

## The Anointing of Saul according to Josephus

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*1 Samuel 9:1–10:16, the account of the anointing of Saul by Samuel, constitutes one of the key passages of the book of Samuel. This essay studies Josephus's retelling of the biblical passage in Ant. 6.45–59. The investigation focuses on three main questions: the text-form(s) of the biblical account used by Josephus; the re-writing techniques he employs and the distinctive version of the anointing narrative that results from their application; and Josephus's handling of the episode in relation to other early treatments of it.*

*Key Words: Josephus, Saul, Samuel, LXX, biblical retelling*

1 Samuel 9:1–10:16, the story of Saul's anointing by Samuel, its preliminaries and immediate sequels, constitutes an initial high point in the books of Samuel.<sup>1</sup> In this essay, I shall focus on the retelling of the episode by Josephus in *Ant.* 6.45–59.<sup>2</sup> My investigation aims to address three over-arching questions about the Josephan version and its biblical Vorlage. First, given the many differences among the major ancient witnesses for 1 Sam 9:1–10:16—that is, the MT (BHS), 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,<sup>3</sup> the Codex Vaticanus (hereafter B)<sup>4</sup>

1. On this text, in addition to the commentaries, see: A. M. Spykerboer, "Geheimzinnigheid en geheimenis in 1 Samuël 9–10," *Amsterdamse Cahiers voor exegese en bijbelse theologie* 11 (1992): 35–41; F. Deist, "Coincidence as a Motif of Divine Intervention in 1 Samuel 9," *OTE* 6 (1993): 7–18; P. Ignatius, "1 Sam 9,1–10,16: Have the Davidic Propagandists Capitalized on the Folktales about Saul to Enhance the Image of David?" *Bible Bhasyam* 28 (2002): 632–55.

2. For the text and translation of this passage, I use Josephus, *Ant.* 5.188–97 (trans. R. Marcus; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press). I have further consulted the text of B. Niese, *Flavii Iosephi Opera* (2nd ed.; 6 vols.; Berlin: Weidmann, 1955), 2.14–18; as well as the more recent text and annotated translation of E. Nodet, *Flavius Josephus III: Les Antiquités Juives Livres VI et VII* (Paris: Cerf, 2001), 16–21\*.

3. I use the text of this manuscript (which preserves portions of 1 Sam 9:16–10:19 in col. IX) given in A. Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran: 4QSam<sup>a</sup> Restored and Compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>* (STDJ 43; Leiden: Brill, 2001), 16; and the translation of M. Abegg Jr., P. Flint, and E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Bible* (San Francisco: Harper, 1999), 222–24.

4. For B, I use A. E. Brooke, N. Maclean, and H. St. J. Thackeray, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus*, vol. 2/1: *I and II Samuel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). I have likewise consulted the translation of its text of 1 Kgdms 9:1–10:16 and the notes on this in B. Grillet and M. Lestienne, *Premier Livre des Règnes* (La Bible d'Alexandrie 9/1; Paris: Cerf, 1997), 199–216.

and the Lucianic (hereafter L) or Antiochene manuscripts<sup>5</sup> of the LXX, the *Vetus Latina* (hereafter VL),<sup>6</sup> and *Targum Jonathan* on the Former Prophets (hereafter *Tg. Neb.*)<sup>7</sup>—which text-form(s) of the passage did Josephus refer to in *Ant.* 6.45–59? Second, what sorts of rewriting techniques did Josephus employ in developing his own version of the biblical story, and what are the distinctive features of the former vis-à-vis the latter that result from the application of these? Finally, how does Josephus’s version of the anointing of Saul compare with the presentations of it found in other early extrabiblical traditions concerning the episode?<sup>8</sup>

In proceeding now to my study of *Ant.* 6.45–59, I break the segment down into ten shorter units as follows: (1) Saul introduced (6.45); (2) asses sought unsuccessfully (6.46a); (3) Saul-servant exchange (6.46b–48a); (4) encounter with maidens (6.48b); (5) Saul meets Samuel (6.49–51); (6) Banquet and overnight (6.52); (7) Saul anointed (6.53–54a); (8) signs announced (6.54b–57a); (9) signs fulfilled (6.57b); and (10) Saul reports to Abner (6.58–59).

#### SAUL INTRODUCED

The biblical passage begins in 1 Sam 9:1 with mention of Saul’s father, “Kish,” his tribal affiliation, four generations of his ancestors, and his socioeconomic position. Josephus’s version (*Ant.* 6.45a) leaves out the names of Kish’s ancestors.<sup>9</sup> “Now there was a man<sup>10</sup> of the tribe of Benjamin of good birth and virtuous character, named Kis.”<sup>11</sup>

5. For the text of L, I use N. Fernández Marcos and J. R. Busto Saiz, eds., *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega*, vol. 1: 1–2 Samuel (Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 50; Madrid: CSIC, 1989).

6. For the VL readings of those parts of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 preserved in the margins of various Spanish Vulgate manuscripts, I use C. M. Rodríguez, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas Españolas: 1–2 Samuel* (Textos y estudios “Cardenal Cisneros” 48; Madrid: CSIC, 1989), 2–13.

7. For the text of *Tg. Nebi'im*, I use A. Sperber, *The Bible in Aramaic* (vol. 2; Leiden: Brill, 1959), and for the translation, D. J. Harrington and A. J. Saldarini, *Targum Jonathan of the Former Prophets* (ArBib 10; Wilmington, Del.: Michael Glazier, 1987).

8. For purposes of comparison with Josephus, I shall concentrate on three such documents which preserve versions of remarks on 1 Sam 9:1–10:16: Pseudo-Philo’s *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (hereafter L.A.B.) 56.4–7 (see H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo’s Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum with Latin Text and English Translation* [vol. 1; AGJU 31; Leiden: Brill, 1996] 79–80 [Latin text], 184–85 [translation]); the “Samaritan Chronicle No. II” (see J. Macdonald, *The Samaritan Chronicle No. II [or Sepher ha Yamim] from Joshua to Nebuchadnezzar* [BZAW 107; Berlin: de Gruyter, 1969], 122–23); and the *Midrash on Samuel* (hereafter *Midr. Sam.*) 13.7–14.6 (see A. Wünsche, *Der Midrash Samuel* [Leipzig: Pfeiffer, 1910], 79–87). I shall also note other comments on the Samuel passage found elsewhere in the corpus of Jewish exegetical writings as appropriate.

9. Josephus’s elimination of these names corresponds to his nonreproduction of the four generations of ancestors given for Samuel’s father, Elkanah, in 1 Sam 1:1 in *Ant.* 5.342. His omission of the names here in 6.45 allows him to sidestep the problem posed by the divergent biblical notices on the name of Kish’s father (and Saul’s grandfather), who is called “Abiel” in 1 Sam 9:1 itself but “Ner” in the genealogies of 1 Chr 8:33 and 9:39. In contrast to Josephus,

In introducing Saul himself, 1 Sam 9:2 focuses attention on his physique; he is “young and handsome” (MT בַּחֹר וְטוֹב), with none among the Israelites being more handsome (literally, “good,” טוב) than he, who himself stands a head taller than any of his compatriots. Josephus (6.45b) highlights rather Saul’s inner attributes: “He [Kish] had a son, a youth of noble presence and tall of stature,<sup>12</sup> and withal gifted with a spirit and mind surpassing these outward advantages; they called him Saul.”<sup>13</sup>

#### ASSES SOUGHT UNSUCCESSFULLY

The action that eventuates in Saul’s being anointed king begins in 1 Sam 9:3, in which his father “loses” his asses and dispatches Saul and a servant to look for them. Josephus (*Ant.* 6.46a) elaborates on this notice, spelling out how the loss occurred and why Kish would have sent his own son to look for them: “This Kish, one day when some *fine* asses of his had strayed from the pastures, in which he took more delight than in all that he possessed, sent off his son with one servant in search of the beasts.”<sup>14</sup> As described in 1 Sam 9:4, the pair’s search takes them through four named locales, ranging from the hill country of Ephraim, through the land of Shalishah, the land of Shalim, and finally the land of Benjamin, always without result.

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the “Samaritan Chronicle No. II” (see Macdonald, 122) does reproduce the biblical list of Saul’s ancestors (otherwise this document limits itself to mentioning Samuel’s affection for Saul and then proceeds directly to Samuel’s public designation of Saul as king [// 1 Sam 10:25], passing over the content of 1 Sam 9:2–10:16[17–24]). Pseudo-Philo, for his part, begins his version of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 with mention (*L.A.B.* 56.4) of Saul the son of Kish “coming from Mount Ephraim in search of his father’s asses,” a notice that compresses the content of 1 Sam 9:1–4 into a single, short sentence.

10. As in the Bible itself, Josephus’s mention of Kish (*Ant.* 6.45 // 1 Sam 9:1) is rather loosely attached to the conclusion of the story of Israel’s demand for a king (6.35–44 // 1 Sam 8:1–22). On *Ant.* 6.35–44, see my “Israel’s Demand for a King according to Josephus,” *Mus* 110 (1997): 329–48.

11. The characterization “of the tribe of Benjamin of good birth” takes the place of the four-member list of Kish’s ancestors given in 1 Sam 9:1; see n. 9 above. The moral qualification of Kish (“virtuous character”) replaces the more socioeconomic terminology used of him in 1 Sam 9:1, that is, גִּבּוֹר חַיִל (MT; RSV: “a man of wealth”); ἀνὴρ δυνατός; (LXX B; ισχύς, LXX L).

12. This reference to Saul’s height omits the specification about Saul’s being taller than any of his fellows with which 1 Sam 9:2 concludes. That notice has a parallel in 1 Sam 10:23 which Josephus does reproduce in *Ant.* 6.65.

13. I italicize elements of Josephus’s presentation such as the above that have no direct counterpart in the biblical account. The addition—which might be inspired by the polyvalence of the word “good” as signifying both physical (see the RSV) and moral attributes that is used twice of Saul in 1 Sam 9:2 (see above)—is one of Josephus’s many positive retouchings of the Bible’s portrayal of Saul. On the Josephan Saul overall, see L. H. Feldman, *Josephus’s Interpretation of the Bible* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 27; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 509–36.

14. 1 Samuel 9:3b cites the direct-address command that Kish gives Saul about going in search of the asses. In line with his frequent practice Josephus recasts this as an indirect-address statement. On the phenomenon, see my *Josephus’ Account of the Early Divided Monarchy* (AJ 8,212–420) (BETL 108; Leuven: Leuven University Press / Peeters, 1993), 12–13 n. 38.

Josephus (6.46b), more logically, has the search begin in the territory of Kish's own tribe, Benjamin (see 6.45 // 1 Sam 9:1), and eliminates the Bible's remaining place-names (of which "Shalishah" and "Shalim" are quite obscure). The version of 1 Sam 9:4 generated by these moves reads then: "And he, after going all over his father's tribe in quest of the asses (ἔξ-ερευυῶν τὰς ὄνους),<sup>15</sup> passed over to the other tribes, and failing there also to find them. . . ."

A new segment of the biblical account begins in 1 Sam 9:5 where, upon their arrival "in the land of Zuph (MT צוף, LXX B Σείφ, LXX L Σιφά)," Saul summons the servant to return with him, out of concern that Kish will by now have ceased "to care about the asses and become anxious about us."<sup>16</sup> Josephus "delays" giving his equivalent to the geographical indication of 1 Sam 9:5a, while turning (*Ant.* 6.46c) Saul's word to the servant into an inner reflection: "[he] resolved to return, lest he should now cause his father anxiety concerning himself."<sup>17</sup>

#### SAUL-SERVANT EXCHANGE

In Josephus's presentation, a new sequence (*Ant.* 6.47–48a) commences once the pair of seekers reaches the endpoint of their wanderings. As noted above, 1 Sam 9:5a identifies the site in question as "the land of Zuph." In view of the reference to "this city" in 9:6 and the presence of Samuel in what follows, Josephus (6.47a) makes their halting place the hometown of Samuel: "But when they were over against the city of Armatha. . . ."<sup>18</sup>

In 1 Sam 9:6 the servant offers his suggestion about their first consulting a "man of God" in response to Saul's urging (9:5b) that they now return. As noted above, Josephus's own equivalent to 9:5b in *Ant.* 6.46c involves an inner reflection by Saul that is seemingly not communicated to the servant. Accordingly, he now (6.47a) has the servant initiate the discussion at "Armatha," likewise modifying his words in several respects. These read: "the servant who accompanied him told him that there was

15. This phrase is absent in the Greek codices of *Antiquities* designated ROM and omitted by Niese. It is read, on the basis of the other witnesses, by both Marcus and Nodet.

16. *Tosefta Berakot* 4.18 sees in Saul's use of the phrase "for us" an indication of Saul's humility—thereby he puts himself and the servant on the same level.

17. In contrast to his biblical counterpart in 1 Sam 9:5 (who speaks of Kish's becoming "anxious about us"), Josephus's Saul thinks in terms of his father's solicitude (only) for himself. Compare the rabbinic comment about Saul's modesty vis-à-vis the servant mentioned in the previous note.

18. This is Josephus's form of the biblical name of Samuel's hometown, that is, Ramah (see 1 Sam 1:19; 2:11; 7:15; 8:4 [// *Ant.* 6.35]). Pseudo-Philo's designation for the site of the subsequent events corresponds to Josephus's here; see *L.A.B.* 56.4, where Saul (alone; the servant is not mentioned) comes to "Ramathaim" (the longer form of the name of Samuel's hometown—subsequently called "Ramah"—given in 1 Sam 1:1, that is, "Ramathaim-zophim"). Having arrived there, Pseudo-Philo's Saul immediately goes in search of Samuel without any prior discussion with the servant, unlike the Saul of the Bible and Josephus.

there a true prophet,<sup>19</sup> and counselled that they should go to him, since they would learn from him what had become of the asses."<sup>20</sup>

In response to the servant's proposal, Saul (9:7) poses an extended objection, this revolving around their lack of anything to offer the man for his services. Josephus's rendition (6.47b) highlights the *quid pro quo* that Saul supposes to be involved: "Whereto Saul replied that, if they went [to the prophet], they had nothing to offer him *in return for his oracle* (προφητείας),<sup>21</sup> since their supplies were by now exhausted."<sup>22</sup> Countering Saul's objection, the servant points out (9:8) that he has available a "fourth part of a shekel" and proposes to give this to the man of God. Josephus (6.48a) appends an editorial comment to the servant's new suggestion: "However, the servant said that he had a quarter of a shekel and would present that<sup>23</sup>—*for their ignorance that the prophet* [see 6.47] *accepted no reward misled them.*"<sup>24</sup>

Following the servant's reply in 1 Sam 9:8, the biblical account continues with a parenthetical remark about "seer" being the earlier name for "prophet" (v. 9) and Saul's endorsement of the servant's additional proposal

19. In 1 Sam 9:6 (MT and LXX) the servant refers to "a man of God" and avers that "all that he says comes [true]." Josephus's alternative designation has a parallel in *Tg. Neb.* 1 Sam 9:6 ("a prophet of the Lord"). That designation likewise corresponds to the historian's recurrent use of the prophet title for Samuel which, as Feldman (*Josephus's Interpretation*, 491 and n. 3) points out, is applied by him to Samuel no less than 45 times, whereas in the books of Samuel that title is used only once of him, that is, in 1 Sam 3:20. Josephus lacks an equivalent to the servant's further qualification of the man of God as one "who is held in honor" (MT, LXX; *Tg. Neb.* renders "the man prophesies the truth" [וגברא מתנבי קשות]; compare Josephus's "true prophet").

20. Josephus's servant expresses a more-definite expectation about what they might learn from the figure he is proposing to visit than does his biblical counterpart, who ends up stating (1 Sam 9:6): "perhaps he [the man of God] can tell us about the journey on which we set out."

21. Literally: "prophecy." The term echoes the servant's use of the word "prophet" for the man he is proposing to visit in what precedes; see n. 19. The above addition to Saul's word of 1 Sam 9:7 could be inspired by the servant's subsequent reply (9:8), where he proposes to give the quarter-shekel he has with him to the man of God "to tell us our way."

22. The Josephan Saul's concluding words generalize his statement in 1 Sam 9:7, "the bread in our sacks is gone." Josephus has no equivalent to Saul's concluding biblical question, "what have we?" which seems to have already been answered in Saul's own preceding words averring that their bread is gone and they have "no present" to offer the man.

23. Josephus leaves out the biblical specification that the amount was "of silver." In making the servant propose that he himself be the one to hand over the payment, Josephus aligns himself with MT 1 Sam 9:8 against LXX BL, where he speaks of "you [Saul] giving" it. Josephus leaves out the servant's concluding indication concerning the purpose of the donation ("to tell us our way"), which he has already anticipated in his version of Saul's words in 6.47b; see n. 22.

24. With this attached comment Josephus makes clear that, in fact, Samuel was not the kind of prophet who expected remuneration for his services. He may have found inspiration for the remark in the story of another great prophet, Elisha in 2 Kgs 5 (a passage without parallel in Josephus), who refuses Naaman's attempt to remunerate him for his cure and chastises his servant Gehazi with leprosy for having contrived to get Naaman's gifts for himself. Note too that in his version of the story in 1 Kgs 14 concerning the wife of King Jeroboam, who was sent to consult the prophet Ahijah about the illness of the crown prince (*Ant.* 8.266–273), Josephus leaves out the reference to the various foodstuffs that the queen is to take with her according to v. 3.

(v. 10a). Josephus passes over both these items.<sup>25</sup> As a result, he moves directly from his version of 9:8 (the servant's response to Saul's objection) to 9:10b (the pair goes "to the city where the man of God was"), which itself functions as a transition to the next episode, their encounter with the maidens (9:11–14).<sup>26</sup>

#### ENCOUNTER WITH MAIDENS

1 Samuel 9:10b–11a speaks first in general terms of Saul and his servant's going to the man of God's city and then, more specifically, of their ascending the "hill" to the city, at which point they run into the maidens who have come out of the city to draw water (9:11aβ). Compressing and modifying, Josephus (6.48b) renders: "and so they went [9:10b] and, meeting at the gates<sup>27</sup> maidens going to draw water. . . ." In their question to the maidens in 1 Sam 9:11b, the visitors ask: "Is the seer here?" Josephus, drawing on the wording of Saul's subsequent question to Samuel in 9:18, has them pose a more specific question: "they asked them which was the prophet's house."<sup>28</sup>

The maidens begin their extended response to the brief question asked them<sup>29</sup> by affirming (1 Sam 9:12a) that the seer is indeed present and is in fact "just ahead of" the visitors. They then proceed (9:12b) to urge their

25. Josephus's omission of 1 Sam 9:9 is readily understandable given its clearly parenthetical character (as well as the fact that its reference to a "seer" comes unexpectedly because, in what precedes, the designation for the one to be consulted has consistently been not "seer" but "man of God"). As for his non-use of the approbation of the servant's plan voiced by Saul in 9:10a, Josephus thereby avoids having Saul explicitly endorse a misconception about the practice of "true prophets" such as Samuel—that is, they take payment for their services; see previous note. Pseudo-Philo does have a counterpart ("for in that time a prophet was called 'one who sees'") to the parenthesis of 1 Sam 9:9, attaching this to his version of Saul's subsequent question to Samuel (// 1 Sam 9:18) in *L.A.B.* 56.1.

26. Pseudo-Philo has no equivalent to this biblical (and Josephan) scene. In his presentation (*L.A.B.* 56.4), Saul, having arrived in "Ramathaim" (see n. 18), immediately encounters Samuel "walking near the shrine."

27. In 1 Sam 9:11a the meeting takes place on the "ascent/hill" leading up to the city. Josephus's localization could be inspired by (MT) 1 Sam 9:18, where Saul approaches Samuel "in the gate." Such modifications of the biblical "settings" are a feature of Josephus's version of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16.

28. In 1 Sam 9:11b the visitors ask about "the seer" rather than "the prophet." Just as he did with the recurrent designation "man of God" in 1 Sam 9:6–8, Josephus standardizes the terminology in accordance with his preferred term for Samuel. See n. 19. In replacing the visitors' question to the maidens of 1 Sam 9:11b with this question about the location of the prophet's house, corresponding to their subsequent query to Samuel himself in 9:18, Josephus was perhaps influenced by the consideration that the pair already seem to know the answer to the question they ask in 9:11b ("is the seer here?"), given that in 9:6 the servant has stated, "there is a man of God in this city."

29. Rabbinic tradition (see, for example, *Midr. Sam.* 13.8; *b. Ber.* 48b) calls attention to the length of the maidens' response, some authorities attributing this to their desire to prolong their encounter with the very handsome Saul (see 1 Sam 9:2), others to their "marking time" until the moment for Saul's appearance before Samuel should arrive—which was previously announced by God to the latter (see 9:16).

interlocutors to “make haste,”<sup>30</sup> because the one they are seeking has just come to the city, his doing so being due to the fact that “the people have a sacrifice today on the high place.”<sup>31</sup> Thereafter (9:13), they conclude with additional instructions and further information about the seer’s intended activities: “As soon as you enter the city, you will find him before he goes to the high place to eat; for the people will not eat till he comes, since he must bless the sacrifice;<sup>32</sup> afterward those eat who are invited. Now go up, for you will meet him immediately.” Josephus’s (much reduced) version of the girls’ reply (*Ant.* 6.48c) features a variety of distinctive elements: “And these pointed it [the house] out and bade them make haste<sup>33</sup> *ere he sat down to supper, for he was entertaining many and would take his seat before his invited guests.*”<sup>34</sup>

### SAUL MEETS SAMUEL

1 Samuel 9:14 reports that the visitors, in accordance with the maidens’ instructions, went up to the city, where, as they enter, they meet the departing Samuel, who is on his way up to the high place. There then follows a parenthetical pause (9:15–16) telling of God’s previous revelation to Samuel concerning Saul, after which 9:17a, picking up on the notice of 9:14, mentions Samuel’s “seeing Saul.” Josephus leaves out the data of 9:14 in order to proceed directly to his version of the parenthesis of 9:15–16. In formulating that parenthesis (*Ant.* 6.49a), Josephus prefaces it with a remark

30. This is the reading of the MT and LXX L 1 Sam 9:12b (in both cases a singular imperative is used, even though in 9:11b the question is jointly posed by Saul and the servant). LXX B lacks an equivalent to this particular directive by the maidens.

31. Masoretic Text: *בבמה*. Septuagint BL, here and in what follows, render this particular form (“the high place”) as a proper place-name, *ἐν Βαμύ*. Given the negative, idolatrous associations of the word “high place” in many biblical contexts, *Tg. Nebi'im*, not wishing to have Samuel linked to such a site, renders with a neutral phrase: “in the house of feasting” (*בבית אסדרותא*).

32. This is the reading of MT and LXX in 1 Sam 9:13. Given that Samuel is not a priest with the prerogative of such public “blessing” (see Num 6:22–27), *Tg. Nebi'im* has the maidens speak of the seer’s “saying grace over the food.”

33. This opening component of the maidens’ reply picks up on the visitors’ question as (re-)formulated by Josephus just previously: “which was the prophet’s house.” The “haste” component of the maidens’ reply corresponds to the MT, LXX L reading at the opening of 1 Sam 9:12b; see n. 30.

34. In this conclusion to the maidens’ response, Josephus, going further in the line of *Tg. Neb.* 1 Sam 9:12–13 (see nn. 31 and 32), eliminates the MT’s (and LXX’s) reference to the “high place,” the “sacrifice,” and the seer’s (that is, Samuel’s) “blessing.” His procedure here seems dictated by considerations of sacral legitimacy: “high places” are negatively qualified in much of the OT; “Aramatha” (Ramah), the setting of the story told in 1 Sam 9, is not a site like Shiloh consecrated by the presence of the tent of meeting and the ark (see *Ant.* 5.338–51 // 1 Sam 1:1–4:1a) that would make the offering of sacrifice appropriate there, and Samuel (a “Levite” according to Josephus [see *Ant.* 5.342]) as a non-priest is not fit to pronounce the kind of liturgical “blessing” mentioned in 1 Sam 9:13. In Josephus’s alternative presentation, the occasion is a nonsacrificial “supper” that Samuel hosts in his own home and whose purpose—as will emerge in what follows—is to honor Saul, who is about to be anointed Israel’s king.

that dovetails with his immediately preceding reference to Samuel's "supper" and the guests he had invited to this: "Now the reason why Samuel had at that hour assembled so many to the feast was this. . . ."

In 1 Samuel 9:15 itself God takes the initiative in making his revelation to Samuel about Saul. Josephus accentuates the status (and piety) of the prophet by having the revelation come in answer to an ongoing appeal by him: "he had been praying daily to God to reveal to him whom He would make king."<sup>35</sup> Following the extended "lead-in" of 6.49a, Josephus finally comes, in 6.49b, to give his (abbreviated) rendition of the divine word of 1 Sam 9:15–16: "and on the day before, God had announced<sup>36</sup> him, saying that He would Himself send him a young man of the tribe of Benjamin at that selfsame hour."<sup>37</sup> To this divine announcement Josephus attaches (6.49c) a transitional phrase that picks up on both the mention of Samuel's "house" and the "supper" that he is hosting in 6.48 and on the chronological specification ("at that selfsame hour") with which the announcement itself ends: "So, seated upon the housetop, Samuel was awaiting the coming of the time, and when the hour was ripe, he descended to the supper."

1 Samuel 9:17 reports, in conjunction with Samuel's "seeing" of Saul (cf. 9:14), a new divine disclosure (this time identifying Samuel's visitor as the one who is "to rule over my people"; cf. 9:16aα). Josephus (*Ant.* 6.50a) formulates equivalently: "And he [Samuel] met Saul, and God revealed to him that this was he that was to rule."<sup>38</sup>

The biblical exchange between Samuel and Saul begins with the latter approaching the former "in the city" (so 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the LXX; MT "in the gate") and asking him the whereabouts of the "house of the seer."<sup>39</sup> Jose-

35. This formulation echoes Samuel's words when dismissing the people in *Ant.* 6.44: "(I will summon you at need), when I shall have learned from God whom he gives you as king"

36. The phrase used for God's revelation to Samuel in 1 Sam 9:15 is literally "the Lord uncovered Samuel's ear." Josephus regularly reformulates this sort of figurative language (compare *Tg. Neb.*: "and from before the Lord it was said to Samuel").

37. Josephus limits his rendering of the divine word in 1 Sam 9:16 to this announcement, leaving out its continuation which reads: "and you shall anoint him to be prince [MT נגיד; LXX "ruler," ἄρχων; *Tg. Neb.* "king," מלכה] over my people Israel. He shall save my people from the Philistines; for I have seen the affliction of [the words "the affliction of" are present in both the LXX and *Tg. Neb.* but absent in the MT] my people, because their cry has come to me." The following considerations may help account for Josephus's nonuse of the bulk of God's discourse in 1 Sam 9:16: First, Josephus regularly avoids the language of "anointing" and "anointed one" (Messiah, *Christos*), the "messianic" connotations of which would likely provoke the sensibilities of his Roman readers, whose memories of the Jewish war of independence were still fresh. Again, contrary to God's prediction in 9:16, it was not Saul, but rather David, who (definitively) saved the Israelites from the Philistines. Finally, it is unclear to what God's closing words in 9:16 are referring—the people have been delivered from the Philistine threat in 1 Samuel 7, and in ch. 8 their words were not an "appeal" to God but rather a demand that they be given a king, contrary to the wishes of both Samuel and the Deity.

38. In his versions of the divine words of both 1 Sam 9:16 and 17b, Josephus, in line with his frequent practice, transposes biblical direct into indirect discourse. See n. 14.

39. In *L.A.B.* 56.4 Saul, encountering Samuel "near the shrine," asks him the equivalent question: "Where is he who sees?"

phus's parallel to this notice (6.50b) leaves out the indication concerning the site of the encounter and has Saul attach a motivation to the question he poses: "But Saul approached Samuel and *greeting him* prayed him to show him the prophet's house,<sup>40</sup> *for he said that as a stranger he was ignorant of it.*"<sup>41</sup>

Samuel replies at length to Saul's question of 1 Sam 9:18 in 9:19–20. This reply commences (9:19aβ) with a self-identification on the former's part: "I am the seer" (MT [and L.A.B. 56.4]; 4QSam<sup>a</sup> LXX: "I am he"). Thereafter (9:19b), Samuel urges Saul to precede him to the "high place" (MT; LXX; *Tg. Neb.*: "to the house of feasting") and makes a triple announcement to him ("for today you shall eat with me, and in the morning I will let you go and will tell you all that is on your mind"). The historian (*Ant.* 6.51a) notably compresses this sequence, again leaving out the reference to the "high place" and the two concluding announcements of 9:19b: "Samuel then told him that he was the prophet and led him to the supper."<sup>42</sup> The biblical Samuel's word to Saul continues (9:20) with an assurance that the asses have been found (v. 20a) and a double question sequence concerning what is desirable in Israel and to whom this belongs (v. 20b). Josephus's counterpart (6.51b) to this part of Samuel's word conflates question and answer into a single statement: "assuring him that the asses in quest of

40. Just as he did in his version of the visitors' question to the maidens (1 Sam 9:11b // 6.48b), Josephus replaces the biblical designation "seer" with his favorite title for Samuel, "prophet."

41. In contrast to the Bible, which represents Saul and the servant as asking the maidens a question ("Is the seer here?" 1 Sam 9:11b) that is distinct from the question Saul poses to Samuel himself ("Where is the house of the seer?" 9:18), Josephus (see 6.48b, 50) has the same question (the question concerning the prophet's "house") twice. The peculiarity of this repetition is only accentuated by the fact that, whereas in 6.48 the maidens point out the house about which they have been asked, the Josephan Saul in 6.50 avers his ignorance of its location. Anomalies of this sort are not infrequent in a work as large as *Antiquities*, which was written over a long period of time.

42. "That he was a prophet" is, literally "that he was he (αὐτὸν)," which corresponds to the 4QSam<sup>a</sup> LXX reading in 1 Sam 9:19a; see above. This narrative notice, "led him to the supper," takes the place of Samuel's statement to Saul in 1 Sam 9:19b: "for today you shall eat with me." The notice has been prepared by the references to Samuel's hosting of a "supper" in 6.48–49. In passing over Samuel's two further announcements to Saul at the end of 9:19b (next morning he will dismiss him, once he has told him everything on his [Saul's] mind), Josephus disposes of a difficulty posed by the sequence of 1 Sam 9:19–20: after telling Saul that he will inform him *next morning* about his concern (v. 19), Samuel (v. 20) proceeds forthwith to address the matter that was uppermost in Saul's mind, the status of the missing asses. Pseudo-Philo (L.A.B. 56.4) reduces Samuel's words to Saul as cited in 1 Sam 9:19–20 to two elements of v. 19: Saul's eating with him on that day and Samuel's informing him about his concerns on the next day. Thereafter, Pseudo-Philo's presentation in 56.5 goes its own way vis-à-vis both the Bible and Josephus: Samuel first asks for God's guidance regarding the people (compare Josephus's reference to Samuel's prayer that God show him the king he has selected prior to his meeting with Saul in 6.49a). Next, it is noted that Saul did "refresh himself" with Samuel that day (= 1 Sam 9:24bβ). Finally, on the following day Saul arises (see 9:26bα) and is informed by Samuel of God's choice of him (see 1 Sam 10:1).

which he had been sent<sup>43</sup> were safe;<sup>44</sup> and that for him (Saul) were destined all<sup>45</sup> good things.”<sup>46</sup>

In 1 Sam 9:21 Saul replies to Samuel’s intimations about the benefits awaiting him with a demurrer, which Josephus (6.51c) intensifies: “where-at Saul broke in,<sup>47</sup> ‘Nay, master I am too lowly for this,’<sup>48</sup> I come of a tribe too little to create kings<sup>49</sup> and of a family of a humbler sort than all others.<sup>50</sup> Thou but mockest and makest sport of me in speaking of matters too high for my station.”<sup>51</sup>

### BANQUET AND OVERNIGHT

A new scene (1 Sam 9:22–24) opens in 9:22 as the party proceeds to “the hall” (MT: לִשְׂכָּה; LXX: the inn; *Tg. Neb.*: the feasting) and Samuel gives the visitors a place among the invited guests. Josephus’s rendition (6.52a) evidences affinities with both the MT’s and LXX’s wording of this verse: “Howbeit the prophet led him to the banquet-chamber [see MT’s “the hall”],<sup>52</sup>

43. Compare 1 Sam 9:20a: “the asses that were lost three days ago”—a chronological specification not previously cited.

44. Compare 1 Sam 9:20aβ: “do not set your mind on them [the asses], for they have been found.”

45. This specification has a counterpart in the MT (and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>) 1 Sam 9:20ba (“all that is desirable in Israel”). It is lacking in LXX BL.

46. Compare 1 Sam 9:20b: “And for whom is all that is desirable in Israel? Is it not for you and for all your father’s house?” Josephus’s omission of the reference to Saul’s “father’s house” as also a beneficiary of the available good things could reflect the fact that Saul was unable to found a dynasty to which he could transmit his position and its benefits.

47. In 1 Sam 9:21 Saul waits for Samuel to finish speaking before responding. Josephus’s reference to his “interrupting” his venerable interlocutor already suggests the vehemence of his subsequent reply.

48. This opening affirmation, highlighting Saul’s modesty, has no counterpart in 1 Sam 9:21, where Saul begins right away with a question—allusion to his belonging to the Benjamites, the most insignificant of the tribes.

49. Saul’s opening allusion to his membership in the Benjamites in 1 Sam 9:21 itself simply points out the numerical insignificance of the tribe. Via the appended reference to the tribe’s incapacity to generate “kings,” Josephus portrays Saul as divining the specific import of Samuel’s previous, general mention of the benefits that are to be his.

50. Compare Saul’s second question in 1 Sam 9:21: “And is not my family the humblest of all the families of the tribe [literally: tribes] of Benjamin?” (RSV, following the MT). Saul’s stress on the ignominy of his origins contrasts with Josephus’s own remarks when introducing him and his father in *Ant.* 6.45–46a. The effect is to throw into relief Saul’s sense of modesty: he is, in fact, of a much more elevated status than he claims.

51. Josephus turns into a vehemently reproachful statement Saul’s low-key question at the end of 1 Sam 9:21 (“why then have you spoken to me in this way?”). He invests Saul’s rebuff of Samuel’s intimation of what awaits him with greater weight by retaining the direct address of the original, whereas in what precedes he has reproduced the words of both the Deity (6.49; compare 1 Sam 9:16, 17b) and Samuel (6.51ab; compare 9:19–20) in indirect discourse; see nn. 14 and 38 above.

52. With this phrase Josephus picks up on his earlier mention of Samuel’s “leading him [Saul] to the supper” in 6.51a. Following the intervening exchange of 6.51bc, Samuel completes the process without, notably, making any verbal response to Saul’s vehement outburst against him in 6.51c.

gave him and his attendant places above the invited guests,<sup>53</sup> who were seventy in number.”<sup>54</sup>

The continuation of the “banquet scene” in 9:23–24 focuses, in circumstantial detail, on the special “portion” given Saul. Josephus (6.52b) markedly compresses: “and [Samuel] charged his henchmen<sup>55</sup> to set a royal portion (μερίδα βασιλικήν)<sup>56</sup> before Saul.”<sup>57</sup>

1 Sam 9:25 relates what happened immediately following the banquet, with the MT and LXX differing notably in their readings. In this instance, Josephus (6.52c) aligns himself with the LXX as opposed to the MT, while also supplying his own introduction to his rendition: “Then, when bedtime came, the rest arose and departed each to his home,<sup>58</sup> but Saul and his servant slept at the prophet’s house.”<sup>59</sup>

### SAUL ANOINTED

The climactic moment of the entire passage of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 comes in 10:1 with the anointing of Saul by Samuel. This event is preceded by a circumstantial account (9:26–27) of events on the morning of the anointing. The Josephan version of these preliminaries (6.53 + the opening words of

53. In having Samuel set his visitors “above” (all) the other guests, Josephus goes together with MT 1 Sam 9:22 against LXX BL, where they are simply placed “among the first of those invited.”

54. Josephus’s figure for the guests agrees with the figure given in LXX BL and VL 1 Sam 9:22. The MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, and Tg. Neb. read a much smaller number: 30. On the LXX’s figure as a reminiscence of the 70 Mosaic elders of Exod 24:1, 9; Num 11:16, as well as of the makeup of the later Sanhedrin, see Lestienne in *Premier Livre des Regnes*, 206–7, note ad loc.

55. In 1 Sam 9:23 Samuel tells “the cook” to serve Saul the portion he had previously been instructed to put aside. Josephus enhances Saul’s status by having him served not just by one, but several attendants.

56. This term echoes the kingship language introduced previously by Josephus; see 6.49 (Samuel asks God to reveal whom he would make king [βασιλέα]) and 6.51 (Saul avers that his tribe is “too little to create kings” [βασιλέας]).

57. In 1 Sam 9:24a the cook presents Saul with “the leg and what was on it” (RSV, following the MT [and LXX L]; compare LXX B, which has simply “the thigh” and Tg. Neb., which reads “the leg and its thigh”). In leaving unspecified what part of the animal Saul actually received, Josephus obviates the difficulty that, whereas what Saul is given in MT 9:24 (the קרשׁ (RSV: “leg”), pertained to the priest’s portion of the “communion sacrifice” according to Lev 7:34, etc., Saul is not a priest. He likewise leaves out Samuel’s (text-critically problematic) word to Saul about his portion of 9:24aββ and the summarizing notice of 9:24bβ: “so Saul ate with Samuel that day.”

58. This transitional notice takes the place of the opening words of 1 Sam 9:25: “and when they had come down from the high place into the city” (MT; LXX: “and he came down from the Bama into the city”). As he does throughout his version of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16, Josephus eliminates the Bible’s reference to a “high place” and the association of Samuel and Saul with such a dubious locale. See n. 31.

59. The MT 1 Sam 9:25b reads “and he [Samuel] spoke with Saul on the roof.” Josephus’s wording stands closer to the longer text of LXX BL (whose reading the RSV adopts): “a bed was spread for Saul upon the roof, and he lay down to sleep.” Josephus’s added reference to the servant has in view his presence in what follows. Samuel’s “house” has been mentioned in 6.48, 50.

6.54) follows the biblical account quite closely: “At break of day<sup>60</sup> Samuel roused him from his bed,<sup>61</sup> escorted him on his way, and, when outside the town,<sup>62</sup> bade him cause his servant to go on before and to remain behind himself, for he had somewhat to tell him privately (μηδευὸς ἄλλου παρόντος).<sup>63</sup> So Saul dismissed his companion.”<sup>64</sup>

The above preliminaries completed, 1 Sam 10:1a relates the three-step procedure (Samuel’s taking a vial of oil, pouring it on Saul’s head, and kissing him) used by Samuel in anointing Saul. Here too, Josephus (6.54b) reproduces the Bible’s content with only minor modifications: “and the prophet, taking his vial, poured oil upon<sup>65</sup> the young man’s [see 6.45] head and kissed him.” Samuel complements his action in 1 Sam 10:1a with an address to Saul about its significance in 10:1b, where the longer text of the LXX is generally viewed as more original than the MT reading, which seems to be the result of haplography. In any event, Josephus’s rendition of the prophet’s word clearly reflects—while also compressing—the LXX’s reading in this instance: “and said: ‘Know that thou art king,<sup>66</sup> elected of God<sup>67</sup> to combat the Philistines<sup>68</sup> and to defend the Hebrews.’”<sup>69</sup>

60. This phrase corresponds to the opening words of LXX BL 1 Sam 9:26 (adopted by the RSV): “then at the break of dawn.” Compare the MT: “and they arose early and at the break of dawn.”

61. 1 Samuel 9:26aβ cites Samuel’s call to Saul “on the roof”: “Up that I may send you on your way.” Josephus, who portrays Saul sleeping at Samuel’s house rather than on the roof (as in LXX BL 9:25), has him awakened from his bed.

62. Compare 1 Sam 9:26b–27aα, where Samuel and Saul first go together out “into the street” and then proceed “to the outskirts of the city” where Saul’s anointing will occur.

63. These words are absent in codices RO (see n. 15) and are bracketed by Niese. Marcus and Nodet read them without brackets. In 1 Sam 9:27b Samuel concludes his address to Saul on a more portentous note: “(Saul is to stay behind) that I [Samuel] may make known to you [Saul] the word of God.” On Josephus’s virtually invariable practice of reformulating biblical references to the divine “word,” see my *Josephus’ Account*, 20 n. 90.

64. This notice on Saul’s execution of Samuel’s directive about the servant has a counterpart in the plus at the end of LXX L 1 Sam 9:27: “And Saul spoke to his servant and he passed on before them.”

65. Greek: λαβὼν . . . τὸ ἄγγιον (compare 1 Sam 10:1, “the vial of oil” [LXX τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ἐλαιοῦ]), ἔλαιον καταχεῖ. This is the reading of the Greek codices RO (see n. 15), the “Epitome” of *Antiquities*, and the Latin translation of the work. Niese and Nodet adopt the reading of the other Greek codices: λαβὼν . . . τὸ ἔλαιον καταχεῖ (“having taken the holy oil, he poured it . . .”).

66. Greek: βασιλεύς. This designation for Saul corresponds to the designation used in *Tg. Neb.* 1 Sam 10:1, whereas in the MT Samuel calls Saul a “prince” (נָגִיד) and in LXX a “ruler” (ἄρχων). Compare the similar case of 1 Sam 9:16 (cf. 6.49) and see n. 56 on Josephus’s recurrent introduction of “kingship language” into his version of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16. In *L.A.B.* 56.5b there is no actual anointing of Saul by Samuel. Rather Samuel simply addresses Saul with the words: “Behold, be aware that the Lord has chosen you as ruler (*in principem*; cf. LXX) at this time and has directed your ways, and your time will be directed.”

67. Compare Samuel’s opening words to Saul in 1 Sam 10:1b: “Has not the Lord anointed you to be prince (MT; LXX + ‘over his people Israel’)?” As in his version of 1 Sam 9:16 in *Ant.* 6.49, Josephus avoids the Bible’s term “anoint”; see n. 37. Pseudo-Philo in his rendering of 1 Sam 10:1 (*L.A.B.* 56.5b) does the same, having Samuel refer to the Lord’s “having chosen” Saul as “ruler for his people”; see previous note. Whereas neither the Bible nor Josephus records a response by Saul to Samuel’s announcement of his new God-given status, Pseudo-Philo (*L.A.B.* 56.6)

## SIGNS ANNOUNCED

In the LXX plus of 1 Sam 10:1b, Samuel concludes his word to Saul by announcing a “sign” for him that will confirm his status as the Lord’s “ruler.” Josephus (6.54c) has an equivalent to this LXX plus as well: “And of this there shall be unto thee a sign (σημεῖον) that I would have thee learn beforehand.”<sup>70</sup>

The word “sign” used by Samuel in (LXX) 1 Sam 10:1b in fact encompasses a series of three encounters (10:2–6) which, Samuel predicts, Saul will experience once they separate. Of these, the first (10:2) involves two men who will inform Saul concerning the asses, while the second (10:3–4) features three men carrying various agricultural items. Josephus (6.55–56a) reverses the order of these first two portents.<sup>71</sup> In so doing, he likewise modifies (6.55a) the content of 1 Sam 10:3 itself in several respects: “When thou art departed hence,<sup>72</sup> thou shalt find on thy road<sup>73</sup> three men going to worship God<sup>74</sup> at Bethel; the first thou shalt see carrying three loaves [literally: “breads,” ἄρτους], the second a kid,<sup>75</sup> and the third will follow

narrates not only a response but a reply to this by Samuel: “Saul said to Samuel, ‘Who am I and what is the house of my father that my lord should say to me this word (see 1 Sam 9:21 // *Ant.* 6.51)? I do not understand what you are saying, for I am young.’ Samuel said to Saul, ‘May your word endure forever, so that you have a long life. Nevertheless, consider this, that your words will be like the words of the prophet whose name will be Jeremiah.’” Compare Jeremiah’s reply to the Lord’s statement concerning his prophetic status in Jer 1:6: “I am only a youth,” which Pseudo-Philo uses in formulating Saul’s above response to Samuel.

68. Greek: Παλαιστίνους. This is the standard Josephan name for the “Philistines.” The LXX, generally, though not invariably, uses another form, ἀλλόφυλοι (see, for example, LXX BL 1 Sam 9:16) to denote Israel’s great enemy.

69. With the Josephan Samuel’s statement concerning Saul’s double mission compare the more general wording of the LXX plus in 1 Sam 10:1bα: “and you [Saul] will save them from the hand of their enemies round about.” Josephus’s specification that it is the Philistines in particular against whom Saul is to fight may be inspired by the Lord’s word to Samuel concerning Saul in 1 Sam 9:16 (previously left out by Josephus in his version of 9:16 in 6.49; see n. 37): “He shall save my people from the hand of the *Philistines*.” On Josephus’s use of the term “Hebrews,” see G. Harvey, *The True Israel: Uses of the Names, Jew, Hebrew and Israel in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature* (AGJU 35; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 124–29.

70. This appended phrase underscores the predictive powers of the prophet Samuel.

71. His reason for doing this is not apparent. Perhaps the fact that the first sign with its announcement concerning the asses is essentially a repetition of what Saul already knows via Samuel’s word to him (see 1 Sam 9:20a // *Ant.* 6.51a) makes this appear of lesser significance and so is relegated by Josephus to second place in the sequence of signs.

72. Compare the transitional phrase of 1 Sam 10:2 introducing what in the Bible is the first of the announced signs (that is, Josephus’s second sign: the assurance about the asses): “when you [Saul] depart from me [Samuel] today.”

73. 1 Samuel 10:3 is more specific as to where Saul’s meeting of the three men will take place: “the oak of Tabor” (MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, LXX B; LXX L and VL: “the elect oak”; *Tg. Neb.*: “the plain of Tabor”).

74. This specification concerning the purpose of the three’s “going to Bethel” as mentioned in 1 Sam 10:3 has a counterpart in the plus of *Tg. Nebiʿim*, that is, “to worship before the Lord in Bethel.”

75. The MT specifies “loaves of bread”; LXX BL “containers of bread.” In the MT and LXX B of 1 Sam 10:3b, the bread-carrier is mentioned in second place, after the man carrying three

bearing a wine-skin."<sup>76</sup> Having announced Saul's encounter with the trio in 1 Sam 10:3, Samuel goes on to speak of their subsequent interaction in 10:4. Josephus reproduces (6.55b) the content of the latter verse without noteworthy change: "These men will salute thee, *show thee kindness* and give thee two loaves,<sup>77</sup> and thou shalt accept them."

As noted above, Josephus reverses the sequence of Saul's first two encounters as announced by Samuel in 1 Sam 10:2–4. At this point then, following the prediction concerning the "Bethel trio" (6.55 // 10:3–4), Josephus now has (6.56a // 10:2) Samuel make his announcement concerning an encounter that is to take place at Rachel's tomb: "And thence thou shalt come"<sup>78</sup> to the place called 'Rachel's tomb',<sup>79</sup> where thou shalt meet one who will bring news that thy asses are safe."<sup>80</sup>

In both the Bible (1 Sam 10:5–6) and Josephus (*Ant.* 6.56b), the third of Samuel's announcements concerns Saul's encounter with a group of prophets. 1 Samuel 10:5 provides a number of details about the encounter site and the prophetic group that Josephus leaves out in his abbreviated

kids, while in LXX L this figure is cited in third place, after the bearers of both the kids and the wineskin. Josephus's assigning first place to the bread-bearer may have in view the fact that according to Samuel's word in 10:4 the bread is the only one of the three commodities that will actually figure in the interaction between Saul and the trio. In 1 Sam 10:3b the first man mentioned is carrying *three* kids. Josephus's reduction of the total may reflect the consideration that it would be quite difficult for one person actually to carry three kids for any distance.

76. Greek ἄσκον οἴνου. This is the same phrase used in LXX BL 10:3b.

77. The addition "show thee kindness" highlights the deferential reception that Saul will experience in what for Josephus is the king's first public appearance after his anointing. Septuagint BL and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> specify "two *wave offerings* of bread." This specification suggestive of a priestly status for Saul, the recipient, lacks a counterpart in the MT (which reads literally "two of bread") and in Josephus ("two loaves").

78. This opening phrase takes the place of that with which Samuel begins his first prediction (the meeting at Rachel's tomb) in 1 Sam 10:2, "when you depart from me today." Josephus previously employed a version of this biblical formulation to introduce Samuel's announcement about the Bethel trio in 6.55a.

79. Josephus mentioned the death and burial of Rachel in the neighborhood of "Ephratene" in *Ant.* 1.343 (// Gen 35:19–20). Here in 6.56 Josephus leaves out the (obscure) location of the tomb given in 1 Sam 10:2, "in the territory of Benjamin at Zelzah." With this omission, he obviates the problem of the discrepancy between the indication and the identification of "Ephrath," Rachel's burial place, with "Bethlehem," a city of Judah according to Gen 35:19 and 48:7. In *Midr. Sam.* 14.6 this difficulty is noted and a solution proposed: Saul's two interlocutors, coming from Rachel's tomb in Bethlehem of Judah, met Saul at Zelzah in Benjamin.

80. According to 1 Sam 10:2 Saul is to meet *two* men. Because the pair simply deliver a joint message to Saul about the asses, one is left wondering why a second man is needed here. Josephus disposes of this question by having Samuel speak of the one man Saul will encounter. The announcement that the pair will deliver according to Samuel (1 Sam 10:2b) is that the asses "are found." Josephus leaves out the continuation of their biblical announcement, that Saul's father is no longer concerned about the asses and is now wondering what to do about his son. In thus abbreviating the pair's announcement, Josephus aligns it with Samuel's own previous assurance to Saul in 6.51a (in both cases Saul is/will be informed that the asses are "safe" [σώζω]). By contrast, in the Bible's presentation, the duo of 1 Sam 10:2b will make an announcement that goes beyond Samuel's own earlier word to Saul about the asses in 9:20, thereby seeming to overshadow the prophet and his predictive powers.

version: “Thereafter, on coming thence to Gabatha<sup>81</sup> thou shalt light upon an assembly of prophets.”<sup>82</sup>

1 Samuel 10:6 speaks of the effect on Saul of the announced third encounter. Josephus uses (partially) alternative language in describing this, likewise appending a notice, inspired by 1 Sam 10:11, concerning the popular reaction to Saul’s “prophesying” on this occasion: “and, divinely inspired (γενόμενος ἔνθεος),<sup>83</sup> thou shalt prophesy with them,<sup>84</sup> inasmuch that whosoever beholdeth thee *shall be amazed and marvel*, saying, ‘How hath the son of Kis come to this pitch of felicity?’”<sup>85</sup>

Following his announcement of the triple “sign” that awaits Saul (1 Sam 10:2–6), Samuel (10:7) issues him an instruction (“do whatever your

81. Greek: Γαβαθά (this is the reading of codex M, the “Epitome,” and Zonaras’s *Chronicon*; Niese and Nodet read Γεβαθά with the codices RO (see n. 15). Compare MT (1 Sam 10:5) גַּבְתַּה הָאֱלֹהִים (RSV: Gibeath-elohim); LXX BL (translating the first element of the MT name) τὸν βουνον τοῦ θεοῦ; *Tg. Neb.* (translating and paraphrasing) “the hill where the ark of the Lord is.” Josephus leaves out the (extraneous) biblical indication that the site was the seat of “garrison(s) [or prefect(s), MT נִצְבֵי] of the Philistines” (LXX BL give a double rendering of this phrase, both translating and transliterating it: “where there is a construction of the foreigners, where Nas(ε)ib [Nασ(ε)ιβ] the foreigner is”).

82. *Targum Nebi'im* 1 Sam 10:5 turns the MT’s group of “prophets” into a band of “scribes” (סֹפְרֵי). Josephus leaves out a variety of source particulars about the group: Saul will meet them as he is “coming to the city”; they themselves will be coming down “from the high place” (MT; LXX BL: from the Bama; *Tg. Neb.*: from the house of feasting; see n. 31), carrying different musical instruments and “prophesying.”

83. This phrase is Josephus’s replacement for Samuel’s announcement in 1 Sam 10:6a: “then the spirit of the Lord will come mightily upon you (*Tg. Neb.*: the spirit of prophecy from before the Lord will reside upon you).” Josephus tends to avoid biblical references to the divine “spirit,” given its noncurrency in secular Greek; see E. Best, “Use and Non-use of Pneuma by Josephus,” *NovT* 3 (1959): 218–33; J. R. Levison, “Josephus’ Interpretation of the Divine Spirit,” *JJS* 47 (1996): 234–55, esp. 252–54. Conversely, he employs the word “inspired” (ἐνθεος), a term used, for example, by Plato (*Ion* 534B) and by Dionysius of Halicarnassus (*Ant. rom.* 2.48.1), five times elsewhere: *J.W.* 3.353 (of Josephus himself); 4.33 (Vespasian); 4.388 (“inspired men”); *Ant.* 6.76 (Saul); and 8.346 (Elijah). In all these instances, except *J.W.* 4.388, it appears as part of the above phrase, “become inspired.”

84. According to *Tg. Neb.* 1 Sam 10:5–6, both the “scribes” (the targumist’s substitution for the “prophets” of MT 10:5; see n. 82) and Saul himself will engage, not in “prophesying” (so MT), but rather in “singing praise.” Josephus leaves out Samuel’s concluding prediction of what will happen to Saul when he meets the prophets of 1 Sam 10:6: “and be turned into another man.” In its place he has Samuel announce the popular reaction to Saul’s prophesying as described in 10:11; see above.

85. With this statement concerning the effect of Saul’s prophesying on those who witness it, Josephus anticipates 1 Sam 10:11, likewise turning what is there described as a fact into an announcement by Samuel. In addition, he gives a more definitively positive character—reflective of his own high estimate of prophecy—to the witnesses’ ambiguous questions of 10:11 (“What has come over the son of Kish? Is Saul also among the prophets?”), which might be taken as expressing either approbation or denigration of prophecy (and the person of Saul); see the commentaries. Finally, Josephus also leaves out the further—likewise equivocal—commentary on Saul’s prophesying cited in 1 Sam 10:12: “And a man of the place answered, ‘And who is their father?’ Therefore it became a proverb, ‘Is Saul also among the prophets?’” The notice on the “proverb” about Saul in 10:12b recurs in 1 Sam 19:24b in connection with the naked Saul, who prophesied all night before Samuel. In his version of the latter passage in *Ant.* 6.223, Josephus leaves that notice out as well.

hand finds to do”) and assurance (“for God is with you”) for the moment of the announcement’s realization. Josephus (6.57a) gives a more definite content to Samuel’s vague biblical directive: “And when these signs (σημεῖα)<sup>86</sup> are come unto thee, *know thou* (ἴσθι)<sup>87</sup> that God is with thee;<sup>88</sup> and go to salute thy father and thy kinsfolk.”<sup>89</sup> Samuel rounds off (10:8) his words to Saul (1 Sam 10:1–8) with additional injunctions, these concerning Saul’s going to “Gilgal” and awaiting Samuel seven days there. Josephus (6.57b) cites the prophet’s instructions in abbreviated form: “But thou shalt come, *when summoned by me*,<sup>90</sup> to Galgala,<sup>91</sup> that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these [mercies].”<sup>92</sup>

### SIGNS FULFILLED

1 Samuel 10:9 relates, in general terms, the sequels to Samuel’s address to Saul in 10:1–8: the king and prophet separate, God gives Saul “another heart,” and all the announced signs come about. Josephus (6.57c) both modifies and abbreviates this series of notices: “*After these declarations and*

86. Josephus follows 1 Sam 10:7 in having Samuel refer to “signs,” whereas in introducing the phenomena announced in 10:2–6 he (see 6.54), like 10:1 (LXX), used the singular “sign.”

87. This imperative echoes the same form used by Samuel in introducing his announcement to Saul about God’s choice of him as king in 6.54b.

88. In 1 Sam 10:7 this assurance is attached as a motivation (“for”) to Samuel’s foregoing directive about Saul’s doing “whatever his hand finds to do.” Josephus has the prophet mention God’s support for Saul in first place, thereby highlighting its significance.

89. Josephus’s substitution for Samuel’s vague directive to him in 1 Sam 10:7 is likely inspired by the continuation of the story (see 10:13–16), where Saul—on his own initiative—does report what has happened to a relative. In Josephus’s presentation his doing this becomes a matter of his acting on a prophetic command. Josephus’s concern to give Samuel’s directive a more definite content than one finds in MT and LXX 1 Sam 10:7 has a certain counterpart in *Tg. Nebi’im*, where Samuel enjoins Saul: “prepare for yourself the instruments of kingship.” Compare this with the comment of Harrington and Saldarini (*Targum Jonathan*, ad loc.): “Tg is not comfortable with Saul doing whatever he wants, since even kings were to follow the Lord.”

90. In 1 Sam 10:8 Samuel appears to order Saul to go to Gilgal forthwith. Josephus’s above insertion, indicating that this is to happen at some indeterminate point in the future, has in view the fact that in the continuation of the biblical account it is only in 1 Sam 13:2 and 7 that we hear of Saul’s presence at Gilgal, this following a whole series of events that occur at other locales. The insertion further takes into account Josephus’s own presentation, where Samuel has just told Saul to go home to his relations—apparently immediately after he finishes speaking to him.

91. Greek: Γάλαλα (= LXX L). Masoretic Text גִּלְגָּל (Eng. “Gilgal”); LXX B Γαλάαδ. Whereas Josephus has Samuel simply instruct Saul to “come to” Gilgal, his directive in 1 Sam 10:8a is more expansive: “you shall go down before me to Gilgal.”

92. In 1 Sam 10:8aβ Samuel speaks of himself (alone) as the one who will “offer burnt offerings and sacrifice peace offerings” once he meets Saul at Gilgal. Josephus’s formulation enhances Saul’s status by making him Samuel’s co-sacrificer. Josephus leaves out the continuation of Samuel’s parting instructions in 1 Sam 10:8b: “Seven days you shall wait, until I come to you and show you what you are to do.” He does, however, incorporate an allusion (see *Ant.* 6.100) to these instructions into his version (*Ant.* 6.100–105a) of the story (1 Sam 13:7b–15a) of the confrontation between Samuel and Saul at Gilgal over the latter’s failure to abide by them. On *Ant.* 6.100–105a, see my “King Saul’s First Sin according to Josephus,” *Anton* 74 (1999): 685–96.

predictions,<sup>93</sup> he let the young man go;<sup>94</sup> and everything befell Saul as Samuel had foretold.”<sup>95</sup>

#### SAUL REPORTS TO ABNER

The segment 1 Sam 10:10–13 revolves around Saul’s prophesying at Gibeah in accordance with Samuel’s announcement of 10:5–6 (v. 10), the popular reaction to this (vv. 11–12), and Saul’s coming to “the high place” (v. 13b, MT)<sup>96</sup> once he has finished prophesying (v. 13a). Josephus, who incorporated a version of 10:11 into his version of Samuel’s announcement of 10:5–6 in 6.56b (see above), passes directly from 10:9b (fulfillment of the announced “signs” // 6.57c) to 10:13b–16 (Saul’s arrival at his return destination and exchange with a relative) in 6.58–59a. His rendering (6.58a) of the introduction to the Saul-relative exchange (1 Sam 10:13b–14a) reads: “But when he entered his [literally: the] house<sup>97</sup> and his kinsman Abēnar<sup>98</sup>—for he was of all his relatives the one whom he loved the best<sup>99</sup>—questioned him

93. This transitional phrase, with its summarizing allusion to the whole complex of Samuel’s words in 6.54b–57b, lacks an equivalent in 1 Samuel 10, where Saul’s leaving Samuel (10:9aa) is abruptly juxtaposed with the end of the latter’s words to him (10:8).

94. In 1 Sam 10:9aa Saul himself takes the initiative in “turning his back to leave Samuel.” Josephus portrays a more deferential Saul who waits to be dismissed by Samuel (who himself appears more “in charge” of the proceedings in his presentation). Josephus has no equivalent to the attached notice—which, in fact, appears to come “too early” within the sequence of 10:9–13—of 10:9aβ (“God gave him [Saul] another heart”). Note his nonreproduction of Samuel’s corresponding announcement in 10:6bβ (“and you shall be turned into another man”).

95. Literally: “according to the prophecy (κατὰ τὴν προφητείαν) of Samuel.” Compare 1 Sam 10:9b: “and all these signs came to pass that day.” Josephus’s formulation highlights, here too (see previous note), the authoritative status of Samuel. What happens to Saul is just what he had predicted. Pseudo-Philo (who has no equivalent to the whole segment 10:2–8) does incorporate a version of 10:9 into *L.A.B.* 56.7, which reads: “Saul went away [see 10:9aa], and on that day the people came to Samuel and said, ‘Give us the king you promised us.’ He said to them, ‘Behold your king will come to you in seven days [cf. 10:8bα].’ And behold Saul came, and all the signs that Samuel had told him happened to him [see 10:9b and compare *Ant.* 6.57c which likewise introduces an explicit mention of Samuel]. Are these not written in the Book of Samuel?”

96. LXX B and VL “to the hill”; LXX L “to the Bama-hill”; *Tg. Neb.*, “to the house of feasting.” 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has a gap at this point.

97. Josephus’s designation for Saul’s return destination here does not match the reading (“to the high place”) of MT 1 Sam 10:13b or those of the ancient versions cited in this study (see n. 96). On the other hand, it does correspond to a conjecture proposed by J. Wellhausen for 1 Sam 10:13b and adopted by many subsequent critics. See P. K. McCarter Jr., *1 Samuel* (AB 8; New York: Doubleday, 1980), 172, who notes Josephus’s anticipation of this conjecture.

98. In MT 1 Sam 10:14 the interlocutor is his nameless “uncle.” Josephus’s more general indication of the figure’s relationship to Saul (“kinsman,” συγγενής) has a counterpart in LXX BL, where he is called his οἰκεῖος (“relative”; cf. VL: *domesticus illius*). Josephus draws the name he gives the personage—in all witnesses to 10:14 he remains anonymous—from 1 Sam 14:50–51, where “Abner” is presented as the son of Saul’s uncle Ner, that is, Saul’s cousin.

99. With this appended characterization of “Abner,” Josephus supplies an implicit explanation as to why Saul’s report is made, not to his own father Kish as might be expected (all the more so in Josephus’s own presentation, where Samuel orders Saul to “salute” his father in the first place; see 6.57), but rather to a more distant relation—that is, Saul’s preferential affection for Abner.

concerning his journey and the events thereof.”<sup>100</sup> The exchange between Saul and his relative continues in 1 Sam 10:14b–16 with a initial response by the former (v. 14b),<sup>101</sup> a follow-up question by the relative (v. 15), a reply to this by Saul (v. 16a), and an editorial notice on Saul’s keeping silent about his kingship (v. 16b). Josephus compresses (6.58b–59a) this sequence, eliminating the relative’s second question and conflating Saul’s two answers. His abbreviated version runs as follows: “Saul concealed from him nothing of all the rest,<sup>102</sup> how he had visited Samuel the prophet<sup>103</sup> and how he told him that the asses were safe.”<sup>104</sup> But concerning the kingdom and all that related thereto,<sup>105</sup> deeming that the recital thereof would excite jealousy and distrust,<sup>106</sup> he held his peace.”

In the biblical sequence the notice on Saul’s silence about his kingship (1 Sam 10:16b) is followed immediately by the account—to which Josephus’s parallel is *Ant.* 6.60–67<sup>107</sup>—of his being designated king by lot (1 Sam 10:17–27). Josephus, on the contrary, in 6.59bc pauses to expatiate on the topic—introduced by him in 6.59a (see above)—of Saul’s motivations in withholding essential information from his relative. This Josephan appendix to 1 Sam 10:16b reads:

nay, even to one who seemed most loyal of friends and whom he loved more affectionately than all those of his blood,<sup>108</sup> he judged it neither safe nor prudent to disclose this secret—reflecting, I ween,<sup>109</sup>

100. Josephus elaborates on the question asked by Saul’s relative in 1 Sam 10:14a: “Where did you go?” Conversely, he leaves out the biblical mention of the “servant” as co-addressee of the relative’s question.

101. In MT 1 Sam 10:14b Saul alone responds, whereas in 10:14a the relative directs his question also to the servant. In LXX BL “they” (Saul and the servant) respond.

102. This editorial remark has no direct equivalent in 1 Sam 10:14–16. It serves to set up a contrast between “everything else” Saul tells his relative and the “one thing” he later holds back from him.

103. This phrase represents a condensation of Saul’s initial response to the relative’s question about where he had gone in 1 Sam 10:14b: “to seek the asses, and when we saw that they were not to be found, we went to Samuel.” Josephus has Saul append the prophet title to his mention of Samuel.

104. Compare 1 Sam 10:16a, where in response to the relative’s request of 10:15 (“pray, tell me what Samuel said to you”), Saul states: “He told us plainly that the asses had been found.” Here for the third time in his version of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16, Josephus uses a form of the verb σώζω (“to save”) in reference to the fate of the asses (the previous uses were in 6.51, 56).

105. Like LXX B, Josephus has no equivalent to the phrase “of which Samuel had spoken” attached to the word “kingdom” in the MT, 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, and LXX L 1 Sam 10:16b.

106. Josephus inserts this explanation (which he will expand upon in the continuation of 6.59) of Saul’s silence about his kingship, a silence that 1 Sam 10:16b itself leaves unelucidated.

107. On this text, see my “‘Royal Lottery’ according to Josephus,” *Revista Catalana de Teologia* 21 (1996): 273–88.

108. This allusion to Saul’s sentiments toward “Abner” picks up on Josephus’s characterization of the latter as “of all his relatives the one he loved the best” in 6.58. The effect of this emphasis on Saul’s attachment to his interlocutor is to throw into relief just how compelling were the king’s reasons, which Josephus will elucidate in what follows, for withholding the fact of his new status even from him.

109. Here, as he does also elsewhere in *Antiquities*, Josephus interjects his own “I” into the story he is telling, offering a surmise concerning Saul’s motivation.

on what human nature in truth is, and how no one, be he friend or kinsman, shows unwavering loyalty (εὐνοῦς)<sup>110</sup> or preserves his affection when brilliant distinctions are bestowed by God, but all men straightway regard these eminences with malice and envy.<sup>111</sup>

### CONCLUSION

I began this essay by positing three overarching questions around which I proposed to focus my study of *Ant.* 6.45–59. I now return to those questions with a view to synthesizing my findings concerning them.

(1) *Biblical text.* My comparison of *Ant.* 6.45–59 with the various witnesses to 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 yielded a decidedly “mixed picture” regarding the textual affinities of Josephus’s version. In some instances, Josephus clearly aligns himself with the readings of LXX BL against the MT, for example, the number of people invited to the feast (70 [6.52 // LXX 9:22], versus 30 [MT 9:22]) and the longer form of Samuel’s word to the newly anointed Saul (6.54 // 1 Sam 10:1b). Similarly in 6.50 he agrees with both the LXX and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> 1 Sam 9:19 in citing Samuel’s response as “I am he” (rather than “I am the seer,” as in the MT), while in 6.53 his notice that Saul did in fact dismiss his servant has a counterpart in the LXX L plus at the end of 9:27. In other cases, however, his presentation parallels distinctive readings of the MT, for example, the servant proposes that he give the quarter-shekel to the one they are to visit (6.48 // MT 1 Sam 9:8; in the LXX he suggests that Saul do this), while Samuel places Saul and the servant “above” the other guests (6.52 // MT 9:22; in the LXX they are situated “among the first of those invited”). Josephus’s version also evidences points of contact, both explicit and implicit, with readings peculiar to *Tg. Nebi'im*. Among explicit contacts are his use of the term “prophet” in the conversation between Saul and the servant to designate the figure they are to approach (6.47–48 // *Tg. Neb.* 1 Sam 10:6–8; in the MT and LXX the latter is referred to as a “man of God”) and his having Samuel inform Saul that God has selected him as “king” (6.54 // *Tg. Nebi'im* 1 Sam 10:1; compare the MT [prince] and LXX [ruler]). As for implicit commonalities between the renderings of Josephus and *Tg. Nebi'im*, we noted that both eliminate all the references to the various “high places” with which the MT associates Samuel or Saul,<sup>112</sup> just as they reword the mention of (the non-priest) Samuel’s blessing of the sacrifice found in the MT and LXX 1 Sam 9:13 (see

110. This term is absent in the codices RO (see n. 15) and the “Epitome” and is omitted by Niese. Marcus and Nodet read it with the remaining codices.

111. The above misanthropic generalization about “human nature” as marked by universal envy vis-à-vis the good fortune of the other has parallels elsewhere in Josephus. See, for example, *Ant.* 5.215: “But God, appearing to Gedeon in his sleep, showed to him the proneness of human nature to self-love and the hatred that it bore to those of surpassing merit.” On “envy” as a recurrent factor both in the history of his people as presented by Josephus and in his autobiography, see Feldman, *Josephus’s Interpretation*, 668.

112. See n. 31.

6.48).<sup>113</sup> Finally, in one instance (that is, the reference to Saul's entering his "house"), Josephus (6.58) offers a reading that it is not supported by any of the ancient witnesses for 1 Sam 10:13b but that has been proposed as a conjecture by modern critics.<sup>114</sup> It thus appears that in composing *Ant.* 6.45–59 Josephus used various text-forms of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16.<sup>115</sup>

(2) *Rewriting techniques and their consequences.* My second question focused on the rewriting techniques used by Josephus in *Ant.* 6.45–59 and the resultant distinctiveness of his version of the story concerning Saul's anointing. These rewriting techniques themselves may be categorized under four headings: abbreviations, expansions, rearrangements, and other modifications. Here, I limit myself to recalling some noteworthy examples of each category in *Ant.* 6.45–59.

Throughout his version Josephus either omits completely or compresses longer or shorter segments of his Vorlage. The most extended segment omitted by him is the unit concerning Saul's prophesying once he leaves Samuel, in 1 Sam 10:10–13a.<sup>116</sup>

Elsewhere, Josephus's omissions/compressions concern smaller portions of source material: the names of the ancestors of Kish (1 Sam 9:1) and of the regions through which Saul and the servant travel (9:4), the historical parenthesis of 9:9 and the attached notice on Saul's endorsement of the servant's plan (9:10a), the continuation of God's words to Samuel in 9:16, Samuel's remarks to Saul about the portion the latter has received (9:24), the report about Kish's state of mind that Saul will hear (10:2b $\beta$ ), the references to "Zelzah" in the territory of Benjamin (10:2a $\alpha$ ) and to the "oak of Tabor" (10:3), the details about the site where Saul will meet the "prophets" and these figures themselves found in 10:5–6, and Saul's being given "another heart" by God (10:9).

Conversely, Josephus also introduces a variety of additions to / expansions of the biblical presentation. Of these, the most extended is the reflective piece concerning the ubiquity of envy that he attaches to the mention of Saul's keeping silent about his kingship (6.59a // 1 Sam 10:16b) in 6.59bc. The majority of his additions/expansions are more limited in extent. These include: the details concerning the asses and their disappearance supplied in 6.46 (compare 9:3), the appended remark about Saul and the servant being unaware of Samuel's nonacceptance of remuneration (6.48), Samuel's prayer that God reveal his chosen king to him (6.49), Saul's statement about not knowing the whereabouts of the prophet's house as a motivation for his question to Samuel on the matter (6.50), the departure of the other

113. See n. 32.

114. See n. 97.

115. On the question of the text(s) of Samuel used by Josephus overall, see E. Ulrich, "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.

116. This example illustrates the interconnectedness of Josephus's rewriting techniques in that the omission in question goes together with an anticipation of 1 Sam 10:11, the content of which he incorporates into his version of Samuel's word to Saul of 10:6 in 6.56. See n. 85.

guests (6.52), Samuel's directive that Saul go and greet his father and other relations (6.57), the characterization of Abner as Saul's favorite relative (6.58), and the explanation of Saul's silence about his kingship worked into the rendering of 1 Sam 10:16b in 6.59a.

On several occasions, Josephus also rearranges the sequence of the biblical account. Three noteworthy instances of this phenomenon are: Saul and the servant traverse their own tribal territory at the start rather than coming to this only at the end of their search (6.46; compare 9:4); the order of the first two signs that Samuel announces for Saul according to 1 Sam 10:2–4 is reversed in 6.55–56a, while in 6.55a the bread-carrier appears in first rather than in either second or third place, as in the various witnesses to 1 Sam 10:3.<sup>117</sup> We likewise noted that Josephus "anticipates" the notice on the popular reaction to Saul's prophesying (10:11), making this part of Samuel's announcement to the king about that prophesying (10:6) in 6.56b, just as he "delays" the directive about Saul's waiting seven days at Gilgal (10:8) to a much later point (see 6.100).<sup>118</sup>

Finally, Josephus also modifies the biblical account of Saul's anointing in still other ways. On the stylistic-terminological level, he (selectively) replaces direct with indirect address when reporting characters' words.<sup>119</sup> Similarly, he recasts the figurative language of his source with more prosaic renderings (see 6.49),<sup>120</sup> weaves "kingship language" using the βασιλ- root throughout his version,<sup>121</sup> eliminates source mention of the divine "word" (6.53 // 9:27)<sup>122</sup> and the use of anointing (Messiah) terminology,<sup>123</sup> standardizes the various designations used for mantic figures throughout 1 Sam 9 ("man of God," "seer," "prophet") into a single one, "prophet,"<sup>124</sup> and substitutes (6.56b) an allusion to Saul's "becoming inspired" for the announcement about the "spirit coming mightily upon him" in 10:6.<sup>125</sup> Josephus likewise modifies various biblical content elements. Thus, for example, he cites a different stopping place for Saul and the servant (that is, "Armatha," 6.47) than does 1 Sam 9:5 (the land of Zuph, etc.). The pair meets the maidens "at the gates" rather than on the ascent to the city and asks them a different question than do their source counterparts (6.48; compare 1 Sam 9:11).<sup>126</sup> The occasion over which Samuel is to preside is a

117. See n. 75.

118. See n. 92.

119. See n. 14.

120. See n. 36.

121. See n. 56.

122. See n. 63.

123. See nn. 37 and 67.

124. See n. 19.

125. See n. 83.

126. In both of these respects, Josephus's modification seems inspired by the account of the pair's subsequent encounter with Samuel as described in 1 Sam 9:18. With that later presentation in mind, Josephus makes the encounter with the maidens take place at the gates and has the pair ask them about where the prophet's house is to be found.

“secular” supper rather than a “sacrifice” that he will “bless” (6.48 versus 9:13).<sup>127</sup> Saul is served by several of Samuel’s retainers, not by “the cook” (alone), and is given “a royal portion” rather than specified pieces of the victim (6.52; compare 9:24). Saul will meet only one man, not two, at Rachel’s tomb (6.56a; compare 10:2). Samuel’s vague directive of 10:7 about what Saul is to do once the announced signs have come about is rendered more definite (6.57a). In like manner, the question of when Saul is to proceed to Gilgal is clarified, and not only Samuel but also Saul himself will sacrifice there (6.57b // 10:8). Josephus’s Saul leaves Samuel only when dismissed by him rather than on his own volition (6.57c; compare 10:9), just as the anonymous relative to whom Saul reports in 10:14 receives a name (“Abēnar”) drawn from a later biblical context (6.58a).<sup>128</sup>

The account of Saul’s anointing that results from Josephus’s application of the above rewriting techniques evidences a range of distinctive features in comparison with the biblical account. Throughout, one notes a certain streamlining of the source story, with obscure place-names, extraneous details, and the historical parenthesis of 1 Sam 9:9 being omitted. At the same time, Josephus also elucidates matters that the Bible itself leaves unexplained (Why was the loss of Kish’s asses such a “big deal” to him? What exactly is Saul to do once the signs announced to him have been fulfilled? Why does Saul report back not to his father but to another relative, and why does he withhold key information from that relative?).

Difficulties of the source account, narratological (for example, how is that Saul and the servant traverse the territories of other tribes before their own in their search for the asses [1 Sam 9:4; compare 6.46]?), geographical (where is Rachel’s tomb—is it in Benjamin or Judah?),<sup>129</sup> and theological-cultic (for example, Samuel’s and Saul’s association with “high places”<sup>130</sup> and the priestly roles implicitly attributed to these two non-priests in 1 Sam 9:12,<sup>131</sup> 24;<sup>132</sup> and 10:4<sup>133</sup>) are “resolved” in one way or other. Moreover, by means of his editorial appendix in 6.59bc, Josephus draws an anthropological lesson from the story of Saul’s anointing that invests this one-time historical event with a wider significance.

In Josephus’s retelling of the biblical story, the characterization of its two central figures, Saul and Samuel, takes on distinctive (positive) nuances as well. Saul is endowed not only with an outstanding physique but also with superlative spiritual and mental qualities (6.45; compare 9:2). The modesty of his reply to Samuel is accentuated (6.51; compare 9:21). His prophesying is portrayed in an unambiguously positive fashion (6.56;

127. See nn. 32, 34.

128. See n. 98.

129. See n. 79.

130. See n. 31.

131. See nn. 32, 34.

132. See n. 57.

133. See n. 77.

compare 10:11–12). He will be Samuel's co-sacrificer at Gilgal (6.57; compare 10:8). He waits to be dismissed by the prophet, rather than "turning his back on him" at his own volition (6.57; compare 10:9). He has a good reason—rather than no apparent reason at all—to withhold important information from his relative (6.59; compare 10:16b).

Likewise the Josephan Samuel appears as a still more exalted figure than does his biblical namesake. The title *prophet* is repeatedly applied to him. It is his prior prayer that prompts God to reveal the imminent arrival of Saul (6.49; compare 9:15). He dismisses Saul rather than having the latter "turn his back" on him (6.57; compare 10:9), while the signs whose fulfillment Saul experiences are explicitly said to be ones that Samuel had foretold (6.57; compare 10:9).

(3) *Comparison with other extra-biblical traditions.* In fact, rather little can be said about Josephus's version of Saul's anointing in comparison with other extrabiblical traditions, given the sporadic/limited character of the latter. We did, however, note a common accentuation of Saul's modesty in Josephus and the rabbinic documentation.<sup>134</sup> Again, the Josephan and Pseudo-Philonic retellings of the king's anointing do share several (minor) commonalities that distinguish them from the biblical account itself: both have Saul and the servant coming to Samuel's hometown (Armatha [6.46]/Ramathaim [L.A.B. 56.4]), rather than to the land of Zuph, as in 1 Sam 9:5; and both record (see 6.49 and 56.5) a prayer, unmentioned in the Bible, by Samuel as part of the events that precede Saul's anointing. Moreover, neither author reproduces the list of Kish's ancestors given in 1 Sam 9:1 (which, conversely, the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II" does supply). On the other hand, such points of contact between Josephus and Pseudo-Philo for the story of Saul's anointing are far overshadowed by the fact that, whereas the former reproduces the biblical account both *in extenso* and with a fair degree of fidelity to the content, the latter gives the story in a highly abbreviated form<sup>135</sup> and with a preponderance of elements peculiar to himself (see, for example, the appendix to Samuel's informing Saul of God's choice of him as king [1 Sam 10:1], in which Saul reacts to this announcement and Samuel in turn replies, drawing a comparison between Saul's words and those of the future prophet Jeremiah).<sup>136</sup>

As noted at the beginning of this essay, the story of Saul's anointing is one of the key texts of the books of Samuel. In contrast to Pseudo-Philo and the compiler of the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II,"<sup>137</sup> for example,

134. See nn. 16, 48, 50.

135. This point is of note in that in many other instances (for example, the story of Samuel's youth in 1 Sam 1:1–4:1a // L.A.B. 49–53) Pseudo-Philo expatiates considerably on the biblical narratives that he does use. Pseudo-Philo's abbreviation of the Bible's story of Saul's anointing is taken still further in the "Samaritan Chronicle No. II," which essentially limits its use of 1 Sam 9:1–10:16 to a citation of the ancestry of Saul as given in 1 Sam 9:1. See n. 9.

136. See n. 67.

137. See n. 135.

Josephus does allot the story a duly extended place in his own retelling of Israel's history. Even more, however, he takes considerable pains to present the story in a new and "improved" form. His doing so makes a detailed study of what he has made out of the Bible's narrative and how he does this a fascinating scholarly endeavor.