γένος Ἰσραήλτου. οὗτος ἀπαντὸς μὲν ἐπιστημονῶς εἴχει ἔργον, μάλιστα δὲ τεχνίτης ἦν χρυσὸν ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ ἄργυρον καὶ χαλκόν, ὦθ' οὐ δὴ καὶ πάντα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βουλήσων τὰ περὶ τὸν ναὸν 77 ἐξηχανύθη. 1 κατεσκεύασε δὲ ὁ Χείρωμος οὗτος καὶ στύλους δύο χαλκοῖς ἐσωθεὶν τὸ πάχος 2 τεσσάρων δικτύλων. ἂν δὲ τὸ μὲν ύψος τοῖς κύσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα πήχεων, ἡ δὲ περίμετρος δέκα καὶ δύο πηχῶν ἡ κωνευτὸν ἐφ' ἐκατάρει κεφαλῆς κρίνων ἐφευρησεῖ τὸ ύψος ἐπὶ πέντε πήχεων ἐγγυρμένον, ὦ περιέκειτο δίκτυν ἐλάτη χαλκέα 78 περιπεπλεγμένον καλύπτον τὰ κρίνα. τούτου δὲ ἀπήρτητο κατὰ διστιχίων καὶ ροιαι διακόσιαι. τούτων τῶν κύσιν τὸν μὲν ἔτερον κατὰ τὴν δεξιὰν ἔστησε τοῦ προπυλαίου παραστάδα καλέσας αὐτὸν Ἰαχείων, τοῦ δ' ἔτερον κατὰ τὸ ἀριστερὸν ὀνομάσας αὐτὸν 'Αβαίζ. 3

79 (5) Ἐχοῦνενς δὲ καὶ θάλασσαν χαλκῆν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον ἐσχηματισμένην· ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ χαλκούργημα θάλασσα διὰ τὸ μέγεθος· ἦν γὰρ ὁ

1 ἐξηχανύθη MSP.
2 + cum canalibus cavatione Lat.
3 Baïς MS: Baïs P: Baez Lat.

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1 Bibl. "his father was a man of Tyre"; Josephus's "Urias" is generally explained as a corruption of the LXX Τύριος; possibly it is due to confusion with Uri, LXX Ὀὐρέλας, the father of Bezaleel the artificer of the bronze altar mentioned in 2 Chron. ii. 5, cf. § 22 note.

2 Josephus is evidently harmonizing the contradiction between this passage in 2 Kings and 2 Chron. ii. 14, where Hiram's mother is said to be "of the daughters of Dan," by making Hiram's father an Israelite, presumably a Danite; while rabbinic tradition assumes that Hiram was a Naphthalite.
she was of that tribe—and whose father was Ûrias, a an Israelite by race. This man was skilled in all kinds of work, but was especially expert in working gold, silver and bronze, and it was he who constructed all the things about the temple, in accordance with the king’s will. This Cheiròmos also made two pillars of bronze which was four fingers in thickness, the height of the columns being eighteen cubits and their circumference twelve cubits; and on the capital of each rested a lily formed of cast metal, rising to a height of five cubits, about which was a network intertwined with bronze palm-buds, which covered the lilies. And from this depended two hundred pomegranates in two rows. One of these columns he placed as a doorpost on the right of the gateway, calling it Jachein, while the other, on the left, he named Abaiz.

(5) He also cast a bronze “sea” in the shape of a hemisphere; this bronze vessel was called a sea because of its size, for the laver was ten cubits in on his father’s side and a Danite on his mother’s side, cf. Ginzberg vi. 295 note 61.

Gold and silver, as well as other materials, are mentioned in 2 Chron.; 1 Kings speaks only of bronze (A.V. “brass”).

So LXX; Heb. omits. The thickness refers to the shell of the hollow columns.

So Heb.; LXX fourteen.

Or perhaps “in the vestibule.” παραστάς signifies the square pillar or pilaster in the front wall of a temple and, by extension, the vestibule or entrance to the temple.


Bibl. Boaz, LXX Bālaḵ, v.l. Baḵ; Luc. Baḥ. In 2 Chron. iii. 17 LXX translates the Heb. names (lit. “he sets up” and “in him is strength”) by κατέρθωσε “setting up” and ἵσχύς “strength.”

The real reason for this peculiar name is unknown to us.
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λοιπὸς τὴν διάμετρον πηχῶν δέκα καὶ ἐπὶ παλαιοστιαίον πάχος κεχωνευμένος. ὑπερήφανον δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον τοῦ κύτους σπείρα περι- 
80 αγομένη εἰς ἔλικας δέκα. ἦν δὲ τὴν διάμετρον πήχεως, περιεστήκεισαν δὲ περὶ αὐτὴν μόσχοι δῶδεκα πρὸς τὰ κλίματα τῶν τεσσάρων ἄνεμων ἀποβλέποντες καθ' ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν τρεῖς εἰς τὰ ὁπίσθια νευεκότες, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐπικαθέζοντα τὸ ἄμυστορίου κατὰ περιαγωγὴν ἐνδον ἀπονεῦον. 3 ἐδέχετο δὲ ἡ θάλασσα βάτους τρισχιλίους.

81 (6) Ἐποίησε δὲ καὶ λοιπῶν δέκα βάσεις χαλκᾶς τετραγώνους. 4 τοῦτων ἐκάστη μῆκος γεγόνει πηχῶν πέντε πλάτος τεσσάρων ύφος εἰς συνεκέκλειστο 5 δὲ τὸ ἐργον κατὰ μέρος τετροευμένον οὕτως· τέσσαρες ἦσαν κιονίσκοι κατὰ γωνίαν ἐστῶτες τετράγωνοι, τὰ πλευρὰ τῆς βάσεως εἰς ἑκατέρου μέρους ἐν αὐτοῖς ἔχοντες ἐξημοσμένα.

82 ἦν δὲ ταῦτα τριχῆ διερρημένα· ἐκάστην δὲ χώραν ὅροι 6 ἐπείχεν εἰς ὑπόβασιν κατεσκευασμένον, ἐφ' ἂν 7 ἐπετρέπετο πῆ μὲν λέων πῆ δὲ ταῦρος καὶ ἄετός, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν κιονίσκων ὀμοίως ἐξειργαστὸ τοῖς κατὰ τὰ πλευρὰ τετροευμένοις. τὸ δὲ πάν ἐργον ἐπὶ τεσσάρων αἰωρούμενον τροχῶν εἰστήκει.

1 Dindorf: ὑπηρειστο RO: ὑπηρείτο Ρ: ὑπηρεῖτο Σ: ὑπηρεῖ M.
2 ἔω M.
3 ἐπινεύον MSP.
4 ex Lat. Ernesti: τετραγώνων codd.
5 S: συνεκέκλειστο ΡΟ: συνεκέκλειστο RO.
6 M: ὅροι rell.
7 κατεσκευασμένον MSP.
8 Niese: ὅς codd.: αἵς Hudson.

a Cf. 1 Kings vii. 24, "and under the brim of it round about there were colocynths" (Heb. peqâhîm, A.V. "knops," LXX ὑποστρηχώματα "props," Targum "egg-shapes") "com-passing it, ten cubits" (A.V., like the LXX, "ten in a cubit"). 614
diameter and was cast to the thickness of a palm's breadth. The vessel was supported underneath at its centre by a rounded base which curved around in ten volutes and was one cubit in diameter.\(^a\) And round about the sea there stood twelve calves facing the four quarters of the winds, three in each direction, and with their hinder parts sloping down so that the hemisphere might rest upon them, narrowing inwards all around. The sea could hold three thousand baths.\(^b\)

(6) He also made ten square bronze bases for lavers, each of which was five \(^c\) cubits in length, four cubits in breadth and six \(^d\) in height. And the work, which in every part was carved in relief, was enclosed \(^e\) as follows: there were four square little columns at each corner, each of which held two intersecting sides of the base fitted into it; these sides were divided into three fields,\(^f\) and in each of these spaces was a dividing strip extending to the sub-base \(^g\); in the space itself was carved in relief here a lion, there a bull and an eagle,\(^h\) while the little columns were worked in relief in the same way as the sides of the base. And so the whole thing stood, raised upon four wheels.

\(^a\) So 2 Chron. iv. 5; 1 Kings, 2000. On the bath cf. \\
\(^b\) So 2 Chron. iv. 5; 1 Kings, 2000. On the bath cf. \\
\(^c\) So LXX; Heb. four. \\
\(^d\) So LXX; Heb. three. \\
\(^e\) Cf. LXX συγκλειστὸν αὐτοῖς translating Heb. misgerōth lōhem "they had bands" (A.V. "borders"). \\
\(^f\) Apparently, horizontal fields. \\
\(^g\) Josephus's text and the Scriptural text, 1 Kings vii. 28, are both rather difficult to understand. \\
\(^h\) Bibl. cherubim. Possibly, as Rappaport suggests, Josephus is influenced by the description, in Ezekiel's vision, Ezek. i. 10, of the angelic beings with the faces of an eagle, lion and ox.
χωνευτὸς δ' ἦσαν οὕτως, πλήμμας καὶ ἀντυγας πήχεως καὶ ἡμίσους ἔχοντες τὴν διάμετρον. ἔθαυμασεν ὄν τὰς ἄψιδας τῶν προχῶν θεασάμενος, ὅπως συντετερευμέναι καὶ τοῖς πλευροῖς τῶν βάσεων προσηωμέναι ἄρμονίως ταῖς ἀντυξίων 84 εἰνέκεντος ἦσαν ὁ ὄμως οὕτως ἔχουσαι. τὰς δὲ γωνίας ἀνωθεν συνέκλειον ὁμοί χειρῶν ἀνατεταμένων, οἶς ἐπεκάθθητο σπείρα κατὰ κοίλον ἐπικειμένη τὸν λουτῆρα ταῖς χερσίν ἐπαναπαυόμενον ἄστοι καὶ λέοντος αὐτοῖς ἐφηρμοσμένων, ὡς σύμφωτα ταῦτ' εἶναι δοκεῖν τοῖς ὀρῶσι. μεταξὺ δὲ τοῦτων φοώνεκες ἦσαν συντετερευμένοι. τοιαύτη 85 μὲν ἡ κατασκευὴ τῶν δέκα βάσεων ὑπήρχε. προσεξεῖργαστὸ δὲ καὶ χυτρογαυλός δέκα λουτῆρας στρογγύλους χαλκοὺς, ὧν ἔκαστος ἔχωρει τεσσαράκοντα χώας· τὸ γὰρ ὕψος εἰχε τεσσάρων πηχῶν καὶ τοσοῦτοι ἀπ’ ἀλλήλων αὐτοῖς διειστήκει τὰ χεῖλη. τίθησι δὲ τοὺς λουτῆρας τούτους ἐπὶ τῶν δέκα βάσεων τῶν κληθεισῶν Με- 86 χωνῶθ. 3 πέντε δὲ λουτῆρας ἵστησιν ἐξ ἀριστεροῦ μέρους τοῦ ναοῦ, τέτραπτο δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ βορέαν ἀνεμον, καὶ τοσοῦτος ἐκ τοῦ δεξίου πρὸς νότον ἀφορώτας εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν· κατὰ δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ 87 τὴν θάλασσαν ἑθηκε. πληρώσας δὲ ὑδατος τὴν

1 δῶδεκα SP hic et mox infra.
2 Theodoretus: καθρογαυλός MSP: κατρογαυλός RO.
3 Μεσερώθ RO: Moccenoth Lat.

a ἄψις usually means the folly or rim of a wheel, but sometimes the wheel itself. Here Josephus is evidently describing a solid wheel with sides or plates of bronze, and not one with spokes as is usually understood of the bibl. text.
b Meaning of the Greek doubtful. Scripture says that they
These also were cast in metal, and had hubs and rims a cubit and a half in diameter. One would marvel to see how cunningly the drums of the wheels, which were carved in relief of the same design, and united with the sides of the bases, were fitted into the rims. But none the less they did so. And to the upper part of the corners were attached projections in the form of outstretched hands, on which was supported a spiral moulding placed around the bottom of the laver, and the laver rested on the paws of an eagle and a lion which were so well fitted together that to one looking at them they seemed to be one natural growth. Between these were palm-trees carved in relief. Such, then, was the construction of the ten bases. And in addition he also wrought ten round basins or lavers of bronze, each of which held forty choeis, for they were four cubits in height and the diameter of their rims was the same distance.

And he placed these lavers on the ten bases called Mechônôth. Five of the lavers he placed on the left side of the temple, which was the side toward the north, and the same number on the south-east. In the same part he also placed the Sea. And, having were carved in the same way as a chariot (A.V. "chariot wheel").

Lit. "shoulders"; so also the lxx literally translates Heb. ketêphôth (A.V. "undersetters").

Bibl. "round compass."

Bibl. cherubim, cf. § 82 note.

Josephus uses the lxx word for Heb. kiyyôrôth.

So the lxx; Heb. bath. The Attic chous is equal to about \( \frac{3}{4} \) gallon, whereas the bath is equal to about 9 gallons. Josephus himself tells us, in A. iii. 197, that the hin (\( \frac{1}{2} \) bath) is equal to 2 Attic choeis, i.e. one bath is equal to 12 choeis, which is correct.

This last is an unscriptural detail.

Here Josephus uses the lxx transliteration.
μὲν θάλασσαν ἀπέδειξεν εἰς τὸ νῦττεν τοὺς εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσιντας ἱερεῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τὰς χεῖρας καὶ τοὺς πόδας μέλλοντας ἀναβαίνειν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν, τοὺς δὲ λουτήρας εἰς τὸ καθάρειν τὰ ἐντὸς τῶν ὀλοκαντομένων ζώων καὶ τοὺς πόδας αὐτῶν.

88 (7) Κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ θυσιαστήριον χάλκεον εἰκοσὶ πηχῶν τὸ μήκος καὶ τοσοῦτον τὸ ἔδρος τὸ δὲ ύψος δέκα πρὸς τὰς ὀλοκαντώσεις. ἔποιησε δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰ σκεύη πάντα χάλκεα ποδιστήρας καὶ ἀναλημπτήρας· οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τούτοις Χείρωμος καὶ λέβητας καὶ ἄρτπαγας καὶ πάν σκεῦος ἐδημιουργησεν ἐκ χαλκοῦ τὴν αὐγὴν ὀμοίον χρυσῷ καὶ τὸ κάλλος· τραπέζων τε πλῆθος ἀνέθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, καὶ μίαν μὲν μεγάλην χρυσέαν, εφ’ ὅς ἐτίθεσαν τῶν ἄρττων τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ταύτῃ παραπλησίας μυρίας πρὸς αὐταῖς ἐτέρω τρόπῳ γεγενημένας, εφ’ ὅν ἐπέκειτο τὰ σκεύη φιάλαι τε καὶ ὑπονεία χρύσεα μὲν δυσμύρια ἄργυρεα δὲ τετρακισίμωρια. καὶ λυχνίας δὲ μυρίας ἐποίησε κατὰ τὴν Μουσέως προσταγῆν, ἐξ ὧν μίαν ἀνέθηκεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν, ὥστε καὶ θητη ἤμεραν ἀκολούθως τῷ νόμῳ, καὶ τραπέζων μίαν ἐπικειμένην ἄρτους πρὸς τὸ βόρειον τοῦ ναοῦ μέρος ἀντικρὺ τῆς λυχνίας· ταύτην γὰρ κατὰ νότον ἐστήσεν, ὁ δὲ χρύσεος

a Scripture does not state for what offerings the altar was made.

b Hiram.

c The Greek word is the same as that used in lxx 2 Chron.; Heb. siréth (A.V. “pots”). In 1 Kings lxx has λέβητας.

d Here too Josephus uses the same word as in lxx 2 Chron.; Heb. ἅβμ (A.V. “shovels”). In 1 Kings lxx has θερμαστρείς “tongs.”

e Again the Greek word is the same as in lxx 2 Chron.;
filled the Sea with water, he set it apart for the priests to wash their hands and feet in when they entered the temple and were about to go up to the altar, while the lavers were for cleansing the entrails and feet of the animals used as whole burnt-offerings.

(7) He also made a bronze altar, twenty cubits in length and the same in breadth and ten cubits in height, for the whole burnt-offerings. a And he b made the vessels for it, tripods c and ladles, d all of bronze. Moreover, beside these, Cheiromos fashioned basins e and hooks and all other vessels of bronze, in brightness and beauty like gold. f The king also set up a great number of tables, g including one large one of gold on which they placed the loaves h of God, and countless others besides, very much like this one but made in a different style, upon which were placed the vessels, shallow bowls and libation-cups, twenty thousand of gold and forty thousand of silver. i He also made ten thousand lampstands, j in accordance with the commandment of Moses, one of which he set up in the temple to burn all day in obedience to the law, and placed one table, with loaves laid on it, on the north side of the temple over against the lampstand, for this he set on the south side, while the

Heb. has mizlāgōth “forks,” a corruption of mizrāqōth (A.V. “basons”) which is rendered φιάλας by LXX in 1 Kings. 
Bibl. “of polished (LXX “pure”) bronze” (A.V. “of bright brass”).

There were ten, according to 2 Chron.; 1 Kings mentions only one table of gold.

Bibl. shewbread.

These numbers are invented by Josephus. Scripture speaks of “exceeding many.”

There were only ten, according to Scripture, 1 Kings vii. 49, “five on the right side and five on the left, before the oracle.”
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βωμὸς μέσος αὐτῶν ἔκειτο. ταῦτα πάντα εἶχεν ὁ τῶν τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν οἶκος πρὸ τοῦ κατα-πετάσματος τοῦ ἁδύτου· ἐν τούτῳ δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς ἐμελλε κεῖσθαι.

91 (8) Οἰνοχόας δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς μυριάδας ὀκτώ κατ-εσκεύασε καὶ φιαλῶν χρυσῶν δέκα ἀργυρέας δὲ διπλασίονας. πινάκων δὲ χρυσῶν εἰς τὸ προσ-φέρειν ἐν αὐτοῖς πεφυραμένην σεμίδαλων τῷ βωμῷ μυριάδας ὀκτώ, τούτων δ' ἀργυροὺς δι-πλασίονας. κρατήρας δ' οίς ἐνεφύρων τὴν σεμί-δαλων μετ' ἑλαίου χρυσέους μὲν ἔξαικομυρίους,

92 ἀργυρέοις δὲ δὶς τοσοῦτοι. τὰ μέτρα δὲ τοῖς Μωυσεῖοι1 λεγομένοις δὲ εἶν καὶ ἀσσαρῶνες2 παραπλήσια, χρυσὰ μὲν δισμύρα ἀργύρεα δὲ διπλασίονα. θυμιατήρια δὲ χρυσὰ ἐν οἷς ἐκομίζετο τὸ θυμίαμα εἰς τὸν ναὸν δισμύρια· ὁμοίως ἄλλα θυμιατήρια οἰς ἐκόμιζον ἀπὸ τοῦ μεγάλου βωμοῦ πῦρ ἐπὶ τὸν μικρὸν βωμὸν τὸν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πεν-93 τακισμύρια. στολὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς τοῖς ἀρχιερεύσι σὺν ποδήρειν ἐπωμίσει καὶ λογίῳ καὶ λίθους χυλίας· ἢ δὲ στεφάνη, εἰς ἣν τὸν θεόν Μωυσῆς ἐγραψε, μία ἢν καὶ διεμείνευν ἀχρὶ τῆς τῆς ἱμέρας· τὰς δὲ ἱερατικὰς στολὰς ἐκ βύσσου κατεσκεύασε καὶ 94 ζώνας πορφυρᾶς εἰς ἕκαστον μυρίας. καὶ σαλ-πίγγων κατὰ Μωυσέου ἐντολὴν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, καὶ στολῶν τοῖς ὑμνωδοῖς Ληστῶν ἐκ βύσσου μυριάδας εἴκοσι· καὶ τὰ ὀργάνα τὰ μουσικὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὑμνωδίαν ἔξηυρημένα, ὅ καλεῖται νάβλας

1 ex Lat. Niese: Μωυσῆν RO(M): Μωυσέως SP.
2 cod. Vat. ap. Hudson Lat.: ἐσσάρωνes R: ἐσσαρώναις O: ἐσσαρώναις SP.

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golden altar stood between them. All these things were contained in the hall of forty cubits before the curtain of the adytum; and in that the ark was to rest.

(8) The king also made eighty thousand pitchers and a hundred thousand shallow bowls of gold and a double number of silver; eighty thousand golden platters on which to carry the mixed fine flour for the altar, and a double number of silver; sixty thousand golden bowls in which they mixed the fine flour with oil, and twice as many of silver; of the measures which resembled those of Moses, called hin and assarôn, there were twenty thousand of gold, and a double number of silver; of golden censers in which they carried the incense into the temple there were twenty thousand. Similarly, of other censers in which they carried fire from the great altar to the small altar in the temple there were fifty thousand. Of the priestly vestments for the high priests, including long robes, upper garments, oracle and precious stones, he made a thousand; but the crown on which Moses had inscribed God's name was unique and has remained to this day; of the (simple) priests' vestments he made ten thousand of linen and purple girdles for each. And he made two hundred thousand trumpets, in accordance with the commandment of Moses, and two hundred thousand robes of linen for the Levite singers; and of the musical instruments devised for singing psalms, which

\[ a \] All the numbers given in the following account of the temple vessels are invented by Josephus.
\[ b \] Cf. A. iii. 197.
\[ c \] Cf. A. iii. 29 note, 142 note.
\[ d \] Cf. A. iii. 163 notes.
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καὶ κινύρας, ἐξ ἡλέκτρου κατεσκεύασε τετρακισμύρα.

95 (9) Ταῦτα πάντα ὁ Σολομὼν εἰς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τιμὴν πολυτέλώς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς κατεσκεύασε μηδενὸς φευγάμενος ἀλλὰ πάσῃ φιλοτεμίᾳ περὶ τὸν τοῦ ναοῦ κόσμον χρησάμενος, ἀ καὶ κατέθηκεν ἐν τοῖς θησαυροῖς τοῦ θεοῦ. περιέβαλε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κύκλῳ γείσον ἰομένον μὲν κατὰ τὴν ἐπιχωρίον γλώτταν θριγκοῦ· δὲ παρ' Ἑλλησ Λεγόμενον εἰς τρεῖς πήχεις ἀναγαγὼν τὸ ψιθ, εἶρξοντα μὲν τοὺς πολλοὺς τῆς εἰς τὸ ἑρων εἰσόδου, μόνοις δὲ ἀνεμένην 96 αὐτὴν τοῖς ἑρεύσι σημανοῦντα. τούτου δὲ ἐξωθεὶ ἑρων ὀκοδόμησεν εἰς τετραγώνων̣ σχῆματι στοὰς ἐγείρας μεγάλας καὶ πλατείας καὶ πύλαις ύψηλαῖς ἀνεφιγμένας, ὧν ἐκάστη πρὸς ἐκαστὸν τῶν ἀνέμων ἑτέραπτο χρυσάεις κλεισμένη θύρας. εἰς τούτο τοῦ λαοῦ πάντες οἱ διαφέροντες ἀγνείᾳ καὶ παρα-

97 τηρήσει τῶν νομίμων εἰσήγεσαν. θαυμαστὸν δὲ καὶ λόγου παντὸς ἀπέφηνε μεῖζον, ὡς δὲ εἰπεῖν καὶ τῆς ὤψεως, τὸ τούτων ἐξωθεὶ ἑρων· μεγάλας γὰρ ἐγχώσας φάραγγας, ἀς διὰ βάθος ἀπειρον οὐδὲ

1 γείσον MSP: γείσον E: gison Lat.
2 τριγκοῦ RO: θριγκοῦ E.
3 ex Lat. Niese: τετραγώνῳ codd. E.
4 μεῖζον ὥς Hudson: μεῖζόνως codd.: μεῖζον E.

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a Cf. A. vii. 306 notes.
b A compound of gold and silver.
c The following unscriptural account of the temple courts etc. is probably based on Josephus’s knowledge of the temple of Herod, cf. A. xv. 398 ff., B.J. v. 184 ff.
d Apparently this corresponds to the γείσον separating the Priests’ Court from the Israelites’ Court in Herod’s temple, B.J. v. 226; this latter wall, however, was only one cubit high. Perhaps the height of the imagined wall in 622
are called nablai and kinyrai, he made forty thousand of electrum.\(^b\)

\(^{(9)}\) All these things Solomon prepared with great expense and magnificence to the glory of God, sparing no cost, but acting with the utmost munificence in adorning the temple, and he deposited them in the treasuries of God. He also surrounded the temple with a parapet called geision\(^d\) in the native tongue and thrinks\(^f\) by the Greeks, which he raised to a height of three cubits; it was to keep the multitude from entering the sacred precinct\(^g\) and to signify that entry was permitted only to the priests. Outside of this he built another sacred precinct\(^h\) in the form of a quadrangle and erected great and wide porticoes which were entered by high gates, each of which faced one of the four quarters and was closed by golden doors. Into this precinct all the people who were distinguished by purity and their observance of the laws might enter. But wonderful and surpassing all description, and even, one might say, all sight, was the (third) sacred precinct\(^i\) which he made outside of these, for he filled up with earth great valleys, into which because of their immense depth

Solomon’s temple has some connexion with the stone barrier (δρύφακτος λίθων) of three cubits high separating the outer court from the inner court, mentioned in \(B.J.\) v. 193. This is called sērēγ in the Mishnah, \(Middoth\) ii. 3.

\(^e\) That γείσων is a Syriac word, as Weill explains, seems to me very doubtful. It looks like a diminutive of γείσων “coping.”

\(^f\) “Coping.”

\(^g\) This corresponds to the Priests’ Court in Herod’s temple.

\(^h\) Corresponding to the Israelites’ Court in Herod’s temple.

\(^i\) This corresponds to the Women’s Court in Herod’s temple. With the following account of the filling in of the site cf. \(B.J.\) v. 184 ff.


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ἀπόνως ἐνυύσαντας ἦν ἴδεῖν, καὶ ἀναβιβάσας εἰς τετρακοσίους πήχεις τὸ ύψος ἰσοπέδους τῇ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐδ’ ἦς ὁ ναὸς οἰκοδόμητο κατεσκεύασε· καὶ διὰ τούτῳ ὑπαιθρὸν ὅπως ἔξωθεν ἱερὸν ἵσον ὑπήρξε τῷ ναῷ. περιλαμβάνει δ’ αὐτὸ καὶ στοιὰς διπλαίς μὲν τὴν κατασκευὴν, λίθου δ’ αὐτοφυοῦς τὸ ύψος κύσιν ἐπερημειμέναις· ὅροφαι δ’ αὐταῖς ἦσαν ἐκ κέδρου φατνώμασι ἀνεξεσιμέναι. τὰς δὲ θύρας τῷ ἱερῷ τούτῳ πάσας ἐπέστησεν ἐξ ἁργύρου.

98 (iv. 1) Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἔργα ταῦτα καὶ τὰ μεγέθη καὶ κάλλη τῶν τε οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ τῶν εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀναθημάτων Σολομῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἑτερίᾳ ἐπτὰ συντελέσας καὶ πλούτου καὶ προβυμας ἐπίδειξιν ποιησάμενος, ὡστε ἄ ἄν tow τῶν ἐν[1 τοῖς ἐνόμισε μόλις ἐν[2 τῳ παιτί κατασκευασθήναι χρόνῳ, ταῦτα ἐν οὕτως ὅλιγῳ πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος συγκριμομένως[3 τῶν ναοῦ συμπερανθήναι, γράφας τοῖς ἡγεμόνι καὶ τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους τῶν Ἐβραίων ἐκέλευσεν ἀπαντα τὸν λαὸν συναγαγεῖν εἰς Ἱεροσολύμα ὑφόμενον τε τὸν ναὸν καὶ μετακομισθῆναι τὴν 100 τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτὸν εἰς αὐτὸν. καὶ περιαγγελθεὶσις τῆς εἰς τὰ Ἱεροσολύμα πάσιν ἀφίξεως ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ μόλις συνίασιν, ὕπο μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ὁσιρί, ὕπο δὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων 'Ιπερβερεταιῶν λεγομένων.

1 ὡστε ἄ ἄν Bekker: ὡς ἄν codd.
2 μόλις ἐν conj. Niese (μόλις ἄν in edit.): ὡς ἐν RO: ἐν MSP.
3 Cocceji: συγκριμομένα codd.
4 ex Lat. Hudson: Ἀθίρει RO: Θοίρι M: Θοίρι SP: Θυρί F.

* Josephus follows the order of 2 Chron. and Heb. 1 Kings which mention the assembly right after the account of the temple vessels (on Josephus’s omission at this point of the 624
one could not without difficulty look down, and bringing them up to a height of four hundred cubits he made them level with the top of the mountain on which the temple was built; in this way the outer precinct, which was open to the sky, was on a level with the temple. And he surrounded it with double porticoes supported by high columns of native stone, and they had roofs of cedar which were smoothly finished in panels. And all the doors which he made for this sacred precinct were of silver.

(iv. 1) These works, then, and these great and beautiful buildings and offerings for the temple King Solomon completed in seven years, making such display both of 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. He then wrote to the leaders and elders of the Hebrews and ordered them to assemble all the people at Jerusalem in order to see the temple and join in bringing the ark into it. And although the summons to Jerusalem was sent around to all, it was hardly by the seventh month that they came together, which month is called Thisri by the natives and Hyperberetaios by the building of Solomon's palace cf. § 76 note), while lxx 1 Kings introduces the passage on the assembly by the words, "And it came to pass that after Solomon had finished building the house of the Lord and his own house, after twenty years (7 years for the temple + 13 years for the palace), that King Solomon assembled, etc."
συνέδραμε δ' εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ ὁ τῆς σκηνο- 
πηγίας καιρὸς ἐορτῆς σφόδρα παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις

101 ἀγιωτάτης καὶ μεγίστης. βαστάσαντες οὖν τὴν 
κιβωτὸν καὶ τὴν σκηνήν, ἦν Μωυσῆς ἐπήξατο, καὶ 
πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὴν διακοίνια τῶν θυσιῶν τοῦ θεοῦ 
σκεύη μετεκώμιζον εἰς τὸν ναὸν. προῆγον δὲ μετὰ 
θυσιῶν αὐτῶς τε ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἀποκαλοῦντες 
οἱ Λησυῖται σπουδαῖα τε καὶ πολλῶν ἑρείπων 
αἴματι τὴν ὀδὸν καταπλοῦντες καὶ θυμώντες

102 ἀπειρόν τι θυμιαμάτων πλῆθος, ὡς ἀπαντᾷ τὸν 
πέριξ ἀέρα πεπληρωμένον καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω 
τυγχάνουσιν ἦδιν ἀπαντᾶν, καὶ γνωρίζειν ἐπι- 
δημιύναν θεοῦ καὶ κατοκισμὸν κατ' ἀνθρωπίνην 
δόξαν εἰς νεοδόμητον αὐτῷ καὶ καθιερωμένον 
χωρίον· καὶ γὰρ οὖ ν ὑμιῶντες οὐδὲ χορεύοντες

103 ἕως οὗ πρὸς τὸν ναὸν ἔλθον ἕκαμον. τοῦτω μὲν 
οὖ τῷ τρόπῳ τὴν κιβωτὸν μετήμειγκαν. ὡς δ' 
eis τὸ ἀδυτὸν αὐτήν εἰσενεγκεῖν ἐδει, τὸ μὲν ἄλλο 
πλῆθος μετέστη, μόνοι δὲ κομίσαντες οἱ ἑρείπω 
μεταξὺ τῶν δύο Χερουβεῖν κατέθεσαν· αἱ δὲ τοὺς 
παρσοὺς συμπλέξασαί (καὶ γὰρ οὖ τωσ ἦσαν ὑπὸ 
τοῦ τεχνίτων κατεσκευασμέναί), τὴν κιβωτὸν ὡς

104 ὑπὸ σκηνῆς των καὶ θόλῳ κατεσκέπασαν. εἴχε 
δὲ ἡ κιβωτὸς οὐδὲν ἐτέρων ἢ δύο λιθίνας πλάκας, 
αἱ τοὺς δέκα λόγους τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ Μωυσεὶ 
λαληθέντας ἐν Σιωαί ὄρει ἐγγεγραμμένους αὐτῶ 
ἐσωξον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν καὶ τὴν τράπεζαν καὶ 
τὸν βωμὸν τὸν χρύσεον ἑστησαν ἐν τῷ ναῷ πρὸ

1 Niese: Μωυσῆ codd.: Mose Lat.

* Which falls on the fifteenth of Tishri. Scripture speaks only of “the festival,” Heb. ἡγ (A.V. “feast”), but this 626
Macedonians. At this same time happened to fall the festival of Tabernacles,\(^a\) which is considered especially sacred and important by the Hebrews. So, then, they lifted up the ark and the tabernacle which Moses had set up, and all the vessels for the service of the sacrifices to God, and carried them into the temple. And before it went the king himself and all the people and the Levites, with sacrifices, drenching the ground with libations and the blood of numerous victims, and burning so vast a quantity of incense that all the air around was filled with it and carried its sweetness to those who were at a great distance; this was a sign of God’s being present and dwelling—according to human belief—in the place which had been newly built and consecrated to Him. And indeed they did not weary of singing hymns or dancing until they reached the temple.\(^b\) This, then, was the way in which they conveyed the ark. But when it was time to bring it into the adytum, the rest of the people went away, and only the priests carried it and set it down between the two cherubim. These, which were interlocked by the tips of their wings—so they had been made by the craftsman—covered the ark as under a kind of tent or dome. And the ark held nothing but the two stone tablets which preserved the ten commandments spoken by God to Moses on Mount Sinai inscribed upon them. But the lampstand and the table and the golden altar they placed in the temple before the adytum in the

\(^a\) The ark is brought into the temple. 1 Kings vi. 3.

\(^b\) Scripture does not mention incense. The singing (but not dancing) is mentioned only in 2 Chron. and seems to have followed the deposition of the ark in the sanctuary.
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τοῦ ἀδύτου κατὰ τοὺς αὐτούς τόπους, οὐς καὶ τότε ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ κείμενοι κατείχον, καὶ τὰς καθ-
105 ἡμερινὰς θυσίας ἀνέφερον. τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον τὸ χάλκεον ἱστηθη πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἀντικρὺ τῆς θύρας,
ὡς ἀνοιχθεῖσθαι αὐτὸ κατὰ πρόσωπον εἶναι καὶ
βλέποντας τὰς ἱερουργίας καὶ τὴν τῶν θυσίων
πολυτέλειαν. τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ σκεῦη πάντα συναλίσας
ἐνδον εἰς τὸν ναὸν κατέθετο.

106 (2) Ἑπεὶ δὲ πάντα διακόσμησαντες οἱ ἱερεῖς τὰ
περὶ τὴν κιβωτῶν ἐξήλθον, ἀφύνω πλῆθα νεφέλης
οὐ σκληρόν οὐδ' ὦν ὤρα χειμῶνος υποῦ γέμων
ἱσταται κεχυμένον δὲ καὶ κεκραμένον εἰς τὸν ναὸν
eἰσερρύη, καὶ ταῖς μὲν ὄψεις τῶν ἱερέων ὡς μηδὲ
καθοράν ἄλληλους ἐπεσκότει, ταῖς δὲ διανοίαις ταῖς
ἀπάντων φαντασίαι καὶ δόξαν παρείχεν ὡς τοῦ
θεοῦ κατεληλυθότος εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ κατεσκηνωκό-

107 τὸς ἡδέως ἐν αὐτῷ. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης εἶχον
αὐτοὺς τῆς ἐννοιας· ὃ δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολομῶν ἐξ-
εγερθεὶς (ἔτυχε γὰρ καθεξόμενος) ἐποίησατο λόγους
πρὸς τὸν θεόν, οὕς τῇ θείᾳ φύσει πρέποντας ὑπε-
elάμβανε καὶ καλῶς ἔχειν1 αὐτῷ λέγειν· “σοι γάρ,”
eἵπεν, “οἶκον μὲν αὐώνοι, ὥς δέσποτα, καὶ ὧν
σαυτῷ εἰργάσω γεγονότα τὸν οὐρανὸν οἶδαμεν
καὶ ἀέρα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν, δι' ὧν ἄπαντων

108 οὐδὲ τούτως ἀρκοῦμενος κεχώρηκας, τοῦτον δὲ
σοι κατεσκεύασκα τὸν ναὸν ἐπώνυμον, ὡς ἀν ἄπ'
αὐτῷ σοι τὰς εὐχὰς θύσετε καὶ καλλιεροῦντες
ἀναπέμπωμεν εἰς τὸν ἁέρα καὶ πεπεισμένοι δια-

1 Cod. Vat. ap. Hudson: εἰχεν rel.
same positions which they had formerly occupied when standing in the tabernacle, and then they offered up the daily sacrifices. And the bronze altar he set up before the temple opposite the door, 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.\(^a\) And all the other vessels he collected and deposited within the temple.

(2) And when the priests had set in order all that concerned the ark, and had gone out, there suddenly appeared a thick cloud, not threatening nor like a swollen rain-cloud in the winter season, but diffused and temperate,\(^b\) which streamed into the temple and so darkened the sight of the priests that they could not see one another; and it produced in the minds of all of them an impression and belief that God had descended into the temple and had gladly made His abode there. And while they were occupied with this thought, Solomon arose—for he chanced to be seated—and addressed God in words which he considered suitable to the divine nature and fitting for him to speak. "That Thou, O Lord," he said, "hast an eternal dwelling in those things which Thou didst create for Thyself we know—in the heaven and air and earth and sea, through all of which Thou movest and yet art not contained by them. But I have built this temple to Thy name so that from it we may, when sacrificing and seeking good omens, send up our prayers into the air to Thee, and may ever be per-

\(^a\) The foregoing details concerning the arrangement of the temple furniture are added by Josephus.
\(^b\) An amplification of the brief scriptural phrase "and a (lit. "the") cloud filled the house."
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teloí̂̄mēn ὃτι πάρει καὶ μακρὰν οὐκ ἀφέστηκας\(^1\). τῷ μὲν γὰρ πάντ’ ἐφορᾶν καὶ πάντ’ ἀκούειν οὐδὲ
νῦν ὁποὺ σοι θέμισ οἰκῶν\(^2\) ἀπολείπεις τοῦ πᾶσιν
ἐγνιστα εἶναι, μάλλον δὲ ἐκάστῳ καὶ βουλευομένῳ
καὶ διὰ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας συμπάρει.” ταῦτ’
ἐπιθειάςας πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀπέστρεφεν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος
tοὺς λόγους, ἐμφανίζων τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν δύναμιν
ἀυτῶς καὶ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὅτι Δαυίδη τῷ πατρὶ
περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἅπαντα καθὼς ἀποβεβηκέν
ἡδη τὰ πολλὰ καὶ γενήσεται τὰ λείποντα δηλώσειε,
καὶ ὃς αὐτὸς ἐπιθείη τὸ ὅνου’ αὐτῷ μήπω γεγεν-
νημένῳ καὶ τὶς μέλλου καλείσθαι προείτοι καὶ ὁτι
τὸν νὰον οὗτος οἰκοδομήσει\(^3\) αὐτῷ, βασιλεύς μετὰ
tὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν γενόμενον. ἀ βλεποντας
κατὰ τὴν ἐκκίου προφητείαν ἐπιτελῆ τὸν θεὸν
εὐλογεῖν ἥξιον καὶ περὶ μηδενὸς ἀπογινώσκειν ὄν
ὑπέσχηται πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν ὅς οὐκ ἐσομένου,
πιστεύοντας ἐκ τῶν ἡδη βλεπομένων.

109 (3) Ταῦτα διαλεχθεῖσ πρὸς τὸν ὅχλον ο βασιλεύς
ἀφορὰ πάλιν εἰς τὸν νὰον καὶ τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν
οὐρανὸν\(^4\) ἀνασχῶν “ἐργοὶ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “οὐ
dυνατὸν ἀνθρώπως ἀποδοῦναι θεῷ χάριν ὑπὲρ ὅν
ἐν πεπόνθαι. ἀπροσδεῖσ γὰρ τὸ θείου ἅπαντων
καὶ κρείττον τοιαύτης ἀμοιβῆς. ὃ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων

1 + οὐ ὅσι codd. ROM : + a tuis sedibus Lat. : τῶν σεαυτοῦ
conj. Coeciji.  
2 Ernesti: οἰκεῖν codd. Lat.
3 ex Lat. Ernesti: ὠκοδομήσειρ ROM : οἰκοδομήσειν SP.
4 ex lxx Niese: δχλον codd.

\(^a\) Eduard Norden, Agnostos Theos, p. 19 note 2, comments
on the Stoic colouring of the last phrase. Josephus does,
indeed, often use Stoic terminology in describing the divine
attributes, and the present text of Scripture is well suited
for such amplification. For a special treatment of this
suaded that Thou art present and not far removed. For, as Thou seest all things and hearest all things, Thou dost not, even when dwelling here where is Thy rightful place, leave off being very near to all men, but rather art present with everyone who asks for guidance, both by night and by day.” After this solemn appeal to God he turned to address the multitude and made clear to them the power and providence of God in that most of the future events which He had revealed to David, his father, had actually come to pass, and the rest would also come about, and how God Himself had given him his name even before he was born, and had foretold what he was to be called and that none but he should build Him a temple, on becoming king after his father’s death. And now that they saw the fulfilment of these things in accordance with David’s prophecies, he asked them to praise God and not despair of anything He had promised for their happiness, as if it were not to be, but to have faith because of what they had already seen.

(3) When the king had thus spoken to the crowd, he looked again toward the temple and, raising his right hand b up to heaven, c said, “Not by deeds is it possible for men to return thanks to God for the benefits they have received, for the Deity stands in need of nothing d and is above any such recompense.


b Bibl. “spread his hands.”

c Emended text; mss. “to the multitude.”

d ἀποστολής is a Stoic attribute of God. For instances of similar borrowings in Jewish Greek writings see R. Marcus, “Divine Names and Attributes in Hellenistic Jewish Literature” in Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research, 1931-1932.
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ζώων ὑπὸ σοῦ, δέσποτα, κρείττονες γεγόναμεν, τούτῳ τῇν σήν εὔλογεῖν μεγαλειώτητα καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑπηργιμένων εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον καὶ τὸν

112 Ἐβραίων λαὸν εὐχαριστεῖν ἀνάγκη. τίνι γὰρ ἄλλω μᾶλλον ἑλάσασθαι μηνίοντα καὶ δυσμεναῖοντα εὕμενή δεξιοῦσθαι ἄξιότερον; ἐστιν ἦμων ἡ φωνή, ἣν ἐξ ἀέρος τε ἐχομεν καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ πάλιν ἀνισύσταν οἴδαμεν; χάριν οὖν ἔχειν δι' αὐτῆς ὁμολογώ σοι τερπέτευ τε τοῦ πατρός πρῶτον, ὅν ἔξ

113 ἀφανοῦς εἰς τοσαύτην ἀνήγαγες δόξαν, ἐπειθ' ὑπὲρ ἐμαυτοῦ πάντα μέχρι τῆς παρούσης ἦμερας ἀ προεῖπασ πεποιηκότι, δέομαι τε τοῦ λοιποῦ χορηγεῖν ὅσα θεῷ δύναμις ἀνθρώποις ὑπὸ σοῦ τετμημένοις, καὶ τὸν οἶκον τὸν ἡμέτερον αὔξειν εἰς ἄπαν, ὡς καθωμολόγησας Δαυιδὴ τῷ πατρὶ μου καὶ ζῶντι καὶ παρὰ τὴν τελευτήν, ὦτι παρ' ἦμων ἡ βασιλεία μενεῖ καὶ τὸ ἐκείνου γένος αὐτῆς διαδοχαῖς ἀμείψει μυρίαις. ταῦτ' οὖν ἦμων ἐπάρκεσον καὶ παιστ' τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀρετήν ἢ σὺ χάρεις παράσχων.

114 πρὸς δὲ τούτους ἱκετεύω καὶ μοιράν τινα τοῦ σοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἀπουκίσαι, ὡς ἂν καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ἦμων εἶναι δοκῆς. σοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν οἰκητήριον καὶ τὸ πάν οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῶν κατὰ τούτου ὄντων κύτως, οὐχ ὅτι γε οὕτως ὁ τυχών ναὸς, ἀλλὰ φυλάσσειν τε ἀπόρθητον ἐκ πολεμίων ὡς ἠδον εἰς ἄπαν καὶ προνοεῖν ὡς οἰκείον κτήματος παρακαλῶ.

115 καὶ ἄμαρτὼν ποτε ὁ λαὸς ἐπειτα πληγῆ τινι

1 δεξιοῦσθαι ἄξιότερον Cocceji: δεξιότερον codd.
2 πάσι ROM.
3 Bekker: ἡ codd.

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But with that (gift of speech), O Lord, through which we have been made by Thee superior to other creatures, we cannot but praise Thy greatness and give thanks for Thy kindesses to our house and the Hebrew people, for with what other thing is it more fitting for us to appease Thee when wrathful, and, when ill disposed, to make Thee gracious than with our voice, which we have from the air, and know to ascend again through this element? And so, with my voice I render thanks to Thee, first for my father's sake, whom Thou didst raise from obscurity to such great glory, and next on my own behalf, for whom unto the present day Thou hast done all that Thou didst foretell. And I beseech Thee henceforth to grant whatever God has power to bestow on men esteemed by Thee, and to increase our house for ever, as Thou didst promise David, my father, both in his lifetime and when he was near death, saying that the kingship should remain among us and that his descendants should transmit it to numberless successors. These things, therefore, do Thou grant us, and to my sons give that virtue in which Thou delightest. Beside these things I entreat Thee also to send some portion of Thy spirit to dwell in the temple, that Thou mayest seem to us to be on earth as well. For to Thee even the whole vault of heaven and all its host is but a small habitation—how much less this poor temple! Nonetheless I pray Thee to guard it for ever from saeking by our enemies, as Thine own temple, and to watch over it as Thine own possession. And if ever the people sin and then because of their

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\[a\] This portion of Solomon's prayer is amplified by Josephus, while in the following he condenses the scriptural text.
JOSEPHUS

κακῶται 

διὰ τὴν ἀμαρτίαν ἐκ σοῦ, γῆς ἀκαρπία καὶ φθορὰ λουμικῇ ἡ τιν τοὺτων τῶν παθημάτων, οἴς σὺ τοὺς παραβάντας τι τῶν ὁσίων μετέρχῃ, καὶ καταφεύγῃ πᾶς ἄθροισθεὶς ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν ἱκετεύων σε καὶ σωθῆναι δεόμενος, ἐπήκοος αὐτοῦ γενόμενος ὡς ἔνδον ὄν ἐλεήσῃς καὶ τῶν συμφορῶν ἀπαλλάξῃς. ταύτην δὲ οὐχ Ἔβραιόις μόνον δέομαι παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βοήθειαν εἶναι σφαλεῖν, ἀλλὰ κἂν ἀπὸ περάτων τῆς οἰκουμένης τινὲς ἀφίκωνται κἂν ὀποθειοντού ἐπιστρέφωμεν καὶ τυχεῖν τινος ἀγαθοῦ λιπαροῦστες, δὸς αὐτοῖς ἐκήκους γενόμενος.

οὔτως γὰρ ἂν μάθοις πάντες ὅτι σὺ μὲν αὐτὸς ἐβουλήθης παρ᾽ ἡμῖν κατασκευασθήναι σοι τὸν οἶκον, ἡμεῖς δ᾽ οὐκ ἀπάνθρωποι τὴν φύσιν ἐσμὲν οὐδ᾽ ἀλλοτρίως πρὸς τοὺς οὐχ ὀμοφύλους ἔχομεν, ἀλλὰ πάσι κοινῇ τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ βοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ὑπηρεῖν ἠθελῆσαμεν.

(4) Εἰπὼν ταῦτα καὶ ῥώμας αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὴν ὠραν προσκυνήσας, ἀναστὰς θυσίας τῷ βωμῷ προσῆγε καὶ γεμίσας τῶν ὀλοκλήρων ἱερείων ἐναργέστατα τὸν θεὸν ἢδεως ἐγὼν τὴν θυσίαν προσδεχόμενον πῦρ γὰρ ἐξ ἀέρος διαδραμὼν καὶ πάντων ὀρὼντων ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἄξαν ἀπασαν τὴν θυσίαν ἀνήρπασε καὶ κατεδάφισε.

ταύτης δὲ τῆς ἐπιφανείας γενομένης ὁ μὲν λαὸς δήλωσεν εἶναι τούτ᾽ εἰκάσας τῆς ἐν τῷ ναῷ τοῦ θεοῦ διατριβής ἐσομένης καὶ ἴσθεις προσεκύνει

1 Conj. Thackeray: κακῷ eodd.: pessima Lat.
2 Coceejii: οὐκ M: om. rell.
3 βωμῷ προσῆγε MSE (Zonaras): θεῷ προσῆγε P: θεῷ προσῆγε RO: in templo obtulit Lat.

a Emended text.
b This last is an apologetic variation of Scripture, 1 Kings 634.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VIII. 115-119

sin are smitten

by some evil from Thee, by unfruitfulness of the soil or a destructive pestilence or any such affliction with which Thou visitest those who transgress any of the sacred laws, and if they all gather to take refuge in the temple, entreat ing Thee and praying to be saved, then do Thou hearken to them as though Thou wert within, and pity them and deliver them from their misfortunes. And this help I ask of Thee not alone for the Hebrews who may fall into error, but also if any come even from the ends of the earth or from wherever it may be and turn to Thee, imploring to receive some kindness, do Thou hearken and give it them. For so would all men know that Thou Thyself didst desire that this house should be built for Thee in our land, and also that we are not inhumane by nature nor unfriendly to those who are not of our country, but wish that all men equally should receive aid from Thee and enjoy Thy blessings.”

Having spoken in these words, he threw himself upon the ground and did obeisance for a long time; then he arose and brought sacrifices to the altar, and, when he had heaped it with whole victims, he knew that God was gladly accepting the sacrifice, for a fire darted out of the air and, in the sight of all the people, leaped upon the altar and, seizing on the sacrifice, consumed it all. When this divine manifestation occurred, all the people supposed it to be a sign that God would thereafter dwell in the temple, and with joy they fell upon the ground.

The sacrifices are miraculously consumed. 2 Chron. vii. 1.

Josephus here follows the order in 2 Chron.; in 1 Kings (viii. 54-61) Solomon blesses the people before offering sacrifice.

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πεσὼν ἐπὶ τοῦδαφος, ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς εὐλογεῖν τε ἦρξατο καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ταύτῳ ποιεῖν1 παρώρμα
dείγματα μὲν ἔχοντας ἦδη τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτοὺς
120 εὐμενείας, εὐχομένους δὲ τουαίτα ἀποβαίνειν ἄεὶ
tὰ παρ᾽ ἐκεῖνον, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῖς καθαρὰν
ἀπὸ πάσης φυλάττεσθαι κακίας εν δικαιοσύνη καὶ
θρησκείᾳ καὶ τῷ τὰς ἐντολὰς τηρεῖν ἂς διὰ
Μωυσέως αὐτοῖς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς διαμένουσιν2.
ἔσσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως εὐδαιμον τὸ Ἑβραίων ἔθνος
121 καὶ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους μακαριώτερον. παρ-
εκάλει τε μνημονεύειν ως οἷς ἐκτῆσατο τὰ παρ-
όντα ἀγαθὰ τούτοις αὐτὰ καὶ βέβαια ἐξευ3 καὶ
μείζω καὶ πλείω καταστήσει4· οὐ γὰρ λαβεῖν αὐτὰ
μόνον δι᾽ εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην, ἀλλὰ καὶ
καθέξειν διὰ ταύτα προσήκειν ὑπολαμβάνειν· εἰναι
dὲ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις οὐχ οὕτως μέγα τὸ κτήσασθαι
tι τῶν οὐχ υπαρχόντων, ός τὸ σῶσαι τὰ πορι-
σθέντα καὶ μηδὲν ἀμαρτεῖν εἰς βλάβην αὐτῶν.
122 (5) Ὁ μὲν οὖν βασιλεὺς διαλεχθεῖς ταύτα πρὸς
tὸ πλῆθος διαλύει τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τελέσας θυσίας
ὑπέρ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ πάντωΝ Ἑβραίων, ως μόσχους
μὲν καταθῦσαι μυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, προβάτων
123 δὲ μυρίάδας δώδεκα. τὸν γὰρ ναὸν τότε πρῶτον
ἐγευσθεὶς ἱερουργημάτων καὶ κατευχήθησαν ἐν
αὐτῷ πάντες σὺν γυναιξίν Ἑβραίοι καὶ τέκνοις,
ἐτί δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνοπηγίαν καλουμένην ἐορτήν
πρὸ τοῦ ναὸν λαμπρῶς καὶ μεγαλοπρεπῶς ἐπὶ δίς

1 E Lat.: εἰπεῖν codd.
2 Dindorf: διαμένουσις P: διαμενούσας rell.
3 ἐξουσι ed. pr.
4 καταστήσουσιν MSP.
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and did obeisance. But the king began to bless God and urged the multitude to do the like, seeing that they now had tokens of God's goodwill toward them, and to pray that such would be His treatment of them always and that their minds might be kept pure from all evil as they continued in righteousness and worship and in observance of the commandments which God had given them through Moses; for thus would the Hebrew nation be happy and the most blessed of all the races of men. And he exhorted them to remember that in the same way in which they had acquired their present blessings they would also preserve them surely and would make them greater and more numerous. For, he said, they ought to realize that not only had they received them because of their piety and righteousness, but that they would also maintain them through these same qualities, and that it is not so great a thing for men to acquire something which they have not had before as to preserve what is given them and be guilty of nothing which may harm it.  

(5) And so, when the king had thus addressed the multitude, he dismissed the assembly after offering sacrifices both for himself and for the Hebrews with the slaughter of twelve thousand \(^b\) calves and one hundred and twenty thousand sheep, for this was the first time that he gave the temple a portion \(^c\) of victims, and all the Hebrews with their women and children feasted therein. Moreover the festival called the Setting up of Booths (Tabernacles) was splendidly and magnificently celebrated before the

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\(^a\) Solomon's speech is somewhat amplified.  
\(^b\) Bibl. 22,000.  
\(^c\) Lit. "gave the temple a taste."
ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας ἦγαγεν ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν ἀπαντὶ τῷ λαῷ κατευναχοῦμενος.

124 (6) Ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐξεπετέμενα ἀποχρώντως ταῦτα καὶ μηδὲν ἐνέδει τῇ περὶ τὸν θεόν εὐσεβεία, πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστοι τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπολύσαντος ἀπῆσαν εὐχαριστήσαντες τῷ βασιλεί τῆς τε περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοίας καὶ ὅν ἐπεδείξατο ἔργων, καὶ εὐξάμενοι τῷ θεῷ παρασχεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς πολὺν χρόνον Σολομῶνα βασιλέα, τὴν πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ παιδιᾶς ὑμνοὺς εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἀδοντες, ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπόνως τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐπὶ τὰ οὐκεῖα πάντας ἄνυσαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν κιβώτον εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσαγαγόντες καὶ τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ κάλλος ἱστορήσαντες αὐτοῦ, καὶ θυσιών ἔπ αὐτῶ κυκάλων καὶ ἔορτῶν μεταλαβόντες, εἰς τὰς αὐτῶν ἔκαστοι πόλεις ὑπεστρέψαν. ὄναρ δὲ ἐπιφανεῖν τῷ βασιλεί κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἐσήμαινεν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπήκουσαν τὸν θεόν γεγονέναι, καὶ ὅτι φυλάξει τὸν ναὸν καὶ διὰ παντὸς ἐν αὐτῷ μενεὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀπάσης πληθύος τὰ δίκαια ποιοῦσις, αὐτὸν δὲ πρῶτον ἐμμένοντα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὑποθήκαις ἔλεγεν εἰς ύψος καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας ἀνοίσεων ἀπειρον καὶ βασιλεύσειν ἀεὶ τῆς χώρας τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ γένους αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς Ἰουδα

126 φυλῆς· προδότα μὲν τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύματα καὶ λήθην αὐτῶν ποιησάμενοι καὶ ἕκαστος θεοὺς θρησκεύεις μεταβαλόμενοι πρόρριξιν ἐκκοῦσιν καὶ μῆτε τῷ γένους τοῦ λείψανον αὐτῶν εάσειν μῆτε τὸν τῶν

1 Hudson: αὐτῶν codd.
2 Ernesti: μένοι codd. 3 + καὶ αὐτῶν E.
4 Bekker: μεταβαλομένων codd.
5 αὐτῶν Zonaras Lat.: αὐτῶν conj. Niese (αὐτῶν in edit.).

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VIII. 123–127

temple for twice seven days⁴ by the king, who feasted together with all the people.

(6) And when they had had enough of these things and had omitted nothing that was required by piety toward God, the king dismissed them and they went away, each to his home; and, giving thanks to the king for his care of them and for the display he had made, and praying to God to grant them Solomon as king for a long time, they set out on their way with joyfulness and mirth and singing hymns to God, so that by reason of their delight they all accomplished the journey homeward without fatigue. And those who had brought the ark into the temple and beheld its size and beauty and partaken of the great sacrifices and the feasts there, returned, each to his own city. But to the king a dream appeared in his sleep, which revealed to him that God had hearkened to his prayer b and that He would preserve the temple and would abide in it for ever, if his descendants and all the people acted righteously; as for the king himself, God said that if he abided by his father's counsels, He would first raise him to a height and greatness of happiness beyond measure, and that those of his own line should for ever rule the country and the tribe of Judah. If, however, he should be faithless to his task and forget it and turn to the worship of foreign gods, He would cut him off root and branch and would not suffer any of their line to survive nor

⁴ So Heb. and several LXX mss.; Cod. B of LXX has "seven days." The festival of Tabernacles lasted only seven days and was followed by a "closing festival" (asereth), cf. A. iii. 244 ff.

b Bibl. "the Lord appeared to Solomon a second time."
JOSEPHUS

'Ισραηλιτῶν λαὸν ἀπαθὴν παρόψεσθαι, πολέμοις δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ κακοῖς εξαφανίσεων μυρίοις, κακὶ τῆς γῆς ἦν τοῖς πατράσιν αὐτῶν ἐδωκεν ἐκβαλὼν ἐπή-
128 λυδας ἀλλοτρίας καταστήσειν, τὸν δὲ ναὸν τὸν νῦν οἰκοδομηθέντα καταπρηθησόμενον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς παραδώσειν καὶ διαρπαγησόμενον, κατασκάψειν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν χερσὶ τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ποιῆσειν μύθων ἄξια τὰ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς κακὰ καὶ πολλῆς δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν μεγέθους ἀπιστίας, ως τοὺς προσοίκους ἀκούντας τὴν συμφορὰν θαυμάζειν καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πολυπραγμονεῖν, δι᾽ ἣν οὐτωσ ἐμισήθησαν Ἑβραῖοι τῷ θεῷ, πρότερον εἰς δόξαν καὶ πλοῦτον ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ παραχθέντες, καὶ παρὰ τῶν ὑπολειπομένων ἀκούειν ἐξομολογημένων τὰς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ τὰς τῶν πατρίων νομίμων παραβάσεις. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν εἰπεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ύπνους ἀνα-
129 γέραπται.

130 (v. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ ναοῦ κατασκευῆς ἐν ἔτεσιν ἑπτὰ καθὼς προειρήκαμεν γενομένη τὴν τῶν βασιλείων οἰκοδομήν A κατεβάλετο, ἣν ἔτεσι τριαὶ καὶ δέκα μόνοις ἀπηρτίσειν. οὐ γὰρ τὸν αὐτὸν ἐσπουδάζετο τρόπον ὑπερ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν, ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν καίπερ ὁν μέγα καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἐργασίας καὶ παραδόξου τετυχήκος, ἐτὶ καὶ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος, εἰς ὅν ἐγίνετο, τοῖς προειρημένοις ἔτεσιν ἐλαβεὶ πέρας. τὰ δὲ βασίλεια πολὺ ἥτις ἀξίας τοῦ ναοῦ καταδείκτηρα τυγχάνοντα τῷ μήτῃ τὴν ὕλην ἐκ

1 οἰκοδομήν MSPE. 2 πολύ τη RO: πολύ τι Niese.

a Bibl. “this house . . . will I cast out of my sight.”
b In Scripture the building of the palace is described directly after that of the temple, and the second appearance of God follows upon the completion of both buildings.
allow the people of Israel to go unharmed, but would utterly destroy them with wars and countless afflictions and, after driving them out of the land which He had given to their fathers, would make them aliens in a strange land, and the temple, which had only now been built, He would give over to their enemies to burn down and saek, and would also raze their city by the hand of their enemies, and would make the evils that should fall on them like stories which men tell, beyond belief because of their surpassing magnitude, so that when their neighbours heard of their misfortune they would wonder at it and would curiously inquire why the Hebrews were now so hated by God by whom they had formerly been raised to glory and wealth, and from the survivors they would hear the reason as these confessed their sins and their transgressions against the laws of their fathers. These things, then, it is written in Scripture, God spoke to him in his sleep.

(v. 1) After the building of the temple, which, as we have said before, took seven years, he laid the foundations of the palace buildings, which he hardly completed in thirteen years, for it was not built with the same industry as the temple had been; the latter, though it was so great and of a workmanship so wonderful and surpassing belief, was nevertheless finished in the fore-mentioned number of years, since God, for whom it was built, also assisted in the work. But the palace, which was much inferior in dignity to the temple because the materials had not been pre-

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\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}} \text{§ 99.} \]

\[\text{\textsuperscript{d}} \text{For rabbinic legends about the miraculous building of the temple see Ginzberg iv. 155.} \]
JOSEPHUS

tosonton xronon kai tis authis toimasthai filos

tymias kai basileusin oikhetirom alla mhethe

132 ginvesh, bradion hnoseth. kai auta meon oyn axia

logou kai kata tyn evdaimoneian tis Ebreain

choras kai tou basilewos ykomomhthe, tyn de oln

autwn diatexin kai tyn diathesin eipsein anagkain,

iyn oynwes ek toytou stoixezthesis kai synorfan

exosi to megebenos oi tih grafi melkontes ev

tyrganen.

133 (2) Oikos thyn megas kai kalos pollois stulos

erheismenos, deis tas krisies kai tyn twn prag-

maton diagnwson plhtos upodezosthai kai xwrisai

syvodoan anvariwpwv eti dikas synelhyloutwn kat-

esevasen, ekaton men pichwn to mikes evros de

penteskonta to 5' yhos triakonta, kisoi men

tetragwnon anevlemvnon ek kerdron pasin, eis-

tegasmwv de Korinthis, isometrosi de philaes

kai thromasi truglyfois asfalh te omou kai

kekalwpsiwmvnon. etepos de oikos thyn en meson

cata olo to platos tetagmenvos tetragwvos1

evros pichwn triakonta, antikruseiexwn nadoi

pachesi stulos anateamvnon thyn de en autow

1 tetragwvos om. RO Lat. 2 stoan Weill.

a Unscriptural details.

b Called, in Scripture, “the house of the forest of

Lebanon.”

c This unscriptural detail is, of course, an anachronism.

d Both the Heb. and lxx of 1 Kings vii. 5 are obscure,

partly because Heb. saphiph may mean either “beam” (so

the Targum translates) or “window” (lit. “transparency”).

The word thurwma used by Josephus is found in the lxx,

where it translates Heb. mehezah which seems to mean

“window,” but thurwma may also mean “door.” It seems

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pared so long before nor with the same expense, and because it was a dwelling for kings and not for God, was more slowly completed. Yet it too was worthy of note, and was built in a manner suitable to the prosperity of the Hebrews' country and their king; but we must describe its whole plan and arrangement, in order that those who will read this work may from this description form an idea and have some notion of its size.

(2) There was a great and beautiful hall, supported by many pillars, which he built to admit a great number of people to judgements and decisions of state cases and to provide room for gatherings of men who opposed each other in trials; it was a hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in height, and was held up by square columns all of cedar; it was roofed in Corinthian style and was at the same time strengthened and ornamented with pilasters of the same size and three-grooved panels. And there was another hall in the middle of the group of buildings, extending along the whole width of the first building, which was quadrangular and thirty cubits in breadth, and was opposite a temple raised on massive pillars. In this was a magnificent

useless to render here the difficult Heb. and lxx texts, which were probably as unintelligible to Josephus as to modern scholars.

* Called, in Scripture, "the hall (A.V. "porch") of pillars."

† Bibl. "the length thereof was fifty cubits and the breadth thereof thirty cubits."

‡ Bibl. "a hall (A.V. "porch") was before them" (i.e. the pillars). For *vāḇ* "temple" Weill suggests reading *στέλα*, "porch," which, he holds, corresponds to Heb. *'ūlām*. But *'ūlām* here seems to mean "hall," and Josephus's *vāḇ* is probably an interpretation of this too general term.
135 tētumēnais ēk kédrou, kai tā mēn ὕκοδομήσατο λίθοι δεκαπήκεσιν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ πριστῷ τοὺς τοίχους καὶ πολυτελεῖ κατημφίσεσεν, ὅσ᾽ εἰς κόσμον ἵερων καὶ βασιλείων οὐκὼν θεωρίαν ἡ μεταλλεύεται τοῖς φέρουσιν αὐτῶν τόπως ἐπανουμένη.  
136 καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ κάλλος ἐπὶ τριστὶξίαν ἢν ἐνυφασμένον, τετάρτῃ δὲ μοῖρᾳ γλυφέων παρεῖχε θαυμάζειν ἐπιστήμην, ὡφ᾽ ὄν πεποίητο δένδρα καὶ φυτὰ παντοῖα σύκκια τοῖς κλάδοις καὶ τοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένοις αὐτῶν πετάλοις, ὡς ὑπονοεῖ αὐτὰ καὶ σαλεύεσθαι δι᾽ ὑπερβολὴν λεπτότητος καλύπτει τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λίθον. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέχρι τῆς στέγης χρυσῶν ἢν καὶ καταπεποικιλμένον χρώμασι καὶ βαφαῖς.  
137 τοῦτα τὸν ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λίθον. τὸ δὲ ἄλλο μέχρι τῆς στέγης χρυσῶν ἢν καὶ καταπεποικιλμένον χρώμασι καὶ βαφαῖς.  
138 πάντ᾽ ἐκ χρυσοῦ κατεσκεύαστο. δύσκολον δ᾽ ἐστὶν καταριθμῆσασθαι τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὴν

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1 κατημφίσεσεν ὅσ Hudson: κατημφίσασεν ὅν RO: κατημφίσασεν ΜSP Lat.  
2 Hudson: θεωρίαν RO: θεωρία MSP: Τιρίων Ernesti:  
3 ἡ ἡ ἐπανουμένη Hudson: ἡ ἐπανουμένη (ἀπορνουμένη ΡΟ) codd.  
4 γραφαῖς ΜSP.  
5 Cocceji: περίπλεω codd.  
6 + καὶ διηγήσασθαί SP.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VIII. 134-138

hall where the king sat to give judgement, and to it was joined another hall built for the queen, and the remaining chambers for eating and for resting after the discharge of public business, all of them floored with boards cut out of cedar. Some of these he built with stones of ten cubits, and he covered the walls with another kind of sawn stone of great value, which is mined for the adornment of temples and enhancing the appearance of royal palaces, in a region celebrated for the places that produce it. And the beauty of this stone was displayed in a pattern of three rows, while the fourth row made one admire the skill of the sculptors who had fashioned trees and plants of all kinds, giving shade with their branches and the leaves hanging down from them, and so exceedingly delicate that one would have imagined they actually moved and were covering the stone under them. The rest of the wall, up to the roof, was painted and enlivened with various colours and tints. And in addition to these, he built other chambers for pleasure, among them very long colonnades, situated in a beautiful part of the palace, in which was a very splendid hall for feasts and banquets, filled with gold. And the other vessels such as were needed in the hall for the service of guests at the feasts were all made of gold. But it is difficult to describe in detail the size and variety of the palace

a Bibl. "hall (A.V. " porch ") of judgement."

b Bibl. "and the foundation was of costly stones, stones of ten cubits and stones of eight cubits."

c Emended text.
ποικιλιάν τῶν βασιλείων, ὡσα μὲν ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ μέγιστα οἰκήματα, πόσα δὲ τὰ τούτων ὑποδέστερα καὶ πόσα ὑπόγεια καὶ ἄφαντα, τὸ τε τῶν ἀνεμένων εἰς ἀέρα κάλλος καὶ τὰ ἀλσι πρὸς θεωρίαν ἐπι-
τερπεστάτην καὶ θέρους ὑποφυγὴν καὶ σκέπην

139 εἶναι τοὺς σώμασιν. ἐν κεφαλαίῳ δ' εἰπεῖν, τὴν ὀλην οἰκοδομίαν ἐκ λίθου λευκοῦ καὶ κέδρου καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἀργύρου πάσαν ἐπούσατο, τοὺς ὄρο-

φους καὶ τοὺς τοίχους τοὺς ἐγκλειομένους χρυσῷ λίθους διανθίσαι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς καὶ τὸν τοῦ

140 θεοῦ ναὸν τούτους κατηγλάισεν. εἰργάσατο δὲ καὶ εἴς ἐλέφαντος θρόνον παμμεγεθέστατον εἰς κατασκευὴ βῆματος ἐχοντα μὲν εἰς ἀναβαθμοὺς, ἐκάστω δὲ τούτων εἰς ἐκατέρου μέρους δύο λεοντες ἐφειστήκεσαν τοσοῦτων ἀνωθεν ἄλλων παρεστώτων. τὸ δ' ἐνίθλατον τοῦ θρόνου χεῖρες ἱσαν δεχόμεναι τὸν βασιλέα, ἀνακέκλιτο δ' εἰς μόσχου προτομὴν τὰ κατόπιν αὐτοῦ βλέποντος, χρυσῷ δὲ ἄπας ἦν ἐδεμένος.

141 (3) Ταῦτα Σολομῶν εἰκοσαετία κατασκευάσας, ἐπεὶ πολὺν μὲν αὐτῷ χρυσὸν πλείω δ' ἀργυρὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλείως Εἰρώμοις εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομίαν συνήνεγκεν ἐτί δὲ καὶ ἔυλα κέδρου καὶ πῖσιν, ἀντεδωρήσατο καὶ αὐτὸς μεγάλας δωρεάς τὸν Εἰρώμοιν σύτον τε κατ' ἔτος πέμπσαν αὐτῷ καὶ οἴνον καὶ ἐλαιον, ὃν μάλιστα διὰ τὸ νήσον οἴκεων, ὃς καὶ προειρήκαμεν ἥδη, χρήζων διετέλει. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ πόλεις αὐτῷ τῆς Γαλιλαίας εἰκοσί μὲν τὸν ἀριθμόν, οὗ πόρρω δὲ τῆς Τύρου κειμένας

1 βαθμοὺς RO.

* These details are invented by Josephus; they are 646
buildings, how many larger chambers there were, how many smaller ones and how many were underground and not visible, and the beauty of those parts open to the air, and the groves which gave a most delightful view and served as a refuge and shelter to the body from the heat of summer.\textsuperscript{a} To sum it up, he made the whole building of white marble, cedar, gold and silver, and decorated the roofs and walls with stones set in gold in the same manner as he had beautified the temple of God with them. He also had them make an immense throne of ivory in the form of a dais with six steps leading up to it, and on each of these on either side stood two lions, and there were two others at the top, standing on either side; the seat of the throne had arms to receive the king, and it rested on the head of a calf\textsuperscript{b} which faced toward the back of the throne; and the entire throne was plated\textsuperscript{c} with gold.

(3) These works Solomon completed in twenty years, and, since Eîromos, the king of Tyre, had contributed much gold and more silver\textsuperscript{d} to their building, as well as wood of cedar and pine\textsuperscript{e} trees, he too presented Eîromos in return with great gifts, sending him every year grain and wine and oil, of which, because, as we have already said before,\textsuperscript{f} he inhabited an island, he was always particularly in need. Beside these he made him a present of some cities in Galilee, twenty in number, which lay not far from Tyre\textsuperscript{g}; probably based, as Weill suggests, on the arrangements of Herod's buildings.

\textsuperscript{a} So the lxx, πρὸ τοῦ μόσχου, reading in the Heb. text רַעָשׁ-רֶגֶל "heads of calves" instead of רֹזֶה-רֶגֶל "a rounded top."
\textsuperscript{b} Silver is not mentioned in Scripture. \textsuperscript{c} Lit. "fastened."
\textsuperscript{d} Cf. § 54 note.
\textsuperscript{e} § 54.\textsuperscript{f} Bibl. "in the land of Galilee."
έχαρισατο, ἀς ἐπελθὼν καὶ κατανοήσας Εὐρώμος καὶ δυσαρεστήσας τῇ δωρεᾷ πέμψας πρὸς Σολομόνα μὴ δείσθαι τῶν πόλεων ἔλεγε· κάκτοτε προσηγορεύθησαν Χαβαλῶν γῆ· μεθερμηνευόμενον γὰρ τὸ χάβαλον κατὰ Φοινίκων γλώτταν οὐκ ἀρέσκον σημαίνει. καὶ σοφίσματα δὲ καὶ λόγους αἰνιγματώδεις διεπέμψατο πρὸς Σολομόνα ο ὁ τῶν Τυρίων βασιλεὺς παρακάλων ὅπως αὐτῷ σαφὴνίς τοῦτοι καὶ τῆς ἀπορίας τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς ζητούμενων ἀπαλλάξῃ. τὸν δὲ δεινὸν οὖντα καὶ συνετὸν οὐδὲν τούτων παρῆλθεν, ἀλλὰ πάντα νυκτὸς τῷ λογισμῷ καὶ μαθῶν αὐτῶν τὴν διάνοιαν ἐφώτισε.

Μέμνηται δὲ τούτων τῶν δύο βασιλέων καὶ Μένανδρος ὁ μεταφράσας ἀπὸ τῆς Φοινίκων διάλεκτον τὰ Τυρίων ἀρχεία εἰς τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν λέγων οὕτως· "τελευτήσατος δὲ Ἀβιβάλου διεδέξατο τὴν βασιλείαν παρ' αὐτοῦ νῦς Εὐρώμος, ὃς βιώσας ἦτη πεντῆκοντα τρία ἐβασίλευσε τριάκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα. οὕτως ἔχωσε τὸ Εὐρύχωρον τὸν τε χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν τοῖς τοῦ Δίως ἀνέθηκεν· ἐτί τε ὑλὴν ξύλων ἀπελθὼν ἐκοιμην ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀροὺς τοῦ λεγομένου Διβάνου εἰς τὰς τῶν ἱερῶν στέγας· καθελὼν τε τὰ ἁρχαῖα ἱερὰ καὶ νὰ ἀνψικὸδόμησε τοῦ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τῆς Ἀστάρ-

1 καὶ νὰ ἀνψικὸδόμησε Niese: καὶ μν ἐκδὸμησε codd.

a Bibl. Cabul; lxx (reading gebiūl) ὅρων "boundary."

b The only Semitic etymology which seems to fit this interpretation is the Aramaic root kbl, one meaning of which is "be barren." Josephus's explanation "not pleasing" is 648
but when Eirōmos went to them and looked them over, he was ill pleased with the gift and sent word to Solomon that he had no use for the cities. And from that time on they were called the Land of Chabalōn, for Chabalōn in the Phoenician tongue is interpreted to mean "not pleasing." And the king of Tyre also sent Solomon tricky problems and enigmatic sayings, requesting him to clear them up for him and relieve his difficulties concerning the questions propounded. But, as Solomon was clever and keen-witted, none of these proved too hard for him and he successfully solved them all by the force of reason, and having discovered their meaning, brought it to light.

These two kings are also mentioned by Menander, who translated the Tyrian records from the Phoenician language into Greek speech, in these words: "And on the death of Abibalos, his son Eirōmos succeeded to his kingdom, who lived to the age of fifty-three and reigned thirty-four years. He it was who made the Eurychoros (Broad Place) embankment and set up the golden column in the temple of Zeus." Moreover he went off and cut timber from the mountain called Libanos for the roofs of the temples, and pulled down the ancient temples and erected new ones to Heracles apparently based on the Scriptural phrase "and they (i.e. the cities) pleased him not." One rabbinic tradition explains the name from the usual meaning of kāḇūl which is "chained down"; other Jewish commentaries give an explanation which is closer to that of Josephus.

Cf. Ap. i. 116 ff. where the following excerpt is given in identical words.

Zeus was the Greek equivalent of the native Tyrian Baal, as Josephus calls him in A. ix. 138.

Heracles was the Greek equivalent of the Tyrian Melkart.
τῆς, πρῶτος τε τοῦ Ἰηρακλέους ἔγερσιν ἐποιήσατο ἐν τῷ Περσίῳ μνῆ· τοῖς τε Ἰτυκαίοις ἐπεστρατεύσατο μὴ ἀποδιδοὺσι τοὺς φόρους καὶ ὑποτάξις πάλιν αὐτῷ ἀνέστρεψεν. ἔπι τούτου ἢν Ἀβδημονος παῖς νεώτερος, ὃς ἀεὶ ἐνίκα τὰ προβλήματα, ᾧ ἐπέτασσε Σολομών ὁ Ἰεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς."  

147 μνημονεύει δὲ καὶ Δίος λέγων οὕτως: "Ἀβιβάλου τελευτήσαντος ὁ νῖός αὐτοῦ Ἐἱρώμος ἐβασίλευσεν. οὕτως τὰ πρὸς ἀνατολᾶς μέρη τῆς πόλεως προσέχωσε καὶ μειών τὸ ἀστυ ἐποίησε καὶ τοῦ Ὁλυμπίου Δίως τὸ ἱερὸν καθʼ ἐαυτὸ ὃν ἐγχώσας τὸν μεταξὸ τόπον συνήψε τῇ πόλει καὶ χρυσοῖς ἀναθήμασιν ἐκόσμησεν. ἀναβὰς δὲ εἰς τὸν Λίβανον 148 ὑποτίμησε πρὸς τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευήν. τὸν δὲ τυραννοῦντα Ἰεροσολύμων Σολομῶνα πέμψας ἡμῖν πρὸς Ἐἱρώμον αἰνίγματα καὶ παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἄξιοῦντα, τὸν δὲ μὴ δυνηθέντα διακρίναι 149 τῷ λύσαντι χρήματα ἀποτίνεως. ὁμολογήσαντα δὲ τὸν Ἐἱρώμον καὶ μὴ δυνηθέντα λύσαι τὰ αἰνίγματα πολλὰ τῶν χρημάτων εἰς τὸ ἐπιζήμιον ἀναλύσαι εἶτα δὴ Ἡ Ἀβδημονᾶ τῶν Τύριον ἀνδρα τὰ προτεθέντα λύσαι καὶ αὐτὸν ἄλλα προβάλεῖν, δὴ μὴ

2 +Χιὼν Eusebins.  
3 Niese: Δίος vel Δίως codd.: Δίων Syncellus Lat.  
4 ὅπ ex contra Apion. add. Niese.  
5 O codd. contra Apion.: φησὶ rell.  
6 + Νίσαν RO Lat.  
7 δὲ RO: δὴ LV codd. contra Apion.  
650
and Astarte; and he was the first to celebrate the awakening of Heracles in the month of Peritius. And he undertook a campaign against the Itykaianis (Uticans), who had not paid their tribute, and, when he had again made them subject to him, returned home. In his reign lived Abdemonos, a young lad who always successfully solved the problems which were submitted to him by Solomon, the king of Jerusalem.” They are also mentioned by Dios in these words: “On the death of Abibalos, his son Eirômos became king. He it was who added embankments to the eastern parts of the city and made the town larger; and the temple of Zeus Olympios, which stood apart by itself, he joined to the city by filling up the space between them, and adorned it with dedicatory offerings of gold. He also went up to Libanos and cut timber for the building of temples. And they say that Solomon, who was tyrant of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Eirômos and asked to receive others from him as well, proposing that he who was unable to interpret them should pay a fine to the one who did solve them. But Eirômos, having agreed to this, was unable to solve the riddles and paid out large sums of money as a fine. Afterwards through a certain Abdemon, a Tyrian citizen, he solved the riddles proposed and himself offered

\[ \text{\footnotesize\textit{\textsuperscript{a}} I follow Weill in taking } \varepsilon \gamma \varepsilon \rho \sigma \iota \nu \text{ in this sense rather than in that of “erection” (of a temple) as Hudson, Whiston and Thackeray (in Ap. i. 119) do. Menander is probably referring to the celebration of a festival in honour of Melkart-Heracles as a fertility-god, cf. S. A. Cook, The Religion of Ancient Palestine, etc. (Schweich Lectures), 1930, pp. 135 ff.}
\[ \text{\footnotesize\textit{\textsuperscript{b}} Cf. Ap. i. 113 ff. where the following extract is given in identical words.}
\[ \text{\footnotesize\textit{\textsuperscript{c}} Variant “Abdemon . . . solved.”} \]
λύσαντα τὸν Σολομὼνα πολλὰ τῷ Εἰρώμῳ προσπότισαί χρήματα." καὶ Δίως μὲν οὔτως εἴρηκεν.

150 (vi. 1) Ἐπεὶ δ' εὕρα τὰ τῶν Ἰεροσολύμων τεῖχη οἱ βασιλεὺς πύργον πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν δεόμενα καὶ τῆς ἄλλης όχυρότητος (πρὸς γὰρ τὰξίωμα τῆς πόλεως ἤγείτο δεῖν καὶ τοὺς περιβόλους εἶναι) ταῦτα τε προσεπεσκέυασε καὶ πύργοις αὐτὰ

151 μεγάλοις προσεξῆρεν. ὕψοδόμησε δὲ καὶ πόλεις ταῖς βαρυτάταις ἐναρίθμους "Ἀσσωρόν τε καὶ Μα-γέων,1 τρίτην2 δὲ Γάζαρα, τῆς3 τῆς Παλαιστίνων χώρας ὑπάρχουσαν ἡν Ἀραβών4 ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος καὶ πολιορκήσας αἱρεῖ κατὰ κράτος· ἀποκτείνας δὲ πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας αὐτὴν κατέσκαψε, εἰτά δωρεὰν ἔδωκε τῇ

152 αὐτοῦ θυγατρὶ Σολομῶνι γεγαμημένη. διὸ καὶ ἀνήγειρεν αὐτὴν ὁ βασιλεὺς οὕσαν όχυραν φύσει καὶ πρὸς πολέμους καὶ τὰς τῶν καιρῶν μεταβολὰς χρησίμην εἶναι δυναμένην. οὐ πόρρω δ' αὐτῆς ἄλλας ὕψοδόμησε δύο πόλεις· Βηθχώρα τῇ ἑτέρᾳ

153 ὅνομα ἡν, ἡ δ' ἑτέρα Βαλεθ5 ἐκαλεῖτο. προσκατεσκέυασε δὲ ταύτας καὶ ἄλλας εἰς ἀπολαυσιν καὶ τριφῆν ἐπιτυχεῖν ἔχουσας, τῇ τε τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρασία καὶ τοῖς ὦραιοις εὐφυεῖς καὶ νάμοις ὑδάτων ἐνδρόσους. ἐμβαλὼν δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν ἔρημον τῆς6 ἐπάνω Συρίας καὶ κατασχὼν αὐτὴν ἐκτίσειν

1 Μαγεδῶν MSP Lat. 2 Niese: τὴν τρίτην codd. 3 ἡν RO. 4 ἡν Φαραών M: Φαραώνς RO: Φαραώθης Niese. 5 Βελεθ RO. 6 τὴν MSP.

a Or (as Thackeray renders in Ap. i. 115) “paid back to Hirom more than he had received.”

c Bibl. Megiddo, lxx Μαγεδῶ, the modern Tell el-Mutesellim on the southern edge of the Great Plain of Esdraelon, 652
others, which Solomon was unable to solve and paid large sums to Eîromos in return. Such are the words of Dios.

(vi. 1) Now when the king saw that the walls of Jerusalem needed towers and other defences for security—for he thought that even the surrounding walls should be in keeping with the dignity of the city—he repaired them and raised them higher with great towers. He also built cities which are counted among the most powerful, Asôr and Magedô, and a third, Gazara, which had belonged to the country of the Philistines and against which Pharaôn had marched, and after a siege had taken it by storm and after killing all its inhabitants had razed it to the ground and then had given it as a gift to his daughter, who had been married to Solomon. The king, therefore, rebuilt it also, for it was naturally strong and could be useful in war or in times of sudden change. And not far from it he built two other cities, the name of one being Bêtchôra, while the other was called Baleth. In addition to these he built still others, which were conveniently placed for enjoyment and pleasure and were naturally favoured with a mild temperature and seasonable fruits and irrigated with streams of water. He also advanced into the desert of Upper Syria and, having taken possession of it, where excavations have yielded important finds dating from Solomon’s times, as well as from other periods.

—Or perhaps "revolution."
—Bibl. Beth-horon, lxx Βαλθωράων. Scripture calls it "Beth-horon the nether," which is the modern Beit ‘Ur et-tahtâ about 10 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.
—Bibl. Baalath, lxx Βααλάθ (v.l. Βαλαδ ιτλ.), possibly the modern Belain about 2 miles N. of Beit ‘Ur et-tahtâ.
—Variant "the desert above Syria."


154 μῆκος. αὐτινος δὲ τοῦ τῆν πόλιν οὕτως ἀπὸ τῶν ὦικουμένων μερῶν τῆς Συρίας ἀποκρίσθαι τὸ κατωτέρω μὲν οὐδαμοῦ τῆς γῆς ύδωρ εἶναι, πηγάς δ’ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ τόπῳ μόνον εὐρεθῆναι καὶ φρέατα. ταύτην οὖν τὴν πόλιν οἰκοδομήσας καὶ τείχεσιν ὀχυρωτάτοις περιβαλὼν Θαδάμοραν ¹ ὄνόμασε καὶ τούτ’ ἐτὶ νῦν καλεῖται παρὰ τοῖς Σύροις, οἱ δ’ Ἑλληνες αὐτήν προσαγορέουσιν Πάλμυραν. ²

155 (2) Σολομῶν μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ταῦτα κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν καιρὸν πράττειν διετέλει. πρὸς δὲ τούς ἐπιζητῆσαντας ὧτι πάντες οἱ Λιγυπτῖνοι βασιλεῖς ἀπὸ Μυκαιῶν τοῦ Μέμφιν οἰκοδομήσαντος, ὃς ἔτεσι πολλοῖς ἐμπροσθεν ἐγένετο τοῦ πάππου ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου, μεθ’ Σολομῶνος πλειώνων ἔτων ἡ τρικοσίων καὶ χιλίων μεταξὺ διεληλυθότων Φαραώθαι ἐκλήθησαν, ἀπὸ τοῦ μετὰ τούς ³ ἐν τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνους ⁴ ἄρξαντος βασιλέως Φαραώθου τὴν προσηγορίαν λαβόντες, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην εἰπεῖν, ἵνα τὴν ἀγνοιαν αὐτῶν ἀφέλω καὶ ποιήσω τοῦ ὄνόματος φανερὰν τὴν αἰτίαν, ὧτι ⁵ Φαραώ κατ’ Αἴγυπτιόν βασίλεα σημαίνει. οἴμαι δ’ αὐτοῦς

¹ Θαδάμορα SP1LV: Thadamor Lat.
² ex Lat. ed. pr. Niese: Παράμαλλαν ROSPLV: Παραμάλχαν M.
³ μετὰ τοὺς MSPV: μετ’ αὐτοῦς RO: μετὰ τοὺς L: κατ’ αὐτοῦς Gutschmid.
⁴ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνους SP: τοῖς μεταξὺ χρόνους rell.
⁵ Gutschmid: ὦ codd.

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¹ Bibl. Tadmor, lxx (2 Chron.) Θεδμόρ (v.l. Θοδμόρ), is about 100 miles E. of Homs on the Orontes and about 160 miles N. of Palmyra.
founded there a very great city at a distance of two days' journey from Upper Syria and one day's journey from the Euphrates, while from the great Babylon the distance was a journey of six days.\(^a\)

Now the reason for founding the city so far from the inhabited parts of Syria was that further down there was no water anywhere in the land and that only in this place were springs and wells to be found. And so, when he had built this city and surrounded it with very strong walls, he named it Thadamora,\(^a\) as it is still called by the Syrians, while the Greeks call it Palmyra.

(2) Such, then, were the activities which King Solomon at that time was carrying on. Now to those who ask why all the Egyptian kings from Minaias, the builder of Memphis, who lived many years before our forefather Abraham, down to Solomon—an interval of more than one thousand three hundred years \(^b\)—were called Pharaōthai, taking this name from Pharaōthēs, the first king to reign after the period intervening,\(^c\) I have thought it necessary to explain—in order to dispel their ignorance and make clear the reason for the name—that Pharaō in Egyptian signifies "king."\(^d\) But I believe that

\(^a\) miles W. of Werdi on the Euphrates; from here it is a distance of more than 200 miles down the river to Babylon.

\(^b\) On the interval of time between Abraham and Solomon cf. § 61 note.

\(^c\) Apparently the period before Minaias (Menes), reputed founder of the United Kingdom, is meant, but the text is uncertain. Weill thinks the last phrase is an interpolation.

\(^d\) According to F. Ll. Griffith in Hastings' *Dictionary of the Bible*, iii. 819, the Egyptian word pro, meaning "great house," was originally applied to the royal estate rather than to the person of the king and only came into common use as a title at the time of the New Kingdom (c. 1600 B.C.).
ἐκ παιδῶν ἄλλων χρωμένους ὄνομασιν, ἐπειδὰν βασιλεῖς γένονται τὸ σημαίνον αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν κατὰ τὴν πάτριον γλώσσαν μετονομάζοντες· καὶ γὰρ οἱ τῆς Ἀλεξανδρείας βασιλεῖς ἄλλοις ὄνομασι καλούμενοι πρότερον, ὡτε τὴν βασιλείαν ἠλαβον, Πτολεμαῖοι προσγηρεύθησαν ἀπὸ τοῦ πρῶτον βασιλέως. καὶ οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ αὐτοκράτορες ἐκ γενετῆς ἀπὸ ἄλλων χρηματίσαντες ὄνομάτων Καίσαρες καλοῦνται, τῆς ἡγεμονίας καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τὴν προσηγορίαν αὐτοῖς θεμένης, ἀλλ' οὐχ οἷς ὑπὸ τῶν πατέρων ἐκλήθησαν τούτοις ἐπημένοντες. νομίζω δὲ καὶ Ἡρώδου τὸν Ἀλικαρνασσάδα διὰ τοῦτο μετὰ Μιναίαν τὸν ὀικοδομήσαντα Μέμφιν τριάκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους βασιλεῖς Ἀιγυπτίων γενέσθαι λέγοντα μὴ δηλώσαι αὐτῶν τὰ ὄνομα, ὅτι κοινῶς Φαραώθαι ἐκαλοῦντο· καὶ γὰρ μετὰ τὴν τούτων τελευτήν γυναικὸς βασιλευσάσης λέγει τοῦνομα Νικαύλην καλῶν, δηλῶν ὡς τῶν μεν ἄρρενῶν βασιλέων τὴν αὐτὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχειν δυναμένων, τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς οὐκέτι κοινωνεῖν ἐκείνης, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο εἶπεν αὐτῆς τὸ φύσει δεδομένον ὄνομα. ἐγὼ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις ἡμῶν βιβλίοις εὗρον ὅτι μετὰ Φαραώθην τὸν Σολομῶνος πενθερὸν οὐκέτ' οὔδεις τοῦτο τοῦνομα βασιλεὺς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκλήθη, καὶ ὅτι ὅστιν ἤκε πρὸς Σολομῶνα ἢ προειρημένη γυνὴ βασιλεύουσα τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Λιθυσίας. περὶ μὲν οὖν ταύτης μετ' οὗ πολὺ δηλώσομεν· νῦν δὲ τούτων ἐπεμνήσθην, ἵνα παραστήσω τὰ ἡμέτερα βιβλία καὶ τὰ παρ' Αἰγυπτίως περὶ πολλῶν ὀμολογοῦντα.¹

¹ ὀμοφωνοῦντα SPLV.
from childhood they had other names, and that when they became kings they changed them for that name which in their ancestral tongue signifies their royal authority. For so also the kings of Alexandria were first called by other names, but, when they assumed the kingship, were named Ptolemies after the first king. And the Roman emperors also, who from their birth are known by other names, are called Caesars, receiving this title from their princely office and rank, and do not keep the names by which their fathers called them. And I think it was for this reason that Herodotus of Halicarnassus, when he says a that there were three hundred and thirty kings of Egypt after Minaias, who built Memphis, did not mention their names, because they were all in common called Pharaoh. For, after the death of these kings, a woman ruled as queen, and he gives her name as Nikaulē, b making it clear that while the male kings could all have the same name, the woman could not share this, and for that reason he mentioned her by the name that naturally belonged to her. And I myself have discovered in the books of our own country that after the Pharaoh who was Solomon's father-in-law no king of Egypt was ever again called by this name, c and that later the afore-mentioned woman as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia came to Solomon. Now about her we shall write very shortly. d But I have mentioned these matters at this point in order to make plain that our books in many things agree with those of the Egyptians.

*a* Apparently a reference to the sketch of Egyptian history in Herod. ii. 99 ff.

*b* The name is given as Nitocris in our texts of Herodotus.

*c* Josephus overlooks the Scriptural reference to Pharaoh Necho, 2 Kings xxiii. 29 and elsewhere.

*d* In § 165.
160 (3) 'Ο δὲ βασιλεὺς Σολομὼν τοὺς ἐτὶ τῶν Χαναναίων οὖχ ὑπακούοντας, οἱ ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ διέτριβον ὅρει καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Ἀμάθης, ὑπο-κειρίους ποιησάμενος φόρον αὐτοῖς προσέταξε, καὶ πρὸς τὸ θητεύειν αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς οἰκετικὰς χρείας ἐκτελεῖν καὶ πρὸς γεωργίαν κατ' ἐτοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπελέγετο. τῶν γὰρ Ἐβραίων οὐδεὶς ἐδούλευεν (οὐδ' ἦν εὐλογον ἐθνη πολλα του θεου δεδωκότος αὐτοῖς ὑποχειρια, δέον ἐκ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι τὸ θητικὸν, αὐτοὺς κατάγειν εἰς τούτο τὸ σχῆμα), ἀλλὰ πάντες ἐν ὀπλοῖς ἐφ' ἀρμάτων καὶ ἑπαυν ἐπιτευγμένοι μᾶλλον ἢ δούλεύοντες διήγον. τῶν δὲ Χαναναίων, οὓς εἰς τὴν οἰκετείαν ἀπήγαγεν, ἀρχοντας ἀπέδειξε πεντακοσίους καὶ πεντήκοντα τῶν ἄριθμον, οἱ τὴν ὅλην αὐτῶν ἐπιτροπὴν εἰλήφεσαν παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως, ὥστε διδάσκειν αὐτοὺς τὰ ἐργα καὶ τὰς πραγματείας, ἐφ' ἀς ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐκρηξεν.

161 (4) Ἐναυπηγήσατο δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῷ Αἰγυπτικῷ κόλπῳ σκάφη πολλὰ τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ λεγομένῳ Γασιωνγάβελ οὐ πόρρῳ Αἰλανής πόλεως, ἡ νῦν Βερενίκη καλεῖται αὐτὴ γὰρ ἡ χώρα τοῦ πρὶν Ἰουδαίων ᾗν. ἔτυχε δὲ καὶ τῆς ἀρμοζούσης εἰς τὰς ναῦς δωρεὰς παρ' Εἰρώμου. τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως· ἀνδρας γὰρ αὐτῷ κυβερνήτας καὶ τῶν θαλασσών ἐπιστήμονας ἐπεμψεν ἰκανούς, οἷς ἐκέλευσε πλεύσαντας μετὰ καὶ τῶν ἰδίων

1 EV: Ἀμαθῆς L: Ἀμμάθης (-هة SP) rell.: Amathi Lat.  
2 Niese: ἂς ἀν codd.  
3 Hudson: Ἰλάνεως RO: Ἰλανῆς MS(P)V: Ἐλάνης E: Hilana Lat.
(3) King Solomon also reduced to subjection those of the Canaanites who were still unsubmitting, that is, those who lived on Mt. Libanos and as far as Amathē, and imposed a tribute upon them and raised a yearly levy from them to be his serfs and perform menial tasks and till the soil. But of the Hebrews no one was a slave—nor was it reasonable, when God had made so many nations subject to them, from among whom they ought to raise their force of serfs, that they themselves should be reduced to that condition—but they all bore arms and served in the field on chariots and horses rather than lead the lives of slaves. And over the Canaanites, whom he had reduced to domestic slavery, he appointed five hundred and fifty officers, who received full charge of them from the king, so as to instruct them in those tasks and activities for which he needed them.

(4) The king also built many ships in the Egyptian gulf of the Red Sea at a certain place called Gasión-gabel not far from the city of Ailane, which is now called Berenike. For this territory formerly belonged to the Jews. Moreover he obtained a present suitable to the needs of his ships from Eíromos, the king of Tyre, who sent him pilots and a goodly number of men skilled in seamanship, and these Solomon ordered to sail along with his own stewards to the

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a Bibl. Hamath, cf. A. i. 138 note. Scripture enumerates "all the people who were left of the Amorites, Hittites, Perizzites, Hivites and Jebusites."

b So 1 Kings; 2 Chron. 250.

c The modern Gulf of Akabah.

d Bibl. Ezion-géber (Ἐσύων γεβήρ), lxx cod. Β Ἐμασειων Γάβερ, cod. Α Γασιὼν Γάβερ.

e Bibl. Eloth, lxx 1 Kings Aἰλάθ, 2 Chron. Aἰλάμ.
oικονόμων εἰς τὴν πάλας μὲν Σώφειραν νῦν δὲ χρυσῷς γῆν καλομενήν (τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῇ) χρυσὸν αὐτῷ κομίσαι. καὶ συναθροίσαντες ὄς τετρακόσια τάλαντα πάλιν ἀνεχώρησαν πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα.

165 (5) Τὴν δὲ τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Αἰθιοπίας τότε βασιλεύουσαν γυναῖκα σοφία διαπεπονημένην καὶ τὰλλα θαυμαστὴν ἀκούουσαν τὴν Σολομῶνος ἄρετὴν καὶ φρόνησιν ἐπιθυμία τῆς ὁφεὼς αὐτοῦ ἐκ τῶν ὀσμηρὰ περὶ τῶν ἐκεῖ λεγομένων πρὸς 166 αὐτὸν ἦγαγε. πεισθῆναι γὰρ ὑπὸ τῆς πείρας ἀλλ’ οὖν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς (ἢ εἰκὸς ἐστὶ καὶ θευδεὶ δόξῃ συγκατατίθεσθαι καὶ μεταπείσαι πάλιν, ὅτα γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπαγγέλλουσι κεῖται) θέλουσα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθεῖν διέγνω, καὶ μάλιστα ἡ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ βουλομένη λαβεῖν πείραν αὐτή,3 προτείνασα καὶ λύσαι τὸ ἀποροῦ τῆς διανοίας δεισδεῖσα, ἦκεν4 εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα μετὰ πολλῆς δόξης καὶ πλούτου παρα-

167 σκευῆς. επηγάγετο γὰρ καμήλους χρυσίου μεστὰς καὶ ἀρωμάτων ποικίλων καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν. ὡς δὲ ἀφικομένην αὐτὴν ἢδέως ὁ βασιλεὺς προσ-

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1 Niese: καὶ codd. Lat.
2 καὶ μάλιστα Niese: μάλιστα καὶ ROM: μάλιστα SP.
3 Exc. Bekker: αὐτὴ ROSP: αὐτὴν M.
4 ἢκεν ὁδὲ M Lat.: ἢκε δ’ Exc. Bekker.

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a So Luc. and lxx 2 Chron.; bibl. Ophir, lxx 1 Kings Σωφηρά.
b Cf. Isa. xiii. 12, Ps. xlv. 9, Job xxii. 24 et al.
c The actual location of Ophir is a matter of speculation. Some modern scholars agree with Josephus in locating it in or near India.
d 1 Kings Heb. and Luc. 420, lxx 120; 2 Chron. Heb. and lxx 450.
e Scripture calls her “Queen of Sheba.” Sheba was a 660
land anciently called Sopheir, but now the Land of Gold; it belongs to India. And when they had amassed a sum of four hundred talents they returned again to the king. (5) Now the woman who at that time ruled as queen of Egypt and Ethiopia was thoroughly trained in wisdom and remarkable in other ways, and, when she heard of Solomon’s virtue and understanding, was led to him by a strong desire to see him which arose from the things told daily about his country. For, wishing to be convinced by experience and not merely by hearsay—which is likely to give assent to a false belief and then convince one of the opposite, since it depends wholly on those who bring reports—she decided to go to him; and being very desirous of herself making trial of his wisdom by propounding questions and asking him to solve their difficult meaning, she came to Jerusalem with great splendour and show of wealth. For she brought with her camels laden with gold and various spices and precious stones. And the king received her gladly on her kingdom in S.W. Arabia, cf. Gen. x. 28, Job vi. 19 and Mt. xii. 42 ("the Queen of the South"). Rabbinic tradition describes Sheba as a land of sorcerers somewhere in the East, and Ginzberg vi. 292 thinks it "possible that the substitution of Egypt for Sheba by Josephus . . . is to be ascribed to the fact that in the Haggadah Egypt is the land of magic and witchcraft par excellence." But Josephus probably knew of some native Egyptian or Ethiopic tradition which connected the queen of the Arabian kingdom with Egypt and Ethiopia (cf. Isa. xliii. 3). This tradition which he got from Herodotus or some other Greek source (cf. §§ 158 f.) is found in Ethiopic literature and states that Menelik, the first king of Abyssinia, was a son of Solomon and Makkeda, whom they identify with the Queen of Sheba. For a discussion of this subject see J. B. Coulbeaux, Histoire de l’Abyssinie, i. 108 ff.
edéxato, tā te allā peri autēn phīlōtīmos ἤν kai ἃ προβαλλόμενα σοφίς ματα ραδίως tē synéthei kataλαμβανόμενος ἰάττον ἢ προσεδόκα τις ἐπ- 168 elūeto. ἢ δ’ ἐξεπλήσσετο μὲν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Σολομῶνος, οὐτως υπερβάλλουσαν αὐτὴν καὶ τῆς ἀκουομένης τῇ πείρᾳ κρείττω kataμαθήσα, μάλιστα δ’ ἐθαύμαζε τά βασιλεία τοῦ τε κάλλους καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους οὐχ ἦττον δὲ τῆς διατάξεως τῶν οἰκοδομημάτων καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταύτῃ πολλὴν τοῦ 169 βασιλέως καθεώρα φρόνησιν. ὑπερεξέπληττε δ’ αὐτὴν ὃ τε οἶκος ὧ ὅρμων ἐπικαλούμενον Λιβάνου καὶ ἡ τῶν καθ’ ἡμέραν δείπνων πολυτέλεια καὶ τά τῆς παρασκευῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακονίας ἢ τε τῶν ὑπηρετοῦντων ἐσής καὶ το μετ’ ἐπιστήμης αὐτῶν περί τὴν διακονίαν εὐπρεπεῖ, οὐχ ἡκιστα δὲ καὶ αἱ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἐπιτελοῦμεναι τῷ θεῷ θυσίαι καὶ τῶν ἑρέων καὶ Αθηναίων περὶ αὐτῶς ἐπιμελές. 170 ταῦθ’ ὄρωσα καθ’ ἡμέραν ὑπερθαύμαζε, καὶ κατα- σχεῖν οὐ δυνηθεῖσα τὴν ἐκπληξίων τῶν βλεπομένων, φανερὰν ἐποίησεν αὐτὴν θαυμαστικῶς διακειμένην πρὸς γὰρ τοῦ βασιλέα προῆχθη λόγους εἰπεῖν, ὡς ἢν ἡλέγχθη σφόδρα τὴν διάνοιαν ἐπὶ τοῖς προ- 171 ειρημένοις ἡττημένην “πάντα μὲν γάρ,” εἰπεν, “ὡ βασιλεῦ, τὰ δὲ ἀκοῆς εἰς γνῶσιν ἔρχομαι μετ’ ἀπιστίας παραγίνεται, τῶν δὲ σῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὡς αὐτῶν τε ἔχεις ἐν σαυτῷ, λέγω δὲ τὴν σοφίαν καὶ τὴν φρόνησιν, καὶ ὃν ἡ βασιλεία σοι δίδωσιν, οὗ πειθής ἀρά ἡ φήμη πρὸς ἡμᾶς δήλθην, ἅλλ’ ὀδὸς ἄληθῆς πολὺ καταδεστέραν τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἀπ- 172 ἐφίληθος ἢς ὄρω νῦν παροῦσα. τὰς μὲν γάρ ἀκοὰς πείθειν ἐπεσχέρει μόνον, τὸ δὲ ἀξίωμα τῶν πραγ- μάτων οὐχ οὔτως ἐποίει γνώριμον, ὡς ἢ ὤμος αὐτὸ 662
arrival and was studious to please her in all ways, in particular by mentally grasping with ease the ingenious problems she set him and solving them more quickly than anyone could have expected. But she was amazed at Solomon’s wisdom when she realized how extraordinary it was and how much more excellent upon trial than what she had heard about it. She especially admired the palace for its beauty and size and, no less, for the arrangement of the buildings, for in this she saw the great wisdom of the king. But she was more than amazed at the hall called the Forest of Libanos and the lavishness of the daily meals and his table-ware and service and the apparel of his attendants, as well as the decorum, combined with skill, of their serving; and not least the sacrifices daily offered to God and the care bestowed on them by the priests and Levites. Seeing these things day by day she admired them beyond measure, and was not able to contain her amazement at what she saw, but showed clearly how much admiration she felt, for she was moved to address the king in words which revealed how greatly overcome were her feelings by the things we have described. “All things indeed, O King,” she said, “that come to our knowledge through hearsay are received with mistrust, but concerning the good things that are yours, both those which you possess in your own person, I mean your wisdom and prudence, and those which the kingship gives you, it was by no means a false report that reached us; on the contrary, though it was true, it indicated a prosperity far below that which I see, now being here. For the report attempted only to persuade our ears but did not make known the dignity of your state as fully as seeing it and being in

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The Queen praises Solomon. 1 Kings x. 6 2 Chron. ix. 7.
JOSEPHUS

καὶ τὸ παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνίστησιν. ἐγὼ γοῦν οὐδὲ τοῖς ἀπαγγελλομένοις διὰ πλῆθος καὶ μέγεθος ὃν ἐπυνθανόμην πιστεύουσα, πολλῷ πλείω τούτων 173 ἱστόρηκα, καὶ μακάριόν τε τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν εἶναι κρίνω δούλους τε τοὺς σοὺς καὶ φίλους, οἱ καθ’ ἡμέραν τῆς σης ἀπολαύουσιν ὅψεως καὶ τῆς σῆς σοφίας ἀκροώμενοι διατελοῦσιν. εὐλογήσειεν ἂν τις τὸν θεὸν ἀγαπήσαντα τῇ γὰρ τὴν χώραν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατοικοῦντας οὔτως, ὡστε σὲ ποιήσαι βασιλέα.’’

174 (6) Παραστήσασα δὲ καὶ διὰ τῶν λόγων πῶς αὐτὴν διεθηκεν ὁ βασιλεύς, ἔτι καὶ ταῖς δωρεάῖς τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῆς ἐποίησε φανερὰν εἰκοσι μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ τάλαντα ἐδωκε χρυσίον ἀρωμάτων τε πλῆθος ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ λίθων πολυτελῶν. λέγονσι δ’ ὅτι καὶ τὴν τοῦ ὀποβαλσάμου ρίζαν, ἢν ἔτι τοὺς ἢμῶν ἡ χώρα φέρει, δούσας ταύτης τῆς 175 γυναικὸς ἔχοιμεν. ἀντεδωρήσατο δ’ αὐτὴν πολλοῖς καὶ Σωλομῶν ἁγαθοῖς καὶ μάλισθ’ ὃν κατ’ ἐπιθυμίαν ἐξελέξατο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢν ὁ τι δειθείσῃ λαβεῖν οὐ παρέσχεν, ἀλλ’ ἐτοιμότερον ὃν αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν οἰκείαν ἔχαριζετο προοίμεσιν ἀπερ ἐκείνῃ τυχεὶν ἦξιον προϊέμενος, τὴν μεγαλοφροσύνην ἐπεδείκνυτο. καὶ ἡ μὲν τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων καὶ τῆς Ἑπταπλείας βασιλείας ἄφαντα ὁ προερήκαμεν τυχοῦσα καὶ μεταδοῦσα πάλιν τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν παρ’ αὐτῆς, εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ὑπέστρεψε.

176 (vii. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καίρον κομισθέντων

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1 ἐγὼ γοῦν Ὁ: ἐγὼ· οὖν rell.
2 λίθων πολυτελῶν Niese: λίθων πολυτελῆ codd.: λίθων πολυτελῆς ex Lat. Hudson.
3 + καὶ SP.

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its presence showed it to be. I, for my part, did not believe the things reported because of the multitude and greatness of what I heard about them, and yet I have witnessed here things far greater than these. Fortunate do I hold the Hebrew people to be, and your servants and friends as well, who daily enjoy the sight of you and continually listen to your wisdom. Let us bless God who has so well loved this country and its inhabitants as to make you their king."

(6) And, after she had shown by her words how she felt toward the king, she revealed her feelings still more clearly by her gifts, for she gave him twenty \(^{a}\) talents of gold and an incalculable quantity of spices and precious stones; and they say that we have the root of the opobalsammon, which our country still bears,\(^{b}\) as a result of this woman's gift. In return Solomon also presented her with many fine gifts, in particular with those which she selected as most desirable, for there was nothing which he did not give when she asked to have it; on the contrary, he showed his magnanimity by giving up whatever she asked for more readily than he presented gifts to her of his own choice. And so the queen of Egypt and Ethiopia, having obtained the gifts we have mentioned and given others to the king from among her possessions, returned to her own country.

(vii. 1) \(^{c}\) About that same time there were brought

\(^{a}\) Bibl. 120.

\(^{b}\) Cf. B.J. iv. 469 on the balsam of Jericho, and A. ix. 7 on the balsam of Engedi on the Dead Sea.

\(^{c}\) Scripture introduces the following passage before completing the account of the queen's visit with her departure. Josephus changes the order by completing her story before turning to the subject of Solomon's imports.

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ὁ πό τῆς χρυσῆς καλομενῆς γῆς λίθον πολυτελοῦσιν τῷ βασίλει καὶ ξύλων πευκίνων, τοῖς ξύλοις εἰς ύποστήριγμα τοῦ τε ναοῦ καὶ τῶν βασιλείων κατεχόμενον καὶ πρὸς τὴν τῶν μουσικῶν οργάνων κατασκευὴν κινύματος τε καὶ νάβλας, ὅπως ὑμῶσιν οἱ Δησοῦται τῶν θεῶν· πάντων δὲ τῶν πῶς ποτὲ κομμισθέντων αὐτῶ τὰ κατ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν ἑνεξῆντα καὶ μεγέθείς καὶ κάλλει διεφέρειν. ὕπολάβη δὲ μηδέν στὶ τὰ τῆς πεύκης ξύλα τοῖς νῦν εἴναι λεγομένοις καὶ ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν πιτακούτων τῆς προσηγορίαν ἑπὶ καταπλῆξει τῶν ἄνωμένων λαμβάνουσίν ἑστὶ παραπλήσια. ἐκεῖνα γὰρ τὴν μὲν ἰδέαν ἐμφερῆ τοῖς συκίνοις γίνεται, λευκότερα δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ στίλβει πλέον· τούτῳ μὲν οὖν ἑπὶ πρὸς τὸ μηδένα τὴν διαφορὰν ἀγνοοῦσα μηδὲ τὴν φύσιν τῆς ἀληθοῦς πεύκης, ἐπεὶ διὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλείως χρείαν ἐμνήσθημεν αὐτῆς, εὐκαιρον εἴναι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον δηλώσαι νομίσαντες εἰρήκαμεν.

179 Ὁ δὲ τοῦ χρυσοῦ σταλίμος τοῦ κομμισθέντος αὐτῶ τάλαντα ἐξακόσια καὶ ἔξηκοντα καὶ ἔξ, μὴ συγκαταρθημομένου καὶ τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ἀνηθέντος μηδὲ ὅν οἱ τῆς Ἀραβίας τοπάρχαι καὶ βασιλείς ἐπέμπον αὐτῶ δωρεῶν.3 ἐξώνευσε

1 Λίθων πολυτελῶν SP Lat.
2 οὖν om. ROM.
3 δῶρον RO: δάρων Niese.

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* Βιβλ. Οφίρ, ωφ. § 114.
 b So lxx in 2 Chron., 1 Kings Heb. 'almuggim (A.V. "almug"), lxx πελεκητά "hewn," 2 Chron. Heb. 666
to the king from the country called the Land of Gold \(^a\) precious stones and pine \(^b\) wood, which wood he used as supports \(^c\) for the temple and the palace and for the construction of musical instruments, \textit{kinyrai} and \textit{nabla}, \(^d\) with which the Levites might sing hymns to God. And the wood that was delivered on that day far surpassed in size and beauty any that had ever been brought to him before. But let no one suppose that the pine wood was like that which is now called pine and which receives this name from men who sell it as such in order to dazzle purchasers, for that we speak of was similar in appearance to the wood of fig-trees, but was whiter and more gleaming.\(^e\) This much, then, we have said in order that no one may remain ignorant of the nature of genuine pine and its difference from other kinds; and, as we have spoken of the use which the king made of it, it seemed in place and an act of kindness to explain more fully.

(2) The weight of the gold that was brought to him was six hundred and sixty-six talents, not including what was brought by the merchants or the gifts which the governors and the kings of Arabia\(^f\) sent to him.\(^g\) And this gold he melted down to make \textit{algummim}. It is not known what kind of tree the almug was, but many scholars identify it with red sandal-wood, which comes from the islands near India.

\(^a\) The products of Ophir. 1 Kings x. 11; 2 Chron. ix. 10.

\(^b\) Solomon's wealth. 1 Kings x. 14; 2 Chron. ix. 13.

\(^c\) So LXX translates Heb. \textit{mišad} (A.V. "pillars") in 1 Kings; in 2 Chron. LXX has \textit{apagáseis} "steps" for Heb. \textit{mesíllóth} "paths" (?) (A.V. "terraces").

\(^d\) On these instruments cf. A. vii. 306 notes.

\(^e\) These details about the rare wood are, of course, unscriptural.

\(^f\) So 2 Chron.; in 1 Kings Heb. has \textit{èreb}, a word of doubtful meaning here, which Targum translates by "allies," and LXX, reading \textit{èber}, has τοῦ πέραν "of the (country) beyond."

\(^g\) Every year, according to Scripture.
δὲ τὸν χρυσὸν εἰς διακοσίων κατασκευήν θυρεῶν

180 ἀνὰ σίκλους ἀγώντων ἐξακοσίους. ἔποιήσε δὲ καί ἀσπίδας τριακοσίας ἀγούσης ἐκάστης χρυσοῦ μνᾶς τρεῖς· ἀνέθηκε δὲ ταύτας φέρων εἰς τὸν οἶκον τῶν δρυμῶν Λιβάνου καλούμενον. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ ἐκπώματα διὰ χρυσοῦ καὶ λίθου τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἐστίασιν ώς ἐν μάλιστα φιλοτέχνων⁴ κατεσκεύασε καὶ τὴν ἄλλην τῶν σκευῶν δαφύλειαν χρυσέαν

181 ἀπασαν ἐμηχανήσατο· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἢν ὦ τὸς ἀργυρῷ ἐπιτραπέτας ἢ πάλιν ἐσωτερικόν· πολλαί γὰρ ἦσαν νῆς, ἃς ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν τῇ Ταρσούκῃ λευκομένῃ θαλάττῃ καταστήσας παραγαγείς⁴ εἰς τὰ ἐνδοτέρω τῶν ἐθνῶν παντοῖον ἐμπορίαν προσέταξεν, ὃν ἐξεμπολομεῖνων ἀργυρός τε καί χρυσὸς ἐκομίζετο τῷ βασιλεί καὶ πολὺς ἐλέφας Λιθιώτεσ τε καὶ πίθηκοι. τὸν δὲ πλοῦν ἀποισάσαι τε καὶ ἐπανερχόμεναι τριῳν ἔτειν ἤμνου.

182 (3) Φήμη δὲ λαμπρὰ πάσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς χώρας περιήρχετο διαβοῦσα τῇ Σολομώνος ἀρετῇ καὶ σοφίᾳ, ὡς τοὺς τε πανταχοῦ βασιλεῖς ἐπιθυμεῖν εἰς ὁμίν αὐτῶ παραγενέσθαι, τοῖς λεγομένοις δι’ ὑπερβολὴν ἀπιστοῦντας, καὶ δωρεάς μεγάλαις

183 προσεμφανίζειν τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν σπουδήν· ἔπεμπον γὰρ αὐτῶ σκευὴ χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ καὶ ἀλουργεῖς ἐσθήτας καὶ ἀρωμάτων γένη πολλαὶ καὶ ὅππους

¹ Niese: φιλοτέχνων RO Lat. (vid.): φιλοτέχνως MSP.
² ἀλλὰ πολλαί RO Lat.                      ³ Dindorf: ναῦς codd.
⁴ ἀπάγειν MSP.

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* So Heb. and lxx 2 Chron.; lxx 1 Kings has ὅπλα “weapons.”
* lxx 1 Kings 300.
* So 1 Kings; 2 Chron. 300 (shekels). The mina (Heb. mānēh) was equal to 60 shekels.

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two hundred shields $^a$ weighing six hundred $^b$ shekels apiece. He also made three hundred bucklers, each weighing three minae.$^c$ And he brought them to be set up in the hall called the Forest of Libanos. Furthermore he made drinking-cups of gold and precious stone $^d$ for the use of guests with the greatest art and fashioned an abundance of other vessels all of gold, as no one sold or bought anything for silver.$^e$

For the king had many ships stationed in the Sea of Tarsus,$^f$ as it was called, which he ordered to carry all sorts of merchandise to the inland nations, and from the sale of these there was brought to the king silver and gold and much ivory and Ethiopians $^g$ and apes. The sea voyage, going and returning, took three years.

(3) $^h$ And so glowing a report was circulated through the whole country round about, proclaiming Solomon's virtue and wisdom, that everywhere the kings desired to see him with their own eyes, not crediting what had been told them because of its extravagance, and to give further evidence of their regard for him by their costly presents. Accordingly, they sent him vessels of gold and silver and sea-purple $^d$ garments and many kinds of spices and

$^a$ Unscriptural detail.

$^b$ Scripture says, "there was no silver (in the vessels), for it was accounted as nothing in the days of Solomon."

$^c$ Bibl. Tarshish, lxx Θαρσης, Targum "Africa." Most modern scholars identify Tarshish with Tartessos in Spain, not with Tarsus in Cilicia as does Josephus.

$^d$ Heb. tukkiyim, lxx ταύρων, both meaning "peacocks"; tukkiyim may, as Weill suggests, have been misread by Josephus as kusiiyim "Ethiopians."

$^e$ i.xx at this point (after 1 Kings x. 22) has a passage on Solomon's fortifications and conquests, which is given earlier in the Heb. (1 Kings ix. 15 ff.), cf. § 150.
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καὶ ἀρματα καὶ τῶν ἀχθοφόρων ἠμώνων ὡσοὺς καὶ ῥώμη καὶ κάλλει τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὡψιν εὑ διαθήσειν ἐπελέγοντο, ὡστε τοῖς οὖσιν αὐτῷ πρό-
τερον ἄρμασι καὶ ἵπποις ἐκ τῶν πεπομένων προσθέντα ποιήσαι τὸν μὲν τῶν ἀρμάτων ἄρισθον τετρακοσίων περισσότερον (ἥν γὰρ αὐτῷ πρότερον χίλια), τὸν δὲ τῶν ἵππων δισχιλίους (ὑπήρχον γὰρ
184 αὐτῷ δισμύριοι ἵπποι). ἦσκηντο δ’ οὕτω πρὸς εὑμορφίαν καὶ τάχος, ὡς μήτ’ εὐπρεπεστέρους ἄλλους εἶναι συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς μήτε ἤκουτέρους, ἀλλὰ καλλίστους τε πάντων ὀραθαι καὶ ἀπαρ-
185 μὴλητον αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν ὀξύτητα. ἐπεκόσμουν δὲ αὐτοὺς καὶ οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες νεότητι μὲν πρῶτον ἀνθοῦντες ἐπιτερπεστάτη, τὸ δὲ ψυχὸς ὄντες περί-
οπτοι καὶ πολὺ τῶν ἄλλων ὑπερέχοντες, μηκίστας μὲν καθεμένοι χαίτας ἐνδεδυμένοι δὲ χιτῶνας τῆς ῾Τυρίας πορφύρας. ψήγμα δὲ χρυσόν καθ’ ἠμέραν αὐτῶν ἐπέσηθον ταῖς κόμαις, ὡς στύλβειν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς τῆς αὐγῆς τοῦ χρυσοῦ πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον ἀντανακλωμένης. τούτων περὶ αὐτῶν ὄντων ὁ βασιλεὺς καθωπλισμένων καὶ τόξα ἐξηρτημένων ἐφ’ ἀρμάτος αὐτὸς ὄχούμενος καὶ λευκὴν ἡμφ-
186 εμένος ἐσθήτα πρὸς αἰώραν ἔθος εἰχεν ἐξορμᾶν. ἦν δὲ τι χωρίον ἀπὸ δύο σχοίνων Ἰεροσολύμων, ὁ καλεῖται μὲν Ὑπὸν, παραδείσοις δὲ καὶ ναμάτων

* Heb. has merely 1400, without indicating how many he had formerly; ixx cod. B “four thousand horses for chariots,” cod. A and Luc. (2 Chron.) “forty thousand horses for chariots.”

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horses and chariots and as many mules for carrying burdens as could be counted on to please the king's eye by their strength and beauty, so that, with the addition of these that were sent to the chariots and horses he formerly had, he increased the number of his chariots by four hundred—previously he had a thousand—and the number of his horses by two thousand—he already had twenty thousand horses. These were trained for beauty of form and for speed, so that there were none more handsome or swifter to compare with them, but they were most beautiful of all in appearance and were also unrivalled in swiftness. A further adornment to them were their riders, who, in the first flower of a youth that was most delightful to see, and of a conspicuous height, were much taller than other men; they let their hair hang down to a very great length and were dressed in tunics of Tyrian purple. And every day they sprinkled their hair with gold dust so that their heads sparkled as the gleam of the gold was reflected by the sun. With these men about him dressed in armour and equipped with bows, the king himself was accustomed to mount his chariot, clothed in a white garment, and go out for a ride. Now there was a certain spot two _schoinoi_ distant from Jerusalem, which is called _Etan_, delightful for, and

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^ Bibl. 12,000 horsemen; Heb. _pārāšim_, however, may mean "horses" as well as "horsemen."
^ This peculiar meaning of _aió̂̃a_ is established by the use of _aiwroûmenos_ below and the same verb in _A_. xviii. 185 _aiwreî̂̃o_ μὲν Τιθέριος ἐπὶ φορείον κείμενος.
^ Between 8 and 10 miles.
^ Probably the same place as Etam (Etam̃ in § 246), _LXX_ _Aitám_, _Aitán_, the modern 'Ain 'Atân about 5 miles S.W. of Bethlehem; it is mentioned in the list of Rehoboam's fortified cities.
187 (4) Θεία δὲ περὶ πάντα χρώμενος ἐπινοίᾳ τε καὶ σπουδὴ καὶ λίαν ὃν φιλόκαλος οὐδὲ τῶν οὖν ὄνων ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτων τὰς ἀγούσας εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα βασιλεῖον οὕσαν λίθῳ κατέστρωσε μέλαιν, πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ῥαστάνην εἶναι τοὺς βαδίζοναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ δηλοῦν τὸ ἄξιωμα τοῦ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἕγερμονίας. διαμερίσας δὲ τὰ ἄρματα καὶ διατάξας, ὡστε ἐν ἐκάστῃ πόλει τούτων ἄρματιν ὄρματον ὑπάρχειν, αὐτὸς μὲν περὶ αὐτῶν ἐτήρησεν όλγα, τὰς δὲ πόλεις ταύτας ἀρμάτων προσηγόρευσε. τοῦ δὲ ἄργυρίου τοσοῦτον ἐποίησεν πληθος ἐν Ἰερο-
sολύμοις ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὅσον ἦν καὶ τῶν λίθων, καὶ τῶν κεδρίνων ἄνων οὕτω αὐτὸς ἐπέτρεψεν ὅσπερ καὶ τῶν δὲνδρων τῶν συκαμίνων, ὃν τριῶν πληθύνει
188 τὰ τῆς Ἰουδαίας πεδία. προσέταξε δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐμπόροις Αἰγύπτου κομίζομεν αὐτῷ πιπράσκειν τὸ μὲν ἄρμα σὺν ἱπποῖς δύο ἐξακοσίων δραχμῶν ἄργυρίον, αὐτὸς δὲ τοῖς τῆς Συρίας βασιλεύσῃ καὶ τοῖς πέτραι Εὐφράτου διέπεμπεν αὐτούς.

190 (5) Γενόμενος δὲ πάντων βασιλέων ἐνδοξότατος

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1 Niese: ῥάστην codd.
2 ἐποίησετο RO.
3 ὃν add. Niese.

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*a This whole passage (§§ 184-187) is an addition to Scripture.
*b So Heb.; lxx “gold and silver.”
*c Heb. “a chariot came up and went out of Egypt for six hundred (shekels) of silver, and a horse for a hundred and fifty”; lxx “and the export went up from Egypt, a chariot for a hundred (shekels) of silver, and a horse for fifty (shekels) of silver.” Josephus takes a shekel as equal to four Attic drachmas (A. iii. 194), so that the price of 150 shekels given in the lxx for a chariot with one horse 672
abounding in, parks and flowing streams, and to this place he would make excursions, mounted high on his chariot.

(4) Exercising a divine thoughtfulness and zeal in all things and being an ardent lover of beauty, he did not neglect the roads either, but those leading to Jerusalem, which was the royal city, he paved with black stone, both for the convenience of wayfarers and in order to show the greatness of his wealth and power. And he divided the chariots and disposed them in such a way that there was a definite number of them in every city, while he himself kept only a few about him; and these cities he called Cities of Chariots. As for silver, the king made it as plentiful in Jerusalem as were stones, and cedar-wood, which had not been found there before, he made as plentiful as the sycamore-trees with which the plains of Judea abound. He also gave orders to the merchants of Egypt to bring and sell him a chariot with two horses for six hundred drachmas of silver, which he himself sent to the kings of Syria and those beyond the Euphrates.

(5) But though he had been the most illustrious of

would be equal to 600 drachmas. In making 600 drachmas the price of a chariot with two horses, Josephus combines the Heb. and LXX texts, as Weill has noted.

d The bibl. text (1 Kings x. 29) is obscure and does not make clear who exported the horses to the east. Heb. has beyadam hosivu “by their hand they sent them out,” apparently referring to “the king’s merchants” mentioned in vs. 28; LXX, reading beyadam as bayyam “by sea,” has kata thalassan epeorevontos. With the other textual difficulties in the bibl. verse we need not deal, as they do not bear on Josephus’s text.

c Bibl. “for all the kings of the Hittites and the kings of Syria (Heb. Aram).”
καὶ θεοφιλέστατος καὶ φρονήσει καὶ πλοῦτω διενεγκών τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀρχὴν ἐσχηκότων, ὡς ἔπεμενε τοῦτοι ἀχρὶ τελευτῆς, ἀλλὰ καταλιπὼν τὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐθνικῶν φυλακὴν ὡς εἰς ὁμοιὸν οἷς προειρήκαμεν αὐτοῦ τέλος κατέστρεφεν, εἰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐκμανεῖς καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁφροδισίων ἀκρασίαν, οὐ ταῖς ἐπιχειροῖς μόνον ἥρεσκετο, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἐθνῶν γῆμας Σιδώνιας καὶ Τυρίας καὶ Ἀμμανιτίδας καὶ Ἰδομαιάς παρέβη μὲν τοὺς Μωσεός νόμους, δὲ ἀπηγόρευσε συνοικεῖν ταῖς οὕς ὄμο-
φύλοις, τοὺς δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἥρεσιν θρησκεύειν θεοὺς, ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι ἱππιομένοις, τούτῳ αὐτῷ ὑπιδομένῳ τοῦ νομοθέτου καὶ προ-
ειπόντος μὴ γαμεῖν τὰς ἀλλοτριοχώρους, ἢν μὴ τοὺς ἕνοις ἐπιπλακέντες ἔθεσι τῶν πατρίων ἀπο-
στῶσι, μηδὲ τοὺς ἐκεῖνων σέβωνται θεοὺς παρέντες τιμάν τὸν ἑδιον. ἀλλὰ τούτων μὲν κατημέλησεν ὑπενεχθεὶς εἰς ἡδονὴν ἀλόγιστον Σολομῶν, ἀγα-
γόμενος δὲ γυναῖκας ἁρχόντων καὶ διασῆμων ἐννιάτερας ἐπτακοσίας τῶν ἁριθμῶν καὶ παλλακᾶς τρικοσίας, πρὸς δὲ ταύτας καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀγνυπτίων ἐννιάτερα, εὐθὺς μὲν ἐκρατεῖτο πρὸς αὐτῶν, ὅστε μιμεῖσθαι τὰ παρ' ἐκεῖνας, καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας καὶ φιλοστοργίας ἡναγκάζετο παρέξεων αὐταῖς δείγμα τὸ βιοῦν ὡς αὐταῖς πάτριον ἤν, προβαμούσης δὲ τῆς ἥλικιας καὶ τοῦ λογισμοῦ διὰ τῶν χρόνων ἀσθενοῦστος ἀντέχειν πρὸς τὴν μνήμην τῶν ἐπιχειρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, ἔτι μᾶλλον

1 Dindorf: ἰπειδομένου codd.  2 καὶ om. ROM.  
3 σέβωσι RSP Exc.

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all kings and most beloved by God, and in understanding and wealth surpassed those who had ruled over the Hebrews before him, he did not persevere in this way until his death, but abandoned the observance of his fathers' customs and came to an end not at all like what we have already said about him, for he became madly enamoured of women and indulged in excesses of passion; not satisfied with the women of his own country alone, he married many from foreign nations as well, Sidonians, Tyrians, Ammanites and Idumaeans, thereby transgressing the laws of Moses who forbade marriage with persons of other races, and he began to worship their gods to gratify his wives and his passion for them—which is the very thing the lawgiver foresaw when he warned the Hebrews against marrying women of other countries lest they might be entangled with foreign customs and fall away from those of their fathers, and worship the gods of these women while neglecting to honour their own God. But Solomon, carried away by thoughtless pleasure, disregarded these warnings and took as wives seven hundred women, the daughters of princes and nobles, and three hundred concubines, and beside these the daughter of the king of Egypt; and he was very soon prevailed upon by them to the extent of imitating their ways, and was forced to give a sign of his favour and affection for them by living in accordance with their ancestral customs. As he advanced in age, and his reason became in time too feeble to oppose to these the memory of his

So Heb.; LXX omits.

Not mentioned in Scripture, but perhaps a corruption of LXX Σιπας.

Scripture adds Moabites and Hittites.

Cf. Ex. xxxiv 16, Deut. vii. 3, xxiii. 3.
Neither Scripture nor rabbinic tradition imputes any sin to Solomon in making these vessels and images. Tradition does, however, find fault with his amassing of gold and silver, cf. Ginzberg iv. 129. Perhaps Josephus has chosen these two examples of wrongdoing in preference to mentioning the altars which Solomon built in Jerusalem to Ammonite and Moabite gods, 1 Kings xi. 7.
own country’s practices, he showed still greater disrespect for his own God and continued to honour those whom his wives had introduced. But even before this there had been an occasion on which he sinned and went astray in respect of the observance of the laws, namely when he made the images of the bronze bulls underneath the sea which he had set up as an offering, and those of the lions around his own throne, for in making them he committed an impious act. And though he had a most excellent and near example of virtue in his father and in the glory which his father was able to leave behind him because of his piety toward God, he did not imitate him—not even after God had twice appeared to him in his sleep and exhorted him to imitate his father,—and so he died ingloriously. For at once there came a prophet sent by God, who told him that his unlawful acts had not escaped Him, and threatened that he should not long continue in his course with impunity but that, while in his lifetime he should not be deprived of his kingdom since the Deity had promised his father David to make him his successor, on his death He would cause this to befall Solomon’s son and, while not taking all the people away from him, would deliver ten tribes to his servant and leave only two to David’s grandson for the sake of David himself, because he had loved God, and for the sake of Jerusalem, in which He wished to have a temple.

b Here, as elsewhere (cf. A. vii. 72, 294), Josephus introduces a prophet where Scripture represents God as speaking to a certain person directly; a rabbinic tradition agrees with Josephus in mentioning the prophet Ahijah as God’s spokesman on this occasion.

c Jeroboam, cf. § 205.

d Bibl. “one tribe” (Judah), but cf. § 207 note.
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199  (6) Ταύτ' ἀκούσας Σολομῶν ἥλησε καὶ σφοδρῶς συνεχύθη πάντων αὐτῶν σχεδόν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἡφ' οἷς ζηλωτός ἦν εἰς μεταβολὴν ἐρχομένων πονηρῶν. οὐ πολὺς δὲ διῆλθε χρόνος ἀφ' οὗ κατήγγειλεν ὁ προφήτης αὐτῷ τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ πολέμιον εὐθὺς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤγειρεν ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ἀδεροῦ μὲν ὀνόμα τὴν δ' αἴτιαν τῆς ἔχθρας

200 λαβόντα τοιαύτην παῖς οὗτος ἦν, Ἰδομαιαῖος γένος ἐκ βασιλικῶν σπέρματων. καταστρεφαμένου δὲ τὴν Ἰδομαιαίαν Ἰωάβου τοῦ Δαυίδου στρατηγοῦ καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ καὶ φέρειν ὅπλα δυναμένους διαθείραντος μησίν ἐξ, 2 φυγῶν ἤκε πρὸς

201 Φαραὼν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ φιλοφρόνως αὐτῶν ὑποδεξάμενος3 οἰκὸν τε αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ χώραν εἰς διατροφήν, καὶ γενόμενον ἐν ἡλικίᾳ λίαν ἡγάπα, ὥς καὶ τῆς αὐτοῦ γυναῖκος αὐτῶ δοῦναι πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἄδελφην ὀνόμα Θαφίνην, εξ ἦς αὐτῷ υίὸς γενόμενος τοῖς τοῦ βασιλέως παισὶ

202 συναντέραφη.4 ἀκούσας οὖν τὸν Δαυίδου θάνατον ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ τὸν Ἰωάβου προσελθὼν ἐδέετο τοῦ Φαραῶνος ἐπιτρέπειν αὐτῷ βαδίζειν εἰς τὴν πατρίδα. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἀνακρίνοντος τίνος ἐνδεχὴς ὅτι τί παθῶν ἐστοῦδακε καταλιπεῖν αὐτῷ, ἐνοχλῶν πολλάκις καὶ παρακαλῶν τότε μὲν οὐκ

203 ἀφείθῃ. κατ' ἐκείνου δὲ τὸν καιρόν, καθ' οὖν ἡ Ἡδη Σολομῶν τὰ πράγματα κακῶς ἔχειν ἠρχετο διὰ τὰς προειρημένας παρανομίας καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, συγχωρήσαντος τοῦ Φαραῶνος

1 ed. pr.: Ἀδεραν R: "Ἀδεραν OM (Exc.): "Ἀδερ SPE: Adher Lat.
2 μησίν ἐξ ROM: μόνος οὗτος SP: μησίν ἐξ, μόνος οὗτος Naber.
3 δεξάμενος RO.
4 συναντέραφη RO.
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When Solomon heard this, he was grieved and sorely troubled at the thought that almost all the good things for which he was envied were changing for the worse. Nor did a long time elapse after the prophet’s announcement to him of what was coming, but immediately God set up an enemy against him, named Aderos, who had the following reason for his enmity. He was a child of royal lineage of Idumean race when Joab, David’s commander, subdued Idumea and within six months destroyed all those who were of fighting age and able to bear arms; and he fled and came to Pharaō, king of Egypt, who received him kindly and gave him a dwelling and land to sustain him. And when he grew up, Pharaō loved him so much that he gave him in marriage his own wife’s sister, named Thaphinē, and by her he had a son, who was brought up together with the children of the king. Now when Aderos heard in Egypt of the death of both David and Joab, he went to Pharaō and asked him for permission to go to his native country. But the king inquired what he lacked or what had befallen him that he was anxious to leave him, and, although Aderos frequently pressed him and pleaded with him, he did not at that time obtain his release. But at the time when things were already beginning to go ill for Solomon because of the unlawful acts we have mentioned and God’s anger on their account, Pharaō gave his consent

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\(\text{Hadad (Adados)}\) the Edomite rebels against Solomon, 1 Kings xi. 14.

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\(\text{a Cf. lxx } \text{ Ἄδας: bibl. Hadad.}\)

\(\text{b Cf. A. vii. 109 note.}\)

\(\text{c Bibl. Tahpenes, lxx } \text{Θεκεμέλης: this was the name of the queen, not her sister's name.}\)

\(\text{d Amplification.}\)
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ο Ἄδερος ἦκεν εἰς τὴν Ἰδομαιαίαν: καὶ μὴ δυνηθεὶς αὐτὴν ἀποστήσαι τοῦ Σολομῶνος, κατείχετο γὰρ φρουραῖς πολλαῖς καὶ οὐκ ἦν ἔλευθερος δι᾽ αὐτὰς οὐδ’ ἐπ’ ἀδείας ο νεωτερισμός, ἀρας ἐκείθεν 204 εἰς τὴν Συρίαν ἄφικετο. συμβαλῶν δ’ ἐκεί τινι Ἁβάζω1 μὲν τούνομα τὸν δὲ τῆς Σωφηνῆς ἀποδεδρακότι βασιλεὰ Άδραάζαρον δεσπότην ὄντα καὶ ληστεύοντι, εἰς φιλίαν αὐτῶι συνάμισ ἔχων τε2 περὶ αὐτῶν στίφως ληστικῶν ἀναβαίνει, καὶ κατασχῶν τὴν ἐκεί Συρίαν βασιλεὺς αὐτῆς ἀποδείκνυται καὶ κατατρέχων τὴν τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γῆν ἑποίει κακῶς καὶ διηρπαζὲ Σολομῶνος ζωντος ἐτι. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ Ἄδερου συνέβαλεν πᾶσχεν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. 205 (7) Ἐπιτίθεται δὲ Σολομῶνι καὶ τῶν ὀμοφύλων τυς Ἰεροβώλωι καὶ ὄνομα Ναβαταίου, κατὰ προφητειαν πάλαι γενομένην αὐτῶ τοῖς πράγμασιν ἐπελπίσας: παῖδα γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς καταλειψθέντα καὶ ὑπὸ τῇ μητρὶ παιδευόμενον ὡς εἰδὲ γενναίων καὶ τολμηρῶν Σολομῶν ὄντα τὸ φρόνημα, τῆς τῶν τειχῶν οἰκοδομίας ἐπιμελητὴν κατέστησεν, ὅτε 206 τοῖς Ἰεροσολύμοις τὸν κύκλον περιέβαλεν. οὕτως δὲ τῶν ἑργῶν προενόησεν, ὥστε ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶ τοῦ ἀπεδέξατο καὶ γέρας αὐτῶ ἱσταθηγῶν ἐπὶ

1 Ἁβάζω ὀπτρ. MSP.
2 ἔχων τε Niese: ἔχοντι codd.: ἔχων τι Naber.

a So lxx; Heb. omits Hadad’s return.
b So cod. A of the lxx, and certain ancient versions: Heb. abruptly turns from the subject of Hadad, after telling of his appeal to Pharaoh, and proceeds with the story of Rezon, 1 Kings xi. 23.
c Bibl. Rezon, lxx Ἐσρὼμ (v.ll. Ἡσρὼν, Ῥαξδῶν κτλ.), Luc. Ἑσρὼν.
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and Aderos came to Idumea. And not being able to cause it to revolt from Solomon—for it was occupied by many garrisons and because of them a revolution was not a matter of free choice nor without peril,—he removed from there and went to Syria. There falling in with a certain person named Razos, who had run away from his master Adraazaros, the king of Sophene, and was pillaging the country, he joined forces with this man and with a band of robbers under him went up country and, taking possession of that part of Syria, was proclaimed king thereof; and he overran the country of the Israelites, damaging it and plundering it while Solomon was still alive. Such, then, were the injuries which the Hebrews were fated to suffer at the hands of Aderos. The rise of Jeroboam. 1 Kings xi. 26.

(7) There also rose up against Solomon one of his own countrymen, Jeroboam the son of Nabataios, who had faith in his chances of success because of a prophecy that had been made to him long before. For he had been bereaved of his father when still a child and was brought up by his mother, and Solomon, seeing that he was of a noble and daring spirit, appointed him overseer of the building of the walls when he surrounded Jerusalem with defences. And so well did he supervise the work that the king marked him with his approval and as a reward gave him the

\[\text{Cf. Luc. 'Aδραάςαρ; bibl. Hadadezer, 1xx 'Aδραάςαρ (v.l. 'Aδαδεζερ).}\]

\[\text{Bibl. Zobah (Σοβαθ), 1xx Σοβάθ; on Sophene cf. A. vii. 99 note.}\]

\[\text{Damascus, in Scripture.}\]

\[\text{According to Scripture, it was Rezon who became king of Damascus, while Hadad became king of Edom.}\]

\[\text{Bibl. Nebat, 1xx Ναζάτ (v.l. Ναζάθ).}\]
τῆς Ἰωσὴπου φυλὴς ἐδωκεν. ἀπερχομένω δὲ τῷ Ἰεροβοάμῳ κατ᾿ ἐκείνων τὸν καιρὸν ἐκ τῶν Ἰερο-
σολύμων συνεβόλησεν προφήτης ἐκ πόλεως μὲν 
Σιλω Ἀχίας δὲ ὄνομα. καὶ προσαγορεύσας αὐτὸν ἀπήγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ὀδοῦ μικρὸν ἀπονεύσας εἰς τι
χωρίον, εἰς δὲ παρὴν μηδὲ εἰς ἀλλος. σχίσας δὲ 
eἰς δωδέκα φάρση τὸ ἴματιον, ὅπερ ἦν αὐτὸς περι-
βεβλημένος, ἐκέλευσε τὸν Ἰεροβάμον λαβεῖν τὰ 
δέκα, προειπὼν ὅτι ταῦτα ὁ θεός βούλεται καὶ 
σχίσας τὴν Σολομὼν ἀρχὴν τῷ παιδὶ μὲν τῷ 
τούτῳ διὰ τὴν πρὸς Δαυὶδην γεγενημένην ὁμο-
λογίαν αὐτῶν μίαν φυλήν καὶ τὴν ἔξῆς αὐτῆς 
δίδωσι, ᾧ σοὶ δὲ τὰς δέκα Σολομὼν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐξαμαρ-
tόντος καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων θεοὶς 

208 αὐτῶν ἐκδεδωκότος. εἰδὼς οὖν τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾿ ἦν 
μετατίθησι τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην ἀπὸ Σολομῶνος ὁ 
θεὸς δίκαιος εἶναι πειρῶ καὶ φύλαττε τὰ νόμιμα, 
προκειμένου σοι τῆς εὐσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν 
θεὸν τιμῆς ἀθλοῦν μεγίστου τῶν ἀπάντων, γενηθὲ 
σεσθαί τηλικούτω ἡλίκοιν οἶσθα Δαυὶδην γενομένων.

209 (8) Ἐσπαρθείς οὖν τοῖς τοῦ προφήτου λόγοις 
Ἰεροβάμοις φύσει θερμὸς ὃν νεανίας καὶ μεγάλων 
ἐπιθυμητής πραγμάτων οὐκ ἤρεμει. γενομένοι δὲ 
ἐν τῇ στρατηγίᾳ καὶ μεμνημένοι τῶν ὑπὸ Ἀχία 

dedηλωμένων εὐθὺς ἀναπείθεν ἐπεχείρει τὸν λαὸν 
ἀφισταθαι Σολομὼνος καὶ κινεῖ καὶ παράγειν.

1 συνήτησε M²SPE Zonaras.
2 E: Ἀχία (-ά SP Zonaras) codd. Lat.
3 ὁ μὴ SP.
4 προειπὼν SP.
5 ed. pr.: αὐτής MSP: ἦν αὐτὸς RO.
6 Niese: παράττειν ROS²P: παράττειν M: παρατάττειν S¹: contraderet Lat.: περιάγειν Naber.
command over the tribe of Joseph. Now, as Jeroboam on that occasion was going out of Jerusalem, there met him a prophet from the city of Silo, named Achias, and, having greeted Jeroboam, he led him away from the road and went aside a little distance to a spot where there was no one else. Then, tearing the cloak which covered him into twelve pieces, he bade Jeroboam take ten of them, announcing that such was God's will and that He had torn apart the kingdom of Solomon, giving one tribe and that adjoining it to his son because of the promise He had made to David, "while to you He has given ten tribes, since Solomon has sinned against Him and gone over wholly to his wives and their gods. Now that you know the reason why God has changed and has set His mind against Solomon, try to be righteous and observe the laws, for there awaits you the greatest of all rewards for piety and honour shown to God, which is to become as great as you know David to have been."

(8) Elated, therefore, by the prophet's words, Jeroboam, who was a youth of ardent nature and ambitious of great things, did not remain idle. And when he entered upon his command and called to mind what had been revealed by Achias, he at once attempted to persuade the people to turn away from Solomon and to start a revolt and transfer the supreme

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*a* Bibl. "appointed him in charge of all the forced labour (A.V. "charge"; Lxx ἐρπεῖας "burdens") of the house of Joseph."

*b* Bibl. Ahijah ( EXTI), Lxx 'Αχιας (v.l. 'Αχία).

*c* Amplification of 1 Kings xi. 29.

*d* Cf. Lxx "two tribes shall be for him"; Heb. "one tribe shall be for him"; *cf.* § 197 note, 221 note.

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210 εἰς αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν. μαθὼν δὲ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν Σολωμών εξῆτει συλλαβῶν αὐτῶν ἀνελείν. φθάσας δὲ γνώσας τοῦτο Ἰεροβόαμος πρὸς Ἰσακον φεύγει τῶν Ἀγνύπτων βασιλεά, καὶ μέχρι τῆς Σολωμῶνος τελευτής ἐκεί μείνας τὸ τε μηδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ παθεῖν ἐκέρδησε καὶ τὸ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φυλακθήναι. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ Σολω-

mών ἡδὴ γηραιός ὁ βασιλεύσας μὲν ὅγιοικοτα ἑτη, ξήσας δὲ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ τέσσαρα· θάπτεται δὲ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμως ἀπαντασ ὑπερβαλῶν εὐδαι-

μονία τε καὶ πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήσει τοὺς βασιλέ-

ςαντας, εἰ μή ὁσα γε πρὸς τὸ γῆρας ὤπο τῶν γυναικῶν ἀπατηθεὶς παρνόμησε· περὶ δὲ αὐτὸς κακῶν συμπεσόντων Ἐβραίων εὐκαίροτερον ἔξομεν· διασάφησαι.

212 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σολωμῶνος τελευτήν διαδεξαμένου τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰοβοάμου, ὡς Εκ γυναικὸς Ἀμμανίτιδος ὑπῆρχεν αὐτῷ γεγονός Νοομᾶς τοῦνομα, πέμψαντες εὐθὺς εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτον οἱ τῶν ὄχλων ἄρχοντες ἐκάλουν τὸν Ἰεροβόαμον. ἀφικομένου δὲ πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἰς Σίκιμα πόλιν καὶ Ἰοβοάμος εἰς αὐτὴν παραγίνεται· δέδοκτο γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκείσας συνελθοῦσι τοῖς Ἰσραη-

213 λίταις ἀποδεξαὶ βασιλεά. προσελθόντες οὖν οἱ τε ἄρχοντες αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ Ἰεροβόαμος παρ-

1 ἐπιβολὴ Niese, Naber.
2 εὐκαιρ. ἔξομεν ῬΟ: εἰς καιρὸν ἔτερον ἐδοξεῖ μεί MSP.

* These details are not found in the Heb., in which Ahijah’s message is immediately followed by Solomon’s attempt to kill Jeroboam; they are based on the lxx addition, 1 Kings xii. 24 b.

* Bibl. Shishak, Ixx Σουσακεῖμ; the name appears as Isokos in § 253, and as Susakos in A. vii. 105.

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power to him. But when Solomon learned of his intention and his plot, he sought to arrest him and execute him. Jeroboam, however, hearing of this in time, fled to Isakos, the king of Egypt, and remained with him until Solomon's death, thereby gaining the two-fold advantage of escaping harm from Solomon and being preserved for the kingship.

Then Solomon died at a good old age, having reigned for eighty years and lived for ninety-four, and was buried in Jerusalem. He surpassed all other kings in good fortune, wealth and wisdom, except that as he approached old age he was beguiled by his wives into committing unlawful acts. Concerning these acts and the misfortunes which befell the Hebrews on their account we shall find a more convenient occasion to write fully.

(viii. 1) After the death of Solomon, his son Roboamos, who was borne to him by an Ammanite woman named Nooma, succeeded to his kingdom, and the leaders of the common people immediately sent to Egypt to summon Jeroboam. But when he came to them at the city of Sikima, Roboamos also arrived there, for it had been decided by the Israelites to assemble there and proclaim him king. So the leaders of the people and Jeroboam went to him and

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These last remarks are an addition to Scripture.

Bibl. 40. As Weill notes, Josephus's figure is more consistent with the Scriptural statement, 1 Kings xi. 4, about Solomon's old age.

Cf. § 2 note.

Apparently a reference to §§ 253 ff. on Shishak's invasion of Palestine.

Cf. LXX ἐρθεὶς : bibl. Rehoboam.

So LXX in 2 Chron. xii. 13 ; bibl. Naamah, LXX 1 Kings Νααμά (v.l. Νααμά).

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ekalon legoontes aneinai ti ths douleias autois kai
gevneshai xristoteron tou patros. Barwn gar up'
ekeinoi zygon autous upenegeein. Eunousteroi de
essebain pros auton kai agapheisen thn douleian
214 dia thn epieieian h dia ton phobon. De met
trias hemeras eipon autois apokriniesai1 peri oin
axiooun upoptos m'en euthus ginetai mh parakhrhma
epineusasia autois tis pros hdonh, proxeiron gar
heiooun einai to xriston kai filanwrpwon kai ta't
en nev, edokei d' omos kai to bouleusasai to2
mh parautika apeiopine agathis elpidos exebai.
215 (2) Syugkaleiast de tous patroous filous esko-
petito met' auton podaphein dei poieasahei thn ap-
krisin pros to plithos. Oi d', ap'er eikos tous
eunous kai phusin ochlon eidoitas, parhoun autw
philofronw osmlhsei to lao kai dhemotikwteron
h katar basileias oukon. Xeirwosebhai3 gar ouwos
eis euvoian auton, phusei twv uphkon anagwntwn
to prosyne kai para mikron isosthnon twv bash-
klewv. De d' agathin ouwos kai sumferousan isos
pros to pan, ei de mh, pros ge4 ton totte kaivon
dt' edei gevneshai basileia gnwmhn apesgrafh tov
theou poieasantos, oimai, katakrithnai to sumferon
up' autov. Kalieas de meirakia ta sunebramena
kai thn twv presbwtewon autois samboulwian eipwv,
217 ti dokei poiein autois ekleuse legein. Ta de,

1 ex Lat. Niese: apokrinasai ROE: apokrinesai MSP.
2 Niese: tou codd.
3 ed. pr.: xeiropoiasai codd.
4 ed. pr.: te codd.

a These remarks on the people's response are an addition to Scripture.
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urged him to lighten their bondage somewhat and to be more lenient than his father, for, they said, the yoke they had borne under him had been heavy indeed, and they would be better disposed toward him and accept servitude more willingly if treated with kindness than if made to fear him. But when he said that in three days he would give them an answer to their request, he immediately roused their suspicions by not assenting to their wishes on the spot, for they held kindness and friendliness to be an easy matter, especially for a young man. Nevertheless the fact of his deliberating and not refusing them on the instant seemed to offer some ground for good hope.  

(2) He then called together his father's friends and considered with them what kind of answer he should give the multitude. And they, as was to be expected of men of kindly disposition and acquainted with the nature of crowds, advised him to speak to the people in a friendly spirit and in more popular style than was usual for the royal dignity, for in this way he would secure their goodwill, since subjects naturally liked affability in their kings and to be treated by them almost as equals. But this advice, which was so good and beneficial, perhaps for all occasions, or, if not for all, at any rate for that particular occasion, he rejected; and it was God, I believe, who caused him to condemn what should have been of benefit to him. He then called together the young men who had been brought up with him and, after telling them what the advice of the elders had been, bade them say what they thought he should do. So

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* In Scripture the elders advise Rehoboam to be the people's servant.
οὔτε γὰρ ἡ νεότης οὔτε δ’ θεὸς ἢφιει νοεῖν τὰ κρείττων, παρῆνεσαν ἀποκρίνασθαι τῷ λαῷ τὸν βραχύτατον \(^1\) αὐτοῦ δάκτυλον τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ὀσφύος εἶναι παχύτερον καὶ, εἰ σκληροῦ λίαν ἐπειράθησαν ἑκεῖνου, πολὺ μᾶλλον αὐτοῦ λήφεσθαι πεῖραν δυσκόλου· καὶ εἰ μάστιξιν αὐτοῦς ἑκεῖνος ἐνουθέτει, σκορπίοις τούτο ποιήσειν αὐτὸν προσ-

218 δοκάν. τούτοις ἡσθείς \(^2\) ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δόξας προσήκειν τῷ τῆς ἁρχῆς ἄξιώματι τὴν ἀπόκρισιν, ὡς συνήλθεν ἀκουσόμενον τὸ πλήθος τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, μετεώρου τοῦ λαοῦ πάντος ὄντος καὶ λέγοντος ἀκοοῦσα τι τοῦ βασιλέως ἐσπονδακότος, οἰομένου δὲ τι καὶ φιλάνθρωπον, τὴν τῶν μειρακίων αὐτοῖς συμβουλίαν, παρείς τὴν τῶν φίλων, ἀπεκρίνατο. ταύτα δ’ ἐπράπτετο κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν, ἶνα λάβῃ τέλος δ’ προεφήτευσεν Ἀλκιάς.

219 (3) Πληγέντες δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων \(^3\) καὶ ἀλγησάντες ὡς ἐπὶ πείρᾳ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἡγανάκτησαν καὶ μέγα πάντες ἐκβοήσαντες οὐκέτι οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς εἶναι συγγενὲς πρὸς Δαυίδην καὶ τοὺς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ μετ’ ἑκεῖνην ἔφασαν τὴν ἡμέραν· παραχωρεῖν δ’ αὐτῷ μόνον \(^4\) τὸν ναόν δυν ὁ πάππος αὐτοῦ κατ-

\(^1\) Theodoretus: βραχύτερον codd. E Lat.
\(^2\) πεισθείς Naber.
\(^3\) + ὡς ὑπὸ σιδήρου MSP: + velut opere Lat.
\(^4\) ed. pr.: μόνῳ codd. E.

\(^{a}\) Josephus, like the lxx in 2 Chron. and some lxx mss. 688
they, whom neither their youth nor God permitted to discern a better course, advised him to reply to the people that his little finger was thicker than his father's loins and, if they had found his father excessively harsh, they would experience much more unpleasant treatment from himself; if his father had chastised them with whips, they should expect him to do the same with scorpions. With this advice the king was pleased, thinking such an answer proper to the royal dignity; and, when the multitude assembled on the third day to hear him speak, all the people were excited and anxious to hear what the king might say, supposing that it would be something friendly. But, ignoring the counsel of his (older) friends, he answered them as the young men had advised. This came about in accordance with the will of God, in order that what Achias had prophesied might be accomplished.\(^d\)

(3) Struck a cruel blow by these words\(^e\) and hurt as though actually experiencing what he had spoken of doing, they became indignant and all cried out in a loud voice to say that they no longer had any common tie with David and his descendants from that day on; and, declaring that they would leave to Roboamos only the temple which his grandfather in 1 Kings, supplies δάκτυλος in rendering the Heb. which has ḡoṯoṯni, "my little" (sc. part, i.e. finger).\(^b\) Josephus uses the ixx word translating Heb. 'aqrabbim, here probably meaning some sort of club with barbed points. J. Strachan in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, iv. 419, compares the Roman scorpio "described by Isidore as virga nodosa et aculeata."

\(^c\) This last sentence, describing the people's attitude, is an addition to Scripture.

\(^d\) Cf. §§ 206 ff.

\(^e\) Variant adds "as if by a sword."
220 εσκεύασεν εἰπόντες καταλεύψειν ἥπειρησαν. οὕτως δ’ έσχον πικρῶς καὶ τὴν ὀργήν ἐτήρησαν, ὡς πέμψαντος αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν φόρων 'Ἄδωραμον, ἵνα καταπραύη καὶ συγγνώνας τοὺς εἰρήμενοις, εἴ τι προσπέτες ὕπο νεότητος¹ καὶ δύσκολον ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς, ποιήσῃ² μαλακώτερους, οὐχ ὑπέμειναν, ἀλλὰ βάλλοντες αὐτὸν λίθοις ἀπέκτειναν. τούτ’ ἴδον Ῥοβόαμος καὶ νομίσας αὐτοῦ βεβλήσθαι τοῖς λίθοις, οἷς τὸν ὑπηρέτην ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος, δεῖσας μὴ καὶ ἔργω πάθη τὸ δεσμὸν ἐπιβὰς εὐθὺς ἐπὶ ἀρματος ἐφυγεν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα. καὶ ἡ μὲν Ὦουδα φυλή καὶ ἡ Βενιαμίτης χειροτονοῦσαν αὐτὸν βασιλέα, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἀπ’ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας τῶν Δαυίδου παιδών ἀποστὰν τῶν Ἰεροβόαμον ἀπεδείξε τῶν πραγμάτων κύριοι. Ῥοβόαμος δὲ ὁ Σολομώνος παῖς ἐκκλησίαν ποιήσας τῶν δύο φυλάων, ἃς εἰχεν ὑπηκόους, οἷς τε ἣν λαβὼν ὁκτώκαιδεκα παρ’ αὐτῶν στρατοῦ μυριάδας ἐπιλέκτους ἔξελθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν λαόν, ὅπως πολεμήσας ἀναγκάσῃ δουλεύειν αὐτῷ. κωλυθεῖς δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου³

¹ υπὸ νεότητος om. R.O.
² Niese: ποιήσεων codd.
³ + Σαμαία Zonaras Lat.

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² This is based on 1 Kings xii. 16, “Now see to thine own house, David,” lxx νῦν βόσκε (2 Chron. βλέπε) τὸν οἶκόν σου, Δαυεὶδ. Josephus apparently takes οἶκον in the sense of “temple,” a meaning which is common in 1 Kings and elsewhere. The Targum translates “Now rule over the men of thy house, David.”
³ Bibl. Adoram, lxx 1 Kings 'Αδωνιράμ, 2 Chron. Ἀδωράμ; cf. A. vii. 293.
⁴ Scripture says nothing of any speech made by Adoram; cf. 1 Kings xii. 18 (2 Chron. x. 18), “Then King Rehoboam 690
had built, a they threatened to desert him. So bitter did they feel toward him and so great was the anger they nourished that, when he sent Adoram, b who was in charge of the levies, to appease them and soften their mood by persuading them to forgive what he had said if there had been in it anything rash or ill-tempered owing to his youth, they did not let him speak but threw stones at him and killed him. c Roboamos, seeing this and imagining himself the target of the stones with which the crowd had killed his minister, was afraid that he might actually suffer this dreadful fate d and immediately mounted his chariot and fled to Jerusalem. Although the tribes of Judah and Benjamin elected him king, e the rest of the populace from that day revolted from the sons of David and proclaimed Jeroboam head of the state. Then Roboamos, the son of Solomon, held an assembly of the two tribes which remained subject to him, and was prepared to take from their number an army of a hundred and eighty thousand f chosen men and march out against Jeroboam and his people in order to force him by war to be his servant; but he was prevented by God through the prophet g from

sent Adoram, who was over the tribute; and all Israel stoned him with stones, that he died." h

a This explanation of Rehoboam's flight is an amplification of Scripture.

b Josephus consistently ignores (cf. §§ 197, 207) the contradiction in Scripture, 1 Kings xiii., between vs. 20 (omitted in 2 Chron.) which says that only the tribe of Judah followed Rehoboam, and vs. 21 in which Judah and Benjamin are both said to be under his rule.

c So 2 Chron. and Heb. 1 Kings; lxx 1 Kings 120,000.

d Scripture, 1 Kings xii. 22 (2 Chron. xi. 2), gives his name as Shemaiah, lxxΣαμαίας. This name is found in the Lat. translation of Josephus and in Zonaras's excerpt.
 Nevertheless we read in 1 Kings xv. 6 “and there was war between Rehoboam and Jeroboam all the days of his life,” a discrepancy which Josephus ignores. Some lxx mss. also omit the latter verse.


c So lxx; bibl. Penuel. Scripture says that he “built

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undertaking the campaign—for he said that it was not right to make war on one's countrymen, especially as the revolt of the multitude had taken place in accordance with the purpose of God,—and so he did not march out. I shall now relate, first the acts of Jeroboam, the king of Israel, and then in what follows we shall tell what happened in the reign of Roboamos, the king of the two tribes. For in this way an orderly arrangement can be preserved throughout the history.

(4) Jeroboam, then, built a palace in Sikima and made his dwelling there; he also constructed a palace in a city called Phanūël. But not long after, when the festival of Tabernacles was about to take place, he reflected that, if he permitted the people to go to Jerusalem to worship God and to celebrate the festival there, they might perhaps repent and be captivated by the temple and the ceremonies performed in it and so desert him and go over to their former king; and that, if this happened, he would be in danger of losing his life. He therefore devised the following plan. Making two golden heifers and building shrines for both, one in the city of Bethel and the other in Dan—this being near the sources of the Little Jordan,—he Shechem . . . and built Pennel," which Jewish commentators take to mean "repaired" or "fortified." Josephus avoids the difficulty of referring to the building of already existing sites by inserting the word "palace" in each case.

The festival is not mentioned at this point in Scripture, cf. § 230 note.

Jeroboam builds a sanctuary at Bethel, 1 Kings xii. 25.

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ἐν ἑκατέρῳ τῶν ἐν ταῖς προειρημέναις πόλεσι ναὸς καὶ συγκαλέσας τὰς δέκα φυλὰς ὧν ἀυτὸς ἤρχετο ἐδημηγόρησε τούτοις ποιησάμενος 227 τοὺς λόγους· ἁνδρεὶς ὁμόφυλοι, γυνῶσκεις ὑμᾶς νομίζω τοῦτο, ὅτι πάς τόπος ἔχει τὸν θεόν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν ἀποδεδειγμένῳ χωρίῳ ἐν ὧν πάρεστιν, ἀλλὰ πανταχοῦ τε ἀκούει καὶ τοὺς θρησκεύοντας ἐφορᾶ. θεον οὗ μοι δοκεῖ νῦν ἐπείγειν ὑμᾶς εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα πορεύεσθαι εἰς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν 228 πόλιν μακρὰν οὗτως ὁδὸν προσκυνεῖν· ἀνθρώποι γὰρ κατεσκεύακε τὸν ναὸν, πεποίηκα δὲ κἀγὼ δύο χρυσὰς δαμάλεις ἐπωνύμους τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν μὲν ἐν Βηθήλη ἀπόλει παρακήρυσσα τὴν δ' ἐν Δάνη, ὅπως ὑμῶν οἱ τούτων ἐγγυτά τῶν πόλεων κατωκημένοι προσκυνῶσιν εἰς αὐτὰς ἀπερχόμενοι τὸν 229 θεόν. ἀποδείξω δὲ τινὰς ὑμῶν καὶ ἑρεῖς εἰς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ Ληστάς, ίνα μὴ χρείαν ἔχῃ τῆς Ληστίδος φυλῆς καὶ τῶν νεῶν Ἀαρώνος, ἀλλ' ὁ βουλόμενος υἱὸν ἑρείς εἶναι προσενεγκάτω μόσχον τῷ θεῷ καὶ κρίνων, ὁ καὶ τὸν πρώτον ἑρεῖα φασίν Ἀαρώνα πεποιηκέναι." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἐξηπατήσε καὶ τὸν λαὸν καὶ τὶς πατρίου θρησκείας ἀποστάντας ἐποίησε παραβῆναι τοὺς νόμους. ἀρχῇ κακῶν ἐγένετο τοῦτο τοῖς Ἑβραῖοι καὶ τὸν πολέμῳ κρατηθέντας ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλοφυλῶν αἰχμαλωσία περιπεσείν. ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν κατὰ χώραν δηλώσομεν.

1 προσκυνήσωσιν MSP.

* Jeroboam’s speech down to “worship God” is an MSR.
placed the heifers in either of the shrines in the cities mentioned and, having called together the ten tribes over which he ruled, harangued them in the following words: "Fellow-countrymen, I think you know that every place has God in it and that there is no one spot set apart for His presence, but everywhere He hears and watches over His worshippers." Therefore I do not think I should now urge you to go so long a journey to Jerusalem, the city of our enemies, in order to worship. For it was a man that built that temple; and I too have made two golden heifers bearing the name of God and I have consecrated them, one in the city of Bethel and the other in Dan, in order that those of you who live nearest either of these cities may go to them and worship God. I shall appoint for you priests and Levites from your own number, in order that you may have no need of the tribe of Levi and the sons of Aaron, but let him among you who wishes to be a priest offer up to God a calf and a ram, as Aaron, the first priest, is said to have done." By these words he misled the people and caused them to abandon the worship of their fathers and transgress the laws. This was the beginning of the Hebrews' misfortunes and led to their being defeated in war by other races and to their falling captive. But of these things we shall write in the proper place.

amplification of 1 Kings xii. 28, "It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem; behold thy gods, O Israel, which brought thee up out of the land of Egypt."

b Cf. §§ 107 ff.

c The Levites are not mentioned in Scripture.

d Cf. Lev. xvi. 3. In Scripture Jeroboam makes no reference to this priestly ceremony.

e A. ix. 277 ff.
230 (5) Ἐνστάσεως δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς ἐβδόμῳ μηνὶ βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν Βηθῆλῃ ταύτην ἀγαγεῖν, ἀσπερ ἐορταζέν καὶ αἱ δύο φυλαὶ ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις, οἰκοδομεῖ μὲν θυσιαστήριον πρὸ τῆς δαμάλεως, γενόμενος δὲ αὐτὸς ἄρχιερεύς ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβαίνει σὺν τοῖς ἱδίοις ἑρεύσι. μελλόντος δ' ἐπιφέρειν τὰς θυσίας καὶ τὰς ὀλοκαυτώσεις ἐν ὅψει τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴ 'Ἰεροσολύμων προφήτης Ἰάδων ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ πέμψαντος, ὑπὸ σταθεῖν ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ πλῆθει τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκούοντος εἶπε τάδε πρὸς τὸ θυσιαστήριον ποιοῦμενος τοὺς λόγους· 'ὁ θεὸς ἔσσεθαί τινα προλέγει ἐκ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους Ἰωσίαν ὄνομα, ὅς ἐπὶ σου θύσει τοὺς ψευδιερεῖς τοὺς κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρόν γενησομένους καὶ τὰ ὅστα τῶν λαοπλάνων τοῦτων καὶ ἀπατεώνων καὶ ἀσεβῶν ἐπὶ σου καύσει, ἵνα μέντοι γε πιστεύσωσιν οὕτως ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐξειν, σημεῖον αὐτῶς προερῴ γενησομένων ἐρῶμηται τὸ θυσιαστήριον παραχρῆμα καὶ πᾶσα ἡ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πιθαλή τῶν ἑρείων ἐπὶ γῆν χυθήσεται.' ταύτ' εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου παροξυνθεῖσα ὁ Ἰεροβώομος ἐξετενε τὴν χεῖρα κελεύων συλλαβεῖν αὐτῶν. ἐκ̄-

a Scripture dates Jeroboam's festival on the 15th of the eighth month, which would be exactly a month after the traditional celebration of the festival of Tabernacles. Josephus is, perhaps, more logical in making Jeroboam's celebration coincide with that in Jerusalem, but Jewish commentators justify the Biblical text (cf. 1 Kings xii. 33, "in the month which he had devised of his own heart ") by explaining that Jeroboam wished either deliberately to alter the older custom or to avoid entirely alienating the Judaeans, by giving them an opportunity of visiting his sanctuary after they had observed the festival at Jerusalem in the seventh month.

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(5) When the festival came round in the seventh month, Jeroboam, wishing to observe it himself in Bethel just as the two tribes were celebrating it in Jerusalem, built an altar before the heifer and, having made himself high priest, went up to the altar with his own priests. But as he was about to offer the sacrifices and the whole burnt-offerings in the sight of all the people, there came to him from Jerusalem a prophet named Jadôn, whom God had sent, and, standing in the midst of the multitude and in the hearing of the king, addressed the altar in these words: "God has foretold that there shall be one of the line of David, named Josias, who will sacrifice upon you the false priests living in his time and will burn upon you the bones of these misleaders of the people, these impostors and unbelievers. Furthermore, that these people may believe that so it will be, I shall foretell to them a sign that will be given. The altar shall be broken in an instant and all the fat of the victims on it shall be spilled upon the ground." Roused to fury by these words of the prophet, Jeroboam stretched out his hand to order his arrest. But

\[b\] Scripture says merely that he himself made the offering.

\[c\] Apparently Josephus takes Heb. yā'āl as a hiphîl (causative) form meaning "offered the burnt-offering (ōlāh)," while LXX, taking it as a qal (intransitive) form meaning "went up," has ἔρεβημ. Or possibly the "whole burnt-offerings" in Josephus's text may be an interpretation of Heb. haqtir (LXX ἱπτόσαι; A.V. wrongly "burn incense") which implies the offering of various kinds of sacrifice including the burnt-offering.

\[d\] The name is not found in 1 Kings, but cf. 2 Chron. ix. 29 which mentions "the visions of Iddo (LXX Ἰωνᾶ) the seer against Jeroboam the son of Nebat"; rabbinic tradition also identifies the unnamed prophet of 1 Kings with Iddo (Yeđî, v.t. Yeđîdô).
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tetamene d' h' xeir evdeos pareidhi kai ouket' isxne
tautin' prdos auton anagagein, alla neparkeunai
kai nekran eixe anaptymenein. erraghe de kai to
thesiasthion kai kathechei panta ap' autou,
234 kathos proeinev o profhtis. mathon de alethi
ton anbropon kai theian' ekonta prongwswv parekalese
auton deethnai tov theou anaoputrhsai tin' deixin
autw. kai o mven iketeuse tov theou tout' autw' para-
seiv, o' de tis' xeiro to kata phusin apolaboush
chairsen ep' auti' ton profhtin' parekalei deipnhsai
235 par' autw. Iadon d' efhsee oux upomenei ei-
elthein pros auton oude geusasai arton kai ydatos
en taui t' polei. touto gar autw' ton theon apt-
eirheinai kai t' n oodon 'in' aithein opow mou de' auths
poushtai tin' epistrofi', all' da' allh' efaskw
touton men oux ethymazew o boulveit tis' enkrateias,
autos d' 'in' en' fobw, metabolei' auton' ton pragmata-
ton ek' twn proerpmewon oux' agathn' uponoiv.

236 (ix.) 'Hv' de tis' en' t' polei' presbuteis
psioudprofhtis, xwv eixe' en' tumi' 'Ierobamos
apatomenos 'up' auton' t' pros' hdonin' lekontos.
autos tote me' klwnrrh' xwv di' t' an' ap' tou' gwrw
astheinai, t'v de' paidwn' autw' dhrwswn' t' pare
' tou' parontos exe 'Ierosolymwv profhton kai
237 tov' semeivn' t'v' genomenon, kai' ws' pareideisan
autw' t'xwv' 'Ierobamos evzamewn' palin
keivn' zwsan' apolabov, deisai' me' parendoriki-
mhseivn' auton' o' zevos' par' tou' bastei' kai'
pleiwnos

1 isxwv autin' M: isxwv autin' SP.

a The last sentence is an addition to Scripture.
b Targum and Old Latin version of Scripture also have
"false prophet" ; Heb. and lxx " a certain old prophet."
no sooner was his hand stretched out than it was paralysed and he no longer had the power to draw it back to himself but found it hanging numb and lifeless. And the altar was broken and everything on it was swept to the ground, as the prophet had foretold. Then, having learnt that the man was telling the truth and possessed divine foreknowledge, he begged him to pray that God bring back life to his right hand. So the prophet entreated God to grant him this prayer, and Jeroboam, overjoyed when his hand regained its natural use, asked the prophet to dine with him. But Jadon said that he dare not enter his house nor taste bread or water in that city, for God had forbidden this to him as well as to return by the road on which he had come, saying he must go by another. The king admired him for his self-control but was himself in a state of fear, suspecting from what had been foretold to him a change in his fortunes that would not be for his good.\(^a\)

(ix.) Now there was in that city a wicked old man, a false prophet \(^b\) whom Jeroboam held in honour, being deceived by the things he said to please him. At that time the man was bed-ridden through the infirmity of old age,\(^c\) but his sons told him about the prophet who had come from Jerusalem and the signs that had been given, and how, when Jeroboam’s right hand had been paralysed, he had it restored to life through the prophet’s prayer. Then the old man, fearing that the stranger might find more favour with the king than himself and enjoy greater honour,\(^d\)

\(^a\) These details about the old prophet’s infirmity and Jeroboam’s favour are unscriptural.
\(^b\) This explanation of the old prophet’s motives is an addition to Scripture.
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ἀπολαύοι τιμῆς, προσέταξε τοῖς παισὶν εὐθὺς ἐπιστρώσας τὸν ὄνον ἑτοιμὰν πρὸς ἐξοδον αὐτῷ παρα-
238 σκευάσαι. τῶν δὲ σπευσάντων ὁ προσετάγησαν ἐπιβάς ἐδίωξε τὸν προφήτην καὶ καταλαβὼν ἀνα-
πανόμενον ὑπὸ δένδρῳ δασεῖ̣ 1 καὶ σκιὰν ἔχοντι δρῶς ἐμμεγέθους ἡσπάσατο πρῶτον, εἶτ' ἐμέμφετο μὴ παρ' αὐτοῦ εἰσελθόντα καὶ ἐξενών μεταλαβόντα. τοῦ δὲ φήσαντος κεκωλόθαι πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ γευ-
σαθαι παρὰ τινὶ τῶν ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ πόλει, "ἀλλ' ὦυχι παρ' ἐμοῖ πάντως," εἶπεν, "ἀπηγόρευκε σοι τὸ θείον παραθέσαι τράπεζαν· προφήτης γὰρ εἰμι 
καγώ καὶ τής αὐτῆς σοι κοινωνὸς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑθηκείας, καὶ πάρειμι νῦν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πεμφθεὶς.
239 ὁπως ἁγάγω σε πρὸς ἐμαντὸν ἐστιασόμενον." ὁ δὲ ψευσαιστὸς πεισθεὶς ἀνέστρεψεν· ἀριστῶντων ὑ-
τα καὶ φιλοφρονούμενων ὁ θεὸς ἐπιφαίνεται τῷ Ἰάδωνι καὶ παραβάντα τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ τιμω-
ρίαν ὕφεξεν ἔλεγεν καὶ ποδαπὴν ἐδήλος. λέοντα γὰρ αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν ὀδὸν ἀπερχόμενῳ συμβαλεὶ̣ ἐφραζέν, ὑφ' οὖ διαφθαρήσεσθαι καὶ τῆς ἐν τοῖς 
240 πατρῶις μνήμασι ταφῆς ἀμοιρήσεις. ταῦτα δ' ἐγένετο οὖμαι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βουλῆσαν, ὁπως 
μὴ προσέχοι τοῖς τοῦ Ἰάδωνος λόγοις Ἰεροβάσιμος 
ἐληλεγμένῳ ψεῦδεῖ. 2 πορευομένῳ τῶνν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰάδωνι 
πάλιν εἰς Ἰεροσόλυμα συμβάλλει λέων καὶ κατα-

1 βαθεί MSP Lat.

a Unscriptural details; bibl. “under a terebinth” (or “oak”).
b Unscriptural detail.
c In Scripture, God does not reveal the manner of his death nor mention the lion.
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ordered his sons to saddle his ass at once and make it ready for his departure. So they made haste to do as they were ordered, and he mounted it to ride in pursuit of the prophet; when he came upon him resting under a tree that was thick with leaves and gave as much shade as a huge oak, a he first greeted him and then proceeded to blame him for not entering his house and partaking of his hospitality. But the other said that he had been forbidden by God to taste food in the house of anyone in that city, whereupon he replied, "But not in my house, at least, did the Deity forbid you to have food served to you. For I too am a prophet, sharing with you in the same worship of Him, and I am now here having been sent by Him to bring you to my house as my guest." Thereupon the prophet, believing his lies, returned. But, as they were eating the midday meal and conversing in a friendly manner, God appeared to Jadôn and said that he should suffer punishment for transgressing His commands; and He revealed what the punishment would be, saying that as he went on his way a lion would meet him and destroy him e and that he should be deprived of burial d in the tombs of his fathers. This came about, I think, in accordance with the will of God, in order that Jeroboam might not give heed to the words of Jadôn, who had been convicted of lying. e And so, as Jadôn was journeying back to Jerusalem, f a lion did meet him and pulled

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a With ταφῆς ἀμοιρῆσεν cf. the Sophoclean phrase ταφῆς ἀμοιρον, Ajæus 1326.

b This explanation of God's motive in causing the prophet's death is an addition to Scripture.

c Scripture does not mention Jerusalem, cf. 1 Kings xiii. 24 "and he went away."
σπάσας αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ κτῆμος ἀπέκτεινε, καὶ τὸν μὲν ὄνον οὐδὲν ὅλως ἔβλαψε, παρακαθεξόμενος δ' ἐφύλασσε κάκεινον καὶ τὸ τοῦ προφήτου σῶμα, μέχρις οὗ τινὲς τῶν ὁδουπόρων ἴδοντες ἀπήγγειλαν 242 ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῷ ψευδοπροφήτῃ. ὁ δὲ τοὺς υἱοὺς πέμψας ἐκόμισε τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ πολυτελὸς κηδείας ἤξιωσεν ἐντελάμενος τοῖς παισὶ καὶ αὐτὸν ἀποθανόντα σὺν ἐκείνῳ θάμαι, λέγων ἀληθῆ μὲν εἶναι πάνθ' ὅσα προεφήτευσε κατὰ τὴν πόλεως ἐκείνης καὶ τοῦ θυσιαστήριον καὶ τῶν ἱερέων καὶ τῶν ψευδοπροφητῶν, ὑβρισθήσεται δ' αὐτὸς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν οὐδὲν σὺν ἐκείνῳ ταφεῖς, τῶν ὅστων οὐ γνωρισθησομένων. 1

243 κηδεύσας οὖν τὸν προφήτην καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς υἱοῖς ἐντελάμενος πονηρὸς ὑν καὶ ἁσβῆς πρόεισε τῷ 'Ἱεροβαλίῳ καὶ "τί δήποτ' ἐταράχθης," εἰπὼν, "ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ ἀνοήτου λόγων;" ὡς τὰ περὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν αὐτὸς χεῖρα διηγήσαθ' ὁ βασιλεὺς, θεόν ἄληθος καὶ προφήτην ἁριστον ἀποκαλὼν, ἥρξατο ταύτην αὐτοῦ τὴν δόξαν ἀναλύειν κακουργῶν ἢ πιθανοὺς περὶ τῶν γεγενημένων χρῶμενον λόγωι βλάπτειν αὐτῶν τῇ ἀλήθειαν. ἑπεχεῖρε γὰρ πείθειν αὐτὸν ὡς ὑπὸ κόπου μὲν ἢ χεὶρ αὐτῷ ναρκῆσει βαστάζουσα τὰς θυσίας, εἰτ' ἄνεθείσα πάλιν εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς ἐπανέλθειν φύσιν, τὸ δὲ θυσιαστήριον καὶνὸν ὃν καὶ δεξάμενον θυσίας πολλὰς καὶ μεγάλας ῥαγείς

1 R: γνωσθησομένων OMSP.

α Βιβλ. "and the ass stood by it (i.e. the corpse) and the lion stood by the corpse."

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him off his beast and killed him; to the ass he did no harm at all but lay down beside him and guarded him as well as the prophet's corpse, until some wayfarers saw them and came to the city to tell the false prophet. Thereupon he sent his sons and brought the body into the city and, having honoured it with a costly funeral, instructed his sons to bury him also, when he was dead, with the prophet, saying that everything was true which he had prophesied against that city and the altar and the priests and the false prophets, but that he himself would suffer no mutilation after death if he were buried together with the prophet, as their bones could not be told apart. And so, after burying the prophet and giving his sons these instructions, being a wicked and impious man he went to Jeroboam and said, "Why, I should like to know, were you disturbed by that foolish fellow's words?" And, when the king told him what had happened to the altar and his own hand, and spoke of him as a truly divine and excellent prophet, the old man began to weaken this opinion of him with cunning and, by giving a plausible explanation of the things that had happened, to impair their true significance; for he attempted to persuade him that his hand had been numbed by the fatigue of carrying the sacrifices and then, after being rested, had again returned to its natural condition, and that the altar, being new and having received a great many large victims, had fallen.

b The "costly" funeral is an unscriptural detail.

c The whole of the following speech (§§ 243-245) is an addition to Scripture, probably put in by Josephus, as Weill suggests, to explain why Jeroboam continued in his evil course, cf. 1 Kings xiii. 33 "After this thing Jeroboam turned not from his evil way."
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καὶ πένθοι διὰ βάρος τῶν ἐπεννεγμένων. ἐδήλου δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ τὸν θάνατον τοῦ τὰ σημεία ταῦτα προειρήκότος ὡς ὑπὸ λέοντος ἀπώλετο· “οὕτως οὐδὲ ἐν οὐτ’ εἶχεν οὐτ’ ἐφθέγξατο προφήτου.”

245 ταῦτ’ εἰσὶν τοῖς βασιλέα, καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ τελέως ἀποστρέφας ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ὁσίων ἔργων καὶ δικαίων ἐτί τὰς ἁσβείς πράξεις παρώρμησεν. οὕτως δ’ ἐξύβρισεν εἰς τὸ θεῖον καὶ παρηνόμησεν ὡς οὐδὲν ἄλλο καθ’ ἡμέραν ζητεῖν ἢ τί καὶ νὸν καὶ μιαρώτερον τῶν ἴδιη τετολμημένων ἐργάσαται. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἰεροβόαμον ἐπὶ τοῦ παρόντος ἐν τούτοις ἧμιν δεδηλώσθω.

246 (x. 1) Ὁ δὲ Σολομὼνος νῦσ Ἰερόβαμος ὁ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλεύς, ὃς προειρήκαμεν, ὥ κο-

dόμησε πόλεις ὀχυρᾶς τε καὶ μεγάλας Βηθλεὲμ καὶ Ἰταμὲ καὶ Θεκωὲ καὶ Βηθσοῦρ καὶ Σωχὼ καὶ ὦδολλάμ καὶ Εἰπᾶν καὶ Μάρισαντ καὶ τὴν Ζιφὰ καὶ Ἄδωραὶ καὶ Λάχεις καὶ Ἀζηκά καὶ

1 Niese: Μάρισα R(H)O: Μάρισαν P: Marisam Lat.
2 Hudson: Ζηκά codd.

a Josephus here departs from the order of events found in Scripture, which continues, xiv. 1 ff., with the story of Jeroboam, and does not mention Rehoboam until vs. 21. The account given in §§ 246 ff. follows 2 Chron.

b Some lxx mss. have Βαυθσειμ = Beth-shemesh.

c Bibl. Etam, lxx Αἰτάμ (v.l. 'Απάν, cf. note h below); cf. § 186 note.

d So lxx : bibl. Tekoa.

e Bibl. Beth-zur (Beth-Sur), lxx Βαυθσουφα; formerly thought to be the modern Burj es-Sur, it has recently been identified by Père Abel and Albright with Khirbet et-Tubeiqa, c. 7 miles N. by W. of Hebron.

f Bibl. Soco (A.V. Shoco), lxx Σωκχόθ (v.l. Σωκχώ) ; cf. A. vi. 170 note.

g Bibl. Adullam; cf. A. vi. 247 note.

h Bibl. Gath, lxx Γέθ. Eipan in Josephus’s text seems to be a corrupt form of a doublet of Etam mentioned above (cf. 704)
down from the weight of the things laid upon it. He then told him of the death of the man who had given these prophetic signs and how he had lost his life when attacked by a lion. Thus, he said, there was nothing of a prophet either in his person or in what he had spoken. By these words he convinced the king, and, having wholly turned his thoughts away from God and from holy and righteous deeds, he urged him on to impious acts. And so greatly did he outrage the Deity and transgress His laws that every day he sought to commit some new act more heinous than the reckless acts he was already guilty of. So much concerning Jeroboam it may suffice us, for the present, to have written.

(x. 1) a Now Solomon’s son Roboamos, who was, as we have said before, king of the two tribes, built the strong and large cities of Bethlehem, b Etame, c Thekōe, d Bethsir, e Sōchō, f Odollam, g Liph, h Marisa, i Zipha, j Adoraim, k Lacheis, l Azēka, m Saram, n Elōm, o and

1.xx v.l. ‘Aπαν). Weill rightly remarks that it is strange to find a Philistine city among the cities fortified by Rehoboam.

b Bibl. Mareshah, lxx Μαρεσά ; it is identified by Albright with the modern Tell Sandahanna, c. a mile S. of Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis), in the low hill country near the Philistine border.

c Bibl. Ziph, lxx Ζηπη ; cf. A. vi. 275 note.

d The modern Dūra, 6 miles W.S.W. of Hebron.

e Bibl. Lachish, usually identified with the modern Tell el-İbesy, 18 miles from the sea in the latitude of Hebron, but now thought to be Tell ed-Duweir, several miles further east.

f Usually identified with the modern Tell Zakariyeh, c. 15 miles due W. of Bethlehem (on the map); cf. A. vi. 170 note.

g Bibl. Zorah (Ṣor‘āh), lxx Σαράδ, the modern Sarah, 15 miles due W. of Jerusalem on the map.

h Bibl. Aijalon (‘Ayyālōn), lxx Αἰαλῶν (v.l. Ἀλδών), the modern Yalō, 15 miles N.W. of Jerusalem.
247 Σαρματικὸν καὶ Ἱλώματα καὶ Χεβρώνα. ταῦτας μὲν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ φυλή καὶ κληρουχία ἐν πρώτας ὥκο-
δόμησε, κατεσκεύασε δὲ καὶ ἄλλας μεγάλας ἐν τῇ 
Βεναμίτιδι κληρουχίᾳ, καὶ τειχίσας φρουράς τε 
κατέστησεν ἐν ἀπάσαις καὶ ἕγερν, σύτον τε 
pολὺν καὶ οἶνον καὶ ἐλαίαν τὰ τὰ πρὸς 2 
dιατροφῆν  ἐν ἐκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων δαμιλῶς ἀπέθετο, 
πρὸς δὲ τούτοις θυρεοὺς καὶ σιρομάστας εἰς πολλάς 
248 μυριάδας. συνήλθον δὲ οἱ παρὰ πάσι τοῖς Ἰσραη-
λίταις ἵπερεις πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Ἰερουσαλήμ καὶ Δηνούμαι καὶ εἰ τινες ἄλλοι τοῦ πλῆθος ἦσαν 
ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, καταλείποντες αὐτῶν τὰς 
pόλεις, ἵνα θρησκεύσωσιν ἐν Ἰερουσαλήμοις τὸν 
θεόν· οὐ γὰρ ήδέως εἶχον προσκυνεῖν ἀναγκαζό-
μενος τὰς δαμάλεις ἄσ Ἰερουσαλήμοις κατεσκεύασε· 
καὶ ἦξεσαν τὴν Ῥοδοκάμον βασιλείαν ἐπ’ ἐτη 
249 τρία. γῆμας δὲ συγγενῆ τινα καὶ τρεῖς ποιησά-
μενος ἐς αὐτῆς παῖδας ἤγετο ύστερον καὶ τῇ ἐκ 
τῆς Ἀψαλώμου θυγατρός Θαμάρθες Μαχάνην 
όνομα καὶ αὐτὴν ὤνθαν συγγενῆ· καὶ πάσι ἐς 
αὐτῆς ἀρρην αὐτῷ γίνεται, διὸ Ἀβίαν προσηγό-
ρευσεν. τέκνα δὲ εἶχεν καὶ ἐς ἄλλων πολυάκιων 
pλείονων, ἀπασῶν δὲ μᾶλλον ἐστερεῖ τῇ Μαχάνην. 
250 εἴχε δὲ τὰς μὲν νόμων συνοικούσας αὐτῷ γυναῖκας 
οἰκτωκαδεκα παλλακὰς δὲ τριάκοντα, καὶ νῦν μὲν 
αὐτῶ γεγονεύσαν ὁκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι θυγατέρες δ’ 
ἐξήκοντα. διάδοχον δὲ ἀπέδειξε τῆς βασιλείας τὸν

2 τὰ πρὸς Niese: πρὸς codd.
3 τέκνα δὲ εἶχεν ed. pr.: τέκνα δὲ codd.: τεκνοί δὲ Niese.

* Bibl. “very many.”
Hebron. These, which were in the tribe and territory of Judah, he built first; and he also constructed other large cities in the territory of Benjamin, and, having walled them about, set garrisons and captains in all of them and in each of the cities stored much grain, wine and oil and an abundance of other things needed for sustenance, and, in addition to these, shields and barbed lances amounting to many tens of thousands. Then there came to him at Jerusalem priests from among all the Israelites, and Levites and any others of the people who were good and righteous men and had left their own cities to worship God in Jerusalem, for they would not submit to being forced to worship the heifers which Jeroboam had made. And they added strength to Jeroboam’s kingdom for three years. Now he had married a kinswoman, by whom he had three children, and later took another wife named Machanē, whose mother was Absalom’s daughter Thamarē and who was also related to him. By her he had a son, whom he named Abias. He also had children by many other wives, but he loved Machanē best of all. He had eighteen lawful wives and thirty concubines, and there were born to him twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. As his successor to the kingdom he appointed Abias, his son

b Named Mahalath, 2 Chron. xi. 18; her father was a son of David.

c Bibl. Maachah, lxx Maαχά.

d Cf. A. vii. 190 note, 243 note.

e Bibl. Abijah (ʾAbiyyūḥ), lxx ʾAbiṭá.

f So cod. B lxx; Heb. and most lxx mss. have 60.
According to Scripture, Rehoboam placed his other sons in charge of the fortified cities.

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by Machane, and entrusted to him his treasures and his strongest cities.\(^a\)

(2) But often, I think, a cause of men's falling into evil ways and lawlessness lies in the greatness of their affairs and in the improvement of their position. So, for example, Roboamos, seeing how greatly his kingdom had increased in strength, was misled into unjust and impious acts and showed disrespect for the worship of God, so that even the people under his rule began to imitate his unlawful deeds. For the morals of subjects are corrupted simultaneously with the characters of their rulers, and they do not allow their own moderation to remain a reproach to their rulers' intemperance but follow their evil ways as if they were virtues, since it is impossible to show approval of the acts of kings except by doing as they do.\(^b\) This, then, was the case with the people governed by Roboamos, who, when he acted impiously and in violation of the laws, were careful not to give offence to the king by wishing to be righteous. But, as an avenger of the outrage to Him, God sent the Egyptian king Isokos,\(^c\) about whom Herodotus was in error in attributing his acts to Sesōstris.\(^d\) For it was this Isokos who in the fifth year of Roboamos's reign marched against him with many tens of thousands, and there followed him one thousand two hundred chariots, sixty thousand horsemen and four hundred thousand foot-soldiers.\(^e\) Most of these men whom he brought were Libyans and

\(^{a}\) These reflections are, of course, an amplification of Scripture.

\(^{b}\) Bibl. Shishak; cf. § 210 note.

\(^{c}\) Cf. § 260 note.

\(^{d}\) The number of foot-soldiers is not given in Scripture, which says merely "people without number."

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255 Λιθίσπασ. ἐμβαλὼν οὖν εἰς τὴν χώραν τῶν Ἐβραίων καταλαμβάνεται1 τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας τῆς Ῥοβοάμου βασιλείας πόλεις ἀμαχητική καὶ ταύτας ἀσφαλισμένους ἑσχατον ἐπῆλθε τοῖς Ἱεροσολύμοις.

(3) Ἐγκεκλεισμένου τοῦ Ῥοβοάμου καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ἐν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν Ἰσώκου στρατείαν καὶ τὸν θεόν ἱκετεύων δούναι νύκην καὶ σωτηρίαν, ὦν2 ἐπεισάν τον θεόν ταχθήναι μετ’ αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμαίων ἐφησεν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἀπειλεῖν ἐγκαταλείψειν αὐτοὺς, ὡς καὶ αὐτοὶ τὴν θρησκείαν αὐτοῦ κατέλιπον. ταύτα ἀκούσαντες εὐθὺς ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσον καὶ μηδὲν ἐτί σωτηρίων ὀρώντες ἐξομολογεῖσθαι πάντες ὥρμησαν ὅτι δικαίως αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ὑπερῴησαι γενομένους περὶ αὐτῶν ἀσεβεῖς καὶ συγχέοντας τὰ νόμιμα. κατιδὼν δ’ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς οὕτω διακειμένους καὶ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἀνθρωπολογομένους οὐκ ἀπολέσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν προφήτην, ποιήσων μὲντοι γε τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ὑποχειρίους, ὅπως μάθωσον πότερον ἀνθρώπως δουλεύειν ἐστὶν ἀπονώτερον ἡ θεός. παραλαβὼν δὲ Ἰσώκος ἀμαχητὶ τὴν πόλιν, δεξαμένου Ῥοβοάμου διὰ τὸν φόβον, οὐκ ἐνέμεινε ταῖς γενομέναις συνθήκαις, ἀλλ’ ἐσύλησε τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς ἐξεκένωσε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοὺς βασιλικοὺς, χρυσοῦ καὶ ἁργύρου μυριάδας ἀναρίθμητους βαστάσας καὶ μηδὲν ὅλως ὑπολιπών. περιελε δὲ καὶ τοὺς χρυσοὺς θυρεοὺς καὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας, ὡς κατεσκεύασε

1 καταλαμβάνει τε Ρ.Ο. 2 ἀλλ’ οὖν ΡΟΜ.

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1 Scripture adds the Sukkiim, lxx Τρωγλοῦται. Margoliouth in Hastings’ Dictionary of the Bible, iv. 627, suggests that the lxx rendering “Troglodytes” was due to the fact that a place called Suché was one of the cities in the country.
So then, after invading the country of the Hebrews, he seized the strongest cities of Robo-
amos's kingdom without a battle and, having secured them with garrisons, at last advanced upon Jerusalem.

(3) Although Roboamos and the multitude, who were shut up in the city by the advance of Isōkos’s army, entreated God to grant them victory and deliverance, they did not prevail upon God to side with them. Then the prophet Samaias told them that God threatened to abandon them just as they had abandoned their worship of Him. When they heard this, their spirits at once fell and, no longer seeing any hope of deliverance, they all hastened to acknowledge that God might justly turn away from them since they had acted impiously toward Him and had violated His ordinances. But when God saw them in this state of mind and confessing their sins, He said to the prophet that He would not destroy them but would, nevertheless, make them subject to the Egyptians, in order that they might learn which was the easier task, whether to serve man or God. And when Isōkos took the city without a battle, Roboamos admitting him because he feared him, he did not abide by the terms of the agreement they had made, but sacked the temple, emptied the treasuries of God and the king, and carried off untold amounts of gold and silver, leaving not a single thing behind. He also removed the golden shields and bucklers, of the Troglodytes, and cites Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi. 172 and Strabo xvi. 3. 8.

* Amplification of Scripture, which says merely " Reho-
boam and the princes of Judah . . . were gathered together in Jerusalem because of Shishak."

* So most Lxx mss. (cod. B Σαμαιας) ; bibl. Shemaiah.

* No agreement is mentioned in Scripture.
This detail is based on the LXX addition to 1 Kings xiv. 26; this, however, has ὀδόρατα "spears" instead of φαρέτρας "quivers." Cf. A. vii. 104 note.

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which King Solomon had made, nor did he overlook the golden quivers which David had set up as an offering to God after taking them from the King of Sophene. This done, he returned to his own country. This expedition is also mentioned by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who was in error only about the king's name and in saying that he marched against many other nations and reduced Palestinian Syria to slavery after capturing the inhabitants without a battle.

Now it is evident that it is our nation which he means to refer to as subdued by the Egyptians, for he adds that their king left behind, in the country of those who had surrendered without a battle, pillars on which he had female sex-organs engraved. But it was Roboamos, our king, who surrendered the city without a battle. Herodotus also says that the Ethiopians had learned the practice of circumcision from the Egyptians, "for the Phoenicians and the Syrians in Palestine admit that they learned it from the Egyptians." Now it is clear that no others of the Syrians in Palestine practise circumcision beside ourselves. But concerning these matters everyone may speak as he sees fit.

(4) Now when Isokos had withdrawn, King Roboamos, in place of the golden shields and bucklers, made an equal number of bronze and delivered them to the guards of the palace. And instead of leading the life of an illustrious commander and a brilliant statesman, he reigned in great quiet and fear, being all his days an enemy of Jeroboam. He

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b Herod. ii. 102 ff. The latter part of the citation from Herodotus appears also in Ap. i. 168.

c Indicating, according to Herod., that his enemies were as weak as women.
According to Scripture, he began to reign at the age of 714
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died at the age of fifty-seven, after a reign of seventeen years; he was a man of boastful and foolish nature, who, by not heeding his father’s friends, lost his royal power. He was buried in Jerusalem in the tombs of the kings and was succeeded on the throne by his son Abias in the eighteenth year of Jeroboam’s reign over the ten tribes. This, then, is the end of Roboamos’s history. But now in what follows we have to relate the events of Jeroboam’s reign and how he ended his life. For he did not cease nor desist from outraging God, but all the time continued to erect altars on the high mountains and to appoint priests from among the common people.

(xi. 1) These impieties, however, and the punishment attendant on them, the Deity was at no far distant time to visit upon both his own head and the heads of all his line. For when, at that time, his son, whom they called Obime, was ill, he ordered his wife to remove her robe and put on the dress of a simple woman and go to the prophet Aehias, who was, he said, a man with a wonderful power of foretelling the future and who had indeed revealed to him that he would be king. He bade her go and inquire, as if she were a stranger, whether the child would survive his illness. So she changed her dress, as her husband had ordered her, and came to the city of Silō, where Aehias was living. And as she was about to enter the house of the prophet, whose eyes were dim from age, God appeared to him and forty-one; thus he would have been fifty-eight years old at his death.


c Bibl. Ahijah; cf. § 206 note.

d Josephus omits the Scriptural details of the gifts she brought the prophet.
JOSEPHUS

tera αὐτῷ μηνύει τὴν τε Ἰεροβοάμου γυναῖκα
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφιγμένην καὶ τί δει περί αὐτῶν πάρεστιν

269 ἀποκρίνασθαι. παρισύνης δὲ τῆς γυναίκος εἰς τὴν
οἰκίαν ὡς ἰδιώτιδος καὶ ἥν ἀνεβόησεν " εἴσελθε,
καὶ γύναι Ἰεροβοάμου τί κρύπτεις σαυτήν; τὸν
γὰρ θεόν οὐ λαυθάνεσι, ὡς ἀφικομένην τὲ μοι φανεῖς
ἔδηλωσε καὶ προσέταξε τίνας ποιήσομαι τοὺς
λόγους. ἀπελθοῦσα οὖν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα φράζε

270 αὐτῶν ταύτα λέγειν: ἔπει σε μέγαν ἐκ μικροῦ
καὶ μήδενός ὃντος ἐποίησα καὶ ἀποσχίσας τὴν
βασιλείαν ἀπὸ τοῦ Δαυίδου γένους σοὶ ταύτην
ἐδώκα, σὺ δὲ τούτων ἡμιμόνησας καὶ τὴν ἐμὴν
θρησκείαν καταλιπὼν χωνευτοὺς θεοὺς κατασκευά-
σας ἐκείνους ἑτίμας, οὔτω σε πάλιν καθαρῆσαι
καὶ πάν ἐξολέσω σου τὸ γένος καὶ κυνὶ καὶ ὄρνησι

271 βορᾶν ποιήσω γενέσθαι. βασιλείας γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται
τὸς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, δὲ οὐδένα ὑπολείψει
tοῦ Ἰεροβοάμου γένους: μεθέξει δὲ τῆς τιμωρίας
καὶ τὸ πλήθος ἔκπεσον τῆς ἁγαθῆς γῆς καὶ δια-
σπαρέν εἰς τοὺς πέραν ἐνθρόνων τόπους, ὅτι τοῖς
τοῦ βασιλέως ἀσεβήμασι κατηκολούθησε καὶ τοὺς
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενομένους προσκυνεῖ θεοὺς τὴν ἐμὴν

272 θυσίαν ἐγκαταλείπον. σὺ δὲ, ὥς γύναι, ταύτ' ἀπ-
ἀγγέλλουσα σπεύδε πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα. τὸν δὲ ὑπὸ
καταλήψῃ τεθηκότα σοῦ γὰρ εἰσιοῦσι εἰς τὴν
πόλιν ἀπολείψει τὸ ξῆν αὐτῶν. ταφήσεται δὲ
κλαυσθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς κοινῷ τιμηθεῖς
πένθει καὶ γὰρ μόνος τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἰεροβοάμου

1 ex Lat. conj. Niese: αὐτῷ codd.
2 M Exc.: τιμήσας RO: ἑτίμησας SPE: τιμᾶς Suidas.
3 E Lat.: μεθέξεων codd. Exc.

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told him both that Jeroboam’s wife had come to him and how he was to answer what she had come there to ask. So, when the woman entered the house in the guise of a commoner and a stranger, he cried out, "Come in, wife of Jeroboam! Why do you disguise yourself? For your coming here is not unknown to God, who has appeared to me and revealed your coming, and has instructed me in the things I am to say. Return, therefore, to your husband and tell him that God has spoken as follows. 'Just as I made you great when you were a little man, indeed were nothing, and took the kingdom away from David’s line to give it to you—of which things you have been unmindful and have given up worshipping me, to make gods of molten metal, and have honoured them,—so too I will again put you down and will utterly destroy all your line and will make them the prey of dogs and birds. For a certain one will be set up by me as king over all this people, and not one of Jeroboam’s line will he leave alive. The people too shall share this punishment by being driven from their good land and scattered over the country beyond the Euphrates,¹ because they have followed the impious ways of the king and worship the gods made by him, abandoning their sacrifices to me.' And you, woman, hasten to your husband and tell him these things. But your son you will find dead, for, as you enter the city, his life will leave him. And, when he is buried, he shall be wept for by all the people and honoured with general mourning, for of all of Jeroboam’s line

¹ Bibl. "the river." Josephus, like the Targum, takes this to mean, as it frequently does in Scripture, the Euphrates river.
273 γένους ἀγαθὸς οὗτος ἦν." ταῦτ' αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσασα ἡ γυνὴ τεταραγμένη καὶ τῷ τοῦ προειρημένου παιδὸς θανάτῳ περιαγήσας, βρηκόνσα διὰ τῆς ὀδοῦ καὶ τὴν μέλλουσαν τοῦ τέκνου κοπτομένη τελευτὴν ἄθλια τοῦ πάθους ἠπείγετο κακοῖς ἀμηχάνους καὶ σπουδὴ μὲν ἀτυχεὶ χρωμένη διὰ τῶν νῦν αὐτῆς (ἐμελλε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπειθείσα ὅποστον ὄφεσθαι νεκρὸν), ἀναγκαία δὲ διὰ τὸν ἀνδρα. καὶ παραγενομένη τὸν μὲν ἐκπεπνευκότα καθὼς εἶπεν ὁ προφήτης εὗρε, τῷ δὲ βασιλεῖ πάντα ἀπήγγειλεν.

274 (2) Ἰεροβώαμος δ' οὐδενὸς τούτων φροντίσας πολλὴν ἀθροίσας στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἱοβοάμου παῖδα τῶν δύο φυλῶν τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ πατρὸς διάδεξάμενον Άβιαν ἐξεστράτευσε πολεμήσων· κατεφρόνει γὰρ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν. ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας τὴν ἐφοδίων τὴν Ἰεροβώαμος πρὸς αὐτὴν οὐ κατεπλάγη, γενόμενος δ' ἐπάνω καὶ τῆς νεότητος τῷ φρονήματι καὶ τῆς ἐλπίδος τοῦ πολέμιον, στρατιὰν ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἀπῆηντησε τῷ Ἰεροβώαμῳ εἰς τόπον τινὰ καλοῦμενον ὅρος Σαμαρῶν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἐγγύς αὐτοῦ 275 τὰ πρὸς τὴν μάχην εὐτρέπτετο. ἦν δ' ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ μυριάδες τεσσαράκοντα, ἡ δὲ τοῦ Ἰεροβώαμου στρατία διπλασίων ἐκεῖνης. ὡς δὲ τὰ στρατεύματα πρὸς τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κυνδύνους ἀντιπαρετάσσετο καὶ συμβαλεῖν ἐμελλε, στὰς ἐφ' ύπηλοῦ τινὸς Ἀβίας τόπον καὶ τῇ χειρὶ κατασείσας, τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν Ἰεροβώαμον ἀκούσας 276 πρῶτον αὐτοῦ μεθ' ἡσυχίας ἡξίωσε. γενομένης δὲ 718
he alone was good.” When he had prophesied these things, the woman rushed out, thrown into confusion and deeply grieved at the death of the son spoken of; along the way she lamented and beat her breast at the thought of the child’s approaching end, and wretched over her misfortune and beset by irre-

mediable woe, she pressed on with a haste that meant ill luck for her son—for the more she hurried, the sooner she was destined to see him dead—but was necessary on her husband’s account. And, when she arrived, she found the child breathing his last, as the prophet had said; and she told the king every-

thing.

(2) But Jeroboam took no thought of these things, and, collecting a large army, led it out to make war on Abias, the son of Roboamos, who had succeeded his father as king of the two tribes and whom Jeroboam despised on account of his youth. And, when the other heard of Jeroboam’s approach, he was not dismayed, but, with a spirit rising above his youth and the hopes of the enemy, raised an army from among the two tribes and confronted Jeroboam at a place called Mount Samarôn, near which he encamped and prepared for battle. His force amounted to four hundred thousand, while Jeroboam’s army was twice as large. Now, as the armies were drawn up against each other, ready for action and the hazards of war, and were about to engage, Abias, who stood on an elevated spot, motioned with his hand and asked the people and Jeroboam first to hear him in quiet; and,

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*a Amplification of the brief Scriptural statement, “And Jeroboam’s wife arose and departed and came to Tirzah.”

*b Bibl. Zemaraim (Semărayim), lxx Σομορῶν; its site is unidentified.
σωπῆς ἤρετο λέγειν· ὁ ἦμερα τῆς θεοῦ τοῦ ἑκόνου καὶ τοὺς ἐκγόνους αὐτοῦ κατένευσεν εἰς ἄπαντα χρόνον, οὐδὲ ὕμεις ἀγνοεῖτε· θαυμάζω δὲ πῶς ἀποστάντες τοῦμον πατρὸς τῷ δούλῳ Ἱεροβοάμῳ προσέθεσθε καὶ μετ' ἐκείνου πάρεστε νῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας κεκριμένους πολεμήσοντες καὶ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀφαιρησόμενοι τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν· τὴν μὲν γὰρ πλείω μέχρι νῦν Ἱερο-277 βόαμος ἀδίκως ἐχεῖ. ἀλλ' ὡς οὖν οἴμαι ταύτης2 αὐτὸν ἀπολαύσειν ἐπὶ πλείωνα χρόνον, ἀλλὰ δοὺς καὶ τὸν παρεληλυθότος δίκην τῷ θεῷ παύσεται τῆς παραομιλίας καὶ τῶν ὑβρεων, ἀς οὐ διαλέισθεν εἰς αὐτὸν ὑβρίζων καὶ ταύτα ποιεῖν ὑμᾶς ἀναπε-πεικός, οὐ μηδὲν ἀδικηθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦμον πατρός, ἀλλ' ὅτι μὴ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ἐκκλησιάζων ὁμίλησεν, ἀνθρώπων πονηρῶν συμβουλία πεισθείς, ἐγκατ-ελίπετε τῷ μὲν δοκεῖν ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἐκείνον, ταῖς δ' ἂλθείας αὐτοὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν ἐκείνου 278 νόμων ἀπεσπάσατε. καίτοι συνεγνωσκέναι καλῶς εἶχεν ὑμᾶς οὐ λόγον μόνον δυσκόλων ἀνδρὶ νέω καὶ ὑπεραγωγίας ἀπείρῳ, ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ πρὸς τι δυσχερὲς ἡ νεότης αὐτόν καὶ ἡ ἁμαθία τῶν πρατ-τομέων ἐξήγεν ἑργον, διὰ τε Σολομώνα τὸν πα-τέρα καὶ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τὰς ἐκείνου· παραίησαν γὰρ εἶναι δεῖ τῆς τῶν ἑκόνων ἁμαρτίας τὰς τῶν 279 πατέρων εὐποιεῖς. ὑμεῖς δ' οὐδὲν τούτων ἐλογί-σασθε οὕτε τότε οὕτε νῦν, ἀλλ' ἢκε3 στρατὸς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς τοσοῦτος· τίνι καὶ πεπιστευκός περὶ τῆς

1 καὶ ταύτης RO.  
2 ἢκε ὁτὲ MSP.  
720
when silence was obtained, he began to speak, saying, "That God has granted the sovereignty to David and his descendants for all time, not even you are unaware. I wonder, therefore, how you could revolt from my father and go over to his servant Jeroboam, and have now come here with him to make war on those who were chosen by God to reign, and to deprive them of the royal power which still remains to them, for the larger part of the realm Jeroboam has until now been unjustly holding. But I do not believe that he will enjoy possession of this for very long, but, when he has paid God the penalty for what he has done in the past, he will end his transgressions and the insults which he has never ceased to offer Him, persuading you to do the same. As for you who were never wronged in any way by my father, but because, following the advice of wicked men, in a public assembly he spoke in a manner that displeased you,—you deserted him, as it seemed, but in reality you have separated yourselves from God and His laws. And yet it would have been fair for you to forgive not only the unpleasant words of a man so young and inexperienced in governing people, but also any further disagreeable act to which his youth and his ignorance of public affairs might have led him, for the sake of his father Solomon and the benefits you have received from him. For the merits of the fathers should be a palliation of the sins of their children. You, however, took no account of these things either then or now, but have brought this great army of yours against us; and in what does

a This argument is not found in Scripture. On the late biblical doctrine of the "merits of the fathers" cf. R. Marcus, Law in the Apocrypha, p. 14.
νίκης; ἣ ταῖς χρυσαίς δαμάλεσι καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ὀρῶν βωμοῖς, ἀ δεῖγμα τῆς ἀσβείας ἐστὶν ὑμῶν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τῆς θρησκείας; ἢ τὸ πλήθος ὑμᾶς εὐέλπιδας ἀπεργάζεται τὴν ἁμετέραν στρατιὰν
280 ὑπερβάλλον; ἀλλ' οοὔ ἂτησον² ισχὺς μυριάδων στρατοῦ μετ' ἀδικημάτων πολεμοῦντος· ἐν γὰρ μόνῳ τῷ δικαίῳ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον εὐσεβεῖ τὴν βεβαιοτάτην ελπίδα τοῦ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐναντίων ἀποκείσθαι συμβεβηκεν, ἦτις ἦστι παρ' ἡμῖν τετηρηκόσιν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ νόμιμα καὶ τὸν ἱδίον θεῶν σεβομένους, ὅν οὐ χεῖρες ἐποίησαν ἐξ ἔλθος φθαρτῆς οοὔ' ἐπίνοια ποιηροῦ βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν ὁχλῶν ἀπάτη κατεσκέυασεν, ἀλλ' οοὔ ἄργον ἐστὶν αὐτοῦ
281 καὶ ἄρχῃ καὶ τέλος τῶν ἀπάντων· συμβουλεύων τοιγαροῦν ὑμῖν ἐτί καὶ νῦν μεταγνώναι καὶ λαβόντας ἀμείων λογισμόν παύσασθαι τοῦ πολεμεῖν καὶ τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὸ προαγαγὸν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μέγεθος εὐδαμομίας γνωρίσαι·''
282 (3) Ταύτα μὲν Ἀβίας διελέξθη πρὸς τὸ πλήθος· ἕτε δὲ αὐτοῦ λέγοντος λάθρα τυνᾶς τῶν στρατιώτῶν Ἰεροβόαμος ἐπεμψε περικυκλωσομένους τὸν Ἁβίαν ἐκ τῶν οο ὕ βαν εὐερέων τοῦ στρατοπέδου μερῶν. μέσου δ' αὐτοῦ περιληφθέντος τῶν πολεμίων ἦ μὲν στρατιὰ κατέδευσε καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἀνέπεσεν, δ' ἂν Ἁβίας παρεθάρρυνε καὶ τὰς ἐλπίδας ἔχειν ἐν τῷ θεῷ παρεκάλει· τοῦτον γὰρ οὐ κε- 283 κυκλώσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων. οἱ δ' ὁμοί πάντες ἐπικαλεσάμενοι τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχίαν τῶν ἔρεων τῇ σάλπιγγι σημανάντων ἀλαλάξαντες
284 ἐχώρησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους· καὶ τῶν μὲν ἔθραυσε

¹ ex Lat. Niese: ἦ codd. E.
² Naber: οοὔ ἂτησ οοῦ SP: οὐ δὴ τις RO: οὐ δὴ τις οοῦν M.

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it place its hope of victory? Is it, perhaps, in the golden heifers and the altars on the mountains, which are proofs of your impiety and not by any means of your devoutness? Or is it your numbers, which far exceed those of our army, that make you confident? But there is no strength whatever in many tens of thousands when an army fights in an unjust cause. For it is only in justice and piety toward God that the surest hope of conquering one’s adversaries is bound to lie, and this belongs to us who have from the beginning observed the laws and worshipped our own God, whom no hands have formed out of perishable matter and no wicked king has cunningly made to deceive the populace, but who is His own work and the beginning and end of all things. I advise you, therefore, even now to repent and adopt the better plan of ceasing from warfare and to respect the rights of your country and the power which has led you on to so great a height of prosperity.”

(3) Such was the speech which Abias made to the people. But, while he was still speaking, Jeroboam secretly sent some of his soldiers to surround Abias from certain parts of the camp that were not observed. And, when he was caught in the enemy’s midst, his army was alarmed and their spirits sank, but Abias encouraged them and urged them to put their hope in God, saying that He was not encircled by the enemy. And all of them together called upon God to be their ally and, when the priests had sounded the trumpets, they rushed upon the enemy with an exultant shout.

a Josephus greatly amplifies the speech of Abijah.

b The Judaeans’ discouragement and Abijah’s exhortation are unscriptural details.
τὰ φρονήματα καὶ τὰς ἀκμὰς αὐτῶν ἔξελυσεν ὁ θεός, τὴν δὲ Ἀβιὰ στρατιάν ὑπερτέραν ἐποίησεν· ὥσος γὰρ οὐδέποτε ἐμισθομενήθη φόνος ἐν πολέμῳ γεγονέναι οὕθ᾽ Ἑλλήνων οὐτε βαρβάρων, τοσοῦτος ἀποκτείνατε τῆς Ἱεροβώμου δυνάμεως θαυμαστήν καὶ διαβόητον νίκην παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν ἡξιώθησαν· πεντήκοντα γὰρ μυριάδες τῶν ἐχθρῶν κατέβαλον καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν διήρπασαν τὰς ὀχυρωτάτας ἐλόντες κατὰ κράτος, τὴν τε Βηθῆλην καὶ τὴν τοπορχίαν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν Ἰσαιάν καὶ τὴν

285 τοπορχίαιναν αὐτῆς.\(^1\) καὶ Ἱεροβώμος μὲν οὐκέτι μετὰ ταύτην τὴν ἤταν ἵσχυσεν ἐφ᾽ ὅσον Ἀβιὰς περὶν χρόνον. τελευτᾷ δ᾽ οὕτως ὅλγον τῇ νίκῃ χρόνον ἐπίζήσας ἐτή βασιλεύσας τρία, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐν ταῖς προγονικαῖς θῆκαις, ἀπολείπει δὲ νιόυς μὲν δύο καὶ εἰκοσι θυγατέρας δὲ ἐκκαίδεκα. πάντας τούτους ἐκ γυναικῶν δεκα-

286 τεσσάρων ἐπεκνώσατο. διεδέξατο δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ νῖός\(^2\) Ἀσανός καὶ ἡ μῆτερ τοῦ νεανίσκου Μαχαία τοῦνομα. τούτου κρατοῦντος εἰρήνης ἀπέλαυεν ἡ χώρα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπὶ ἐτή δέκα.

287 (4) Καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Ἀβιάν τὸν Ῥοβοάμου τοῦ Σολομώνος οὕτως παρελήφαμεν. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ καὶ Ἱεροβώμος ὁ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλεύς, ἀρξας ἐτή δύο καὶ εἰκοσι. διαδέχεται δ᾽ αὐτοῦ ὁ

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\(^1\) καὶ ... αὐτῆς om. RO Lat.  
\(^2\) + αὐτοῦ RO.

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\(a\) The phrase "such ... was never recorded to have been made" is reminiscent of Thucydides ii. 47.

\(b\) On this phrase cf. 1. vii. 309.

\(c\) Bibl. Jeshanah (Yesánhāh), lxx Kavá, Luc. 'Iešāvā.
Then God crushed the spirit of the enemy and broke their strength, while He made Abias's army stronger. Such a slaughter was never recorded to have been made in any war of Greeks or barbarians as they made in slaying the soldiers of Jeroboam when they were permitted by God to win so wonderful and celebrated a victory, for they struck down five hundred thousand of their foes and plundered their strongest cities after taking them by storm; these were Bethel and its province and Isana and its province. And Jeroboam, after this defeat, was never again powerful so long as Abias lived. The latter, however, lived only a short time beyond his victory, dying after a reign of three years, and was buried in Jerusalem in the tomb of his forefathers; he left behind twenty-two sons and sixteen daughters. All these children he had by fourteen wives. And he was succeeded on the throne by his son Asanos, this youth's mother being named Maehaia. During his government the land of the Israelites enjoyed peace for ten years.

(4) Such, then, is the account we have received concerning Abias, the son of Roboamos the son of Solomon. Now Jeroboam, the king of the ten tribes, also died, after ruling twenty-two years. He was

a Scripture adds the city of Ephraim, lxx Ἐφραίμ. On the variant account (2 Chron. xvii. 2) that Asa, the son of Abijah, captured these cities cf. § 393 note.

b In Scripture, Abijah's wives and children are mentioned before his death.

c Bibl. Asa, lxx Ἄσα.

d Bibl. Maachah, lxx Μααχά. Weill understands Josephus's text to mean that Asa's mother was associated with him on the throne.

A slip for "the two tribes" or "Jerusalem"; Asa was king of Judah.

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Abijah's death. 2 Chron. xiv. 1 (Heb. xiii. 23).

Jeroboam is succeeded by Nadab (Nabados). 1 Kings xv. 10.
JOSEPHUS

país Nábados¹ deutérou ètous ἥδη τῆς βασιλείας Ἀσάνου διεληλυθότος. ἦρξε δὲ ὁ τοῦ Ἱεροβοάμου.país ἔτη δύο, τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἀσέβειαν καὶ 288 τὴν πονηρίαν ἐμφερῆς ὄν. ἐν δὲ τούτοις τοὺς δυσὶν ἔτεσι στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ Γαβαθώνα πόλιν Παλαιστίνων οὕσαν πολιορκία λαβεῖν αὐτὴν προσέμενεν· ἐπιβουλευθεὶς δὲ ἐκεῖ ὑπὸ φίλου τινὸς Βασάνου³ ὄνομα Σειδοῦ⁴ δὲ παιδὸς ἀποθνῄσκει, ὁς μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν παρα- 289 λαβὼν ἀπαν τὸ Ἱεροβοάμου γένος διέφθειρε. καὶ συνέβη κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν τοὺς μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν Ἱεροβοάμου συγγενῶν ἀποθανόντας ὑπὸ κυνῶν σπαραξθῆναι καὶ δαπανηθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ὑπ’ ὀρνίθων. ὅ μὲν οὖν Ἱερο- βοάμου οἶκος τῆς ἀσέβειας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἀγαμαμάτων ἄξιαν ὑπέσχε δίκην.

290 (xii. 1) Ὅ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς Ἀσάνου ἂν τὸν τρόπον ἀριστος καὶ πρὸς τὸ θείου ἀφορῶν καὶ μηδὲν μήτε πράττων μήτ’ ἐννοούμενος ὁ μη πρὸς τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἰχε καὶ τὴν τῶν νομίμων φυλακὴν τὴν ἀναφορὰν. κατώρθωσε δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ⁵ βασιλείαν ἐκκόψας εἰ τι πονηρὸν ἂν ἐν αὐτῇ καὶ 291 καθαρεύσας ἀπάσης κηλίδος. στρατοῦ δ’ εἰχεν ἑπιλέκτων ἀνδρῶν ὁπλισμένων θυρεόν καὶ σιρο-

¹ Náðabos S: Nadab Lat.
² δὲ ROSP.
³ Ο: Βασσάμου R: Βασσάμου MSP.
⁴ Εἴδου M: Εἴλου S: Ἐλοῦ ΠΕ: Μαχείλου ed. pr. (Lat.?).
⁵ Niese: αὐτῷ codd. E.

So lxx; bibl. Gibbethon, perhaps to be identified with 726
succeeded by his son Nabados in the second year of the reign of Asanos. And the son of Jeroboam, who ruled two years, resembled his father in impiety and wickedness. In the course of these two years he led an army against Gabathôn, a city belonging to the Philistines, and undertook a long siege to capture it. But he was killed as the victim of a plot formed by one of his friends named Basanes, the son of Seidos, who took over the royal power after Asanos's death and destroyed the entire family of Jeroboam. And so it came about, in accordance with the prophecy of God, that some of Jeroboam's kin met death in the city and were torn to pieces and devoured by dogs, while others died in the fields and were eaten by birds. Thus did the house of Jeroboam suffer fitting punishment for his impiety and lawlessness.

(xii. 1) But Asanos, the king of Jerusalem, was of an excellent character, looking to the Deity for guidance and neither doing nor thinking anything that did not show due regard for piety and the observance of the laws. He put his kingdom in order by cutting away whatever evil growths were found in it and cleansing it from every impurity. And he had an army of picked men, three hundred thousand from the modern Qibbia, c. 5 miles N. of Modin, in the low hill country W. of Ephraim.

Bibl. Baasha, lxx Baasá. Scripture does not call him a friend of Nadab.

d The variants Eilos, Macheilos are possibly corruptions of lxx bełaár, the name of his father's family, not given in the Heb.; bibl. Ahijah, lxx Ἄχεια.

e These details (cf. § 270) are not referred to in Scripture at this point, 1 Kings xv. 29.

Josephus passes over the Scriptural statement about the idols and altars of strange gods removed by Asa (cf. § 297 note).
JOSEPHUS

μάστην1 ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰουδὰ φυλῆς μυριάδας τριάκοντα, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἀστίδας φοροῦντων 292 καὶ τοξοτῶν μυριάδας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι. ἥδη δὲ αὐτοῦ δέκα ἐτη βασιλεύνοντος στρατεύει μεγάλη δυνάμει Ζαραϊὸς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὁ τῆς Λιθιοπίας βασιλεὺς ἐνενήκοντα μὲν πεξῶν μυριάσων ἐπιπέδων δὲ δέκα τριακοσίων δ' ἄρμασι. καὶ μέχρι πόλεως Μαρίσας, ἔστι δ' αὐτὴ τῆς Ἰουδὰ φυλῆς, ἐλάσαντος αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς οἰκείως δυνάμεως ἀπήντησεν 293 "Ασανος, καὶ ἀντιπαρατάξεις αὐτῷ τὴν στρατιὰν ἐν των φάραγγι Σαφαθᾶ2 λεγομένη τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἀπώθεν, ὡς κατείδει τὸ τῶν Λιθιόπων πλῆθος, ἀναβοήσας νίκην ἤτει παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὰς πολλὰς ἐλεύθερας τῶν πολεμίων· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄλλω των θαρσῆσας ἔλεγεν ἢ τῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ βοήθεια δυναμενή καὶ τοὺς ὁλίγους ἀπεργάσασθαι κρείστους τῶν πλείστων καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενείς τῶν ὑπερχόντων ἀπαντήσαι πρὸς μάχην τῷ Ζαραϊᾷ.

294 (2) Ταύτα λέγοντος Ἀσανος νίκην ἐσήμανεν ὁ θεός, καὶ συμβαλὼν μετὰ χαρᾶς τῶν προδεδηλωμένων υπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Λιθιόπων καὶ τραπέντας εἰς φυγὴν ἐδώξεν ἀχρι τῆς Γεραρίτιδος χώρας. ἀφέμενοι δὲ τῆς ἀναιρέσεως ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγήν τῶν πόλεων3 (ἢ ἡ ἡ Γεράρων) ἐχώρησαν καὶ τῆς παρεμβολῆς

1 θυρεψ καὶ σειρομάστη Naber cum cod. Vat. ap. Hudson.
2 M L Λατ.: Σαβαθᾶ RO: Σαβεθᾶ SP.
3 πολεμίων M: τῆς πόλεως Bekker.

a So Ixx; Heb. and Luc. 280,000.
b Scripture does not explicitly state at what period of Asa’s reign the Ethiopian invasion occurred, but in 2 Chron. xiv. 1 it is said that "in his days the land had rest for ten years."
c Cf. Luc. Zaraŭ; bibl. Zerah (Zerah), Ixx Ἰάρε.
the tribe of Judah armed with shields and barbed lances, and two hundred and fifty thousand from the tribe of Benjamin carrying round shields and bows. Now he had been reigning for ten years when Zaraios, the king of Ethiopia, marched against him with a large force consisting of nine hundred thousand foot-soldiers, one hundred thousand horsemen and three hundred chariots. And when he had marched as far as the city of Marisa—the being in the tribe of Judah—, Asanos met him with his own force and drew up his army over against him in a certain valley called Saphatha, not far from the city. But on seeing the Ethiopian host he cried aloud and prayed to God for victory and the destruction of many myriads of the enemy, for, he said, in nothing else than His help, which can make the few triumph over the many, and the weak over the strong, would he put his trust when going out to meet Zaraios in battle.

(2) While Asanos spoke these words, God gave a sign that he would be victorious, and so, with joy at what had been foretold by God, he encountered the foe and slew many of the Ethiopians; and those who turned to flee he pursued as far as the territory of Gerar. Then they left off slaughtering and proceeded to plunder the cities—Gerar had already been taken—and the camp of the enemy, so that they

d Bibl. "with a host of a thousand thousand"; the separate numbers of infantry and cavalry are not given.


f Bibl. Zephathah (Sephdthah); lxx, reading ἱσπόνα, "to the north," has κατὰ βορρᾶν.

This seems to be a misunderstanding of Heb., "it is nothing for thee (God) to help"; lxx οὐκ ἐδώρετε παρὰ σοι σώζεω. Scripture does not mention any sign given by God.

So Heb. and Luc.; lxx Γεδώρ; it lay in the south of Philistia, not far from the sea.
JOSEPHUS


1 ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν . . . αὐτῶν corrupta esse putat Niese.
2 Niese: αὐτοῖς codd. E.

a Gold and silver are not mentioned in Scripture.
carried off much gold and silver and brought away a great deal of spoil and camels, beasts of burden and flocks of sheep. And so, when Asanos and the army with him had received from God this great victory and gain, they turned back to Jerusalem. As they were approaching it, there met them on the road a prophet named Azarias. He bade them halt their journey, and began to speak to them, saying that they had obtained this victory from God because they had shown themselves righteous and pure and had always acted in accordance with the will of God. If, then, he said, they so continued, God would grant them always to overcome their foes and live happily, but, if they abandoned His worship, everything would turn out to the contrary and the time would come “when no true prophet will be found among your people nor any priest to give righteous judgement, but your cities shall be laid waste and the nation scattered over all the earth to lead the life of aliens and wanderers.” He therefore advised them to be virtuous while they still had time, and not ungraciously refuse to accept the benevolence of God. When the king and the people heard these words, they rejoiced, and all together and each privately took thought for what was right. The king also sent men throughout the country to watch over the enforcement of the laws.

So Lxx; bibl. Azariah (Azaryah); Scripture adds that he was the son of Oded.

This unscriptural reference to the future exile is perhaps an interpretation of 2 Chron. xv. 5, “In those days (there will be) no peace to him that goes out nor to him that comes in.”

Here again (cf. § 290 note) Josephus passes over the Scriptural details of Asa’s removal of idols and unlawful shrines.
(3) Καὶ τὰ μὲν Ἀσάνου τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν δύο φυλῶν ἐν τούτοις ὑπῆρχεν. ἐπάνειμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα αὐτῶν Βασάνην¹ τὸν ἀποκτείναντα τὸν Ἱεροβοάμου υἱὸν Νάβαδον καὶ κατασχόντα τὴν ἀρχήν. οὗτος γὰρ ἐν Θαρσῷ² πόλει διατρίβων καὶ ταύτῃ οἰκητήριον πεποιημένος ἐκκόσι μὲν ἐβασίλευσεν ἡτή καὶ τέσσαρα, πονηρός δὲ καὶ ἀσεβὴς ὑπὲρ Ἱεροβόαμον καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γενόμενος, πολλὰ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κακὰ διέθηκε καὶ τὸν θεὸν εξύβρισεν· ὃς αὐτῷ πέμψας Ἰηνοῦν⁴ τὸν προφήτην προεἶπε διαφθείρειν αὐτοῦ πᾶν τὸ γένος καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς οἷς καὶ τὸν Ἱεροβοάμον κακοῖς περιέβαλεν οἰκὸν ἐξολέσεων, ὃτι βασιλεὺς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενόμενος οὐκ ἡμείς ἐπὶ τὴν εὐεργεσίαν τῶν δικαίως προστήναι τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ εὐσεβῶς, ἀπέρ αὐτοῖς πρῶτον τοῖς οὕσι τοιούτοις ἀγαθά, ἐπειτα τοῖς θεῶ φίλα, τὸν δὲ κάκιστον Ἱεροβόαμον ἐμμηνόσατο καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἀπολογίας τῆς ἐκείνου ἑώραν αὐτοῦ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐνεδείξατο· πείραν οὖν ἔξειν εἰκότως τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς 301 αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν ὁμοίοιον αὐτῷ γενόμενον. Βασάνης δὲ προακούσας τὰ μέλλοντα αὐτῷ συμβήσεσθαι κακὰ μεθ’ ὀλίς τῆς γενεάς ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις οὐ πρὸς τὸ λοιπὸν ἠσύχασεν, ἵνα μὴ μάλλον πονηρὸς δόξας ἀποθάνῃ καὶ περὶ τῶν παρωχημένων ἐκτότε γοῦν μετανοήσας συγγνώμης παρὰ 302 τοῦ θεοῦ τύχη, ἀλλ’ ὄσπερ οἱ προκειμένων αὐτοῖς

¹ τὸ πλῆθος ... Βασάνην] τὸν τὸν πλῆθους τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέα Βασάνην MSP Lat.
² Hudson: Θαρσάλη codd.: Tersalin Lat.
³ πεποιημένος RO.
⁵ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ om. RO.

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(3) Such was the state of things under Asanos, the king of the two tribes. I shall now return to the people of Israel and their king Basanés, who killed Jeroboam's son Nabados and seized the royal power. Now he lived in the city of Tharsē, which he had made his residence, and reigned there twenty-four years. But being more wicked and impious than Jeroboam and his son, he brought many evils upon the people and greatly outraged God, who sent to him the prophet Jēuś and warned him that He would destroy all his line and would utterly crush them under the same calamities as He had brought upon the house of Jeroboam, because, after having been made king by Him, he had not requited His kindness by justly and piously governing the people—a course which would, in the first place, be of benefit to those who followed it, and then pleasing to God as well—but had imitated Jeroboam, the vilest of men, and, although Jeroboam himself was dead, had revealed his wickedness as still living. Therefore, He said, Basanés should justly experience a like ill fate since he had acted in a like manner. But Basanés, although he heard beforehand what evils were destined to befall him together with his whole family because of his reckless conduct, did not restrain himself thereafter in order to avoid being thought still more wicked and so meeting death, nor seek, by repenting thenceforth at least of his past misdeeds, to obtain pardon from God; on the contrary, like those

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\* Emended text; mss. Tharsalē; bibl. Tirzah (Tirsāh), lxx Ḫeρσά, tentatively identified by Albright with the modern Tell el-Far'ah, c. 7 miles N.E. of Nablus.

\* Variant Jesús; bibl. Jehu (Yehū), lxx Eioï, Luc. Ioũ (?) ; Scripture adds that he was the son of Hanani.

\* Josephus greatly amplifies Jehu's speech.
ἀθλῶν ἐπὰν περὶ τι σπουδάσωσιν οὐ διαλείπουσιν περὶ τούτῳ ἐνεργοῦντες, οὕτω καὶ Βασάνης προ-
ερηκότος αὐτῷ τοῦ προφήτου τὰ μέλλοντα ὡς ἐπ᾿ ἀγαθοῖς τοῖς μεγίστοις κακοῖς ὀλέθρω γένους καὶ
οἰκίας ἀπωλεία χείρων ἐγένετο, καὶ καθ᾿ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ὥσπερ ἀθλητής κακίας τοῖς περὶ ταύτην
πόνοις προσετίθει. καὶ τελευταίον τὴν στρατιὰν
παραλαβὼν πάλιν ἐπῆλθε πόλει τινὶ τῶν οὐκ
ἀφανῶν Ἀραμαθῶν τοῦνομα σταδίους ἀπεχούσῃ
Ἱεροσολύμων τεσσαράκοντα, καὶ καταλαβόμενος
αὐτὴν ὀχύρου προδιεγνωκὼς καταλιπεῖν ἐν αὐτῇ
dύναμιν, ἦν ἐκείθεν ὁρμημένου τὴν Ἀσάνου βασι-
λεῖαν κακώσωσι.

304 (4) Φοβηθεὶς δὲ Ἀσάνος τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν τοῦ
πολεμίου καὶ λογισάμενος ὡς πολλὰ διαθήσει
κακὰ τὴν ὑπ᾿ αὐτῷ βασιλευομένην ἀπασαν ὁ κατα-
λειφθεὶς ἐν Ἀραμαθῶν στρατός, ἐπεμψε πρὸς τὸν
Δαμασκηνῶν βασιλέα πρέσβεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ
ἀργυρον, παρακάλων συμμαχεῖν1 καὶ ὑπομιμή-
κων ὅτι καὶ πατρίδα φιλία πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἐστὶν
305 αὐτοῖς. ὦ δὲ τῶν χρημάτων τὸ πλῆθος ἀσμένως
ἐδέξατο καὶ συμμαχίαν ἐπονήσατο πρὸς αὐτὸν, δια-
lύσας τὴν πρὸς τὸν Βασάνην φιλίαν, καὶ πέμψας
eἰς τὰς ὑπ᾿ αὐτοῦ βασιλευομένας πόλεις τοὺς
ήγεμόνας τῆς ἱδίας δυνάμεως ἐκέλευσε κακοῖν

1 Niese: συμμαχίαν codd.
who have a prize held out before them and, in their earnest effort to obtain it, do not leave off striving toward it, so too Basanēs, after the prophet had foretold what was to come, acted as if these greatest of misfortunes, the death of his family and the destruction of his house, were blessings instead, and became still worse; every day, like a champion of wickedness, he increased his labours on its behalf. And finally he took his army and again attacked a certain city of no little importance, named Aramathōn, which was forty stades from Jerusalem, and, after taking it, fortified it, for he had previously determined to leave a force in it in order that they might use it as a base from which to set out and ravage the kingdom of Asanos.

(4) But Asanos, who feared the enemy's attack and thought that the army left in Aramathōn might inflict great damage upon the entire country ruled by him, sent envoys to the king of Damascus with gold and silver, requesting him to become his ally, and reminding him that there had been friendship between them since their fathers' time. This king gladly accepted the large sum of money and formed an alliance with him after breaking off friendly relations with Basanēs; and he sent the commanders of his own force to the cities of Basanēs' realm with

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a These reflections on Baasha's conduct are, of course, an addition to Scripture.

b Bibl. Ramah, lxx 'Paamu (v.l. 'Pamu); elsewhere in Josephus (e.g. A. vi. 220) it is called Armatha; it is the modern er-Rām, c. 5 miles N. of Jerusalem. Josephus's reckoning of its distance from Jerusalem (an unscriptural detail) is therefore correct.

c Scripture gives his name, Ben-hadad (lxx viòv 'Αδαύ), son of Tabrimmon.
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αὐτάς. οὗ δὲ τὰς μὲν ἑνεπίμπρασαν τὰς δὲ διῆρπασαν πορευθέντες, τὴν τε Λιῶναν λεγομένην
306 καὶ Δάνα καὶ Ἀβελλάνην καὶ ἄλλας πολλάς. ταῦτ' ἀκούσας οἱ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς τοῦ μὲν οἰκοδομεῖν καὶ ὀχυρωῦν τὴν Ἀραμαδώνα ἑπαύσατο, μετὰ δὲ σπουδῆς ὡς βοηθήσων τοῖς οἰκείοις κακομένοις ἀνέστρεφεν, οὗ ἄσανος ἐκ τῆς παρεσκευασμένης ύπ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς οἰκοδομίαν ὕλης πόλεως ἀνήγειρεν ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ τόπῳ δύο καρπεράς, 307 ἡ μὲν Γαβαὰ ἢ καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα καιρὸν οὕκ ἔσχεν ὁ Βασάνης τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Ἄσανον στρατεύσας: ἐφθάσοτι γὰρ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρεών, καὶ θάπτεται μὲν ἐν Θαρσῆ 3 πόλει, παραλαμβάνει δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄρχην παῖς Ἡλανος. οὗτος ἄρξας ἐπ' ἐτη δύο τελευτὰ φονεύσαντος αὐτῶν ἐξ ἑπιβουλῆς Ζαμβρίου 5 τοῦ ἐπαρχοῦ τῆς ἴμω-
308 σείας τάξεως: κατευχηθέντα γὰρ αὐτὸν παρὰ τῷ οἰκονόμῳ αὐτοῦ Ὡσᾶ 6 τούνομα πεισάς ἐπιδραμεῖν τῶν ύφ' αὐτὸν ἐπεέων τινὰς ἀπέκτεινε δ' αὐτῶν μεμονωμένον τῶν περὶ αὐτῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ ἴμη-

1 Hudson: 'Ἰωάννου Μ: 'Ἰωάννου RO: Helon Lat.
2 καὶ μετὰ RO.
3 ex Lat. Niese: Γαβᾶ MSP: Χαβαᾶ RO.
4 ex Lat. Hudson: Μασσαφᾶς RO: Μεσσαφᾶς MSP.
5 Hudson: Ἄση RO: Ἀρσάνη MSP: Thersa Lat.
6 Ζαμβρίου MSPE Lat.
7 Ὀλσᾶ SPE: Ὀρσᾶ Hudson.

a Emended text, cf. lxx 2 Chron. Αἰών; mss. Joannū, etc.; bibl. Ijon (Ἰγγύν), lxx 1 Kings Αἰών (v.l. Ναίων); its site is unidentified.

b Bibl. 1 Kings Abel-beth-maachah, lxx Αβιλ οἶκον Μααχα—bĭth means “house”—(v.l. Ἀδελμάθ), Luc.'Αβελμαά; 2 Chron. Abel-maim, lxx Ἀβελμαῖον. Josephus’s form seems to be a corruption of that in lxx 2 Chron.

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orders to ravage them. So they set out and burnt some of the cities and sacked others, including Aiôn, as it was called, Dan, Abellanê and many others. When the king of Israel heard of this, he left off building and fortifying Aramathôn and returned in haste to bring help to his injured subjects. Then Asanos took the materials prepared by Basanês for building Aramathôn, and with them erected two strong cities in the same region, one of which was called Gabaa and the other, Maspha. And after this Basanês had no further opportunity to march against Asanos, for he was very soon overtaken by Fate and was buried in the city of Tharsê, whereupon his son Œlanos took over his kingdom. He, in turn, died after a reign of two years, being treacherously slain by Zambrias, the commander of half of his body of horsemen, in this way: as he was being entertained at table by his steward, whose name was Ósa, Zambrias persuaded some of the horsemen under his command to rush upon him, and had him killed while he was quite alone, without his

e Located, according to Scripture, in the territory of Naphtali, N.W. of the lake of Chinnereth.

So Lxx 2 Chron. (v.l. ʾaṣṣeq); bibl. Geba (of Benjamin);

Lxx 1 Kings, taking the name Geba as a common noun meaning "hill," has βουνόν (Βενιαυείν).

So Lxx 2 Chron.; bibl. Mizpah (Mispîh); 1xx 1 Kings, taking the name Mizpah as a common noun meaning "look-out," has σκοπόιαν.


Bibl. Elah, lxx Ἡλά.

Bibl. Zimri, lxx Ζαμβρέθ.

Heb. and Luc. "commander of half of his chariots;"

Lxx "commander of half of his horses."

This form and the variant Olsa are both found in the Lxx; bibl. Arza (ʾIrṣāʿ).

According to Scripture, Zimri himself killed Elah.

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μόνων· οὕτω γὰρ ἀπαντεῖ περὶ τὴν πολυρκίαν τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἐγώνοντο τῆς Παλαιστίνων.

309 (5) Φονεύσας δὲ τὸν Ἡλανον ὁ ἰππαρχὸς Ζαμβρίας αὐτὸς βασιλεύει καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν Βασάνου γενεὰν κατὰ τὴν Ἰηοὺ προφητεῖαν διαφθείρει· τῷ γὰρ αὐτῷ τρόπῳ συνεβή τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ προάγον ἀπολέσθαι διὰ τὴν ἀσέβειαν, ὡς καὶ τὸν

310 Ἰεροβοώμου διαφθείρεται γεγράφαμεν. ἢ δὲ πολυρκοῦσα τὴν Γαβαθώνην στρατιὰ πυθομένη τὰ περὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ὅτι Ζαμβρίας ἀποκτείνας αὐτὸν ἔχει τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸν ἥγουμενον αὐτῆς Ἄμαρίνον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, διὸ ἀπὸ τῆς Γαβαθώνης ἀναστήσας τὸν στρατὸν εἰς Θαρσῆν παραγίνεται τὸ βασίλειον καὶ προσβαλῶν τῇ πόλει

311 κατὰ κράτος αἰρεῖ. Ζαμβρίας δὲ τὴν πόλιν ἱδὼν ἡρημένην δ' συνεφυγεν εἰς τὸ μυχαίτατον τῶν βασιλείων καὶ ὑποπρῆς περὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸς καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν Θαμαναῖον θαμαναῖον βασιλεύειν θέλουν, οἱ δὲ τὸν Ἄμαρίνον. νυκήσαντες δ' οἱ τοῦτον ἄρχειν ἀξιοῦντες ἀποκτείνουσι τὸν θαμαναίον, καὶ παντὸς βασιλεύει οἱ Ἄμαρίνους τοῦ

312 ὀχλοῦ. τριακοστῷ δὲ ἔτει τῆς Ἀσάνου βασιλείας Ἰρξεν ὁ Ἄμαρίνος ἔτη δώδεκα· τούτων τὰ μὲν ἔξ ἐν Θάρσῳ πόλει, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ ἐν Σωμαρεῶν ἱερομένῃ πόλει ὑπὸ δὲ Ἐλλήνων Σαμαρείας καλοῦ-

1 Hudson: Ἰηοὺς RO: Ἰοὺς MSP.
2 ex Lat. Bekker: ἡρημεῖν (ἐρημ. RO) codd.
3 Niese: αὐτὸ codd.
4 Θαμαναῖον OP: Θάμανον M: Θάμανον S: Thaman Lat.
soldiers and commanders, who were all occupied in the siege of Gabathôn a in the Philistine country.

(5) After slaying Ėlanos, Zambrias, the commander of the horse, made himself king and destroyed the entire family of Basanês in accordance with the prophecy of Jēūs. For it came about that, because of his impiety, his house perished root and branch in the same way as the house of Jeroboam was destroyed, as we have narrated. b Now, when the army besieging Gabathôn learned what had befallen the king and that Zambrias had killed him and was ruling the kingdom, they, in turn, chose their commander Amarios c as king, whereupon he withdrew his army from Gabathôn and came to Tharsē, the royal city, attacked it and took it by storm. Zambrias, seeing the city's fall, d fled into the inmost part of the palace and, setting it on fire, allowed himself to be consumed with it, after a reign of only seven days. Immediately thereafter the people of Israel were divided into two parties, some wishing Thamanaios e to be their king, others, Amarios. And, as those who wanted Amarios to rule were victorious, they killed Thamanaios f and Amarios became king of all the people in the thirtieth g year of the reign of Asanos; he reigned twelve years, six of them in the city of Tharsē and the rest in a city called Sōmareōn, h known to the Greeks as Samaria. So it was called

b § 289.
c Bibl. Omri, lxx Ζαμψρε, Luc. ΄Λωβρ'.
d Emended text.
e Bibl. Tibni, lxx Θαμενε, Luc. Θαβενεν. 
f Scripture says merely that Tibni died.
g Bibl. "thirty-first."
h Emended text; Heb. Šōmerōn (A.V. Samaria), lxx Σεμερών, Luc. Σομορών.
μένη. προσηγόρευσε δ’ αυτὴν οὔτως Ἀμαρίνος1 ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸ ὄρος ἀποδομένου αὐτῷ ἑφ’ ὁ κατ-. 313 εἰσκένασε τὴν πόλιν Σαμάρου. διεθερεὶ δ’ οὐδὲν τῶν πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλευσάντων ἤ τῷ χείρων αὐτῶν εἶναι: ἀπαντες γὰρ ἐξήτου πῶς ἀποστήσωσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν λαὸν τοῦ καθ’ ἡμέραν ἀσεβήμασι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δ’ ἀλλήλων αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐποίησεν ἐλθεῖν καὶ μηδένα τοῦ γένους ὑπολιπεῖν. ἐτελεύ- τησε δὲ καὶ οὐτός ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, διαδέχεται δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ παῖς Ἀχαβος.

314 (i) Μαθεὶς δ’ ἔστιν ἐκ τούτων ὅσην τὸ θείου ἐπιστροφὴν ἔχει τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων πραγμάτων, καὶ πῶς μὲν ἀγαπᾷ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς, μισεῖ δὲ τοὺς πονη- ροὺς2 καὶ προρρίζουσι ἀπόλλουσιν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλείς ἄλλος ἐπ’ ἀλλὶ διὰ τὴν παρα- νομίαν καὶ τὰς ἀδικίας ἐν ὅλῳ χρόνῳ πολλοὶ κακῶς διαφθαρέντες ἐγνώσθησιν3 καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὁ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων καὶ τῶν δύο φυλῶν βασιλείων Λασανος δ’ εὐσέβειαν καὶ δικαιοσύνην εἰς μακρὸν καὶ εὐδαιμόν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προ- ἡχθη γῆρας καὶ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐν ἀρξας ἔτος 315 εὐμοίρως ἀπέθανε. τελευτήσαντος δ’ αὐτοῦ διε- εδέξατο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ὁ νῦς Ἰωσαφάτης ἐκ γυναικὸς Ἀβιδᾶς τούνομα γεγενημένος. τοῦτον μμητὴν Δαυίδου τοῦ προπάππου κατὰ τε ἀνδρεῖαν καὶ εὐσέβειαν ἀπαντες ἐν τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπέλαβον, ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτου τοῦ βασιλέως οὐ κατεπείγει νὸν λέγειν.

1 οὔτως Ἀμαρίνος conj.: αὐτὸς Σωμαραῖος RO: αὐτὸς Σαμαράιον
MSP: αὐτός Σαμαρείαν Hudson.
2 μοχθηροῦς MSP.
3 εὐρέθησαν MSP: ἐρέθησαν Hudson.
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by Amarinos after Somaros, the man who had sold him the mountain on which he built the city. Now he was in no way different from those who had reigned before him except in being worse than they, for they all sought to turn the people away from God by daily impieties, and therefore God caused them to destroy one another and leave no one of their family alive. Amarinos also died in Samaria and was succeeded by his son Achab.

(6) From these events one may learn how close a watch the Deity keeps over human affairs and how He loves good men but hates the wicked, whom He destroys root and branch. For many of the kings of Israel, because of their lawlessness and iniquity, one after the other in a short space of time were marked for destruction together with their families, while Asanos, the king of Jerusalem and the two tribes, because of his piety and righteousness was brought by God to a long and blessed old age and, after a reign of forty-one years, died in a happy state. Upon his death he was succeeded in the kingship by Josaphat, his son by a wife named Abida. That Asanos imitated his great-grandfather David in courage and piety, all men have recognized from his deeds. But there is no great necessity to speak of this king just now.

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*a Text emended, following a hint of Niese that the reading Somaraios, etc., of the mss. concealed the name of King Amarinos (Omri).

*b Bibl. Shemer, lxx Σαμηρί (v.l. Σεμηρί).

*c Gr. Achabos; bibl. Ahab ('Ahab), lxx 'Αχαβ.

*d Josephus omits the disease of the feet with which Asa was afflicted in his old age.

*e Gr. Jōsaphatēs; bibl. Jehoshaphat, lxx 'Ιωσαφάθ (v.l. 'Ιωσαφάτ).

*f Bibl. Azubah ('Azūbāh), lxx 'Αζούβα (v.l. 'Αζούβα, Γαζούβα).
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316 (xiii. 1) Ὅδε ὁ Ἀχάβος ὁ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς κατάκει μὲν ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν κατέσχεν ἑώς ἔτοιμο εἰκοσι καὶ δύο, μηδὲν καυσίας τῶν πρὸ αὐτῶν βασιλέων, εἰ μὴ ὁσα γε πρὸς τὸ χείρον καθ' ύπερβολὴν πονηρίας ἑπενόησεν, ἀπαντᾷ δ' αὐτῶν τὰ κακογρήματα καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ θείον ὕβριν ἐκμιμησάμενος καὶ μάλιστα τὴν Ἰεροβοάμον.

317 ἡπλώσας παρανομίαν· καὶ γὰρ οὕτος τὰς δαμάλεις τὰς ὑπ' ἐκείνου κατασκευασθείσας προσεκύνησε καὶ τούτοις ἄλλα παράδοξα προσεμιχανήσατο. ἔγνημε δὲ γυναῖκα θυγατέρα μὲν Ἰωβάβελον τοῦ Τυρίων καὶ Σιδωνίων βασιλέως Ἰεβαζέλην δὲ ὄνομα, ἀφ' ἦς τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν.

318 ἐμαθεν. ἢν δὲ τὸ γύναιον δραστηρίῶν τε καὶ τολμηρόν, εἰς τοσαῦτην δ' ἁσέλγειαν καὶ μανίαν προύπεσεν, ὡστε καὶ ναὸν τῷ Τυρίων θεῷ ὃν Ἡβλᾶν προσαγορεύουσιν ὕκοδόμησε καὶ ἀλὸς παντοίων δείδρων κατεστευςέ· κατέστησε δ' καὶ ἑρείς καὶ ψευδοπροφήτας τούτως τῷ θεῷ καὶ αὐτός δ' ὁ βασιλεὺς πολλοὺς τοιούτους περὶ αὐτῶν εἰχεν ἀνοία καὶ πονηρία πάντας ὑπερβεβληκός τοὺς πρὸ αὐτῶν.

319 (2) Προφήτης δὲ τοὺς μεγίστους ἡθεού ἐκ πόλεως Θεσβώνης τῆς Γαλατιδίδος χώρας προσέλθων Ἀχάβω προλέγειν αὐτῶ τὸν θεοῦ ἑφασκε.

1 Ἡβλ (in marg. Ἡβλεῖ) Ὁ : Ἡβλᾶν Ρ: Ἡβλα S: Ἡβλ Ρ.
2 ἡμικάλου ῬΩ.
3 Θεσβώνης ῬΩ.

* Bibl. “And Ahab made an 'ašīrāh’” (A.V. “grove”); the 'ašīrāh was a tree trunk representing the Canaanite god of fertility.

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(xiii. 1) Now Achab, the king of Israel, dwelt in Samaria and exercised the royal power for twenty-two years; in no way did he make a new departure from the kings before him except, indeed, to invent even worse courses in his surpassing wickedness, while closely imitating all their misdeeds and their outrageous behaviour to God and, in particular, emulating the lawlessness of Jeroboam. For he too worshipped the heifers which Jeroboam had made and, in addition, constructed other unheard of objects of worship. And he took to wife the daughter of Ithôbalos, the king of Tyre and Sidon, whose name was Jezebel, and from her learned to worship her native gods. Now this woman, who was a creature both forceful and bold, went to such lengths of licentiousness and madness that she built a temple to the Tyrian god whom they call Belias, and planted a grove of all sorts of trees; she also appointed priests and false prophets to this god. And the king himself had many such men about him, and in folly and wickedness surpassed all the kings before him.

(2) Now there was a certain prophet of the most high God, from the city of Thesbône in the country of Galaditis, who came to Achab and said that God

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b Bibl. Ethbaal, lxx 'Iēββααλ.

c Bibl. Jezebel ('Îzebel), lxx 'Iēζαβελ.

d Bibl. Baal, lxx Bααλ; cf. § 145 note.

e Josephus, like Luc., omits the reference to the building of Jericho by Hiel, 1 Kings xvi. 34.

f Elijah, the prophet meant, is named at this point in Scripture. Weill raises the question whether the name may not have fallen out of Josephus's text here.

g Cf. lxx Ἄτσαβων reading, in the Heb., mittîshi “from Tishbi,” instead of mittûsâbê “of the inhabitants of” (Gilead).
The text is a translation from Greek to English, discussing the possible original reading of a passage from Josephus. The passage refers to the appearance of Elijah to Ahaziah, and the author notes that until Josephus's text is corrected, it is uncertain whether Josephus intended to convey that Elijah himself should say so, or only that Elijah should appear to Ahaziah. The notes at the bottom provide context for the reading, indicating the source of the quotation and the basis for Weill's conjecture.
had foretold to him that He would not give rain in those years nor send down dew upon the land until he himself should appear. And, having sworn to these things, he withdrew into the south country and made his home beside a stream which also gave him water to drink; as for his food, the ravens brought it to him every day. But, when the river dried up for want of rain, he came to the city of Sarephtha, not far from Sidon and Tyre—it lies between them—at the command of God, for He said that he would there find a widow who would provide him with food. Now when he was a little way from the city gate, he saw a labouring woman who was gathering wood. Thereupon, as God revealed to him that this was she who was to give him food, he went up to her and, after greeting her, asked her to fetch him some water to drink, but, when she started out, he called her back and bade her bring some bread as well. But she swore that she had nothing in the house except a handful of meal and a little oil, and said that she was setting out for home, after gathering the wood, to knead the meal and make bread for herself and her child; after this was eaten they must perish, consumed by hunger, for there was no longer anything left. Whereupon he said, "Even so, be of good courage and go your way in hope of better things; but first prepare a little food and bring it to me, for I prophesy to you that neither the bowl of meal..."
ercein to áγγος μηδ’ ἐλαῖον τὸ κεράμιον, μέχρις
323 οὗ ἄν ὑσῃ ὁ θεός.” ταύτ’ εἰπόντος τοῦ προφήτου
παραγενομένη πρὸς αὐτήν ἐποίησε τὰ εἰρημένα
καὶ αὐτῇ τε ἐσχε καὶ τῷ τέκνῳ χορηγεῖν τὴν
διατροφήν καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ, ἐπέλειπε δ’ οὐδὲν
αὐτοῦς τούτων, ἄχρις οὗ καὶ ὁ αὐχμὸς ἐπαύσατο.
324 μέμνηται δὲ τῆς ἀνομβρίας ταύτης καὶ Μένανδρος
ἐν ταῖς Ἰθωβάλου τοῦ Τυρίων βασιλέως πράξει
λέγων οὕτως: “ἀβροχία τ’ ἐπ’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ἀπὸ
tοῦ Ὕπερβερεταίου μηρὸς ἐως τοῦ ἐχομένου ἐτούς
Ὑπερβερεταίου, ἰκετείαν’ δ’ αὐτοῦ ποιησαμένου
κεραυνοὺς ἰκανοὺς βεβλήκεναι. οὗτος πόλιν Βότρων
ἐκτίσε τὴν ἐπὶ Φοινίκη καὶ Αὖξαν τὴν ἐν Λιβόῃ.”
καὶ ταῦτα μὲν δηλῶν τὴν ἐπ’ Ἀχάμβου γενομένην
ἀνομβρίαν (κατὰ γὰρ τοῦτον καὶ Ἰθωβάλος ἐβα-
σίλευε Τυρίων) ὁ Μένανδρος ἀναγέγραφεν.
325 (3) Ἡ δὲ γνηθεὶς περὶ ὅσο πρὸ τούτων εἴπομεν,
ἡ τοῦ προφήτην διατρέφουσα, τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς
καταπεσόντος εἰς νόσον, ὡς καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφείναι
καὶ δόχαι νεκρόν, ἀνακλαιομένη καὶ ταῖς τε χερσίν
αὐτῆς αἰκίζομεν καὶ φωνάς οίς ὑπηγόρευε τὸ
πάθος ἀφιέσαν κατηκιάτο τῆς παρ’ αὐτῆς παρουσίας
τοῦ προφήτην ὡς ἐλέγχαντα τάς ἀμαρτίας αὐ-
326 τῆς καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ παιδὸς τετελευτηκότος. Ὁ
δὲ παρεκελεύετο θαρρεῖν καὶ παραδοθῆναι τὸν νόιν
αὐτῶ. ζῶντα γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀποδώσειν. παραδοτῆς
οὗν βαστάσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ἐν ὃ διέτριβεν
αὐτὸς, καὶ καταθεῖς ἐπὶ τῆς κλύνης ἀνεβόησε πρὸς
τὸν θεόν οὐ καλῶς ἀμείψεσθαι2 τῆς ὑποδεξαμένην
καὶ θρέψασαν, τὸν νόιν αὐτῆς ἀφαιρησόμενον,

1 ante ikeiteian lacunam statuit Niese.
2 Niese: ἀμεῖψεσθαι codd.
nor the jar of oil shall be empty until God sends rain.”

When the prophet had said these things, she went to her home and did as he had told her; and she had enough food for herself and her child as well as for the prophet, nor did they lack anything to eat until the drought finally ended. This rainless time is also mentioned by Menander \(^a\) in his account of the acts of Ithobalos, the king of Tyre, in these words:

“There was a drought in his reign, which lasted from the month of Hyperberetaios until the month of Hyperberetaios in the following year. But he made supplication to the gods, whereupon a heavy thunderstorm broke out. He it was who founded the city of Botrys in Phoenicia, and Auza in Libya.”

This, then, is what Menander wrote, referring to the drought which came in Ahab’s reign, for it was in his time that Ithobalos was king of Tyre.

(3) Now the woman of whom we spoke above, who gave food to the prophet—her son fell ill so seriously that he ceased to breathe and seemed to be dead, whereupon she wept bitterly, injuring herself with her hands and uttering such cries as her grief prompted \(^b\); and she reproached the prophet for having come to her to convict her of sin and on that account causing the death of her son. But he urged her to take heart and give her son over to him, for he would, he said, restore him to her alive. So she gave him over, and he carried him into the chamber in which he himself lived, and placed him on the bed; then he cried aloud to God, saying that He would ill requite the woman who had received him and nourished him, if He took her son from her, and he

\(^a\) Cf. Ap. i. 116 note.

\(^b\) These details of the woman’s grief are unscriptural.
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ἐδείτο τε τὴν ψυχὴν εἰσπέμψαι πάλιν τῷ παιδί
327 καὶ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν βιόν. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κατ- οικτείραντος μὲν τὴν μητέρα, βουληθέντος δὲ καὶ τῷ προφήτῃ χαρίσασθαι τὸ μὴ δόξαι πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακῶ παρεῖναι, παρὰ πᾶσαν προσδοκίαν ἀνεβίωσεν. ἥ δ᾽ εὐχαρίστητο τῷ προφήτῃ καὶ τότε σαφῶς ἔλεγε μεμαθηκέναι ὅτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ διαλέγεται.

328 (4) Χρόνου δ᾽ ὁλίγου διελθόντος παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἄχαβον τὸν βασιλέα κατὰ βουλήσων τοῦ θεοῦ, δηλώσων αὐτῷ τὸν γεννησόμενον υἱόν. λιμὸς δὲ τότε κατέχει τὴν χώραν ἀπασάν καὶ πολλὴ τῶν ἀναγκαίων ἀπορία, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώπους ἄρτων ἀπαντήσειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γῆν μηδ᾽ ὅσα τοῖς ἐππόσκαι καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις κτήσει πρὸς νομὴν ἐστὶ χρήσιμα
diὰ τὴν ἀνομβρίαν ἀναδιδόναι. τὸν οὖν ἐπιμελό-
μενον αὐτοῦ τῶν κτημάτων ὁ βασιλεὺς καλέσας Ὡβεδίαν, ἀπείναι ἀποδέχθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπεν ἐπὶ ταῖς πηγαῖς τῶν ὦδατων καὶ τοῖς χευμάρρους, ὡς εἰ ποὺ παρ᾽ αὐτοῖς εὐρεθείῃ πόα ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν ἀμησάμενοι τοῖς κτήσεσιν ἔχωσι. καὶ περὶπέ-
φαντα κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐκομενήν τοὺς ζητήσαντας τὸν προφήτην ἸΗλίαν οὖν εὐρήκεναι. συνεπεσθαί
329 δ᾽ ἐκέλευσε κάκεινον αὐτῷ. δόξαν οὖν ἐξορμᾶν αὐτοῖς, μερισάμενοι τὰς ὄδους ὡς τὰ Ὡβεδίας καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπήσαν ἐτερος ἐτέραν τῶν ὦδων. συνεβεβήκει δὲ καθ᾽ ὅν Ἰεζαβέλ ἤ βασιλισσα καιρὸν τοὺς προφήτας ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον ἐκατόν ἐν τοῖς ὑπογείοις σπηλαίοις κρύψαι προφήτας καὶ

1 αὐτῶν SP.
2 Hudson: ἀπείναν codd.
3 ante καὶ lacunam statuit Niese.
4 ὑπὸ Πάρις R: ὑπὸ γάροις O: om. Lat.
prayed God to send the breath into the child again and give him life. Thereupon God, because He took pity on the mother and also because He wished graciously to spare the prophet from seeming to have come to her for the purpose of harming her, beyond all expectation brought the child back to life. Then the mother thanked the prophet and said that now she clearly realized that the Deity spoke with him.

(4) After a little time had passed, the prophet, in accordance with the will of God, went to King Ahab to inform him that rain was coming. Now at that time a famine held the whole country in its power, and there was a lack of necessary provisions so that not only did men have a scarcity of bread but, because of the drought, the earth did not yield even the grass necessary for the pasturing of horses and other beasts. So the king called Obedias, who was in charge of his estate, and told him that he wished him to go out to the springs of water and winter streams in order to cut any grass that they might find near them and give it to the beasts for fodder; he also said that he had sent men throughout the entire earth to look for the prophet Elijah, but they had not found him; and he commanded Obedias to accompany him. So, when they had decided to set out, Obedias and the king, dividing the roads, went each by a different road. Now it had happened at the time when Queen Jezabel killed the prophets that Obedias hid a hundred prophets in underground

This explanation of God’s motive is an addition to Scripture.

Bibl. “after many days . . . in the third year.”

Bibl. Obadiah (‘Obadyāhū), LXX Αβδειοῦ (v.l. ‘Αβδειοῦ).
The word "underground," adopted as the correct reading, is an unscriptural detail; the variant “in caves under Garis” is unintelligible. It is just possible, however, that ὑπό Γάρας arises from a careless reading of Heb. me'ārāh (or Targum me'ārathā) “cave”; the syllable me may have been taken as the Heb. prep. “from,” and ārāh transliterated (as normally) as Παρά, thus giving ἀπὸ Παρά (or Παρθᾶ), 750.
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eaves a and fed them, though giving them only bread and water. As Obadias, therefore, was separated from the king and was alone, the prophet Elijah b met him. Obadias inquired of him who he was, c and, when he found out, did obeisance to him. Thereupon the prophet bade him go to the king and tell him that Elijah was coming to him. The other then asked him what harm he himself had done him that he was sending him to one who was seeking to kill the prophet and had searched every land for him; did he perhaps not know that the king had not overlooked a single place to which he might send men who were to lead Elijah to his death if they caught him? Indeed, he said, he was afraid that if God appeared to Elijah a second time, the prophet might go away to another place and then, when the king sent for him, he would not be able to find him in whatever part of the world he might be, and so he himself would be put to death. He therefore urged him to look out for his safety, telling him of his zeal on behalf of Elijah's fellows in the prophetic art, d for he had saved a hundred prophets after Jezabelē had destroyed all the others, and had kept them hidden and fed them. But Elijah bade him go without any fear to the king, first giving him sworn assurances that he would positively appear before Achat that very day.

(5) When Obadias informed the king of Elijah's appearance, Achat went to meet him and asked him which was further corrupted to ὑπὸ δῆμος. This suggestion is advanced with great hesitancy.

b Gr. Elias as in Luc.; Heb. 'Ĕliyāhū, lxx Ἡλειοῦ.

c In Scripture Obadiah recognizes Elijah immediately, but asks, for certainty (or in astonishment), "Is it thou, my master, Elijah?" (A.V., "Art thou that my lord Elijah?").

d Lit. "fellow-craftsmen."
Josephus

οργής εἰ αὐτὸς εἰη ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸν κακόσας καὶ τῆς ἀκαρπίας αὐτίως γεγενημένος. ὁ δ' οὐδὲν ὑποθωπεύσας αὐτὸν ἔπεν ἀπαντα τὰ δεινά πεποιηκέναι καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, ἤνικοὺς ἑπεισενηνοχότας τῇ χώρᾳ θεοὺς καὶ τούτους σέβοντας, τὸν δ' ἰδίων αὐτῶν, ὃς μόνος ἔστι θεός, ἀπολειπότας καὶ μηδεμίαν ἔτι πρόνοιαν αὐτοῦ ποιομένους. νῦν μέντοι γε ἀπελθόντα ἐκέλευε πάντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Καρμήλιον ὅρος ἀθροίσαι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς, εἰπὼν ὃσοι τὸν ἀρίθμον εἰησαν, καὶ τοὺς τῶν ἄλογων προφητῶν ὡς τριάκοσίους τὸ πλῆθος ὄντας. ὃς δὲ συνεδραμόν πάντες εἰς τὸ προειρημένον ὅρος Ἀχάβου διαπέμψαντος, σταθεὶς αὐτῶν ὁ προφήτης Ἡλίας μεταξὺ, μέχρι πότε διηρήμενοι αὐτοὺς τῇ διανοίᾳ καὶ ταῖς δόξαις οὕτως βιώσας ἐφάσκε νομίζαντας μὲν γὰρ τὸν ἐγχώριον θεὸν ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνον, ἐπέσθαι τούτω καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ παρῆμεν, μηδὲν δὲ τούτων ἰγνομένως ἀλλὰ περὶ τῶν ἐξεικόνων ὑπειληφότας ὡς ἐκεῖνος δεὶ θρησκεύειν αὐτοὺς τριάκοσιοι κατακαλολθεῖν. τοῦ δὲ πλῆθους μηδὲν πρὸς ταῦτ' ἀποκρυμμένον ἡξίωσεν Ἡλίας πρὸς διάπειραν τῆς τε τῶν ἐξεικόνων θεῶν ἱσχύος καὶ τῆς τοῦ ἱδίου, μόνος ὃν αὐτὸν προφητῆς ἐκείνων δὲ τριάκοσίους ἐχόντων, λαβεῖν αὐτὸς τε βοῶν καὶ ταύτην θύσας ἐπιθεῖναι ἐξίλους πυρὸς οὐχ ὑφαφθέντος, κακεῖνος ταύτῳ ποιήσαντας ἐπικαλεσάσθαι τοὺς ἱδίους θεοὺς ἀνάκαυσαι τὰ ἔλαια γενομένου

1 ἑπεισενηνοχότας RO: ἑπεισενηνοχότα S3P: εἰσενηνοχότα E.
2 σέβοντα SP2.
3 ἀπελθόντα R(O).

a 450, according to Scripture.
in anger whether it was he who had brought evil upon the Hebrew people and had caused the barrenness of the soil. Thereupon the prophet, without flattering him in the least, said that it was Achab himself and his family who had brought on all these misfortunes by introducing foreign gods into the country and worshipping them, while their own God, who was the only true one, they had abandoned and no longer gave Him any thought. Now, however, he bade him go off and gather all the people to him on Mount Carmel as well as his prophets and those of his wife—telling him how many there were—and also the prophets of the groves, some four hundred in number. And, when at Achab's summons they had all gathered together on the afore-mentioned mountain, the prophet Elijah stood up in their midst and asked how long they would go on living in that way, divided in thought and opinion. If they believed the native God to be the only true God, he urged them to follow Him and His commandments, but if they thought nothing of Him and, instead, considered that they ought to serve the foreign gods, he advised them to go with these. Then, as the people made no answer to these words, Elijah asked that a test be made of the respective powers of the foreign gods and his own and that he, being His only prophet, while their gods had four hundred, be allowed to take an ox and, after slaughtering it, place it on a pile of wood without kindling a fire, and that they do the same; then they should call upon their gods and he upon his to set the wood on fire, for if this happened,

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b Josephus here seems to be referring to the 400 prophets of the asherah (A.V. "groves"), who are mentioned with the 450 prophets of Baal in the LXX 1 Kings xviii. 22.
γὰρ τούτον μαθήσεσθαι αὐτούς τὴν ἁληθὴ φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀρεσάσης δὲ τῆς γνώμης ἐκέλευσεν Ἡλίας τοὺς προφήτας ἐκλεξαμένους βοῶν πρῶτος τε θύσαι καὶ τοὺς αὐτῶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι θεοῦς. ἐπεῖ δ’ οὐδεν ἀπήντα παρὰ τῆς εὐχῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπικλήσεως θύσαι τοῖς προφήταις, σκόπτων ὁ Ἡλίας μεγάλη βοὴ καλεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευε τοὺς θεοὺς. ἐγον ἀποδημεῖν αὐτοὺς ἣ καθεύδεν. τῶν δ’ ἀπ’ ὄρθρου τούτω ποιοῦντων μέχρι μέσης ἡμέρας καὶ τεμνῶντων αὐτῶν μαχαίρας καὶ σιρομάσταις κατὰ τὸ πάτριον ἐθος, μέλλων αὐτῶς ἐπιτελεῖν τὴν θυσίαν ἐκέλευσε τοὺς μὲν ἀναχωρῆσαι, τοὺς δ’ ἐγγύς προσελθόντας τηρεῖν αὐτόν, μὴ πῦρ λάθρα.

τοῖς ἔλοις ἐμβάλῃ. τοῦ δὲ ὅχλου προσελθόντος λαβὼν δώδεκα λίθους κατὰ ἐνεκὴ φολὴν τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀνέστησεν ἐξ αὐτῶν θυσιαστήριον καὶ περὶ αὐτὸ δεξαμενὴν ὠρυξε βαθυτάτην, καὶ συνθέσει τὰς σχίσας ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καὶ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐπιθείς τὰ ιερεία, τέσσαρας ἀπὸ τῆς κρῆνης ὕδριας προσέταξε πλημμωθείσας ὑδατος κατασκεύασαι τοῦ θυσιαστήριον, ὡς ὑπερβάλειν αὐτὸ καὶ τὴν δεξαμενὴν ἀπασαν γεμισθήναι ὑδατος ὡς πηγῆς ἀναδοθέσης. ταῦτα δὲ ποιήσας ἱράτα εὐχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ καὶ παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ποιεῖν τῷ πεπλανημένῳ

1 τότε MSP.
2 Niese: αὐτῶν codd. E. 3 + αὐτῶς MSPE.
3 ὕδριας . . . πληρ.[] ἐκέλευσεν ὕδριας RO.
4 ὡς πηγῆς Niese: πηγῆς codd.
5 ὅποιος παρακαλεῖν αὐτὸν ex Lat. conj. Niese (aliter in ed.): καλεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ codd.

a In Scripture Elijah speaks of one god.
b So Heb.; lxx omits. Josephus, however, omits.
they would learn the true nature of God. When this proposal was accepted, Elijah bade the prophets select an ox and sacrifice first and call upon their own gods. But, since nothing came of the prophets' prayers and appeals after they had sacrificed, Elijah mocked them and told them to call their gods \(^a\) in a loud voice, for either they were on a journey \(^b\) or were asleep. So they did this from dawn to midday \(^c\) and cut themselves with knives and barbed lances after the custom of their country, until, when about to offer his sacrifice, he bade them retire and the others draw near to watch that he should not secretly apply fire to the wood.\(^d\) Then, when the crowd had come near, he took twelve stones, one for each tribe of the Hebrew people, and with them erected an altar, around which he dug a very deep trench; next he placed the faggots on the altar and upon them laid the victims, after which he ordered the people to take four jars filled with water from the fountain and pour them over the altar so that the water overflowed and the whole trench was filled as though from a welling spring. Having done these things,\(^e\) he began to pray to God and entreat Him to make His power manifest

Elijah's taunt about their god being busied with "thinking or conversation," if that is what the Heb. means (A.V. "either he is talking, or he is pursuing"); Targum "eases himself," which interpretation Josephus may have followed and therefore omitted the unseemly detail).

\(^e\) Bibl. "until the offering of the evening (or "late afternoon ") sacrifice."

\(^d\) This explanation of Elijah's invitation to the people to draw near is an addition to Scripture. A rabbinic tradition speaks of Elijah's precautions against the tampering with the kindling wood by the prophets of Baal, cf. Ginzberg, iv. 198.

\(^e\) According to Scripture, the jars of water were filled and poured three times.
JOSEPHUS

πολὺν ἡδὴ χρόνον λαῖν φανερὰν τὴν αὐτοῦ δύναμιν. καὶ ταύτα λέγοντος ἀφίων πῦρ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, τοῦ πλήθους ὁρῶντος, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἔπεσε καὶ τὴν θυσίαν ἐδαπάνησεν, ὡς ἀνακαίναι καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ψαφαρὸν γενέσθαι τὸν τόπον.

343 (6) Οἱ δ’ 'Ισραηλίται τοὐτ’ ἱδώντες ἔπεσον ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ προσεκύνουν ἕνα θεόν καὶ μέγιστον καὶ ἀληθῆ μόνον ἀποκαλοῦντες, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους ὀνόματα ὑπὸ φαύλης καὶ ἀνοίγτων δόξης πεποιημένας· συλλαβόντες δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς προφήτας ἀπέκτειναν, 'Ηλία τοῦτο παρανέσαντος. ἔφη δὲ καὶ τῷ βασιλεὶ πορεύεσθαι πρὸς ἄριστον μηδὲν ἐτὶ φροντίσαντα· μετ’ ὀλγον γὰρ ὀφεσθαὶ τὸν θεὸν

344 ὄντα. καὶ δ’ μὲν 'Αχαβος ἀπηλλάγη, 'Ηλίας δ’ ἐπὶ τὸ ἀκρωτήριον τοῦ Καρμηλίου ἀναβὰς ὄρους καὶ καθίσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς προσηρείσατο τοῖς γόναις τῆς κεφαλῆς, τὸν δὲ θεράποντα ἐκέλευσεν ἀνελθόντα ἐπὶ τίνα σκοπὴν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποβλέπειν, κἂν ἦδη νεφέλην ἐγειρομένην ποθέν, φράζειν αὐτῶν méχρι γὰρ τότε καθαρῷ συνέβαιν τῷ ἀέρι εἰναι.

345 τοῦ δὲ ἀναβάντος καὶ μηδὲν πολλάκις ὀρῶν φήσαντος, ἐβδομον ἦδὴ βαδίσας εὐρακέναι μελινόμενον εἰπὲ τι τοῦ ἀέρος οὐ πλέον ἐξίνους ἄνθρωπον. δ’ δὲ 'Ηλίας ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας πέμπει πρὸς τὸν 'Αχαβον κελεύων αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀπέρχεσθαι πρὶν ἦ 346 καταρραγῆναι τὸν ὦμβρον. καὶ δ’ μὲν εἰς Ἰεζά·

1 Niese: αὐτοῦ codd.
2 ὀνόματα...πεποιημένα] ὀνόματι...πεποιημένοις RO.
to the people which had now for so long a time been in error. And, as he said this, suddenly, in the sight of the multitude, fire fell from heaven and consumed the altar, so that even the water went up in steam, and the ground became completely dry.

(6) When the Israelites saw this, they fell upon the earth and worshipped the one God, whom they acknowledged as the Almighty and only true God, while the others were mere names invented by unworthy and senseless opinion. Then they seized their prophets and killed them at Elijah's behest. He also told the king to go to his midday meal without further care, for in a little while he should see the rain sent by God. And so Aehab departed, while Elijah went up to the summit of Mount Carmel and, sitting on the ground, leaned his head upon his knees; and he ordered his servant to go up to a certain look-out and gaze at the sea and if he saw a cloud rising in any direction to tell him of it, for until then the sky had been clear. The servant, therefore, went up and several times informed him that he saw nothing, but after the seventh time he came and told him that he had seen a spot of blackness in the sky no larger than a man's footprint. When Elijah heard this, he sent to Aehab, bidding him go back to the city before the rain should pour down in torrents. So the king went to the city of

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* Lit. “was kindled” or “burnt up.”
* In Scripture no reference is made to the false gods.
* It was Elijah himself who slew them, according to Scripture.
* Unscriptural detail.
* Or “supporting himself”; bibl. “bowed himself” (A.V. “cast himself”).
* So lxx, translating Heb. kaph, which may mean either “sole of the foot” or “palm of the hand” (so Targum here).
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ρῆλαν¹ πόλιν παραγώντας· μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος ἀχλύσαντος καὶ νέφεσι καλυφθέντος πνεύμα
τε λάβρων ἐπιγίνεται καὶ πολὺς οὐμβρός. ὁ δὲ προ-
φήτης ἔνθεος γενόμενος τῷ τοῦ βασιλέως ἀρματι
μέχρι τῆς 'Ιεζαρήλας² πόλεως συνέδραμε.

347 (7) Μαθοῦσα δὲ ἡ τοῦ Ἀχάβου γυνὴ 'Ιεζαβέλη
tὰ τε σημεῖα τὰ ὑπὸ 'Πλία γενόμενα καὶ ὅτι τοὺς
προφήτας αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀργυρθείσα πέμπει
πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγγέλους ἀπειλοῦσα δ’ αὐτῶν ἀποκτε-
νεῖν αὐτῶν, ὡς κάκαιος τοὺς προφήτας αὐτῆς
ἀπολέσειε. φοβηθεὶς δ’ ὁ 'Πλίας φεύγει εἰς πόλιν
Βερσουβεὶ λεγομένην (ἐπ’ ἐσχάτης δ’ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ
τῆς χώρας τῶν τῆς 'Ἰουδὰ φυλῆς ἔχοντων τὰ κατὰ
tῆν 'Ἰδουμαίων γῆν) καταληπτῶν δ’ ἐκεῖ τὸν θερά-
ποντα εἰς τὴν ἐρήμην ἀνεχώρησεν εὐξάμενος δ’
ἀποθανεῖν, οὐ γὰρ δ’ κρείττων εἶναι τῶν πατέρων,
348 ίνα ἐκεῖνων ἀπολωλότων αὐτῶς ζῆν γλύχηται,
katekouμήθη πρὸς τοὺς δένδρων· διεγείρατος δ’
αὐτὸν τινος ἀναστὰς εὐρίσκει παρακειμένην αὐτῶ
τροφῆν καὶ ὑδωρ· φαγὼν δ’ ἀπὸ καὶ συλλεξάμενος ἐκ
τῆς τροφῆς ἐκείνης τῆν δύναμιν εἰς τὸ Σιναϊν
καλούμενον ὄρος παραγώντας, οὐ Μωυσῆς τοὺς
350 νόμους παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λέγεται λαβεῖν. εὐρὼν δ’
ἐν αὐτῶ σπῆλαιον τι κοίλον εἶσειν καὶ διετελεί

¹ conj.: 'Ιερέξηλα RO: 'Ιεσράηλ MSP: 'Ιεσράηλν Hudson.
² + 'Αβώρου MSP: + 'Ισαχάρου Coccejji.

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¹ Emended form (cf. §§ 355 ff.), mss. Jerezēla, Jezraēl;
bibl. Jezreel (Yizre'ēl), lxx 'Ιεραήλ (v.l. 'Ιζ蕊άηλ), Luc.
'Ιεζαρήλ.
² Bibl. “ran before.”
³ Bibl. “a messenger”; the Armenian version of Scripture agrees with Josephus in using the plural.
⁴ “By their hands” is an unscriptural detail. The Greek
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Jezarēla, and not long after the sky was darkened and overcast with clouds, a violent wind came up and a heavy rain fell. And the prophet, who was filled with the spirit of God, ran beside the king’s chariot as far as the city of Jezarēla.

(7) When Aḥab’s wife Jezabelē learned of the prophetic signs given by Elijah and that he had killed their prophets, she was filled with anger and sent messengers to him, threatening to kill him by their hands just as he had destroyed her own prophets. In fear of this Elijah fled to the city called Bersūbee—it is the furthest city in that part of the territory of the tribe of Judah which borders on the country of the Idumaeans—and, after leaving his servant there, withdrew into the wilderness. Then he prayed that he might die, saying he was no better than his fathers that he should long for life when they were gone, and lay down to sleep under a tree. But he was wakened by someone and, when he arose, found food and water laid before him. So he ate it and, after gathering strength from the food, went to the mountain called Sinai, where Moses is said to have received the laws from God. And he found in it a certain hollow cave, which he entered, and there may, however, mean “threatening through them to kill him.”

.vis Bibl. Beersheba, lxx Beersābe. Variant forms are found in earlier books of the Antiquities.
.f A juniper-tree (Heb. rōṭem, lxx, transliterating, ἀπόθεμα). Josephus paraphrases the lxx text, “and someone touched him and said, Arise and eat”; Heb. “an angel touched him and said, etc.” Both Heb. and lxx speak of a second appearance of the angel.
.h Bibl. Horeb (elsewhere in Scripture identified with Sinai). Scripture adds that Elijah reached it after a journey of forty days and forty nights.
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ποιούμενος ἐν αὐτῷ τὴν μονὴν. ἐρωμένης δὲ τινος αὐτῶν φωνῆς εἰς ἄδηλου τί παρείη καταλελυπὼς τὴν πόλιν ἐκείσε, διὰ τὸ κτείναι μὲν τοὺς προφήτας τῶν ἐνικών θεῶν, πείσαι δὲ τὸν λαὸν ὅτι μόνος εἰς θεὸς ὁ ὄν, ὁν ἀρχής ἐθρήσκευσαν, ἔφησε· ἥττεισθαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτῳ πρὸς τιμωρίαν

351 ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς τοῦ βασιλέως. πάλιν δὲ ἀκούσας προσέλθειν2 εἰς τὸ ὑπαιθρὸν τῇ ἐπιούσῃ (γνώσεσθαι γὰρ οὕτως τί δεῖ ποιεῖν), προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ σπηλαίου μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν καὶ σεισμοῦ τε ἔπακονει καὶ λαμ-352 πρὰν πυρὸς αὐγῆν ὡρα. καὶ γενομένης ἡσυχίας φωνῆ θεία μὴ ταράττεσθαι τοῖς γυνούμενοι αὐτοῦ παρακλεῖσται, κρατήσειν γὰρ οὐδένα τῶν ἔθρον αὐτοῦ, προσέταξε τε ὑποστήριστα εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν ἀποδείξαι τοῦ πλήθους βασιλέα Ἰηοῦ τὸν Νεμεσαίον παίδα, Δαμασκοῦ3 δὲ τῶν Σύρων Ἀζάμηλον· ἀντ' αὐτοῦ δὲ προφήτην Ἑλισσαίον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενήσεσθαι ἐκ πόλεως Ἀβέλας· "διαφθερεῖ δὲ τοῦ ἁσεβοῦς ὅχλου τοὺς μὲν Ἀζάμηλος τοὺς δὲ Ἰηοῦ." 1 ὁ ὄν om. MSPE Lat. 2 προσελθεῖν ROMSE. 3 Niese: ἐκ Δαμασκοῦ codd.

a Bibl. "and behold, the word of the Lord (came) to him." The following verses in both texts, moreover, show that Elijah knew that it was God who spoke to him.
b Lit. "the existing one"—a common Hellenistic Jewish rendering of the tetragram YHWH. It is found in the lxx Ex. iii. 14 where Heb. has, "I am who I am." In this passage (1 Kings xix. 10), however, Heb. has "the Lord God of hosts," lxx τῷ κυρίῳ παντοκράτωρ.
c So lxx; Heb. does not specify the time.
d Weill justly complains of Josephus’s colourless rationalizing of Scripture’s finely poetic account of the divine manifestation.
e Josephus omits the Scriptural repetition (1 Kings xix. 13b, 14) of Elijah’s explanation to God of his reasons for 760
made his abode for some time. But a voice which came from someone, he knew not whom, asked him why he had left the city to come to that spot, whereupon he said that it was because he had killed the prophets of the strange gods and had convinced the people that the only true God was the Eternal, whom they had worshipped from the beginning; it was for this reason that he was being sought for punishment by the wife of the king. And again he heard a voice telling him to come out into the open air on the morrow, for so he should learn what he must do. The next day, therefore, he came out of the cave and heard the earth rumble and saw a brilliant fiery light. And, when all became quiet, a divine voice exhorted him not to be alarmed by what was happening, for none of his enemies should have him in their power; and it commanded him to return to his own land and appoint Jehu, the son of Nemesaios, to be king of the people, and Azaelos of Damascus in Syria, while he should make Elisha of the city of Abela, prophet in his place. "But," said the voice, "of the impious people Azaelos shall destroy some, and Jehu others." fleeing to the wilderness, and substitutes for it this statement of God that Elijah’s enemies should not harm him.

1 Gr. Jáũs; Heb. Yēhú, lxx Eiōùs (v.l. Ἱηοῦ).
2 Bibl. Nimshi, lxx Ναμεσσεῖ (v.l. Ναμεσσεῖ).
3 That is, of Israel.
4 Bibl. Hazael, lxx 'Αζαήλ.
5 Emended text; mss. "Azaelos of Damascus to be king of Syria."
6 Gr. Ἐλισαῖος, cf. lxx Ἐλισαίε (v.l. Ἔλεισαίε); Heb. 'Elīšā.
7 Bibl. Abel-meholah, lxx Ἀβελμαχολά, tentatively identified by Albright with the modern Tell Abū Sifri near ‘Āin Helweh, a little W. of the modern Tell Abū Sifri near ‘Āin Helweh, a little W. of the Jordan in the latitude of Samaria.

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353 ο ὃ Ψ Ἡλίας ὑποστρέφει ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας εἰς τὴν Ἑβραίων χάραν καὶ τὸν Σαφάτου παιδα Ἔλισσαιον καταλαβὼν ἀροῦντα καὶ μετ’ αὐτοῦ τινας ἄλλους ἑλαύνοντας ζεῦγη δώδεκα προσελθὼν ἐπ-
354 ἔρριψεν αὐτῷ τὸ ἱδίον ἱμάτιον. ο ὃ ’Ελισσαιος εὐθέως προφητεύειν ἤξετο καὶ καταλιπὼν τοὺς βόες ἥκολοῦσιν Ἡλία. δεηθεὶς δὲ συγχωρήσας αὐτῷ τοὺς γονεῖς ἀσπάσασθαι, κελεύων τούτῳ ποιεῖν, ἀποταξάμενος αὐτοῖς εἴπετο καὶ ἤν Ἡλίου τὸν ἄπαντα χρόνον τοῦ ζῆν καὶ μαθητής καὶ διάκονος. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τοῦ προφήτου τοῦτον τουατὰ ἤν.

355 (8) Νάβωθος1 δὲ τις εἰς Ἰεζαρῆλον πόλεως ἀγγογείτων ὀν τοῦ βασιλέως παρακαλοῦντος αὐτὸν ἀποδόθαι τιμῆς ὡς βούλεται τὸν πλησίον αὐτοῦ τῶν ἱδίων ἄγρον, ἢν συνάψας ἐν αὐτῷ ποιήσῃ κτῆμα, εἰ δὲ μὴ βούλοιτο χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐπι-
τρέποντος ἐκλέξασθαι τῶν ἄγρων τινα τῶν ἐκείνου, τοῦτο μὲν οὐ φησί ποιήσειν, αὐτὸς δὲ τὴν ἱδίαν καρπώσεσθαι γῆν, ἢν ἕκληρονόμησε τοῦ πατρός.
356 λυπηθεὶς δ’ ὡς ἐφ’ ύβρει τῷ μὴ τάλλοντοι λαβεῖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ὡστε λουτρῶν προσηνέγκατο ὡστε τροφήν, τῆς δ’ Ἰεζαβέλης τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ πυθανομένης ὃ τι λυπεῖται καὶ μὴ λυοῦται μὴ τροφήν αὐτῷ παρατίθεται μὴ τείπον, διηγήσατο αὐτῇ τὴν Ναβώθου σκαῖρότητα καὶ ὅσ ἀρχαίνεος

1 Niese: Ναβώθης RO: Νάβωθος MSP Exc.: Ναβωθαῖος E: Naboth Lat.
2 Exc. Suidas: καρπώσασθαι codd.

a Bibl. Shaphat, lxx Σαφάτ (v.l. Σαφάτ).
b Elisha’s prophesying is an unscriptural detail.
c Josephus adds the detail about Elisha’s leave-taking but
When Elijah heard these words, he returned to the country of the Hebrews and came upon Elisha, the son of Saphatēs, as he was ploughing and some others with him, who were driving twelve yoke of oxen, and, going up to him, he threw his own mantle over him. Thereupon Elisha immediately began to prophesy, and, leaving his oxen, followed Elijah. But he asked to be allowed to take leave of his parents, and, when Elijah bade him do so, he parted from them and then went with the prophet; and so long as Elijah was alive he was his disciple and attendant. Such, then, is the history of this prophet.

(8) Now a certain Naboth, from the city of Jezærel, had a field adjoining those of the king, who asked him to sell this field next to his own lands at any price, in order that he might join it to them and make them one property; or, if he did not wish to take money for it, he would permit him to select any one of his own fields. But the other refused to do this, saying that he would himself enjoy the fruits of his own land, which he had inherited from his father. Then the king, who was aggrieved, as if at an insult, at not getting the other’s property, would neither bathe nor take food; and, when his wife Jezabel inquired why he grieved and would neither bathe nor have his midday meal or supper served to him, he told her of Naboth’s contrariness and how, in spite of

omits the Scriptural statement (1 Kings xix. 21) that Elisha slaughtered a yoke of oxen to feed his people.

Josephus follows the LXX in narrating the story of Naboth (Heb. ch. xxii) before the war of Ahab and Benhadad (Heb. ch. xx.), cf. §§ 363 ff. Ahab and Naboth’s vineyard.

1 Kings xxii. 1 (LXX xx. 1).


Unscriptural detail. Josephus, however, omits the Scriptural detail that Ahab took to his bed.
ἐπιεικέσι πρὸς αὐτὸν λόγοις καὶ βασιλικῆς ἐξουσίας ὑποδειγμάτων ὑβρισθείη μὴ τυχών ὑπὸ ἥξιου. ἡ δὲ μὴ μικροψυχεῖν ἐπὶ τούτων παρεκάλει, παν-σάμενον δὲ τῆς λύπης ἐπὶ τὴν συνήθη τρέπεσθαι τοῦ σώματος πρόνοιαν μελήσει γὰρ αὐτῇ περὶ τῆς Ναβώθου τιμωρίας. καὶ παραχρῆσα πέμπει γράμματα πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερέχοντας τῶν Ἰεζα-ρηλιτῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχάβου ὄνοματος νηστευσαί τε κελεύσοντας καὶ ποιησαμένους έκκλησίαν προκαθὼς μὲν αὐτῶν Ναβώθου (ἐκάθεν γὰρ αὐτὸν γένους ἐπι-φανοῦς), παρασκευασμένους δὲ τρεῖς τολμηροὺς των τοὺς καταμαρτυρήσοντας αὐτοῦ, ὡς τὸν θεὸν τε εἴη βλασφημής καὶ τὸν βασιλέα, καταλεύσαι τούτων διαχρήσαι τῷ τρόπῳ. καὶ Ναβώθος μὲν, ὡς ἔγραφεν ἡ βασιλίσσα, οὕτως καταμαρ-τυρήσας βλασφημήσαι τὸν θεὸν τε καὶ Ἀχάβου βαλλόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πλῆθους ἀπέθανεν, ἀκούσας δὲ ταῦτα Ἰεζαβέλη εἴσεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ κληρονομεῖν τὸν Ναβώθου ἀμπελῶνα πρὸικα ἐκέλευσεν. ὡς δὲ Ἀχάβου ἴσθη τοῖς γεγενημένοις καὶ ἀναπηδήσας ἀπὸ τῆς κλήσης ὁφόμενος ἦκε τὸν ἀμπελῶνα τοῦ Ναβώθου, ἀγανακτήσας δὲ θεὸς πέμπει τὸν προφήτην Ἡλίαν εἰς τὸ Ναβώθου χωρίον Ἀχάβω συμβαλοῦντα καὶ περὶ τῶν πε-πραγμένων ἐρησίμενον ὃτι κτεῖνας τὸν ἀληθῆ δεσπότην τοῦ χωρίου κληρονομήσειν αὐτὸς ἄδικως.
his having used mild words toward him, hardly in keeping with the royal authority, a he had been insulted by being refused what he had asked for. She, however, urged him not to be dispirited over these things but to cease grieving and turn to caring for his body as usual, for she would attend to Naboth’s punishment. And she at once sent letters in Achab’s name to the chief men among the Jezarēlites, ordering them to keep a fast and hold an assembly over which Naboth, since he came of an illustrious family, b was to preside; and, after they should have brought three c unscrupulous men to bear witness against him to the effect that he had blasphemed both God and the king, d they were to stone him to death and so make an end of him. Thus, as a result of the queen’s letter, Naboth was accused of having blasphemed both God and Achab, and was stoned to death by the people. When Jezabelē heard of this, she went in to the king and bade him take possession of Naboth’s vineyard without paying for it. Thereupon Achab, who was pleased e at what had happened, leaped from his bed and went to see Naboth’s vineyard. But God was angry and sent the prophet Elijah to Naboth’s field to meet Achab and ask him about what he had done and why, after killing the real owner of the field, he had himself unjustly taken through Jezebel’s plot.

Naboth is killed

1 Kings xxi.

(lxx xx.) 13.

a Bibl. “two.” Ginzberg writes, vi. 312, that Josephus’s reference to three witnesses “presupposes the older Halakah [law], according to which, in cases involving capital punishment, three witnesses (or to be more accurate, one accuser and two witnesses) are necessary.”

b Crimes forbidden by the Mosaic law, Ex. xxii. 28.

c lxx 1 Kings xxi. 16, “and he tore his clothes and put on sackcloth”; Heb. omits the sentence at this point, but has it further on (vs. 27), after the warning sent to Ahab by God.
361 ὃς δ' ἦκε πρὸς αὐτῶν, εἰπόντος τοῖς βασιλέως ὃ τι βουλεταί χρήσασθαι αὐτῷ (αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ὄντα ἐπὶ ἁμαρτήματι ληφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ), κατ' ἐκείνου ἔφη τὸν τόπον ἐν ὧν ὁ Ναβώθουν νεκρὸν ὑπὸ κυνῶν δαπανηθήναι συνέβη, τὸ τε αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ τῆς γυναῖκος χυθήσεθαι αἷμα καὶ πᾶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένος ἀπολείσθαι, τοιαύτα ἀσεβήσαν τετολμήκοτος καὶ παρὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους πολίτην ἀδικώς
362 ἀνηρηκότος. Ἀχάβων δὲ λύπη τῶν πεπραγμένων εἰσῆλθε καὶ μετάμελος, καὶ σακκίον ἐνυσάμενος γλυμνὸς τοῖς ποσὶ διήγεν ὦν ἀπότομον προφήτης ἀνθομολογούμενος τε τὰ ἡμαρτημένα καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὀὕτως ἐξευμενίζων. ὃ δὲ ξώντος μὲν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸν προφήτην εἶπεν ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ γένους τιμωρίαν ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τετολμημένοις μετανοεῖ, τελέσειν δὲ τὴν ἀπειλήν ἐπὶ τῷ νῷ τοῦ Ἀχάβου. καὶ ὃ μὲν προφήτης ταῦτ' ἐδήλωσε τῷ βασιλεί.
363 (xiv. 1) Τῶν δὲ περὶ τῶν Ἀχαβοῦ ὀντῶν ποιούτων κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν Ἀδάδου νῖός βασιλεύων τῶν Συρῶν καὶ Δαμασκὸν δύναμιν ἐξ ἀπάσεις τῆς χώρας συναγαγὼν καὶ συμμάχους τοὺς πέραν Εὐφράτου βασιλεάς ποιησάμενος τρία-
364 κοντα καὶ δύο, ἐστράτευσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἀχαβοῦ. ὃ δ' οὐκ ὃν ὀμοίου αὐτῶ τῇ στρατιᾷ πρὸς μάχην μὲν οὐ παρετάξατο, πάντα δ' εἰς τὰς ὄχυρωτάτας

1 ὃς Naber.  
2 εἶπεν om. RO.  
3 ἐπεὶ ἐπὶ conj.: εἶπεν ἐφ' οἰς ἐπὶ RO: ἐπὶ M: ἐπεὶ SPE

Exc.

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a This confession of sin by Ahab is an unscriptural detail.
b Dr. Thackeray, *Josephus, the Man, etc.*, p. 82, has pointed out Josephus’s dependence here on the Targum, which has 766
possession of it. And when he came to him, the king said that the prophet might do with him as he wished, for he had acted shamefully and had been taken by him in sin, whereupon the other said that in that very place where Naboth's body had been devoured by dogs, his own blood and his wife's should be shed and all his family should perish because he had unscrupulously committed these so impious deeds, and, in violation of his country's laws, had unjustly slain a citizen. Then Achab began to feel grief and remorse for what he had done; putting on sackcloth, he went with bare feet and touched no food and confessed his sins, seeking in this way to propitiate God. And God said to the prophet that while Achab lived, He would put off punishing his family, since he repented of his violent deeds, but He would carry out His threat on Achab's son. And so the prophet revealed these things to the king.

(xiv. 1) At the same time that this state of affairs existed for Achab, the son of Adados, who was king of Syria and Damascus, collected a force from all parts of his country and, after making allies of the thirty-two kings beyond the Euphrates, marched against Achab. The latter, not having an army equal to his, did not draw up his men for battle, but shut up all the wealth of the country in the most strongly

“barefoot,” while Heb. has 'at “ quietly ” (A.V. “ softly ”) and i.xx mss. omit or render “ bowed down.”

Ben-hadad (Adados) of Syria besieges Ahab in Samaria, 1 Kings xx. (l.xx xxii.)

“barefoot,” while Heb. has 'at “ quietly ” (A.V. “ softly ”) and i.xx mss. omit or render “ bowed down.”

Emended text.

Cf. § 355 note.

Bibl. Ben-hadad (lit. “ the son of Hadad ”), l.xx vidos Adōp; it has been conjectured that the king's full name was Ben-hadad bir-adri.

Scripture does not say that the kings came from beyond the Euphrates.
póleis ἐγκλείσας τὰ ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτὸς μὲν ἐμενεί ἐν Σαμαρείᾳ. τείχῃ γὰρ αὐτῇ ἱλιν ὠχυρὰ περιεβέβλητο καὶ τὰ ἀλλὰ δυσάλωτος ἐδόκει. ὁ δὲ Σύρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν δύναμιν ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὴν Σαμαρείαν καὶ περικαθίσας αὐτῆς τὸν στρατὸν ἐπολιορκεῖ. 365 πέμψας δὲ κύρικα πρὸς Ἀχαβον ἠξίων πρεσβευτὰς δέξασθαι παρ’ αὐτοῦ, δι’ ὅν αὐτῷ δηλώσει τι βούλεται. τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως πέμπειν ἐπιτρέψαντος ἐλθόντες οἱ πρεσβεῖς ἔλεγον κατ’ ἐντολὴν τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν Ἀχαβον πλούτον καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτοῦ καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας Ἀδάδου τυγχάνειν. ἢν δ’ ὁμολογήσῃ καὶ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοῦτων ὃσα βούλεται συγχωρήσῃ, τὴν στρατίαν ἀπάξει 366 καὶ παύσεται πολιορκημένοι στρατεύματα. ὁ δ’ Ἀχαβος τοῖς πρεσβεῖς ἐκέλευσε πορευθεῖσιν λέγεις τῷ βασιλείᾳ αὐτῶν ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἐκεῖνοι πάντες κτήματά 367 εἰσὶν αὐτοῦ. ταῦτα δ’ ἀπαγγειλάντων πέμπει πάλιν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄξιών ἀνωμολογηκότα πάντα εἶναι ἐκείνου δέξασθαι τοὺς πεμφθησομένους εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δούλους, οἰς ἔρευνήσας τὰ τε βασιλείᾳ καὶ τοὺς τῶν βιλῶν καὶ συγγενῶν οἴκους ἐκέλευε διδόναι πᾶν ὅ τι ἄν ἐν αὐτοῖς εὕρωσι κάλλιστον, “τὰ δ’ ἀπαρέσατα σοι καταλεύψοι- 368 ς.” Ἀριμβος δ’ ἀγαθεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ πρεσβείᾳ τοῦ τῶν Σύρων βασιλέως, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλῆθος ἔλεγεν ὡς αὐτὸς μὲν ἐτοίμως εἶχεν ὑπὸ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰρήνης καὶ γυναίκας τὰς ἱδίας προέσθαι τῷ πολεμίῳ καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ πάσης παραχωρῆσαι κτήσεως. ταῦτα γὰρ ἐπιζητῶν ἐπρεσβεύσατο πρῶτον ὁ Σύρος.

1 αὐτῆ RO.

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fortified cities, while he himself remained in Samaria, for this city was surrounded by exceedingly strong walls and seemed in all ways difficult to take. But the Syrian with his force came to Samaria, placed his army around it and besieged it. Then he sent a herald to Ahab, asking that his envoys be received by him, that through them he might inform him of his wishes. And, when the Israelite king gave him leave to send them, the envoys came and, at their king's command, said that Ahab's wealth, children and wives belonged to Adados; if Ahab came to terms and allowed him to take of these what he pleased, he would withdraw his army and raise the siege. Thereupon Ahab bade the envoys go and tell their king that both he and all those belonging to him were the possessions of Adados. When they reported these words to him, he again sent to Ahab and demanded, since he admitted that all his belongings were Adados's, that he receive the servants who were to be sent to him the next day to search the palace and the houses of his friends and relatives, and give them whatever they might find there that was most desirable, adding, "What doesn't please them, they will leave for you." But Ahab, who was indignant at the second message of the Syrian king, brought the people together in assembly and told them that he himself was ready, in the interests of their safety and peace, to give up his own wives and children to the enemy and yield all his possessions, for this was what the Syrian had demanded when he sent his envoys the first time. "But now

This description of Samaria and Ben-hadad's request that his envoys be received are additions to Scripture.

This last sentence is an addition to Scripture.
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369 "...viv δ' ἧξ'ωκε δουλοὺς πέμψαι τάς τε πάντων οἰκίας ἐρευνήσαι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν αὐταῖς καταλάβειν τῶν καλλίστων κτημάτων, πρόφασιν βουλόμενος πολέμου λαβεῖν, εἰδὼς ὅτι τῶν μὲν ἐμαυτοῦ δι' υμᾶς οὐκ ἂν φεισάμην, ἀφορμὴν δ' ἐκ τοῦ περὶ τῶν ύμετέρων ἂγδοὺς πραγματευόμενος εἰς τὸ 370 πολεμεῖν ποιήσω γε μὴν τὰ ύμῖν δοκοῦντα.' τὸ δὲ πλήθος μὴ δεῖν ἀκούειν τῶν κατ' αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλὰ καταφρονεῖν καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἐτοίμως ἔχειν. τοῖς οὖν προσβενταῖς ἀποκρυνόμενος λέγειν ἀπελθοῦσιν ὅτι τοῖς τοῦ πρῶτον ἀξιωθεὶσιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ νῦν ἐμμένει τῆς τῶν πολιτῶν ἀσφαλείας ἔνεκα πρὸς δὲ τὴν δευτέραν ἀξίωσιν οὐχ ὑπακούει, ἀπέλυσεν αὐτούς.

371 (2) "Ὁ δ' Ἀδαδὸς ἀκούσας ταῦτα καὶ δυσχεράνας τρίτον ἐπεμψέ πρὸς Ἀχαβον τοὺς πρόσβεις ἀπειλῶν υψηλότερον τῶν τειχῶν οίς καταφρονεῖ χώμα τούτοις ἐπεγείρειν αὐτοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν κατὰ δράκα γῆς λαμβάνουσαν, ἐμφανίζων αὐτῷ τῆς δυναμεώς τὸ 372 πλήθος καὶ καταπληκτόμενος. τοῦ δ' Ἀχαβοῦ μὴ καυχάσθαι δεῖν ἀποκρυμμένον καθωπλισμένον ἀλλὰ τῇ μάχῃ κρείττον γενόμενον, ἐλθόντες οἱ πρόσβεις καὶ δειπνοῦντα καταλαβόντες τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ τριάκοντα καὶ δύο βασιλέων συμμάχων ἐδήλωσαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπόκρισιν. δ' εὐθέως τοῦτο² ¹ αἴδοις RO.

¹ post τοῦτο lacunam statuit Niese, recte videtur.

²

a Josephus greatly amplifies Ahab’s speech.

b Josephus seems to have misunderstood the Heb. (and Luc.) text of 1 Kings xx. 10, which reads "the dust of Samaria will not be enough for handfuls (šé'ālim) for all the people at my feet (i.e., "following me")." that is, there were more men in Ben-hadad’s army than there were handfuls of dust in 770
he insists on sending his servants to search all houses and leave none of the most desirable possessions in them, for he wishes to find a pretext for making war, and though he knows that on your account I would not spare what belongs to me, he is trying hard to make this disagreeable treatment of you an occasion for war. Nevertheless, I shall do what you think best. Then the people said that he ought not to listen to Adados’s terms but should treat him scornfully and prepare for war. Accordingly, in reply to the envoys he told them to go back and say that for the sake of the citizens’ safety he still agreed to the demands first made by Adados, but would not submit to the second demand. He then dismissed them.

(2) When Adados heard these words, he was greatly vexed and sent envoys to Aehab a third time, threatening that his army would take each man a handful of earth and erect earthworks higher than the walls \(^b\) in which he had such sublime confidence, \(^c\) in this way displaying to him the great number of his force and seeking to strike terror into him. But Aehab replied that the time to boast was not when arming oneself but after coming off victorious in battle. \(^d\) And, when the envoys came to the king, they found him dining with the thirty-two kings who were his allies, and reported this answer to him.

Samaria. The lxx, reading \(\text{\textit{s\'u\'alim}}\) “foxes” instead of \(\text{\textit{se\'alim}}\) “handfuls,” has \(\varepsilon\iota\ \varepsilon\kappa\pi\omicron\omicron\nu\omicron\sigma\nu\iota\varsigma\epsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\) \(\omega\varsigma\iota\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma\varsigma\) \(\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\iota\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\iota\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigma\varsigm
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prosētāxē kai periχαρακούν tīn pόλιν kai χώματα bāllēsthai kai μηδένα τρόπον ἀπολιπεῖν πολυρκίας.

373 ἦν δ᾽ "Ἀχαβὸς τούτων πραττομένων ἐν ἀγωνία δευτῆ σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ: θαρρεῖ δὲ καὶ τῶν φῶβων ἀπο-
λύεται προφήτου τινὸς αὐτῶ προσελθόντος καὶ φήσαντος αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ὑπισχυεῖσθαι ποιήσειν τὰς
tosαύτας τῶν πολεμίων μυριάδας ὑποχειρίως.

374 πυθομένω δὲ διὰ τῶν ἁγίων ἄν ἡ νίκη γένοιτο, "διὰ τῶν παιδῶν," εἶπε, "τῶν ἡγεμόνων, ἡγουμένου
σοῦ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν ἐκείνων." καλέσας δὲ τοὺς τῶν ἡγεμόνων υἱοὺς, εὑρέθησαν δ᾽ ὡς διακόσιοι καὶ
τριακοντάδου, μαθῶν τὸν Σύρον πρὸς εὐωχίαν καὶ ἄνεσιν τετραμμένον, ἀνοίξας τὰς πύλας ἔξ-375 ἐπεμψε τοὺς παιδας. τῶν δὲ σκοπῶν δηλωσάντων τοῦτο τῷ Ἀδάω πέμπει τινὰς ὑπαντησομένους,
ἐντειλάμενος, ἀν μὲν εἰς μάχην ῥωσ προεληλυθότες, ἢν δῆσαντες ἁγάγωσι πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἀν δ᾽ εἰρηνικῶς,
376 ὅπως ταυτὸ ποιῶσιν. εἰρχὲ δ᾽ ἔτοιμην "Ἀχαβὸς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν. οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων παι̣δὲς συμβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι
πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποκτείνουσι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἀχρὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου διώκουσιν. ἦδον δὲ τούτους
νικῶντας ὃ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς ἔξαφησι
377 καὶ τὴν ἄλλην στρατιὰν ἀπασάν. ἢ δ᾽ αἰφνιδίως
ἐπιπεσοῦσα τοῖς Σύροις ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν, οὐ γὰρ
προσεδόκων αὐτῶν ἐπεξελεύσεσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο

a The text is uncertain; there is probably a lacuna in the

b So lxx ; Heb. "place yourselves (in position), and they
placed themselves against the city," Targum "prepare your-

selves, and they lay in ambush against the city."

c Ahab’s anxiety is an unscriptural detail.
He at once gave orders\(^a\) to build a stockade around the city and throw up earthworks\(^b\) and not leave any way of besieging it untried. While these things were being done, Achab was in a terrible state of anxiety together with all his people.\(^c\) But he took heart and was relieved of his fears when a certain prophet came to him and told him that God promised to deliver these many myriads of the enemy into his hand. And, when he asked through whom the victory would be won, the prophet said, "Through the sons of the governors,\(^d\) with you to lead them because of their inexperience."\(^e\) So he summoned the sons of the governors, who were found to number some two hundred and thirty-two,\(^f\) and, when he learned that the Syrian was giving himself up to feasting and taking his ease, he opened the gates and sent the youths out. And when the look-outs reported this to Adados, he sent out some of his men to meet them, with instructions that, if the others came out to battle, they should bind them and bring them to him; and even if the enemy came out peaceably, they should do the same thing. But Achab had still another army waiting within the walls. Then the sons of the nobles engaged the guards and killed many of them, while the rest they pursued as far as their camp. And when the Israelite king saw his men winning the victory, he released all of his second army as well. Thereupon they suddenly fell upon the Syrians and defeated them, for these had not expected them to come out against them, and for

\(^a\) Bibl. "the young men of the rulers of the provinces."

\(^b\) "Because of their inexperience" is an addition to Scripture.

\(^c\) Josephus omits the numbering of the Israelite army.
γυμνοῖς καὶ μεθύσοι προσέβαλλον, ὥστε τὰς πανοπλίας ἐκ τῶν στρατοπέδων φεύγοντας καταλιπεῖν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα διασωθῆναι μόλις ἔφ' ἐπὶ ποιησάμενον τὴν φυγήν. Ὁ Ἀχαβὼς δὲ πολλὴν ὀδὸν διώκων τοὺς Σύρους ἦνυσεν ἀναιρών αὐτοὺς, διαρπάσας δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ (πλοῦτος δὲ θύμῳ ὄλγος, ἀλλὰ καὶ χρυσοῦ πλῆθος καὶ ἀργύρου), τα τε ἄρματα τοῦ 'Αδὰδον καὶ τοὺς ἐποποὺς λαβὼν ἀνέστρεψεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου παρασκευάζοντας φίλαντος καὶ τὴν δύναμιν ἐτοίμην ἔχειν, ὡς τῷ ἐπιώτῳ πάλιν ἔτει στρατεύσοντος ἐπὶ αὐτὸν τοῦ Σύρου, ὁ μὲν Ὁ Ἀχαβὼς πρὸς τοῦτος ἦν.

379 (3) Ὅ δὲ Ὁ Ἀδὰδος διασωθεὶς ἐκ τῆς μάχης μεθ' ὀσης ἡδυνήθη στρατιάς συνεβούλευσατο τοῖς αὐτοῦ φίλοις, πῶς ἐπιστρατεύσηται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. οἱ δὲ ἐν μὲν τοῖς ὀρὲσιν οὐκ ἐδίδοσαν γνώμην συμβαλεῖν αὐτοῖς. τὸν γὰρ θεὸν αὐτῶν ἐν τοῖς ποιούσις δύνασθαι τόποις καὶ διὰ τοῦτο νῦν ὑπ' αὐτῶν νευκηθῆναι κρατήσειν δὲ ἐλεγον ἐν πεδίῳ ποιήσαται

380 μένους τὴν μάχην. συνεβούλευσον δὲ πρὸς τοῖς τούς μὲν βασιλέας οὕς ἐπηγάγετο συμμάχους ἀπολύσαι πρὸς τὰ οἰκεῖα, τὴν δὲ στρατιὰν αὐτῶν κατασχέσαι, ἀντὶ ἑκείνων σατράπας καταστήσαντας εἰς δὲ τὴν τῶν ἀπολωλότων τάξιν στρατολογησάς δύναμιν ἐκ τῆς χώρας τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ ἐποποὺς καὶ ἄρματα. δοκιμάσας οὖν ταῦτα εἰρήσθαι καλῶς οὕτως διεκόσμησε τὴν δύναμιν.

1 Naber: πῶς ἀν codd.

a "A long way" is an unscriptural detail.

b This spoil is not mentioned in Scripture.
that reason were unarmed and drunk when they were attacked, so that they fled from the camp, leaving all their armour behind, and the king barely saved himself by making his escape on horseback. Ahab went a long way in pursuit of the Syrians, and slew them. Then, after plundering their camp, in which there was no little sum of wealth and also a large quantity of gold and silver, and taking the chariots and horses of Adados, he returned to the city. But the prophet told him to prepare himself and hold his force in readiness, for the Syrian would again attack him in the following year; and so Ahab attended to these things.

(3) Now Adados, after escaping from the scene of battle with as much of his force as he could save, took counsel with his friends concerning how he should again take the field against the Israelites. And they were of the opinion that he should not engage them in the hills, on the ground that their god had most power in such places, and for that reason they had recently been defeated. But, they said, they would conquer them if they fought the battle in the plain. They also advised him further to send back to their homes the kings whom he had brought along as allies, but to retain their armies and appoint satraps in their places, while, to fill the ranks of those who had been killed, he should levy a force from their own country, as well as horses and chariots. Thereupon he approved of these words as well spoken, and arranged his force accordingly.

σαρπάπατης is the LXX word translating Heb. pahôth "provincial governors" or "commanders" (A.V. "captains"); pahôth is an Assyrian loan-word, while σαρπάπατης is a Persian loan-word.
381 (4) Ἀρξαμένου δὲ ἔαρος ἀναλαβὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἦγεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους, καὶ γενόμενος πρὸς πόλει τινί, Ἀφεκᾶ δ’ αὐτὴν καλοῦσιν, ἐν μεγάλῳ στρατοπέδευται πεδίῳ. Ἀχάβος δ’ ἀπαντήσας αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως ἀντιστρατοπεδεύσατο· σφόδρα δ’ ἦν ὁλίγον αὐτοῦ τὸ στράτευμα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀντιπαραβαλλόμενον. τοῦ δὲ προφήτου προσελθόντος αὐτῷ πάλιν καὶ νῦκην τοὺς θεὸν αὐτῷ διδόναι φήσαντος, Ἰνα τὴν ἴδιαν ῥίχων ἐπιδείξῃ τι μὴ μόνον ἐν τοῖς ὀρεσίν ἄλλα καὶ τοῖς πεδίοις ὑπάρχονσιν, ὡς ἐναὶ εἰσὶν δοκεῖ τοῖς Σύροις, ἔπτα μὲν ἡμέρας1 ἀντιστρατοπεδεύκοτες ἢσύχαζον, τῇ δὲ ὑστάτῃ τούτων ὑπὸ τὸν ὀρθὸν προελθόντων ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν πολεμίων καὶ παρατάξα-μένων εἰς μάχην ἀντεπεξῆγε καὶ Ἀχάβος τὴν 382 οἰκείαν δύναμιν. καὶ συμβαλῶν καρτέρας τῆς μάχης γενομένης τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους εἰς φυγήν καὶ διώκων ἐπέκειτο.2 οἱ δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων καὶ ὑπ’ ἄλληλων ἀπώλεντο, Ἰαχυσαν δ’ ὁλίγοι διαφυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀφεκαί πόλιν αὐτῶν. 383 ἀπέθανον δὲ καὶ αὐτοὶ τῶν τείχῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπι-πεσόντων οἰτες δυσμύριοι ἐπτακισχίλιοι. διερθάρησαν δ’ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ μάχῃ ἄλλα μυριάδες δέκα. δ’ ὃ δε βασιλεὺς τῶν Σύρων Ἀδαδος φεύγων μετὰ των πιστοτάτων οἰκετῶν εἰς ὑπόγεων οἰκον 384 ἐκρύβη. τούτων δὲ φιλανθρώπους καὶ ἐλεήμονας εἶναι φησάντων τοὺς τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν βασιλέας

1 Niese: ἡμέρας codd.
2 + κτεῖνων MSPE Zonaras.

* Bibl. Aphek. There were several Palestinian cities of this name; the location of the city here mentioned is uncer-

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At the beginning of spring Adados marched with his army against the Hebrews and, after coming to a certain city which is called Apheka,\(^a\) encamped in a great plain. And Ahab met him with his force and encamped over against him, although his army was a very small one in comparison with the enemy.\(^b\) But the prophet came to him again and said that God would give him victory in order that He might show His power to exist not only in the hills but also in the plains, which was what the Syrians did not believe. And for seven days both armies remained quiet in their camps, facing each other, but, when on the last day the enemy came out of their camp at dawn and drew themselves up for battle, Ahab also led his force out against them. Then, after engaging them in a battle which was stubbornly fought, he put the enemy to flight and followed hard in pursuit. And they were killed by their own chariots and by one another,\(^c\) although a few succeeded in escaping to their city Apheka. But these too perished when the walls fell upon them—twenty-seven thousand of them. And in that battle another hundred thousand were slain. Adados, the Syrian king, fled with some of his most faithful servants and hid in an underground chamber.\(^d\) But when these told him that the Israelite kings were humane and merciful and that

\(^{a}\) Hebrew, "a certain city which is called Apheka."

\(^{b}\) Scripture puts it much more picturesquely, "and the Israelites pitched before them like two little flocks of kids, and the Syrians filled the country."

\(^{c}\) Unscriptural details.

\(^{d}\) Hebrew, "chamber in chamber," i.e. into an inner chamber or hiding-place, lxx εἰς τὸ ταμεῖον.
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καὶ δυνήσεσθαι τῷ συνήθει τρόπῳ τῆς ἱκετείας χρησαμένους τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν παρ’ Ἀχάβου λαβεῖν, εἰ συγχωρήσειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν, ἀφήκεν· οἱ δὲ σάκκους ἐνδυσάμενοι καὶ σχονία ταῖς κεφαλαίς περιθέμενοι (οὕτως γὰρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἰκέτευν οἱ Σύροι), πρὸς Ἀχάβων παρεγένοντο καὶ δεῖσθαι τὸν Ἀδαδὸν σῶζειν αὐτῶν ἔλεγον, εἰς ᾧ δὲ δοῦλον αὐτοῦ τῆς χάριτος γενησάμενοι δὲ συνήδεσθαι φήσας αὐτῷ περιόντι καὶ μηδὲν ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πεπονθότι, τιμὴν καὶ εὐνοιαν ἦν ἀν τὸς ἀδελφὸς παράσχοι κατεπηγεῖτο. λαβόντες δὲ ὄρκους παρ’ αὐτῶν μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν φανέντα προάγουσι πορευθέντες ἐκ τοῦ οἴκου ἐν ὦ ἕκεκρυπτο καὶ προσάγουσι τῷ Ἀχάβῳ ἰδίον ἀρματος καθεξομένων· δὲ προσεκύνησεν αὐτὸν.

386 "Ἀχάβος δὲ διδοῦσαν αὐτῷ τὴν δεξιὰν ἀναβιβάζει ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα καὶ καταβιβάζεις θαρρεῖν ἐκέλευσε καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἀτόπων προσδοκᾶν, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης εἰς τὸν τοῦ ἐν τῷ ἐνεργείας ὁμολογεῖ καὶ τὰς πόλεις τῶν Ἰσραήλτων, ἡς ἀπήνεγκαν οἱ πρὸ αὐτοῦ βασιλεῖς, ἀποδόσεις ἐπίγεια ἀκολούθησι καὶ Δαμασκὸν ὡς ἐξελάνυεν εἰς αὐτὴν, καθὼς καὶ οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ εἰς Σαμάρειαν ἔδωκαν τοῦτο ποιεῖν, ἀνήσειν.

387 γενομένων δ΄ αὐτοῖς ὄρκων καὶ συνθηκῶν πολλὰ διωρησάμενοι αὐτῷ Ἀχάβος ἀπέπεμψε εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν βασιλείαν. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς Ἀδάδου τοῦ

1 αὐτῶν 

2 δὲ διδοῦσας Niese: δ΄ επιδοῦσιν codds.: δὲ δοῦς E.

a Bibl. "thy servant Ben-hadad says, may my life be spared."

b Scripture says nothing of an oath given by Ahab; Josephus also omits the difficult phrase (1 Kings xx. 32) which

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by using the customary form of supplication they could obtain his life from Achab, if he would allow them to go to him, he let them go. So they dressed in sackcloth and put ropes around their necks—this was the manner in which the ancient Syrians appeared as suppliants—and, going to Achab, told him that Adados begged him to spare his life and would always be his servant in return for his kindness. And the king, after saying that he rejoiced at Adados's surviving and not having suffered any harm in the battle, promised that he would show him the same honour and goodwill that one would accord a brother. So, when they had received his oath not to do Adados any wrong when he appeared, they departed and brought him forth from the chamber in which he had hidden and brought him to Achab, who was seated in a chariot. He then did obeisance to him, but Achab gave him his right hand and let him come up into the chariot and, after embracing him, bade him take heart and not be apprehensive of any outrage, whereupon Adados thanked him and promised to show himself mindful of his beneficence all the days of his life, and offered to give back the Israelite cities which the kings before him had taken away, and to throw Damascus open to them so that they might travel there, just as his fathers had been able to go to Samaria. Then, after they had made sworn covenants, Achab presented him with many gifts and sent him away to his own kingdom. So ended

seems to mean that Ben-hadad's servants seized upon Ahab's words, "he is my brother" as a good omen. Possibly, however, Josephus takes this expression as an oath.

c The preceding is an amplification of Scripture, which says merely that Ahab brought Ben-hadad up into his chariot.

d The gifts are an unscriptural detail.
Σύρων βασιλέως στρατείας ἐπὶ Ἀχαβον καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοιούτων ἔσχε τὸ τέλος.

389 (5) Προφήτης δὲ τις τοῦνομα Μιχαίας προσελθὼν τινὶ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκέλευεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν πλῆξαι τοῦτο γὰρ ποιήσεις κατὰ βουλήσου τοῦ θεοῦ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ πεισθέντος προείπεν αὐτῷ παρακούσαντι τῶν τοῦ θεοῦ προσταγμάτων λέοντι περιτυχόντα διαφθαρῆσεσθαι. συμβάντος τούτου τάνθρωπῳ, πρόσεισιν ἔτέρῳ πάλιν ὁ προ-
390 φήτης ταύτῳ προστάσσων. πλῆξαντος δ’ ἐκείνου καὶ θραύσαντος αὐτοῦ τὸ κρανίον, καταδησάμενος τὴν κεφαλὴν προσῆλθε τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων αὐτῷ συνεστρατεύσας καὶ παραλαβεῖν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ την τῶν αἰχμαλώτων παρὰ τοῦ ταξιάρχου, φυγόντος δ’ αὐτοῦ κινδυνεῦν ὑπὸ τοῦ παραδεδωκότος ἀποθανεῖν· ἀπειλήσαι γὰρ αὐτὸν, εἰ διαφύγω ὁ
391 αἰχμαλώτος, ἀποκτείνειν. δίκαιον δὲ φήσαντος Ἰσραηλίτας Ἀχαβον τὸν θάνατον εἶναι, λύσας τὴν κεφαλὴν ἐπιγυνώσκεται ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ Μιχαίας ὁ προφήτης ὄν. ἐκέχρητο δὲ σοφίσματι πρὸς αὐτὸν τῇ γενομένῳ
392 πρὸς τοὺς μέλλοντας λόγους· εἶπε γὰρ ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἀφεντ’ αὐτὸν διαδράναι τὴν τιμωρίαν Ἀδαδον τὸν βλασφημήσαντα εἰς αὐτὸν μετελεύσεται καὶ ποιήσει αὐτὸν μὲν ἀποθανεῖν ὑπ’ ἐκείνου, τὸν δὲ λαὸν ὑπὸ τῆς στρατιᾶς αὐτοῦ. παροξυνθεὶς δ’ Ἀχαβος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην τὸν μὲν ἐγκλεισθέντα φυλάττεσθαι

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the expedition of Adados, the king of Syria, against Achab and the Israelites.

(5) Now a certain prophet, whose name was Michaias, came to an Israelite and bade him strike him on the head, for it was in accordance with the will of God that he should do so. And, when he refused, the prophet warned him that for disobeying the commands of God he should meet a lion and be killed. This was what happened to the man. So the prophet went to another and gave him the same order and, when the man struck him and cracked his skull, he bound up his head and, going to the king, told him that he had served in his army and had had one of the captives turned over to him by his officer for guarding but the prisoner had escaped, and he was in danger of being put to death by the officer who had turned the man over to him and had threatened to kill him if the prisoner escaped. Achab then said that the punishment of death was a just one, whereupon he unbound his head and was recognized by the king as the prophet Michaias. He had employed this trick, in dealing with him, as a way of introducing what he was going to say, which was that God would punish him for having allowed Adados, who had blasphemed Him, to escape punishment, and would cause him to die at Adados’s hands, and Achab’s people to die at the hands of his army. Incensed at the prophet, Achab ordered him to be locked up and

a The prophet is not named in Scripture, but Josephus, like the rabbis, very reasonably supposes it is Micaiah, mentioned as Achab’s adversary in 1 Kings xxii. 8, cf. § 403.

b Heb. “disguised himself with a bandage (A.V. “ashes”!) on his eyes,” LXX κατεδήσατο τελαμὼν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ “bound a bandage around his eyes.”

c Bibl. “a man.”

d See p. 782 note a.
éκέλευσε, συγκεκχυμένος δ' αὐτὸς ἐπὶ τοῖς Μιχαῖου λόγοις ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν.  

393 (xv. 1) Καὶ Ἀχαβος μεν ἐν τούτοις ἦν· ἔπανεμι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰεροσολύμων βασιλέα Ἰωσάφατον, ὅσ αὐξήσας τὴν βασιλείαν καὶ δυνάμεις ἐν ταῖς πόλεις ταῖς ἐν τῇ τῶν ὑπηκόων χώρα καταστήσας οὐδὲν ἦττον ταῖς ὑπὸ Ἀβίαν τοῦ πάππου καταληψθείσαι τῆς Ἐφραίμου κληρουχίας Ἰεροβοάμου βασι-

394 λεύντος τῶν δικαίων, φρουρᾶς ἐγκαθίδρυσεν ἀλλ' εἰχεν εὐμενεῖς τε καὶ συνεργὸν τὸ θέων, δίκαιον ὦν καὶ εὐσεβῆς καὶ τί καθ' ἐκάστην ἤμεραν ἴδιον ποιήσει καὶ προσήνει τῷ θεῷ ξητῶν. ἔτιμων δ' αὐτὸν οἱ πέρες βασιλικαίς δωρεάις, ὡς πλουτὸν τε ποιῆσαι βαθύτατον καὶ δόξαν ἁρασθαί μεγίστην. 

395 (2) Τρίτω δ' ἔτει τῆς βασιλείας συγκαλέσας τοὺς ήγεμόνας τῆς χώρας καὶ τοὺς ιερεῖς ἐκέλευς τὴν γῆν περιελθόντας ἀπαντα τοῖς λαῷ τὸν ἔπι αὐτῆς διδάξαι κατὰ πόλιν τοὺς Μωσέους νόμους καὶ φυλάσσειν τούτους καὶ σπουδάζειν περὶ τῆς θρησ-

κείαν τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ἡσθή πάν τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲν ἄλλο φιλοτιμεῖσθαι μηδὲ ἀγαπαῖν ὡς τὸ τῆρειν τὰ νόμιμα. οἱ τε προσχώρουν διετέλουν στέργοντες τοῦ Ἰωσάφατον καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰρήνην

1 οἰκεῖαν Bekker.  
2 ταῖς ὑπὸ Ἀβία conj.: Ἀβία RO: ὑπὸ Ἀβία MSP: quam  
Λβία Lat.: ταῖς ἐπὶ Ἀβία Naber.  
3 P: καταληψθείσαι MS: καταληψθείσης RO.  
4 βασιλείς MSPE Lat.  
5 ἐπ' αὐτῆς Niese: ἐπ' αὐτῇ R: περὶ αὐτὸν M: ὑπ' αὐτὸν  
SPE Lat.

* Josephus here anticipates the later account of Ahab’s treatment of Micaiah, 1 Kings xxii. 26. Scripture does not tell what became of the unnamed prophet mentioned in ch. xx. 

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kept under guard; he himself, greatly troubled by Michaiah's words, returned to his house.

(xv. 1) Such, then, was the condition of Ahab. But I shall now return to Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem, who increased his kingdom and stationed forces in the cities of the country inhabited by his subjects; no less did he establish garrisons in those cities of the territory of Ephraim which had been taken by his grandfather Abias when Jeroboam reigned over the ten tribes. Moreover he had the favour and assistance of the Deity since he was upright and pious and daily sought to do something pleasing and acceptable to God. And those around him honoured him with kingly presents, so that he amassed very considerable wealth and acquired the greatest glory.

(2) Now in the third year of his reign he summoned the governors of the country and the priests, and ordered them to go throughout the land and teach all the people therein, city by city, the laws of Moses, both to keep them and to be diligent in worshiping God. And so much were all the people pleased with this that there was nothing for which they were so ambitious or so much loved as the observance of the laws. The neighbouring peoples also continued to cherish Josaphat and remained at peace with him.

b Emended text.
c Bibl. "Asa, his father." Josephus consistently (cf. § 284) follows the variant account, 2 Chron. xiii. 19, according to which it was Abijah who captured the Ephraimite cities from Jeroboam.
d Variant "the kings around him honoured him with presents"; bibl. "all Judah brought presents."
e Scripture also mentions Levites.
f The remarks on the people's observance of the laws are an addition to Scripture.
ἀγοντες· οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνῳ τακτοὺς ἐτέλουν αὐτῶν φόρους καὶ Ἀραβές ἔχορηγον κατ' ἑστὸς ἄρνας ἐξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καὶ ἐρίφους τοσοῦτος. πόλεις τε ὑψώσσα μεγάλας ἀλλὰς τε καὶ βάρεις1 καὶ δύναμιν στρατιωτικὴν καὶ ὀπλα πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους2 ἡμὺρπερίστο. ἦν δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς στρατός ὀπλιτῶν μυριάδες τριάκοντα, ὅν Ἰδώναος τὴν ἡγεμονίαν εἶχεν, Ἰωάννης δὲ μυριάδων εἰκοσί. δὲ αὐτῶς οὕτως ἠγεμόνως κακὸς τις Βεναμίτιδος φυλῆς εἶχε τοξοτῶν πεζῶν μυριάδας εἴκοσι, ἄλλος δὲ ἠγεμόνως Ὀχόβατος3 ὀνόμα μυριάδας ὀπλιτῶν ὄκτωκαίδεκα τὸ πλῆθος τῶ βασιλεὶ προσένειμε πάρεξ ὅν εἰς τὰς χυρωτάτας διέπεμψε πόλεις.

398 (3) Ἡγάγετο δὲ τῷ παιδὶ Ἰωράμῳ τῇ Ἀχάβου θυγατέρᾳ τοῦ τῶν δέκα φυλῶν βασιλέως Ὀθλίαν4 ὀνόμα. πορευθέντα δὲ αὐτὸν μετὰ χρόνον τινὰ εἰς Σαμάρειαν πιλοφορόνως Ἀχαβῶς ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τὸν ἀκολουθήσαντα στρατόν ἐξένυσε λαμπρῶς σίτου τε καὶ οἴνου καὶ θυμάτων ἁφθονία, παρεκάλεσε τε συμμαχήσαι κατὰ τοῦ Σύρων βασιλέως, ὡς τὴν ἐν τῇ Γαλαδην̣ὴ̣ πόλιν Ἀραμαθάν ἀφέληται· τοῦ γὰρ

1 βάρεις ROM.
2 καὶ ὀπλα . . . πολεμίους] πρὸς πολέμους RO.
3 φ Χάβαθος RO.
4 Γοθολίαν SP Lat.

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a Bibl. 7700 rams and 7700 he-goats.
b βάρεις is the Luc. rendering of Heb. bîrânîyôth "strong-holds"; LXX oîkîsēs "dwellings." Scripture adds "store-cities."
c Bibl. Adnah, LXX Ἰδώνας, Luc. Αἰδρᾶς.
d Bibl. 280,000.
e Bibl. Jehohanan (Yehôhânân), LXX Ἰωανᾶν (v.l. Ἰωάν).f According to Scripture, Eliada was commander of the 200,000 archers from Benjamin. Josephus also omits the 200,000 men under Amasiah.
And the Philistines paid him the appointed tribute, while the Arabs every year supplied him with three hundred and sixty lambs and as many kids. He also fortified large cities, among which were strongholds, and prepared a force of soldiers and weapons against his enemies. From the tribe of Judah there was an army of three hundred thousand heavy-armed soldiers, of which Ednaios had command, and two hundred thousand under Joannes, who was at the same time commander of two hundred thousand archers on foot from the tribe of Benjamin. Another commander named Ochobatos put at the king's disposal a host of a hundred and eighty thousand heavy-armed soldiers. These did not include the men whom the king had sent to the several best fortified cities.

(3) Now Josaphat married his son Joram to the daughter of Achab, the king of the ten tribes, her name being Othlia. And, when some time afterward he went to Samaria, Achab gave him a friendly welcome and, after splendidly entertaining the army which had accompanied him, with an abundance of grain and wine and meat, invited him to become his ally in a war against the king of Syria in order to recover the city of Aramatha in Galadene, for it had

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\( ^a \) Bibl. Jehozabad (Yehózábád), lxx Ἰωζαβάδ.  
\( ^k \) Cf. A. ix. 27. He is not named at this point in Scripture.  
\( ^i \) Variant Gotholiah; bibl. Athaliah, cf. A. ix. 140 note. She is not named at this point in Scripture.  
\( ^j \) Unscriptural details.  
\( ^k \) Heb. "persuaded by guile," lxx ἡγάπα, a corruption of ἡπάτα "deceived," Luc. ἐπέεισε "persuaded."  
\( ^l \) Called Aramatlič in § 411; bibl. Ramoth in Gilead, lxx 1 Kings Ῥαμώθ Γαλαάδ, 2 Chron. Ῥαμώθ τῆς Γαλαάδειτιδος, identified by Dalman with the modern Tell el-Husn, c. 20 miles E. of the Jordan in the latitude of Beth-shean (Beisān), on the Roman road leading to Bozrah.
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πατρὸς αὐτῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ πρῶτον τυγχάνουσαν ἀφηρήσθαι τὸν ἐκεῖνον πατέρα. τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσαφάτου τὴν Βοήθειαν ἐπαγγειλαμένου (καὶ γὰρ εἶναι δύναμιν αὐτῷ μὴ ἐλάττω τῆς ἐκείνου) καὶ μεταπεμφαμένου τὴν δύναμιν εἰς Ἰεροσολύμων εἰς Σαμάρειαν, προ- εξελθόντες ἔξω τῆς πόλεως οἱ δύο βασιλεῖς καὶ καθίσαντες ἑπὶ τοῦ ἱδίου θρόνου ἐκάτερος τοῖς οὐκείοις στρατιώταις τὸ στρατιωτικὸν διένεμον.

400 Ἰωσάφατος δὲ ἐκέλευσεν εἰς τυνές εἰςι προφῆται καλέσαντ' αὐτοὺς ἀνακρίναι περὶ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Σύρον ἐξόδου, εἰ συμβουλεύσωσι καὶ ἐκεῖνοι τὸν καιρὸν αὑτῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν στρατείαν καὶ γὰρ εἰρήνη τε καὶ φιλία τότε τῷ Ἀχάβῳ πρὸς τὸν Σύρον ὑπήρχεν ἐπὶ τρία ἑτη διαμείνασα, ἀφ' οὗ λαβὼν αὐτὸν αἰχ- μάλωτον ἀπέλυσεν ἄχρις ἐκεῖνης τῆς ἡμέρας.

401 (4) Καλέσας δὲ Ἀχάβος τοὺς αὐτὸν προφῆτας ὡσεὶ τετρακοσίους τὸν ἀριθμὸν ὄντας ἐκέλευσεν ἔρεσθαι τὸν θεοῦ, εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτῷ στρατευσμένω ἐπὶ Ἀδαδον νίκην καὶ καθαίρεσιν τῆς πόλεως, δὲ ιν ἐκφέρειν μελλεῖ τὸν πόλεμον. τὸν δὲ προ- φητῶν συμβουλευσάντων ἐκστρατεύσαι, κρατήσειν γὰρ τοῦ Σύρου καὶ λήψεσθαι ὑποχείριον αὐτοῦ ὡς καὶ τὸ πρῶτον, συνεῖς ἐκ τῶν λόγων Ἰωσάφατος ὃτι ἰευνοπροφῆται τυγχάνουσαν, ἐπίθετο τοῦ Ἀχάβου εἰ καὶ ἔτερός τις ἐστι προφήτης τοῦ θεοῦ, "ὑμαὶ ἀκριβέστερον μάθωμεν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων." 402 δὲ Ἀχάβος εἶναι μὲν ἔφη, μισεῖν δ' αὐτὸν κακὰ προφητεύσαντα καὶ προειπόντα ὃτι τεθνήξεται τοῦ θεοῦ ROS.

403 δ' Ἀχάβος εἶναι μὲν ἔφη, μισεῖν δ' αὐτὸν κακὰ προφητεύσαντα καὶ προειπόντα ὃτι τεθνήξεται τοῦ θεοῦ ROS.

a This earlier capture of Ramoth by the Syrians is not mentioned in Scripture.
b Josephus takes literally Jehoshaphat’s expression in 786
first belonged to his father but had been taken away from him by the Syrian's father.\textsuperscript{a} Thereupon Josaphat willingly offered his aid—he too had a force, not smaller than Achab's\textsuperscript{b}—and, when he had sent for his force to come from Jerusalem to Samaria,\textsuperscript{c} the two kings went out of the city, each sitting upon his throne, and distributed pay to their respective armies.\textsuperscript{d} And Josaphat bade him call the prophets, if there were any there, and inquire of them concerning the expedition against the Syrian, whether they advised them to take the field at that time. For there was, indeed, peace and friendship then between Achab and the Syrian, which had lasted three years, from the time when Achab had taken him captive and released him until that very day.

(4) So Achab called his prophets, who were some four hundred in number, and bade them inquire of God whether, if he marched against Adados, He would grant him victory and the overthrow of the city on which he was about to wage war. And, when the prophets advised him to take the field, saying that he would defeat the Syrian and have him in his power as before, Josaphat, who saw by their words that they were false prophets,\textsuperscript{e} asked Achab whether there was some other prophet of God, "in order that we may know more clearly what is going to happen." Achab then said that there was one, but he hated him because he had prophesied evil and had foretold that he

\textsuperscript{a}\textsuperscript{b}\textsuperscript{c}\textsuperscript{d}\textsuperscript{e}
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υικηθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Σὺρων βασιλέως καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἐν φυλακῇ¹ νῦν αὐτὸν ἔχειν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ Μιχαίαν, νῦν δὲ εἶναι Ἰεμβλαίου²· τοῦ δὲ Ἰωσαφάτου κελεύσαντος αὐτὸν προαχθῆναι, πέμψας εὐνοῦχον ἤγει 404 τὸν Μιχαίαν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὠδὸν ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ ὁ εὐνοῦχος πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους προφήτας νίκην τῷ βασιλεῖ προειρήκεναι. δὲ δὲ οὐκ ἔξον αὐτῷ καταψεύσασθαι³ τοῦ θεοῦ φήσας, ἀλλ' ἐρεῖν ὦ τι ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτὸς εἴπη, ὥς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἀχαβον καὶ λέγεων αὐτῷ τάληθες οὕτος ἐνωρκισάτο, δειξαὶ τὸν θεὸν αὐτῷ φεύγοντας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἔφη καὶ διωκομένους ὑπὸ τῶν Σὺρων καὶ διασκορπιζομένους ὑπ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὰ ὀρη, καθάπερ ποιμένων 405 ἡγημομένα ποιμνία. ἔλεγε τε σημαίνειν τοὺς μὲν μετ' εἰρήνης ἀναστρέψειν εἰς τὰ ἱδία, πεσεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὸν μόνον ἐν τῇ μάχῃ. ταῦτα φήσαντος τοῦ Μιχαία, πρὸς Ἰωσαφάτον ὁ ὁ Ἀχαβος ἅ ἀλλ' ἐγωγε μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν ἐδήλωσά σοι τὴν ταῦθρώπον,' φησὶ', 'πρὸς με διάθεσιν, καὶ ὅτι μοι τὰ χείρω 406 προεφήτευσε.' τοῦ δὲ Μιχαία εἰτόντος ὡς προσήκεν αὐτῷ πάντων ἀκροάσθαι τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προλεγομένων, καὶ ὡς παρομῆσαιν αὐτὸν οἱ ψευδοπροφήται ποιήσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐλπίδιν

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¹ Σύρων . . . φυλακῇ] Σύρου εν φροιρᾷ δὲ RO.
² Ὠμβλαίου R: Ὠμβλαίου O: Ἰεμβλέου MS: Obaei Lat.
³ καταψεύδεσθαι MSP.
⁴ φησὶ cod. Vat. apud Hudson: om. rell.

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ₐ The prophecy of Ahab's death is unscriptural.
₋ Unscriptural detail, cf. § 392 note.

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should be conquered by the Syrian king and meet his death, a for which reason he was now keeping him in prison b; his name, he added, was Michaias c and he was the son of Jemblaios. d But, when Josaphat asked that he be produced, Achab sent a eunuch to bring Michaias. e On the way the eunuch informed him that all the other prophets had foretold victory to the king. Thereupon the prophet said that it was not possible for him to tell falsehoods in God’s name, but he must speak whatever He might tell him about the king. And, when he came to Achab and the king adjured him to speak the truth to him, he said f that God had shown him the Israelites in flight, being pursued by the Syrians and dispersed by them upon the mountains like flocks of sheep that are left without their shepherds. He also said that God had revealed that his men should return to their homes in peace, but he alone should fall in battle. g When Michaias had spoken these words, Achab said to Josaphat, “Did I not tell you a little while ago how this fellow feels toward me and that he has prophesied evil things for me?” But Michaias answered that it was his duty to listen to all things uttered by God, and that they were false prophets who had led him on to make war in the hope of victory, and that he

a Bibl. Micaiah (Mikāyehû), lxx Michalas.
b Bibl. Imlah (Yimlāh), lxx Ἰμλαᾶ (r.l. Ἰμβλαᾶ).
c Scripture at this point (1 Kings xxii. 11 = 2 Chron. xviii. 10) introduces the symbolic action of Zedekiah, which Josephus narrates later in § 409.
d Josephus omits Micaiah’s first ironical reassurance, 1 Kings xxii. 15 = 2 Chron. xviii. 14.
e The prophecy of Ahab’s death is an amplification of the Scriptural phrase, “And the Lord said, These (Ahab’s men) have no master.”

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νίκης, καὶ ὅτι δεῖ πεσεῖν αὐτὸν μαχόμενον, αὐτῶς μὲν ἦν ἐπ᾽ ἐννοία, Σεδεκίας δὲ τις τῶν ψευδο-

407 προφητῶν προσέλθων, τῷ μὲν Μιχαίᾳ μὴ προσέχειν

408 αὐτὸν καταλευσθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ όχλου. "δήλον

409 πάντως τούτῳ γενόμενον." ὃς οὖν πλήξαντος αὐ-

τοῦ τῶν Μιχαίαν μηδὲν συνέβη παθεῖν, "Αχαβος

θαρρήσας ἀγεί περὶ τὴν στρατιὰν πρόθυμος ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν

Σύρων: ἑνίκα γὰρ οἷς ἔποιει τὸ χρέων καὶ πιθανωτέρος

ἐποίει τοῦ ἄληθος τοὺς ψευδοψευδής, ἢν λάβῃ

τὴν ἀφορμὴν τοῦ τέλους. Σεδεκίας δὲ συνήρεα

1 "Ἰαδός SPE: Iadon Lat.

Josephus substitutes this reply of Micaiah for the Scriptural verses (1 Kings xxii. 19-25 = 2 Chron. xviii. 18-23) describing his heavenly vision of the lying spirits put by God into the mouths of the false prophets.

So most mss. of lxx; bibl. Zedekiah (Ṣidqiyāhā). Zedekiah’s allusion to Elijah’s prophecy (cf. § 361) is unscriptural. It is noteworthy that rabbinic tradition also makes a connexion, though a different one, between the two
alone must fall in battle. So Achab had cause for thought, but a certain Sedekias, one of the false prophets, came to him and urged him not to pay any attention to Michaias, for he did not speak a word of truth. And as proof of this he instanced the prophecies of Elijah, who was better able than Michaias to foresee the future, for, he said, when Elijah had prophesied in the city of Jezarela in Naboth's field, he had foretold that the dogs would lick up Achab's blood just as they had licked the blood of Naboth who had been stoned to death by the crowd at his bidding. "It is clear, then," said Sedekias, "that this man is lying, since he contradicts a greater prophet in saying that within three days you shall meet death." But you shall know whether he is really a true prophet and has the power of the divine spirit; let him right now, when I strike him, disable my hand as Jadaos caused the right hand of King Jeroboam to wither when he wished to arrest him. For I suppose you must have heard that this thing happened." Accordingly, when he struck Michaias and suffered no harm as a result, Achab took courage and was eager to lead his army against the Syrian. It was Fate, I suppose, that prevailed and made the false prophet seem more convincing than the true one, in order to hasten Achab's end. incidents by saying that it was Naboth's spirit that had misled Ahab's prophets into foretelling a victory for him, cf. Ginzberg iv. 187.

The reference to Jadaos (bibl. Jadon; cf. § 231) is not found in Scripture, according to which Zedekiah, after striking Micaiah, asks, "Which way went the spirit of the Lord from me to speak unto thee?", Lxx 1 Kings, "What sort of spirit of the Lord speaks in thee?"

These remarks on Ahab's confidence and the working of Fate are additions to Scripture.
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ποιήσας κέρατα λέγει πρὸς Ἄχαβον ὡς θεὸν αὐτῶν σημαίνειν τούτοις ἄπασαν καταστρέψεσθαι1 τῇν 410 Συριαν.2 Μιχαίαν δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας εἰπόντα τὸν Σεδεκίαν ταμιείων ἐκ ταμιείων3 κρυβόμενον ἀμέας ἡμέραν φυγεῖν τῆς ψευδολογίας τῇν δίκην, ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἀπαχθέντα ψυχήσθαι πρὸς Ἄχαμιων τῶν τῆς πόλεως ἀρχοντα καὶ χορηγεῖσθαι μηδὲν ἀρτον καὶ ὦδατον αὐτῶν περισσότερον.

411 (5) Καὶ Ἄχαβος μὲν καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ὁ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλεὺς ἀναλαβόντες τὰς δυνάμεις ἠλασαν εἰς Ἀραμάθην πόλιν τῆς Γαλαδιτίδος. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτῶν τὴν στρατείαν4 ἀντεπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιν καὶ 412 οὔκ ἀπωθεῖ τῆς Ἀραμάθης στρατοπεδεύσεται. συν-έθεντο δὲ ὁ τε Ἄχαβος καὶ Ἰωσάφατος ἀποθέσθαι μὲν τὸν Ἄχαβον τὸ βασιλικὸν σχῆμα, τὸν δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων βασιλέα τὴν αὐτοῦ στολὴν ἔχοντα στήναι ἐν τῇ παρατάξει, κατασοφιζόμενοι5 τὰ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μιχαία προειρημένα. εὑρε δ’ αὐτὸν τὸ χρεών 413 καὶ δίχα τοῦ σχῆματος. ὁ μὲν γὰρ Ἀδαδος ὁ τῶν Σύρων βασιλεὺς παρήγγειλε τῇ στρατιά διὰ τῶν ἡγεμόνων μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων ἀναρεῖν, μόνον δὲ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν. οἱ δὲ Σύροι τῆς συμ-βολῆς γενομένης ἱδόντες τὸν Ἰωσάφατον ἔστώτα πρὸ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τούτων εἰκάσαντες εἶναι τὸν

1 ex Lat. Niese: καταστρέψασθαι RO: καταστρέψαι MSP.
2 Σεδεκίας . . . Συριάν spuria esse putatat Niese.
4 ed. pr.: στρατιάν codd.
5 Niese: κατασοφιζόμενος ROE: κατασοφιζόμενον MSP Lat. (vid.).
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Then Sedekias made horns of iron and told Achab that God had revealed to him that with these he should subdue the whole of Syria. But Michaias said that within a few days Sedekias would change his hiding-place from one secret chamber to another in seeking to escape punishment for his lying words. Thereupon the king ordered him to be led away to Ahamôn, the governor of the city, for imprisonment and that he should be supplied with nothing but bread and water.

(5) And so Achab and Josaphat, the king of Jerusalem, marched with their forces to the city of Aramathê in Galaditis. When the Syrian king heard of their march, he, in turn, led his army against them and encamped not far from the city of Aramathê. Now Achab and Josaphat had agreed that Achab should take off his royal garments and that the king of Jerusalem should take his place in the line of battle with the other's robe on; by this trick they thought to escape the fate foretold by Michaias. But Fate found him even though he was without his garments. For Adados, the Syrian king, had given orders that they should slay no one else but only the king of the Israelites. So, when the battle was joined and the Syrians saw Josaphat standing before the lines, they thought that he was Achab, and

\[a\] Cf. § 403 note.
\[b\] So Lxx renders the Heb. idiom "chamber in chamber," cf. § 384 note.
\[c\] Bibl. Amôn, Lxx Ἀμῶν (v.II. Σεμὴρ, Ἐμὴρ).
\[d\] Cf. § 399 note.
\[e\] So Lxx; according to the Heb. text, Jehoshaphat wears his own robes.
"Αχαβον ὡρμήσαν ἐπ’ αὐτόν, καὶ περικυκλωσάμενοι ὡς ἐγγὺς ὄντες ἔγνωσαν οὐκ ὄντα τούτον, ἄνεχώρησαν ὁπίσω πάντες, ἄρχομένης δὲ ἥδος ἀρχι δείλης ὤφιας2 μαχόμενοι καὶ νυκώντες ἀπέκτειναν οὐδένα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐντολήν, ἐητούντες τὸν Ἀχαβον ἀνελείν μόνον καὶ ἐυρεῖν οὐ δυνάμενοι. παῖς δὲ τις βασιλικὸς τοῦ Ἀδάου Ἀμανὸς ὄνομα τοζεύσας εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους πυτρώσκει τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τοῦ θώρακος κατὰ τοῦ πυεύμονος. Ἀχαβος δὲ τὸ μὲν συμβεβηκός οὐκ ἔγνω ποιήσαι τῷ στρατεύματι φανερὸν μὴ τραπείσαν, τὸν δ’ ἡνίοχον ἐκέλευσεν ἐκτρέψαντα τὸ ἀρμα ἐξάγειν3 τῆς μάχης· χαλεπὸς γὰρ βεβλήσθαι καὶ καυρίως. ὄδυνώμενος δὲ ἐστὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀρματος ἀρχι δύνασθε ἥλιον καὶ λιφαμήσας4 ἀπέθανε.

1 πάντες . . . δ’] ἀπὸ τε ἄρχομένης RO Lat.
2 ὤφιας om. RO Lat.
3 ἐκτρέψαντα . . . ἐξάγει] ἐπιστρέψαι . . . καὶ ἔξαγαγειν MSP.
5 Hudson: ἀνελιχμήσαντο codd.: ἀπελιχμήσαν E.

α Josephus omits the Scriptural detail that Jehoshaphat was recognized when he cried out.
rushed upon him, but, on surrounding him and coming close, they saw that it was not he, and all of them turned back. From early dawn until late afternoon they fought, and the victorious Syrians, in accordance with the king’s command, killed no one, seeking to slay only Achab and not being able to find him. But one of the king’s pages, named Amanos, in shooting arrows at the enemy, wounded the king through his breastplate in the lung. Achab, however, decided not to let his army see what had happened lest they should be put to flight, and ordered his driver to turn the chariot and carry him off the field of battle, for he had been gravely and even mortally wounded. But, though he was in great pain, he remained upright in his chariot until the setting of the sun and then, with the blood drained out of him, expired.

(6) And so, as night had now fallen, the Syrian army retired to its camp and, when the herald announced that Achab was dead, they returned to their own country, first carrying the body of Achab to Samaria and burying it there. And when they washed his chariot, which was stained with the king’s blood, in the spring of Jezarēl, they acknowledged the truth of Elijah’s prophecy, for the dogs licked up his blood; and thereafter the harlots used to bathe

\[The\] \textit{fulfilment of Elijah’s prophecy. 1 Kings xxii. 36.}\n
\[b\] Targum of 2 Chron. identifies Ahab’s slayer, unnamed in Scripture, with Naaman the Syrian (cf. 2 Kings ch. v.), to whom Josephus must here be referring.

\[c\] So LXX; Heb. “through the joints (or “fastenings”) of his breastplate.”

\[d\] This explanation of Ahab’s reason for withdrawing is unscriptural.

\[e\] So the LXX; Heb. “and a shout passed through the camp.”
απέθανε δ' ἐν Ἀραμάθη Μιχαία τούτῳ προειρήκότος. συμβάντων οὖν Ἀχάβω τῶν ὑπὸ τῶν δύο προφητῶν εἰρημένων μέγα δεὶ τὸ θεῖον ἤγείσθαι καὶ σέβειν καὶ τιμᾶν αὐτὸ πανταχοῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας μῆ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν πιθανότερα δοκεῖν, ὑπολαμβάνειν δ' ὦτι προφητείας καὶ τῆς διὰ τῶν τοιούτων προγνώσεως οὐδέν ἔστι συμφορώτερον, παρέχοντος οὕτω τοῦ θεοῦ τί δεὶ φυλάξασθαι, λογιζέσθαι τε πάλιν ἐκ τῶν περὶ τὸν βασιλέα γεγενημένων στοχαζόμενος προσηκε τὴν τοῦ χρεὼν ἵσχυν, ὅτι μηδὲ προγνωσκόμενον αὐτὸ διαφυγεῖν ἔστιν, ἀλλ' ὑπέρχεται τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχὰς ἑλπίσι κολακευον χρησταῖς, αἷς εἰς τὸ πόθεν αὐτῶν κρατήσει περιέγει. φαίνεται οὖν καὶ Ἀχάβος ὑπὸ τούτου τὴν διάνοιαν ἀπατηθείς, ὥστε ἀπιστήσαι μὲν τοῖς προλέγοντι τὴν ἤτταν, τοῖς δὲ τὰ πρὸς χάριν προφητεύσασι πεισθεῖς ἀποθανεῖν. τούτων μὲν οὖν ὁ παῖς Ὁχοζίας διεδέξατο.

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a Bibl. Ahaziah (Ἄχαζια), lxx Ὁχοζίας.
in the pool in this blood. But he died in Aramathē, as Michaïas had foretold. Now, since there befell Achab the fate spoken of by the two prophets, we ought to acknowledge the greatness of the Deity and everywhere honour and reverence Him, nor should we think the things which are said to flatter us or please us more worthy of belief than the truth, but should realize that nothing is more beneficial than prophecy and the foreknowledge which it gives, for in this way God enables us to know what to guard against. And further, with the king’s history before our eyes, it behoves us to reflect on the power of Fate, and see that not even with foreknowledge is it possible to escape it, for it secretly enters the souls of men and flatters them with fair hopes, and by means of these it leads them on to the point where it can overcome them. It appears, then, that by this power Achab’s mind was deceived so that while he disbelieved those who foretold his defeat, he believed those who prophesied things that pleased him, and so lost his life. And so his son Ochozias succeeded him.
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BIBLION E

α’. Ὁσ Ἰησοῦς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων πολεμήσας πρὸς Χαναάιων καὶ κρατῆσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρε τὴν δὲ γῆν κατακληρουχῆσας διένεμει ταῖς φυλαῖς.

β’. Ὁσ ἀποθανόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραβαίνοντες οἱ Ἰσραήλίται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους μεγάλων ἐπειράθησαν συμφορῶν, καὶ στασιασάντων ἡ Βενιαμίς διεφθάρη φυλή χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ἐξακοσίων.

γ’. Πῶς μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κακοπραγίαν ἀσεβήσαντας αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς Ἀσσυρίοις ἔδοξεν.

δ’. Ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθυμίλου παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερία γενομένη ἀρξαντός ἐτης τεσσαράκοντα λεγομένου δὲ παρά τε Ἑλληνισ καὶ Φοίνιξι κριτοῦ.

ε’. Ὅτι πάλιν ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν ἔδοξεν ταῖς Ὀμαβιταίς δικτωκαίδεκα ἐτης καὶ ὑπὸ τινος Ἰουδοῦ τῆς

1 Numeros om. MSPL.

2 Bernard: Ἀενήλιου ROML: Ναθαναήλου S: Ναθαήλου P.

3 Niese: Ἰουδοῦ ROL: Ἰουδοῦ MS: Ἰουδοῦ, i ex ἡ corr. P: Aod Lat.

—Bibl. Othniel, the son of Kenaz; cf. A. v. 182 note.

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BOOK V

(i) How Jēsūs (Joshua), the commander of the Hebrews, fought against the Canaanites, and how, after defeating them, he destroyed them, while their land he divided by lot and distributed among the tribes . . . .

(ii) How, upon the death of their commander, the Israelites transgressed against their fathers' laws and experienced great misfortunes, and how, as a result of civil war, the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed excepting six hundred men . . . . . .

(iii) How, after this disaster, God, because of their impiety, made them subject to the Assyrians . . . .

(iv) The deliverance wrought for them by Kenizos, the son of Athniĕlos, who ruled forty years, and by the Greeks and Phoenicians is called a "judge" . . . . . . .

(v) How our people were again subject to the Moabites for eighteen years, and how they were delivered from this
The Amalekites are mentioned only incidentally as allies of the Midianites in A. v. 210 ff.

These were Abimelech, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon and Abdon.

This table omits special mention of the stories of Ruth, §§ 318-337; and Samuel, §§ 341-351.

"Tumbled " in A. v. 359.
subjection by a certain Jūdēs (Ehud), who held power for eighty years. 188 86

(vi) How, after the Canaanites had held them subject for twenty years, they were delivered by Barak and Deborā, who ruled over them for forty years 198 90

(vii) How the Amalekites, a after making war on the Israelites, conquered them and ravaged their country seven years 210 94

(viii) How Gedēon (Gideon) delivered them from the Amalekites and ruled over the people for forty years. 213 96

(ix) How the many rulers who succeeded him b fought with the surrounding nations for a considerable length of time 233 106

(x) Concerning the prowess of Samson and the many evils which he caused the Philistines. 276 124

(xi) c How the sons of Eli the priest were slain in battle with the Philistines. 338 150

(xii) How their father, on hearing of this mishap, threw himself d from his seat and died 352 156

(xiii) e How the Philistines, on defeating the Hebrews in this battle, also took their ark captive 357 160

(xiv) f How all those who ruled after Kenizos were called "judges" 353 158

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c Section xiii properly belongs before section xii.

f Section xiv is obviously out of place; originally it must have belonged to section iv.
Περιέχει ἡ βιβλίον χρόνον ἑτὼν τετρακοσίων ἐβδομῆκοντα.  

**BIBLION 5**

α'. Ὁθορᾶ Παλαιστίνων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἐξ ὁργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωτευθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κυβωτόν, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

β'. Στρατεία Παλαιστίνων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ νίκη Ἑβραίων Σαμουήλου στρατηγοῦντος αὐτῶν τοῦ προφήτου.

γ'. Ὕμεν Σαμουήλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆς ὄν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖν τοῖς παισίν αὐτοῦ ἑνεχείροντο.

δ'. Ὅμεν οὐ καλῶς προϊσταμένων ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ πλήθος ὑπ' ὁργῆς ἡττήσατο βασιλεύεσθαι.

ε'. Σαμουήλου πρὸς τοῦτο ἀγανάκτησι καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοὺς ἀνάδειξις Σαουλοῦ τούνομα, κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

ζ'. Σαουλοῦ στρατεία ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμανιτῶν ἔθνος καὶ νίκη καὶ διαρπαγὴ τῶν πολεμίων.

η'. Σαουλοῦ πρὸς Ἀμαλκήτας πόλεμος καὶ νίκη.

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1 + ἐξ (ὁς P) SPEL Lat.
2 Numeros om. SP.
3 πολεμίων ἓ (καὶ P) τῶν πόλεων SP.

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This book covers a period of four hundred and seventy a years.

BOOK VI

(i) The destruction of the Philistines and of their land through God’s wrath over their capture of the ark, and in what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews . . . . . . . 1 164

(ii) The Philistines’ expedition against them, and the victory of the Hebrews under the command of the prophet Samuel . . . . . . . 19 174

(iii) How Samuel, being infirm because of his great age, placed the government in the hands of his sons . . . 32 180

(iv) How, because of their misgovernment, the people in anger demanded a king as ruler . . . . . . . 35 182

(v) Samuel’s indignation at this (demand), and how he appointed over them a king named Saul, at God’s bidding . 36 184

(vi) Saul’s expedition against the Ammonite nation, and his victory and the despoiling of the enemy . . . . 68 200

(vii) How the Philistines again marched against the Hebrews and were defeated . . . . . . . 95 214

(viii) Saul’s war with the Amalekites and his victory over them . . . . 131 232

a Variant “seventy-six.”

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1 164
19 174
32 180
35 182
36 184
68 200
95 214
131 232
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI

θ'. "Οτι παραβαίνοντος Σαουλου τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουήλος ἄλλον ἀπεδείξε βασιλεὰ κρύφα Δαυίδην' ὄνομα κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.

ι'. 'Ως καὶ πάλιν ἐπεστράτευσαν τοῖς ‘Εβραίοις οἱ Παλαιστίνων ἔτι Σαουλου βασιλεύοντος."

ια'. 3 Μονομαχία Δαυίδου τότε 4 πρὸς Γολιάθου τὸν ἀριστον τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ ἀναίρεσις τοῦ Γολιάθου καὶ ἑττα τῶν Παλαιστίνων."

ιβ'. 'Ως θαυμάσας Σαουλος 6 τὸν Δαυίδην τῆς ἀνδρείας συνάκισεν αὐτῷ τήν θυγατέρα.

ιγ'. "Οτι μετὰ ταῦτα ὑποπτὸν αὐτῷ τὸν Δαυίδην γενόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπούδασεν ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιδ'. 'Ως πολλάκις καὶ Δαυίδης κινδυνεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαουλου διέφυγε καὶ Σαουλου δῖς ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὡστε ἀνελεῖν οὐ διεχρήσατο.

ιε'. 'Ως στρατευσαμένων Παλαιστίνων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς ‘Εβραίους ἠττήθησαν οἱ ‘Εβραίου τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Σαουλος ἀπέθανε μετὰ τῶν παῖδων μαχόμενος.

Περιέχει ἡ βιβλίος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ'.

1 Δαυίδην Μ: Δαβίδην RO: David Lat.
2 Σαουλου βασιλεύοντος] Σαμουήλου προφητεύοντος P.
3 Caput XI decimo adiungunt SP.
4 τότε om. SP. 5 + κρατερά SP.
6 Σαουλος (Σαουλου RO) post θυγατέρα tr. ROM.
(ix) How, upon Saul's transgressing the prophet's injunctions, Samuel secretly chose another king, named David, in accordance with the decision of God . 156 244

(x) How the Philistines yet another time marched against the Hebrews while Saul was still king . . . . 170 250

(xi) The single combat on that occasion of David and Goliath, the bravest of the Philistines, and the slaying of Goliath and defeat of the Philistines . 184 258

(xii) How Saul, in admiration of David's prowess, gave him his daughter in marriage . . . . 196 264

(xiii) How after this David became suspect to him, and how the king sought eagerly to kill him . . . . 205 268

(xiv) How on several occasions David was in danger of being put to death by Saul, and how he twice refrained from taking Saul's life, when he was in his power . . . . 213 272

(xv) How the Philistines again marched against the Hebrews and the Hebrews were defeated in battle, and how Saul their king died fighting, together with his sons . . . . 325 328

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

* This table omits special mention of the relations of David and Jonathan, the sojourn of David among the Philistines, and Saul's visit to the witch of Endor.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII

BIBLION Z

a'. "Ὄς Δαυίδης μὲν τῆς μιᾶς φυλῆς ἔβασιλευεν ἐν Γιβρώνι τῇ πόλει, τοῦ δ' ἄλλου πλῆθους ὁ Σαουλοῦ παῖς.

β'. "Ὅτι τούτου φονευθέντος ἐξ ἐπιβουλῆς φίλων, ἀπασαν τὴν βασιλείαν Δαυίδης παρέλαβεν.

γ'. 'Ὄς πολυρκήσας Ἰεροσόλυμα Δαυίδης καὶ λαβὼν τὴν πόλιν ἐξέβαλε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς Χαναναίους, ἑνώκισε δὲ εἰς αὐτὴν Ἰουδαίους.

δ'. "Ὅτι στρατεύσαντας ἐν Παλαιστίνοις ἐν Ἰεροσολύμοις ἑνίκησεν.

e'. 'Ἡ γενομένη πρὸς Εἰρωμὸν τὸν Τυρίων βασιλέα Δαυίδου φιλία.

ς'. Ὡς τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεισι στρατεύσας Δαυίδης καὶ χειρωσάμενος, φόρον ἐπέταξεν αὐτῷ τελεῖν.

ζ'. 'Ἡ γενομένη πρὸς Δαμασκηνοὺς Δαυίδη μάχη καὶ νίκη.

η'. Ὡς ἐπὶ τοὺς Μεσοποταμίους στρατεύσας ἐκράτησεν αὐτῶν.

θ'. "Ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν αὐτῶν στασιασάντων ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ἐξεβλήθη τῆς ἅρχῆς εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου.

1 Numeros om. SP.
2 Χεβρών Π: Hebron Lat.
3 + καὶ codd.
4 Niese: αὐτῷ codd.: eis Lat.

a The conspirators were fellow-tribemen of Saul’s son, but were not his “friends,” according to Scripture and Josephus.
b This section properly belongs before section iv.
c The Mesopotamians are only incidentally mentioned as allies of the Ammonites in A. vii. 117 ff.
d This table omits special mention of the story of David

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**BOOK VII**

(i) How David reigned over one tribe in the city of Gibrōn (Hebron), while Saul's son reigned over the rest of the people .................................................. 7 360

(ii) How, after the latter was slain by the treachery of his friends, David took over the entire kingdom ................................................................. 46 382

(iii) How David, after laying siege to Jerusalem and capturing the city, drove out the Canaanites from it, and how he settled the Jews in it .................. 61 390

(iv) How, after the Philistines had twice marched against him, he defeated them at Jerusalem ................................................................. 71 396

(v) The friendship formed between Eiromos (Hiram), king of Tyre, and David .................................................................................................................. 66 392

(vi) How David, after marching against the surrounding nations and subduing them, ordered them to pay him tribute ........................................ 96 410

(vii) The war waged by David against the Damascenes, and his victory ....................................................................................................................... 100 412

(viii) How he marched against the Mesopotamians and conquered them ........................................................................................................ 117 422

(ix) How, after those of his own house rebelled against him, he was driven out of his kingdom by his son, and (fled) to the country across the Jordan ..................................................... 194 462

and Bathseba, of Amnon and Tamar, and the exploits of David's warriors.

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VII-VIII

1' Ὡς στρατεύσας Αβεσάλωμος ἐπὶ τὸν πατέρα Δαυίδην ἀπώλετο σὺν τῷ στρατῷ.

1α'. Πῶς εἰς τὴν βασιλείαν πάλιν κατῆλθε καὶ ζήσας εὐδαιμόνως ἔτη περιών Σολόμωνα τὸν υἱὸν ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα.

1β'. Τελευτῇ Δαυίδου καταλυπόντος τῷ παιδὶ πολλὴν ύλην ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ λιθίας εἰς τὴν οἰκοδομὴν τοῦ ναοῦ.

Περιέχει ἡ βιβλίος χρόνον ἑτῶν τεσσαράκοντα.

BIBLION II

1α'. Ὡς Σολόμων τὴν βασιλείαν παραλαβὼν τοὺς ἑχθροῦς ἀνείλε.

1β'. Περὶ τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ καὶ συνέσεως καὶ τοῦ πλουτοῦ.

1γ'. Ὄτι πρῶτος τὸν ἐν Ἰεροσολύμωι ναὸν φιλοδόμησεν.

1δ'. Ὡς τελευτήσαντος Σολόμωνος ὁ λαὸς ἀποστὰς τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτοῦ Ῥοβαῦμου, τῶν δέκα φυλῶν τῶν ὕπηκόων τινὰ Ἰεροβώμου ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα, τῶν δὲ δύο φυλῶν ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν.

1 'Αβεσάλωμος MS1P: 'Αβεσάλωμος S2: Abessalon Lat.
2 ζήσαν MS: dum vixisset Lat.
3 ὡς ἔτη MS novum caput indicantes, cui 1β' ascribit M.
4 Numeros om. MSP.

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This book covers a period of forty years.

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a Lit. "after living happily"; the variant reads "and he lived happily," and begins a new section with the words, "How, while he was still alive, he named, etc."

b This table omits special mention of the relations of Solomon and Hiram of Tyre, the visit of the Queen of Sheba, and Solomon's trade and conquests.

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VIII

ε'. Ὁς Ἰσακος Αγγυπτίων βασιλεὺς στρατευσάμενος ἐπὶ τὰ Ἰεροσόλυμα καὶ κατασχῶν τὴν πόλιν, τὸν πλούτον αὐτῆς εἰς Αγγυπτὸν μετήνεγκε.

ζ'. Στρατεύε τὸ Ἰεροβόαμον τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὸν νῦν τὸν 'Ροβόαμον καὶ ἤττα. θ'. Ὁς τῆς Ἀβεσσάρου γενεὰς διαφθείρας ἐβασίλευσε τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἀμαρίς καὶ δ' νῦς αὐτὸν Ἀχαβος.

ι'. Ὁς Ἀδαδὸς Δαμασκοῦ καὶ Συρίας βασιλεὺς δις ἐπὶ Ἀχαβον στρατευσάμενος ἠττήθη. ια'. Ἀμμαντῶν καὶ Μωαβίτων στρατευσάμενων ἐπὶ Ἰωσαφάττην τὸν Ἰεροσολύμων βασιλέα ἤττα. ιβ'. Ὁς Ἄχαβος ἐπὶ Σύρων στρατευσάμενος ἠττήθη τῇ μάχῃ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπώλετο.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος ἐτή ἐκατὸν ἐζήκοντα καὶ τρία.

---

1 Σουσακος ὃ ΜSP: Sosach Lat.
2 Καπτ VI sexto adiungunt ΜSP.
3 Σαουλον ΡΟ: Ἀσαφον SP: Asaph Lat.
4 Basan Lat.
5 Ἀμαρίς Ρ: Ἀμάρης Ο: Haber Lat.
6 Ἀδερ ΜSP.
7 + αὐτη ΡΟ.

---

a This section properly belongs before section vii.

b No such form appears either in Josephus or the LXX. Basanès (Baasha) is meant.
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This book covers one hundred and sixty-three years.

The passage in Josephus dealing with Josaphat does not mention this war.
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