

## ***David's Transfer of the Ark according to Josephus***

CHRISTOPHER T. BEGG  
CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF AMERICA

*The Bible twice relates the story of David's transfer of the ark to Jerusalem, once in 2 Samuel 6 and then, in greatly expanded form, in 1 Chronicles 13-16. This article studies Josephus' retelling of the episode in Ant. 7.78-89 in relation to the biblical sources (as represented by MT, Codex Vaticanus and the Lucianic/Antiochene MSS of the LXX, as well as the Targums). Among its findings: Josephus drew on the presentations of both Samuel and Chronicles. There are several clear instances of his dependence on a LXX-like text of Samuel (and Chronicles), but no equally clear-cut indications of his utilization of a MT-like text. Contentually, Josephus' version highlights the role of the priests vis-à-vis that of the Levites in the ark's transfer. David's role is likewise consistently accentuated, even while source suggestions of his arrogation of priestly prerogatives are eliminated. Finally, building on the LXX reading in 2 Sam 6:20, Josephus softens the vehemence of Michal's exchange with her husband, just as he also attempts to harmonize conflicting biblical data concerning her (lack of) progeny.*

*Key Words: Josephus, David, ark, LXX, biblical retelling*

Over the course of the 20th century the story of David's transfer of the Ark to Jerusalem in 2 Samuel 6 (//1 Chronicles 13-16) has fueled a variety of scholarly endeavors: reconstructions of the history of the early monarchy, speculations on the cultic *Sitz* of the psalms, studies on the relationship between Chronicles and its Samuel *Vorlage*, and especially since the discovery of the Qumran Samuel mss, renewed attention to text-critical questions.<sup>1</sup> In this essay I wish to examine a much earlier re-reading of 2 Samuel 6 (//1 Chronicles 13-16), i.e.,

1. On 2 Samuel 6, see recently: C. L. Seow, *Myth, Drama and the Politics of David's Dance* (HSM 44; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Terence Kleven, "Hebrew Style in 2 Samuel 6," *JETS* 35 (1992) 299-314; R. A. Carlson, "David and the Ark in 2 Samuel 6," in *History and Traditions of Early Israel: Studies Presented to Eduard Nielsen* (ed. A. Lemaire and B. Otzen; VTSup 50; Leiden: Brill, 1993) 17-23; Karel van der Toorn and Cees Houtman, "David and the Ark," *JBL* 113 (1994) 209-31.

that of Josephus in *Ant.* 7.78-89.<sup>2</sup> My examination of Josephus' retelling of the ark episode will proceed by way of a detailed comparison between it and its biblical sources as represented by the following major witnesses: MT (BHS), 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,<sup>3</sup> Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)<sup>4</sup> and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or Antiochene mss<sup>5</sup> of the LXX, along with Targum Jonathan on the Former Prophets (hereafter TJ)<sup>6</sup> and the Targum on Chronicles (hereafter TC).<sup>7</sup> I undertake this investigation with a variety of questions in mind: How does Josephus deal, in *Ant.* 7.78-89, with the differences between his two biblical sources? Which text-forms of those sources were available to him? How, why and with what effect does Josephus modify the scriptural data?

To facilitate my comparison I divide up the parallel material into five segments as follows: 1) Transfer Initiated (2 Sam 6:1-5//1 Chr 13:1-8//*Ant.* 7.78-80); 2) Disaster (2 Sam 6:6-7//1 Chr 13:9-10//*Ant.* 7.81); 3) David's Response (2 Sam 6:8-11//1 Chr 13:11-14[14:1-15:24]//*Ant.* 7.82-83); Second Attempt (2 Sam 6:12-20a//1 Chr 15:25-16:3[16:4-42], 43//*Ant.* 7.84-86); and 5) Sequel: David-Michal exchange (2 Sam 6:20b-23//*Ant.* 7.87-89).

2. For the writings of Josephus I use the Loeb Classical Library text and translation. *Ant.* 7.78-89 can be found in vol. 5, pp. 401-7 of this edition where the translation and notes are by R. Marcus. I have likewise consulted the edition of B. Niese, *Flavii Josephi Opera Editio maior* (Berlin: Weidmann, 1885-1895), whose text is followed by Marcus for the most part.

3. For this MS, which has yet to be officially published, I base myself on the readings as cited in Eugene C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1978) 193-221.

4. For B I use the edition of Alan E. Brooke and Norman Maclean, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, I and II Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); II:III *I and II Chronicles* (1932). B's text of 2 Samuel 6 is part of a segment, 1 Samuel-2 Sam 11:1, where B represents the "Old Greek" or "non-kaige" text form, i.e., one which has not undergone that assimilation to (proto-) MT other portions of its text of Samuel and Kings have experienced; see C. T. Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (*AJ* 8,212-420) (BETL 108; Leuven: Leuven University /Peeters, 1993) 4, n. 11 and the literature cited there. Likewise the B text of Chronicles appears to stand closest to the Old Greek of that book, see *ibid.*

5. For the L text of Samuel I use the edition of Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, II 1-2 Samuel* (TECC 50; Madrid: CSIC, 1989). For the L text of Chronicles I use the critical apparatus of the Cambridge edition of the LXX cited in the previous note. Since the monograph of A. Mez, *Die Bibel des Josephus untersucht für Buch V—VII der Archäologie* (Basel: Jaeger & Kobel, 1895) it has been widely accepted that Josephus knew the Book of Samuel primarily in a proto-L text form; see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 2-3, n. 6.

6. For TJ I use the edition of Alexander Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1959) and the translation of this by Daniel J. Harrington and Anthony J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible 10; Wilmington: Glazier, 1987).

7. For TC I use the edition of Roger Le Déaut and J. Robert, *Targum des Chroniques*, vol. 2 (AnBib 51; Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1971) and the translation of this by J. Stanley McIvor, *The Targum of Chronicles* (The Aramaic Bible 19; Colledgeville: Liturgical Press, 1994).

## TRANSFER INITIATED

2 Sam 6:1-2 represents David as acting on his own initiative in assembling 30,000 Israelites to retrieve the ark. 1 Chr 13:1-4, by contrast, recounts a prior "consultation" by David regarding the project. Faced with these alternative openings of the episode, Josephus (7.78) has clearly opted to follow that of Chronicles. At the same time, he introduces several modifications of that source's introductory presentation. A first such modification is the transitional phrase, i.e., "but when the battle had come to such an end . . ." with which the Josephan paragraph commences. This phrase picks up on the historian's immediately preceding account (7.71-77) of David's double victory over the Philistines which he derives from 2 Sam 5:17-25 (//1 Chr 14:8-17 which, however, occurs only after the narrative of the first, abortive effort at moving the ark, 1 Chr 13:1-14). Thus, already here one sees Josephus' free oscillation between the data and sequence of his sources.

Following the above transition, Josephus goes on to speak (//1 Chr 13:1) of David's "consulting (συμβουλευσαμένω, LXX ἐβουλεύσατο) with the elders (τῶν γερόντων),<sup>8</sup> leaders (ἡγεμόνων, LXX παντὶ ἡγουμενω) and captains of thousands (χιλιάρχων)."<sup>9</sup> In 1 Chr 13:2-3, David, having "consulted" with the leaders (13:1), addresses "all the assembly of Israel"; in this presentation it remains unclear whether or not these are two distinct initiatives, involving two different audiences.<sup>10</sup> Josephus resolves the ambiguity by replacing David's address to the assembly with mention of the "decision" taken by him pursuant to his consulting with the leaders. In relating the content of that decision, Josephus draws on the wording of the Davidic discourse to the assembly of 13:2-3 while recasting this in indirect discourse.<sup>11</sup> Since Josephus is reporting a decision taken by David rather than a proposal submitted by him to the assembly for its approval, it is not surprising that he omits the opening conditional clauses of 13:2 "if it seems good to you, and if it is the will of our God . . ." (RSV). In 13:2b David proposes to assemble two groups of persons, i.e., "our brethren who remain in all

8. This grouping is not mentioned among those with whom David "consults" in either MT or B 1 Chr 13:1. On the other hand it does have a counterpart in the plus, i.e., τῶν πρεσβύτερων, found in the L mss of that verse. Leslie C. Allen (*The Greek Chronicles, Part I The Translator's Craft* [VTSup 25; Leiden: Brill, 1974] 73) lists this communality as one of some 17 cases "where it seems most likely that Josephus depended upon a proto-Lucianic text."

9. In LXX this term is coupled with ἑκατονάρχων.

10. On the point, see, e.g., Wilhelm Rudolph, *Chronikbücher* (HAT 1.21; Tübingen: Mohr [Siebeck], 1955) 112-13, who argues that the "assembly" of v. 2 is coterminous with the leadership groups cited in v. 1.

11. Also elsewhere Josephus repeatedly substitutes indirect for the direct discourse of the Bible. On the point, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 12-13, n. 38 and the literature cited there.

the land(s) of Israel" and "the priests and Levites (so MT L, B "the Levitical priests") in the cities that have pasture lands." Josephus has the king decide first to "summon to him those of his countrymen (ὁμοφύλων, LXX ἀδελφούς)<sup>12</sup> throughout the entire land (ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς χώρας, LXX ἐν πάση γῆ Ἰσραήλ)<sup>13</sup> who were in the prime of life (ἐν ἀκμῇ τῆς ἡλικίας)." Josephus' concluding qualification of the "countrymen" whom David summons here has no equivalent in 1 Chr 13:2. It might, however, be seen as an echo of 2 Sam 6:1 where those whom David assembles are designated as "all the chosen men (MT כָּל־בְּחֹרֵי, LXX πάντα νεανίαν) of Israel." If so, we would have another indication of Josephus' commingling of items drawn from both his biblical sources.

In next reporting David's "decision" regarding the second group cited in 13:2b, i.e., the "priests and Levites,"<sup>14</sup> Josephus leaves aside the (irrelevant) detail about their being "in the cities that have pasture lands." On the other hand, he does introduce a specification, (partially) inspired by elements of Chronicles' subsequent account (see 1 Chr 13:5-6 in particular), about what the king has in mind for the cultic officers. This begins "(and have the priests and Levites) proceed to Kariathjarim (Καριαθιάριμα)<sup>15</sup> to take the ark of God (τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κιβωτόν) from there *and bring it to Jerusalem*;<sup>16</sup> *there they should in future keep it and worship the Deity* (θρησκεύειν . . . τὸ θεῖον) *with such sacrifices and other forms of homage* (θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις τιμαῖς) *as are pleasing* (χαίρει) *to Him*. . . ."<sup>17</sup>

The second half of the above statement about David's intended role for the priests and Levites serves as a lead-in (and positive counterpart) to Josephus' version (7.79a) of the reflection/confession of 1 Chr 13:3b "for we did not seek it (MT = L לֹא־בִּיטַחְנוּ, compare B ἐζήτησαν αὐτήν) in the days of Saul." In Josephus' elaboration David acknowl-

12. On Josephus' use of this term in preference to the biblical designation "brothers" of 13:2, see Adolf Schlatter, *Die Theologie des Judentums nach dem Bericht des Josefus* (BFCT 2.26; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1932) 80.

13. Josephus' use of the singular "land" goes together with LXX against the plural form אֶרֶץ of MT.

14. Josephus follows MT and L here in distinguishing between "priests" and "Levites" in contrast to B's conflation, "the Levitical priests," see above in the text.

15. In *Ant.* 6.17-18 the form of the city's name is rather Καριαθιαρείμ.

16. Compare 1 Chr 13:5 "So David assembled all Israel . . . to bring the ark of God (LXX τὴν κιβωτόν τοῦ θεοῦ) from Kiriathjearim (BL ἐκ πόλεως Ἰαρείμ)," see also the verbally parallel "execution notice" in 13:6. Josephus' above "anticipation" of the wording of 1.3:5-6 highlights the role of the cultic officers (not mentioned in the biblical sequence as such) in the transfer of the ark. It likewise supplies an indication of the terminus of the transfer ("to Jerusalem") which is without parallel in 13:6 but does have its counterpart in 2 Sam 6:12, 16 (//1 Chr 15:29) which speak of the ark being brought "to the city of David."

17. This component of David's decision regarding the task of the priests and Levites has no equivalent in the biblical accounts (I italicize such items when citing the text of Josephus). It does, however, serve to highlight their role vis-à-vis the ark, see previous note.

edges not only the fact of the ark's neglect, but also the consequences of this: "for, he believed, if they had done this (i.e., worshipped the Deity in accord with his will, see above) while Saul was still reigning, *they would not have suffered any misfortune.*"

1 Chr 13:4 rounds off the introduction to the ark transfer story by noting that the "assembly" agreed to the proposal presented by David in 13:2-3. Josephus, who, as noted above, does not reproduce the notice of 13:2a about David addressing the assembly, naturally passes over its approval of the king's project as well. In Josephus' presentation of the background to the ark's transfer then there is no role for the "assembly"; David simply decides on his own what is to be done after consultation with the leaders. In other words, Josephus effectively eliminates the "democratizing" tendency<sup>18</sup> evident in the Chronicler's version of the story as compared with that of 2 Samuel 6. His doing so likely reflects Josephus' personal distaste for "democracy."<sup>19</sup>

1 Chr 13:5-6 (cf. 2 Sam 6:1-2) tells, somewhat repetitiously (see, e.g., the double purpose indication "to bring [up] the ark of God from Kiriath-jearim/from there") of the assembling of "all Israel" and its proceeding to the site of the ark. Josephus compresses (7.79b): "So then when all the people (τοῦ λαοῦ παντός, 13:5 "all Israel") had assembled (συνελθόντος, 13:5 "David assembled [LXX ἐξεκκλησίασεν])<sup>20</sup> *in accordance with this plan* (καθὼς ἐβουλεύσαντο),<sup>21</sup> the king came (παραγίνε-ται)<sup>22</sup> to the ark. . . ."<sup>23</sup>

18. On this tendency of 1 Chronicles 13, see Sara Japhet, *I and II Chronicles* (OTL; Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1993) 274.

19. On Josephus' anti-democratic stance, see L. H. Feldman, "Use, Authority, and Exegesis of Mikra in the Writings of Josephus," in *Mikra: Text, Translation, Reading and Interpretation of the Hebrew Bible in Ancient Judaism and Early Christianity* (ed. Martin Jan Mulder and Harry Sysling; CRINT 2.1; Assen: Van Gorcum, 1988) 455-518, 497-98.

20. Josephus leaves aside the indication of 13:5 concerning the extent of the territory from which David assembled Israel, i.e., "from the Shihor [MT, LXX ὀρίων] of Egypt to the entrance of Hamath," perhaps finding the implied dimensions of David's kingdom implausibly large. He likewise omits the verse's notice on the assembly (to bring the ark of God from Kiriathjearim), having anticipated this previously, see n. 16.

21. The above inserted phrase echoes the mention of David's "consulting" (συμβουλευσαμένω) the leaders of 7.78, compare ἐβουλεύσατο, 1 Par 13:1.

22. Here, as frequently elsewhere, Josephus introduces a historic present form into his rewriting of the biblical narration. On the feature, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 10-11 n. 32 and the literature cited there.

23. The above reference to David personally approaching the ark conceivably reflects the LXX opening of 1 Chr 13:6 "and David brought it [the ark] up (B ἀνήγαγεν, L ἀνέβη) and all Israel went up"; compare MT "and David and all Israel went up. . . ." case, Josephus omits the remainder of 13:6 (//2 Sam 6:2) ". . . to Baalah (so MT, LXX to the city of David), that is Kiriathjearim (so MT L > B) which belongs to Judah, to bring up from there the ark of God . . .," having anticipated this in his statement of David's "decision" in 7.78; see nn. 16, 20. By effectively omitting 1 Chr 13:6 Josephus likewise eliminates the ambiguity generated by the verse's double name for the site of

Of the two source accounts, 2 Sam 6:3(-4)<sup>24</sup> gives a more expansive description of the actual beginning of the transport process than does the parallel 1 Chr 13:7. Josephus' version (7.79b) goes its own way in several respects vis-à-vis both biblical narrations. First of all, whereas neither source specifies who "carried" the ark from house to cart, Josephus does clarify the point: "and *the priests* (οἱ ἱερεῖς) carried it out of the house (ἐκ τῆς . . . οἰκίας, compare L 2 Rgns 6:3/1 Par 13:7 ἐξ οἴκου, B 2 Rgns 6:3 εἰς οἶκον) of Aminadab (Ἀμιναδάβου)<sup>25</sup> and placed it upon a new wagon (ἐπιθέντες ἐφ' ἅμαξαν καινήν). . . ."<sup>26</sup> With this specification Josephus picks up on his earlier statement of David's "decision" to assemble the "priests and Levites" that they might "take" the ark from Kiriathjearim.<sup>27</sup> By means of it he likewise obviates the difficulty of the Chronicler's presentation where the cultic officers are cited in David's proposal regarding the transport of the ark (13:2) but then nothing is said, as such, of their role when the process itself is recounted (13:7).

Josephus' emphasis on the priests' role in the ark's progress continues in his rendition of the source references to those "driving" the cart. Specifically, according to the historian's formulation, the priests "permitted" others to "draw" (ἐλκεῖν) the ark "with (*the help of*) oxen (μετὰ τῶν βοῶν)."<sup>28</sup> The sources vary in their designations for the ark's attendants. MT 2 Sam 6:3b and 1 Chr 13:7 identify these as Uzzah and Ahio (אֲחִיוּזָה);<sup>29</sup> the former verse further qualifies the pair as sons of Abinadab, while 6:4 makes a second mention of Ahio as "going before the ark." LXX 2 Sam 6:3-4 twice reads "and his (i.e., of Ὁζά = MT Uzzah) brothers" for MT's double "Ahio," while 1 Par 13:7 renders MT's single "Ahio" with the same phrase. Josephus' designation for the "drawers" of the cart, i.e., "his brothers and sons," seems to represent a reversal of the sequence found in 2 Rgns 6:3b-4 ". . . the

---

the ark ("Baalath," "Kiriathjearim," MT). Cf. 2 Sam 6:2 מִבְּעַל יְהוּדָה (MT), בעלה היא [ליהודה] קרנית יערים אשר] (4QSam<sup>a</sup>), ἀπό τῶν ἀρχόντων Ἰδούδα ἐν ἀναβάσει (B, + τοῦ βουνοῦ, L), מקרויא דבית יהודה (TJ).

24. On the text-critical problems raised, *inter alia*, by the repetitions of 2 Sam 6:3-4, see the commentaries.

25. This is the form of the name found in L 2 Sam 6:3 (and previously used by Josephus himself in *Ant.* 6.18). MT has "Abinadab," B 2 Rgns 6:3 and BL 1 Par 13:7 Ἀμειναδάβ. Like 1 Chr 13:7 Josephus has no equivalent to the notation of 2 Sam 6:3 about Abinadab's house being "on the hill" (he likewise omits this specification in his parallel to 1 Sam 7:1 in 6.18).

26. Compare 1 Par 13:7 ἐπέθηκα . . . ἐπὶ ἅμαξαν καινήν. 2 Sam 6:3 lacks explicit mention of the "placing" of the ark upon the cart.

27. Here in 7.79, however, only "the priests" are mentioned, this reflecting Josephus' highlighting of their role throughout his version of the episode, see further below.

28. There is no mention of "oxen" in 2 Sam 6:3-4//1 Chr 13:7. Josephus cites them here in order to set up the (biblically unprepared) reference to them in 6:6//13:9 where they are said to have "jostled" the ark.

29. Some propose to revocalize this form as אֲחִיוּזָה ("his brother") in light of the LXX reading "his brothers"; see the commentaries.

sons of Am(e)inadab . . . and his brothers." Whereas, however, according to 2 Rgns the "brothers" in question are those of "Oza" (Uzzah)—whom 6:3b mentions before the initial occurrence of the phrase "and his brothers"—and thus sons of Aminadab, Josephus does not cite the name "Oza" at this juncture<sup>30</sup> with the result that the "brothers" referred to him become those of the only figure whose name appears in 7.79b, i.e., Aminadab himself.

As described in 2 Sam 6:5//1 Chr 13:8, David and "all Israel" make various forms of music "before the Lord/God." Josephus (7.80) represents David and "all the people" (πάν . . . τὸ πλῆθος) chanting in praise of God (ὑμνοῦντες τὸν θεόν)<sup>31</sup> and singing (ᾄδοντες)<sup>32</sup> *all manner of native melodies; thus, with the mingled sounds of stringed instruments (κρουσμάτων)<sup>33</sup> and with dancing (ὀρχήσεων)<sup>34</sup> and singing to the harp (ψαλμῶν),<sup>35</sup> as well as with trumpets (σάλπιγγος)<sup>36</sup> and cymbals (κυμβάλων),<sup>37</sup> they escorted the ark to Jerusalem.*<sup>38</sup>

#### DISASTER

2 Sam 6:6-8//1 Chr 13:9-10//*Ant.* 7.81 tell of a catastrophe which brought the transport of the ark to a (temporary) halt. In all three accounts that catastrophe transpires as the procession arrives at a "threshing floor."<sup>39</sup> The biblical witnesses differ, however, regarding

30. He does mention the name subsequently in 7.81; Niese (*Flavii Josephi*) suggests that the name may have dropped out in 7.79.

31. Compare 1 Par 13:8 παίζοντες ἐναντίον τοῦ θεοῦ. Josephus omits the specification of both 2 Sam 6:5 and 1 Chr 13:8 that the assembly played "with all their strength."

32. This reference to the assembly's "singing" has a counterpart in the mention of its playing before the Lord/God "with songs" in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, LXX 2 Sam 6:5 (ἐν ὠδαῖς) and MT L (ἐν ὠδαῖς) 1 Chr 13:8. Compare MT 2 Sam 6:5 בְּכָל עֵצֵי בְרוֹשִׁים (RSV note: "with all fir-trees").

33. This is Josephus' generalizing term for the "harps and lutes" of 2 Sam 6:5//1 Chr 13:8. See n. 35.

34. This item has no equivalent in either 2 Sam 6:5 or 1 Chr 13:8. Josephus has likely anticipated it from the subsequent course of the biblical accounts, see 2 Sam 6:14, 16 (//1 Chr 15:29), which speak of David's "dancing" before the ark. It replaces the reference in 2 Sam 6:5//1 Chr 13:8 to the playing of תְּפִילִים (LXX νάβλαις), RSV "tambourines."

35. Compare 1 Par 13:8 ἐν ψαλτδοῖς; recall Josephus' preceding, generalizing reference to "stringed instruments"; see n. 33.

36. In the list of musical instruments cited in 1 Chr 13:8 "trumpets" (LXX ἐν σάλπιγγιν) are the last item cited. The list of 2 Sam 6:5 lacks "trumpets"; conversely, it mentions an instrument absent from 1 Chr 13:8, i.e., MT בְּמַנְעֵנֵי/LXX ἐν ἀύλοῖς, RSV "castanets."

37. This same term figures as the penultimate item in the list of instruments of both 2 Rgns 6:5 and 1 Par 13:8.

38. This specification concerning the destination of the ark procession has no equivalent in either 2 Sam 6:5 or 1 Chr 13:8. It does, however, pick up on the phrase introduced by Josephus in reporting David's "decision" in 7.78, i.e., the priests and Levites are to bring the ark "to Jerusalem."

39. Josephus' formulation at the opening of 7.81 reads ὡς δ' ἄχρι . . . ἄλωνος . . . προῆλθον. His past verb form here corresponds to that of 1 Par 13:9 (ἤλθοσαν) as against

their further identifications of the site. In MT 2 Sam 6:6 the threshing floor is that of נְבוֹן (4QSam<sup>a</sup> נְבוֹן) which TJ takes as a participle, i.e., מִקְדָּשׁ ("appointed place") and which is rendered by B as Ναδάβ and by L as Ὀρνὰ τοῦ Ἰεβουσαίου.<sup>40</sup> MT 1 Chr 13:9 associates the site with a כִּידִן. In TC one finds the same rendition as in TJ 2 Sam 6:6; B 1 Par lacks an equivalent to MT's "Chidion," while in other LXX MSS one finds χειλών (so AN), χελών (so, e.g., the L Ms 93) and χαιλών (so, e.g., the L MSS 19 and 108). Josephus' designation for the site clearly aligns itself with that of Chronicles against Samuel.<sup>41</sup> At the same time, the various witnesses to the text of *Ant.*<sup>42</sup> offer different readings of the name of the site's owner. Niese and Marcus propose the form Χειδώνος (cf. Χείδονος S Exc. Suidas; Χείδανος P; Chedon Lat) in line with MT Chronicles' "Chidion."<sup>43</sup> In the codices RO, on the other hand, one finds Χείλωνος (cf. Χήλωνος E), *à la* the various LXX readings cited above. Thus, it remains uncertain which form of the threshing floor's owner's name Josephus himself actually wrote. On the other hand, it does seem clear that he either did not know or deliberately opted not to employ the name as read by the various witnesses to 2 Sam 6:6.

In the sources (2 Sam 6:6b-7//1 Chr 13:9b-10) one hears first of Uzzah's act and then of the wrathful divine reaction to this. Josephus reverses the two items, thereby highlighting the former. His version of the sequence accordingly runs: ". . . Ozas (Ὀζᾶς, LXX Ὀζά)<sup>44</sup> met his death (τελευτᾷ)<sup>45</sup> through the wrath of God (κατ' ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, 2 Rgns 6:7//1 Par 13:10 ἐθυμώθη [+ ὀργῆ, L 2 Rgns] Κύριος),<sup>46</sup> for, when the oxen (τῶν βοῶν, MT רַבְבֵּי, LXX ὁ μῶσχος)<sup>47</sup>

---

the historic present of BL 2 Rgns 6:6 (παραγίνονται), a form elsewhere favored by Josephus, see n. 22.

40. L's reading here is inspired by the mention of the "threshing floor" of 'Araunah (so MT, L Ὀρνὰ) the Jebusite" which David subsequently purchases for his altar in 2 Sam 24:16.

41. *Num. Rab.* 4.20 cites R. Johanan's harmonization of the designations of 1 Chr 13:9 ("Chidon" = "javelin") and 2 Sam 6:6 ("Nacon" = "firm," cf. TJ): "At first [it shook like a javelin] but in the end it (the threshing-floor) was firmly established."

42. For an explanation of the sigla used for these, see *Josephus*, Vol. IV, xvii–xviii.

43. Josephus appends to mention of the site the phrase "so the place was called."

44. Recall that in the extant witnesses of Josephus' version of 2 Sam 6:3//1 Chr 13:7 in 7.79 the name of this figure is absent (see n. 30). Thus the name appears unexpectedly here in 7.81.

45. Compare the historic present παραγίνεταί in 7.79; cf. n. 22.

46. The occurrence of the term "wrath" in the above phrase picks up on the same term as found in L 2 Rgns 6:7; the L reading, in turn, has its equivalent in the wording of MT 2 Sam 6:7//1 Chr 13:10: וַיִּחַר אַף יְהוָה. Josephus makes virtually no use of the standard LXX designation of God as Κύριος employed, e.g., in the above formulation of 2 Rgns 6:7//1 Par 13:10, likely because such a usage was not normal in non-LXX Greek; on the point, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 45, n. 218.

47. Recall Josephus' introduction of an anticipated reference to "oxen" in his version of 2 Sam 6:3//1 Chr 13:7 in 7.79. His use of the term βοῶν in both 7.79 and 81 in

tilted the ark forward (ἐπινευσάντων τὴν κιβωτόν),<sup>48</sup> he stretched out his hand (ἐκτείνατα τὴν χεῖρα, 2 Rgns/1 Par ἐξέτεινεν . . . τὴν χεῖρα)<sup>49</sup> in an attempt to hold it in place (κατασχεῖν ἐθελήσαντα). . . ."<sup>50</sup> In the context of 2 Sam 6:6-7//1 Chr 13:9-10 (cf., however, 15:13) itself, no reason is given for the fatal divine anger that Uzzah's deed provoked. Josephus, by contrast, immediately supplies an explanation on the matter lest readers think the Deity's action altogether arbitrary, i.e., "*and, because he touched it though not a priest* (ἱερεὺς),<sup>51</sup> God caused his death (ἀποθανεῖν ἐποίησε),"<sup>52</sup>

preference to the singular ὁ μόςχος (compare MT's collective singular רֶבֶקֶת) might be intended as a reminiscence of the account of the Philistines' return of the ark (6.10-17) where the term βόες in its various forms recurs repeatedly (as it does in the biblical parallel, i.e., 1 Rgns 6:1-16).

48. Compare MT Samuel/Chronicles רֶבֶקֶת הִבְטְוָה (RSV "the oxen stumbled," this rendering is uncertain however, see the commentaries); L 2 Rgns 6:6 περιέσπασεν αὐτήν [sc. the ark, αὐτόν, i.e., Uzzah] ὁ μόςχος; 1 Par 13:9 ἐξέκλιεν αὐτήν ὁ μόςχος TJ/TC "for the oxen were making it sway (״בַּרְגֻּוּה״)." Josephus' use of a plural verbal form with the oxen as subject agrees with the MT (and TJ/TC) readings; on the other hand, his explicit mention of "the ark" as the object of the oxen's action corresponds to the renderings of L 2 Rgns and 1 Par (as well as TJ/TC) whose feminine pronominal forms refer to the ark as against MT whose verb lacks an object.

49. In his explicit mention of Uzzah's stretching out "his hand" Josephus goes together with all the other biblical textual witnesses being surveyed against MT 2 Sam 6:6 which reads simply וַיִּשְׁלַח.

50. Compare B 2 Rgns 6:6 τοῦ κατασχεῖν αὐτήν [1 Par 13:9 τὴν κιβωτόν]; L 2 Rgns 6:6 καὶ ἐκραταίωσεν αὐτήν.

51. This reference to Uzzah's "not being a priest" and so not entitled to "touch" the ark picks up 7.80 where Josephus records that "the priests" who themselves carried the ark out of Aminadab's house and placed it on the wagon "permitted" the latter's "brothers and sons" to "draw" the wagon with the help of oxen (in his version of 1 Sam 7:1 in *Ant.* 6.18 Josephus, seemingly inspired by the mention of the Levite "Amminadab" of David's time in 1 Chr 15:11, identifies "Aminadab" as "a man of the stock of Levi"). Josephus' presentation thus presupposes the Deuteronomic prescription that the (Levitical) *priests* are the sole legitimate bearers of the ark (see Deut 10:9; 31:9), see the statement introduced by him when recounting the making of the ark in *Ant.* 3.136 "it was not drawn by a yoke of beasts, but was borne by the priests (ἱερεῶν)." According to P (see Num 4:20; 7:9) and the Chronicler (see 1 Chr 15:2, 12-13; 2 Chr 5:4), on the contrary, it is the (non-priestly) "Levites" who are to carry the ark when it is moved. *Num. Rab.* 4.20 follows this legislation of P and Chronicles when it attributes the stumbling of the oxen and Uzzah's demise (2 Sam 6:6) to the disregard of the principle implied in the notice of Num 7:9 (Moses gave no wagons and oxen to the sons of Korath the Levite--as he did to the other groups of Levites, see 7:6-8, because they were to carry the holy things [including the ark, see Num 4:5, 15] on their shoulders), i.e., the only legitimate mode of transporting the ark was on the shoulders of Levites, this excluding, e.g., the use of an oxen-drawn cart. It appears then that while both Josephus and rabbinic tradition go beyond the Bible in advancing an explanation for the disaster with which David's first attempt at moving the ark ended, their respective explanations are grounded in divergent biblical laws concerning by whom and how the ark was to be transported.

52. Compare 1 Par 13:10 "(God) smote him . . . and he died (ἀπέθανεν) there before God."

## DAVID'S RESPONSE

The story's next segment is 2 Sam 6:8-11//1 Chr 13:11-14//Ant. 7.82b-83 which relates David's (initial) response to Uzzah's fate. The two biblical accounts begin (6:8//13:11) by noting that David "was angry" (MT רַחֵם [compare רַחֵם רַחֵם, 6:7//13:10], LXX ἠθύμησεν) at the Lord's "breaking forth" (LXX διέκοψεν . . . διακοπήν) against Uzzah. Josephus' parallel notes the reaction, not only of David, but of the whole assembly as well: "Both the king *and his people* (ὁ λαός)<sup>53</sup> were displeased (ἐδυσφόρησαν) at the death (ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ) of Ozas." 2 Sam 6:8//1 Chr 13:11b round off the preceding reference to David's reaction with a corresponding etiological notice, i.e., "and that place is called Perez-Uzzah (LXX Διακοπή Ὀζά) to this day." Josephus' rendition employs the components of LXX's name for the site in reverse order: "and the place (ὁ . . . τόπος = 1 Par 13:11) *where he died* (ἐτελεύτησεν, cf. τελευτά, 7.81) is called (καλεῖται,<sup>54</sup> 1 Par 13:11 ἐκάλεσεν) the Breach of Ozas (Ὀζά διακοπή)."<sup>55</sup>

The narration of David's (emotional) response to Uzzah's demise continues in 2 Sam 6:9//1 Chr 13:12 which mention the king's "fearing God," this prompting him to ask "how can I bring the ark of God home to me?" Josephus (7.82b) expatiates on the object of David's "fear": "David, therefore, fearful (δείσας, LXX ἐφοβήθη) *at the thought that he might suffer the same fate as Ozas* if he received the ark into his house (παρ' αὐτόν, 1 Par 13:12 πρὸς ἑμαυτόν) *in the city* (ἐν τῇ πόλει),<sup>56</sup> *since the former had perished* (ἀποθάνοντος, cf. ἀποθανεῖν, 7.81) *in this way merely because he had stretched out his hand towards it* (ἐξέτεινε τὴν χεῖρα, cf. ἐκτείναντα τὴν χεῖρα, 7.81). . . ."

Prompted by his "fear" David "was not willing to (2 Sam 6:10a)/ did not (1 Chr 13:13a) take the ark (+ home, so Chronicles) into the city of David." Rather (6:10b//13:13b), he "took it aside to the house of Obed-Edom the Gittite." Josephus' parallel elaborates particularly on the figure of the ark's (temporary) host: ". . . he did not bring it into his house (πρὸς αὐτόν, 1 Par πρὸς ἑαυτόν)<sup>57</sup> in the city (εἰς τὴν πόλιν, so

53. With the above collocation compare 7.80 "Before it (the cart bearing the ark) went the king and all the people (ὁ πλῆθος) with him."

54. Note the historic present.

55. While Josephus does thus utilize the LXX name for the site where Uzzah met his end, his substitution of the phrase "(David and the people were displeased) at the death of Ozas" for the biblical reference to God's "breaking forth" against Uzzah vitiates the sources' wordplay between the verb used of the divine action and the name given the site.

56. With the above addition Josephus anticipates the notice of 2 Sam 6:10//1 Chr 13:13 "David did not take (was unwilling to take, so Samuel) the ark into the city (LXX εἰς τὴν πόλιν) of David."

57. Josephus' above formulation agrees in two particulars with that of 1 Chr 13:13a against 2 Sam 6:10a. Like the former, he does not speak of David's being "unwilling"

2 Rgns 6:10b);<sup>58</sup> instead he brought it to a certain place (εἰς τι χωρίον, 2 Rgns/1 Par εἰς οἶκον) belonging to a *righteous man* (δικαίου)<sup>59</sup> named Obadaros (Ὀβαδάρου),<sup>60</sup> a *Levite by descent* (Ληουίτου τὸ γένος),<sup>61</sup> and deposited the ark with him." Conversely, Josephus leaves aside the sources' qualification of Obed-Edom as "the Gittite," likely because such a foreign origin would seem to conflict with the figure's status both as a Levite and a designated host for the ark. 2 Sam 6:11//1 Chr 13:14 round off the account of David's reaction to Uzzah's death by noting first that the ark remained with Obed-Edom three months and then that God "blessed" him and all his household. Josephus formulates equivalently: "It (the ark) remained (ἔμεινε, 2 Rgns/1 Par ἐκάθισεν) there three *whole* months and brought increase to Obadaros's house (τὸν οἶκον = 2 Rgns 6:11), and for himself procured great good (μετέδωκεν ἀγαθῶν)."<sup>62</sup>

At this point, Josephus' two sources diverge notably. 2 Sam 6:12-19 proceeds immediately to relate David's second (successful) attempt at moving the ark. The Chronicler's parallel to this segment of his *Vorlage* comes only in 1 Chr 15:25-16:1-3, 43. Between 1 Chr 13:14 (//2 Sam 6:11) and 15:25 (//2 Sam 6:12) there stands a lengthy sequence, 14:1-15:24, consisting of material found at an earlier point in Samuel, i.e., 14:1-17 (//2 Sam 5:11-25)<sup>63</sup> as well as a *Sondergut*

---

to take the ark into his city, just as he precedes the reference to the "city" with mention of his (David's) "house."

58. Here, as also subsequently, Josephus leaves aside the qualification of "the city" as "of David" found in both his sources. He does, however, use the phrase "city of David" in 7.65, there reproducing 2 Sam 5:9//1 Chr 11:7.

59. This qualification concerning Obed-Edom's character has no counterpart in the sources. It does, however, serve to explain why he in particular was designated to host the ark. The indication likewise echoes Josephus' previous (also "un-biblical") characterization of Abinadab, the ark's earlier keeper in 6:18, i.e., "(since there lived there . . . Aminadab reputed for his *righteousness* (δικαιοσύνη) and piety, they brought the ark to his house, as to a place beseeming God, being the abode of a righteous (δίκαιος) man."

60. Compare MT Obed-Edom; B 2 Rgns 6:10 (and 1 Par 13:13) Ἀβεδδαρά, L Ἀβεδδαδάν. On the question of what may have been the original form of the name in Josephus, see A. Schlatter, *Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus* (BFCT 17.3; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1913), s.v. אֲבֵדָדָר and A. Schalit, *Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), s.v. Ὀβαδάδομος.

61. Josephus draws the datum of Obed-Edom's status as a "Levite"—absent in both 2 Sam 6:10 and 1 Chr 13:13—from 1 Chr 15:18 where he figures among a list of Levitical singers appointed by David. The above Greek phrase has its counterpart in *Ant.* 6.18 where Aminadab is designated, on the basis of 1 Chr 15:11, as Λευίτου τὸ γένος, see n. 64.

62. The above formulation eliminates the explicitly theological note sounded by the sources: "The Lord (God) blessed. . . ."

63. The above parallel sequence has the following content: Hiram's support for David's building projects (14:1-2//5:11-12); David's children (14:3-7//5:13-16); and his double victory over the Philistines (14:8-17//5:17-25). On the reason(s) for the Chronicler's placing this bloc after, rather than before (so Samuel), his account of David's initial effort at moving the ark, see the commentaries.

segment (15:1-24) recounting directives issued by David in preparation for his subsequent try at transporting the ark (15:25ff.). Here, Josephus, for the first time in his version of the ark-transport episode, clearly aligns himself with the presentation of Samuel as opposed to that of Chronicles. He has already related the content of 2 Sam 5:11-25//1 Chr 14:1-17 at the same point where this appears in Samuel, i.e., prior to David's first, failed initiative with the ark, see *Ant.* 6.66-77. Conversely, he makes no use as such of the non-synoptic material of 1 Chr 15:1-24.<sup>64</sup> Accordingly, in line with 2 Sam 6:12a, he shifts directly (6.84) from mention of Obed-Edom's prospering (//6:11) to narration of David's "hearing" of this development—a point not mentioned by the Chronicler as such, see below.

## SECOND ATTEMPT

The episode of David's moving the ark culminates in his second, felicitous attempt at doing so as related in 2 Sam 6:12-19//1 Chr 15:25-16:3 (4-42), 43//*Ant.* 7.84-86. As noted above, Josephus (7.84) follows 2 Sam 6:12a in representing David's new initiative as prompted by his "hearing" of the prosperity that had come to Obed-Edom and his household.<sup>65</sup> At the same time, Josephus greatly amplifies what it is that David "hears": "But when the king heard (ἀκούσας, 2 Sam 6:12 "it was told to King David saying") what had befallen Obadaros *and from his former poverty and humble station* (πενίας καὶ πατεινότητος)<sup>66</sup> he had all at once risen to prosperity (εὐσδαίμων) and became an object of envy (ζηλωτός) to all those who saw his house or heard about it. . . ."<sup>67</sup>

64. It should, however, be pointed out that Josephus does draw on this material in several other connections. In particular his designations of both Aminadab (6.18) and Obed-Edom (7.83) as "Levites" are inspired by 1 Chr 15:11 and 18, respectively, see n. 61.

65. The Chronicler has no parallel to 2 Sam 6:12a. E.g., Rudolph (*Chronikenbücher*, 115) suggests that he omitted the verse-half in order not to have it appear that David only acted on behalf of the ark when (and because) he has been given to understand that the ark is a source of prosperity, not of harm: "Man wird nicht um die Annahme herumkommen, dass ihm dieses Motiv für David zu selbstsüchtig erschien." Josephus apparently felt no such sensibility on the matter.

66. Neither Samuel nor Chronicles mention anything about Obed-Edom's circumstances prior to the ark's arrival at his house. By introducing mention of his earlier "poverty and humble station" here, Josephus accentuates the marvel of his new, ark-induced prosperity.

67. Compare 2 Sam 6:12a, "The Lord has blessed the household of Obed-Edom and all that belongs to him, *because of the ark of God*." Here again (see n. 62), Josephus "leaves aside the source's explicit mention of the Deity as the source of Obed-Edom's prosperity. In addition, he has no counterpart to the italicized phrase of 6:12a according to which it was precisely "because of the ark" that the Lord blessed Obed-Edom.

Both the Bible and Josephus leave the nature of the prosperity that came Obed-Edom's way rather indeterminate. By contrast, *Num. Rab.* 4.20 and *b. Ber.* 63b specify,

After the long interlude of 1 Chr 14:1-15:24, the Chronicler finally rejoins the sequence of Samuel in relating David's actual moving of the ark, 15:25//6:12b. Josephus prefaces his corresponding notice with mention of the king's inner reaction to what he has just "heard" (see above): ". . . he was encouraged (θαρησῆσας) in the belief that he would suffer no harm, and removed (μετακομίξει)."<sup>68</sup> the ark to his own house."<sup>69</sup>

2 Sam 6:13//1 Chr 15:26 commence the sources' description of the circumstances surrounding the ark's transport. According to MT Samuel whenever its bearers had advanced the ark "six paces" David "sacrificed an ox and a fatling." By contrast 2 Rgns precedes its mention of David's sacrifices with the notice that "seven choirs" accompanied those bearing the ark. 1 Chr 15:26 (MT and LXX), for its part, states: "because God helped the Levites who were carrying the ark . . .<sup>70</sup> they sacrificed<sup>71</sup> seven bulls and seven rams." Josephus' parallel leaves aside the mention of "sacrifices" common to both Samuel and Chronicles. This "omission" was perhaps inspired by the fact that the sources contain a "duplicate" reference to such sacrifices, first while the ark is in transit (6:13//15:26) and then when it has been installed in Jerusalem (6:17//16:1; Josephus does reproduce this latter reference, see 7.86 which comes at a point, i.e., at the safe conclusion of the transport process, where it might appear more appropriate). On the other hand, his formulation does clearly reflect the peculiar reading of 2 Rgns 6:13 (see above), even while it goes its own way with regard to the designation of those bearing the ark: "it was carried by

---

with reference to the listing of Obed-Edom's progeny in 1 Chr 26:4-8, that God's "blessing" of him consisted in his being given 48 grandchildren by his 8 daughters-in-law during the period the ark was with him. These rabbinic sources likewise affirm that the great blessing accorded Obed-Edom "because of the ark" will be surpassed in the case of those giving hospitality to scholars who do not merely contain the Torah as the ark did, but actively study it.

68. Note the historic present. In making David alone the subject of the action of moving the ark here, Josephus follows 2 Sam 6:12b in contrast to 1 Chr 15:25 which associates "the elders of Israel and the commanders of thousands" with David in the enterprise. Recall how already earlier (see on 7.78) Josephus played down the Chronicler's "democratizing" of the preparations for the first attempt at moving the ark.

69. In specifying a terminus for the ark's move, Josephus aligns himself with 2 Sam 6:12b ("to the city of David") against 1 Chr 15:25 which merely states that the ark was brought up "from the house of Obed-Edom." At the same time, Josephus leaves aside the concluding indication of both 2 Sam 6:12 and 1 Chr 15:25, i.e., that the ark was transported "with rejoicing."

70. In specifying that it was "the Levites" who bore the ark the second time (compare 2 Sam 6:13 where the identity of the bearers is left indeterminate), the Chronicler is drawing on the *Sondergut* directives which he attributes to David in 15:2, 11-13, cf. also 15:15.

71. Note here again (see n. 68) the accentuation of the role of the entire leadership vis-à-vis that of David who in 2 Sam 6:13 is depicted as the sole sacrificer.

the priests (τῶν ἱερέων βασταζόντων, compare βαστάσαντες . . . οἱ ἱερεῖς, 7.79)<sup>72</sup> and these preceded by seven choirs (ἑπτὰ . . . χορῶν = BL 2 Rgns 6:13) whom the king had marshalled. . ."<sup>73</sup>

2 Sam 6:14//1 Chr 15:27 focus on David's role during the transport process. The former verse cites both his activity ("dancing [מְרַכְרֵךְ] with all his might," MT; "sounding with well-tuned instruments [ἀνεκρούετο ἐν ὀργάνοις ἠρμωσμένοις]," LXX) and his vesture (MT "a linen ephod") on this occasion, while the latter speaks only of the garments ("a robe of fine linen" and a "linen ephod") worn by David (the assisting Levites wearing the former item as well). The Josephan version seems to depend on the 2 Rgns 6:14 reading (see above) regarding David's musical activity, while at the same time dispensing with the reference to the king's vesture common to both sources.<sup>74</sup> It runs: ". . . while he himself played (παίζοντος)<sup>75</sup> the harp (κινύρα) and loudly plucked its strings (κροτούντος). . . ." <sup>76</sup>

72. Recall that 2 Sam 6:13 does not identify the ark's bearers; Josephus' replacement of "the Levites" of 1 Chr 15:26 with "the priests" as its carriers is in line with his representation of the latter as the ark's designated bearers (see *Ant.* 3.136) and his previous accentuation of the priests vis-à-vis the Levites in his version of our episode, see on 7.79, 81, cf. n. 51.

73. Josephus' reference to David's having "marshalled" the "choirs" which has no counterpart in 2 Rgns 6:13 serves to account for their presence at this juncture. Conceivably, Josephus found inspiration for the addition in the *Sondergut* segment 1 Chr 15:16-24 concerning David's appointment of musicians which itself immediately precedes the Chronicler's version (15:25-16:3, 43//2 Sam 6:12-19) of the second attempt at moving the ark.

74. Josephus' omission of this source item might have been prompted by the consideration that the garment(s) in question (the ["robe" and] "ephod") were (high-)priestly vestments (see Exod 28:39, compare *Ant.* 3.151-78) which David as a non-priest would not have had the right to wear. (Note in this connection that in his version of the story of Samuel's childhood, 1 Samuel 1-3, in *Ant.* 5.338-51, Josephus leaves aside the notices of 1 Sam 2:18-19 about the [non-priestly] boy's "ephod" and "robe"). In any case, Josephus, in leaving aside the sources' notice on David's own vesture, dispenses with 1 Chr 15:27's reference to the robes worn by the Levites as well. In so doing, he continues to play down the Levites' role in the episode. In this last connection, it is of interest to note Josephus' (disapproving) account (*Ant.* 20.216-18) of how in the reign of King Agrippa, the hymn-singers among the Levites prevailed on the king and the Sanhedrin to allow them to wear "linen robes (λινην στολήν) on equal terms with the priests." Given his characterization (20.218) of this development as "contrary to the ancestral laws and bound to make us liable to punishment" it is understandable that Josephus leaves aside the scriptural precedent cited in 1 Chr 15:27 about the Levitical singers wearing a "robe (LXX στολή) of fine linen."

75. The same verb stands in 1 Par 15:29 (as also in L 2 Rgns 6:16) where the reference is to Michal's seeing David "(dancing and) playing (παίζοντα)."

76. The above verb κρούω is *hapax* in Josephus; Marcus, *Josephus*, V, 405, note d suggests as an alternative translation "stamped his feet." Josephus' specification that David played "the harp" (compare the more general reference in 2 Rgns 6:14 to his "sounding well-tuned instruments"; see above) is perhaps inspired by 1 Chr 15:28 which lists "harps" (LXX κινύραϊς) among the instruments played during the (second) transport of the ark.

Both biblical accounts contain a duplicate reference to David's exuberant doings before the ark, first in 2 Sam 6:14//1 Chr 15:27, see above, and then in connection with Michal's reaction to her husband's performance (6:16//15:29), with an additional notice on the ark's clamorous ascent (6:15//15:28) supervening. Josephus compresses here, directly linking his (single) mention of David's activities before the ark (cf. 6:14// 15:27) to his description of the queen's reaction to these (= 6:16//15:29): "(he himself played the harp and loudly plucked its strings) so that Michalē (Μιχάλην, LXX Μελχόλ),<sup>77</sup> the daughter of Saul *the first king*,<sup>78</sup> laughed mockingly (χλευάσαι)<sup>79</sup> to see (ἰδοῦσαν, 2 Rgns/1 Par εἶδεν)<sup>80</sup> him act in this way."<sup>81</sup>

Josephus (7.86) rejoins the sequence of his sources (6:17//16:1) in relating the final installation of the ark in Jerusalem and the sacrifices offered at that moment: "Then they brought the ark (into the city) and placed (τιθέασαν)<sup>82</sup> it under the tent (ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνήν, L 2 Rgns/1 Par ἐν μέσῳ τῆς σκηνῆς) which David had set up for it (ἔπηξεν αὐτῇ = 2 Rgns //1 Par),<sup>83</sup> and he sacrificed (ἀνήνεγκε = 2 Rgns)<sup>84</sup> whole burnt-offerings (θυσίας τελείας)<sup>85</sup> and peace-offerings

77. *Ant.* employs different forms for the name of David's wife: in 6.204 she is called "Melcha," in 7.25 the name is "Melchalē," while here in 7.85 one finds "Michalē."

78. This phrase has no equivalent in 2 Sam 6:16//1 Chr 15:29; it serves to remind readers of the identity of Saul, who disappeared from the scene at the end of *Ant.* 6.

79. Compare 2 Sam 6:16//1 Chr 15:29 "she despised (LXX ἐξουδένωσεν) him in her heart."

80. Continuing to compress, Josephus leaves aside the sources' reference to Michal's seeing David when she "looked out the [which?] window." In the same line he omits the related chronological indication with which 6:16//15:29 open, i.e., "as the ark . . . came into the city of David. . . ."

81. 2 Sam 6:16 ("leaping and dancing")//1 Chr 15:29 ("dancing and making merry") spell out, in a duplication of the earlier description in 6:14 (cf. 15:27), what Michal "saw" her husband doing. Josephus' use of the summary phrase "acting in this way" reflects the fact that in his presentation, Michal's reaction is appended directly to his (single) account of David's activities before the ark, see above.

82. This is the same form used in L 2 Rgns 6:17a; compare 1 Par 16:1 ἀπηρείσαντο (the opening words of MT L 6:17, i.e., "and they brought in the ark of the Lord and set it in its place inside . . ." are absent in B).

83. Like Samuel, Josephus has not previously narrated the erection of a "tent" for the ark by David; compare the *Sondergut* passage 1 Chr 15:1 which does relate such an initiative by David in between his first and second efforts at moving the ark. Niese and Marcus, *ad loc.*, suggest a possible lacuna in the text of Josephus following the above phrase.

84. In making David alone the one to sacrifice at this juncture, Josephus follows 2 Sam 6:17 against 1 Chr 16:1 ("they offered [LXX προσήνεγκαν]") in accord with this tendency to highlight the king's role vis-à-vis that of the people as a whole throughout his version of the ark transport episode.

85. This is Josephus' equivalent for the term ὀλοκαυτώματα of 2 Rgns/1 Par. Note the echo of 7.78 where David prescribes that the priests and Levites, once they have deposited the ark in Jerusalem, are to "worship the Deity with such sacrifices (θυσίας). as are pleasing to him. . . ." Here in 7.86, that directive of David's finds its realization.

(εἰρηνικάς<sup>86</sup>). The biblical accounts continue with mention of two initiatives taken by David subsequent to the offering of the sacrifices: he blesses the people (6:18//16:2) and distributes various provisions to them (6:19a//16:3). Josephus has no equivalent to the former item.<sup>87</sup> His wording of the latter shows marked affinities with that of 2 Rgns: "(David) feasted the people (τὸν ὄχλον . . . πάντα), distributing (διαδούς)<sup>88</sup> among men, women *and children* (νηπίοις)<sup>89</sup> twists of bread (κολλυρίδα ἄρτου),<sup>90</sup> ash-baked bread Οσραρινίη, so BL 2 Rgns), fried mealcakes (λάγανον τηγανιστόν, BL 2 Rgns λάγανον ἀπὸ τηγάνου, 1 Par ἀμορείτην)<sup>91</sup> *and a portion of the sacrifice* (μερίδα θύματος)."<sup>92</sup>

---

The above Greek term for "sacrifices" recurs in 8.122 (on the occasion of the dedication of the Temple, Solomon "offered sacrifices [θυσίας] both for himself and for the Hebrews . . ."). We will note other terminological/contentual links between Josephus' account of David's bringing the ark to Jerusalem and Solomon's dedication of the Temple, see nn. 87, 89, 92, 95, 96.

86. This is the same form used in BL 2 Rgns 6:17; compare 1 Par 16:1 σωτηρίου.

87. Here as in the case of David's vesture (see n. 74), the "omission" might be prompted by a concern that David not appear to be arrogating a priestly prerogative, *in casu* that of blessing the people (see Num 6:22-27). Similarly, in his account of the dedication of the Temple (*Ant.* 8.99-125), Josephus does not reproduce the Bible's double mention (1 Kgs 8:14//2 Chr 6:3; 8:55) of Solomon's "blessing" of the assembled people. See also n. 94.

88. Compare 2 Sam 6:19 "he distributed (B διεμέρισεν, L ἐμέρισε) among all the people (LXX παντὶ τῷ λαῶ), the whole multitude (LXX δύναμιν) of Israel (BL + from Dan to Beersheba—Josephus, in common with MT Samuel and 1 Chr 16:3 [MT LXX], has no equivalent to this plus). . . ."

89. The sources speak only of "men and women" as recipients of the king's bounty; Josephus' addition of "children" magnifies the king's largess. This addition has its counterpart in Josephus' account of Solomon's feasting the people on the occasion of the dedication of the Temple in 8.123 (cf. 1 Kgs 8:65//2 Chr 7:8) "he gave the temple a portion (literally taste) of the victims, and all the Hebrews with their women and children (τέκνοις) feasted therein. . . ." See n. 92. Elsewhere as well, Josephus accentuates David's munificent hospitality, see L. H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of David," *HUCA* 70 (1989) 129-74, 154-55.

90. This same phrase appears in BL 2 Rgns 6:19 as the first item in the list of provisions distributed by David; compare 1 Par 16:3 ἄρτον ἓνα ἄρτοκοπικόν.

91. On the verbal correspondences between the list of provisions distributed by David in 2 Rgns 6:19 and *Ant.* 7.86, see Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 248, ". . . [Josephus] could have never derived [his listing] from M[T], from general LXX usage, or from general classical usage. He is totally and exactly dependent on OG [= Old Greek], to which he gives a slight polish."

92. This item has no equivalent in the list of David's benefactions in 2 Sam 6:19//1 Chr 16:3. It does, however, introduce a certain parallelism between the action of David and that of Solomon on a similar occasion, i.e., the dedication of the Temple, as described by Josephus, see *Ant.* 8.123 (compare 1 Kgs 8:65//2 Chr 7:8) "he gave the temple a portion (literally taste) of the victims and all the Hebrews with their women and children (see n. 89) feasted therein."

The source narratives of the second, successful transport of the ark to Jerusalem end up (2 Sam 6:19b-20a//1 Chr 16:43)<sup>93</sup> by relating that people and king went to their respective homes, the latter with the intent of "blessing" his household. Josephus' version accentuates the king's active role in the people's departure, while eliminating the sources' mention of the royal "blessing."<sup>94</sup> It reads then: "*Having thus entertained the people* (τὸν . . . λαόν . . . κατευχωχήσας),<sup>95</sup> he dismissed (ἀπέπεμψεν)<sup>96</sup> them, while he himself went (παραγίνεται)<sup>97</sup> to his own home."

### MICHAL-DAVID EXCHANGE

The Chronicler's story of the coming of the ark to Jerusalem concludes with the notice on David's retiring to bless his household, 16:43. In Chronicles, then, mention of Michal's despising David (15:29//2 Sam 6:16) remains a "blind motif."<sup>98</sup> By contrast the Samuel account (6:20b–23) does provide a resolution to the item by recounting the misfortune that befell Michal (apparently) in punishment for her slighting of David's religious zeal. Josephus, who, as we have seen, aligns himself

93. Between 1 Chr 16:3 (//2 Sam 6:19a) and 16:43 (//6:19b-20a) there supervenes a long segment of Chronistic *Sondergut* (compare 1 Chr 15:1-24), 16:4-42, dealing with David's directives to the cultic officers, the Levites in particular, following the installation of the ark in Jerusalem. In leaving aside this intervening passage, Josephus continues his downplaying of the Levites' role in the process of the ark's eventual establishment in Jerusalem. 1 Chr 16:4-42 likewise contains a long interlude (vv. 8-36) consisting of excerpts from various psalms which David enjoins the Levites to use in their thanksgiving to God (see v. 7). Josephus' non-utilization of this poetic material is in line with his general practice of not reproducing the actual wording of the "songs" (e.g., those of Moses, Exodus 15 and of Deborah, Judges 5) which are interspersed throughout the biblical historical books. On the point, see L. H. Feldman, "Josephus' Portrait of Deborah," in *Hellenica et Judaica: Hommage à Valentin Nikiprowtzky* (ed. A. Caquot et al.; Leuven/Paris: Editions Peeters, 1986) 115-28, 127-28.

94. This "omission" corresponds to Josephus' earlier passing over of the king's "blessing" of the entire people as related in 2 Sam 6:18//1 Chr 16:2, see n. 87.

95. Compare 8.123 *fine* where Josephus speaks of Solomon's "feasting with the whole people (σὺν . . . τῷ λαῷ κατευωχούμενος)" on the occasion of the dedication of the Temple; see also the opening of 8.123 "all the Hebrews with their women and children feasted (κατευωχήθησαν) therein," i.e., in the Temple.

96. In 2 Sam 6:19b//1 Chr 16:43a the assembly seems to break up on its own initiative. Josephus' reference to David's "dismissing" the people accentuates the royal authority. It likewise has a counterpart in 8.124 (= 1 Kgs 8:66//2 Chr 7:10) where following the Temple dedication solemnities, Solomon "dismissed" (ἀπολύσαντος) those assembled.

97. This same historic present form is used in 7.79 in reference to David's "coming" to the ark.

98. On the question of why the Chronicler might have omitted the Michal-David exchange as related in 2 Sam 6:20-23 even while reproducing the "set-up" for this (2 Sam 6:16) in 1 Chr 15:29, see the commentaries.

more with Samuel than with Chronicles in relating the second transport of the ark, continues to follow the latter at this juncture, his parallel to 6:20-23 being found in 7.87-89.

Samuel's account of the Michal-David exchange opens (6:20b) with the queen approaching David and addressing him sarcastically about his recent behavior. Here again, Josephus' version seems to reflect a peculiarity of the LXX (BL) rendition, i.e., its plus "and she blessed (i.e., greeted, εὐλόγησεν) him" which precedes the phrase "and said" which it shares with MT. The Josephan parallel to 6:20b (7.87a) reads, in fact, like an elaboration of the LXX's reference to Michal's "blessing" her husband. It runs as follows: "Then Michalē . . . came to his side and invoked blessings (κατηύχετο) upon him *and also asked of God that all those things should be granted him which He in his graciousness (εὐμενεῖ) might bestow.*"<sup>99</sup> Thereafter, Josephus comes to report the content of Michal's censorious word from 6:20b, recasting this as indirect discourse (see on 7.78): "None the less, she reproached (κατεμέμψατο) him for his unseemly behaviour (ἀκοσμήσειεν)<sup>100</sup> in dancing (ὀρχούμενος)<sup>101</sup>—so great a king (βασιλεύς) as he was<sup>102</sup>—and in uncovering himself (γυμνούμενος, LXX ἀπεκαλύφθη), *as he danced (ὑπὸ τῆς ὀρχήσεως)*<sup>103</sup> in the presence of slaves and maid-servants (ἐν δούλοις καὶ ἐν θεραπαίνισιν)."<sup>104</sup>

David's reply to Michal's censure comes in 6:21-22, with MT and LXX showing a variety of differences; Josephus's parallel (7.88) goes its own way vis-à-vis both witnesses. Thus already the opening words

99. The effect of the above elaboration of the LXX's reference to Michal's "blessing" of her husband is to further tone down the shocking effrontery of her subsequent words to David which might well seem to call for an even more severe response from the side of the latter than she actually receives. In addition, this opening *captatio benevolentiae* serves to make Michal appear a more adroit speaker than her utterly tactless biblical counterpart.

100. Josephus' only other use of the verb ἀκοσμέω is in *Ant.* 3.317.

101. Michal's words as cited in MT 2 Sam 6:20b do not contain a reference to "dancing"; such a reference does occur, however, at the end of the LXX version of her words: ". . . (the king of Israel was uncovered) as *one of the dancers (ὀρχουμένων) wantonly uncovers himself.*" Recall that in 7.85 Josephus follows LXX 2 Sam 6:14 against MT in speaking of David's playing a musical instrument rather than "dancing" during the (second) transport of the ark.

102. Compare Michal's opening words in 6:20b "how the king (LXX βασιλεύς) of Israel honored himself today. . . ." In Josephus, Michal's invocation of David's status as "king" appears to function as an appropriate motivation for her reproach about his undignified conduct whereas in 6:20b it figures within a biting verbal assault.

103. See n. 101.

104. Compare 6:20b, "uncovering himself today before the eyes of his servants' maids (LXX παιδισκῶν τῶν δούλων)." Josephus leaves aside Michal's concluding derogatory reference to David's self-exposure "as one of the vulgar fellows (LXX one of the dancers) shamelessly uncovers himself." Here again, he seems intent on toning down the asperity of the queen's words.

he attributes--once again in indirect discourse—to David differ from both the shorter MT ("[it was] before the Lord who . . .") and the more expansive LXX ("before the Lord I will dance; blessed be the Lord who . . ."): "He replied, however, that he was not ashamed (ἀδιδεῖσθαι) of having done what was pleasing (κεχαρισμένον)<sup>105</sup> to God. . . ." In line with the continuation of 6:21 Josephus goes on to have David speak of the Deity's favoring of him: "who had honoured (προετίμησε, LXX ἐξελέξατο) him above her father and all other men (τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων). . . ."<sup>106</sup> Thereafter, he leaves aside the (self-evident) indication of 6:21ba as to how God's predilection for David was manifested, i.e., "by appointing me as prince over Israel, the people of the Lord. . . ." Instead, he immediately presents his version of David's statement of his intentions for the future as cited in 6:21b0-22: ". . . and he would *often* play (παίξειν, see παίζοντος, 7.85) and dance (χορεύσειν, compare ὀρχούμενος, 7.87)<sup>107</sup> without caring whether his actions seemed disgraceful (ἀίσχρὸν) to her maid-servants (θεραπαίνισιν, so 7.87) or to herself."<sup>108</sup>

2 Sam 6:23 closes the sequel to the ark transport narrative with the laconic statement "And Michal had no child to the day of her death." Josephus (7.89) expands considerably, drawing on (and attempting to harmonize) indications found elsewhere in the Books of Samuel:

Now this Michalē, *while she lived with David*, bore no children (παῖδας οὐκ ἐποίησατο, LXX οὐκ ἐγένετο παιδίον),<sup>109</sup> *but, after her later*

105. This term echoes 7.78 where David decides that the priests and Levites are to offer "such sacrifices . . . as are pleasing (χαίρει) to Him."

106. 2 Sam 6:21 reads "(the Lord who chose me above your father) and above all his house." Josephus magnifies God's favoring of David by having him honor the king not only above Saul's "house," but above "all other men."

107. The above verbal collocation is Niese's emendation for the παίξειν . . . χορεύσαι read by the codices. Josephus' wording here is clearly closer to that of LXX (6:21 *fine*) "and I will play *and dance* (παίξομαι καὶ ὀρχήσομαι) before the Lord" than to MT's "and I will make merry (וַיִּשְׂמְחֶנּוּ) before the Lord."

108. David's closing words to Michal as cited by Josephus differ notably from the (themselves divergent) readings of both MT and LXX 6:22. The former witness makes David say: "I will make myself yet more contemptible than this, and I will be abased in *my* eyes; but by the maids of whom you have spoken I shall be held in honor," while the latter has: "I will again uncover myself thus, and I will be vile in *your* eyes and with your maidservants (παιδισκῶν) of whom you said I would get honor (thus the reading of BL; most MSS read of whom you said I would not get honor)." Note that Josephus, like LXX and against MT, represents David as anticipating a negative response to his announced activities both from Michal herself and from her maids.

109. The reference here would seem to be to the initial period in Michal's married life when she was the wife of David to whom Saul had given her (see 1 Sam 18:27// *Ant.* 6.204).

marriage to the man on whom her father Saul bestowed her<sup>110</sup>—at this particular time, David who had taken her away from him was again her husband<sup>111</sup>—she bore five children.<sup>112</sup> But of this we shall treat in its proper place.<sup>113</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

Having completed my detailed analysis of Josephus' account of the transfer of the ark, I wish now to return briefly to the questions with which this study began in order to summarize my findings regarding them. It is, first of all, clear that Josephus utilized both biblical

110. The allusion here is apparently to 1 Sam 25:44 (*Ant.* 6.309) which records that Saul gave *Michal*, David's wife, to Palti the son of Laish. Marcus, *Josephus*, V, 407 n. b identifies the nameless "man" of 7.88 rather as Adriel son of Barzillai who, however, is designated in 1 Sam 18:19 (no parallel in Josephus) as the one to whom Saul gave another of his daughters, i.e., *Merab* (Josephus mentions this latter woman, under the name "Merobe," only in his list of Saul's progeny in 6.129//1 Sam 14:49).

111. Josephus seems to be alluding her to David's "recovery" of Michal from her second husband Palti(el) as described in 2 Sam 3:13-16 (*Ant.* 7.25-26). Note that neither the Bible nor Josephus record a corresponding "recovery" by David of Merab from the man to whom Saul had given her, i.e., Adriel, cf. preceding note.

112. This indication apparently has in view 2 Sam 21:8 where MT and B speak of the five sons Michal bore to *Adriel*. This statement would seem to contradict not only 2 Sam 6:23 (Michal had no children to the day of her death), but also 1 Sam 18:19 where Adriel becomes the husband not of Michal, but of her sister Merab (compare 1 Sam 25:44; 2 Sam 3:15 where Michal's second husband is identified as Palti[el]). In light of these discrepancies it is not surprising that already in ancient times efforts at harmonization were made. Thus L 2 Rgns 21:8 makes "Merob," not Michal, the mother of Adriel's ("Ezri's") five sons in accord with the notice of 1 Sam 18:19, see above. TJ 2 Sam 21:8 too introduces Merab as the mother of the five sons of Adriel, while inserting the notice that these were "raised" by Michal (their actual mother according to MT). Josephus adopts yet another approach to the harmonization problem. In 7.89, apparently under the influence of 2 Sam 21:8 (MT, B), he designates Michal as the mother of five children, while keeping their father nameless so as to preclude the appearance of a conflict among the data of 1 Sam 18:19; 25:44; 2 Sam 3:15; 21:8 regarding the respective husbands of Michal and Merab. Subsequently, in his version of 2 Sam 21:8 in *Ant.* 7.296 he speaks in global terms of "the seven sons of Saul's family" whom David handed over the Gibeonites without reproducing the source datum that five of these were children of Adriel by his wife Merab/Michal.

113. In fact, as Marcus, *Josephus*, V, 407 n. d points out, there is no subsequent mention of Michal in *Ant.* That Josephus sometimes thus "forgets" to do what he has said he will earlier on in *Ant.* is understandable given the vastness of the work and the long and desultory process of its composition. Perhaps, however, Josephus does not so much "forget" the promise of 7.89 as change his mind regarding it. Having "anticipated" the (MT/B) datum of 2 Sam 21:8 about Michal's five children there, he opts, when he comes to relate the story itself (2 Sam 21:1-14//7.294-97) from which that verse is drawn, to incorporate the source's mention of the five sons Michal bore Adriel into a generalized reference to "the seven sons of Saul" (7.296) so as to obviate the "contradiction" with 1 Sam 19:18 according to which Adriel was the husband of Merab,

sources for the story, rather than confining himself exclusively to one of them. In particular, he bases himself (primarily) on Chronicles (13:1-14) in relating the preparations for the initial attempt at moving the ark, the disastrous result, and David's response to this (7.78-83). Thereafter, however, he shifts to Samuel (6:12-23) as his (main) source when recounting David's second, successful transfer of the ark and his subsequent exchange with Michal (7.84-89). In thus alternating between his sources, Josephus seems to have been prompted by the desire to make maximal use of material proper to one or the other of them, e.g., the elaborate preparations for the ark's first move (1 Chr 13:1-4//7.78-79a) or the Michal-David *contretemps* (2 Sam 6:20b-23//7.87-89).

An additional question concerns the text-form(s) of Samuel and Chronicles Josephus had available in composing 7.78-89. Here, we noted several clear indications of his dependence on readings peculiar to LXX (B and/or L) of both sources: mention of the "leaders" among those with whom David consults (7.78, so L 1 Par 13:1); the plural form "brothers" (7.79, so 2 Rgns /1 Par as against the proper name "Ahio" of MT Samuel/Chronicles); the "seven choirs" present for the second transfer of the ark (7.85, so 2 Rgns 6:13); David's playing of an instrument on this occasion (7.85, so 2 Rgns 6:14; compare MT "dancing"); Michal's "blessing" of David (7.87, so the plus of 2 Rgns 6:20). Recall as well the notable verbal correspondences between 7.82 and 2 Rgns 6:8 (the "breach of Oza") and 7.86 and 2 Rgns 6:19 (the list of provisions distributed by David). Conversely, clear-cut indicators of Josephus' utilization of a MT-like text of either Samuel or Chronicles appear to be lacking. The most noteworthy pointer in this direction would be Josephus' designation of the owner of the threshing-floor where Uzzah met his death as "Cheidōn" *à la* the "Chidon" of MT 1 Chr 13:9. The significance of this communality is, however, partially undercut by the presence of variant forms of the name in our *Ant.* MSS.<sup>114</sup>

The final question cited in my introduction has to do with the "re-writing techniques" applied by Josephus to his sources, the reasons

---

see n. 110. A similar case occurs in connection with 5.31 where Josephus states that he will later relate the fulfillment of Joshua's curse (Josh 6:26) against any who would rebuild the walls of Jericho. This announcement obviously has in view the report concerning the rebuilding of Jericho in the reign of Ahab in 1 Kgs 16:34. Nevertheless, in his introduction to Ahab's reign in 8.315-18 (//1 Kgs 16:29-34) Josephus makes no mention of Jericho's rebuilding. On this latter case, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 154-55.

114. The above findings confirm those of Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, regarding the biblical text used by Josephus for 1 and 2 Samuel in general and 2 Samuel 6 in particular. See his statement (p. 233): ". . . the bible which lay before Josephus as he compiled the

for and effects of their employment by him. A first such technique is Josephus' elimination or abridgement of source material. The most obvious instance of its application in *Ant.* 7.78-89 is the historian's non-utilization of the two long *Sondergut* segments 1 Chr 15:1-24 and 16:4-42. Josephus' dispensing with these passages is readily understandable given the nature of their contents, i.e., extended lists of proper names, cultic details, and poetic quotations (16:8-36), items that Gentile readers would surely find tiresome and whose analogues Josephus routinely jettisons elsewhere in his retelling of the Bible.<sup>115</sup> In addition, Josephus either passes over entirely or compresses shorter components of Samuel and/or Chronicles. Thus, e.g., he leaves aside any mention of the "assembly" which David addresses and whose approbation of his proposal he receives according to 1 Chr 13:2-4 when recounting the king's preparations for his initial moving of the ark. Of special interest is his excision of two items common to both sources which could suggest an arrogation of priestly prerogatives by David, i.e., the vesture worn by him during the second transport of the ark (2 Sam 6:14//1 Chr 15:27) and his intended "blessing" of his household (2 Sam 6:20a//1 Chr 16:43b). Similarly, Josephus drops the sources' problematic identification of Obed-Edom, the ark's designated custodian, as "the Gittite" (see 7.83, compare 2 Sam 6:10//1 Chr 13:13). Also under this heading belongs Josephus' condensation (see 7.85) of the sequence of 2 Sam 6:13-16 (cf. 1 Chr 15:26-29) with its duplicate references to "sacrifices" and to David's "cavorting" before the ark.

Conversely, Josephus adds to/expatiates on the data of his sources to varying degrees and for a variety of purposes. The chronological indication at the opening of 7.78 ("but when this battle also had come to such an end . . .") establishes a smoother transition between the ark transfer narrative and the previous account of David's double victory over the Philistines (7.71-77). Repeatedly, Josephus accentuates the stature of David within the ark episode(s) elaborating on the

---

Samuel portion of his *Jewish Antiquities* was a Greek bible of an Old Greek/proto-Lucianic nature." That Greek biblical text, in turn, "was intimately affiliated with the 4QSam<sup>a</sup> tradition" (p. 259). Conversely, "for the sections for which 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is extant, [Josephus] shows not a single detail which is clearly or even probably dependent on a bible of the Massoretic tradition or on a biblical text in the Hebrew language." See further, idem, "Josephus' Biblical Text for the Books of Samuel," in *Josephus, the Bible and History* (ed. L. H. Feldman and G. Hata; Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989) 81-96.

115. Recall, however, that Josephus does show evidence of his familiarity with the material of 1 Chr 15:1-24 in his according Levitical status to both Abinadab and Obed-Edom; see n. 61.

words, thoughts and emotions the sources attribute to him, see 7.78 (compare 1 Chr 13:2-3), 82 (compare 2 Sam 6:9//1 Chr 13:12), 84 (compare 1 Sam 6:12a.). Similarly, David's standing as the generous "host" of his subjects is highlighted by Josephus' additions (7.86, compare 2 Sam 6:18//1 Chr 16:3) about his "feasting," not only the Israelite men and women, but the "children" as well, and distributing "a portion of the sacrifice" to his guests (this last addition further establishes a link between the initiatives of David and Solomon [see 8.123] at the historic cultic occasions over which they respectively preside). His inserted mention of the "oxen" drawing the cart (7.80, compare 2 Sam 6:4 //1 Chr 13:7) not only prepares the subsequent notice on the oxen "jostling" the ark (7.81 = 2 Sam 6:6//1 Chr 13:8),<sup>116</sup> but also introduces a reminiscence of the earlier story of the ark's return, likewise under "cattle power," from the Philistine country (*Ant.* 6.11-15// 1 Sam 6:10-16). The historian's embellishments of the person of Obed-Edom/Obadaros ("a righteous man, a Levite by descent"<sup>117</sup>) and the spectacular good fortune that befalls him (7.83-84, compare 2 Sam 6:10-12a//1 Chr 13:13-14) help explain why he should be the one selected to host the ark and why David eventually ventures a second attempt at moving it. Another such "explanatory addition," one reflective also of the "priestly perspective" that characterizes his entire version of the ark transfer episode (see below), is Josephus' interjected comment that God smote Uzzah "because he had touched it (the ark) though not a priest" (7.81, compare 2 Sam 6:6-7//1 Chr 13:9-10). The biblical portrayal of Michal is also elaborated by Josephus. Inspired by the LXX reference to her "blessing" her husband in 2 Sam 6:20, he (7.87) attributes an extended opening *captatio benevolentiae* to the queen, while his expansion (7.89) of the datum of 6:23 about her "childlessness" has in view other (divergent) scriptural indications about Michal as wife and mother.

The final significant rewriting technique applied by Josephus in 7.78-89 is his modifications of the sources' style, wording and content. Under the heading of stylistic modifications we noted, e.g., his repeated introduction of historic present forms (see 7.79, 81, 83, 84, 86) where the LXX has the past and recasting of biblical direct as indirect discourse (see 7.87-88, compare 2 Sam 6:20-22). Terminological modifications include, e.g., Josephus' consistent substitution of alternative

116. Another instance of such an "anticipatory addition" by Josephus is his utilization of elements drawn from 1 Chr 13:5-6 already in his version of 13:1-4 (David's statement of his plans for the ark) in 7.78.

117. Recall that Josephus draws this item from the Chronicler's *Sondergut* segments, i.e., 1 Chr 15:1-24 (see vv. 18, 21, 24) and 16:4-42 (see vv. 5, 38), which he does not reproduce as such.

phraseology for the sources' mention of "the Lord."<sup>118</sup> In the category of contentual modifications, one notes especially his twice introducing the specification that "priests" were the ones to bear the ark, see 7.79 (compare 2 Sam 6:3 // 1 Chr 13:7 where an indeterminate "they" carry the ark) and 85 (compare 6:13 ["those who bore the ark" // 15:27 ["the Levites carrying the ark"]]). In the case of 7.79, Josephus' identification of the priests as the ark's bearers goes together with a further modification of the sources' presentation likewise designed to underscore the priests' primacy in the ark's transfer, i.e., his indication that they "permitted" (the Levite, see 6.18) Aminadab's relations to "draw" the cart on which the ark was mounted. Content modifications are likewise employed by Josephus (just as are his omissions and additions, see above) to highlight the image of David's authoritative role throughout the ark transfer process. Thus, e.g., in 7.86 David is explicitly said to "dismiss" those assembled in Jerusalem, whereas in 2 Sam 6:19b//1 Chr 16:43a the people seem to set out for home on their own initiative.

In summing up now on the overall distinctiveness of Josephus' ark transfer story vis-à-vis those of the sources, I suggest that the latter stands out especially for its sustained insistence on priestly prerogatives. That insistence finds both positive (priests bear the ark each time; it is only with their permission that non-priests "draw" the ark's cart) and negative (David does not arrogate priestly competences, Uzzah pays with his life for doing so; the numerous mentions of the Levites throughout 1 Chronicles 13-16 are reduced to a single one, see 7.78) expression. Such a "sacerdotal emphasis" to Josephus' retelling of the story reflects his pride in his own priestly ancestry, the very first point mentioned by him in his autobiography (*Vita* 1) and his touchiness about the efforts made in the recent past by Levites to gain priestly privileges for themselves (see *Ant.* 20.216-18, cf. n. 74). In addition, Josephus' version consistently highlights the (non-priestly) role of David in the proceedings, just as it, inspired by the LXX's mention of Michal's "blessing" David, counterbalances and softens the asperity of the words attributed to her in 2 Sam 6:20b by means of the initial prayer for the king's welfare reported in 7.87. Finally, we have noted the verbal links and harmonizations introduced by Josephus between his retelling of the ark transfer story and other biblical episodes as related by him (the ark's return to the land of

118. Note too, Josephus' avoidance of the phrase "the ark of the covenant (LXX  $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta\varsigma$ ) of the Lord" employed in 1 Chr 15:26 (//2 Sam 6:13, "the ark of the Lord"), 29 (//2 Sam 6:16, "the ark of the Lord"). On the historian's avoidance of the LXX term  $\delta\iota\alpha\theta\acute{\eta}\kappa\eta$  (=  $\text{בְּרִית}$ , "covenant"), see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 100-101 n. 609 and the literature cited there.

Israel, Solomon's dedication of the Temple, Michal's maternity). All these distinguishing features of the Josephan account in *Ant.* 7.78-89 reveal a careful, self-conscious redactor of the sources' data on which he brought to bear a range of purposes and concerns. Those same characteristics, in turn, mark the whole of Josephus' retelling of biblical history throughout *Ant.* 1-11 and give studies like this one their interest and importance.<sup>119</sup>

119. See further Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 286.