

THE TEXT OF THE MISCELLANIES MISCELLANY 1

(Rahlfs' text)

35a Καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος φρόνησιν τῷ Σαλωμων καὶ σοφίαν πολλήν 1: 35^a σφόδρα καὶ πλάτος καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν, 356 356 καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἡ φρόνησις Σαλωμων σφόδρα ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν πάντων άρχαίων υίῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου. 35° 35° καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν θυγατέρα Φαραω καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ έως συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶκον κυρίου ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ κυκλόθεν · ἐν ἑπτὰ ἔτεσιν 35^d ἐποίησεν καὶ συνετέλεσεν. ^{35d}καὶ ἢν τῷ Σαλωμων ἐβδομήκοντα χιλιάδες αἴροντες ἄρσιν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα χιλιάδες λατόμων ἐν τῷ 35e δρει. ^{35e}καὶ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ὑποστηρίγματα καὶ τοὺς λουτῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς στύλους καὶ τὴν 35f κρήνην τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν. 35fκαὶ ὠκοδόμησεν την ἄκραν καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις αὐτῆς καὶ διέκοψεν την πόλιν Δαυιδ· ούτως θυγάτηρ Φαραω ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Δαυιδ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ὃν ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆ τότε ὠκοδόμησεν τὴν 35^g ἄκραν. ^{35g}καὶ Σαλωμων ἀνέφερεν τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁλοκαυτώσεις καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὁ ὠκοδόμησεν τῷ κυρίῳ, 35 καὶ ἐθυμία ἐνώπιον κυρίου. καὶ συνετέλεσεν τὸν οἶκον. οὖτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σαλωμων: τρεῖς χιλιάδες καὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἐπιστάται τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ποιούντων 35¹ τὰ ἔργα. ³⁵¹καὶ ἀκοδόμησεν τὴν Ασσουρ καὶ τὴν Μαγδω καὶ τὴν 35k Γαζερ και την Βαιθωρων την έπάνω και τὰ Βααλαθ· 35k πλην μετά τὸ οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἶκον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ κύκλω, μετά ταῦτα ὠκοδόμησεν τὰς πόλεις ταύτας.



MISCELLANY 2

(Rahlfs' text)

2: 46^a ^{46a}Καὶ ἤν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων φρόνιμος σφόδρα καὶ σοφός, καὶ Ιουδα καὶ Ισραηλ πολλοὶ σφόδρα ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης 46^b εἰς πλῆθος, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες καὶ χαίροντες· ^{46b}καὶ Σαλωμων ἤν ἄρχων ἐν πάσαις ταῖς βασιλείαις, καὶ ἤσαν προσφέροντες δῶρα καὶ ἐδούλευον τῷ Σαλωμων πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας τῆς 3ωῆς αὐτοῦ. 46^c ^{46c}καὶ Σαλωμων ἤρξατο διανοίγειν τὰ δυναστεύματα τοῦ Λιβάνου, 46^d,46^e ^{46d}καὶ αὐτὸς ῷκοδόμησεν τὴν Θερμαι ἐν τῆ ἐρήμῳ. ^{46e}καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄριστον τῷ Σαλωμων· τριάκοντα κόροι σεμιδάλεως καὶ ἑξήκοντα κόροι ἀλεύρου κεκοπανισμένου, δέκα μόσχοι ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ εἴκοσι βόες νομάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα ἐκτὸς ἐλάφων καὶ δορκάδων καὶ 46^f ὀρνίθων ἐκλεκτῶν νομάδων. ^{46f}ὅτι ἤν ἄρχων ἐν παντὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ ἀπὸ Ραφι ἔως Γάζης, ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν πέραν τοῦ τοταμοῦ· ^{46g}καὶ ἤν αὐτῷ εἰρήνη ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ κανλόθεν, καὶ κατώκει Ιουδα καὶ Ισοαπλ πεποιθότες, ἔκαστος ὑπὸ

- 468 ποταμοῦ· 468καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰρήνη ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ κυκλόθεν, καὶ κατώκει Ιουδα καὶ Ισραηλ πεποιθότες, ἕκαστος ὑπὸ τὴν ἄμπελον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὑπὸ τὴν συκῆν αὐτοῦ, ἐσθίοντες καὶ πίνοντες, ἀπὸ Δαν καὶ ἕως Βηρσαβεε πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας Σαλωμων.
- 46h 46h καὶ οὖτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες τοῦ Σαλωμων · Αζαριου υἰὸς Σαδωκ τοῦ ἱερέως καὶ Ορνιου υἰὸς Ναθαν ἄρχων τῶν ἐφεστηκότων καὶ Εδραμ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ Σουβα γραμματεύς καὶ Βασα υἰὸς Αχιθαλαμ ἀναμιμνήσκων καὶ Αβι υἰὸς Ιωαβ ἀρχιστράτηγος καὶ Αχιρε υἰὸς Εδραϊ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρσεις καὶ Βαναια υἱὸς Ιωδαε ἐπὶ τῆς αὐλαρχίας καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ πλινθείου καὶ Ζαχουρ υἰὸς Ναθαν ὁ σύμβουλος. —
- 46¹ 46¹καὶ ἤσαν τῷ Σαλωμων τεσσαράκοντα χιλιάδες τοκάδες ἵπποι 46^k εἰς ἄρματα καὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἱππέων. ^{46k}καὶ ἤν ἄρχων ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἕως γῆς ἀλλοφύλων καὶ ἕως ὁρίων Αἰγύπτου.
- 46^{1} 46^{1} Σαλωμων υίὸς Δαυιδ έβασίλευσεν έπὶ Ισραηλ καὶ Ιουδα έν Ιερουσαλημ.



CHAPTER I

A STRANGE PHENOMENON

In the second chapter of 3 Reigns there occurs a phenomenon which by any standard is most unusual. From the first verse of ch. 2 – indeed from the beginning of the Book – the Greek has been matching the Hebrew of the MT with a high degree of correspondence, when at the end of v. 35 suddenly and without warning the Greek diverges, and in a succession of verses, which both Brooke–McLean¹ and Rahlfs² number³ 35³–35°, presents material that in this position has no counterpart in the MT at all. This in itself, of course, is nothing exceptional; the Greek OT often disagrees with the MT both in order and content. The thing that makes this passage so remarkable is the nature of the material that fills vv. 35³–k. At first sight it looks like nothing but a collection of variant readings;⁴ it is made up of the following elements:

- 1. Verses which word for word repeat translations which stand in the main Greek text in positions corresponding to the counterpart material in the MT. Thus, v. 35^d repeats word for word the main Greek text at 5: 29 (BM 5: 15); at 5: 29 this material corresponds in position with its counterpart in the MT (5: 29 also).
- 2. Verses which offer a different translation from that given in the main Greek text, while the translation in the main text stands in a position corresponding to that held by the corresponding material in the MT. Thus, v. 35^b and 5: 10 (BM 4: 26) offer different translations of what is basically the same Hebrew. In the MT the material appears at 5: 10.
- 3. Verses which offer a different translation from that given in the main Greek text, while the corresponding material in the MT agrees in position with neither translation. Thus v. 35^{fβ} and 9: 9^a and MT 9: 24 correspond in subject matter; but each stands in a completely different context.



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- 4. Verses which offer a translation of material which is in the MT but entirely missing from the main Greek text. Thus v. 35^g presents a translation of material which in the MT stands at 9:25, but which in the main Greek text is nowhere to be found.
- 5. Phrases, or verses, like v. 35^k, which have no counterpart either in the main Greek text or in the MT.

Now readings of this kind, if found scattered here and there in the margins or between the lines of a manuscript, would occasion no surprise; but to find them collected together and stationed in the middle of the on-going stream of narrative is an extraordinary thing. It is not as if they occurred thus in just one manuscript; they are found in practically all manuscripts, so that their entry into the text must have been fairly early. Nor does it appear that their presence in the text is the result of an accident: even a superficial glance will discover the following tell-tale evidence.

In the MT the execution of Shimei is related in two parts: Pt I in 2: 8-9, and Pt II in 2: 36-46. Now the main Greek text presents translations of these two parts, each stationed in a position that corresponds exactly to its MT counterpart. But vv. 351-0 offer another and different translation of Pt I. In this they resemble many of the verses 35a-k which, as we have just seen, offer different translations of other passages in the main Greek text; and it is reasonable to suppose that they may have had a similar origin. At the same time vv. 351-0 are stationed immediately in front of vv. 36-46 which give the main text's translation of Pt II (and there is no second translation of Pt II given anywhere), so that vv. 351-0 and 36-46 give the whole story of Shimei's execution in one uninterrupted flow. This is hardly accidental; but if vv. 351-0 have been deliberately integrated with the main text in this way, it would be difficult to think that vv. 35a-k held their present position by accident,6 however seemingly odd it is.

But there is a further oddity. After the main Greek text has told Pt II of Shimei's execution, we find inserted in the text another collection of variants, numbered 46^{a-1}, similar in type and variety to the first lot. This is exceedingly odd. It is strange



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enough to have a large collection of variants inserted in the text at all; but if it is going to be done, why have two collections standing in nearby, but separated, positions, and not simply one collection?

The very oddity of the phenomenon calls for a thorough investigation; and in addition there is hope that in the course of this investigation we may gain further insight into the history of the whole of the much disturbed text of 3 Reigns.



CHAPTER 2

THE THEMES OF THE MISCELLANIES

It will be convenient for the purpose of our investigation to adopt Montgomery's terminology and call vv. 35^{a-k} the first miscellany (hereafter Misc. 1) and vv. 46^{a-1} the second miscellany (hereafter Misc. 2). Our concern in this chapter will then be to demonstrate that whatever the sources of the material in the miscellanies may have been, the material as it now stands in the miscellanies has been arranged so that its details fit with as much relevance as possible into certain dominant themes.

Montgomery was the first to notice this. He concluded from his analysis of the miscellanies that 'these miscellanies grew up out of some rational summaries of the Solomonic history; the backbone of the first is a survey of Solomon's wisdom and his building operations; of the second a transcript of H [i.e. the Hebrew passage] 4: 20–5:6'. In two recent articles, which I may be allowed very briefly to summarise here, I have tried to carry Montgomery's observations further.

In the first¹ I pointed out that each miscellany begins with a statement of Solomon's wisdom; each miscellany also uses in its first verse the sand of the sea shore as a simile, Misc. I to describe Solomon's wisdom, Misc. 2 to describe the number of Judah and Israel. Now in later midrashim the fact that one scripture likens Solomon's wisdom to the sand of the sea shore and another scripture likens the number of Israel to the sand of the sea shore is held to be significant: it is taken to imply that Solomon's wisdom equalled that of all Israel. I suggested therefore that a similar midrashic interest lay behind the placing of Solomon's wisdom, the sand of the sea shore and the number of Israel as the opening themes of the two miscellanies. I pointed out also that Pt I of the story of Shimei's execution is the part that stresses Solomon's wisdom in the whole episode, and I suggested that this common theme of Solomon's wisdom accounts



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for the duplication of Pt I of the Shimei story, and for the grouping of the miscellanies round that story.

In the second article² I endeavoured to show that whereas both miscellanies are concerned with Solomon's wisdom, Misc. I deals with his wisdom in his building activities, while Misc. 2 deals with his wisdom in government, administration and supplies, and I called attention to extensive evidence which suggests that the two miscellanies have not been left to stand as isolated islands, but have been integrated with the whole of the main text, and that their very existence and their incorporation into the main text are connected with the reorderings and re-interpretations of the text that are such a pronounced feature of the whole of 3 Reigns.

But much more can be said to demonstrate that the two miscellanies are carefully constructed in order to develop certain themes. Here again is Misc. 1.

- 35^a ^{35a}Καὶ ἔδωκεν κύριος φρόνησιν τῷ Σαλωμων καὶ σοφίαν πολλὴν σφόδρα καὶ πλάτος καρδίας ὡς ἡ ἄμμος ἡ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν,
- σφοορα και πλατος καρδιας ως ή άμμος ή παρά την θάλασσαν, $35^{\rm b}$ ^{35b}καὶ ἐπληθύνθη ἡ φρόνησις Σαλωμων σφόδρα ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν
- 35° πάντων άρχαίων υίῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας φρονίμους Αἰγύπτου. 35° καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν θυγατέρα Φαραω καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ ἔως συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἰκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἰκον κυρίου ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ κυκλόθεν ἐν ἔπτὰ ἔτεσιν
- 35^d ἐποίησεν καὶ συνετέλεσεν. ^{35d}καὶ ἤν τῷ Σαλωμων ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδες αἴροντες ἄρσιν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα χιλιάδες λατόμων ἐν τῷ
- 35° ὅρει. ³⁵εκαὶ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ὑποστηρίγματα καὶ τοὺς λουτῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς στύλους καὶ τὴν
- 35^f κρήνην τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν. ^{35f}καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις αὐτῆς καὶ διέκοψεν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ· οὕτως θυγάτηρ Φαραω ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Δαυιδ εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς, ὂν ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτῆ· τότε ἀκοδόμησεν τὴν
- 35^g ἄκραν. ^{35g}καὶ Σαλωμων ἀνέφερεν τρεῖς ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ ὁλοκαυτώσεις καὶ εἰρηνικὰς ἐπὶ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, ὁ ῷκοδόμησεν τῷ κυρίω, καὶ
- $35^{\rm h}$ ἐθυμία ἐνώπιον κυρίου. καὶ συνετέλεσεν τὸν οἶκον. $^{35{\rm h}}$ καὶ οὖτοι οἱ ἄρχοντες οἱ καθεσταμένοι ἐπὶ τὰ ἔργα τοῦ Σαλωμων· τρεῖς χιλιάδες καὶ ἑξακόσιοι ἐπιστάται τοῦ λαοῦ τῶν ποιούντων τὰ



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35¹ ἔργα. ³⁵¹καὶ ἀκοδόμησεν τὴν Ασσουρ καὶ τὴν Μαγδω καὶ τὴν 35^k Γαζερ καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρων τὴν ἐπάνω καὶ τὰ Βααλαθ· ^{35k}πλὴν μετὰ τὸ οἰκοδομῆσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἰκον τοῦ κυρίου καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ κύκλω, μετὰ ταῦτα ἀκοδόμησεν τὰς πόλεις ταύτας.

It is at once apparent that one idea – the finishing of the house of the Lord and the timing of that finishing in relation to certain other activities – repeats itself throughout the miscellany, in vv. c, g and k. This could, of course, be nothing more than an accidental coincidence, but there are several indications that it is not.

- I. If we compare v. c with its counterparts in the main Greek text and in the MT we find as follows: the first part of the verse (down to κυκλόθεν) has its counterpart in the MT at 3: 1, and in the main Greek text at 5: 14a (Rahlfs; 4: 31 BM); the remainder of the verse has its counterpart in the MT at 6: 38b, or so it would seem,³ and no counterpart at all in the main Greek text. This means that v. c is composite, that is, it is made up of material which, as far as we can tell, originally stood part in one context and part in another. That the two parts now stand together in v. c is, therefore, presumably the deliberate work of the editor of the miscellany. And this in turn shows that the editor was particularly interested in how long it took to build the house of the Lord and when it was finished.
- 2. The words ἐν πρώτοις in ν. c^α are clearly concerned to tell us that, in spite of the order of the phrase τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἶκον Κυρίου, Solomon did in fact build the Lord's house first before he built his own house. But the words have no counterpart in either the MT or the main Greek text (in spite of the fact that the rest of ν. c^α has a counterpart in the main Greek text). Their presence in the verse seems entirely due to the editor and emphasises his interest in the length of time it took to build the Lord's house and in when it was finished. It also incidentally shows him in the rôle of a commentator, concerned to correct the impression which a reader might unwittingly receive from the order of the phrase in the MT his own house and the Lord's house that Solomon built his own house first.⁴



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3. V. k likewise has no counterpart in either the MT or the main Greek text. It is plainly editorial comment, and is concerned to establish that certain cities which Solomon built were not built before the Lord's house. Clearly the theme continues by the editor's deliberate intention. But, then, why should anybody ever think that these cities were built before the Lord's house? Why the need for the explicit and emphatic statement? The answer appears to be this: in the paragraph in the MT in which the building of these cities is recorded, the building of these cities is mentioned before the record of the completion of the Lord's house; and therefore the editor of the miscellany, in taking over a good deal of material from this paragraph, is at pains to forestall, or correct, any wrong impression that might be obtained from the order of the MT. It is the fact that not only v. i but vv. $f^{\beta\gamma}$, g and h all find their counterpart in the MT in the paragraph 9: 15-25 thus:

MT ch. 9		Misc. 1
vv. 15, 17	Building of cities	v. i
v. 23	Solomon's chief officers	v. h
v. 24	Pharaoh's daughter	v. $f^{\beta\gamma}$
v. 25	Solomon's thrice-yearly offerings:	v. g
	'and he finished the house'	_

It will be at once noticed that in the MT the paragaph begins with the building of the cities and ends with the mention of the completion of the Lord's house. Not so, of course, the miscellany. The building of the cities is there stationed after the mention of the completion of the Lord's house. And the editor has not even so been content to make his point by simply making this change of order; he has added in v. k an editorial comment that states his point explicitly. So once more we notice that the editor was not just some tidy-minded scribe, who, finding a number of stray variants, grouped them in some rough and ready logical order. He was a commentator, commenting here on the order of the text that we find in the MT.

4. Returning to v. c we find another revealing clue showing that the miscellany has been put together by an editor accord-

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ing to a carefully thought out scheme. Verse c is concerned to tell us that Solomon brought Pharaoh's daughter into the city of David until he finished building his own house, the house of the Lord and the wall of Jerusalem. Now a later verse in the miscellany tells us that eventually Pharaoh's daughter came up out of the city of David into her house which Solomon built for her (verse f). It could, of course, be a sheer accident that two of the variant translations with which the editor had to cope happened to be about Pharaoh's daughter and her arrival in, and departure from, her temporary residence in the city of David. But granted this much is an accident, it seems fairly certain that the positioning of these two items in the miscellany is no accident. Consider the sweep of the 'narrative':

- 35° καὶ ἔλαβεν τὴν θυγατέρα Φαραω καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ ἕως συντελέσαι αὐτὸν τὸν οἰκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν οἰκον κυρίου ἐν πρώτοις καὶ τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ κυκλόθεν ἐν ἐπτὰ 35^d ἔτεσιν ἐποίησεν καὶ συνετέλεσεν. ^{35d}καὶ ἢν τῷ Σαλωμων ἑβδομή-
- 35^d ἔτεσιν ἐποίησεν καὶ συνετέλεσεν. ^{35d}καὶ ἢν τῷ Σαλωμων ἑβδομήκοντα χιλιάδες αἴροντες ἄρσιν καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα χιλιάδες λατόμων
- 35° ἐν τῷ ὅρει. ³⁵καὶ ἐποίησεν Σαλωμων τὴν θάλασσαν καὶ τὰ ὑποστηρίγματα καὶ τοὺς λουτῆρας τοὺς μεγάλους καὶ τοὺς στύ-λους καὶ τὴν κρήνην τῆς αὐλῆς καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τὴν χαλκῆν.
- 35^f 35fκαὶ ἀκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις αὐτῆς καὶ διέκοψεν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ·οὕτως θυγάτηρ Φαραω ἀνέβαινεν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως Δαυιδ εἰς τὸν οἰκον αὐτῆς, ὂν ἀκοδόμησεν αὐτῆ· τότε ἀκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν.

Clearly, as it stands, v. f^{β} is intended to complete the story begun in v. c; for, after v. c has remarked that Pharaoh's daughter's stay in David's city was meant to last only until certain buildings were built, the verses intervening between v. c and v. f^{β} are all without exception concerned with the erection of these buildings: v. c^{β} with the time it took to build, namely seven years; v. d with the labour force required for the job; v. e with sundry items of furniture in the house of the Lord that had to be built first; v. f with Millo, its fortifications (part of the fortification complex of Jerusalem; cf. LXX 10: 23 ... τὸ τεῖχος Ιερουσαλημ καὶ τὴν ἄκραν) and the city of David.