

CHAPTER THIRTY-EIGHT

THE SEPTUAGINT ADDITIONS ('MISCELLANIES') IN 1 KINGS 2 (3 REIGNS 2)

In the middle of chapter 2 in 1 Kings, the LXX (3 Reigns 2) has two long additions, to be named here as Additions 1 and 2. After v. 35, the LXX has 14 additional verses, traditionally denoted 35_{a-o}, and after v. 46 there are 11 additional verses, denoted 46_{a-l}. These are not the longest additions in the LXX of 3 Reigns, since in 12:24 the LXX adds no less than 24 verses (12:24_{a-z}), and another long addition follows 1 Kgs 16:28 (28_{a-h}).

These additions were noted long ago and their content has been discussed in detail. Some scholars claim that the LXX reflects a Hebrew version of 1 Kings which differed much from MT, while others ascribe these deviations in the LXX to inner-Greek exegesis. Leaving the analysis of the text-critical value of the additions to the second part of this study, we first dwell on their content. These Additions, often named 'Miscellanies,' are characterized by the remarkable phenomenon that the greater part of their contents recurs elsewhere in the Greek text of Kings, albeit in a slightly different wording. Because of these discrepancies, one of the suggested solutions can immediately be discounted, viz., that the Greek translator repeated and rearranged fragments of his own translation.

The contents of chapters 1–2 of MT are now reviewed in order to enable an evaluation of the Additions in their context. The sections which are common to the MT and LXX in 1:1–2:46 (the last days of David and the accession of Solomon) are: 1:1–53 (the adoption of Solomon as heir after the final crisis in the struggle for succession)—subdivided into: the old age of David (1:1–4), the pretensions of Adonyah (1:5–10), the counter-claims of Solomon (1:1–40), and the failure of Adonyah's attempt (1:41–53); 2:1–12 (David's final charges to Solomon, the accession of Solomon as sole king); 2:13–25 (the end of Adonyah); 2:26–35 (the elimination of Adonyah's party). After this section the LXX adds verses 35_{a-o} (*Addition 1*), almost all of which recur elsewhere in 1 Kings:

a	= 1 Kgs 5:9
b	= 5:10
c	= 3:1; 6:38b (cf. 7:1)
d	= 5:29
e	cf. 7:24, 38 (11, 24)
f	= 11:27b; 9:24
g	= 9:25
h	= 9:23; 5:30
i	= 9:15, 17, 18; cf. 10:22a (LXX)
k	–
l	= 2:8a
m–n	= 2:8
o	= 2:9

After this Addition the common text of MT and the LXX continues with the story of the death of Shimei (2:36–46), followed in the LXX by vv. 46_{a-1} (*Addition 2*):

a	cf. 1 Kgs 5:9; 4:20
b	= 5:1; cf. 46k
c	cf. 9:18
d	cf. 9:18
e	= 5:2–3
f	= 5:4
g	= 5:4–5
h	= 4:2, 5, 6?, 3?, 4?, 6, 4, 5
i	= 5:6
k	cf. 46b, 5:1, 10:26a
l	= 4:1

Chapter 3 covers various aspects of Solomon's reign: his marriage to the daughter of Pharaoh (3:1), the worship on the high places (3:2–3), the dream at Gibeon (3:4–15), his wisdom in the arbitration between the two women (3:16–28), his administration (4:1–5:8), and his wisdom (5:9–14).

The content of the two Additions is analyzed next, especially their inner logic and connection with the surrounding verses. The relevant texts are adduced below:

- (1) The Greek text of the Additions.
- (2) The reconstructed *Vorlage* of the Additions.
- (3) Elements of MT when differing from (2).

The Greek text is quoted according to Rahlfs' edition, while the retroversion of its underlying text is ours, for the greatest part covered

by parallels in MT and further facilitated by the translator's adherence to the source text. References to these parallels are provided and the differences between the reconstructed text and these parallels are denoted in a third column. When no differences are denoted, the reconstructed text is identical to the parallel in MT.

reference (+ parallel) *retroversion* *parallel text (if different)*

35a (= 5:9)

καὶ ἔδωκεν	ויתן	
κύριος	ה'	אלהים
φρόνησιν	חכמה	
τῷ Σαλωμων	לשלמה	
καὶ σοφίαν	ותבונה	
πολλήν	הרבה	
σφόδρα	מאד	
καὶ πλάτος	ורחב	
καρδίας	לב	
ὡς ἡ ἄμμος	כחל	
ἢ	אשר	
παρὰ	על (שפת)	על שפת
τὴν θάλασσαν	הים	

35b (= 5:10)

καὶ ἐπληθύνθη	והתרב	
ἡ φρόνησις	חכמת	
Σαλωμων	שלמה	
σφόδρα	מאד	–
ὑπὲρ τὴν φρόνησιν	מחכמת	
πάντων	כל	
ἀρχαίων υἱῶν	בני קדם	
καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντας	ומכל	
φρονίμους	חכמי	חכמת
Αἰγύπτου	מצרים	

35c (= 3:1; 6:38)

καὶ ἔλαβεν	ויקח	
	–	שלמה
τὴν θυγατέρα	את בת	
Φαραω	פרעה	
καὶ εἰσήγαγεν αὐτήν	ויביאה	

εἰς τὴν πόλιν	אל עיר	
Δαυιδ	דוד	
ἕως	עד	
συντελέσαι αὐτὸν	כלהו	
–	–	לבנות
τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ	את ביתו	
καὶ τὸν οἶκον	ואת בית	
κυρίου	ה'	
ἐν πρώτοις	בראשנה	
καὶ τὸ τεῖχος	ואת חומת	
Ιερουσαλημ	ירושלם	
κυκλόθεν	סביב	

(= 6:38; cf. 7:1)

ἐν ἑπτὰ	בשבע
ἔτεσιν	שנים
ἐποίησεν	עשה (?)
καὶ συνετέλεσεν	ויכל

35d (= 5:29)

καὶ ἦν	ויהי
τῷ Σαλωμων	לשלמה
ἑβδομήκοντα	שבעים
χιλιάδες	אלף
αἶροντες	נשאי
ἄρσιν	סבל
καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα	ושמנים
χιλιάδες	אלף
λατόμων	קצב
ἐν τῷ ὄρει	בהר

35e (cf. 7:24, 38 [11, 24])

καὶ ἐποίησεν	ויעש
Σαλωμων	שלמה
τὴν θάλασσαν	את הים
καὶ τὰ	ואת הפקעים
ὑποστηρίγματα	
καὶ τοὺς λουτήρας	ואת הכיורות
τοὺς μεγάλους	הגדלים

καὶ τοὺς στύλους	ואת העמודים	
καὶ τὴν κρήνην	ואת ברכת	
τῆς αὐλῆς	החצר	
καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν	ואת ים	
τὴν χαλκῆν	הנחשת	
35f (= 11:27, 9:24)		
καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν	ויבן	
τὴν ἄκραν	את המלוא	
καὶ τὰς ἐπάλξεις	(ואת) המסגרות (?)	סגר את
αὐτῆς		
καὶ διέκοψεν	ויפרץ	פרץ
τὴν πόλιν	את עיר	
Δαυיד	דוד	
35f (= 9:24)		
οὕτως ¹	אז	אך
θυγάτηρ	בת	
Φαραω	פרעה	
ἀνέβαινε	עלתה	
ἐκ τῆς πόλεως	מעיר	
Δαυיד	דוד	
εἰς	אל	
τὸν οἶκον αὐτῆς	ביתה	
ὄν	אשר	
ᾠκοδόμησεν	בנה	
αὐτῇ	לה	
τότε	אז	
ᾠκοδόμησεν	בנה	
τὴν ἄκραν	את המלוא	
35g (= 9:25)		
καὶ Σαλωμων	ושלמה	
ἀνέφερεν	העלה	
τρεις	שלוש פעמים (?)	
ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ	בשנה	
ὀλοκαυτώσεις	עלות	
καὶ εἰρηνικὰς	ושלמים	

¹ For the equivalent, cf. Mich 3:4, Job 11:15. This reconstruction gives the best meaning to the *Vorlage* of v. f, even though in the same verse אַ is rendered by τότε.

ἐπὶ	על	
τὸ θυσιαστήριον	המזבח	
ὃ	אשר	
ᾠκοδόμησεν	בנה	
τῷ κυρίῳ	ל'ה'	
καὶ ἐθυμία	והקטיר	
–	–	אתו
–	–	אשר
ἐνώπιον	לפני	
κυρίου	ה'	
καὶ συνετέλεσεν	ושלם	
τὸν οἶκον	את הבית	
35h (= 9:23; 5:30)		
καὶ οὗτοι	ואלה	
οἱ ἄρχοντες	שרי	
οἱ καθεσταμένοι	הנצבים	
ἐπὶ	על (אשר)	
τὰ ἔργα	המלאכה	
τοῦ Σαλωμων	לשלמה	
τρεις	שלשת	
χιλιάδες	אלפים	
καὶ ἑξακόσιοι	ושש מאות	
ἐπιστάται	הרדים	
τοῦ λαοῦ	בעם	
τῶν ποιούντων	העשים	
τὰ ἔργα	במלאכה	
35i (= 9:15, 17, 18; cf. 10:22a LXX)		
καὶ ᾠκοδόμησεν	ויבן	
τὴν Ἀσσουρ	את חצר	
καὶ τὴν Μαγδο	ואת מגדו	
καὶ τὴν Γαζερ	ואת גזר	
καὶ τὴν Βαιθωρων	ואת בית חרן	
τὴν ἐπάνω	עליון	תחתון
καὶ τὰ Βααλαθ	ואת בעלת	
35k ²		
πλὴν	רק	

² 35k has no parallel in the LXX. Against the traditional verse division, the first part of the verse should probably be connected with v. i. With μετὰ ταῦτα a new sentence starts.

μετὰ	אחרי	
τὸ οἰκοδομήσαι	בנתו	
αὐτὸν		
τὸν οἶκον	בית (תא)	
τοῦ κυρίου	ה'	
καὶ τὸ τεῖχος	ואת חומות	
Ἱερουσαλημ	ירושלם	
κύκλω	סביב	
μετὰ ταῦτα	אחרי כן	
ὠκοδόμησεν	בנה	
τὰς πόλεις	את הערים	
ταύτας	האלה	
35 l		
καὶ ἐν τῷ ἔτι	ובעוד	
Δαυιδ	דוד	
ζῆν	חי	
ἐνετείλατο	צוה	
τῷ Σαλωμων	את שלמה	
λέγων	לאמר	
(2:8)		
Ἴδού	הנה	
μετὰ σοῦ	עמך	
Σεμεϊ	שמעי	
υἱὸς	בן	
Γηρα	נרא	
υἱὸς	בן	
σπέρματος	(זרע)	
τοῦ Ἰεμινι	הימיני	
ἐκ Χεβρων	מחברון	מבחרים
35m (= 2:8)		
οὗτος	הוא	והוא
κατηράσατό με	קללני	
κατάραν	קללה	
ὀδυνηράν	נמרצת	
ἐν ἡ ἡμέρα	ביום	
ἐπορευόμην	לכתי	
εἰς παρεμβολάς	מחנים	
35n (= 2:8)		

καὶ αὐτὸς	והוא	
κατέβαιεν	ירד	
εἰς ἀπαντήν μοι	לקראתי	
ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰορδάνην	הירדן	
καὶ ὄμοσα	ואשבוע	
αὐτῷ	לו	
κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου	בה'	
λέγων	לאמר	
35n (= 2:8)		
Ei	אם	
θανατωθήσεται	ימות / יומת	אמיתך
ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ	בחרב	
35o (= 2:9)		
καὶ νῦν	ועתה	
μὴ	אל	
ἀθώωσης αὐτόν	תנקוהו	
ὅτι	כי	
ἀνήρ	איש	
φρόνιμος	חכם	
σὺ	אתה	
καὶ γνώση	וידעת	
ἃ	את אשר	
ποιήσεις	תעשה	
αὐτῷ	לו	
καὶ κατάξεις	והורדת	
τὴν πολιάν αὐτοῦ	את שיבתו	
ἐν αἵματι	בדם	
εἰς ἄδου	שאול(ה)	
46a (cf. 5:9)		
καὶ ἦν	ויהי	
ὁ βασιλεὺς	המלך	
Σαλωμων	שלמה	
φρόνιμος	חכם	
σφόδρα	מאד	
καὶ σοφός	ונבון	
(= 4:20; LXX >)		
καὶ Ἰουδα	וייהודה	

καὶ Ἰσραηλ	וישראל	
πολλοὶ	רבים	
σφόδρα	מאד	
ὡς ἡ ἄμμος	כחול	
ἡ	אשר	
ἐπὶ τῆς θαλάσσης	על הים	
εἰς πλῆθος	לרב	
ἐσθίοντες	אכלים	
καὶ πίνοντες	ושותים	
καὶ χαίροντες	ושמחים	
46b (= 5:1 MT; cf. 46k)		
καὶ Σαλωμων	ושלמה	
ἦν	היה	
ἄρχων	מושל	
ἐν πάσαις	בכל	
ταῖς βασιλείαις	הממלכות	
καὶ ἦσαν	והיו	–
προσφέροντες	מגשים	
δῶρα	מנחה	
καὶ ἐδούλευον	ויעבדו	ועבדים
τῷ Σαλωμων	את שלמה	
πάσας	כל	
τὰς ἡμέρας	ימי	
τῆς ζωῆς αὐτοῦ	חיו	
46c (cf. 9:18)		
καὶ Σαλωμων	ושלמה	
ἤρξατο	הלח	
διανοίγειν	לפתח	
τὰ δυναστεύματα	את בעלת ³	
τοῦ Λιβάνου	הלבנון	
46d (cf. 9:18)		
καὶ αὐτὸς	והוא	
ᾠκοδόμησεν	בנה	

³ δυναστεύματα, a hapax in the LXX and in Greek (LSJ), should probably be taken as ‘possessions,’ rendering חֵלְעָה in 9:18 as בעלה (thus most scholars after Montgomery [below, n. 5] 128–9). The next verse, v. c, relates to 9:19 so that reference to v 18 is likely. Both cities are not mentioned in Add. 1, i, where other cities from the list in chapter 9 are listed.

τὴν Θερμαι ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ	את תדמר במדבר	
46e (= 5:2 MT LXX)		
καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ἄριστον τῷ Σαλωμων	וזה לחם שלמה	ויהי
–	–	ליום
–	–	אחד
τριάκοντα κόροι σεμιδάλεως καὶ ἑξήκοντα κόροι ἀλεύρου κεκοπανισμένου	שלשים כר סלה וששים כר קמח דק (?)	–
(= 5:3 MT LXX)		
δέκα μόσχοι ἐκλεκτοὶ καὶ εἴκοσι βόες νομάδες καὶ ἑκατὸν πρόβατα ἐκτὸς ἐλάφων καὶ δορκάδων – καὶ ὀρνίθων ἐκλεκτῶν νομάδων	עשרה בקר בראים ועשרים בקר רעי ומאה צאן לבד מאיל וצבי – וברברים (?) אבוסים	ויחמור
46f (= 5:4)		
ὅτι ἦν ἄρχων ἐν παντὶ πέραν τοῦ ποταμοῦ	כי הוא רדה בכל עבר הנהר	

ἀπὸ Ραφι	מורפיה	מתפסח
ἕως	עד (ו)	
Γάζης	עזה	
ἐν πάσιν	בכל	
τοῖς βασιλεύουσιν	מלכי	
πέραν	עבר	
τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הנהר	
46g (5:4–5)		
καὶ ἦν	והיה	
αὐτῷ	לו	
εἰρήνη	שלום	
ἐκ πάντων	מכל	
τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ	עבריו	
κυκλόθεν	מסביב	
(5:5)		
καὶ κατόκει	וישב	
Ιουδα	יהודה	
καὶ Ἰσραηλ	וישראל	
πεποιθότες	לבטח	
ἕκαστος	איש	
ὑπὸ	תחת	
τὴν ἄμπελον αὐτοῦ	גפנו	
καὶ ὑπὸ	ותחת	
τὴν συκῆν αὐτοῦ	תאנתו	
ἐσθίοντες	אוכלים	
καὶ πίνοντες	ושותים	
ἀπὸ Δαν	מן	
καὶ ἕως	ועד	
Βηρσαβее	באר שבע	
πάσας	כל	
τὰς ἡμέρας	ימי	
Σαλωμων	שלמה	
46h (= 4:2, 5, 6?, 3?, 4?, 6, 4, 5) ⁴		
καὶ οὗτοι	ואלה	
οἱ ἄρχοντες	השרים	

⁴ For a reconstruction of some of the names, see M. Rehm, "Die Beamtenliste der Septuaginta in 1 Kön. 2, 46h," in J. Schreiner (ed.), *Wort, Lied, und Gottesspruch, Festschrift für Joseph Ziegler* (Würzburg 1972) 95–101.

τοῦ Σαλωμων Αζαριου υἱὸς Σαδωκ τοῦ ἱερέως (= 4:5)	אשר לשלמה עזריהו בן צדוק הכהן	אשר לו
καὶ Ορνιου υἱὸς Ναθαν ἄρχων τῶν ἐφεστηκότων (= 4:6?)	(?) ואדניה בן נתן שר הנצבים	ועזריהו על
καὶ Εδραμ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ (= 4:3?)	(?) ואדרם על ביתו	ואחישר
καὶ Σουβα γραμματεὺς καὶ Βασα υἱὸς Αχιθαλαμ ἀναμιμνήσκων (4:4?)	(?) ושישא הספר ? בן ? המוזכיר	ספרים יהושפט אחילוד
καὶ Αβι υἱὸς Ιωαβ ἀρχιστράτηγος (4:6)	? בן יואב (?) על הצבא	ובניהו יהודע
καὶ Αχιρε υἱὸς Εδραϊ ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρσεις (4:4)	(?) ואחירע בן עבדא על (?) המשא	ואדנירים המס
καὶ Βαναια	ובניהו	

υἱὸς	בן	
Ιωδαε	יהודע	
ἐπὶ	על	—
τῆς ἀυλαρχίας	(?) הכרת	—
καὶ ἐπὶ	ועל	—
τοῦ πλινθείου	(?) הפלתי	—
(4:5)		
καὶ Ζαχουρ	וזכור	וזבוד
υἱὸς	בן	
Ναθαν	נתן	
—	—	כהן
ὁ σύμβουλος	(?) היועץ	רעה
	—	המלך
46i (= 5:6)		
καὶ ἦσαν	ויהי	
τῷ Σαλωμων	לשלמה	
τεσσαράκοντα	ארבעים	
χιλιάδες	אלף	
τοκάδες	ארות	
ἵπποι	סוסים	
εἰς ἄρματα	למרכבו	
καὶ δώδεκα	ושנים עשר	
χιλιάδες	אלף	
ἰππέων	פרשים	
46k (cf. 46b, 5:1, 10:26a)		
καὶ ἦν	ויהי	
ἄρχων	משל	
ἐν πᾶσιν	בכל	
τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν	המלכים	
ἀπὸ	מן	
τοῦ ποταμοῦ	הנהר	
καὶ ἕως	ועד	
γῆς	ארץ	
ἄλλοφύλων	פלשתים	
καὶ ἕως	ועד	
ὀρίων	גבול	
Αἰγύπτου	מצרים	
46l (= 4:1)		
Σαλωμων	שלמה	

υἱὸς	בן	
Δαυιδ	דוד	
ἐβασίλευσεν	מלך	מלך
ἐπὶ	על	
–	–	כל
Ἰσραηλ	ישראל	
καὶ Ἰουδα	ויהודה	–
ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ	בירושלם	–

Three types of material are recognized among the additional verses:

1. Most verses almost verbatim repeat translations found elsewhere in the LXX of the first eleven chapters of 1 Kings. In these instances for each verse found in the Hebrew Bible, e.g. 1 Kgs 5:9, the corresponding Greek text occurs twice, once *ad loc.* (3 Reigns 5:9 LXX) and once in 1 Kgs 2:35a. Sometimes the two Greek renderings are (almost) identical, while in other instances the Addition differs from the parallel Greek version.

2. The additional verses run parallel to verses found elsewhere in MT, but in the corresponding place in the LXX *no* Greek translation is found (cf. n. 14).

3. Verses or parts of verses which have no counterpart in the MT or LXX of 1 Kings (e.g., v. 35_k).

In his monograph devoted to the Additions, Gooding, *Relics* repeatedly refers to them as ‘a strange phenomenon.’ The very collection of these verses, most of which occur also elsewhere in the MT and LXX, is indeed unusual. Furthermore, it is surprising to find *two* collections of similar content next to one another, the first after v. 35 and the second after v. 46.

Different views have been expressed on the nature of the two Additions. In order to assess the data, the context of both Additions and the internal sequence of their components are discussed first.

The first Addition follows the story of the death of Adonyah (2:13–25), and the elimination of his party (2:26–35). After the Addition, the text continues with the story of Shimei. At this stage Solomon is not yet the central figure in the story—as in chapter 3 onwards—and hence the Addition in the LXX after v. 35 does not fit its context, as it presents Solomon as already being the central figure in the story. Thus, from a contextual point of view, the greater part of the Addition is inappropriate. Its central themes are Solomon’s wisdom, marriage, offerings, officers, and building operations, and furthermore it contains an introduction to the story of Shimei, parallel to MT 2:8–9. The story of Shimei itself is presented in MT (and the LXX) in 1 Kgs 2:36–46, so that the introduction (35_{l–o}) immediately precedes the canonical story itself.

The latter part of Addition 1 (35_{l-o}) is thus appropriate from a contextual point of view, but the main part (35_{a-k}) is not. Furthermore, most of the details are premature in the context, and they also occur twice in the text.

Also Addition 2 deals with various subjects: like Addition 1, it begins with Solomon's wisdom, and continues with various aspects of Solomon's dominion, the extent of his kingdom, and the statistics regarding his provisions, officers, and horses. In a way, Addition 2 is contextually appropriate, as in MT Solomon is the main figure from chapter 3 onwards (Addition 2 immediately precedes chapter 3). Yet the reader is struck by the inappropriate placing of this Addition, since many of its elements are premature, and furthermore most of them are repeated in 4:20–5:6.

Thus, from a contextual point of view, the greater part of both Additions is inappropriate. On the other hand, the last verses of Addition 1 (35_{l-o} = 2:8–9) are contextually appropriate, as they introduce the story of Shimei.

We now turn to the internal logic of the Additions. After a general description of Solomon's wisdom (35_{a-b} = 5:9–10), Addition 1 moves to Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter (c = 3:1, 6:38b). Next come three details about Solomon's building activities: the preparations for building the temple (d = 5:29), the temple utensils (e = elements in chapter 7), and a few details concerning other building activities in Jerusalem (f_a = 11:27b). The story then returns to Pharaoh's daughter (f_β = 9:24). This verse may continue the account of Solomon's marriage mentioned in c = 3:1 (see below). The text continues with a listing of Solomon's offerings (g = 9:25) and of the number of Solomon's chief officers (h = 9:23). Addition 1 then returns to Solomon's building activities (i = 9:15, 17, 18), to which a remark is added (k) which has no counterpart in MT.

The text now proceeds with no break to the introduction to the story of Shimei (1_a [without parallel]; 1_β = 2:8_a, m = 2:8_γ; n = 2:8_δ; o = 2:9). When turning to the sequence of ideas in Addition 1, we first refer to the juxtaposition of its two main parts, a–k (Solomon) and l–o (introduction to the story of Shimei). This sequence remains problematical, although unrelated issues are also juxtaposed in MT.

The main issue in analyzing vv. a–k remains whether or not they follow a certain scheme. We tend to deny any consistent logic in these verses, although some principles are discerned. The Addition does not consist of a summary of Solomon's activities for such a summary would be more extensive. Nor does the Addition present an anthology of verses

devoted to one single subject. Two themes for anthologies have been suggested. According to Montgomery⁵ and later Gooding⁶ in much greater detail, Addition 1 contains an anthology of verses relating to Solomon's wisdom and building activities. G. Krautwurst argued that the building activities were the central issue of the Additions.⁷

One of the main arguments against these suggestions is the fact that the text itself does not provide sufficient clues for any one of them. The fact that the first two verses of Addition 1 refer to Solomon's wisdom does not make the whole Addition into an anthology of verses on Solomon's wisdom. Furthermore, how does Solomon's marriage, the list of his officers and his many relate to the mentioned topics?

A further problem in discerning a central topic in Addition 1 is that its internal logic is not always evident.

1. The beginning of verse f mentions that Solomon built the מלִיָּא (ἄκρα). Therefore the phrase at the end of that verse ('then he built the מלִיָּא') contradicts its beginning. This contradiction, not found in the LXX (9:9) where the last words of MT 9:24 are lacking, is created by the juxtaposition in verse f of MT 11:27 and 9:24.

2. According to verse c (= 3:1) Solomon brought Pharaoh's daughter to David's city, which was to be her temporary dwelling (in the meantime Solomon wanted to finish building his own house and the house of the Lord). To this text, which appears more or less in the same form in 3:1, v. c adds (cf. 6:38) 'in seven years he (vid., Solomon) did (this) and finished (it)'. In a rewritten text, a prediction of the length of the building activities is possible. It is likewise possible that the verses are arranged thus so as to show that Solomon finished his building activities before bringing his wife to the new house. However, vv. d–e do not refer to those building activities. Moreover, only verse g (= 9:25), appearing in the text after Pharaoh's daughter is brought to her new house, mentions explicitly that Solomon finished building 'the house,' i.e., the temple. The sequence of verses in the Addition thus does not reflect the intention which Gooding, *Relics*, 18–29 ascribes to them.

3. Due to a textual mishap, verse f (11:27) probably states exactly the opposite of what it intended to say. The verse which is quoted in the Addition, 11:27, says that 'Solomon closed the city of David' (וַיִּסְגֵּר)

⁵ J.A. Montgomery, "The Supplement at End [sic] of 3 Kingdoms 2 (I Reg. 2)," *ZAW* 50 (1932) 124–129, esp. 129.

⁶ Gooding, *Relics*, chapter 2, 8. See also his earlier articles "The Shimei Duplicate and Its Satellite Miscellanies in 3 Reigns II," *JSS* 13 (1968) 76–92; "Text and Midrash."

⁷ G. Krautwurst, *Studien zu den Septuagintazusätzen in 1 (3.) Könige 2 und ihren Paralleltexen* (diss. Mainz 1977), esp. 75, 82—see my review in *BiOr* 39 (1982) 629–631.

דוד (את עיר דוד), while the Addition has Solomon 'break through' the city of David (καὶ διέκοψεν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ, probably = דוד את עיר דוד). The text of the Addition probably resulted from a confusion with the next word in 11:27 (פרץ). The same text recurs in the LXX of 10:22a (parallel to MT 9:15), but here the idea is phrased correctly: τοῦ περιφράσαι τὸν φραγμὸν τῆς πόλεως Δαυιδ.

It is hard to discover a guiding principle behind the sequence of the verses in Addition 1, and no theme is recognizable. In a way, this is not problematic, since MT also contains unusual sequences of verses, e.g., the first three verses of chapter 3. The first verse of chapter 3 (= 35c) refers to Solomon's marriage to Pharaoh's daughter. The second verse of that chapter states that the 'people' were (still) 'sacrificing at the high places because no house has yet been built for God.' The third verse relates that Solomon loved the Lord, but he sacrificed on the high places. There does not appear to be any connection between verses 1 and 2. Likewise, what is the connection among 9:23, 24, 25, 26, which, too, are repeated in Addition 1? V. 23 summarizes the number of Solomon's officers. V. 24 jumps to another subject: 'But Pharaoh's daughter went up from the city of David to her own house which Solomon had built for her; then he built the Millo.' V. 25 deals with yet another topic, Solomon's offerings, while v. 26 (as well as vv. 27–28) refers to Solomon's fleet. It should be remembered that Montgomery, who initiated the use of the term Miscellany for the Additions in the LXX of 1 Kings 2, actually used the same term for the Hebrew text of 4:20–5:14, 9:10–10:29.⁸

We now turn to details which indicate an editorial intention of some kind:

1. The fact that verse c (against 3:1 quoted here) does not explicitly mention that Solomon married Pharaoh's daughter may indicate that these words have been omitted intentionally. As noted by Gooding, *Relics*, 70–71, this tendency is also visible in the midrash.

2. The connection between 3:1 and 6:38, made in v. c, shows editorial design.

3. Verse k, which has no counterpart in MT, and which stresses that Solomon embarked on the building of the cities (i = 9:15–18) after he finished building the temple and the walls of Jerusalem, shows editorial intervention. This addition was needed since vv. h–i mention the building of cities in the context of building the temple. Although MT states that the temple had already been finished and dedicated, an inattentive reader of this Addition might infer wrongly from the context

⁸ J.A. Montgomery, *The Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh 1951) 126, 180, 204.

that the building of cities preceded that of the temple. That the sequence of the building activities was important to Addition 1 is also shown by the addition (to the biblical text) in verse c of ἐν πρώτοις (= בראשונה?), showing that the building of Solomon's house and the temple preceded that of the building of the walls.⁹

4. Verses 35_{l-o} run parallel to 2:8–9, but are introduced by an editorial remark which was needed in the context, since they were removed from their original context, viz., David's last words to Solomon. The text of this editorial addition may be reconstructed as: ובעוד דוד חי ויצו לשלמה: לאמר.

5. The phrase אשר לו in 4:2 refers to Solomon, mentioned in the previous verse. In the new context of the quotation of this verse in 46h the subject had to be spelled out: אשר לשלמה.

Addition 1 thus contains an amorphous collection of verses related to Solomon (a–k) as well as a second introduction to the story of Shimei (l–o). There is no common theme. The fact that the location of vv. l–o is not coincidental may suggest that the location of vv. a–k is not coincidental either, but no explanation seems to be available. Some editorial intervention in Addition 1 is apparent.

The analysis of Addition 2 is easier, as it is contextually appropriate. Yet, its constituent elements repeat elements occurring elsewhere and they are mentioned prematurely. It is not difficult to recognize an organizing principle behind Addition 2, as it runs parallel to a complete section in MT (4:20–5:6), whose text it reproduces with some changes. Addition 2 is thus less enigmatic than Addition 1.

The text starts off, as in Addition 1, with a generalized remark concerning Solomon's wisdom, adjoined with a statement about the well-being of the Israelites (a = 4:20). After a detailing of the extent of Solomon's rule and the people paying duties to him (b = 5:1), there are details concerning Solomon's building activities (c–d, cf. 9:18). Verses e–g continue with chapter 5, viz., 5:2–5. These verses deal with the provisions consumed by Solomon's household (e = 5:2, 3), the extent of his dominion (f = 5:4), the peaceful results of his rule (g = 5:4), and Solomon's officers (h = 4:2–6). Verse i of the Addition continues with chapter 5 (verse 6), mentioning the number of Solomon's horses. It ends with general statements about the extent of Solomon's dominion (k) and his rule in Jerusalem (l = 4:1).

Addition 2 follows some kind of design as it starts and ends with general statements about Solomon's wisdom, the extent of his dominion

⁹ According to Gooding, *Relics*, 8, the additional ἐν πρώτοις shows that the building of the temple preceded that of Solomon's house.

(a–b, k), and the tranquility of his reign (k). The middle section basically follows the MT of the first verses of chapter 5, expanded from other sources, especially 4:2–5. Since the first verse (a) expands 4:20, and since this verse immediately precedes chapter 5, Addition 2 contains an expanded version of MT 4:20–5:6 (against the traditional chapter division).

This Addition, then, is construed around a segment of MT, and not around a central theme, as claimed by Gooding. The section is not midrashic, nor does it focus on Solomon's wisdom.

Additions 1 and 2 are probably somehow connected. Both start off with statements about Solomon's wisdom and both deal with similar subjects concerning Solomon's reign, dominion, building activities, and life. There are few duplications of details, and those that occur in a way supplement one another. Addition 1 focuses more on the personal life of Solomon than Addition 2. One of the cities which is left out in the list in Addition 1 (Tadmor) is mentioned in Addition 2 (46d).

Thus, because of their similarity, Additions 1 and 2 may have constituted once one unit, now separated by the story of Shimei.

When turning to the background of both Additions, we first focus on the relationship between the text of the Greek Additions and the wording of their counterparts in the Greek. The issue which should be examined especially is whether the two Greek versions are related to each other. For this comparison it does not suffice to point to just any similar or identical Greek formulation of the Hebrew source text. Many similarities are, in a way, coincidental if the same translation technique and system of equivalents are applied to the source texts. Small differences are also not indicative of any special relation, since any translator may have varied his translation equivalents occasionally. We therefore look for unique agreements between the Greek text of the Additions and their counterparts in the canonical text of the LXX. Several such renderings are recognized:

1. 35d ἄρσιν = 1 Kgs 5:29 LXX (MT סָבַל). In both places סָבַל is read as סָבַל, rendered by ἄρσις, also occurring in some other verses in the books of Reigns.

2. 46e ἀλεύρου κεκοπανισμένου (= דָּק קִמָּח?) repeats the LXX of 5:2. The rare word κεκοπανισμένου occurs in both places, elsewhere appearing only in Dan 7:7 (= דָּקָק).

3. Note the following special equivalents:

35h = 9:23	הַרְדִּים	- ἐπιστάται
35m = 2:8	נִמְרָצָה	- ὀδυνηράν
46e = 5:3	רַעִי	- νομάδες

46e = 5:3	אֵיל (ב) - ἐλάφων (note the plural)
46e = 5:3	וּצְבִי - καὶ δορκάδων
46g = 5:5	לְבַטַח - πεποιθότες

4. 46e καὶ ὀρνίθων ἐκλεκτῶν = וּבְרַבְרִים, reflecting etymological exegesis of ברבר from the root בר(ר) similar to the rendering of בראים with ἐκλεκτοί earlier in the verse, is found in both Addition 2 and in the LXX *ad loc.*

These unique similarities prove that the Additions were probably rendered by the same person who translated the main text of 1 Kings. This translator was not always consistent, since some differences in translation equivalents are recognized,¹⁰ but this is a common feature also elsewhere in the LXX. The text of the Additions has not been taken from the Greek text of the parallel verses, since there are too many differences between the two sets of verses, showing that different Hebrew *Vorlagen* are involved.

The Additions were originally written in Hebrew, as is evident from the translation of the canonical verses, and also of some elements which have no counterpart in the LXX. In those verses, Hebraistic renderings can be detected which make the possibility of a Hebrew origin very likely (cf. TCU, 83–85):

35k πλὴν μετὰ τὸ οἰκοδομησαὶ αὐτόν - רק אחרי בנתו

35l ἐν τῷ ἔτι Δαυιδ ζῆν - בעוד דוד חי

46g καὶ ἦν αὐτῷ εἰρήνη ἐκ πάντων τῶν μερῶν αὐτοῦ κυκλόθεν - ודיה לו - שלום מכל עבריו סביב.

The Additions are indeed a ‘strange phenomenon,’ especially Addition 1, and it is questionable whether they comprise literary units. Of the scholars who studied the Additions in detail, Hänel,¹¹ Montgomery, “Supplement,” Gooding, *Relics*, and Krautwurst (n. 7) recognized common themes, but the former two denied literary unity. Hänel, 76, is rather extreme, since he speaks of a ‘Variantensammlung,’ a conclusion that comes rather close to that of Treballe (“compilación de textos hebreos fragmentarios”).¹² Montgomery, “Supplement,” talks about ‘supplementary material,’ ‘supplement,’ ‘miscellaneous material,’

¹⁰ 35n κατέβαινε (ירד), 2:8 κατέβη; 35n ἐπὶ, 2:8 εἰς; 35n κατὰ τοῦ κυρίου (בד), 2:8 ἐν κυρίῳ; 35o φρόνιμος (חכם), 2:9 σοφός.

¹¹ J. Hänel, “Die Zusätze der Septuaginta in I Reg 2, 35a–o und 46a–l,” ZAW 47 (1929) 76–79, esp. 76.

¹² J. Treballe, “Testamento y muerte de David,” RB 87 (1980) 87–103, esp. 101. Further references are mentioned there and in id., *Salomon y Jeroboan, Historia de la recensión y redacción de 1 Reyes, 2–12; 14* (Bibliotheca Salamanticensis 3; Salamanca/Jerusalem 1980), esp. 278, 321.

and 'compilation.' He recognized the 'loose connection' between the verses, indicating 'that we are dealing with fragments from the text that exists in Kings, and we gain no light on the earlier status of the material.' Also Gooding, *Relics*, 106, accepts this loose connection: 'the miscellanies are collections of alternative translations, variant readings, glosses, doublets and the like.' At the same time, he adds '... but what is special about the miscellanies is ... and also that the items have been carefully edited and worked up into themes (see chapter 2).' However there is too little positive evidence in favor of such a 'careful editing,' even though elsewhere in 1 Kings the LXX possibly reflects such midrashic exegesis, as suggested by Gooding in a long series of articles.¹³ Consequently, we cannot accept the view of Gooding, *Relics*, 106, that the miscellaneous material has been 'worked up into two themes,' and afterwards '... have been inserted into the running narratives as paragraphs in their own right.' The latter view is problematical, since the first of these 'paragraphs' has no intelligible connection with its context. Gooding, *Relics*, 107, further states: 'they are *carefully arranged* [my italics, E.T.] so that their very arrangement serves the purpose of making some midrashic point. They are the work not merely of a textual critic but of a Biblical expositor.' It seems that these claims are not supported by the evidence, although some editorial intervention has been recognized.

The evidence leads to somewhat nihilistic views, based on the conviction that at least Addition 1 does not form a literary unit. Since the Additions contain some verses that are lacking in their natural place in the canonical parts of the LXX,¹⁴ and others are found in different parts of the LXX,¹⁵ it is not impossible that these verses were collected. This assumption leads to the idea of a 'Variantensammlung' suggested by Hänel (n. 11). This suggestion refers only to a small section of the verses of Additions 1 and 2. Furthermore, it is not easy to understand why these collections were placed at their present locations at the end of the second book of Reigns (roughly = 2 Samuel). It has been suggested by Montgomery that 2 Reigns did not end after 1 Kgs 2:35, as most scholars

¹³ For references, see Gooding's summarizing article "Text and Midrash."

¹⁴ Add. 1 v. f_{δ} = MT 9:24b
 Add. 1, v. 9 = MT 9:25
 Add. 2, v. α_{β} = MT 4:20
 Add. 2, v. b = MT 5:1
 Add. 2, v. f_{β} = MT 5:4
 Add. 2, v. g_{β} = MT 5:5
 Add. 2, v. $h_{\beta, \delta}$ = MT 4:3, 4

¹⁵ Part of 5:1, lacking in the LXX, but found in Add. 2, v. 8b, also occurs in an addition to the LXX of 10:26. The same applies to 5:6 (= Add. 2, v. i). 3:1 (Add. 1, v. c) is not represented in the LXX *ad loc.*, but appears in the LXX of 4:31.

surmise on the basis of the Lucianic evidence, but after 1 Kgs 2:10 (after David's death). In the words of Montgomery, "Supplement," 125, 'The history of David having been concluded and the history of Solomon from c. 3 on not having been taken in hand, spare folios at the end of the volume were used for registering materials of the history of Solomon that were of interest to scribes.' It may be surmised that these verses were collected at the beginning of 3 Reigns (1 Kings), although it is unclear where exactly that book started (2:11 or 2:36). This assumption is particularly attractive in view of the repetition in Addition 1 (35_{l-o}) of the introduction to the Shimei story (1 Kgs 2:8-9). Since the main body of that story (1 Kgs 2:36-46) was contained in 1 Kings (3 Reigns), it is understandable that someone repeated the introduction to the story from 1 Kgs 2:8-9, since the original introduction was found in a different scroll (2 Reigns = 2 Samuel).

In conclusion, the two Additions reflect some editorial intervention such as the correct location of Addition 1, vv. l-o (= 2:8-9), as an introduction to the story of Shimei. Addition 2 reflects an organizing principle, as it is arranged around 1 Kgs 4:20-5:6. At the same time, the internal difficulties and inconsistencies as well as the duplications between Addition 1 and Addition 2 complicate the analysis. It therefore seems that the two Additions reflect collections of variants and other miscellaneous material in which an editor intervened slightly. Some of the details in these Additions are more original than their counterparts in the main text.¹⁶

¹⁶ Thus Rehm with regard to the list of Solomon's officers (above, n. 4). Note also the inexplicable words אֲשֶׁר of MT 9:25, lacking in 35g.