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To

William Loveless

*in appreciation for your leadership,
and breadth of vision that created
the space for this volume to be edited*

Table of Contents

Introduction by the European Vice-President	xi
Introduction by the Editor	xiii
Abbreviations	xv
The Delight of Ezekiel's Eyes:	
Ez 24:15–24 in Hebrew and in Greek	
Johan Lust, Katholieke Universiteit, Leuven	1
Appendix 1	23
Appendix 2	25
Die zwei Erzählungen von Joabs Tod (1 Kön 2:28–34)	
im Masoretischen Text und in der LXX	
Adrian Schenker, Biblisches Institut, Freiburg	27
Jeremiah 52: A Test Case for Jer LXX	
Georg Fischer, SJ, Universität Innsbruck	37
The Renderings of the Circumstantial ׀ Clauses	
in the LXX of Joshua and Judges	
Seppo Sipilä, University of Helsinki	49
Lexical Variants in the Greek Text of Reigns and Chronicles	
M ^a Victoria Spottorno, Instituto de Filologica CSIC, Madrid	63
Lexical Inconsistency: Towards a Methodology for the	
Analysis of the Vocabulary in the Septuagint	
Tim McLay, Acadia Divinity College, Wolfville	81
Exegesis and Liturgy in the Superscriptions	
of the Greek Psalter	
Albert Pietersma, University of Toronto	99

The Septuagint Account of Solomon's Reign: Revision and Ancient Recension Frank H. Polak, Tel-Aviv University	139
On the LXX Translators' Knowledge of Hebrew J. Joosten, Université des Sciences Humaines de Strasbourg	165
Appendix	179
La Bible d'Alexandrie I. The Translation Principles Marguerite Harl, Université de Paris-Sorbonne	181
II. Select passage: Sophonie (Zephaniah) 3,8-11 C. Dogniez, Université de Paris-Sorbonne	199
A New English Translation of the Septuagint Albert Pietersma, University of Toronto	217
Comments on NETS and <i>La Bible d'Alexandrie</i> Arie van der Kooij, University of Leiden	229
Reactions to the Panel on Modern Translations Natalio Fernández Marcos, Instituto de Filologica CSIC, Madrid	233
Fautes de traduction, ou bonnes traductions? Quelques exemples pris dans la LXX des Douze Petits Prophètes Cécile Dogniez, Université de Paris-Sorbonne	241
Translating a Translation: The Septuagint of Genesis and the NETS Project Robert J. V. Hiebert, University of Toronto	263
Towards a New Collection of Hexaplaric Material for the Book of Genesis R. B. ter Haar Romeny, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden; and Peter J. Gentry, The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary	285
Appendix: Possible Formats for the Preliminary Database ...	299
A Greek-Hebrew Index of The Antiochene Text Natalio Fernández Marcos, Instituto de Filologica CSIC, Madrid	301

Interim Report: NETS Leviticus Dirk Büchner and Leonora Jackson, University of Durban-Westville, South Africa	319
The Letter of Aristeas and the Origin of the Septuagint Raija Sollamo, University of Helsinki	329
Translation or Interpretation? A Sample from the Books of Esther. Kristen De Troyer, Claremont School of Theology	343
Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism in Joshua 1:7 (MT and LXX) Michaël N. van der Meer, Rijksuniversiteit Leiden	355
The Psalm Headings in Book One of the Syro-Hexapla Psalms Harry F. van Rooy, Potchefstroom University of Christian Higher Education	373
Patristic Evidence of the Difficulties in Understanding the LXX: Hadrian's philological remarks in <i>Isagoge</i> . Alex Leonas, Université de Paris, Sorbonne	393
LXX Num 14:23: Once More a "Deuteronomist" at Work? Hans Ausloos, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven	415
Appendix: The Textual Materials	425
The So-Called "Major Expansions" in SamP, 4QpaleoExod ^m and 4QExod ^j of Ex 7:14–11:10: On the Edge between Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism Bénédicte Lemmelijn, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven	429
A Touch of Chronicles: The Provenance of 3 Reigns 10:26–26a P. S. F. van Keulen, Rijksuniversiteit, Leiden	441
Appendix: Synoptic View	458
The Ideology of Septuagint Proverbs Johann Cook, University of Stellenbosch	463

Deshalb werden nicht aufstehen Frevler im Gericht Zur Übersetzungsweise und Interpretation im ersten Septuaginta-Psalm Frank Austermann, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen	481
A Peculiar Word-Order Rule for the Septuagint and for Cognate Texts Georg Walser, Lund University	499
πίπτω ἐπὶ πρόσωπόν μου: A Set Phrase in Ezekiel? Katrín Hauspie, Katholieke Universiteit Leuven	513
What We Talk about When We Talk about Translation Technique Anneli Aejmelaeus, Akademie der Wissenschaften, Göttingen	531
The Use of the Septuagint as a Textual Witness: Further Considerations M. A. Zipor, Bar Ilan University, Ramath Gan	553

A Touch of Chronicles: The Provenance of 3 Reigns 10:26–26a

P. S. F. van Keulen

Abstract: At 3 Rgns 10:26 the LXX offers a text that does not match the Hebrew of the corresponding passage 1 Kgs 10:26. Comparison with Chronicles shows that 3 Rgns 10:26–26a closely corresponds to a Hebrew text which is presented by the synoptic parallel to 1 Kgs 10:26 at 2 Chron 9:25. Moreover, the Greek translation of 2 Chron 9:25–26 appears to be virtually identical with the text of 3 Rgns 10:26–26a.

This paper examines the text-historical relationship between the aforementioned texts. It is argued that 3 Rgns 10:26–26a is a real translation of 2 Chron 9:25–26 rather than a rendering of a different *Vorlage* of 1 Kgs 10:26. Certain semantic-exegetical features of the Greek text suggest that it originated in 3 Rgns and was subsequently taken over by Paralipomena. Nevertheless, 3 Rgns 10:26–26a is more likely to derive from a later reviser than from the original translator of 3 Rgns. It is proposed that this editor replaced the original translation of 1 Kgs 10:26 by a rendering of 2 Chron 9:25–26 in order to bolster the image of Solomon as a mighty ruler. The paper concludes with discussing two texts, namely 3 Rgns 9:5b and 2 Rgns 8:4a, which by virtue of their affinity with 3 Rgns 10:26–26a are also capable of throwing light on the background of the passage in question.

I

The passage under consideration appears in a section describing Solomon's fame, wealth and military power. When we compare the Greek text of vv. 23–27 with the corresponding Hebrew text of the MT, it is at once clear that the texts are different in various respects:

	3 Rgns 10	1 Kgs 10	
23	καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη	וַיִּגְדַּל	23
	Σαλωμων	הַמֶּלֶךְ	
	ὕπὲρ πάντας τοὺς βασιλεῖς τῆς γῆς	שְׁלֹמֹה	
	πλούτῳ καὶ φρονήσῃ	מִכָּל מַלְכֵי הָאָרֶץ	
24	καὶ πάντες	לְעֹשֶׂר וּלְחֶקֶמָה:	
	βασιλεῖς	וְכָל־	24
	τῆς γῆς	...	
	ἐξήτουν τὸ πρόσωπον Σαλωμων	הָאָרֶץ	
	τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι τῆς φρονήσεως αὐτοῦ	מִבְּקָשִׁים אֲתֵּפְנִי שְׁלֹמֹה	
	ἥς ἔδωκεν κύριος ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ	לְשִׁמְעֵ אֲתֵּחֲכֶמָהוּ	
25	καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφερον	אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן אֱלֹהִים בְּלִבּוֹ:	
	ἕκαστος τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ	וְהָמָּה מִבָּאִים	25
...		אִישׁ מִחֵתוֹ	
	σκεύη χρυσα	כָּל־כֶּסֶף	
	καὶ ἱματισμόν	וּשְׁלֹמֹה	
	στακτὴν καὶ ἡδύσματα	וּשְׁלֹמֹה	
	καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους	וְנֶשֶׁק וּבִשְׂמִים	
	τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνιαυτόν	סוּסִים וּפָרָדִים	
		דְּבַר־שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה:	
26	καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Σαλωμῳ	וַיֵּאֱסֹף שְׁלֹמֹה רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים	26
	τέσσαρες χιλιάδες	וַיְהִי־לֹ	
	θήλειαι ἵπποι	אֶלֶף וָאַרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת	
	εἰς	...	
	ἄρματα	...	
	καὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες ἱππέων	רֶכֶב	
	καὶ ἔθετο αὐτὰ	וּשְׁנֵי־עֶשֶׂר אֶלֶף פָּרָשִׁים	
	ἐν ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν ἁρμάτων	וַיִּנָּחַם	
	καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ	בְּעָרֵי הָרֶכֶב	
26a	καὶ ἦν ἡγούμενος πάντων τῶν βασιλέων	וְעַם־הַמֶּלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם:	
	ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ	...	
	καὶ ἕως γῆς ἄλλοφύλων	...	
	καὶ ἕως ὀρίων Αἰγύπτου	...	
27	καὶ ἔδωκεν ὁ βασιλεὺς	...	
	τὸ χρυσίον καὶ	וַיִּתֵּן הַמֶּלֶךְ	27
	τὸ ἀργύριον ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ὡς λίθους ἱματισμοῦ	...	
	καὶ τὰς κέδρους	אֲתֵּחֲכֶמָה בִּירוּשָׁלַם כְּאַבְנֵי־	
	ἔδωκεν ὡς συκαμίνου	וְאֵת הָאֲרָזִים	
	τὰς ἐν τῇ πεδινῇ εἰς πληθος	נָתַן כֶּשֶׁמִּים	
		אֲשֶׁר־בְּשִׁפְלָה לְרֹב:	

From v. 23 to v. 25 the Greek follows the Hebrew rather closely. There are a few minor differences: at v. 23, המלך is not represented in the Greek text; at v. 24, LXX has a plus over against the MT: βασιλεῖς; and at v. 25 a rendering of כלי כסף is missing in the LXX. From v. 26 onward the differences are bigger. In the first place the

LXX has no counterpart to the first clause of MT v. 26: "And Solomon assembled chariots and horses." Also at v. 26, the LXX makes mention of 4,000 broodmares for chariots, whereas the MT speaks of 1,400 chariots. The most notable difference obtains at 3 Rgns 10:26a, where the LXX has an extensive plus *vis-à-vis* the MT. At v. 27 both texts seem to converge again, the LXX having the plus "and the gold."

When we compare vv. 26-26a with the Chronicles text running parallel to 1 Kgs 10:26, that is, 2 Chron 9:25-26, it is surprising to see that the Hebrew of Chronicles exactly matches the Greek text of vv. 26-26a. Apparently, the LXX at vv. 26-26a has translated a Hebrew text identical with 2 Chron 9:25-26 but different from 1 Kgs 10:26. Moreover, the Greek text of vv. 26-26a appears to be virtually identical with the Greek translation of the Chronicles passage at 2 Par 9:25-26. How to explain this most curious state of affairs? This paper aims at finding an answer to that question.

Before we concentrate on the background of the Greek text we must briefly deal with the question of the relationship between the Hebrew texts in 2 Chron and 1 Kgs. Where did the Chronicler get his text of ch. 9:25-26 from? In figure 2 the left column sets out the text of 2 Chron 9:24-27, whereas the right column provides the parallel passages from Kings.

2 Chron		1 Kgs	
והם מביאים 9:24 איש מנחתו כלי כסף וכלי זהב ושלמות נשק ובשמים סוסים ופרדים דבר-שנה בשנה:		והם מביאים 10:25 איש מנחתו כלי כסף וכלי זהב ושלמות נשק ובשמים סוסים ופרדים דבר-שנה בשנה:	
ויהי לשלמה 9:25 ארבעת אלפים ארוות סוסים ומרכבות ושנים-עשר אלף פרשים והיה בערי הרכב ועם-המלך בירושלם		ויהי לשלמה 5:6 ארבעים אלף ארוות סוסים למרכבו ושנים-עשר אלף פרשים: והיה בערי הרכב ועם-המלך בירושלם	10:26b

וְהָיָה מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל־הַמְּלָכִים מִן־הַנֶּהָר וְעַד־אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים עַד נָבֹל מִצְרַיִם:	9:26	וּשְׁלֹמֹה הָיָה מוֹשֵׁל בְּכָל־הַמְּמָלָכוֹת מִן־הַנֶּהָר אֶרֶץ פְּלִשְׁתִּים וְעַד נָבֹל מִצְרַיִם	5:1a
וַיִּתֵּן הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף בִּירוּשָׁלַם כְּאֲבָנִים וְאֵת הָאֲזִיזִים נָתַן כְּשִׁקְמִים אֲשֶׁר־בְּשִׁפְלָה לָרֹב:	9:27	וַיִּתֵּן הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־הַכֶּסֶף בִּירוּשָׁלַם כְּאֲבָנִים וְאֵת הָאֲזִיזִים נָתַן כְּשִׁקְמִים אֲשֶׁר־בְּשִׁפְלָה לָרֹב:	10:27

Through most of 2 Chron 9, the Chronicler's account parallels 1 Kgs 10. Vv. 25–26, however, clearly diverge from what Kings offers at the corresponding position at ch. 10. Only the second part of v. 25 takes up material from 1 Kgs 10:26.¹ The first part of v. 25 probably draws on 1 Kgs 5:6, while v. 26 might go back to 1 Kgs 5:1a. The most notable difference between the parallel texts concerns the number of stalls; the 40,000 at 1 Kgs 5:6 has been reduced to 4,000 in 2 Chron 9:25.

We see that the Chronicler's text through vv. 24–27 is a partial parallel to MT 1 Kgs 10. Now it is important to note that the Chronicler has included the material of 1 Kgs 10:26–29 earlier in his account, namely at 2 Chron 1:14–17. In contrast to 2 Chron 9, the passage at ch. 1 is a rather faithful reproduction of the text of 1 Kgs 10:26–29.

So we find that the section covering 1 Kgs 10:26–28 has been rendered twice in Chronicles: the first time at 2 Chron 1 (vv. 14–16), and the second time at 2 Chron 9 (vv. 25–28). The latter section however is not a strict parallel to 1 Kgs 10, but takes up material from 1 Kgs 5 as well.

¹However see Josephus, *Ant.* VIII, 4, where it appears that in the Hebrew text used by Josephus, 1 Kgs 5:6 was followed by a passage identical with 1 Kgs 10:26b (=2 Chron 9:25b; 1:14b).

II

The strong similarities between 3 Rgns 10:26-26a and the parallel texts in 2 Chron 9 and 2 Par 9 give rise to several questions about their interrelation. The identity of 2 Par 9:25-26 and 3 Rgns 10:26-26a especially calls for an explanation. Before we focus on that problem, however, we should deal with another question first: do vv. 26-26a present a true translation of 2 Chron 9:25-26, or do they rather follow a Hebrew text in the *Vorlage* of 3 Rgns that was similar to the Chronicler's text? The issue here is not whether the Hebrew *Vorlage* already saw the adoption of the Chronicler's passage into vv. 26 and 26a or not. The question rather is whether the *Vorlage* of our Greek verses originally consisted of a Hebrew text of the same type as 2 Chron 9:25-26.

There are good reasons to answer this question in the negative. In the first place, when the distribution of all the materials relating to the numbers of Solomon's horses and chariots over each biblical book is taken into consideration, this distribution proves to be particularly unbalanced in 3 Rgns.² Some explanation is in order here. The books of 1 Kgs, 2 Chron, and 2 Par all contain two types of passages. One category refers to 4,000 or 40,000 stalls (or mares) for chariots. The other category says that Solomon gathered chariots and horses, and it speaks of 1,400 chariots owned by Solomon. Either category is represented by one passage in each book, except for 3 Rgns. At the position where the other books exhibit a passage of the second category (1 Kgs 10:26; 2 Chron 9:25; 2 Par 9:25), 3 Rgns offers a passage of the first category (3 Rgns 10:26). As a result, this book lacks a passage of the second category, but exhibits two passages of the first category. Since the situation in 3 Rgns 10:26 is directly responsible for the textual imbalance in 3 Rgns, v. 26 is less likely to represent the original Hebrew as well as the MT does.

²The argument has been put forward by D. W. Gooding in "Text-sequence and Translation-revision in 3 Rgns IX 10-X 33," VT 19 (1969), 448-63, esp. 460-61.

Second, if it is assumed that vv. 26–26a render a Hebrew text in the *Vorlage* of 3 Rgns, the conclusion is difficult to resist that 2 Chron 9:25–26 reproduces that Hebrew text.³ This view, however, has problematic implications. As was noted above, the passage at 2 Chron 1:14–17 is generally traced to 1 Kgs 10:26–28. If a Hebrew text identical with 2 Chron 9:25–26 originally held the position of 1 Kgs 10:26, the possibility is ruled out that 2 Chron 1:14–17 derives from a different Hebrew text in the same position. Where would the Chronicles paragraph come from then? Could it present an original creation of the Chronicler himself? This view has the improbable implication that the counterpart of 2 Chron 1:14–17 in 1 Kgs 10:26–29 was borrowed from Chronicles rather than the other way around. Perhaps the Chronicler had among his source-material two different versions of Samuel-Kings each presenting a different text-tradition at 1 Kgs 10:26. The Chronicler may have employed both text-traditions in his account, presenting one in its authentic setting and moving the other to 2 Chron 1:14–17.⁴ The great majority of scholars, however, do not endorse the view that the Chronicler had at his disposal two divergent versions of (the prototype of) Samuel-Kings. Generally, 2 Chron 1:14–17 is considered to have been borrowed from MT 1 Kgs 10:26f.⁵

Therefore, vv. 26–26a are more likely to be a rendering of 2 Chron 9:25–26 than of an original passage in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. Now this conclusion does not imply that vv. 26–26a necessarily represent the original Greek translation of the Chronicles passage.

³This view is taken by M. Rehm, *Textkritische Untersuchungen zu den Parallelstellen der Samuel-Königsbücher und der Chronik*, ATAbh 13/3 (Münster, 1937), 98; J. Hänel, "Die Zusätze der Septuaginta in I Reg 2 35a–o und 46a–l," ZAW 47 (1929), 76–79, esp. 79: "Vielmehr sind G B [= LXX codex Vaticanus at 3 Rgns 10:26–26a, PvK] wie Chronik [= 2 Chron 9:25–26] nach einem älteren Text der Königsbücher gearbeitet."

⁴Thus H. Hrozný, *Die Abweichungen des Codex Vaticanus vom hebräischen Texte in den Königsbüchern* (dis.), (Leipzig 1909), 28.

⁵H. G. M. Williamson, *1 and 2 Chronicles*, NCB (Grand Rapids, 1982), 196, 236. Especially Japhet (523–24, 532) and Kalimi (252) point out that the duplication of 1 Kgs 10:26f. in Chronicles serves a literary purpose.

It will be remembered that the Greek of 2 Par 9:25-26 is virtually identical with 3 Rgns 10:26-26a. This leaves room for the possibility that the passage in Reigns was directly borrowed from 2 Par 9:25-26. In fact, the simplest way to account for the Greek text in vv. 26-26a is by regarding it as a duplicate of the Paralipomena passage.⁶ Nevertheless, we should also admit the possibility that 3 Rgns 10:26-26a presents the original Greek text, which in a later stage was taken over by 2 Par 9:25-26.⁷

In order to decide the issue, we may first ask which of both possibilities is most likely to accord with the general pattern of the relationship between Reigns and Paralipomena. It is a well-known fact that the Greek of both translations is conspicuously similar in the synoptic portions. If the text of Paralipomena in these passages can be shown to have predominantly been drawn from 3 Rgns, it is extremely likely that 2 Par 9:25-26 too presents a duplicate of the parallel passage in 3 Rgns. However, research into these translations has revealed that their relation is both complicated and ambiguous. Scholars have found that the text of Reigns influenced Paralipomena, but also that sometimes the reverse is the case, even to the extent that Reigns shows more affinity with MT Chronicles than with MT Samuel-Kings.⁸

This state of affairs means that we must rely on concrete clues in our passages that may give us insight into their text-historical relation. Thus it may be asked which of both passages

⁶In addition to Hänel (cf. n. 3), the following scholars claim the dependence of vv. 26-26a on the Paralipomena parallel: L.C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text*, VTS 25 (1974), 202; D. Barthélemy, *Critique Textuelle de l'Ancien Testament*, t. I, OBO 50/1 (Freiburg, 1982), 338-39; Curtis and Madsen, *Chronicles*, 359; Gooding, "Textsequence," 456-63.

⁷A few scholars take this view: I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Chronik*, KHC 20, (Tübingen, 1901), 95; G. Krautwurst, *Studien zu den Septuagintazusätzen in 1. (3.) Könige 2 und ihren Paralleltextrn* (diss.) (Mainz, 1977), 189; Rehm, *Untersuchungen*, 98.

⁸See Allen, *Chronicles*, 175f.; Rehm, *Untersuchungen*, 34f.; G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint II. Chronicles*, (Lund, 1946), 30-35.

regarding vocabulary and diction fits in best with the broad context of the translation unit to which it belongs. The passage revealing expressions, terms, etc. that are unusual for its translation context may be most likely to be secondary to it.

In my view, certain features of the Greek of the parallel passage suggest that the translation has a better chance to be original in 3 Rgns than in Paralipomena:

1. The most important indication involves the Greek renderings of the term אָרֶה, "stall," "crib," in 2 Chron 9:25 and 3 Rgns 10:26.⁹ In Chronicles, the only other occurrence of אָרֶה appears in 2 Chron 32:28. There, the Greek translator rendered it as φάτνη, "crib", "trough."¹⁰ This translation reflects an understanding of the word utterly different from what is shown by the rendering θήλειαι, "female," which in 2 Par 9:25 occurs in the phrase θήλειαι ἵπποι, "mares." The same phrase θήλειαι ἵπποι is found in 3 Rgns 10:26. Within the setting of 3 Rgns, θήλειαι ἵπποι can be found to be conceptually similar to the Greek translation of אָרֶה אֲרוֹת in 1 Kgs 5:6 (cf. 3 Rgns 2:46i) by τοκάδες ἵπποι. Thus it may seem that the rendering θήλειαι is better at home in 3 Rgns than in 2 Par. We will return to this issue later.
2. The phrase εἰς ἄρματα in 3 Rgns 10:26 and 2 Par 9:25 does not present an exact translation of the Hebrew found at 2 Chron 9:25 ומרכבות. The same Greek phrase is found in 3 Rgns 2:46i, where in all likelihood it matches למרכבו of 1 Kgs 5:6 as a translation. It is tempting to assume that εἰς ἄρματα in 3 Rgns 10:26 was copied from 2:46i.
3. The second part of 2 Chron 9:25 parallels the second part of 2 Chron 1:14b. The translator of the latter passage read the verb form וַיִּנָּחם and rendered it as κατέλιπεν αὐτά. In 2 Par 9:25 and 3 Rgns 10:26, however, the same verb is rendered as ἔθετο αὐτά/αὐτοὺς. Furthermore, the Hebrew expression וַיְהִי־לוֹ, "he had," which 2 Par 1:14 has translated as καὶ ἐγένετο αὐτῷ, is rendered in 2 Par 9:25 by καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Σαλωμων. These variations in rendering do not necessarily point to the activity of two different translators. All the same, they emphatically suggest the possibility.

⁹W. Gesenius, *Hebräisches und Aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Berlin, 1987¹⁸), 96; HALAT, 82. Orthographic variation occurs in the pl. cs. form אָרֶה in 1 Kgs 5:6; אָרֶה in 2 Chron 9:25).

¹⁰Josephus, when paraphrasing 1 Kgs 5:6, likewise translates the Hebrew term as φάτνη (*Ant.* VIII, 41).

4. Two observations suggest that the verses immediately preceding 2 Par 9:25-26 were taken from the corresponding verses of 3 Rgns. First, ἡδύσματα in 2 Par 9:24 is a term occurring only here throughout the entire book. The standard equivalent used by Paralipomena for Hebrew בְּשָׂמִים, "spices," is ἀρώματα.¹¹ In 3 Rgns, on the other hand, ἡδύσματα appears four times as an equivalent of בְּשָׂמִים.¹² Furthermore, the term חֲכָמָה in 1 Kgs 10:24 and 2 Chron 9:23 is represented by φρόνησις in both Greek translations. Elsewhere in Paralipomena, חֲכָמָה is consistently rendered as σοφία (cf. v. 22). 2 Par 9:23 is the only instance in the books where φρόνησις appears as an equivalent of חֲכָמָה. In 3 Rgns, on the other hand, φρόνησις is often found as a rendering of חֲכָמָה.¹³ If the translation of 2 Chron 9:22-24 basically reproduces the corresponding passage of 3 Rgns, there is a good chance that vv. 25-26 too are based on the Reigns parallel.

Admittedly, none of the above observations as such is conclusive evidence in favour of the view that 2 Par 9:25-26 was copied from 3 Rgns 10:26-26a rather than the other way around. Nevertheless, taken together they may be a strong indication in favour of the originality of the Reigns passage.

The next question that must be dealt with is whether 3 Rgns 10:26-26a are original in the context of the translation unit of 3 Rgns. Were these verses present from the very outset or were they inserted afterwards as part of some editorial activity? One important factor that must be taken into account in finding an answer to this question is that both v. 26 and v. 26a have counterparts elsewhere in 3 Rgns. It was already noted that the first part of v. 26 may be compared with 3 Rgns 2:46i. The parallel of v. 26a follows immediately on 3 Rgns 2:46i, namely at v. 46k. Thus, the order of ch. 10:26-26a is roughly paralleled by the sequence vv. 46i-k in ch. 2.

The problem of the text-historical relationship between these verses is an intricate one. With regard to v. 46i, the following observations can be made. In all likelihood, the verse corresponds to MT 1 Kgs 5:6. Thus τὰ ἀδελφὰ ἵπποι matches MT's אֲרֹת סוּסִים. We

¹¹Thus in 1 Chron 9:29, 30; 2 Chron 9:1, 9 (two times); 16:14; 32:27.

¹²In 3 Rgns 10:2, 10 (two times), 25.

¹³In 3 Rgns 3:28; 5:9, 10; 10:4, 6, 8, [23,] 24:11:41.

already noted that the same Hebrew phrase underlies the translation θήλειαι ἵπποι, in 3 Rgns 10:26. Neither θήλειαι ἵπποι, literally "female horses," nor τοκάδες ἵπποι, "brood mares," "mares in foals," comes close to the probable meaning of ארות סוסים, "stalls for horses." This raises the possibility that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX verses differed slightly from what is presented by the MT. Now it proves to be difficult to link θήλειαι ἵπποι with a Hebrew not too different from MT's ארות סוסים, but τοκάδες ἵπποι appears to offer a good possibility. It is well conceivable that this translation goes back to an interchange of א and ה in the *Vorlage*, producing the reading סוסים הרות,¹⁴ "mares carrying foals."¹⁵

Several exegetes have claimed that the two Greek translations τοκάδες ἵπποι and θήλειαι ἵπποι reflect the same idea.¹⁶ Both translations indeed agree in their making reference to mares. However, it is important to note that the notion "for breeding" is

¹⁴הרות = pl. cs. הרה, "pregnant" (HALAT, 245). In no other instance in the MT, however, is הרות followed by a *nomen rectum* designating the identity of the foetus. Therefore we should take the possibility into consideration that the translator took הרות as a plural in the absolute state and סוסים as an apposition to it, thus disregarding the difference in gender (which in fact might have been easy for him because the female form סוסה is extremely rare in the OT). The fact that the phrase τοκάδες ἵπποι does not reveal a significant effort on the translator's part to reflect a genitive construction in the *Vorlage* may also speak in favour of this view.

¹⁵Cf. already S. Bochartus, *Hieroicoicon, sive Bipertitum Opus de Animalibus S. Scripturae*³, etc. (ex recensione Joh. Leusden), Lugduni Bat./Trajecti ad Rhen. 1692, Cap. IX 157: "In Graeca versione ארות, vel אריות סוסים, absurde redditur θήλειαι, & τοκάδες ἵπποι, quasi הרות & הריות legerint, quod foetas significaret." J. A. Montgomery and H. S. Gehman, *The Books of Kings, ICC*, (Edinburgh, 1951), 132; and J. Gray, I & II Kings, *OTL*, (London, 1964), 245 n. e, rather think that the translator associated ארות with a root cognate with Akkadian arû, "to be pregnant" (cf. AHW, 72, arû(m) V).

¹⁶Gooding, "Text-sequence," 457.

not represented in any sense by the phrase θήλειαι ἵπποι.¹⁷ For this reason, θήλειαι ἵπποι is unlikely to present a direct translation of a Hebrew text reading סוסים קרתי.¹⁸ More probably, the Greek rendering at 3 Rgns 10:26 was influenced by the translation τοκάδες ἵπποι of 3 Rgns 2:46i. The translator may have adopted from v. 46i the idea that the Hebrew refers to "mares." However, he did not adopt the notion τοκάδες, "for breeding," and contented himself with referring to mares proper. Possibly he varied the translation on account of the discrepant numbers of horses given in these texts. Thus he could have wished to create the impression that both passages dealt with different categories of horses. Or, if there were two translators rather than one, the later one may have opted for mares proper in 3 Rgns 10:26 because they are more likely to serve as horses for chariots than brood mares.

The issue of the relationship between 3 Rgns 10:26a and 2:46k is barely less complicated than the connection between v. 26 and v. 46i. Apparently both verses present translations of exactly identical Hebrew. Only v. 46k involves an utterly different translation from 3 Rgns 10:26a. Here we have the interesting phenomenon that the Greek translation of Kings offers two different renderings of a Hebrew text which is not extant in the MT of 1 Kgs, but appears in the MT of 2 Chron.

Both vv. 46i and k form part of the so-called Second Miscellany, an extensive section numbered 46a-i which in that position has no counterpart in the MT. The greater part of the Second Miscellany presents a translation of what MT offers at 1 Kgs 5:1-6. V. 46i is among this material. V. 46k does not form part of the

¹⁷For this reason the Antiochene tradition, which has assimilated the text of 3 Rgns 10:26 [10:29 in the edition of N. Fernández Marcos and J.R. Busto Saiz, *El Texto Antioqueno de la Biblia Griega, II: 1-2 Reyes*, Madrid 1992] to 2:46i, adds του τικτειν after ιππων θηλειων εις αρματα.

¹⁸Moreover, there is little chance that the same corruption developed independently in the Hebrew *Vorlagen* of 3 Rgns 2:46i and 2 Par 9:25.

Greek verses that correspond to the Hebrew of 1 Kgs 5, yet there are good reasons to consider v. 46k simultaneous with them.¹⁹

So we find that vv. 46i–k stem from one Greek translator, and vv. 26–26a of ch. 10 from another. Since especially v. 26 underwent influence from 3 Rgns 2:46i, the material in ch. 10 must be secondary to the Second Miscellany. The implication of this is that 3 Rgns 10:26–26a cannot possibly have been part of the primitive

¹⁹The phrase ἦν ἀρχων ἐν + dat. of v. 46k also appears in vv. 46b and f. Since v. 46b is likely to be a (partial) translation of 1 Kgs 5:1, ἦν ἀρχων ἐν is to be linked to Hebrew מֶלֶךְ. If v. 46k is regarded as the translation of a Hebrew text identical with what we have at 2 Chron 9:26, there too the Greek phrase can be found to represent מֶלֶךְ. The literalism involved in the Greek rendering sets these verses in the Second Miscellany apart from the text of 3 Rgns 10:26a, where מֶלֶךְ is represented by ἦν ἡγούμενος + gen. There is a theoretic possibility that v. k and the preceding verses originate with different translators who employed the same translation technique. However, the Second Miscellany presents itself as a more or less carefully devised literary unit built around the theme of Solomon's dominion (see D. W. Gooding, *Relics of Ancient Exegesis: A Study of the Miscellanies in 3 Rgns 2*, SOTSMS 4, [Cambridge, 1976], 13–17, 23–29). V. k must be considered an integral part of this unit because it is one of the verses that state the theme by the formulaic phrase (Σαλωμων) ἦν ἀρχων ἐν... (vv. b, f, k).

The origins of v. k are difficult to retrieve. Gooding (*Relics*, 44) thinks that the verse is based on a Hebrew text which represents a text-tradition of 1 Kgs 5:1 somewhat different from the MT version. This alternative text tradition would also be exhibited by 2 Chron 9:26.

Another option may also be worth considering. Several scholars have drawn attention to the fact that vv. i–k parallel the sequence of vv. 26–26a in 3 Rgns 10 and vv. 25–26 in 2 Chron 9. (J. A. Montgomery, "The Supplement at End of 3 Kingdoms 2 [1 Kgs 2]," *ZAW* 50 (1932), 124–29, esp. 128; Gooding, *Relics*, 48) Possibly v. k, rather than recording a different text-tradition of v. 1 in ch. 5, matched a Hebrew text that originally stood immediately after 1 Kgs 5:6. This text rather than v. 1 of ch. 5 may have been duplicated in 2 Chron 9:26. When the original Greek translation of ch. 5:1–6 was transposed to the Second Miscellany, the text of v. k was likewise moved to its present position. Afterwards, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of v. k was dropped in MT 1 Kgs 5. The second proposal is capable of explaining the curious parallelism of 3 Rgns 2:46i–k and 2 Chron 9:25–26, but it has the obvious disadvantage that the assumption of a Hebrew counterpart of v. k once existing in ch. 5 is entirely speculative. Whatever the view taken on the origin of v. k, its point of departure must be that vv. i–k are prior to 3 Rgns 10:26–26a.

Greek translation. This view concurs well with the conclusion reached above that the literary unit represented by vv. 26-26a is not original in ch. 10. Presumably the original text of 3 Rgns 10:26 involved a translation of MT 1 Kgs 10:26. In a later stage a reviser replaced it by a direct translation of 2 Chron 9:25-26, which for its part became the model for 2 Par 9:25-26.

III

This raises the question why 3 Rgns 10:26-26a offers a translation of the synoptic parallel in Chronicles rather than the corresponding passage in 1 Kgs. In order to find an answer, it may be wise first to establish how the inclusion of the Chronicles passage into 3 Rgns 10:26-26a affects the understanding of the context. Once the literary effects of the inclusion are described, we may get an idea of the motives underlying it.

The immediate effects become apparent when we compare the literary contexts of vv. 26-26a in Reigns and v. 26 in Kings. Both in the Greek and Hebrew texts, vv. 23-27 are devoted to the subject of Solomon's wealth. The theme prevailing through this section is briefly summarized at the beginning, at v. 23: Solomon's fame beyond all kings of the earth in the areas of wealth and wisdom. The next verses elaborate on and exemplify this theme. In these verses, however, 3 Rgns and 1 Kgs go separate ways.

In 3 Rgns 10 the foreign kings continue to play an important role after v. 23. V. 24 explicitly mentions them as seeking Solomon's presence to hear his wisdom. They are also the implicit subject of v. 25: "And they brought each their tributes, year by year." As a result, the foreign kings are presented as the donors of the items which are listed in v. 25b. As a kind of conclusive remark, v. 26a once more stresses Solomon's supreme position among his fellow kings: "And he was ruler of all the kings from the river until the land of the Philistines, and until the borders of Egypt." After v. 26a, the focus shifts to the related subject of Solomon's riches and his horse trade.

When we compare the MT-version of the account with the LXX, two differences immediately draw the attention. First, the subject of vv. 24 and 25 is "all the earth" rather than "all the kings of the earth." Second, the MT does not offer a counterpart to 3 Rgns 10:26a. As a result, the account following v. 23 is entirely devoid of references to the foreign kings. Hence the predominant theme of the MT version is the material effect of Solomon's wisdom rather than his glorious position among his fellow kings. Obviously, the LXX reviser has succeeded in thoroughly changing the tenor of the original.

For two reasons it is tempting to assume that it was the desire to highlight Solomon's glory among his fellow kings that prompted the reviser to change the Greek text at v. 26. First, the plus exhibited by the Greek text at v. 24 (βασιλεῖς) may seem to indicate the same desire. Second, a concern for Solomon's image—in particular his relation with other kings—is discernable in other parts of the Greek Solomon narrative as well. Reference could be made to 3 Rgns 5, where material from Kings seems to have been rearranged with a view to exemplifying Solomon's prestige among his fellow kings. Against this background it is very conceivable that the reviser upon noticing that the parallel text of 2 Chron was better in keeping with his own interests than the original translation of v. 26, decided to replace the original Greek by a rendering of 2 Chron 9:25–26.

It is not to be ruled out that other concerns regarding Solomon's image also played a part. Gooding has made the suggestion that the clause at 1 Kgs 10:26 "and Solomon gathered together chariots and horsemen," might have been considered harmful to the image of Solomon because it exposed Solomon as a violator of the rule of Deut. 17:16 prohibiting the king to acquire many horses.²⁰ The original Greek translation of 1 Kgs 10:26 would have been replaced by a rendering of 2 Chron 9:25 since the latter passage did not contain the potentially harmful clause. The

²⁰Gooding, "Text-sequence," 454–55, 463.

omission of that clause also allowed a sequence of thought between v. 25 and v. 26 that suggests that Solomon's 4,000 mares actually were the horses listed among the tributary gifts mentioned in v. 25.

But, as Gooding himself points out, if the Greek text really wished to excuse Solomon over the fact that he possessed so many horses, it is strange to see that the passage concerning the import of horses from Egypt in 1 Kgs 10:28-29 was maintained in 3 Rgns 10:28-29. For that reason, it is difficult to believe that whitewashing Solomon's character was the reviser's main motive in changing the older Greek translation in 10:26. All we can say is that it perhaps played some role.

Finally, note should be taken of two passages outside ch. 10, which by virtue of certain affiliations with 3 Rgns 10:26-26a may cast further light on the background of our text. The first of these passages obtains at 3 Rgns 9:5b:

2 Par 7:18b

οὐκ ἐξαρθήσεται σοι
ἀνὴρ ἡγούμενος ἐν Ἰσραὴλ

2 Chron 7:18b

לֹא יִכָּרֵת לְךָ
אִישׁ מִשְׁלַבְיִשְׂרָאֵל:

3 Rgns 9:5b

οὐκ ἐξαρθήσεται σοι
ἀνὴρ ἡγούμενος ἐν Ἰσραὴλ

1 Kgs 9:5b

לֹא יִכָּרֵת לְךָ
אִישׁ מִעַל יִשְׂרָאֵל:

For two reasons this text calls for a comparison with 3 Rgns 10:26a. In the first place, it is the only instance of 3 Rgns outside 10:26a where the term ἡγούμενος appears. Second, this text bears the same relationship to its counterparts in Kings, Chronicles and Paralipomena as 3 Rgns 10:26a. That is to say, rather than offering a translation of the Hebrew counterpart of 1 Kgs, like the surrounding verses do, it renders the parallel text from 2 Chron 7:18b. Just like 3 Rgns 10:26a, the Greek of 9:5b is identical with the Greek of the parallel text in 2 Par.

In my opinion, the points of contact between 3 Rgns 10:26a and 9:5b noted here render it very likely that these passages derive from the same hand. In order to understand the background of 3 Rgns 9:5b, we must consider its immediate literary context. In 3

Rgns 9:3–9 YHWH makes a promise to Solomon regarding his kingship in the future. V. 5 says that if Solomon keeps YHWH's commandments, then YHWH shall establish the throne of Solomon's kingdom for ever as: "I spoke to David your father, saying, there shall not fail you a man to rule in Israel." The MT has in v. 5b: "...there shall not fail you a man on the throne of Israel." In light of 3 Rgns 10:26a it becomes clear that the ruler of Israel once promised to David must be identified as Solomon himself. This connection between chs. 9:5 and 10:26a once more is an indication that the reviser of 3 Rgns 10 wished to highlight glory and legitimation of Solomon's rule.

The second passage that may be of interest as a background to 3 Rgns 10:26–26a is 2 Rgns 8:4a.

1 Par 18:4a

καὶ προκατελάβετο Δαυιδ αὐτῶν
 χίλια ἄρματα
 καὶ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἵππων
 καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν πεζῶν

1 Chron 18:4a

וַיִּלְכֹּד דָּוִד מִמֶּנּוּ
 אֶלֶף רֶכֶב
 וְשִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים פָּרָשִׁים
 וְעֶשְׂרִים אֲלָף אִישׁ רִגְלִי

3 Rgns 8:4a

καὶ προκατελάβετο Δαυιδ τῶν αὐτοῦ
 χίλια ἄρματα
 καὶ ἑπτὰ χιλιάδας ἵππέων
 καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδας ἀνδρῶν πεζῶν

2 Sam. 8:4a

וַיִּלְכֹּד דָּוִד מִמֶּנּוּ
 ...
 אֶלֶף וְשִׁבְע־מֵאוֹת פָּרָשִׁים
 וְעֶשְׂרִים אֲלָף אִישׁ רִגְלִי

This text reads: "And David took his 1,000 chariots and 7,000 horsemen and 20,000 footmen." Here, too, the Greek text of Reigns deviates from its *Vorlage* to offer a translation of the synoptic parallel in Chronicles. The interesting thing about this passage is that just like 3 Rgns 10:26 it is concerned with military force, in particular with the number of chariots and horsemen. And just like the 3 Rgns passage, it follows the numbers of the Chronicles parallel over against the numbers provided by its *Vorlage*.

With regard to 3 Rgns 10:26, Gooding has proposed that its primary purpose was to alleviate the discrepancy between Kings and Chronicles concerning the number of brood mares indicated.²¹

²¹Gooding, "Text-sequence," 458–62.

In his view, a later editor of the Greek text took offence at the divergent numbers in the Greek translation of 1 Kgs 5:6 and 2 Chron 9:25. He then solved the problem by banishing the original translator's rendering of ch. 5:6 to the miscellany and placing a rendering of 2 Chron 9:25 at 3 Rgns 10:26. Apparently this later editor considered the numbers supplied by Chronicles more reliable than the numbers provided by 3 Rgns, and accordingly corrected the Greek text by borrowing the Chronicles version.

A similar concern for consistency between Reigns and Chronicles text regarding numbers reveals itself in 2 Rgns 8:4a. This may lend support to Gooding's conviction that the issue of divergent numbers between Chronicles and 3 Rgns was in fact an important, if not the conclusive, factor behind v. 26.

It is not to be ruled out that the correction of 2 Rgns 8:4a and 3 Rgns 10:26 towards the parallel text of Chronicles was carried out by the same editorial hand. These passages belong to different translation sections of 1-4 Rgns.²² Though it is believed that these sections each renders the text of the *Old Greek*, they are usually attributed to different translators. Yet, it is not to be ruled out that a later editor worked during a stage of textual transmission when the books of 1-4 Rgns had already begun to form one tradition complex.

To sum up, several possible motives present themselves why vv. 26-26a were revised according to the Chronicles account. Some features suggest that the revision aimed at highlighting Solomon's prestige and glory. Other features point to a concern for the legitimation of Solomon's kingship. A desire to bring the divergent numbers of horses mentioned in Kings and Chronicles into agreement with each other may also have played a role. It is hard to tell which motive, if any, was decisive. For more specific answers, we have to await further results of the research into the creative processes underlying the present shape of 1-4 Rgns.

²²See H. St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907), 262-78.

Appendix: Synoptic Review

3 Reigns—*miscellany*

1 Kings

3 Reigns—*main text*

10:23 Καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη

Σαλωμων

ὑπὲρ πάντας

τοὺς βασιλεῖς

τῆς γῆς

πλούτῳ

καὶ φρονήσει

10:24 καὶ πάντες

βασιλεῖς

τῆς γῆς

ἐζήτουν

τὸ πρόσωπον Σαλωμων

τοῦ ἀκοῦσαι

τῆς φρονήσεως αὐτοῦ

ἧς ἔδωκεν κύριος

ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ

10:25 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφερον

ἕκαστος τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ

σκεύη χρυσᾶ

καὶ ἱματισμόν στακτὴν

καὶ ἡδύσματα

καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους

τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν

ἐνιαυτῷ

1 Kings	2 Paralipomena	2 Chronicles
וַיַּגְדֵּל 10:23	9:22 καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη	9:22 וַיַּגְדֵּל
הַמֶּלֶךְ		הַמֶּלֶךְ
שָׁלֹמָה	Σαλωμων	שָׁלֹמָה
מִכָּל	ὑπὲρ πάντας	מִכָּל
מַלְכֵי	τοὺς βασιλεῖς	מַלְכֵי
הָאָרֶץ		הָאָרֶץ
לַעֲשֹׂה	καὶ πλούτῳ	לַעֲשֹׂה
וּלְחַכְמָה:	καὶ σοφίᾳ	וּלְחַכְמָה:
וְכָל 10:24	9:23 καὶ πάντες	9:23 וְכָל
	οἱ βασιλεῖς	מַלְכֵי
הָאָרֶץ	τῆς γῆς	הָאָרֶץ
מִבְּקָשִׁים	ἐζήτουν	מִבְּקָשִׁים
אֲתֵּפְנִי שְׁלֹמָה	τὸ πρόσωπον Σαλωμων	אֲתֵּפְנִי שְׁלֹמָה
לִשְׁמֹעַ	ἀκοῦσαι	לִשְׁמֹעַ
אֶת־חֻקֹּתָיו	τῆς σοφίας αὐτοῦ	אֶת־חֻקֹּתָיו
אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן אֱלֹהִים	ἧς ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς	אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן הָאֱלֹהִים
בְּלִבּוֹ:	ἐν καρδίᾳ αὐτοῦ	בְּלִבּוֹ:
וְהָמָּה מְבִיאִים 10:25	9:24 καὶ αὐτοὶ ἔφερον	9:24 וְהֵם מְבִיאִים
אִישׁ מִנְּחָתוֹ	ἕκαστος τὰ δῶρα αὐτοῦ	אִישׁ מִנְּחָתוֹ
כָּלִי כֶסֶף	σκεύη ἀργυρᾶ	כָּלִי כֶסֶף
וְכָלִי זָהָב	καὶ σκεύη χρυσᾶ	וְכָלִי זָהָב
וּשְׁלֹמֹת וְנָשָׁק	καὶ ἱματισμόν στακτῆν	וּשְׁלֹמֹת וְנָשָׁק
וּבִשְׂמִים	καὶ ἡδύσματα	וּבִשְׂמִים
סוּסִים וּפָרָדִים	καὶ ἵππους καὶ ἡμιόνους	סוּסִים וּפָרָדִים
דְּבַר־שָׁנָה	τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν	דְּבַר־שָׁנָה
בְּשָׁנָה:	ἐνιαυτόν	בְּשָׁנָה:

9:25

καὶ ἦσαν τῷ Σαλωμων
τέσσαρες χιλιάδες
θήλειαι ἵπποι
εἰς ἄρματα
καὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες
ἵππων
καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς
ἐν πόλεσιν
τῶν ἀρμάτων
καὶ μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ
1:14 Καὶ συνήγαγεν

10:26 וַיֹּאסֶף

שְׁלֹמֹה

רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים

וַיְהִי־לֹ

אֵלָיו וְאָרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת

רֶכֶב

וּשְׁנַיִם־עָשָׂר אֲלָף

פָּרָשִׁים

וַיַּנִּיחֵם

בְּעָרֵי הָרֶכֶב

וְעַם־הַמֶּלֶךְ

בִּירוּשָׁלַם:

Σαλωμων
ἄρματα καὶ ἵππεις
καὶ ἐγένοντο αὐτῷ
χίλια καὶ τετρακόσια
ἄρματα
καὶ δώδεκα χιλιάδες
ἵππων
καὶ κατέλιπεν αὐτὰ
ἐν πόλεσιν τῶν ἀρμάτων
καὶ
ὁ λαὸς
μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως
ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ
9:26 καὶ ἦν ἡγούμενος
πάντων τῶν βασιλέων
ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ
καὶ ἕως
γῆς ἀλλοφύλων
καὶ ἕως ὁρίου Αἰγύπτου

9:25

וַיְהִי לְשֹׁלֹמֹה

אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים

אַרְיֹת סוּסִים

וּמִרְכָּבוֹת

וּשְׁנַיִם־עָשָׂר אֲלָף

פָּרָשִׁים

וַיַּנִּיחֵם

בְּעָרֵי

הָרֶכֶב

וְעַם־הַמֶּלֶךְ

בִּירוּשָׁלַם

1:14 וַיֹּאסֶף

שְׁלֹמֹה

רֶכֶב וּפָרָשִׁים

וַיְהִי־לֹ

אֵלָיו וְאָרְבַּע־מֵאוֹת

רֶכֶב

וּשְׁנַיִם־עָשָׂר אֲלָף

פָּרָשִׁים

וַיַּנִּיחֵם

בְּעָרֵי הָרֶכֶב

וְ

וְעַם־הַמֶּלֶךְ

בִּירוּשָׁלַם

9:26 וַיְהִי מוֹשֵׁל

בְּכָל־הַמְּלָכִים

מִן־הַנָּהָר

וְעַד־

אֶרֶץ פִּלִּשְׁתִּים

וְעַד גְּבוּל מִצְרַיִם