

## ***The Return of the Ark according to Josephus***

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*1 Sam 6:1-7:1 marks the third stage in the story of the ark's wanderings as related in the "Ark Narrative": after its capture by the Philistines (1 Samuel 4) and stay in Philistia (1 Samuel 5), the ark now returns to the land of Israel prior to its definitive transfer to Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6). This article investigates Josephus's retelling of the biblical account of the ark's return in Ant. 6.7-18 comparing this both with the major witnesses to the text of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 (MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, LXX, and Targum) as well as extrabiblical traditions about the episode. Specific questions addressed include: the text-form(s) of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 available to Josephus, the rewriting techniques applied by him, and the distinctive features of his presentation of the ark's homecoming.*

*Key Words: Ark of Covenant, Josephus*

### INTRODUCTION

Within the so-called "Ark Narrative," 1 Sam 6:1-7:1<sup>1</sup> constitutes a pivotal moment: following its capture (1 Samuel 4) and "exile" (1 Samuel 5), the ark now returns to the land of Israel prior to its eventual, definitive installation in Jerusalem (2 Samuel 6). In this essay I purpose to examine the retelling of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 by Josephus in his *Jewish Antiquities* (hereafter *Ant.*) 6.7-18.<sup>2</sup> My investigation will

1. That 1 Sam 7:1 belongs with what precedes (6:1-21) rather than what follows (7:2-17) is the general scholarly consensus; see the commentaries.

2. For the writings of Josephus, I use the 10 volumes of the Loeb Classical Library text and translation (*Ant.* 6.7-18 is found in vol. 5, where the translation and notes are by R. Marcus). I have likewise consulted the text and apparatus for *Ant.* 6.7-18 in B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera*, vol. 2 (2d ed.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1955).

involve a double comparison. First (and primarily), I shall compare Josephus's rendition with its biblical source as represented by the following major witnesses: MT (BHS), 4QSam<sup>a,3</sup>, Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B),<sup>4</sup> and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or Antiochene MSS<sup>5</sup> of the LXX and *Targum Jonathan* on the Former Prophets (hereafter *Tg. Jon.*).<sup>6</sup> Second (and secondarily), I shall also compare Josephus's version of the ark's return with other postbiblical treatments of the episode—that is, in the rabbinic corpus,<sup>7</sup> Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* (hereafter *Bib. Ant.*) 55.4-10,<sup>8</sup> and the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II."<sup>9</sup> By way of this double comparison, I aim to see what can be determined about the following overarching questions: Which text-form(s) of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 did Josephus have available? How, why, and with what results has he modified the source data concerning the ark's return? Does his treatment of the scriptural data evidence any affinities with those of

3. This MS, which is not yet officially published, preserves (portions of) 1 Sam 6:1-7, 12-13, 16-18, 20-21; 7:1; see E. C. Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (HSM 19; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1978) 271. For its readings, I use the indications provided by P. K. McCarter, *1 Samuel* (AB 8; New York: Doubleday, 1989) 128-32.

4. For B, I use A. E. Brooke, N. Maclean, and H. St. J. Thackeray, *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus, 2/1: I and II Samuel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). 1 Rgns 6:1-7:1 is part of one of the two "non-kaige" segments (1 Rgns 1:1-2 Rgns 1:11; 3 Rgns 22:1-4 Rgns 25:30) of B Reigns that have not undergone the same degree of assimilation to the (proto-) MT text of Samuel-Kings as have the MS's *kaige* sections. Accordingly, the former segments are often taken to represent the "Old Greek" text of Reigns. See J. D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (HSM 1; Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1968) 7-8, 11-18.

5. For the text of L, I use the edition by N. Fernandez Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega*, vol. 1: *1-2 Samuel* (Textos y Estudios "Cardenal Cisneros" 50; Madrid: CSIC, 1989). A comparison between *Ant.* 6.7-18 and the L text of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 is of interest given the long-standing scholarly consensus that, for the books of Samuel, Josephus is dependent primarily on a "proto-Lucianic" biblical text; see Fernandez and Busto, *1-2 Samuel*, xxxv-xxviii.

6. For *Tg. Jon.* I use the text of A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic*, vol. 2 (Leiden: Brill, 1959) and its translation by D. J. Harrington and A. J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (The Aramaic Bible 10; Wilmington, Del.: Glazier, 1987).

7. For the relevant references, see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (7 vols.; Philadelphia: JPSA, 1909-38) 4.63; 6.223-25 nn. 34-39.

8. For the Latin text of *Bib. Ant.* I use D. J. Harrington and J. Cazeaux, *Pseudo-Philon Les Antiquités Bibliques*, vol. 1 (SC 229; Paris: Cerf, 1976) and the English translation by D. J. Harrington, "Pseudo-Philo," *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (ed. J. H. Charlesworth; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1983) 1.297-377. On *Bib. Ant.* 55, see F. J. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo: Rewriting the Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993) 199-202.

9. For the translation of this document's (abridged) version of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1, I use J. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II (or Sepher Ha Yamim) from Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar* (BZAW 107; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969) 120-21.

the above-mentioned extrabiblical documents? Finally, how, overall, does Josephus's rendition compare with the Bible's own account?

In proceeding now to the comparison itself, I divide up the biblical and Josephan material into three parallel segments as follows: (1) consultation (1 Sam 6:1-9//*Ant.* 6.7-12); (2) from Philistia to Bethshemesh (6:10-18/16.13-15); and (3) from Bethshemesh to Kiriathjearim (6:19-7:1//6.16-18). I shall examine each of these segments in turn before drawing some general conclusions based on my study of them.

### CONSULTATION

1 Samuel 6 opens with a chronological indication (v. 1) about the ark's seven-month stay in Philistia which functions as a kind of summary to the account of the ark's disruptive effects on various Philistine cities in 1 Samuel 5 (// *Ant.* 6.1-6). Josephus reserves his version of this item to what might seem a more logical point, that is, at the very end of his narration of the ark's departure from Philistia; see 6.18 (//7:1). In place thereof, he substitutes an expansive transitional notice (6 7) linking what precedes (the ark's devastating impact on the Philistines) and follows (the Philistine consultation about what is to be done with the ark). This sequence runs:

Exhausted by these miseries (κακοίς),<sup>10</sup> the victims, whose fate was becoming a lesson (διδασκαλία) to all who heard it never to receive this ark among them at such a meed and price, henceforth sought ways and means to get rid of it.

1 Sam 6:2a introduces the two parties to the ensuing "consultation"—that is, "the Philistines" and "their priests and diviners" (so the MT).<sup>11</sup> Josephus (6.8a), by contrast, limits the deliberations that now take place to a single group. The group in question, that is, "the lords of the Philistines," is one which, in the Bible itself, has already figured twice in what precedes (see 1 Sam 5:8, 11, where this body is convened first by the Ashdodites and then by the Ekronites to render a decision on the disposition of the ark). Josephus, for his part, reserves mention of the Philistines' supreme council until this climactic point in his presentation—now when a definitive decision about the

10. This phrase echoes the one used of the people in Azotus in *Ant.* 6.4: "being in this evil plight (κακοίς). . . ."

11. BL add a third category of religious professionals, that is, τοὺς ἑπαιδοῦς, "magicians," while the (damaged) text of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> would seem to have mentioned four such groups, with "soothsayers" (מַעֲוֵנִים) as the last of these. See McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 129.

ark's fate is to be taken.<sup>12</sup> In thus bringing the "lords" on the scene for the first time here, Josephus likewise has them deliberate among themselves about what is to be done, rather than (compare 6:2a) turning to "priests and diviners" for guidance.<sup>13</sup> Josephus's replacement for the introductory notice of 6:2a reads, then: "So the lords (ἄρχοντες) of the five cities<sup>14</sup>—Gitta, Akkaron, Ascalon, along with Gaza and Azotus<sup>15</sup>—met to deliberate what they ought to do."

In 1 Sam 6:2b-9 the "consultation" about the ark proceeds by a way of a double question-answer sequence (6:2b-3, 4-9) involving "the Philistines" as the interrogators and "their priests and diviners" as the respondents. Josephus (6.8b-12) recasts this presentation into an account of three varying opinions about the "ark problem" on the part of different groups among the Philistine "lords" (see 6.8a). R. Marcus attributes this divergence from the source narrative to the penchant for "trichotomy," characteristic of Josephus's "Sophoclean assistant"<sup>16</sup> who, also elsewhere, introduces reference to three competing viewpoints on some issue.<sup>17</sup>

12. In his version of both earlier instances where the Bible has the Philistine "lords" being convened, Josephus represents the inhabitants of the given city, Ashdod/Azotus (6.4//5:8) and Ashkelon ([so LXX; compare Ekron, MT] 6.5//5:11) taking the initiative in ridding themselves of the ark.

13. Josephus's introduction of the "lords" here as the group that is to make the final decision regarding the ark might likewise be inspired by the continuation of the biblical account where the "lords"—somewhat unexpectedly—reemerge as those who follow the ark (6:12) and then return after seeing what becomes of it (6:16). By making the "lords" the subject of the deliberation about the ark, Josephus better accounts for the role they assume in carrying out the decision taken in what follows.

14. Subsequently, Josephus will use the phrase "lords of the Philistines" see 6.13, 15. In all three instances the Greek term rendered "lords" by Marcus is ἄρχοντες. This contrasts with BL's consistent translation of Hebrew אֲדָמוֹן in the phrase "lords of the Philistines" by σατράπται (a term used some 36x by Josephus but never in his rendition of 1 Samuel 5-6); see 5:8, 11; 6:12, 16.

15. Josephus likely "anticipates" the names for the five cities making up the Philistine Pentapolis from the continuation of 1 Samuel 6; see v. 17 (cf. Josh 13:3). In so doing, he employs the Greek forms for the cities' names, even while diverging from the order in which these are mentioned in both the MT and BL 6:17—that is, Ashdod/Azotus, Gaza, Ashkelon/Ascalon, Gath/Geth, and Ekron/Akkaron; see above in the text.

16. Marcus (trans.), *Josephus*, 5.168-69, note a. Marcus derives the idea of such an assistant from H. St. J. Thackeray (see the latter's characterization of the figure, in *Josephus*, 4.xv-xvi).

17. See, for example, *Ant.* 3.96-97 (the three opinions among the Israelites concerning the fate of Moses, who had been absent forty days on the mountain [cf. Exod 32:1, which mentions only Moses' "delay" in returning, as the occasion for the making of the calf, an episode passed over by Josephus]); 4.36-37a (the three expectations regarding the outcome of the assembly convened by Moses to adjudicate the claims of Korah; cf. Num 16:19).

Of the three proposals Josephus cites, the one mentioned first and most briefly is that the ark simply be returned (6.8b): "Their first resolution was to send the ark back (ἀποπέμπειν) to its own people inasmuch as God was championing its cause (ὑπερεκδικούντος τοῦ θεοῦ)<sup>18</sup> and that was why these horrors (δεινῶν) had accompanied (συνεπιδησάντων)<sup>19</sup> it and burst along with (συνεισβαλόντων)<sup>20</sup> it into their cities." He becomes more expansive with respect to the second proposal and the motivation adduced for this (6.9):

But there were others who said that they should not do thus nor be deluded (ἐξαπατάσθαι) into attributing the cause of their misfortunes (κακῶν; see κακοῖς, 6.7) to the ark: it (αὐτῇ)<sup>21</sup> possessed no such power and might (δύναμιν . . . καὶ ἰσχύν), for, were it under the care of God (κηδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ),<sup>22</sup> it would never have fallen into the hands of men. Their advice was to sit still (ἡσυχάζειν) and to bear these accidents with equanimity (πράως ἔχειν),<sup>23</sup> accounting their cause to be no other

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Pseudo-Philo, in his version of 1 Sam 6:2-9 in *Bib. Ant.* 55.4-7, also relates varying proposals regarding the handling of the ark. There, however, the proposals emanate, not from different factions among the Philistine "lords" (so Josephus), but rather from two groups of "wise men" (*sapientes*; see 55.5, 7 [in this latter text "diviners" (*divinis*) are mentioned as well]; compare the "priests and diviners" of 6:2a). In addition, again in contrast to Josephus (see below), there is no real difference of opinion among Pseudo-Philo's two groups of "sages," the second of whom merely supplement the proposal of the first (the ark should be carried off on a cart drawn by cows who had recently calved; see 6:7) with an additional one (that is, the cows are to be positioned at the juncture of three roads, a detail without parallel in the Bible itself but having an equivalent in *Ant.* 6.11; see below). Finally, in contrast to the Bible, Josephus and Pseudo-Philo, the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II" (see Macdonald, p. 120) represents the Philistines as simply loading the ark upon cows in order to return it to Israel (see 1 Sam 6:10) without any prior "consultation" on the matter (in fact, the Chronicle's rendition of 6:10 follows directly on its version of 1 Sam 5:1-5 [the ark at Ashdod], thus passing over the whole of 5:6-6:9).

18. The verb ὑπερεκδικέω is a *hapax* in Josephus.

19. The verb συνεπιδημέω is a *hapax* in Josephus.

20. Josephus's three other uses of the verb συνεισβάλλω are in *Jewish War* (hereafter *J.W.*) 3.292; *Ant.* 1.77; 14.334.

21. This is the emendation by J. Hudson, followed by Niese and Marcus (cf. *Lat ei*), for ὑγιῆ in the codices.

22. Josephus also uses the verb κηδω with God as subject in *J.W.* 6.310; *Ant.* 1.209; 3.191; 4.2; 5.312; 6.61, 187, 305. In the last of these texts (David says to Abigail, "thou art in God's care" [κηδομένου σου τοῦ θεοῦ]), one finds the same genitival construction as here in 6.9.

23. As Marcus (trans.) (*Josephus*, 5.169, note a) points out, this same phrase occurs in Josephus's—likewise "invented"—account of the varying opinions concerning the fate of Moses on the mountain (see n. 17 above); see *Ant.* 3.97, where the third group is led to "retain their composure" (πράως ἔχειν).

than nature (φύσιν) itself, who periodically produces such changes in men's bodies, and in plants (φυτοῖς)<sup>24</sup> and all the products of earth.<sup>25</sup>

Josephus allots still more space to the third and final of the three opinions (6.10-12), into which he incorporates elements of the responses of the Philistine priests and diviners (6:3, 4b-9). He begins his rendition with an introductory notice (6.10a) which makes clear that this opinion is the one that should, and did in fact, prevail: "However, both these proposals were defeated (νικᾶ)<sup>26</sup> by the counsel (γνώμας) of men who in times past had gained credit for superior (διαφέρειν πεπιστευμένων)<sup>27</sup> intelligence and sagacity (συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει)<sup>28</sup> and who now above all seemed to say just what befitted (ἄρμοζόντως)<sup>29</sup> the occasion." Thereafter, he relates these figures' proposal concerning the "offerings" which are to accompany the returning ark; for this he draws on, while also modifying<sup>30</sup> the wording of, 6:3, 4b-6:

*Their verdict was neither to send back (ἀποπέμπειν)<sup>31</sup> the ark nor to retain it,<sup>32</sup> but to dedicate to God (ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ)<sup>33</sup> five images of gold*

24. The speakers' use of this word here echoes Josephus's notice in 6.3 that the mice ravaged the Philistines' land, "sparing neither plant (φυτῶν) nor fruit."

25. Neither the Bible nor the other extrabiblical traditions being studied has an equivalent to Josephus's second proposal here, namely, that the Philistines simply hold onto the ark, despite the devastation it is causing.

26. Note the historic present, a form introduced very frequently by Josephus in his rewriting of the Bible's history; see C. T. Begg, *Josephus' Account of the Early Divided Monarchy (AJ 8, 212-420)* (BETL 108; Leuven: Leuven University Press/Peeters, 1993) 10-11 n. 32 and the literature cited there.

27. The term διαφέρειν in the above Greek phrase is absent from the codices ROM. Both Niese and Marcus retain the word in their respective texts, although the former qualifies its omission by the three codices as "fort. recte."

28. This collocation occurs only here in Josephus. Compare *Ant.* 4.36 where, in citing the varying expectations regarding the upcoming contest between Moses and Korah, Josephus qualifies the holders of the second view (that is, the hope that Korah's "sedition" would be checked) as "others of the sager (φρονίμων) sort." See n. 17 above.

29. This term is a *hapax* in Josephus.

30. One such "modification" involves the substitution of indirect for the direct discourse of the source. On this recurrent feature of Josephus's rewriting of biblical history in the Antiquities, see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 12-13 n. 38.

31. This is the same verb used by the first group of "lords" in urging the return of the ark in 6.8. In fact, as will emerge from what follows, Josephus does not represent the third group in 6.10 as calling for the retention of the ark (so the second group). Rather, that group is advising that the ark be sent back to its own land (so the first group) but only together with suitable offerings for its divine owner. Compare 6:3a, where their priests and diviners enjoin the Philistines: "If you send away the ark . . . by all means do not send it empty . . ."

32. I italicize elements of Josephus's presentation, such as the above, that have no counterpart in the biblical source as such (as also biblical items without parallel in Josephus).

33. Josephus uses the above phrase, "dedicate to God," eleven times in his writings: *J.W.* 1.357; *Ant.* 3.219; 5.347; 6.10, 133, 194, 244; 7.108; 12.47; 14.488; compare 10.154,

(ἀνδριάντας . . . χρυσοῦς),<sup>34</sup> one on behalf of each city,<sup>35</sup> as a thank-offering (χαριστήριον),<sup>36</sup> to him for His care for their salvation (προενόησεν . . . τῆς σωτηρίας)<sup>37</sup> and having kept them in the land of the living when they were like to be harried (διωκομένους) out of it by plagues (παθήμασιν) which they could no longer face (ἀντιβλέψαι),<sup>38</sup> and withal as many golden mice (μύας χρυσοῦς)<sup>39</sup> like to those that had overrun and ruined their land (διαφθείρασι τὴν χώραν).<sup>40</sup>

where it is used in reference to the Babylonian gods. Compare 6:5 "make" (so the MT and L 6:4 [ποιήσατε]; > B).

34. This expression seems to reflect a conflation of the phrases "golden tumors" (? , so Rsv) of 6:4 (MT עֲפָלִי זָהָב [ketiv] / טַהֲרֵי זָהָב [qere], BL ἕδρας χρυσοῦς) and "images of your tumors" of 6:5 (MT צִלְמֵי עֲפָלֵיכֶם [ketiv] / צִלְמֵי טַהֲרֵיכֶם [qere], L ἕδρας χρυσοῦς ὁμοίωμα τῶν ἕδρων ὑμῶν). On the meaning of the terms עֲפָלִים, טַהֲרֵים and ἕδρα (tumors?; anuses?; seats, i.e., residences?), see J. Lust, "ΕΔΡΑ and the Philistine Plague," in *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings: Papers Presented to the International Symposium on the Septuagint and Its Relations to the Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Writings* (ed. G. J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SBLSCS 33; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1992) 569-97. (Josephus himself employs the word ἕδρα of BL 6:4, etc., a total of four times [*J.W.* 2.224; 5.435; 6.278; *Ant.* 19.137] but never in his rendition of 1 Samuel 5-6 in *Ant.* 6.1-18, notwithstanding its status as a *Leitwort* in the BL version of those chapters.)

35. That is, the five cities of the Philistine Pentapolis cited by name in 6.8. Compare 6:4b, "(five golden tumors) according to the number of the lords of the Philistines; for the same plague was upon you and upon your lords." Josephus's reformulation of this phrase might reflect the fact that the Bible had not previously spoken of a plague befalling the Philistine "lords" in particular.

36. Compare 1 Sam 6:3-4, "a guilt offering" (MT עֹשֶׁן, BL τὸ [L + ὑπὲρ] τῆς βρασάνου). Josephus's alternative designation for the offering seems to have in view the appended indication concerning its intended purpose; see above in the text.

37. The above phrase with God as subject recurs in *Ant.* 8.334; 9.153; 11.231; *Life* 301. Here in 6.10, the phrase is noteworthy for the fact that it is put on the lips of (enemy) Gentiles, who thereby acknowledge God's providential concern for them.

38. Josephus's only other use of the verb ἀντιβλέπω is in *Against Apion* (hereafter *Ag. Ap.*) 2.235. The reference to the Philistines' being unable to "face" their plagues here echoes Josephus's language in 6.4 (the Azotians were "powerless to withstand their calamities"); what was there an editorial remark for the benefit of the reader has now become the Philistines' own realization about their situation. The whole of the phrase italicized above spells out what God is being thanked for by means of the proposed "thank-offering" see previous note. Perhaps Josephus found a certain inspiration for the phrase—as also for his previous designation of the offering itself as a "thank-offering" rather than a "guilt-offering" (so 6:3)—in 6:5bα, where the Philistines are instructed, "give glory to [L + the Lord] the God of Israel," a directive that might seem to have in view more an expression of "thanks" than a confession of "guilt."

39. Thus L 6:5 (B μύς χρυσοῦς). In the MT the "mice" are mentioned for the first time in the Ark Narrative in 6:4, whereas in both BL (see 5:6; cf. also their plus in 6:1) and Josephus (see *Ant.* 6.3), they already figure in these documents' respective accounts of the ark's stay in Philistia.

40. Compare 6:5, "(your mice) that ravage the land (BL δεαφθειρόντων τὴν γῆν). From the words of the "priests and diviners" in 6:3, 4-6, Josephus omits the (presumptuous) promise of v. 3b, "Then you will be healed, and it will be known to you [so the MT; BL 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, when you have been ransomed] why his hand does not turn away

The proposals of the third group continue in *Ant.* 6.11-12, Josephus's version of the concluding directives of the priests and diviners as reported in 1 Sam 6:7-9. In reproducing the source sequence, Josephus not only recasts it in indirect discourse (see n. 30), but also rearranges the order of its component elements. In particular, he "anticipates," at the opening of 6.11, the item concerning the disposition of the "offerings" from v. 8aβ, juxtaposing this directly with the proposal about the making of those offerings, 6.10b (//6:3, 4b-5). His version of the item reads: "Then, having placed these [the golden images and mice] in a coffer (γλωσσόκομον)<sup>41</sup> and set (θέντας) it upon the ark (ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτόν). . ."<sup>42</sup> He then continues with the directives regarding the ark's mode of transport from v. 7: "they should make for this [the ark] a new wain (ἄμαξαν . . . καινήν = BL 6:7), and should yoke (ὑποζεύξαντας, BL ζεύξατε)<sup>43</sup> thereto kine (βόας = BL)<sup>44</sup> that had freshly calved (ἀρτιτόκους)<sup>45</sup> and should shut up and retain (ἐγκλείσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν) their calves (πόρτις). . ."<sup>46</sup> To the last part of this directive Josephus further appends a "motivation" without parallel in the source: "*in order that these might not retard their mothers by following them, and they, through yearning for their young, might make more speed on their way.*"<sup>47</sup>

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from you [so the MT; BL, should not his hand be stayed from off you?]." He likewise leaves out the further tentative promise of v. 5bβ ("perhaps he will lighten his hand from off you and your gods and your land"). Finally, he also eliminates from his version the admonitory question of 6:6 ("Why should you harden your hearts as the Egyptians and Pharaoh hardened their hearts? After he had made sport of them, did not they let the people go, and they departed?"), which seems out of place at this juncture, when the Philistines are already eager to return the ark.

In contrast to Josephus, Pseudo-Philo does not reproduce the directives of 6:3, 4b-6 about the making of the offerings that are to accompany the ark. Instead, he has the Philistine wise men begin immediately with the question of how the ark is to be transported and the rationale for the "test-character" of their proposal on the matter; see *Bib. Ant.* 55.5-7//6:7-9.

41. This word is a *hapax* in Josephus.

42. Compare 6:8a13, "and (B + do not) put in a box (MT בַּסָּרִיסִים; BL ἐν θέματατι [+ B βερεχθάν, L βαεργάζ, both apparent transliterations/corruptions of the rare Hebrew word for "box"]) at its [the ark's] side (B ἐκ [L + πλαγίων] μέρους) the figures (BL σκεύη) of gold which you are returning to him as a sin offering [see 6:3]."

43. Josephus uses the verb ὑποζεύσσει elsewhere in *J.W.* 2.61; *Ant.* 8.41; *Ag. Ap.* 2.127.

44. As in B, Josephus has no equivalent to the specification of the MT L 6:7 concerning the cows, that is, that they are to be ones "upon which there has never come a yoke."

45. This term is a *hapax* in Josephus. It is his equivalent to the word πρωτοτοκούσας of BL 6:7. Compare the MT, where the cows are specified as "milch" (עליות) cows.

46. This word is a *hapax* in Josephus. Compare 6:7bβ, "take (BL ἀπαγάγετε) the calves (BL τέκνα) home, away from them."

47. With Josephus's above expansion concerning the proposed measure involving the cows and their calves, compare *Bib. Ant.* 55.5, where the wise men represent the cows and their separation from their calves as a kind of "substitute" for the Philistine

Josephus's third party rounds off its proposal with a final injunction, this expatiating on that of 6:8b: "*Then having driven them [the cows], drawing the ark, out to a place where three roads meet* (ἐπὶ τριόδου),<sup>48</sup> they should there leave (καρταλιπεῖν) them, suffering them to take which of the roads they would."<sup>49</sup> To this concluding proposal he then adds (6.12//6:9) mention of the "test" which the dispatch of the cows is intended to provide:

Should the kine take the route to the Hebrews (Ἑβραίων)<sup>50</sup> and mount to their country; they must regard the ark as the cause of all these ills (αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν);<sup>51</sup> but should they turn elsewhere, "then," said they, "*let us pursue* (μεταδιώξωμεν)<sup>52</sup> *after it*, having learnt (μαθόντες) that it possesses no such power (ἰσχύς)."<sup>53</sup>

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mothers and their infants who had perished in the ark-brought plague. The wise men's statement here, in turn, picks up on the Philistines' general confession in 55.4 (no biblical parallel): "Behold now we see that destruction is great among us, and the fruit of our womb will perish because the creeping things that have been sent among us will destroy those who are with child or sucklings and those who are nursing." Cf. Murphy, *Pseudo-Philo*, 201.

48. Josephus's only other use of the word τριόδος is in 6.13. The above specification about the site from which the cows are to be dispatched has a noteworthy counterpart in Pseudo-Philo (*Bib. Ant.* 55.7), where "some of the wise men and diviners" make the following additional proposal: "Not only will we try this [that is, placing the ark upon a cart drawn by cows, 55.6//6:7], but also we shall set the cows at the juncture of the three roads (*initio trium viarum*) that are around Ekron. For the middle road goes straight to Ekron and the right-hand one to Judah, and the left-hand one to Samaria." Both Josephus and Pseudo-Philo were likely inspired, in their respective elaborations of the biblical presentation on the matter, by the reference in 6:9 to the possible "ways" the cows might take. The two postbiblical authors "set up" this possibility with their reference to the "juncture of three roads."

49. Compare 6:8b, "Then send it [the ark] off (BL ἐξαποστελεῖτε) and let it go its way (L ἀπελεύσεται, B ἀπελάσσει αὐτήν) [B + and it shall depart, ἀπελεύσεται]."

50. On Josephus's oscillating designations for the chosen people at the various moments of their history, see A. Arazy, *The Appellations of the Jews (Ioudaios, Hebraios, Israel) in the Literature from Alexander to Justinian* (Ph. Diss., New York University, 1973) 170-81.

51. This phrase echoes the one used by the second party among the Philistine "lords" who according to 6.9, "warned that they should not be deluded into attributing the cause of their misfortunes (τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν) to the ark." With Josephus's formulation of the first possible outcome of the "test," compare 1 Sam 6:9a ". . . if it goes up on the way to its own land, to Beth-shemesh, then it is he [God] who has done us this great harm (BL κακίαν)." Compare also *Bib. Ant.* 55.7b, "And if they [the cows] set out on the right-hand road and go straight to Judah, we will know indeed that the God of the Jews has destroyed (*exterminavit*) us."

52. Josephus's two remaining uses of the verb μεταδιώκω are in *J.W.* 1.320; *Ant.* 6.287. Note how here, at the very end of the third party's proposal, Josephus switches from indirect to direct discourse in line with the direct discourse of 6:9b. Such switches (and their reverse) also occur within one and the same speech elsewhere in Josephus; see Begg, *Josephus' Account*, 123-24 n. 772.

53. Here again (see n. 51 above), Josephus has his third party echo language used earlier by the second party; see 6.9, where the second party affirms that the ark "possessed no such power and might (ἰσχύς)."

## PHILISTIA TO BETH-SHEMESH

The second segment I distinguish within 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 1/ *Ant.* 6.7-18 concerns the ark's arrival at Beth-shemesh (6:10-18//6.13-15).

This new section begins with a notice on the "execution" of the directives laid down in what precedes. Josephus (6.13a) gives the source indications on the subject (6:10-11) a content of his own: "*Judging this to be well spoken, they*<sup>54</sup> *straightway ratified the counsel* (γνώμην)<sup>55</sup> *by acting thereon* (τοῖς ἔργοις . . . ἐκύρωσαν).<sup>56</sup> *Having made the objects aforesaid,*<sup>57</sup> *they conducted* (προάγουσι)<sup>58</sup> *the wain to the cross-roads* (ἐπὶ τὴν τρίοδον; see 6.11),<sup>59</sup> *where they left it* (καταλιπό-

Josephus's wording of the second eventuality above, with its invocation of a possible "pursuit" of the ark, represents an "activistic intensification" of the merely "intellectual" formulation of 1 Sam 6:9b, "but if not, then we shall know (BL γνώσομεθα) that it is not his hand (*Tg. Jon.* stroke, םׁוֹתֵנוּ) that struck us (*Tg. Jon.* was near to us), it happened by chance (MT םׁוֹתֵנוּ, BL σύμπτωμα)." Compare *Bib. Ant.* 55.7c, which goes its own way with respect to the second possible outcome of the proposed "test": "But if they go forth by other roads, we will know that this very violent time has come upon us because now we have denied our own gods." (In *Bib. Ant.* 55.5 one finds (at least in Harrington's English translation) a formulation by the first group of Philistine wise men about the outcome of the proposed test comparable to that of 1 Sam 6:9 (and *Ant.* 6.12), that is, "we can learn about this, if the Lord has sent destruction upon us on account of the ark or an evil power has come upon us by chance [*conveniens*]"). This rendering of the word *conveniens* is, however, not the only one possible; see the French translation of Harrington-Cazeaux (*Pseudo-Philon*, I, 353), "ou si vraiment un pouvoir (maléfique) nous atteint"; and the discussion in C. Perrot and P.-M. Bogaert, *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques* (SC 230; Paris: Cerf, 1976) 2.225, ad loc.

54. That is, apparently the "lords of the Philistines," the subjects of the deliberation in 6.7-12; see also 6.13b, where these figures are cited explicitly.

55. This term picks up on the phrase used in reference to the third party among the "lords" in 6.10, "both these proposals were defeated by the counsel (γνώμης) of men who. . . ."

56. Compare 6:10aa, "The men (so the MT, BL the Philistines) did (BL ἐποίησαν) so."

57. That is, the golden images and mice; see 6.10b. The source does not mention the fabrication of these items as such; compare, however, 1 Sam 6:11b, "(they put) the box with the golden mice and the images of their tumors," (so the MT) which presupposes that they were, in fact, made.

58. Note the historic present.

59. Also this notice has no equivalent in 1 Sam 6:10-11 as such; conversely, Josephus leaves out the source's enumeration of a variety of preparatory measures involving the cart and its bearers: that is, the yoking of the cows, shutting up of the calves (v. 10), and loading of the ark and the "box" with its contents onto the cart (v. 11). Compare *Bib. Ant.* 55.8a, which parallels 6:10-11 more closely, while also including a reference to the "positioning" of the cart at the crossroads comparable to Josephus's: "And the Philistines took the cows that gave milk and yoked them to the new cart (see 6:10a) and put the ark on it (see 6:11a) and set them at the juncture of the roads (see *Ant.* 6.13) and shut up their calves at home (see 6:10b)." Compare also the notice of the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II" (Macdonald, p. 120), which seems to represent the ark as being placed directly on the cows, rather than on a cart drawn by cows: "Thereafter the Philistines took the ark and carried it on cows and they sent the cows along the way to the cities of Israel."

ντες)<sup>60</sup> and retired." The segment next records the movement of the cows as witnessed by the Philistine "lords" (6.12//6:13b): "Then, seeing the kine go straight on (τῆν ὀρθὴν ὁδόν) *as though someone were leading them*,<sup>61</sup> the lords (ἄρχοντες; see 6.8) of the Philistines (Παλαιστίνων)<sup>62</sup> followed (ἠκολούθουν, BL ἔπορεύοντο ὀπίσω) *fain to find out* (μαθεῖν; see μαθόντες 6.12) *where they would halt and to whom they would betake themselves*."<sup>63</sup>

In relating the ark's reappearance in Israelite country, Josephus (6.14) reverses the sequence of 6:13 (the inhabitants of Beth-shemesh rejoice over the ark) and 6:14α (the ark halts in the field of a certain "Joshua"). His expanded rendition (6.14a) of the second of these items reads, "Now there was a village of the tribe of Judah<sup>64</sup> by name Bethes

60. The above sequence, "to the cross-roads where they left it," echoes the wording of the proposal in 6.11 (ἐπὶ τριόδου καταλιπεῖν).

61. This indication replaces the specification of 6:12, "(and the cows went straight [BL κατεύθυναν] on) *in the direction of Beth-shemesh . . .*," with its duplication of the phrase "as far as the border of Beth-shemesh" at the end of the verse. Josephus likewise leaves out the source's mentions that the cows were "lowing as they went" and that "they did not turn to the right nor to the left" (so the MT). Compare *Bib. Ant.* 55.8b, which elaborates on the cows' behavior: "Now the cows, even though they lowed and yearned for their calves, nevertheless were going forth on the right-hand road. . . ." (Incidentally, the verbal form נִשְׁרָרָה used in the MT 6:12 to refer to the cows "going straight on" [so RSV] was associated by the rabbis with the noun שִׁיר "song," giving rise to the tradition that the cows sung one or another biblical "song" as they carried the ark; see, for example, *Midr. Sam.* 12.3; b. *Abod. Zar.* 24b; *Gen. Rab.* 54.4; *Midr. Tanhuma-Yelammedu* 10.7 [on Exod 37:1]).

62. Compare BL 6:12b, οἱ στατράπαι τῶν ἀλλοφύλων (see n. 14 above). Josephus's above term for the "Philistines" is the one he uses regularly in preference to the standard designation of the LXX, that is, ἀλλόφυλοι (compare Pseudo-Philo's *Allophili*). See R. de Vaux, "Les Philistins dans la Septante," in *Wort, Lied und Gottesspruch: Beiträge zur Septuaginta* (J. Ziegler *Festschrift*; ed. J. Schreiner; Würzburg: Echter, 1972) 1.185-94.

63. With Josephus's ("unbiblical") motivation for the Philistines' following of the ark, compare the motivation that he supplies for the proposal that the calves be separated from their mothers, in 6.11. Pseudo-Philo also expatiates on the destination taken by the cows (1 Sam 6:13). See *Bib. Ant.* 55.8c-9, "And then [that is, when the cows took the road to Judah, 55.8b] they were being destroyed because of the ark [compare the wise men's statement in 55.7c, if they set out on the right-hand road and go straight to Judah, we will know indeed that the God of the Jews has destroyed us]. And all the Philistines [Ginzberg, *Legends*, 6.224, n. 34, holds, in light of what follows, that the *Allophili* of the mss here is a copyist's error for *Israel* or *populi*] gathered together and returned the ark [see 6:21] to Shiloh [Ginzberg, *ibid.*, qualifies this indication as "very strange"] with timbrels and pipes and dances [this reference seems to stand under the influence of the account of David's bringing the ark to Jerusalem to the accompaniment of various musical instruments in 2 Sam 6:4]. And in place of the evil creepings things that destroyed them, they made golden tumors (*sedilia*) [here, Pseudo-Philo makes "delayed" use of the directive of 6:4-5 about the fabrication of these items]."

64. 1 Samuel 6 itself does not localize Beth-shemesh in Judah. Josephus might have derived the localization from Josh 15:10, where the city figures in a list of the boundaries of Judah's territory. Compare *Bib. Ant.* 55.8c, which has the cows proceeding along the road "which leads to Judah," but does not mention Beth-shemesh by name.

(βήθεις):<sup>65</sup> thither it was the kine came (ἀφικνουῦνται):<sup>66</sup> a *great and beautiful plain* (πεδίου)<sup>67</sup> awaited their footsteps—they would proceed no further but stayed (στήσασθαι) the wagon (ἄμαξαν) there."<sup>68</sup> Thereafter, Josephus (6.14b) presents his amplified (and dramatized) version of 6:13's notice on the Beth-shemeshites' initial reaction to the ark's appearance:

*A sight was this for the villagers and they were overcome with joy* (περιχαρῆς); for it being the summer season when all were out in the cornfields (ἀρούραις)<sup>69</sup> to gather the crops (τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν),<sup>70</sup> so soon as they saw (εἶδον) the ark, they were transported with delight (ὑπὲρ ἡδονῆς ἀρπαγέντες)<sup>71</sup> and, dropping their work from their hands, ran straight to the wain.<sup>72</sup>

The sequence of events as related in 1 Sam 6:14b-15 seems peculiar: the Beth-shemeshites first use the cows and the cart-wood to sacrifice to the Lord (v. 14b). Next, "the Levites" remove the ark and the "box" with its contents from the (supposedly already incinerated) cart and place these upon "the great stone," that is, the one previously cited in v. 14bα (v. 15a), whereupon there is renewed mention

65. MT, "Beth-shemesh"; BL βαιθσάμυς. According to A. Schlatter (*Die hebräischen Namen bei Josephus* [BFCT 17/3; Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1913] 27, the above form is a corruption of an original βήθσιμυς. Compare A. Schalit (*Namenwörterbuch zu Flavius Josephus* [Leiden: Brill, 1968] 27), who maintains that the form 131jOr1; printed by Niese and Marcus is "unrichtig" and that, in line with Lat's Bethsamis, one should read, rather, βηθσάμη.

66. Note the historic present. Josephus, in line with his tendency to leave out the names of minor biblical characters, passes over the specification of 6:14a that the cart halted "in the field of Joshua of Beth-shemesh" (note that this figure has no further role in the episode).

67. Josephus apparently derives this indication concerning the "setting" of Beth-shemesh from 6:13, which speaks of the city's inhabitants' reaping "in the valley (BL ἐν [τῇ] κοιλάδι)."

68. Compare 6:14aβ, "and (the cart) stopped (B ἔστησαν, L ἔστη) there." At this juncture, Josephus leaves out the parenthetical reference of 6:14aβ to the presence of "a great stone" at Beth-shemesh; he will, however, make reference to this object subsequently.

69. Josephus uses the word ἄρουρα three times elsewhere: *Ant.* 5.295; *Ag. Ap.* 1.86, 195

70. Compare 6:13a, "Now the people of Beth-shemesh were reaping their wheat harvest (BL ἐθέριζον θερισμὸν πυρῶν) in the valley [recall Josephus's anticipation of this last indication in 6.14a; see n. 67 above]."

71. This expression occurs only here in Josephus. With the above formulation, compare 6:13b, "and when they lifted up their eyes and saw (εἶδον, so Josephus) the ark (BL + of the Lord), they rejoiced (B ηὐφράνθησαν, L ἐχάρησαν [+ καὶ ἐπορεύθησαν]) to see [it, so the MT; BL εἰς ἀπάντησιν αὐτῆς]." Note how in 6.14b Josephus goes beyond the source in twice mentioning the "joy" of the Beth-shemeshites upon seeing the ark.

72. This appended phrase underscores the drama of the occasion as well as the magnitude of the people's "joy" at beholding the ark; see previous note.

of "sacrifice" by the Beth-shemeshites (v. 15b).<sup>73</sup> Josephus's version (6.15a) eliminates the abrupt appearance of the Levites (6:15a), making the Beth-shemeshites themselves the subject of the cart's "unpacking,"<sup>74</sup> and combines the source's separate mentions of sacrifice (6:14b, 15b) into a continuous sequence. In line with his previous description, he likewise accentuates the joyful enthusiasm of the people before the returned ark:

Then, having taken down (καθελόντες) the ark and the vessel (ἄγγος)<sup>75</sup> containing the images and the mice (ἀνδριάντας . . . μύας; see 6.10b), they set (τιθέασιν)<sup>76</sup> them upon a rock (πέτρας)<sup>77</sup> which stood in the plain (ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ),<sup>78</sup> and after offering splendid sacrifice to God (θύσαντες λαμπρῶς τῷ θεῷ)<sup>79</sup> and keeping merry feast (κατεωχθηέντες)<sup>80</sup> consumed wagon and kine (ἄμαξαν καὶ τοὺς βόας) as a burnt offering (ὠλοκαύτωσαν).<sup>81</sup>

73. On the problems of this sequence, which are often thought to be due to the secondary insertion of v. 15 with its concern for the prerogatives of the Levites as the designated carriers of the ark, see the commentaries.

74. Josephus's procedure here seems designed to prepare his subsequent (inserted) explanation (see 6.16) of God's smiting the Beth-shemeshites (so 1 Sam 6:19) for having "touched" the ark even though they were not "priests."

75. Josephus's one other use of the term ἄγγος is in *Ant.* 8.322. Compare 6.11, where he designates the object in question as γλωσσόκομον.

76. Note the historic present.

77. Compare 6:15a, where the subject of the actions mentioned is the Levites, rather than the Beth-shemeshites (so Josephus): "And the Levites took down (BL ἀνήνεγκαν) the ark of the Lord and the box (BL τὸ θέμα [+ἐργαβ, B; βαεργάζ, L, both terms being corrupted transliterations of the Hebrew יַדְיָוָה; see n. 41 above]) that was beside it, in which were the golden figures (BL σκεύη), and set (ἔθεντο) them on the great stone (BL ἐπὶ τοῦ λίθου)."

78. This specification concerning the location of the "rock" harks back to Josephus's reference to Beth-shemesh's being situated in a "great and beautiful plain (πεδίου)" in 6.14, which itself picks up on the reference to "the valley" in which the Beth-shemeshites are harvesting in 6:13a; see n. 67 above. See also the parenthetical notice of 6:14bα about there being "a great stone" in the field of Joshua of Beth-shemesh in which the ark came to rest.

79. Compare 6:15b, "and the men of Beth-shemesh offered burnt offerings and sacrificed sacrifices on that day to the Lord (BL ἀνήνεγκαν ὀλοκαυτώσεις καὶ θυσίας . . . τῷ κυριῷ)." Here, as regularly elsewhere, Josephus avoids the Bible's use, largely unprecedented in secular Greek, of "the Lord" (LXX ὁ κύριος) as a divine title. See Begg, *Josephus's Account*, 45 n. 218.

80. Josephus's insertion of this reference to the Beth-shemeshites' "feasting" before the ark is likely inspired by later occasions where the Bible mentions such feasts in connection with movements of the ark; see 2 Sam 6:19 (*Ant.* 7.86: David distributes foodstuffs to the people following his bringing the ark to Jerusalem) and 1 Kgs 8:65 (*Ant.* 8.123: Solomon's seven-day feast for the people after the installation of the ark in the Temple). (In both 7.86 and 8.123 the same verb, κατεωχέω, is used as in 6.15.) We will be noting other verbal contacts between Josephus's versions of 1 Samuel 6 (*Ant.* 6.7-18) and 2 Samuel 6 (*Ant.* 7.78-89) in what follows. On 2 Samuel 6, see my "David's Transfer of the Ark according to Josephus" (*BBR* 7 [1997] 11-35).

81. Compare 6:14b, "they split up the wood of the cart (BL ἀμάξης) and offered the cows (BL τὰς βόας) as a burnt offering (BL ἀνήνεγκαν ὀλοκαύτωσιν) to the Lord."

1 Sam 6:16 reverts momentarily to the subject of the Philistine "lords" who had followed the ark to Beth-shemesh in order to note their return to their own country. Josephus (6.15b) formulates equivalently: "And, having seen (ἰδόντες) all this, the lords (ἄρχοντες; see 6.8, 13) of the Philistines turned back again (ἀνέστρεψαν ὀπίσω)."<sup>82</sup>

In 1 Sam 6:17-18 the flow of the narrative concerning the stages of the ark's return is interrupted with a sequence featuring summary indications about three objects mentioned in what precedes, that is, the golden tumors (v. 17), the golden mice (v. 18a), and the "great stone" (v. 18a).<sup>83</sup> Josephus passes over this entire "digression" in order to proceed immediately (in 6.16) with the source's story line.<sup>84</sup>

### BETH-SHEMESH TO KIRIATH-JEARIM

The final episode in the story of the ark's return concerns its removal from Beth-shemesh to Kiriath-jearim (6:19-7:1//*Ant.* 6.16-18).<sup>85</sup> The episode is set in motion by a new catastrophe emanating from the ark. The brief biblical account of this happening (6:19) poses many problems, among which are the marked differences between the MT and BL. In the MT, v. 19a reads literally: "And he slew some of the men of Beth-shemesh because they looked into the ark (וַיַּרְאוּ בַּאֲרוֹן) <sup>86</sup> of the Lord; and he smote among the people seventy men, fifty thousand

82. Compare 6:16, "And when the *five* lords of the Philistines saw (BL ἑσώρων) it, they returned (BL ἀνέστρεψαν) *that day to Ekron* (MT, BL Akkaron)." Josephus's omission of the source specification about the place to which the lords return may hold together with the fact that he has made no previous mention of the site. Thus, whereas in the Bible Ekron/Akkaron is the last of the sites where the ark is said to have resided in Philistia (see 1 Sam 5:10) and so would presumably have been the locale at which the deliberation of 6:2-9 took place and from which the lords departed to follow the ark (see 6:12b), in Josephus's own presentation, Ekron/Akkaron is not explicitly mentioned as having been visited by the ark—just as the site of the deliberation (6.7-12) and the lords' point of departure (6.13) remain unspecified. (Compare *Bib. Ant.* 55.4, which expressly identifies the site of the deliberation as Ekron.)

83. Pseudo-Philo also follows his account of the ark's return with supplementary notices (*Bib. Ant.* 55.10) about matters cited earlier, that is, the figures for those killed by the ark-brought plague (see the allusions to this in 6:3-4, 6): 75,000 pregnant women, 75,000 sucklings, and 25,000 men. These statistics, in turn, are followed by the notice "and the land was at peace seven years."

84. I have suggested above (see n. 15) that Josephus "anticipates" the names of the five Philistine cities in 6.7 from their occurrence in 6:17 (there in connection with the golden tumors).

85. Pseudo-Philo has no equivalent to the sequence of 1 Sam 6:19-7:1.

86. The tradition evidences many attempts to clarify the nature of this "looking into" the ark and the reason for its wrongfulness. *Tg. Jon.*, for example, elaborates the MT phrase, "because they looked into the ark," as follows: "*because they rejoiced* (וַיִּרְאוּ) because they looked in the ark of the Lord *when it was exposed* (כִּי נִלְּוֹ)." See too *b. Sota* 35a; *Num. Rab.* 5.5, which cite the diverging views of R. Abbahu and R. Eleazar on

men. . . ."<sup>87</sup> BL's divergence from this reading surfaces above all at the opening of the verse: "And the sons of Jechonias were not pleased (οὐκ ἠσμένισαν)<sup>88</sup> with the men of Baithsamys because they saw the ark of the Lord. . . ." With regard to Josephus's rendition (6.16a), it is clear, first of all, that he does not follow the BL in its opening reference to the "displeasure" of the sons of Jechonias with the Beth-shemeshites. On the other hand, his version also goes its own way with respect to both the MT and BL 6:19a in several respects. It runs as follows:

Howbeit, the wrath and indignation of God (ὀργή . . . καὶ χόλος<sup>89</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ<sup>90</sup>) visited (μέτεισιν)<sup>91</sup> seventy of them of the village of Bethes (see

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the subject: R. Abbahu holds that the Beth-shemeshites' offense consisted in their continuing to reap (see 6:13) even while they prostrated themselves before the ark. For R. Eleazar it involved their disrespectful address to the ark, asking why, after allowing itself to be captured, it should now return. (*Num. Rab.* 5.5 further cites the saying of R. Levi, who speaks of the curtain of the ark getting twisted, thereby exposing it to the view of the people who were not permitted to see it; compare the reading of *Tg. Jon.* above). In the same line, *Seder Elijah Rab.* (11) 12 (58) reports that, upon seeing the ark, the Beth-shemeshites engaged in all sorts of irreverent behavior—that is, standing up, laughing, dancing around, and making unseemly comments. As for the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II" (Macdonald, *Samaritan Chronicle*, 120), it asserts that the Lord smote the Beth-shemeshites because they took for themselves "the golden mice and golden calves [which apparently they found in or alongside the ark], these being an abomination to the Lord." See also the commentaries for further speculations about the matter.

87. It is especially this phrase of the MT 6:19a with its lack of a copula between the two numerals and repetition of the term "men" that has generated many efforts at elucidation in the translational and exegetical tradition. For example, *Tg. Jon.* renders "and he killed among *the elders* of the people seventy men *and among the assembly* (שִׁבְעֵי אֶלְפֵי אִישׁ) fifty thousand men" (compare Vulgate "et percussit de populo septaginta viros et quinquaginta millia plebis"). In these translations an explicit distinction is introduced between two categories of "men," that is, the leaders and the ordinary people. In the same line, *Seder Elijah Rab.* (11) 12 (58) and *y. Sanh.* 2.4 identify the "fifty thousand" with the ordinary Israelites and the "seventy" with the membership of the Great Sanhedrin. *B. Sota* 35b; *Num. Rab.* 5.9, for their part, cite the conflicting views of Rabbis Abbahu and Eleazar, both of whom, however, hold that the two figures denote the same group: for R. Abbahu the 70 who were actually slain were each equal to 50,000 men, while for R. Eleazar the 50,000 slain each equaled in worth the 70 members of the Sanhedrin. See the commentaries for further discussion.

88. Compare the reading of the *Vetus Latina* MSS L<sup>93,94</sup>, "non substinuerunt filii Jechoniae"; see BHS.

89. This is Josephus's sole use of this collocation.

90. Josephus also uses the above phrase, "indignation (χόλος) of God," in *J.W.* 7.34; *Ant.* 2.292; 9.248; cf. *Ag. Ap.* 1.236. Josephus's invocation of the divine "wrath and indignation" here may be inspired by the episode of the initial, abortive attempt to transport the ark to Jerusalem under David, as related in 2 Sam 6:7//1 Chr 13:10. In these passages "the anger of the Lord was kindled against Uzzah," the ark's attendant, for stretching out his hand to the ark, which was in danger of being tipped over (compare Josephus's version of this notice in *Ant.* 7.81, "Ozas met his death through the wrath of God [κατ' ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ; see ὀργή . . . τοῦ θεοῦ, 6.16]"). See n. 80 above.

91. Note the historic present.

6.14)<sup>92</sup> whom (οὓς)<sup>93</sup> He smote and slew (βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν BL ἐπάταξεν)<sup>94</sup> for approaching the ark (προσλθόντας αὐτῆ)<sup>95</sup> *which not being priests* (ἱερεῖς . . . οὐκ ἦσαν), *they were not worthy to touch* (ἄψατο). . . .<sup>96</sup>

In 1 Sam 6:19b "the people mourn" because of the "great slaughter" the Lord had wrought among them. Josephus (6.16b) elaborates on their response: "The villagers bewailed (ἐκλαυσαν) these victims (παθόντας), raising over them (ἐπ' αὐτοῖς)<sup>97</sup> a lamentation (πένθος; compare the verbal cognate ἐπένθησεν in BL 6.19b) such as was fitting over a God-sent (θεοπέμπτω)<sup>98</sup> evil (κακῶ),<sup>99</sup> *and each man mourned* (ἀπεθρήνει) *his own*." There follows the anguished double question of

92. Josephus makes no mention of the 50,000 men who, according to both the MT and BL, were smitten along with the 70. According to Marcus (*Josephus*, 5.172 note b), the former figure is a gloss, from which "the biblical text of Josephus was free"; similarly, for example, McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 131, ad loc.; H. J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (KAT 8/1; Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973) 149, ad loc. Given, however, the presence of the 50,000 figure in all but a few Hebrew MSS (see BHS), it seems equally (if not more) plausible to suppose that whereas the figure did, in fact, appear in Josephus's biblical text(s), he omitted it on the same grounds, historical verisimilitude (a "village" like Beth-shemesh would hardly have had 50,000 inhabitants), that lead almost all modern critics to excise it as a gloss. See S. I. Feigen, "Shemesh the Son of Yahweh," *JQR* NS 28 (1937-38) 225-42, esp. p. 227: "Josephus . . . omits the large number entirely."

93. This is the conjecture of Niese followed by Marcus for the ὡς of the codices.

94. The above formulation ("the wrath and anger of God visited . . . and He smote") accentuates the divine involvement in the happening in comparison with the unexpressed subject of the MT 6:19's double "he smote."

95. Compare 6:19, "because they looked into the ark (so the MT בָּאֲרוֹן בָּרְאוּ)/BL, "they saw (εἶδαν) the ark. . . ."

96. This "explanation" of the Beth-shemeshites' destruction (which picks up on his earlier modification (6.15) of 1 Sam 6:15's making them, not the Levites, the ones who remove ark and coffer from the wagon) is unique to Josephus; compare the sources cited in n. 87. On the other hand, it is quite reminiscent of the (likewise "unbiblical") notice that Josephus appends to his mention of the death of Uzzah, the ark's attendant during David's initial attempt to move it to Jerusalem, in *Ant.* 7.81 (//2 Sam 6:7// 1 Chr 13:10): "because he had touched (ἥψατο) it though not a priest (μὴ ὢν ἱερεὺς), God caused his death." In both instances, Josephus's invocation of the nonpriestly status of those (illegitimately) handling the ark as the ground for God's smiting them is likely inspired by David's word to the Levites in 1 Chr 15:13 following Uzzah's death: "Because you did not carry it the first time, the Lord our God broke forth upon us, because we did not care for it in the way ordained." See nn. 80, 90 above.

97. This is the conjecture of Niese that Marcus follows for the ἐπ' αὐτούς of the codices.

98. The term θεοπέμπος is a *hapax* in Josephus.

99. This term echoes ironically (now that the victims are the Israelites themselves) the *Leitwort* of Josephus's account of the ark's devastating effects upon the Philistines; see 6.4, 7, 9. With the above "motivation" of the Beth-shemeshites' mourning, compare the motivation in 6:19bβ, "because the Lord had made a (BL + very) great laughter among the people."

the Beth-shemeshites (6:20): "who is able to stand before the Lord? and to whom shall he (MT; BL, the ark of the Lord) go up away from us?" Josephus (6.17a) converts the first of these questions into an indirect discourse statement: "Then, pronouncing themselves unworthy (ἀναξίους; cf. ἀξίους, 6.16) of retaining the ark among them. . . ." He leaves aside the second source question, likely because, in the biblical presentation, the question appears otiose, given the fact that immediately after posing it (6:20b), the Beth-shemeshites answer it themselves by summoning the people of Kiriath-jearim to come and take the ark from them (6:21). In addition, however, Josephus so modifies the notice of 6:21 itself that the Beth-shemeshites do not presume to "dispose of" the—highly dangerous—ark on their own initiative. Rather, "they sent word to the general assembly (κοινόν) of the Hebrews (Ἑβραίων; see 6.12)<sup>100</sup> that the ark had been restored (ἀποδεδόσθαι) by the Philistines."<sup>101</sup> In line with his preceding modification of the source's presentation, Josephus likewise adapts the notice of 7:1α about the people of Kiriath-jearim coming to "pick up" the ark as they are asked to do by the Beth-shemeshites in 6.21b. Instead, Josephus (6.17b) makes the Hebrew "assembly" the subject of the ark's transport: "And these, on hearing thereof, conveyed (ἀποκομίζουσιν;<sup>102</sup> BL 7:1 ἀνάγουσιν) it to Kiriathiareim (Καριαθιαρείμ BL), *a neighboring city of the village of Bethes*."<sup>103</sup>

1 Sam 7:1αβ relates what happened once the ark arrived in Kiriath-jearim, that is, its being deposited "in the house of Abinadab on the hill." Josephus (6.18a) leaves aside the (extraneous) indication concerning the site of Abinadab's house, while also supplying a motivation for the choice precisely of this figure as the ark's host. His rendition reads:

100. This reference to "the general assembly of the Hebrews" seems to be an anachronism reflecting much later patterns of organization among the Jews, themselves inspired by Greco-Roman models; see, for example, *Ant.* 13.166, where in his version of 1 Macc 12:6, Josephus quotes the salutation of Jonathan's letter to the Spartans with its mention of the "council of priests" (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν ἱερέων [codex V reads Ἰουδαίων]). At the same time, this depiction of the Beth-shemeshites' referring matters to a "higher authority" might also be inspired by the biblical account of 1 Sam 5:8, 11, in which the Ashdodites and Ekronites, respectively, assemble "the lords of the Philistines" in order to get direction from them about what is to be done with the devastator ark.

101. Compare the direct-address report of the Beth-shemeshites to the people of Kiriath-jearim in 6:21a13: "The Philistines have returned (B ἀπεστρόφασιν, L ἀπέστρεψαν) the ark of the Lord."

102. Note the historic present.

103. With this interpolated specification concerning the localization of Kiriath-jearim, compare Josephus's (likewise inserted) indication that "Bethes" was "a village of the tribe of Judah," in 6.14.

and since there lived (καταβιούντος)<sup>104</sup> there a man of the stock of Levi (τινὸς Λευίτου),<sup>105</sup> Aminadab (᾿Αμιναδάβου,<sup>106</sup> reputed for his piety and righteousness (δικαιοσύνη καὶ θρησκεία),<sup>107</sup> they brought the ark into his house (εἰς οἰκίαν . . . ἤγαγον, BL 7:1 εἰσάγουσιν . . . εἰς οἶκον), as to a place beseeming God (πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ),<sup>108</sup> being the abode of a righteous (δίκαιος)<sup>109</sup> man.<sup>110</sup>

The biblical story of the ark's return ends up in 7:1b with a notice on the "consecration" of Abinadab's son Eleazar as the ark's custodian. Josephus's version "generalizes" the source's reference to Eleazar, while also appending two chronological indications drawn from other contexts in 1 Samuel 6-7. It states: "This man's (Aminadab's) sons (παῖδες; BL 7:1b, υἱόν)<sup>111</sup> tended (ἐθεράπευον) and had

104. Josephus's one remaining use of the verb καταβιόω is in *Ant.* 3.314.

105. 1 Sam 7:1 says nothing about "Abinadab's" ancestry. Josephus probably derives his indication of the matter from 1 Chr 15:10-11, which lists 'Aminadab' (thus Josephus's form of the name in 6.18; see below) among the Levites addressed by David after the failure of his first attempt at moving the ark. See S. Rappaport, *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* (Vienna: Alexander Kohut Foundation, 1930) 47, §194: "Jos. denkt irrthümlich an den 1 Chr. 15, 10, 11 genannten Leviten Aminadab." In any case, Josephus (*Ant.* 7.83) provides the ark's later host, that is, "Obed-edom the Gittite" (so 2 Sam 6:10//1 Chr 13:13), with a Levitical ancestry as well, doing so, it appears, on the basis of 1 Chr 15:18, where "Obed-edom" figures as one of the two Levitical "gate-keepers" in a list of those appointed by David.

106. This form of the name corresponds to the one in L 7:1 (᾿Αμιναδάβ). Compare the MT 'Abinadab' and B ᾿Αμειναδάβ.

107. This collocation recurs in *Ant.* 8.120, where Solomon prays that the people might continue "in righteousness and worship." The above indication concerning 'Aminadab' lacks any biblical basis. It does, however, supply a further motivation for the choice of his house as the ark's residence.

108. Variants of this expression occur in *Ant.* 8.107 (Solomon used words that he considered "suitable to the divine nature" [τῇ θεῖα φύσει πρέποντας]); *Ag. Ap.* 2.168 (Moses' doctrines have "consonance with the nature and majesty of God" [πρέποντα τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ φύσει καὶ μεγαλειότητι]), 255 ("a true and befitting [πρέπουσαν] conception of God").

109. The use of this term in describing Aminadab both echoes and reinforces the characterization of him as "reputed for his righteousness (δικαιοσύνη) and piety" earlier in 6.18.

110. The appended phrase, "being the abode of a righteous man," draws out the implications of the previous inserted characterizations of Aminadab: the house of such a man is indeed suited for the ark's residence.

111. Josephus's substitution of this generalized reference for the Bible's proper name "Eleazar" corresponds to his omission of the name "Joshua of Beth-shemesh" in his version of 1 Sam 6:14 (cf. 6:18) in 6.14. The substitution may be further inspired by the fact that, in the account of David's initial transport of the ark in 2 Sam 6:3//1 Chr 13:7, Eleazar is not mentioned among the sons of Aminadab (that is, Uzzah and Ahio) who attend the ark on that occasion (in Josephus's version of this notice in *Ant.* 7.80, the reference is to Aminadab's "brothers and sons" [παισίον]; see παῖδες, 6.18). Here too, then, it appears that Josephus's retelling of the story of the ark's return from Philistia has been influenced by the subsequent account of its transfer to Jerusalem under David. See nn. 80, 90, 96, 105 above.

the charge (ἐπιμελείας . . . προέστησαν)<sup>112</sup> of it *for twenty years; for it remained all that time at Kariathiareim,*<sup>113</sup> *after spending four months among the Philistines.*"<sup>114</sup>

## CONCLUSIONS

I shall now sum up briefly my findings regarding the questions with which I began. The first question concerned Josephus's biblical text(s) for *Ant.* 6.7-18. My study yielded only rather limited indications on this point. We did, however, note that Josephus (6.16) goes together with the MT 1 Sam 6:19 against BL in making no mention of the "sons of Jechonias" in connection with the disaster that befalls Bethshemesh. On the other hand, his rendition of the Philistine place-names in 6.8 corresponds to those of BL 6:17, just as his name for the ark's host in Kiriath-jearim, "Aminadab" (see 6.18), agrees with that of L 7:1 *contra* the MT's "Abinadab." In addition, we came upon at least two noteworthy instances of Josephus's possible utilization of a biblical text divergent from any of the witnesses consulted, that is, his nonmention of the 50,000 killed at Bethshemesh along with the 70 (6.16; compare 6:19), and the figure "four months" for the ark's stay in Philistia (6.18; compare 6:1's "seven months").<sup>115</sup> Our study thus seems to suggest that, in composing *Ant.* 6.7-18, Josephus had various text-forms of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 available to him.

My second opening question had to do with the nature and effects of the "rewriting techniques" applied by Josephus to the source data in the story of the ark's return. This study has called attention to a range of such techniques which might be summed up under four

112. Compare 7:1b, "(they consecrated Eleazar) to have charge (BL φυλάσσειν) of the ark. . . ."

113. Josephus "anticipates" this figure for the duration of the ark's stay at Kiriath-jearim from 1 Sam 7: a ("from the day that the ark was lodged in Kiriath-jearim a long time passed, *some twenty years*").

114. This is Josephus's "delayed" equivalent to the chronological indication concerning the time of the ark's stay in Philistia in 1 Sam 6:1 (see above). There, however, the figure given is seven months." It remains unclear whether Josephus's shorter figure reflects a different text-form of 1 Sam 6:1 (thus O. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* [2d ed.; KEH 4; Leipzig: Hirzel, 1864] xxiv, who suggests that in Josephus's Hebrew text of 1 Sam 6:1 the Letter  $\daleth$ , symbolizing the numeral "seven," had been miscopied as a  $\beth$  = "four") or his own "reduction" of the biblical one. In favor of the latter possibility, one might suppose that Josephus himself "reduced" the source figure so as to accentuate the effectiveness of the ark's campaign of terror against the Philistines, which compelled them to release the object, not after seven months, but already after only four.

115. In both of these instances I suggested, however, that it is at least equally likely that Josephus himself is responsible for the divergence vis-à-vis the biblical reading; see nn. 92, 114 above.

(intimately interrelated) heads, as follows: (1) additions/expansions, (2) omissions/abridgements, (3) rearrangements, and (4) modifications/adaptations. In this summation of my findings, I now recall some notable examples of each of these techniques.

### 1. *Additions/Expansions*

Throughout *Ant.* 6.7-18, Josephus expatiates on the content of the source story in various ways. In 6.7 he provides an expansive transition to the subsequent account of the ark's return. He also introduces "rationales" for a series of items mentioned without such explanations in the source: the proposed procedure with regard to the cows and the calves (6.11; compare 6:7), the Philistine "lords" following of the ark (6.13; compare 6:12), and God's smiting of the Beth-shemeshites (6.16; compare 6:19). He further inserts localizations for the story's sites; that is, Bethes "a village of the tribe of Judah" (6.14; compare 6:12ff.) and Kiriath-jearim "a neighboring city of . . . Bethes" (6.18; compare 6:21). In the same line, he qualifies the ark's "point of departure" as "a place where three roads meet" (6.11, 13; compare 6:8b) and the "valley/plain" of Beth-shemesh (see 6:13) as "great and beautiful" (6.14). His Beth-shemeshites not only "sacrifice" (so 6:14-15), but, like the Israelites at the time of David's transfer of the ark, "feast merrily" (6.15). Similarly, their "joy" at seeing the ark is noted, not just once (so 6:13) but twice (6.14), that joy being further accentuated by mention of their "dropping their work" and "running straight" to the wagon (6.14; compare 6:13). Finally, Josephus works into the conclusion of his account an elaborate characterization of "Aminadab," this serving to account for the choice of him as the ark's host in Kiriath-jearim (6.18; compare 7:1).

### 2. *Omissions/Abridgments*

Conversely, Josephus leaves out a variety of source elements. Of these "omissions," most can be called minor. He has, for example, no equivalent to the (contextually inappropriate) question as to why the Philistines are hardening their hearts like the Egyptians (6:6) or to the "otiose" self-query of the Beth-shemeshites about what they are to do with the ark (6:20b). He omits as well a variety of "nonessential" particulars of the source account in 6:10-7:1: the cows' "lowing" as they proceed (6:12), the mention of Joshua and his field in Beth-shemesh as the ark's stopping point (6:14), the Philistine lords' return "to Ekron" (6:16; compare 6.15), and the localization of Aminadab/

Abinadab's house "on the hill" (7:1; compare 6.18).<sup>116</sup> At the same time, however, Josephus also jettisons a whole longer sequence of the biblical story, that is, the "digression" of 1 Sam 6:17-18 with its summarizing notices on the tumors, mice, and the great stone at Beth-shemesh.

### 3. *Rearrangements*

Josephus not only adds and deletes in *Ant.* 6.7-18, he also rearranges the sequence of source items. In particular, he "anticipates" the list of Philistine cities from 6:17 in 6.8, and the chronological indication about the ark's twenty-year stay in Kiriath-jearim (7:2) in 6.18. By contrast, he "delays" the reference to the duration of the ark's residence in Philistia (6:1) to the very end of his account (6.18), while also "holding over" mention of the "stone" (6:14) to the moment when the ark and offerings are placed upon it (6.15). Reversing the order of 6:7-8, he cites first (6.11) the directive about the placing of the offerings in a box and the setting of the box beside the ark (v. 8ba); only then does he mention the proposals concerning the cart, the cows, and their calves (v. 7). Similarly, he notes (6.14) the cows' coming to a stop before describing the Beth-shemeshites' "joy" at seeing the ark (contrast 6:13-14a) and combines into a continuous sequence (6.15) the source's two separate references to sacrifice at Beth-shemesh (6:14b, 15b).

### 4. *Modifications/Adaptations*

Of all of Josephus's rewriting techniques in 6.7-18, however, the most conspicuous is his recurrent modifications/adaptations of the source's wording, style, and content. Terminologically, for example, he avoids the biblical divine title of "Lord," substituting "God" for this in his rendering of 6:18 in 6.16. In regard to style, he introduces a number of historic presents (five times in our pericope) and replaces the direct discourse of the Beth-shemeshites' words in 6:20-21 with indirect (6.17). His many content modifications include the following: The question-and-answer sequence between the Philistines and their "priests and diviners" in 6:2-9 is recast as a discussion among three factions within the body of the Philistine "lords" (6.8-12). The golden

116. Another source "particular" that has no equivalent in Josephus is the mention of the 50,000 slain at Beth-shemesh according to 1 Sam 6:19. Assuming that Josephus did have this item available in his biblical text(s), his reason for omitting it would likely have been the realization of its inverisimilitude, given Beth-shemesh's status as a mere "village" (so 6.14); see n. 92 above.

"images" are to function as a "thank-offering" for God's preservation of the Philistines' lives (6.10) rather than as a "guilt offering" (so 6:4-5, 8). In narrating the "execution" of the proposals made regarding the return of the ark, Josephus (6.13) substitutes indications of his own (the making of the images and the mice, the placing of the wagon at the cross-roads) for those cited in 1 Sam 6:10-11 (the yoking of the cows to the cart, shutting up of the calves, and placing of the ark and the offering-box upon the cart). It is the Beth-shemeshites themselves, not the Levites (so 6:15), who remove the ark and the offering-box from the cart (6.15).<sup>117</sup> Those same Beth-shemeshites, on the other hand, do not in Josephus's presentation presume to dispose of the ark themselves, that is, by summoning the people of Kiriath-jearim to fetch it (so 6:21). Instead, they refer the matter to "the general assembly of the Hebrews" which, in turn, assigns the ark to Kiriath-jearim (6.17). Moreover, likely in view of the subsequent story of David's transfer of the ark (2 Samuel 6//1 Chronicles 13-16), Josephus (6.18) "generalizes" the scriptural mention of Abinadab's son "Eleazar" (7:1b) into an allusion to "this man's sons."<sup>118</sup>

A further question related to the one concerning Josephus's rewriting of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 that I posed at the outset is whether his rewriting evidences affinities with other postbiblical documents. My reading of *Ant.* 6.7-18 has, in fact, revealed several such affinities between Josephus and Pseudo-Philo's *Bib. Ant.* 55.4-10 where each diverges from the biblical account. Specifically, both report a difference of opinion among the Philistines as to what is to be done with the ark (6.8-12//55.4-7), just as they both refer to the ark's being placed at the "juncture of three roads" (6.11, 13 // 55.7-8).<sup>119</sup>

My final opening question asked how Josephus's version of the story of the ark's return compares overall with the version of its

117. This instance provides a good example of the interrelatedness of Josephus's rewriting techniques in *Ant.* 6.7-18 in that the "modification" in question is designed to set up the inserted explanation in 6.16 (compare 6:19) of the divine smiting of the Beth-shemeshites. See n. 74 above.

118. One further (possible) adaptation by Josephus of the source's content is his "reduction" of the seven months that the ark spent in Philistia according to 6:1 to a mere four (so 6.18). Here, however, the "modification" might, in fact, be due to a divergent biblical text used by Josephus; see n. 114 above.

119. These affinities need, however, to be balanced against the far more numerous differences between the two authors' presentations: the "difference in opinion" in Pseudo-Philo is actually only a matter of a "supplementary amendment" to a previous proposal (see n. 17 above), just as the discussion quoted by him in 55.4-7 involves the Philistines, their wise men, and diviners (cf. 1 Sam 6:2), rather than three factions of the Philistine "lords," as in *Ant.* 6.8-12. In addition, for Pseudo-Philo, if the cows do not proceed to Judah, this will indicate that the Philistines have been punished for their denial of "their own gods" (55.7), whereas according to Josephus (6.12), here following the Bible (1 Sam 6:9), it will make clear that the disasters they have experienced

biblical source. In responding to this last question, I would make the following points: By leaving out the "digression" of 6:17-18, Josephus enhances the flow of the narrative. At the same time, he also introduces numerous explanatory indications designed to gratify readers' curiosity about, for example, the location of places mentioned in the story as well as the reasons underlying what is said and done. His version likewise seems to have been consciously formulated as a kind of *Vorspiel* to the later story of David's transfer of the ark (see nn. 80, 90, 96, 111), a change that served to further the unity of his work as a whole. Finally, several of his reworkings of the source's presentation (the triangular discussion among the Philistine lords [6.8-12], the Beth-shemeshites taking their case to the "general assembly of the Hebrews" [6.17]) appear intended to make the story more accessible to the political interests and institutional experiences of his Greco-Roman readers, for whom deliberation and decision by assemblies played so large a role.<sup>120</sup> All of these features, I suggest, evidence Josephus's endeavor, not simply to recapitulate the Bible's story of the return of the ark, but to improve upon it, in hopes of thereby making the story more palatable to a cultivated and demanding (Gentile) readership.

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are due to "chance." Again, unlike Josephus, Pseudo-Philo does not mention "Beth-shemesh" by name and has no equivalent to the episode of the ark's transfer to Kiriath-jearim (6.16-18//6:19-7:1). In place of the latter sequence, he concludes his version of 1 Sam 6:1-7:1 with a complex of notices peculiar to himself, that is, the measures undertaken by the Philistines in honor of the returning ark (55.9), the statistics for the Philistines slain during the ark's stay among them (55.10ab), and finally, mention of the seven years of peace that the land enjoyed (55.10c).

120. On the concern with catering to the political interests of his Greco-Roman readers as a recurrent concern throughout Josephus's rewriting of the Bible in the *Jewish Antiquities*, 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. M. J. Mulder and H. Sysling; CRINT 2/1; Assen: van Gorcum, 1988) 455-518, esp. pp. 496-98. One might see a further instance of an attempted *captatio benevolentiae* of Gentile readers in Josephus's transformation of the "guilt offering" of 1 Sam 6:4-5 into a "thank offering" (6.10) expressive of the Philistines' realization of the Israelites' God's "care for their salvation" (6.10). Such an indication would help engender Gentile good-will toward a God (and that God's people) whose care is not, as even his enemies the Philistines acknowledge here, limited to his own worshipers.