



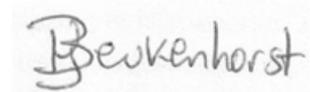
# THE TWO STORIES OF REHOBOAM BEN SHLOMO

An exegetical analysis of 1 Kings 12:1–24 and 1 Kings 14:21–31

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## **Statement of independent work**

Hereby I, Martijn Beukenhorst, declare and assure that I have composed the present thesis with the title *the Two Stories of Rehoboam ben Shlomo*, independently, that I did not use any other sources or tools other than indicated and that I marked those parts of the text derived from the literal content or meaning of other Works – digital media included – by making them known as such by indicating their source(s).

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Beukenhorst". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'B'.

Nijmegen, 24-04-2020.

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## Introduction

*Rehoboam ben Shlomo* is probably not the first king that comes to mind when identifying an interesting thesis about issues in the book of Kings. The amount of scholarly work written on him, or about how he is presented in Kings, reflects this lack of interest: there is very little work written specifically on Rehoboam.<sup>1</sup> When the passages concerning him are mentioned, it is usually in the context of the wider story about Jeroboam, the fall of the United Monarchy or the invasion of pharaoh Shishak. This is unfortunate, as the story of Rehoboam is very interesting. He is the only king that has two separate stories written about him: first in 1 Kgs 12:1–24 and then in 1 Kgs 14:21–31.<sup>2</sup> This is odd, given how consistent the stories in Kings are in their structure. My main research question regards this issue: what are the differences between the two stories and can my hypothesis (see below) provide a plausible explanation for these differences?

The issue becomes even more obvious when you compare the two stories. The first story tells the tale of how Rehoboam loses the northern tribes of the kingdom left to him by his father Solomon. The second story gives a general description of Rehoboam's reign, without so much as hinting at any of the events of the first story.<sup>3</sup> In the first story Rehoboam is seen as a peer of הַיְלָדִים [the youngsters] he consults in 12:8, but in 14:21 he is a mature 41-year-old king.<sup>4</sup> A second strange circumstance is that the invasion of Shishak in 14:25–28, the major event of Rehoboam's reign, is never mentioned in any of the stories concerning Jeroboam that lie between the two accounts focused on Rehoboam. His name is only mentioned once: in 11:40. A third anomaly is the different structure of the two stories. The second story reads as a regular introduction to and description of the reign of a king in the book of Kings, as though it were the sole account devoted to this king.<sup>5</sup> The first one, on the other hand, reads like a 'story', with no

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<sup>1</sup> The only full work that I am aware of that is dedicated to Rehoboam is *Torn Asunder* by A. Frisch (2013) on 1 Kgs 12:1–24. This work is written in Hebrew and only has a very short English summary where Frisch does not go into specific arguments. As my knowledge of modern Hebrew does not extend beyond *aleph*, I am unfortunately unable to use this work in my thesis.

<sup>2</sup> There are other kings that get mentioned earlier or later, but they are always secondary figures in the stories of other kings. A good example of this is king Jehoshaphat, who appears in the stories around Ahab in 1 Kgs 22:2–36, before his own introduction in 1 Kgs 22:41–51. However, Jehoshaphat is clearly a secondary figure in the Ahab story, whereas Rehoboam is the subject in both stories in 1 Kgs 12:1–24 and 1 Kgs 14:21–31.

<sup>3</sup> See appendixes a–d for the two stories and their translations.

<sup>4</sup> The conflict that appears between these two texts is also apparent in some other versions that exist of this story. In the LXX retelling of the story in 3 Kgs 12:24a–z Rehoboam is 16 when this event takes place. (see ch. 2.1.3) Also, in Chronicles, where the two stories are reshaped into one, this problem appears in a reshuffling of the text to move this verse into the final four verses of the text (2 Chr 12:13, after the invasion of Shishak.)

<sup>5</sup> The uniqueness of this situation becomes more apparent when compared with other kings who have multiple stories about them, for example Ahab (16:29–22:40). At the beginning of his reign, Ahab gets his introduction

reference at all to what the reign of Rehoboam entails.<sup>6</sup> Other interesting differences are the strong focus on Rehoboam as king of Judah in the second story<sup>7</sup> and the one-verse reference to a ‘war with Jeroboam’.<sup>8</sup> These problems will be discussed in more depth in the first chapter.

In order to fully investigate these issues, it is important to give a short overview of the *status questionis* of this problem. This is not an easy task, as there are very little scholars who deal with the question directly. However, the existing scholars can be divided into four different groups. Three of these groups deal with the text in 1 Kgs 12, while the fourth one deals with the text in 1 Kgs 14.

#### Jeroboam as the subject of 1 Kgs 12:1–24

The scholars in this group focus on the wider Jeroboam story, from his first appearance in 1 Kgs 11:26 until his death in 1 Kgs 14:20.<sup>9</sup> For them the ‘problematic’ differences between the two stories are less noteworthy because they consider Jeroboam as the key figure in 1 Kgs 12:1–24. Their focus is on 1 Kgs 12:20, where Jeroboam gets crowned, and they see the rest of the story as leading up to that moment. While they have a point in the importance of Jeroboam, Rehoboam is the subject of 12:1–24, not Jeroboam, and most of them ignore this in their discussions and the discrepancy it introduces to their understanding.

#### Rehoboam as the subject of 1 Kgs 12:1–24

A much smaller group of scholars regards Rehoboam as the subject of the story. Most of the scholars that belong to this group have looked at one particular issue, for example the meaning of הַמֶּלֶךְ.<sup>10</sup> They hardly comment on the plot or function of these 24 verses as a narrative unit,

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(16:29-30) and at the end of his reign he gets the closing formula (22:40). All stories about him and about Elijah that take place during Ahab’s reign get a place in between.

<sup>6</sup> The best indication of this difference in the two stories is how in the first story, it takes until 12:6 to have a clear indication that Rehoboam is already seen by the author as ‘the king’. The final part of 11:43 can be seen as a first indication of this, with וַיִּמְלֹךְ רְחֹבָם בְּנוֹ תִּהְיֶה [and Rehoboam, his son, became king in his place], however the verb לַמְלִיכָה [to make king], in 12:1, sets the story up as a coronation story. The usage of הַמֶּלֶךְ [the king] in verse 6 and verse 12 to refer to Rehoboam show that he is already seen as ‘the king’. The second story does not have this uncertainty and such an uncertainty is unheard of in Kings. See the first chapter for a more extensive discussion.

<sup>7</sup> You need the first story to figure out that there ever was a division during Rehoboam’s lifetime.

<sup>8</sup> The exact same verse also appears in the story about the next king, Abijam. The MT text has a version with Rehoboam (15:6, an exact copy of 14:30, but adding וְכָל־יְמֵי הַיּוֹם at the end) and a version with Abijam (15:7b, almost an exact copy of 15:6/14:30, but with *Abijam* instead of *Rehoboam* and leaving out וְכָל־יְמֵי הַיּוֹם [all days of his life]).

<sup>9</sup> Examples of this group are, amongst others, Danelius (1967), Aberbach (1968), Halpern (1974), Cohn (1985), Jeruzalska (2004), Leuchter (2006) and Geobey (2016).

<sup>10</sup> Fox (1996).

let alone undertake a comparison with the 1 Kgs 14:21–31. This is not strange, since their work consists primarily of articles that lack sufficient space for an extensive discussion.<sup>11</sup>

### LXX: 3 Kgs 12:24a–z

There has been a lot of scholarly discussion focused on the differences between the LXX (the Septuagint) and the MT (the Masoretic text) of 1 Kgs 11–14.<sup>12</sup> In fact, this has been the most popular topic investigated by those who have discussed 1 Kgs 12:1–24, and it is understandable why: The LXX incorporates a complete retelling of the story in 3 Kgs 12:24a–z, drawing on earlier and later passages to create a separate story. A full discussion of the LXX version is beyond the scope of this thesis, but there are some interesting aspects that will be included in the body of my investigation; because of their impact on the way I will assess additions to and omissions from the MT.

### 1 Kgs 14:21–31

The scholars who have dealt with the second story of Rehoboam’s reign all have the same interest: the invasion of Shishak. The invasion of Shishak marks the first time a ‘biblical figure’ is mentioned in non-biblical sources: the invasion of Shishak can be related to a report on a temple wall in Karnak of a campaign by this pharaoh into Canaan.<sup>13</sup> Even though this invasion is very interesting, the ‘historicity’ discussion is not something I want to comment on in this thesis, as it deserves more space than I can give it and more knowledge of archaeology than I possess.<sup>14</sup>

The first chapter will deal with these issues from a ‘synchronic’ perspective: looking at the text in its finalized form and trying to make a literary analysis. The second chapter will introduce diachronic elements into the discussion: rather than only look at the final form of the text, it will attempt to look at possible ‘editorial layers’ that could provide solutions for the issues that the synchronic analysis raises.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> Other examples of this group are, amongst others, Malamat (1963), Evans (1966), Lipinski (1974) and Weinfeld (1982) reprinted in Knoppers and McConville eds (2000).

<sup>12</sup> Examples of this group are, amongst others, Gooding (1967), Aberbach (1969), Gordon (1975), McKenzie (1987) and Shaw (1997).

<sup>13</sup> Finkelstein (2002), p. 109.

<sup>14</sup> Other scholars in this group include Na’aman (1999), Finkelstein (2011) and Geva (2014).

<sup>15</sup> I am aware of the problems of the term ‘editorial layers’ and this thesis will probably not have enough space to discuss all the different possibilities of editors/writers. My arguments will focus on what different layers there are, but I will refrain from speculating on who wrote them or in what period (other than relating to other written texts we have). I will also not delve into the discussion surrounding changes in Hebrew throughout the ages, as my thesis does not have the room for this.

This raises an important issue that must be discussed in the introduction: which Hebrew text to use. There are different arguments to be made for using different versions, but in this thesis I will always start by looking at the Masoretic text as found in the BHS.<sup>16</sup> This text I will examine critically in chapter 2, posing questions and looking at different layers based on comparisons with the Septuagint and the version of the text in Chronicles (2 Chr 10–12), as well as issues that come from the MT itself, based on grammatical features or differences in content. With all these different versions, in the end what will remain is some form of ‘Masoretic-like’ text, which can be found in the appendix. However, it is important to stress that I do not want to suggest that this is in any shape or form an *Ur*-text or that this is the ‘original’ version of the text. In this chapter I rather want to show that the text has different layers, which put the text into a different perspective.

After the synchronic and diachronic discussion of the text, my hypothesis comes into view in the third and final chapter. My hypothesis is that the differences between the two different stories about Rehoboam can be explained by looking at the general structure of the greater narrative that extends over the books of Samuel and Kings. This greater narrative can be divided into two distinct narrative complexes. The first one is the narrative about the ‘founding fathers’ of the ‘united monarchy’<sup>17</sup>, while the second one is the more structured narrative about the two different kingdoms of Israel and Judah. The existence of these two distinct narratives in Samuel/Kings has been suggested before.<sup>18</sup>

The main argument for my hypothesis is that the two narrative complexes have different ideas about what they want to accomplish by telling their respective stories about Rehoboam. This explains why there are so many differences between the two stories and why they hardly seem to connect. The first story focuses on ‘finishing’ the narrative about the united monarchy,

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<sup>16</sup> I will not delve into the discussions surrounding the Masoretic notes or *ketiv/qere* discussions, again mostly because I do not have the space.

All Hebrew words or passages (or Greek passages in the case of the Septuagint) will have my own translation between [brackets] the first time they occur. If a different translation is used, it will be mentioned.

<sup>17</sup> I am very aware of the problematic nature of everything that surrounds the united monarchy. I will try to nuance what I say as much as possible, but since the united monarchy is not the (direct) subject of my thesis, there will be times when my restricted word count will not allow me to give some issues the space they deserve.

<sup>18</sup> See for example Parker (1988) and the reply by Frisch (1991) for a narrative about Solomon and Frisch’s argument for the inclusion of 1 Kgs 12:1-24 in this narrative. There are also arguments for separate narratives about Saul (see for example Humphreys [1978, 1980, 1982]) or David (such as Gunn [1978]). A good example for a wider narrative is the Dtr framework, as first presented by Noth (1981).

The ‘second narrative’ relies more on the use of sources and presentation. A good argument for this is made, for example, by Grabbe (2007).

whereas the second story focuses on the beginning of the intertwined story of two kingdoms, with Judah in the south and Israel in the north.

In this final chapter I will look at these two narrative complexes<sup>19</sup> and how the two stories about Rehoboam fit into their respective narrative complex. I will see whether my hypothesis can indeed resolve the issues that arose in the first two chapters and look at new issues that appear with this solution. Finally, in my conclusion, I will look again at the most important issues and look at how this answers my research question.

The main contribution in this thesis to the general scholarly debate is on where the line should be drawn between these two narrative complexes. Generally, this is done at the end of Solomon's reign, so in 1 Kings 11:43.<sup>20</sup> The discussion on where the line should be drawn has also been done before, although the Rehoboam story has hardly been considered. There has also not been much comparative analysis of the two narrative complexes, which seem to 'abut' in these two stories about Rehoboam. Doing a full comparison is beyond the scope of this thesis, but the comparison between the two Rehoboam stories can form a starting point for further research.

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<sup>19</sup> Even though the limited wordcount of this thesis will only allow me to focus on the most important arguments in the discussion. I will try to provide references to authors with a more extensive discussion of the problems as they come up in the chapter.

<sup>20</sup> It is difficult to find an author that focuses specifically on this structure within the context of this text. An example is Parker (1988, 1991), but see the structure given in commentaries by Cogan (2001) or Knauf (2016) as a good example of how this is the 'common' point of view.

# 1. Synchronic Analysis

## 1.1 Rehoboam's trouble at Shechem: 1 Kings 12:1–24

Rehoboam gets introduced to us at the end of king Solomon's life. In 1 Kings 11:43 he is presented as the one out of all Solomon's sons chosen to succeed his father as the king of the United Monarchy. Not much is said about his relationship with his father, as he is only introduced as part of the 'dying formula' for Solomon. In the first verse of the next chapter Rehoboam goes to Shechem, where כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל [all of Israel] awaits לְהַמְלִיךָ אֹתוֹ [to make him king]. This begs the question who כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל is and why they are crowning Rehoboam at Shechem.

The term כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs often in the Hebrew Bible<sup>21</sup> and the context is always needed to tell who belong to the group of people that is referred to. The reference is usually made to either the entire theological entity of the descendants from Jacob (also called Israel) or the political entity of the future 'Northern Kingdom', i.e. the northern tribes. The context of this story points to the second meaning in this narrative.<sup>22</sup> Within the textual boundaries of this narrative כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל, or a word referring to it,<sup>23</sup> is said to act against Judah. This is most prominent in verse 18, when all Israel stones Adoniram and in verse 20, when all Israel crowns Jeroboam as their king, with שִׁבְט־יְהוּדָה [the tribe of Judah] as their adversary.<sup>24</sup> An extra argument for כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל as the northern tribes comes from Ahijah's speech to Jeroboam in 1 Kgs 11:29–39, a speech which is referenced in 1 Kings 12:15. In verse 37 Ahijah says: וְהָיִיתָ מֶלֶךְ עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל [you will be king over Israel] The previous passage in the speech that talks about tearing away ten tribes<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> The specific combination כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל occurs 83 times, mostly in the books of Samuel, Kings and Chronicles. It occurs 17 times in 1 Kings, of which 5 times in this story and a further 2 times in the stories surrounding Jeroboam (1 Kings 12:25–14:20).

<sup>22</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 346. Contra, for example, De Vries (2003), p. 158. De Vries hardly gives an argument for his position and the rest of his analysis rather points to the opposite.

<sup>23</sup> Within the context of 1 Kings 12:1–24 the most common way of referring to this group of people is הָעָם [the people] which occurs 9 times. כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל appears 5 times. Other terms used to refer to the same group are בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [children of Israel], mentioned twice, כָּל־קְהַל יִשְׂרָאֵל [the whole assembly of Israel], יִשְׂרָאֵל [Israel], and בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל [the house of Israel], all mentioned once. הָעָם is the term used in direct speech, although it also appears in passages by the narrator (most importantly in verse 15, but already as early as verse 5). The reason for this seems to be mostly that the author wants to provide some variation in the text, as constantly referring to a group as כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל is excessive and 'not done' from a literary point of view. Compare it with the usage of הוּא [he] in verse 2 to refer to Jeroboam or הַמֶּלֶךְ [the king] in verse 12 to refer to Rehoboam. The other terms used to refer to this group are usually because that specific example of the term suits the context better (for example בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל is used in verse 17 because it sees 'the Israelites' as a group based on who they are descendent from, rather than a political unity).

<sup>24</sup> It is possible to still read all of this as referring to the entirety of Israel, although it is increasingly unlikely. See Knauf (2016), p. 351 for a full but short overview or amongst others Cogan (2000), p. 346 and Walsh (1996), p. 160 for similar arguments in favour of the view that Israel is equal to the 'northern tribes.'

<sup>25</sup> This is problematic on its own, as 10 + 1 does not equal 12. Possible solutions for this range from a different interpretation of the text, with the additional tribe being given to Judah as a whole. There is a lot of discussion

and leaving one for the descendant of David, i.e. Rehoboam, shows that Israel here stands for the northern kingdom.

The choice for Shechem as the location is probably a further connection to the northern tribes. Shechem was an important cultic location for the northern tribes,<sup>26</sup> although the name has a restricted appearance in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>27</sup>

The verb  $\text{לְמַלְכֵי}$  is problematic when compared to the rest of the text. 1 Kings 11:43 names Rehoboam as the person to succeed Solomon.  $\text{לְמַלְכֵי}$  in the next verse implies that this is the full coronation ceremony of Rehoboam. However, verse 6 gives Rehoboam the title  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  [the king] and verse 12 refers to him as  $\text{מֶלֶךְ}$  without mentioning his name. Hence it is likely that the narrator sees Rehoboam already as a king, most likely over Judah. He was probably already crowned king over Judah at some earlier time and needed to seek the approval of the northern tribes in Shechem.<sup>28</sup>

The next verse, together with the beginning of verse 3, is dedicated to the return of Jeroboam. He was one of the three adversaries that arose against Solomon in chapter 11.<sup>29</sup> He raised his hand against Solomon in 1 Kgs 11:26 and in the rest of chapter 11 he received a prophecy by Ahijah that he would take the kingdom from Solomon's son. At the end of chapter 11, Jeroboam fled to Egypt after Solomon sought to kill him. Now that this threat has disappeared, he reappears on the stage.

The way in which Jeroboam is included seems rather strange. On the one side, he gets an important place in the 'introduction' of the story. The second verse opens with a 'וַיְהִי + פ + infinitive'-construction. This construction is generally reserved in the Hebrew Bible for the opening of a new section. The use of an 'opening-construction' at an unexpected place highlights the introduction of Jeroboam to the scene. The rest of the section does very little to

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which tribe that would be, such as Simeon (Cogan [2001], p. 388) or Benjamin (Davies [2007], p. 73, connecting this story to the reference to Benjamin in 1 Kings 12:21). It is beyond the scope of this thesis to have a full discussion here.

<sup>26</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 346.

<sup>27</sup> Shechem is mostly connected to Genesis 34, where it is the city in which Jacob and his family experience some trouble and Judges 9, where Shechem is the city connected to Abimelech and his attempt to become king. Outside of these two stories and later references to them, Shechem only appears 8 times, half of which are in Joshua. Joshua 21:21 mentions Shechem as a city of refuge, a statement copied by 1 Chronicles 6:52, highlighting that there might be an importance the rest of the Hebrew Bible does not hint at.

<sup>28</sup> Using the hiphil of  $\text{מָלַךְ}$  to indicate that someone who already is crowned king, is now crowned over an additional area is not unprecedented, although not as a verb. In 2 Samuel 5:3 the people of Israel  $\text{וַיִּמְשְׁחוּ אֶת-דָּוִד לְמֶלֶךְ עַל-יִשְׂרָאֵל}$  [anointed David as king over Israel], just like the Judahites had done in 2 Samuel 2:4. The confusion here in 1 Kings 12:1 comes from the lack of an adverbial phrase narrowing down the coronation of Rehoboam over a specific group. This becomes more problematic because of the ambiguous nature of  $\text{כָּל-יִשְׂרָאֵל}$ .

<sup>29</sup> Interestingly, he is never referred to as an adversary  $\text{אֹיֵב}$ , unlike the other two.

capitalize on this introduction, as Jeroboam never appears as an independent agent. When he appears in the story, he is always added as an extra to ‘all Israel’. It takes until the next section, in verse 25, for him to become a central person in the story. For now, he remains a background character.

Now that the stage has been set, the story can unfold. The narrative can be divided into six units.<sup>30</sup> These units are mostly separated by a difference in scene, made by either a change in location or a change in subject.<sup>31</sup> Subsection ‘E’ is the most difficult to place, as verses 17–19 are somewhat out of place in this story. Subsection ‘F’ is seen by most scholars<sup>32</sup> as a separate narrative unit, but is included here as it continues the same storyline, even though the linguistics and the *parashah* could make it a separate section.

- A. 12:1–3a introduction.
- B. 12:3b–5 Israel gives Rehoboam their demands
- C. 12:6–11 Rehoboam consults הַזְקֵנִים [the elders] and הַיְלָדִים [the youngsters]
- D. 12:12–15 Rehoboam refuses Israel their demands
- E. 12:16–20 Israel’s rebellion
- F. 12:21–24 Rehoboam’s attempt to reclaim Israel

The first subsection, the introduction, has already been discussed above. In the second subsection the story gets its dramatic tension. In verse 1 the narrator implies that Rehoboam will easily be crowned: כָּא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיךָ אֹתוֹ [all Israel had come to make him (i.e. Rehoboam) king]. When ‘all Israel’ gets an opportunity to speak in verse 4 it becomes obvious that they are not willing to let Rehoboam rule over them that easily. They bring up what they perceived as a harsh rule by Solomon and expect Rehoboam to do better if he wants to continue to rule over them. This contrast between father and son is highlighted in the structure of their speech: in 4a they open with אָבִיךָ [your father], contrasting it with וְאַתָּה [and you] as the first word of 4b. This is further emphasized with עַתָּה [now] as the second word of 4b. The similarity in sound between

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<sup>30</sup> Most commentaries and articles divide the narrative into two ‘main narrative units’: the first one taking place at Shechem (vv. 1–19/20) and the second one taking place at Jerusalem (vv. 19/20–24/25). While there are definitely arguments in favour of this view, based on location (Shechem vs Jerusalem), participants in the story (Israel vs Judah/Benjamin), prophet (Ahijah vs Shemaiah) and some diachronic arguments, the two possible units remain part of one single storyline that is not finished until verse 24. The reason so many commentaries make the division is likely because of the conclusive elements in verse 19 and 20 and the *setumah* after 19. See the discussion below for a more nuanced view.

<sup>31</sup> See for example the shift in ‘location’ between ‘B’ (at the assembly in Shechem) and ‘C’ (at a more private meeting of Rehoboam).

<sup>32</sup> See for example Cogan (2001), pp. 353–356; Walsh (1996), p. 202; Knauf (2016), p. 369.

ואתה and עתה highlights that Rehoboam is in a position to ‘now’ right the wrongs done by his father and save his kingdom.<sup>33</sup>

Rehoboam is taken aback by this sudden undermining of his power and seems unsure how to proceed. He adjourns the meeting for three days to decide how to respond. He spends this time consulting two groups of advisors: first הַזְקֵנִים [the elders], who had served his father and second הַיְלָדִים [the youngsters], who are his peers. Rehoboam going to these two groups for council is arguably the centre of the narrative.<sup>34</sup> It is unclear what the two groups exactly refer to. For הַזְקֵנִים suggestions vary from the pre-monarchic group of elders that would represent their tribes,<sup>35</sup> an official council of advisors of king Solomon<sup>36</sup> or generally an unofficial group that surrounded Solomon.<sup>37</sup> For הַיְלָדִים there is less evidence to what the group may entail, although attempts have been made.<sup>38</sup> Within the context of the text, the choice of words seems deliberate to put the two groups against each other as opposing parties.

The response of the elders to Rehoboam is clever and shows that they know the tricks of ruling well. They tell Rehoboam that he only needs to appear as an עֶבֶד [servant] this one day and that consequently the people will be an עֶבֶד to him כָּל־הַיָּמִים [all days]. There have been suggestions that דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים [good words/things] could refer to ‘good conditions’, in this case a favourable treatment of the northern tribes, based on similar wordings in other ancient Near Eastern texts.<sup>39</sup> However, in these texts the דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים are never connected to taxes and always apply to an act of grace by the ruler, rather than an agreement to resolve a dispute. Here the דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים seem to refer to ‘good, smoothing words’, i.e. sweet-talking the audience to make them cooperate.

Rehoboam rejects the advice from the elders and instead goes to the youngsters he grew up with. This group is probably called הַיְלָדִים to highlight the difference with הַזְקֵנִים, as mentioned before, and may have less to do with their respective age. Nevertheless, the response the

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<sup>33</sup> See 1 Kings 18:11, 14 for a similar usage for emphasis.

<sup>34</sup> This is especially highlighted in the analysis of Walsh (1996), who divides the story based on a chiasmic structure. It is possible to read a chiasm into this story, but it needs some imagination. Walsh, like other commentators, divides the story into two main ‘narratives.’ In Walsh’s analysis the discussion with the elders and the youngsters are the ‘centre’ of his chiasm. Even though the chiasmic structure is unlikely, Walsh’s interpretation shows that the two middle sections are a central part of the narrative. See Walsh (1996), pp. 160–161.

<sup>35</sup> Examples of this argument are McKenzie (1959), pp. 521–528 or Lipinski (1974), p. 431. Their main argument consists of connecting the text here back to the bigger role elders played in the stories of Saul and David.

<sup>36</sup> See Malamat (1963), p. 248. Like the ‘tribal elders’, but in a more advanced role. Malamat and others like him usually base their argument on a comparison with other ancient Near Eastern texts.

<sup>37</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 347.

<sup>38</sup> See Fox (1996) for an attempt to give הַיְלָדִים an official position at court. His argument is similar to Malamat’s analysis of the elders. Fox bases his argument on a comparison with an official role at Egyptian courts, called *hrdw n k3p*, or court families. Fox argues for a similar thing in the context of the Hebrew Bible, but ultimately his arguments lack conviction.

<sup>39</sup> Weinfeld (1982), reprinted in Knoppers and McConville eds (2000), pp. 516–539.

youngsters give to Rehoboam is immature and not very statesman-like, as exemplified by the phrase *קִטְנִי עָבָה מִמָּתְנֵי אָבִי* [my little thing is thicker than the loins of my father] in verse 10. Although it is not very clear what *קִטְנִי* means exactly, the context of the ‘manly talk’ and the comparison to ‘the loins of my father’ suggest that the youngsters euphemistically refer to Rehoboam’s penis.

The difference between the answers from *הַיְלָדִים* and *הַזְקֵנִים* is also reflected in the structure of their responses. The structure of the first response by *הַזְקֵנִים* underlies that Rehoboam will have to do something to change the fate of the kingdom. The sentence in verse 7 is a conditional sentence starting with *אִם* [if] that has a set of verbs as the protasis: *תִּהְיֶה-עֹבֵד* [you are a servant] *וְעַבַדְתָּם* [and you serve them] *וְעָנִיתָם* [and you answer them] *וְדַבַּרְתָּ* [and you talk to them]. With these verbs they want to focus Rehoboam on what he must do in order to save his kingdom, even if it is implied that most of it is sweet-talking.

The response by *הַיְלָדִים* focuses on something completely different: Rehoboam’s ego. They view the demand by the people as a direct attack on Rehoboam. This can already be seen in verse 9 and verse 10. Rehoboam summarizes the demand by the people in verse 9, but *הַיְלָדִים* ‘correct’ him and reiterate that the focus of the people was on *וְאָתָּה* [...] *אָבִיךָ*, shown in the structure by fronting the subject, just like the people did in verse 4. This perceived ‘direct attack’ on Rehoboam warrants a response that dismisses Rehoboam as the culprit and reinvigorates him. In the speech that they give to Rehoboam every clause starts immediately with *וְאֲנִי* [and I] or a first person singular possessive suffix added to the noun: *קִטְנִי* [my little (thing)] or *אָבִי* [my father]. By fronting the subject, they put an emphasis on it, just like the demand by the people. They want Rehoboam to not lose face here and insists that he doubles down against these Israelites.

Rehoboam listens to the advice the youngsters give him and acts it out in the next section, which brings the story to its highest point in dramatic tension. This starts from verse 13, where the *דְּבָרֵי טוֹבִים* the elders advised Rehoboam to answer have been turned into an answer that is *קָשָׁה* [harsh]. In verse 14 he speaks out this harsh answer, with the arrogance the youngsters expect from him. The reader would expect an immediate response from the Israelites, but the narrator drags out the dramatic tension by interfering directly in the text. In his comment in verse 15 he breaks up the storyline and gives the story a connection to the surrounding stories and attempts to give the story a theological meaning. By using the natural dramatic tension at this point of the text, the narrator ensures that the reader does not miss this.

The response from the people is hostile, as can be expected. They cry out a rallying cry that would imply the start of a grand rebellion. However, it is only this collective outburst of rebellion that ultimately marks the split of the united monarchy, rather than the civil war that would be expected. What follows is a chaotic part of the text. At the end of verse 16 it is unclear how the story continues exactly, but the implication of verse 17 is that the ‘split’ of the united monarchy has already happened. Verse 17 itself seems out of place at this moment, as it introduces a topic out of the blue that is never revisited afterwards.<sup>40</sup>

The first part of verse 18 continues with the war-like language of verse 16, making verse 17 all the stranger. Rehoboam still does not fully understand the gravity of the situation and sends Adoniram, in charge of forced labour. The Israelites do not respond kindly to this, as is to be expected, and stone him to death. The second part of verse 18 seems out of place at this point of the text, as the combination of verse 17 with the beginning of verse 18 would imply that Rehoboam is already far away. The Hebrew here provides some clarity, as most commentaries try to resolve this tension by pointing to the use of the simple perfect in the verb **הִתְאַמֵּץ** [he strengthened himself; he was able to], which in Hebrew syntax means that the verb is not consequential to the previous verb.<sup>41</sup> In spite of this, it remains unclear why this statement is placed here in the text and not at an earlier point, which would be more logical. From a synchronic point of view this problem is difficult to resolve, however in the next chapter it is one of the problems that will be discussed in the diachronic analysis.

As mentioned before, most scholars see a separate narrative unit at the end of the story. There is some discussion on where the beginning of this narrative unit should be drawn, either at verse 20 or verse 21. Based on structure this new unit would start in verse 20, which opens with a ‘**וַיְהִי + פ + infinitive**’-construction, generally indicative of a new narrative unit.<sup>42</sup> This is complemented by the usage of **עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** [until this day] in verse 19, a common method throughout the Hebrew Bible to mark the ending of a unit.<sup>43</sup> Added to this is the special position of verse 19 as a narrator’s comment on the text, also generally found at the end of a unit. Based on content the new unit would start in verse 21, as the reference to the coronation of Jeroboam

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<sup>40</sup> Added to these issues is a strange structure in verse 17, where the main verb is a *wayyiqtol* in the middle of the sentence. Breaking up a sentence like this to possibly front the object is uncommon in Hebrew and it is unclear why it would happen here.

<sup>41</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 350.

<sup>42</sup> Although not necessarily, as a similar construction can be found in verse 2. It is highly unusual to have such a construction not at the start of a narrative section, but the opening sequence of this story shows that the author has no problem in using such a construction out of its usual context.

<sup>43</sup> This exact combination of words appears 76 times, although it is not always necessarily in the final sentence of a narrative section.

ties in with verse 2 and 3, as well as the events in verse 19. Verse 21, on the other hand, starts a new part of the story with a shift in location and the appearance of Shemaiah, a prophet that was previously unknown and is never mentioned again. Verse 25, in the next narrative section, adds to the confusion, as it follows verse 20 more logically than verse 24.

The events in this final section, or separate narrative unit, are the aftermath from the events that took place in the previous 20 verses. Rehoboam tries to find allies in an attempt to regain power over the entire United Monarchy and apparently manages to convince the tribe of Benjamin, to switch sides to him. He then gathers 180.000 men to attack the rebelling northern tribes. But before he can attack them, he is stopped by the prophet Shemaiah, who gives Rehoboam the message to not go against the plan that YHWH has designed. Rehoboam complies and that forms the end of the story.

Even though this synchronic analysis is possible, the elements in this unit all pose some problems. The appearance of Shemaiah, a prophet that is further unknown in Kings, the association with Benjamin, where previously Judah was the only tribe associated with Rehoboam and the huge army of 180.000 all are at odds with the previous story. All these problems point towards a diachronic issue and so this narrative unit will be further discussed below.

The main discussion about this narrative unit as a whole focuses on what the idea behind the story is and who the main protagonist is. Knauf calls it a ‘classical drama’,<sup>44</sup> Cogan sees it as a ‘wisdom tale’,<sup>45</sup> Walsh argues for ‘two narrative strands that are intertwined’,<sup>46</sup> whilst most articles about this text see it within the wider context of the Jeroboam narrative, arguing that the earlier verses of chapter 12 are the set up for the division in verses 16–20, with verse 20 and verse 25 as the central point of the story in their opinion.<sup>47</sup> Even though the connection to Jeroboam and the division is undeniable, the story as a closed narrative unit has Rehoboam as the central figure, with the reference to Jeroboam almost an afterthought.

This focus on Rehoboam is best shown through looking at the story as a whole, with a special focus on the sections in the narrative that are told by the narrator. Only twice is the subject of such a sentence Jeroboam alone, in verses 2 and 3. As mentioned above, his introduction sets up the expectation of heavy involvement, but this is never delivered. In the rest of the story

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<sup>44</sup> Knauf (2016), p. 367

<sup>45</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 351.

<sup>46</sup> Walsh (1996), p. 167.

<sup>47</sup> For example Cohn (1985) or Ash (1998)

Jeroboam is only added as a secondary subject when the people come to talk with Rehoboam. In direct speech Jeroboam is never mentioned, with both Rehoboam and the groups he talks with only referring to הָעָם [the people].

Rehoboam, on the other hand, is always a part of the actions in the story, either as the subject or as the object. The narrator follows the location of Rehoboam throughout the story and all characters in the story have a certain relationship to Rehoboam. The exception to this is Jeroboam, who is never in an individual relationship with Rehoboam, highlighting again how he is ‘excluded’ from the storyline.

There are three exceptions to this ‘dominance’ of Rehoboam. The first is the introduction of Jeroboam into the story, in verse 2–3. This has been discussed at length above and needs no further explanation here. The second one is towards the end of the story, in verse 20. Here כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל crowns Jeroboam as their new king. Rehoboam is, understandably, out of the picture for this coronation. This verse provides the link between this story and the rest of chapter 12, which talks about Jeroboam’s actions as king of Israel.

The third and most notable exception to the ‘background status’ of Jeroboam comes in verse 15, where the narrator links the story to the prediction made by Ahijah to Jeroboam in chapter 11. This, in combination with the aforementioned coronation of Jeroboam in verse 20 and Jeroboam’s introduction in verse 2–3 is what has prompted some scholars to assume that Jeroboam is the central character of this story.<sup>48</sup> Verse 25 adds to this uncertainty, as it does not provide a clear start of a new story that would be expected, but continues where verse 20 has left off. This issue will also be taken up in the next chapter.

#### *Interlude: intertextuality*

The story in 1 Kings 12:20–24 is embedded within the wider stories in 1 Kings 11 and 12 and thus has expected intertextual connections to these texts. However, there is another passage that this text relies on. This is the story of the rebellion of *Sheba ben Birki* in 2 Samuel 20. The response from the people in verse 16 is an almost direct copy from his rallying cry in 2 Samuel 20:1, with only some minor differences.<sup>49</sup> This connection is further marked by the appearance

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<sup>48</sup> Most notably Knauf (2016), pp. 343–351, who sees chapters 12–14 as a continuous story about Jeroboam, although his analysis is not completely clear on the subject. Other examples include Ash (1991); Geobey (2016); Jeruzalska (2004); Leuchter (2006) etc. See also the introduction.

<sup>49</sup> The main difference between the two passages is in the opening words. The author of Kings changes the declarative אין [do not] with the (rhetorical) question מה [what], while also leaving out the second לנו [to us].

אין־לנו חלק בְּדָוִד וְלֹא־נִחַלְתָּנוּ בְּבִירְיָשִׁי אִישׁ לְאֶהֱלִי יִשְׂרָאֵל (2 Sam 20:1)

מה־לנו חלק בְּדָוִד וְלֹא־נִחַלְתָּנוּ בְּבִירְיָשִׁי לְאֶהֱלִיָּהּ יִשְׂרָאֵל (1 Kings 12:16)

of Adoniram. He oversaw forced labour under David and Solomon and has his first appearance at the end of the *Sheba ben Birki* story in 2 Samuel 20:24.<sup>50</sup>

## 1.2 Rehoboam as king: 1 Kings 14:21–31

The second story with Rehoboam as its subject is a description of his reign. This eleven-verse description marks the first time that the narrator uses what is considered the ‘standard formula’ or framework in Kings. This formula consists of the name of the monarch, followed by the age at which he came to the throne and the length of his reign. A possible addition can be the name of the mother, which is only the case for members of the Davidic dynasty, as Rehoboam is here.<sup>51</sup> This is followed by an evaluation of his reign by the narrator, after which the stories of his reign are told. The closing formula consists of a reference to the source, the books of the kings of Israel/Judah, the death and burial of the monarch and finally a reference to the successor.<sup>52</sup> All of these aspects can be found in this narrative unit.

The most interesting part of the framework is the narrator’s evaluation, which in the case of Rehoboam is negative. An interesting note is that Rehoboam is not the one who is blamed in verse 22, but rather Judah as a whole. This is uncommon in Kings, as the king is usually personally blamed for the events taking place.<sup>53</sup> Most commentators link the usage of ‘Judah’ either to a comparison with the actions of Jeroboam in chapters 12, 13 and 14, or to the actions of Solomon in chapter 11.<sup>54</sup> However, in these cases the king is the one who is responsible for the actions rather than the people,<sup>55</sup> which does not solve the problem. There are other examples in Kings where the people are blamed,<sup>56</sup> but this is always in contrast with a king that is faithful to YHWH. This puts Rehoboam in a unique position, where he is not the one to blame, but also not the one exempt from blame.

The main point of the framework is the apostasy of Judah. The biblical text specifies several things that the Judahites have done wrong. They establish *בָּמוֹת* [high places] and *וּמִצְבוֹת* [sacred stones] and *אֲשֵׁרִים* [*Asherim*; Asherah poles], they allow *קְדֻשׁ* [male temple prostitutes] and generally

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<sup>50</sup> Although there it is spelled differently. All commentators conclude that these two names, Adoram and Adoniram, are a variation on the same name.

<sup>51</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 386.

<sup>52</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 389. See the collection of essays edited by Halpern and Lemaire (2010) for several good comments on the structure, especially the contribution by Cohn. See also the third chapter of this thesis.

<sup>53</sup> Following the ancient Near Eastern idea of the king as mitigator between the god(s) and the people.

<sup>54</sup> See Knauf (2016), p. 403 for an example of the latter, Walsh (1996), pp. 208–209 for an example of the former.

<sup>55</sup> The only counterexample of this is 1 Kings 14:15, where *עָשׂוּ אֶת־אֲשֵׁרֵיהֶם* {...} *יִשְׂרָאֵל* [Israel {...}] (they) made Asherah poles]. However, this is in the context of a speech by Ahijah condemning Jeroboam and his actions. This specific sentence highlights the consequences for Israel, something verse 16 further highlights.

<sup>56</sup> Such as 1 Kings 22:43–44; 2 Kings 12:3–4; 14:3–4; 15:3–4, 34–35. See Cogan (2001), p. 389.

do all kinds of התועבת [abominations, detestable practices]. These practices are not unique to the Rehoboam story, but appear all throughout Kings, commonly at this place of the narrator's evaluation.<sup>57</sup> Because of this, it remains unclear how much of this is a clear connection to the Rehoboam story and how aware the author is of the events that happened during Rehoboam's reign. Most of the framework seems to consist of the 'general' framework, where all 'elements' are filled in and the negative aspects of Judah are common. The only exception is that Judah as a whole is blamed, rather than the king personally.

At the end of the framework the Israelites are mentioned again, in the second part of 14:24. But unlike the references to Israel in chapter 12, the term 'the Israelites' here likely does not refer to the union of northern tribes that has just come into existence, but rather to the wider concept of 'Israel' or 'the Israelites.' This might not be obvious from the text itself,<sup>58</sup> but a comparison with the rest of Kings provides clarity. The phrase הגוים אשר הוריש יהוה מפני בני ישראל [the nations which YHWH had driven out before the children of Israel] appears throughout Kings in different versions, but the full phrase appears twice more.<sup>59</sup> Especially the occurrence in 2 Kings 17:8 highlights the two different meanings Israel or Israelites has, as the word ישראל is mentioned twice, and the context of YHWH removing the nations before the בני ישראל gives it the meaning of Israelites in the widest sense of the word.

When looking beyond this framework, the actual 'story' of Rehoboam is short and focuses on one event, in vv. 25–26: the invasion by Shishak, the king of Egypt. Rehoboam no longer resembles the hot-tempered king who sees himself as strong and powerful in chapter 12. His army of 180.000 men, who were ready to fight the northern rebels in 1 Kings 12:21, are also nowhere to be found. If the story is taken as it is, it is hard to get the impression that Shishak just waltzes into Jerusalem, walks up to the temple and takes away all the gold. Rehoboam is completely silent during all these ordeals: the entire text is told by the narrator.

The remaining two verses of the chapter talk about the response of Rehoboam to the attack by Shishak. Instead of focussing on how he retains his crown or how he restores the kingdom, the narrator chooses to focus on the disappearance of the golden shields of the temple. Rehoboam

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<sup>57</sup> התועבת occurs 41 times in 1 and 2 Kings, ומצבות 7 times, ונאשרים 16 times, קדש 4 times and המות 5 times. All of these occur commonly in the 'framework' part of the stories about Kings, except for המות, which is also commonly used in a 'story' context.

<sup>58</sup> בני ישראל [children of Israel/Israelites] refers in the Hexateuch only to 'Israel in the broadest sense of the word', a meaning that continues during the United Monarchy. This shifts after the United Monarchy is broken up and can then also refer to Israel in the narrow sense of the word. The best example of this comes from the first story about Rehoboam, in 1 Kings 12:24, where Shemaiah refers to the rebellious northern tribes when he says בני ישראל.

<sup>59</sup> In 2 Kings 17:8 and 2 Kings 21:2.

replaces them with bronze shields, which can be interpreted as a general comment on the decline of the Davidic line since Rehoboam has become king. The greatness of the United Monarchy, represented in the splendour of the temple, is no more, and all that they can afford now is shields made of bronze. The text comments further on a ritual amongst guards, before ending with the traditional ‘closing formula’. Unlike the opening formula, this closing formula has already been used in the stories of Solomon and Jeroboam.<sup>60</sup>

#### *Interlude: Historical context of the story?*

The appearance of Shishak marks the first moment a biblical figure can be attested in extra-biblical sources,<sup>61</sup> as he is the subject of the ‘Karnak inscriptions’, which talk about his campaigns. One of these campaigns is to the area where Israel and Judah would have been. The inscriptions at Karnak differ somewhat from the biblical account, as the report does not mention Jerusalem, although the text is incompletely preserved so it is not clear if it might have been included. References are made to various places that were not captured or destroyed in the Galilee, the Samarian hill country, and the Negev, but not Philistia. As mentioned before, this thesis is not the place for a historical discussion.<sup>62</sup>

### **1.3 Rehoboam at Shechem and Rehoboam as king: problematic differences?**

We have now seen two different stories about Rehoboam, with many differences between the two. The theme, structure and idea of the two stories is different and as a result of this there are two different pictures of Rehoboam in these two stories. In order to look at the hypothesis of this thesis, it is important to look at the differences between these two texts on a synchronic level and note the defining features of both texts in relation to each other.

The first story focuses on how Rehoboam loses Israel because of his stubbornness in ignoring the advice of the elders. The story sheds a positive light on the elder advisors of Solomon and a negative light on Rehoboam and his peers. Because of this, Rehoboam is cast as a young and inexperienced man who does not know how to deal with the difficult circumstances that arise when you are the ruler over a big kingdom such as the “United Monarchy”, left to him by his father Solomon. Even if “youngsters” would only be used to highlight the opposition to the “elders,” his character remains immature. His rejection of the elders and his turn to the

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<sup>60</sup> The only deviation is the reference to Rehoboam’s mother, which is the only time the mother is mentioned in a closing formula in the book of Kings. This is probably due to a duplication error, made in copying the text, based on the introduction formula.

<sup>61</sup> One could point to the *Tel Dan stele* as a non-biblical source that mentions David. Whilst this is true, it does not mention any activities done by the person David, merely that he existed as an ancestor of the defeated king.

<sup>62</sup> For a good overview of the discussion up to that point, see Clancy (1999). For an archaeological discussion, see Finkelstein (2002).

youngsters in verse 8 forms the turning point of the story and the ‘manly’ talk in verse 10 is exemplary of his character. The story also has a lot of movement and different scenes: Rehoboam switches between Shechem, an unspecified location with the two groups of advisors, and finally Jerusalem.

The second story is structured as a typical entry into the book of kings, with all the usual elements. Rehoboam is cast here as an older, more king-like figure, whose people are going astray after other gods and generally do not follow the path of YHWH. This causes YHWH to be angry with them, but Rehoboam is never singled out as the troublemaker. The main story is the invasion of Shishak.<sup>63</sup> The text is quite blasé about the entire event and focuses more on the disappearance of Solomon’s treasures in the temple than anything else. As in the narrator’s evaluation, Rehoboam is not blamed for this event. The story, especially the creation of the bronze shields, is rather a comment on the state of Judah as a whole. Unlike the first story, there is not really a ‘climax.’ The story is also stationary: Jerusalem is always the scene where the story takes place and there is no direct speech by any of the characters.

Looking at the two texts next to each other shows how different Rehoboam is painted in both. From an immature, brash king who does not listen to his advisors and is almost singlehandedly blamed for breaking up the kingdom of his father in the first story, Rehoboam turns into a middle-aged king who seems unable to control his own people or ward off the attacks of Shishak in the second story. The major element that links the story in chapter 12 and the one in chapter 14 is that Rehoboam is the central figure in both. However, the apparent incongruence in his character between the two stories begs the question whether these two texts are compatible with one another. There are more possible connections besides Rehoboam, so maybe they can provide some clarity. First there are the wrongdoings of Israel (in chapters 12 and 14) and Judah, second there is a reference to Shishak in the Jeroboam story, and finally the מלחמה [warfare] between Jeroboam and Rehoboam, according to 1 Kings 14:30.<sup>64</sup>

Of the wrongdoings of Judah, only בָּמֹת and אֲשֵׁרִים overlap with the Jeroboam story and all of them appear regularly throughout the books of Kings in similar contexts. The main argument in favour of a connection is the phrase וַיִּבְנוּ גַם־לְהֵמָּה לָהֶם [and they also built for themselves] in 1

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<sup>63</sup> Some commentators, for example Walsh (1996), p. 209 or Cogan (2001), p. 390, connect this event to the previous evaluation by the narrator. However, the Hebrew text provides no reason for this assumption. This would be a classic example of *post hoc ergo propter hoc*.

<sup>64</sup> Some commentaries mention additional things they see as a link between the two texts, such as using מֶלֶךְ בְּיְהוּדָה [ruled in Judah] instead of the common מֶלֶךְ עַל־יְהוּדָה [ruled over Judah], which would hint at the first story in describing that he first ruled over both Judah and Israel. Another example is the more extensive description of Jerusalem in 14:21, which they see as a reference by the narrator to the fears of Jeroboam in 1 Kings 12:26–27.

Kings 14:23. Whilst the word גַּזְזָה makes this connection possible, there are some major differences. The main verb here is different from the Jeroboam story, where 1 Kings 12:31 uses וַיַּעַשׂ [and he made] instead of וַיִּבְנוּ here. 1 Kings 14:15, referencing 12:31 within the context of the Jeroboam story, uses the same verb as 12:31: וַעֲשֹׂה. This makes the switch to וַיִּבְנוּ here, 8 verses later, strange if there were a connection between 12:31 and 14:23. The main point of the Jeroboam stories is also different. His constructional activities are not the main issue, but rather his appointment of non-Levitical priests. This is highlighted time and again by the narrator, for example in 12:31, 32; 13:2; 13:33 and onwards. So even though the word גַּזְזָה could possibly refer to the previous story, it does not show a connection in content.

Shishak is mentioned one other time in Kings, in 1 Kings 11:40 as the pharaoh to whom Jeroboam fled after Solomon tried to kill him. This has prompted commentators to suggest the biblical text implies some form of loyalty between Shishak and Jeroboam. However, there is no evidence of loyalty within the biblical text to support this.<sup>65</sup> Walsh notes in his commentary that this shows that the biblical author was not concerned with factual reality, but rather with an ideological point that he wants to convey.<sup>66</sup> Whilst this in itself is a good observation, the text provides no basis outside of the short reference in 11:40 for any form of loyalty between Shishak and Jeroboam, even implied. The reference to Shishak in 11:40 could also be argued as coming from the story in 14:26–28, as the biblical text was not written down in the order we have it now. This will be further discussed in the next chapter.

1 Kings 14:30 is perhaps the strongest link between Rehoboam and Jeroboam, but also unclear. The text merely states that there was war between them during all their days. 1 Kings 15:6, the antepenultimate verse describing Abijam's reign, is almost an exact copy of this verse, only replacing כָּל־הַיָּמִים with כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּיו [all the days of his life]. This is usually explained as a scribal error, but it does put a further question over the relevance of the sentence in the wider context of the story. If the author can so easily copy this statement to help fill some of the gaps in Abijam's reign, he might not be as aware of the problematic situation there existed between Rehoboam and Jeroboam and is only aware of the existence of Jeroboam as a rival king.

## 1.4 Conclusion

A synchronic analysis of the two stories that have Rehoboam as the main character show how different the two stories are. The first story is an unconventional story, whereas the second story

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<sup>65</sup> Extra-biblical evidence found in the Karnak inscriptions would even counter this.

<sup>66</sup> Walsh (1996), p. 209.

is a 'standard' description of a king. The most noticeable difference between the two stories is how Rehoboam is presented: in the first story he is an immature, spoiled king, in the second story he is a middle-aged, weak king. This begs the question whether the two stories are compatible with each other and even though there are some details that might be similar, the general conclusion is that they are not. However, there are some issues that remain unresolved and need a diachronic analysis.

## 2. Diachronic Analysis

The two texts in Kings that talk about Rehoboam form an interesting case from a diachronic perspective.<sup>67</sup> The most interesting texts to compare to the Masoretic Text (from now on MT) of Kings are the version in Chronicles and in the Septuagint (from now on LXX). The author of Chronicles uses the two different stories to create one large story about the reign of Rehoboam, as he is not interested in the fate of Jeroboam.<sup>68</sup> The LXX has many differences with the MT of the first story, but more interestingly has added a different version of the story in 3 Kingdoms 12:24a–z. Most interesting diachronic issues are found in the first story, although the second story also has some things that need to be discussed.

Chronicles is traditionally seen as an attempt to rewrite the ‘history of Israel’ from the theological perspective of ‘Israel as a unified religious assembly.’ It was probably written in the Persian period or possibly even the early Hellenistic period.<sup>69</sup> In recent years the work of Auld has questioned this traditional understanding and opened up the debate on understanding the relationship between Kings and Chronicles as an interplay between the two, with both books sharing a common source, rather than Kings as the source from which the author of Chronicles composed his story.<sup>70</sup>

Even though Chronicles and Kings have a lot in common, there are important differences between the two. The author of Chronicles is a lot more optimistic and hopeful than the author of Kings, but also less critical. Especially David and Solomon are above all critique in Chronicles and so passages that have criticism in them are left out or altered. The best example of this is 1 Kings 11, which has no parallel in Chronicles. The author of Chronicles also tends to increase the number of men that make up the troops or the booty that is gained in certain fights. The last major difference is the importance of prophets for the author of Chronicles, who are included at crucial points in the narrative, far more often than in Kings. In this way the

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<sup>67</sup> The recent article by Joosten (2020) shows that the topic remains of interest to current scholars. He focuses more on the references to Jeroboam in the first story and how he is treated differently in Kings, Chronicles and the two stories in the LXX. His observations are similar to mine and his ultimate argument is that Jeroboam gets more of the blame of the schism in later versions.

<sup>68</sup> The Chronicler fully omits all stories about the northern kingdom of Israel, only referencing events there within the context of events in the southern kingdom of Judah.

<sup>69</sup> De Vries (1989), pp. 17–20.

<sup>70</sup> Like the issues with the LXX, this thesis is not the place for a discussion of these issues, although there are some instances where it is possibly interesting for the passages discussed in this thesis. For a thorough discussion, see especially Auld (2017).

author of Chronicles has taken the story of Samuel and Kings, which had been framed by the ‘Deuteronomistic’ author of Kings and given it his own frame of more religious positivity.

The LXX of Kings is an early translation of the Hebrew text, written between the 3<sup>rd</sup> and the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE, probably around the 2<sup>nd</sup> century BCE.<sup>71</sup> The relationship between the LXX and the MT is difficult to determine, as both texts have a complicated transmission history.<sup>72</sup> They likely had a common background at some point, but substantial evidence is lacking on when or how they split. There are many theories on the different recensions of the text the LXX provides and this thesis is not the place for a full discussion of the transmission history of the LXX, although the secondary story in 1 Kings 12:24a–z needs some context. This will be given below.

## 2.1 Diachronic issues in 1 Kings 12:1–24

The first story about Rehoboam has interesting points for a diachronic analysis, as might have already become apparent throughout the synchronic discussion. It has a solid ‘core’, but the fringes of the story are problematic. Both the LXX and the story in Chronicles have differences in their text compared to the MT, which hint that this story in the MT has a complicated composition history.

### 2.1.1 Rehoboam in Chronicles

The book of Chronicles has a much longer story about Rehoboam than Kings: it combines the first and the second story into one, large story that spans across 2 Chronicles 10–12. Both stories have undergone a series of changes and the author of Chronicles provides a lot of extra details. At the same time the story of Jeroboam from Kings has been omitted, which probably prompted the combination of both stories.

The opening passage in the (Masoretic) text from Chronicles follows the MT of Kings, with most changes coming from either updating language<sup>73</sup> or changing the wording to emphasize something in the sentence.<sup>74</sup> The main difference between Chronicles and Kings in this opening is the omission of **קָהָל** [assembly] in the third verse.<sup>75</sup> This seems odd, as the author of

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<sup>71</sup> Schenker in Halpern and Lemaire (2010), pp. 3-4.

<sup>72</sup> The LXX knows many different versions and recensions. Especially in the books of Kings there are big differences between the versions. For the two stories about Rehoboam, the differences between the versions are not of crucial importance and I will work with the version of the LXX as found in the edition in Rahlfs. Any important differences to the text as presented in Rahlfs will be noted.

<sup>73</sup> Such as adding a directional-**ה** at the end of **שֶׁכֶם** [Shechem] to form **שֶׁכֶם־ה** in the first verse.

<sup>74</sup> For example, flipping the word order of **הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה** [king Solomon] to **שְׁלֹמֹה הַמֶּלֶךְ** [Solomon, the king] in the second verse to put emphasis on the importance of Solomon as the king.

<sup>75</sup> This is part of verse 3a and so omitted in the LXX, which adds **λαῶς** [people] to the text. The general translation for **קָהָל** in the LXX would be **συναγωγή** [synagogue].

Chronicles likes this term and often adds it to the text.<sup>76</sup> A possible explanation for this odd omission is the unwillingness to admit that the northern tribes can have something of their own that is called a **קְהֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל**. This combination occurs in Chronicles, but only under David/Solomon.<sup>77</sup> By this omission the author wants to make the point that the **קְהֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל** is a continuation from the United Monarchy under David and Solomon and cannot exist in an event that is solely tied to the northern kingdom.

The ‘core’ story of 1 Kings 12, from verse 3 until verse 16, remains rather unchanged in Chronicles. The changes that exist are again mostly grammatical or changes in the spelling or wording.<sup>78</sup> The content of the text remains the same,<sup>79</sup> although the speech of Rehoboam to the Israelites is changed in a significant way. The first part of the speech, verse 14, reads in Kings **אָבִי הִבְבִּיד אֶת־עַלְקֶם וְאֲנִי אֶסִּיף עַל־עַלְקֶם** [my father made your yoke heavy and I will add to your yoke]. The text in Chronicles has changed **אָבִי** [my father] into **אֲנִי** [I], which could be a scribal error,<sup>80</sup> but fits the theology of Chronicles rather well.

The first verse after the ‘core’, 1 Kings 12:17, was identified as ‘problematic’ in the synchronic discussion, but surprisingly has no change at all. The same goes for verse 18, where the only change of significance is changing **כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל** to **בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** in the description of who took part in the stoning of Adoniram. It is difficult to fully explain this change, as the author of Chronicles uses terms like ‘Israel’, ‘all Israel’, or ‘the children of Israel’ interchangeably for both the northern kingdom, the southern kingdom and its unity.<sup>81</sup> The change here could simply be a case of literary variation, or an attempt by the author to emphasize the usage of **כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל** in verse 17 by using a different term here.

Verse 19 provides a summary to the story and a good closing point to the narrative. It is copied without problems, with both Chronicles and Kings giving a closing *setumah*, indicating the end of the section. The next section in Kings opens from two different perspectives. The first one

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Note also that the previous discussion between **קְהֵל** and **הַעֲדָה** does not apply in Chronicles as verse 20 is completely omitted from the account in Chronicles. See footnote 57.

<sup>76</sup> The word appears 40 times in Chronicles versus 11 times in Samuel/Kings. This is the only example where the author of Chronicles omits the word from the MT. De Vries (1989) even mentions the formation of a **קְהֵל** as one of the central themes for the author of Chronicles.

<sup>77</sup> In 1 Chr 13:2, 2 Chr 6:3, 2 Chr 6:12 and 2 Chr 6:13. 2 Chr 6:3 is a direct copy of 1 kgs 8:14 and 2 Chr 6:12 is a direct copy of 1 kgs 8:22. The other two are additions. In 2 Chronicles 30:25 the author even adds **יְהוָה** in a passage added to the MT story.

<sup>78</sup> A good example of this is the change from **אֶלְיָהוּ** to **אֶלְיָהוּ**, where the **י** as *mater lectionis* has disappeared.

<sup>79</sup> Amar (2017) argues that this ‘core’ story is the only part in the schism story that the author of Chronicles copies “almost verbatim” (p. 5) from Kings.

<sup>80</sup> There are several manuscripts that changed **אֲנִי** back to **אָבִי**.

<sup>81</sup> Japhet (2003), p. 140.

focuses on Jeroboam in verse 20 and continues with him in verse 25 and onwards. This perspective is left out of Chronicles, where verse 20 is omitted completely. The second perspective focuses Rehoboam in Jerusalem in verse 21 and provides a short story of his attempt to recover his lost kingdom. Chronicles continues with this perspective and expands on it.

The narrative unit of verse 21–24, 2 Chr 11:1–4, was deemed problematic in the synchronic discussion. The context of Chronicles adds to this confusion but might also provide a solution. The verses seem to have more in common with Chronicles than with the context of Kings. The inclusion of Benjamin as a tribe on Judah's side, the appearance of the prophet Shemaiah, the enormous army of Rehoboam, and the strong interference of YHWH in the actions of the main character all reflect the context of Chronicles, as will be shown below. Could this passage originate from the context of Chronicles rather than the context of Kings?

The author of Chronicles uses these four verses at the end of the story in Kings as the first part of his wider story about the reign of Rehoboam. 2 Chronicles 11 and 12 form a full story about the reign of Rehoboam after he has lost the United Monarchy, with the author of Chronicles mixing stories from Kings with stories that are not found in Kings, especially in chapter 11. 2 Chronicles 11:1–4 is the start of the story in Chronicles about Rehoboam's reign. This explains the sudden shift in location and the uneasiness of several commentators about whether the four verses constitute a separate narratological unit. If the passage stems from Chronicles, it is part of a longer narrative unit describing the initial stages of Rehoboam's reign.

The inclusion of Benjamin on the side of Judah is not necessarily something that represents Chronicles, but it does represent a later stage in Israelite history.<sup>82</sup> Benjamin is traditionally a northern tribe that gradually becomes more and more associated with Judah and the south. Thus the inclusion of Benjamin in these four verses, but not in the rest of the story, could hint at a later insertion of the passage. The enormous size of the armies is something that appears more often in Chronicles, but is rather uncommon in Kings.

The appearance and strong position of Shemaiah and the interference of YHWH through him are very typical of Chronicles. In Chronicles prophets form an even more central part of the narrative than in Kings and their appearance tends to be more influencing than in Kings, where their role is often more advisory. Shemaiah is also a rather common name in Chronicles, with the name appearing 19 times, while in Kings this is the sole appearance of the name. Shemaiah even makes a second appearance in the story about Rehoboam: in 2 Chronicles 12:2–8. This

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<sup>82</sup> Davies (2007), p. 73.

section is part of the wider story about the invasion of Shishak, where the author of Chronicles again has added to the story from Kings.

This second section with Shemaiah has many similarities to the first one. The section opens in 12:2–3 with gathering an army with huge numbers. As a direct consequence of this, the prophet Shemaiah comes to Rehoboam, in verse 5, with a direct message from YHWH. The words of the prophet are obeyed without question in verse 6. This prompts a second reaction from YHWH, where there is clear and direct involvement from the deity in the story and everything is revealed to be part of a divine plan. The details in the second section are different, but the general structure is the same. In Kings, on the other hand, this structure is rather unique. All these things show that the connections in Chronicles are stronger for this section than they are in Kings.

The textual differences between the version in Chronicles and Kings are a problem for this theory, as they are not easy to explain when reasoning for a version that was adapted from Chronicles into Kings. There are several differences in grammar and choice of words, which are strange if it would be an insertion. There are also bigger differences, which might indicate that some redaction has taken place.

The first bigger difference is the descriptions of Benjamin and Israel in verse 21. In the text in Kings אָת־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־שִׁבְט בְּנֵימִן [all the house of Judah and the tribe of Benjamin] are gathered to fight against בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל [the house of Israel]. In the equivalent verse in Chronicles, Benjamin is portrayed in the same way as Judah, while Israel is portrayed differently. There Rehoboam gathers בֵּית יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵימִן [the house of Judah and Benjamin] to attack יִשְׂרָאֵל [Israel]. In verse 23 Benjamin is mentioned again, without problems. There the text reads אֶל־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵימִן [to all the house of Judah and Benjamin].<sup>83</sup> The difference between the two texts could hint at an unwillingness by the author of Kings to imply a unity between Judah and Benjamin, as this would not fit the story-world of the text. The changing of יִשְׂרָאֵל to בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל seems odd, as בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל is an uncommon term in Kings.<sup>84</sup> The author of Chronicles opting for יִשְׂרָאֵל is understandable, as the author does not see the kingdom of Israel as legitimate. The

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<sup>83</sup> בֵּית can refer to only Judah, but more likely refers to both Judah and Benjamin.

The equivalent in Chronicles reads כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בֵּיהוּדָה וּבְנֵימִן [all Israel in Judah and in Benjamin], adding כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל. This is a common addition in Chronicles, where the author keeps referring to the inhabitants of Judah as “all Israel.” See De Vries (1989), p. 284.

<sup>84</sup> There is only one other appearance: in 1 Kings 20:31. There are 5 appearances in 2 Samuel and 2 appearances in 1 Samuel, without a clear idea of why the term is used instead of יִשְׂרָאֵל.

difference in Kings may simply have been made to align the two opposing parties better, although it remains troublesome.

The second difference between Kings and Chronicles is in the final verse, where the end of 2 Chronicles 11:4 is different from 1 Kings 12:24. In Kings it reads וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה וַיָּשׁוּבוּ לְלֶכֶת [and they obeyed the word of YHWH and they returned, according to the word of YHWH], while in Chronicles it is וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבָרֵי יְהוָה וַיָּשׁוּבוּ מִלְּכַת אֶל־יְרֵבֹעָם [and they obeyed the words of YHWH and they returned from marching against Jeroboam]. The exact reason for this change is unclear, as it does not affect the meaning of the text a great deal. A possible explanation could be that the story in Chronicles does not treat Jeroboam at all anymore after this and thus feels the need to mention him once more. As Kings continues with the Jeroboam story after this, mentioning him here again would be strange and so they opt for a repetition of דְּבַר יְהוָה.

The differences between the text in Kings and Chronicles make it difficult to conclusively argue for Chronicles as the ‘origin’ of the text. However, the appearance of Benjamin and Shemaiah and the similarity in structure to other stories in Chronicles make Chronicles a better fit for the story. This section could be read within the context of the research by Auld, although it does not fully explain why these particular verses are incorporated into the text in Kings.

### 2.1.2 1 Kings 12:1–24 in the LXX

The opening sequence in the LXX is decidedly different from the MT, with a minimal role for Jeroboam. Verses 2 and 3a are omitted in the LXX and Jeroboam does not appear in the LXX until verse 15. Rehoboam is also presented in a different light, with the LXX calling him already βασιλεύς [king/מֶלֶךְ] in the first verse. This tendency to focus more on Rehoboam as ‘the king’ continues throughout the LXX version of the story.<sup>85</sup>

There is a strong case to be made for the LXX having the “correct” or “older” reading in terms of the opening sequence, especially concerning verse 2 and 3a. Verse 20 states that the Israelites called Jeroboam to the assembly. This seems to be at odds with the arrival of Jeroboam in verse 3a at the assembly.<sup>86</sup> The structure of verse 2 adds to the uncertainty. Verse 2 opens with וַיְהִי

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<sup>85</sup> Other examples are verse 6, where Rehoboam’s name is omitted in comparison with the MT and verse 12. Verse 13 would provide a counterexample, as הַמִּלְךָ in the MT is left out in the LXX. But this is likely due to the addition in verse 12.

<sup>86</sup> Note that the word for assembly in the MT is different between the two cases: קָהָל in verse 3 and הָעֵדָה in verse 20. This could hint at the possibility that the author was aware of the double in the text and in this way wanted to indicate that there are two different assemblies. However, it is also possible that the two passages reflect different stages in writing, in which different words were used to refer to an assembly.

וַיִּשְׁמַע [and it was, when he heard], a structure that is typical of the opening of a new narrative structure. The combination וַיִּשְׁמַע + פ + participle hardly occurs outside of this structure. Hence it is likely that this is a later insertion, trying to fit the story into the wider Jeroboam narrative by creating a structure that puts the emphasis on Jeroboam.

The text reflected in the LXX sees no need to put such an emphasis on Jeroboam, omitting him from the story until verse 15 and instead choosing to describe Rehoboam as the central figure. The MT has some uncertainty about whether Rehoboam is already crowned a king in the first verse. The LXX solves this by adding βασιλεύς [king] to the text. This reflects a general tendency in the story of the LXX, which sees βασιλεύς and Ροβοαμ [Rehoboam] as interchangeable, or at least more so than the MT. The ‘core’ story of the MT, from verse 3 until verse 16, has no other major changes, just like the story in Chronicles.

Verse 17, when the story in the MT starts its conclusion, is fully omitted from the LXX. This is interesting, as the verse already seems out of place based on content. As Cogan notes in his commentary, Israelites who had moved ‘south’ are unheard of in the story-time.<sup>87</sup> This could indicate that this is a later addition to the text, although the LXX could also be aware of the problematic nature and made a ‘correction’ by omitting the verse. Given the big differences between the LXX and the MT this could be possible, although the inclusion of 12:24a–z as an alternative story could imply that the omission of the verse predates the LXX, as there already is an alternative story where problematic changes can be ‘rectified’.

Verse 18 and 19 see no major changes in the LXX. Verse 20 adds Benjamin to the tribes that remain loyal to οἴκου Δαυιδ [בֵּית־דָּוִד; the house of David]. The reason for this is probably an attempt to align this verse with the following verses, where the MT has also added Benjamin to Judah as the tribes that are loyal to Rehoboam.

### 2.1.3 The extra story in 3 Kingdoms 24a–z

The main difference in the LXX is the extra story that follows verse 24. There the LXX has added an alternative story about the rise of Jeroboam and the fall of Rehoboam. This consists of 23 verses<sup>88</sup> and is the largest single addition the LXX has made in the books of Kings. The

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<sup>87</sup> Cogan (2001), p. 350. See Finkelstein and Silberman (2002) for a good overview of the relationship between the archaeological/historical period and the biblical text, especially pp. 150–168 for the context of this story. The earliest big group of Israelite settlement in Judah is usually connected to the fall of Samaria in either 723 or 722 BCE, with northern refugees fleeing southward. This raises the question about the differences between the story-time, the ‘historical reality’ and the time in which the story was written, which is a very complicated issue that is beyond the scope of this thesis. What is important for this thesis is that it raises questions over how the verses relates to the rest of the story.

<sup>88</sup> There are no verses that have the letter j, v, or w, hence 23 instead of the usual 26 from a–z.

addition is not a new story, but mostly consists of a retelling of several stories that are also found in the MT (and subsequently in the LXX). As such, the story is not an attempt to expand on the MT stories of Rehoboam and Jeroboam, but rather an attempt at replacing them in a more compact form, although the story does add certain details at several points. This is obvious from the first verse, as the story starts again at the death of Solomon and continues from there.

The main topic of this alternative story is the division of the United Monarchy. The author devotes time to both Jeroboam and Rehoboam and by re-arranging the material, he attempts to give the division a central place in the narrative. Despite this, the stories about Jeroboam still make up the larger part of the narrative, as there is a much larger section in the MT to adapt. There are also several changes with the MT text, in order to ‘fix’ certain aspects of the MT.

The alternative story can be divided into four different subsections:<sup>89</sup>

- A. Death of Solomon (a)
- B. Jeroboam’s background and return (b–f)
- C. Jeroboam’s sick child (g–n)
- D. The fall of Rehoboam and the rise of Jeroboam (o–z)

Section A is a combination of MT 1 Kings 11:43 and 14:21b, talking about the death of Solomon and referencing the age at which Rehoboam ascended the throne. This age is changed from 41 to 16, presumably to better fit the story about how Rehoboam loses the northern kingdom, which does not happen until the end of the extra story.

The second section is a reworking of MT 1 Kings 11:26–28, 40 and 12:1–3 into a completely different story. Following the death of Solomon in 3 Kingdoms 24a, the text looks back at Jeroboam’s revolt and tells a longer story about his return from Egypt. In the MT text the return of Jeroboam interrupts the ‘proper flow’ of the text, as shown in both the synchronic and the diachronic discussion above. The author of the alternative story is aware of this and tries to extract the story of Jeroboam’s return from the MT text, using the MT text as a framework to expand upon. The structure of this alternative story shows a lot of similarities to the structure of the story of the return of Hadad in 1 Kings 11:21.<sup>90</sup> This is already present in the MT *Vorlage*, but is highlighted in the alternative reconstruction in the LXX.

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<sup>89</sup> This division is based on the division made by Talshir (1993), pp. 147–153, although she divides the story into six different parts. Within the context of this thesis the story is better understood when divided into four parts.

<sup>90</sup> For a detailed discussion of this, see Barrera (1982) in Knoppers (2000), pp. 475–492.

The third section is not relevant for this thesis, as it rewrites a story from MT 1 Kings 14 about Jeroboam's wife, their sick child and the prophet Ahijah. What is interesting is that the prediction to Jeroboam by Ahijah, originally in MT 1 Kings 11 and referenced in 1 Kings 12:15, is omitted from the initial story about Jeroboam's 'background'. This is then replaced with a prediction by Shemaiah in 3 Kingdoms 24o, at the beginning of the Shechem story. What is especially interesting is that 3 Kingdoms g-n has Ahijah as a prominent figure, so the switch to Shemaiah seems extra odd. A possible solution for this, suggested by Talshir, is that the author attempts to give both prophets a 'side': Ahijah against Jeroboam and Shemaiah in favour of Jeroboam.<sup>91</sup> Another explanation could be that the author of this text wanted to give the text structure by starting and finishing this section with the interference of Shemaiah.

The final section is the reworking of our first story about Rehoboam: MT 1 Kings 12:1–24. The text mostly attempts to shorten the story, for example shortening the response of the elders to Οὕτως ἐλάλησεν πρὸς σὲ ὁ λαός [Thus the people spoke to you] or not repeating the advice of the youngsters, but instead simply stating καὶ ἀπεκρίθη τῷ λαῷ καθὼς συνεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ οἱ σύντροφοι αὐτοῦ τὰ παιδάρια [and he answered the people according to the youngsters who grew up with him]. Attempts to make the text shorter account for a lot of changes. However, there are also differences that change the text on a more fundamental level.

The first major change this extra story makes is the more central position of Jeroboam. The story opens with Jeroboam instead of Rehoboam and gives him the initiative in the gathering at Shechem. The place of this story is another factor in the central position of Jeroboam: in the MT the story follows directly to the death of Solomon, but here Jeroboam's character has been fully established and so he is already more important. Rehoboam, on the other hand, is only depicted in one verse and described as a young 16-year-old boy. Despite this, Jeroboam is still absent during the actual negotiations and only re-appears at the end of the story.

The second major change is the omission of Jeroboam's coronation, in MT 1 Kings 12:20, from the text. This seems odd given the strong focus on Jeroboam in the rest of the alternative story. The reason for this is probably that the author of this alternative story wants to shift more of the blame of the division to Jeroboam. In the MT Rehoboam is the central culprit and Jeroboam is even presented for a short time as YHWH's new 'poster boy'. In this alternative story his role has been drastically changed, although it is impossible for Rehoboam to escape all blame. Rather, in the alternative story the blame is shared.

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<sup>91</sup> Talshir (1993), pp. 230–231.

The third important change is the addition of a temporal element to the final section of the story, MT 1 Kings 12:21–24 or 3 Kingdoms 24x–z. The alternative story adds *καὶ ἐγένετο ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ* [and it was at the beginning of the year] at the beginning of verse 24x. This gives the entire episode a different character, as it is now no longer a ‘heat-of-the-moment’ rash decision, but a well-planned attack. In this way the author of the alternative story uses the planned attack by Rehoboam to cement the rift that has been created in the rest of the story. Because of the rashness of the attack in the MT the possibility of a reconciliation remains somewhat open. By adding the waiting period in the alternative story, the final element of the rift becomes clear.

The final important change is the omission of MT 1 Kings 12:15 and this is somewhat difficult to explain. The omission in itself is not that strange, as it fits the general tendency to shorten the story. However, it represents a trend in the alternative story of omitting everything that could be classified as Deuteronomistic. The biggest example of this is the omission of Ahijah’s prophecy, MT 1 Kings 11:29–39. This tendency to omit Deuteronomistic elements begs the question whether they were present in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the alternative story. Especially with the presence of MT 1 Kings 12:21–24, generally considered a late addition, the Deuteronomistic notes could be dated even later. This thesis is not the place to fully discuss all these implications,<sup>92</sup> but I agree with Talshir that the author of the alternative story uses their sources very loose and thus it is not possible to use this story to date elements from the MT.

There is a lot of discussion on why the story was added to the LXX. Some scholars argue that the story reveals traces of an earlier version, which then would have been edited into its current MT form by the Deuteronomist.<sup>93</sup> Others go the other way and argue that it is a very late Midrash story, written solely in Greek.<sup>94</sup> Talshir argues convincingly for a middle ground between the two positions.<sup>95</sup> She shows how the Greek still has traces of a Hebrew *Vorlage*, but she also shows how the transitions between different stories do not flow as well as the stories in the MT.

The alternative story is important for the general discussion on the two Rehoboam stories, as it shows how already at an early stage the MT version of the division story was seen as

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<sup>92</sup> For a full discussion, see Talshir (1993), pp. 243–260.

<sup>93</sup> For example, Debus (1967), who uses the alternative story in the LXX in a general discussion on the Deuteronomist’s interference with this story.

<sup>94</sup> For example, Gooding (1967) or Gordon (1975), although he does allow for the possibility of an earlier version of the story in Hebrew.

<sup>95</sup> Talshir (1993).

problematic. The ‘rectification’ of the age of Rehoboam to 16 in 3 Kingdoms 12:24a shows that the author of this alternative story was aware of some of the problems that the MT text poses. This is especially true of his description of the return of Jeroboam from Egypt, where the alternative story reshapes his return into a coherent story. In this way the LXX highlights the different layers that the MT harbours and shows that the ancient Near Eastern reader was already sensible to this.

#### 2.1.4 Proposed textual layers

Based on the diachronic discussion as presented in this chapter so far, I want to propose several compositional layers in the story. An important note is that these layers are not necessarily ‘created’ or ‘written down’ at different points in time. Some might be connected to each other or to different stories. My intent is merely to point out the different layers possible in the story. For the reader’s convenience in appendix m (Hebrew) and n (NRSV) there is a colour-coded version of the text, which I will be referencing.

At the core of the story is a tale about how Rehoboam loses the northern tribes when he refuses to follow the elders’ advice in favour of the youngsters. This story is marked in blue in the appendix and consist of verses 1, 3b–14, 16 and 19. In verse 12 the reference to Jeroboam is likely not part of this story. To this story the other layers were then added, in order to connect the story to the surrounding stories and to the overarching narrative. Verse 15, marked in purple, serves as the main connector. This is a Deuteronomistic remark, which puts the original ‘wisdom tale’ about a foolish king within the wider context of Deuteronomy, by both giving it a link to the story that preceded it and a connection to the general Deuteronomistic ideology.

The other additions to the text often serve a similar purpose as verse 15 has, although none are as exemplary. In the beginning of the text, in verse 2–3a, and in the middle, at the beginning of verse 11, Jeroboam is written into the story. This is a way to further integrate the story within its context, the Jeroboam narrative, and to make it part of that narrative.<sup>96</sup> This integration could have happened simultaneously with the Deuteronomistic remark, but the exclusion of Jeroboam from this story in the LXX suggest that there were versions of the Hebrew text with verse 15 as the only reference to Jeroboam.

The ending of the first story is a diachronic mess, which explains the many problems arising from the synchronic analysis. From verse 17 onwards, different storylines are mingled into one

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<sup>96</sup> The number of scholars that see this story as a segment within the wider Jeroboam narrative, shows how successful this integration has been.

story as the author tries to get different points across. Verse 17, coloured red, does not really have a connection to anything else and seems to be a later insertion, judging by the omission from the LXX and the general disassociation with the ‘story-world’ of the text.<sup>97</sup> The location has become unclear, the connection to the story is vague<sup>98</sup> and the second half of the verse seems out of place at this point of the story. All of this suggests that the author who created the well thought-out ‘core’ of the story is no longer writing here.

Verse 18, coloured green, is attested in this form in all three major sources, but the content of the verse and the character of Rehoboam do not fit in with the previous story. However, it does fit with the final four verses in content and character, but also in transition between the end of verse 18 and the beginning of verse 21.<sup>99</sup> Verse 19, coloured blue, belongs to the ‘core’ and verse 20, coloured yellow, provides the transition to the next story and a further integration into the Jeroboam narrative. This is further highlighted by the omission of this verse from Chronicles, which does not have a narrative about Jeroboam.

The final four verses, coloured green, form a story about ‘Rehoboam’s retribution’ together with verse 18. As already mentioned in the diachronic discussion, this story has more similarities with Chronicles than with Kings, although it is difficult to give a convincing argument for their exact relationship. The story is clearly a later addition to the text in Kings and was likely written to improve the image of Rehoboam.

The text of the first story can thus be divided into two different stories about Rehoboam. The first one is the main story and the second one a short retribution tale, added to improve Rehoboam, the first king of Judah. These two stories have (parts of) verses added to them to make them fit into the wider perspective of the Jeroboam story and the general Deuteronomistic ideology. This gives us our current MT text.

## 2.2 Minor issues in 1 Kings 14:21–31

The second story about Rehoboam is less interesting for a diachronic discussion, at least from the perspective of Kings. The corresponding story in Chronicles mixes the story in Kings with

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<sup>97</sup> The reason for this insertion is unclear. A possible answer might be that a later author felt the need to adjust the text more to the worldview of his time, when ‘foreigners’ in cities had become commonplace. Another explanation might be that the author tried to legitimize the claim to the name Israel by the later Judahites (either in exile or coming back from exile), by pointing out that the two groups were mingled from the start.

<sup>98</sup> There are already two earlier moments when the story ends: at the end of verse 16 and at the end of verse 17. There is also no clear connection to verse 19, which merely summarizes the point of the entire story.

<sup>99</sup> וְהַמֶּלֶךְ רְחֹבָעַם הִתְאַמֵּץ לְעֲלוֹת בַּמְרֻכָּבָה לָנוֹס יְרוּשָׁלַם [and king Rehoboam strengthened himself (i.e. managed) to get up into the chariot and escape to Jerusalem] in verse 18 transitions smoothly into וַיָּבֵא רְחֹבָעַם יְרוּשָׁלַם [and Jeroboam arrived (in) Jerusalem] in verse 21. See also the appendix.

material from other sources in order to create a much bigger story about Rehoboam's reign that stretches from 2 Chronicles 11:5–12:16. Chronicles shuffles the story in Kings around to make more sense of the story, while also omitting several verses that clash with their ideology. The text in the LXX has more differences with the MT, although none of them hint at a multi-layered text.

Because Chronicles changes the MT of this story in Kings so much in its adaptation, it is difficult to use the text to determine diachronic issues. A good example of this is verse 26 in the Kings text, which has 2 Chronicles 12:9 as its equivalent. The verse in Chronicles is almost a one on one copy, only omitting *הכל* [everything] at the end of the verse, except for the beginning of the verse. There Chronicles adds *ויעל שישק מלך־מצרים על־ירושלם* [And Shishak, the king of Egypt, went up against Jerusalem] in order to make it connect to the previous verses, which tell a story about the Shishak invasion that Chronicles implemented from a different source. Another good example is 2 Chronicles 15, which is a combination of verses 29 and 30 in Kings and as a result has omitted several words to make it more legible as one sentence. Most sections that could be interesting from a diachronic perspective are part of these omissions and thus a further comparison with Chronicles is not interesting for a discussion about the text of Kings.

The LXX does provide some interesting notes. The first difference comes in verse 22. Here the LXX has changed the subject of the sentence from *יהודה* [Judah] to *Ροβοαμ* [Rehoboam]. This could be a possible correction by the translator, as the usage of Judah in the MT is problematic. A similar correction can be seen at the end of the section in the LXX version of verse 31, where the reference to Rehoboam's mother is omitted.<sup>100</sup> Verse 24 in the LXX translates *שִׁקָּה* [male temple prostitute] with *σύνδεσμος* [bond, connection]. This seems strange at first, but when comparing this translation with other instances in Kings where *שִׁקָּה* means 'male temple prostitute' it becomes clear that the LXX has problems with finding a translation for this word.<sup>101</sup>

In verse 26 the LXX changes the story about what happened in the temple. The version Ralphs favours adds a story about golden spears, which were stolen by David from *τῶν παίδων*

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<sup>100</sup> For an explanation of these problems, see the synchronic discussion of this section.

<sup>101</sup> The term *שִׁקָּה* or *הַשִּׁקָּה* with the meaning of 'temple prostitute' is used three times more in Kings, each time with a different translation in the LXX. In 1 Kings 15:12 *הַשִּׁקָּה* is translated with *τὰς τελετὰς* [the initiations in the mysteries], in 1 Kings 22:47 it is translated with *τῶν συμπλοκῶν* [the complications] and in 2 Kings 23:7 with *τῶν καθήσμι* [transliteration of *הַשִּׁקָּה* in Greek].

Ἀδρααζαρ βασιλέως Σουβα [the sons of Adraazar king of Suba], but it omits the fact that the golden shields were made by Solomon. However, there are versions that add both the shields of David and the spears of Solomon. This reading is supported by the text from Origen, Lucian and from a Vaticanus manuscript called *Bc*. *Bc* subsequently adds another conclusive sentence: [and (the pharaoh) carried them away to Egypt]. This is a good example of different manuscripts used by different translators of the LXX, with Rahlfs opting for the *lectio difficilio/lectio brevior* that has sufficient support.

### 2.3 Conclusion

The diachronic issues in the two stories about Rehoboam are mostly concentrated in the first story. This story has multiple layers that were added at a later point to a ‘core’. This core is the short, independent story about Rehoboam and how he favoured the advice of the youngsters over the elders, thus losing the support of the northern tribes. At a later stage two things are added to this original story: first there are links to the wider context of the Jeroboam narrative and the Deuteronomistic history. Second there is a separate story that seems more at home in Chronicles and restores some of the character of Rehoboam. The second story about Rehoboam has very little diachronic issues, there are mostly some issues in the LXX, which are down to either translation errors or different versions.

One important question remains: what is the relationship between the first and the second story on a diachronic level? Synchronically the two stories were considered different from each other. Comparing them on a diachronic level would probably mean a comparison between the ‘core’ of the first story and the general framework of the second story. There is a possible connection, but it is purely based on both stories having the same protagonist. The character of Rehoboam remains vastly different between both stories and the tone is also a big difference between the two stories. This is not an insurmountable difference, there are other examples in Kings where the character and tone are different between the ‘frame’ and the actual story, but in the way it is structured now, the rift between the two stories remains so big that it needs a bigger explanation.

This rift between the two stories is difficult to explain. This is where the two narrative structures from my hypothesis come into play. In both the synchronic and diachronic discussion, I have attempted to show that the two stories about Rehoboam are fundamentally different from each other. Rehoboam’s character is fundamentally different between the two stories and there is very little cross-over in the characters that appear in both stories. The diachronic analysis

showed that the first story is multi-layered, with a lot of diachronic variation, while the second story has very little differences to offer. Moreover, the core of the first story remained decidedly different from the second story.

My hypothesis in this thesis was that the differences between the two different stories about Rehoboam can best be explained by looking at the general structure of the greater narrative that extends over the books of Samuel and Kings. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

## **3. Rehoboam in the book of Kings**

### **3.1 Introduction**

The two books of Samuel and Kings form one coherent narrative together that tells the story of the rise and fall of kingship amongst the tribes of Israel. There are several ways to structure this narrative and, in this chapter, I want to look at two structural elements in this narrative that interact with the two stories about Rehoboam. These two elements are firstly the separation of the narrative into a story about the United Monarchy (from now on UM) and the Divided Monarchy (from now on DM) and secondly the Deuteronomistic theme of “the ideology of the founding father.”

The division of the narrative into UM and DM plays an integral part in my hypothesis and thus deserves a thorough introduction. In order to structure this chapter as well as possible, I will leave the discussion of how the Rehoboam stories interact with the UM and DM division as well as the interaction with the Deuteronomistic theme until the end. This chapter will start with a general discussion of the Deuteronomistic theme, after which I will discuss the division of the narrative into UM and DM.

### **3.1 The Deuteronomistic History**

The book of Kings plays an important role in the narrative of the Deuteronomistic Historian. It is the culmination of the Deuteronomistic History and together with the books of Samuel they make up the biggest part of story.<sup>102</sup> David is a major figure for the Deuteronomistic historian and he is portrayed as the ideal king that all other kings should attempt to be. This is established in 2 Samuel 7:1–17, especially verses 15 and 16, with the speech by the prophet Nathan. He is also tied to the later southern kingdom of Judah, where his offspring continues to rule.

Throughout the rest of the books of Samuel and Kings, the idea of David as YHWH’s hero, and subsequently a more positive approach to the southern kingdom, is one of the Deuteronomists central themes. This theme is best described with the aforementioned “ideology of the founding father.”<sup>103</sup> For this thesis a subsection of this theme is important, namely setting up “the Sin of Jeroboam” against “David the Hero.” This subsection is established at the end of Solomon’s reign. Its main point is not so much the comparison between David and Jeroboam, but much

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<sup>102</sup> There is some discussion on whether the first eleven chapters of Samuel should be part of the book of Judges. Even without these chapters, the Samuel-Kings narrative is still the longest within the Deuteronomistic History.

<sup>103</sup> For a full discussion of how this theme relates to the stories about Jeroboam, see Ash (1991).

more a positive evaluation of the southern kingdom of Judah and a negative evaluation of the northern kingdom of Israel.

At the end of his life, Solomon has stopped following the path of YHWH. Because of this, the prophet Ahijah promises his kingdom to Jeroboam in 1 Kings 11. However, in the verses 32, 34 and 36 he stresses that the kingdom will not be taken from Solomon and that one tribe (i.e. Judah) will remain loyal to Solomon's son – all because of David's loyalty to YHWH and the promise made to David by Nathan. The promise by Ahijah to Jeroboam even echoes this promise to David, with one important difference: the promise to David was unconditional, the promise to Jeroboam is conditional.

This could be seen as carefulness on YHWH's part: his unconditional promise to David backfired, so his next promise will be conditional. However, this promise is less about the character of YHWH and more about the position of Jeroboam and later the (northern) kingdom of Israel. In the prophecy of Ahijah Jeroboam is portrayed as the person to replace David as the major protagonist of YHWH. The only thing he needs to do is not make any mistakes. The Deuteronomist even reminds his audience of Ahijah's speech right before Rehoboam is about to lose the northern tribes (eventually to Jeroboam), in 1 Kings 12:15.

After Jeroboam becomes Israel's leader and possibly YHWH's new poster boy, he starts to make mistakes. The problematic relationship between Jeroboam and YHWH and the repercussion are exemplified in the Deuteronomistic remark in 1 Kings 13:34. The mistakes of Jeroboam have doomed all (northern) Israel after him and many northern kings get 'the sin of Jeroboam' mentioned in their description.<sup>104</sup> This is where the Deuteronomists set-up comes into fruition. His aim with the Jeroboam story is to establish a negative beginning for the northern kingdom of Israel and by relating it so strongly to David the Deuteronomist invites the comparison between the two, which plays out badly for the northern kingdom.

This comparison between Jeroboam and David sets the tone for the later comparisons between the northern and the southern kingdom. This is what "the ideology of the founding father" means for the Deuteronomist: the founding father sets the standard for the rest of the kingdom and his actions are what determines the fate of the kingdom. This theme is present throughout Samuel-Kings,<sup>105</sup> but Jeroboam and David are special cases, as they represent the founding

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<sup>104</sup> For a thorough discussion of how these two themes are established in Kings and how they relate to the Deuteronomistic History, see the article of Cross (1973) reprinted in Knoppers (2000), pp. 79–94.

<sup>105</sup> For example in the oracle given to king Baasha in 1 Kings 16:1–4, or the promise to Jehu in 2 Kings 10:30. For a more substantial discussion, see again the article by Ash (1991).

fathers of Israel and Judah. Because David was a good king for YHWH, Judah is a good kingdom, even though it makes mistakes. Because Jeroboam was a bad king for YHWH, Israel is a bad kingdom and its mistakes are treated more harshly.

In the middle of this interplay between the two main protagonists for the Deuteronomistic theme of “the ideology of the founding father” is the first story about Rehoboam. Is his character the link that the Deuteronomistic Historian uses to link the era of the United Monarchy with Saul, David and Solomon to that of the two separate kingdoms? Or do the two stories about Rehoboam rather indicate the difference that exists between the narratives about these two eras?

### **3.2 The story of the United Monarchy**

#### 3.2.1 The three narratives of the United Monarchy

The different stories about the United Monarchy form a major part in the narrative that extends over Samuel and Kings. The United Monarchy can be divided into three separate narratives, that are likely based on independent stories. The narratives roughly cover the reign of the three kings of the United Monarchy: Saul, David and Solomon. The importance of king David for the author of Samuel-Kings results in a prominent position for him in the other two stories, with a strong influence on both stories.

The narrative of Saul’s kingship is contained within 1 Samuel 8–2 Samuel 1.<sup>106</sup> Saul is the first king of ‘Israel’, although the extent of his empire is questionable and certainly smaller than the empire of David and Solomon.<sup>107</sup> The beginning of the ‘Saul narrative’ is marked by the end of the period of the Judges, which comes to an end with the farewell speech of Samuel in 1 Samuel 12. David’s figure and the general negative view of kingship by the Deuteronomist looms over Saul’s reign, so much that the existence of a separate narrative about Saul can even be put into question.<sup>108</sup>

David’s main narrative is contained in 2 Samuel 9–2 Samuel 24,<sup>109</sup> although his first appearance is in 1 Samuel 16 and he gradually takes over the Saul narrative. David is the most important king for the author of Samuel and Kings and plays an important part in the theology of the

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<sup>106</sup> Edelman (1991), p. 27.

<sup>107</sup> Davies (2007), p. 66.

<sup>108</sup> Edelman (1991), pp. 27–28. “Thus, while it justifiably can be studied as a coherent subsection within the larger ‘History’ in terms of ‘the story of Saul’s career’, it cannot be studied in this way from a structural perspective within its larger setting within the ‘Deuteronomistic History’. Whether it once formed an independent narrative remains to be determined.”

<sup>109</sup> Gunn (1982), p. 13. Gunn stretches the David narrative until the end of 1 Kings 2, where David dies. However, Solomon has already been established as the king at this point and the first two chapters of 1 Kings mostly deal with the struggle for David’s succession.

Deuteronomistic historian. He is the king that other kings are judged by and his relationship with YHWH is exemplary, although the author allows for some rough parts.

An important element of the David narrative is his dynasty, promised to him in 2 Samuel 7:11–16. This dynasty is immediately cemented with important victories for David, even though these victories seem to ‘historically’ come before the promise.<sup>110</sup> In this way the author highlights the importance of David’s dynasty and sets up the eventual tension that exists in ‘our’ story about Rehoboam (David’s heir) and Jeroboam (promised to be king by Ahijah). The narrative about David is very carefully constructed and focuses more on creating a coherent narrative than on giving a convincing timeline of how the events happened. Despite his shortcomings, David is more of an idealistic hero than an actual king, much like Saul gradually turned into an anti-hero. This tendency to stay more within the realm of an ideal story is what characterizes these stories about the first three kings.

Towards the end of David’s life Solomon comes to the foreground in the first chapter of Kings, with his main narrative being 1 Kings 1–11.<sup>111</sup> His mother Bathsheba ensures that he becomes the king instead of his (half-)brother Adonijah. After the death of David in 1 Kings 2:10–12 and the final power struggle with Adonijah, Solomon becomes the ideal king. YHWH grants him exceptional wisdom and Solomon expands the territory and wealth of Israel to immense proportions. His main achievement comes after this, when he uses these resources to build a temple for YHWH in Jerusalem. After this temple has been fully established and inaugurated, Solomon’s story takes a turn for the worse. He starts to stray from the ‘ideal path’ and gets influenced by his foreign wives. This enrages YHWH and through the prophecy of Ahijah he promises to take away the kingdom from Solomon’s son and give it to Jeroboam.

### 3.2.2 The Jeroboam story: a fourth narrative?

Traditionally, the death of Solomon is seen as the end of an era, as the United Monarchy falls apart and the story of the first three kings comes to an end.<sup>112</sup> There is a clear difference between the stories of the first kings in their UM and the story of the later kings in the DM. The UM stories focus on the three separate narratives of the first three kings, while the DM stories tell the story of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah until their eventual demise. The coherence is especially noticeable in the structure of the DM stories, which have a clear formula.<sup>113</sup> The UM

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<sup>110</sup> Firth (2017), p. 66.

<sup>111</sup> Kang (2003), p. 139. There is some discussion on the ‘succession narrative’

<sup>112</sup> Parker (1988). See also the introduction.

<sup>113</sup> See the next section.

stories are more bound by their own strong internal structure, the idealistic tone that they have and their loose coherence as the “founding fathers”.

A recent study by Bodner<sup>114</sup> opens the possibility of a fourth narrative that adds to the stories about the United Monarchy: *Jeroboam's royal drama*. Bodner argues from a narratological point of view that the stories about Jeroboam in 1 Kings 11–14 should be seen as an independent narratological unit that tell a dramatized version of the fall of the United Monarchy and the rise of the kingdom of Israel. He shows how Jeroboam has been misrepresented by biblical scholars as a one-dimensional “evil” king, while he in fact has a more diverse character that fits in with the narratives about Saul, David and Solomon.

Jeroboam's drama starts during the reign of Solomon, much like David's started during the reign of Saul. Both work their way up into the ranks of the king, until the king starts to see them as a threat and wants to eliminate them. Both receive a prophecy that promises them a dynasty, although the prophecies are decidedly different and also at different points in their ‘career.’ Both eventually manage to become king because of their popularity.

At the centre of *Jeroboam's royal drama* is the first story about Rehoboam that is central in this thesis. Jeroboam is barely present in this story, but his short appearance at the beginning casts a shadow that is difficult for the reader to avoid. The references to Jeroboam in the story and the follow-up to the story in the rest of chapter 12 make the story an integral part of the wider Jeroboam story, even though the story on its own focuses primarily on Rehoboam. Combining different stories into one larger narrative is a common feature in this narrative<sup>115</sup> and generally in the narratives about the United Monarchy. Bodner shows how the story of Jeroboam resembles the narratives on the United Monarchy in several more aspects<sup>116</sup> and concludes that the stories about Jeroboam should be seen as one coherent, conclusive narrative.

In his epilogue Bodner talks about how his theory would influence current scholarship on the stories in Samuel-Kings and the larger Deuteronomistic History.<sup>117</sup> He argues that, as Jeroboam is a multi-dimensional character, the downfall of the UM and the rise of the DM get an added layer to them. It is no longer the evil ‘genius’ who takes the throne because of the stubbornness

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<sup>114</sup> Bodner (2012).

<sup>115</sup> For Bodner the primary example of this is 1 Kings 13:11–32, which he characterizes as a ‘play-within-a-play.’ See Bodner (2012), pp. 97–119.

<sup>116</sup> The prophecy by Ahijah in 1 Kings 11 is a direct reference to the prophecy to David by Nathan in 2 Samuel 7:16, the appearance of Jeroboam as a rival resembles David's appearance into the Saul narrative, the first Rehoboam story has several references to David's time, etc. In the rest of Kings, Jeroboam is also used to measure kings, much like David is.

<sup>117</sup> Bodner (2012), p. 140.

of Rehoboam. Rather, Jeroboam is another character carefully narrated by the author of Kings, whose narrative is part of the broader UM narrative and gives it both a sense of closure and a link to the DM narrative.

### **3.3 The kings of Judah and the kings of Israel**

#### 3.3.1 The book of the kings of Judah and the kings of Israel

The book of Kings often refers to two other sources, where the reader can find more information: סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה [the book {of the days of} the kings of Judah]<sup>118</sup> and סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [the book {of the days of} the kings of Israel]<sup>119</sup>. This is strange, as in ancient Near Eastern literature there is no common practice of referring to used sources or to places where a reader might find ‘additional’ information. So why is this so prominent in the book of Kings and what is it referring to?

To start with the second question, what it is referring to. The ‘book of kings’ likely refers to an Isrealite/Judahite version of ancient Near Eastern ‘King lists’ or ‘chronicles’.<sup>120</sup> King lists were long chronological lists of kings, with the dates of their ascension to the throne and the dates of their death. Chronicles were longer and tended to give a short overview of activities of the king and important events during the king’s life. The stories in Kings have more similarities to chronicles, but as king lists were somewhat common in the ANE, both could have been a source for the author of Kings.

The wide-spread availability of similar sources does of course not necessarily imply that the author of Kings had a source of his own. The source could have been added to provide legitimization to the story, something which could be important from the perspective of the Deuteronomist. However, as already mentioned before, ANE texts did not expect a reference to sources, as there was little interest in whether stories were fully ‘factual’. Especially with the Deuteronomistic background, the focus of the story is more on the implied morality of the story than the factuality.

There is one strong indication that the author of Kings did have a source that he used. That is that many of the main historical details seem to be accurate when compared with other ANE texts or archaeological findings, especially from the 9<sup>th</sup> century BCE and onwards.<sup>121</sup> This is

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<sup>118</sup> First mentioned in 1 Kings 14:29. See 1 Kings 15:7, 23; 22:46; 2 Kings 8:23 and following for more occurrences.

<sup>119</sup> First mentioned in 1 Kings 14:19. See 1 Kings 15:31; 16:5, 14, 20, 27 and following for more occurrences.

<sup>120</sup> See Haran (1998) for a good article on the basics of this. See Grabbe (2007b) or Na’aman (1999) for more advanced arguments.

<sup>121</sup> Na’aman (1999), p. 12.

exactly the timeframe where the author of Kings starts to refer to his ‘sources’, which makes it likely that there is some reality in them. When comparing the stories in Kings to these external sources, the stories in Kings that are concerned with Judah are much more in line with the external sources than the stories about Israel (the Northern Kingdom).<sup>122</sup> This has led scholars to conclude that the author of Kings only had access to a ‘Chronicle of the Kings of Judah’ and that all other references are additions based on the formula used for the kings of Judah.<sup>123</sup>

### 3.3.2 Differences with the United Monarchy narratives

The main difference between the UM and DM narratives lies in their structure. The DM narratives have very clear structural elements to them that are lacking in the UM narratives. These structural elements are present in the ‘opening’ and ‘closing’ formula of each king. This can be seen in the second story about Rehoboam, which has these formulas, in 1 Kings 14:21 and 1 Kings 14:31. The ‘sources’ mentioned above are part of these closing formulas and appear just before the end of the reign, in Rehoboam’s case in 1 Kings 14:29.

וְרַחֲבֹעַם בֶּן־שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ בְּיְהוּדָה בֶּן־אַרְבָּעִים וְאַחַת שָׁנָה רַחֲבֹעַם בְּמִלְכוֹ וְשָׁבַע עָשָׂר שָׁנָה מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם  
[and Rehoboam, the son of Solomon, ruled in Judah. Rehoboam was 41 years old when he became king and he ruled 17 years in Jerusalem] 1 Kings 14:21

וְיִתְרֵי דְבָרֵי רַחֲבֹעַם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲלֹא־הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה:  
[And the remainder of the things of Rehoboam and everything he did, are they not written in the book {of the days of} the kings of Judah?] 1 Kings 14:29

וַיִּשְׁכַּב רַחֲבֹעַם עִם־אָבִיתָיו וַיִּקְבֹּר עִם־אָבִיתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הַעַמֹּנִית וַיִּמָּלֶךְ אַבְיָהם בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו:  
[And Rehoboam lied with his fathers and he was buried with his fathers in the city of David. And the name of his mother was Naamah, the Ammonite. And Abijah his son ruled instead of him]. 1 Kings 14:31

Look for a comparison for example at the Israelite king Omri, who rose to the throne after a series of challenges. After it becomes clear that he wins them and becomes king, in 1 Kings 16:22,<sup>124</sup> the author of Kings starts his reign with the same formula in 1 Kings 16:23.

<sup>122</sup> See Na’aman (1999), pp. 12–16 for several examples of this. See Grabbe (2007), p. 156 for a similar argument.

<sup>123</sup> Grabbe (2007b), p. 162. A possible counterargument to this is that the author of Kings is wilfully ignoring certain events in the history of Israel (the Northern Kingdom) in order to make Judah look like the better, more powerful empire. While this is definitely possible, it adds an editorial layer to the text that can just as easily be explained by a lacking source. Grabbe shows in his article that references to surrounding kingdoms were commonplace in ANE chronicles, which provides a likely source for the stories about the Northern Kingdom in Kings.

<sup>124</sup> וַיִּחַזְקוּ הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרָיו עִמָּוִי אֶת־הָעָם אֲשֶׁר אַחֲרָיו תִּבְנִי בֶן־גִּינָת וַיָּמָת תִּבְנִי וַיִּמָּלֶךְ עִמָּוִי  
[And the people who were behind Omri were stronger than the people who were behind Tibni son of Ginath. And Tibni died and Omri became king.]

בשנת שלשים ואחת שנה לאסא מלך יהודה מלך עמרי על־ישראל שתים עשרה שנה בתרצה מלך שש־שנים:  
[in the 31<sup>st</sup> year of Asa, king of Judah, Omri became king over Israel and he reigned twelve years and he reigned six years in Tirza.] 1 Kings 16:23

At the end of the short description of his reign the author introduced the first part of the closing formula, the reference to sources, in 1 Kings 16:27.

ויתר דברי עמרי אשר עשה וגבורתו אשר עשה הלא־הם כתובים על־ספר דברי הימים למלכי ישראל  
[and the remainder of the things of Omri, which he did and his strengths, which he did, are they not written in the book of the matters of the kings of Israel?] 1 Kings 16:27

Finally, in 1 Kings 16:28, Omri dies and the second part of the closing formula is used.

וישקב עמרי עם־אבתיו ויקבר בשמרון וימלך אחאב בנו תחתיו  
[and Omri lied with his fathers and he was buried in Samaria. And Ahab his son ruled instead of him.] 1 Kings 16:28

There are certain aspects of the formula that change with the king, such the reference to either Judah or Israel, the location of burial or a specific aspect of the king (for example Omri's גבורתו [his strengths] or Rehoboam's mother). However, the general structure remains mostly similar for every king of Israel. This structure does not exist for the kings of the UM, apart from a 'closing formula' for Solomon.

For the UM narratives there is less of a common factor that unites them, apart from the 'United' monarchy. However, there are certain elements that do bind them together. The first is the 'sources' mentioned above, or rather the lack thereof in the UM stories. The DM mentions sources in the text and at least one of these sources can be considered as 'reliable'. The UM, on the other hand, only mentions one source: the books of Solomon, a source that is very likely only mentioned to align the UM and DM narratives better.

An important side note needs to be made here. The author of Kings does not care about being historically accurate, neither in the UM nor the DM narrative. Especially the Deuteronomistic redaction has a theological aim for the book and not a historical one. That being said, there is a difference between the UM and the DM in the way in which the story is presented. The UM focuses on creating a coherent narrative that presents the story of the main character as a fulfilling and conclusive narrative. The DM, on the other hand, focuses more on maintaining the overarching structure of two separate kingdoms, their rulers and their positions in the 'international community' of the ANE. This does not mean that there is no room for full narratives, but it does mean that the structure always comes before the narrative.

The presence of full narratives in the DM does provide an issue in fully distinguishing between the DM and the UM, as some of the DM stories are very similar in style to the UM.<sup>125</sup> Something that sets the UM apart in their narratives is a certain internal cohesion between the narratives, especially looking at it from the perspective of the narrative about David. The research done by Frisch (2011) shows how the UM narratives all compare to each other, but especially to David in a certain way.<sup>126</sup> Within the context of the UM narrative the Deuteronomist develops his theme of ‘David the Hero,’ within his wider theme of ‘the ideology of the founding father’, which is then in turn applied in the DM narrative. In this way there is a noticeable difference between the UM and the DM narratives, although it is not always completely clear.

### **3.4 Rehoboam and the split between UM and DM**

The main question that remains now is: how does all of this relate to the two different stories about Rehoboam that are central in this thesis? When looking at the differences between the UM and DM narratives, especially from a structural point of view, it becomes clear that the first Rehoboam story should structurally be seen as part of the UM and the second Rehoboam story as part of the DM. After all, there is no opening formula for Rehoboam’s reign in the first story, even though he is clearly being referred to as ‘the king’.

Bodner’s discussion of Jeroboam’s story shows how the first Rehoboam story can be a part of the Jeroboam narrative. Frisch’s research on comparisons with David shows that the Jeroboam narrative looks like the rest of the UM narratives. Added to that is the lack of an introductory formula at the moment Jeroboam becomes king, something that is always the case in DM narratives.<sup>127</sup> This lack of coherence with the DM narrative in style, but coherence with the UM narrative in content makes that the Jeroboam narrative is a better fit within the UM narrative and thus, as a consequence, the first story about Rehoboam as well.

The second story about Rehoboam fits right in with the general DM structure and style. There is a good opening and closing formula, there is little reference to the greater UM narratives, but a certain awareness for the greater ANE context. This explains why the two Rehoboam stories exist and are so different from each other: they are part of different narratives and both serve a

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<sup>125</sup> Examples of this are the narrative about king Ahab, 1 Kings 16:29–1 Kings 22:40, or king Hezekiah, 2 Kings 18:1–2 Kings 20:21, but there are many more examples that could be given.

<sup>126</sup> Frisch (2011), p. 16.

<sup>127</sup> Look, for example, at the Omri narrative discussed above. At the moment Omri goes from ‘challenger to the throne’ to ‘king’, the introductory formula is used.

different purpose. The figure of Rehoboam is used to ‘link’ both narratives together and fit the more abstract world of the UM into the more concrete DM narratives.

## Conclusion

The aim of this thesis is to look at the apparent tension that exists between the two different stories that appear in Kings about Rehoboam Ben Shlomo. He is the only king with two separate stories about him and there seems to be little relation between the two stories beyond the name of Rehoboam. The first story depicts how Rehoboam travels to the northern tribes to be crowned king over them. There he finds that the tribes will only allow him to rule over them if he lightens the burden put on them by his father Solomon. After advice from elders and youngsters, Rehoboam decides to double down on the northern tribes, who promptly secede and elect Jeroboam as king in his place. Rehoboam attempts to reclaim the tribes, but is stopped in his attempt to start a civil war by the prophet Shemaiah. The second story gives us a short overview of Rehoboam's reign as king over Judah without a reference to the first story. Instead, the major event that is talked about is the attack by pharaoh Shishak and how he steals all the gold from the temple.

The two stories are completely different from each other in style, theme and tone. They make no reference at all to each other<sup>128</sup> and the only reason they are connected is because both have Rehoboam as the protagonist. This is problematic, as Rehoboam is presented vastly different between the two stories. In the first story he is a spoiled brat who goes on a power trip, whereas the second story presents him as a middle-aged, weak king. The alternative story found in the LXX, where Rehoboam is presented as a 16-year-old, shows that this difference was already noticed by the ancient reader. Additional issues are the enormous army from the first story that cannot even muster a defence against Shishak in the second story, the lack of reference to this attack by Shishak in the Jeroboam stories, or the strong focus on Judah in the second story. All of this creates a tension between the two stories that needs to be resolved.

My hypothesis is that this tension can be explained by looking at the two different narratives that exist within Samuel–Kings: the United Monarchy [UM] narrative and the Divided Monarchy [DM] narrative. The differences between the two stories about Rehoboam are exemplary for the differences between these two narratives. The DM narrative is internally connected by the similarity in structure between the stories, with a strong opening and closing formula. This is also what sets it apart from the UM narrative, which lacks such a coherent structure. The UM narrative is more loosely connected by its common theme of 'founding

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<sup>128</sup> beyond a short reference to a 'war with Jeroboam' in 1 Kings 14:30 that also appears in 1 Kings 15:6.

father' stories and a general tendency for grand narratives, while also being used to establish the 'ideology of the founding father', one of the central Deuteronomistic themes throughout Kings.

Looking at the two stories in this thesis, the second story about Rehoboam clearly connects to the DM narrative, with almost all the structural elements being present. The first story about Rehoboam is not as clear-cut, but still shows strong connections to the UM narrative, especially when it is considered together with the surrounding stories about Jeroboam. In this way the wider narrative of the United Monarchy gets a fitting end: instead of ending the story with the death of Solomon, it ends with the death of the Monarchy as a whole.

This is also how my thesis contributes to the wider scientific debate. Usually the line between the UM narrative and the DM narrative is drawn at the death of Solomon, but this research shows that the first story about Rehoboam should be included in this narrative. Further synchronic research could look at the (likely) inclusion of the entire narrative about Jeroboam in the UM narrative. Further diachronic research could try to look at the possibility of the DM narrative predating the UM narrative in its current form, with the name of Rehoboam being taken from the first DM story and used to tie the stories about the UM to the DM narrative.

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## Appendix

### a. 1 Kings 12:1–24 (BHS)

וַיֵּלֶךְ רַחֲבֹעַם שָׁכֵם כִּי שָׁכֵם בָּא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיךְ אֹתוֹ: <sup>2</sup> וַיְהִי כִשְׁמֹעַ | יִרְבֵּעַם בְּזַנְבֹּט וְהוּא עוֹדְנֵנוּ בְּמִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר בָּרַח מִפְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה וַיֵּשֶׁב יִרְבֵּעַם בְּמִצְרַיִם: <sup>3</sup> וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ־לוֹ (וַיָּבֹאוּ) [וַיָּבֹאוּ] יִרְבֵּעַם וְכָל־קְהֵל יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֶל־רַחֲבֹעַם לֵאמֹר: <sup>4</sup> אָבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה אֶת־עַלְנוּ וְאִתָּה עָתָה הִקְלָ מֵעַבְדֹת אָבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה וּמַעַלּוֹ הַכָּבֵד אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן עָלֵינוּ וְנַעֲבֹדְךָ: <sup>5</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם לָכוּ עַד שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים וְשׁוּבוּ אֵלַי וַיֵּלְכוּ הָעָם: <sup>6</sup> וַיִּזְעַץ הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבֹעַם אֶת־הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר־הָיוּ עִמָּדִים אֶת־פְּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה אָבִיו בְּהִיתוֹ חַי לֵאמֹר אֵיךְ אַתֶּם נוֹעְצִים לְהַשִּׁיב אֶת־הָעַם־הַזֶּה דְבַר: <sup>7</sup> (וַיְדַבֵּר) [וַיְדַבְּרוּ] אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר אִם־הַיּוֹם תְּהִי־הָעֶבֶד לָעָם הַזֶּה וְעַבַדְתֶּם וְעַנִּיתֶם וְדַבַּרְתָּ אֲלֵיהֶם דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים וְהָיוּ לָךְ עֲבָדִים כָּל־הַיָּמִים: <sup>8</sup> וַיַּעֲזֹב אֶת־עֲצַת הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲזֹהוּ וַיִּזְעַץ אֶת־הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר הָעַמָּדִים לְפָנָיו: <sup>9</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם מָה אַתֶּם נוֹעְצִים וְנָשִׁיב דְבַר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דַּבְּרוּ אֵלַי לֵאמֹר הִקְלָ מִן־הָעֵל אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן אָבִיךָ עָלֵינוּ: <sup>10</sup> וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלָיו הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אִתּוֹ לֵאמֹר כֹּה־תֹאמַר לָעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דַּבְּרוּ אֵלַיךְ לֵאמֹר אָבִיךָ הַכָּבִיד אֶת־עַלְנוּ וְאִתָּה הִקְלָ מֵעַלְנוּ כֹּה תְדַבֵּר אֲלֵיהֶם קִטְנֵי עֲבָה מִמֶּתְנֵי אָבִי: <sup>11</sup> וְעָתָה אָבִי הָעַמִּים עֲלֵיכֶם עַל כְּבֹד וְאֲנִי אוֹסִיף עַל־עַלְכֶם אָבִי יִסֶּר אֶתְכֶם בְּשׁוֹטִים וְאֲנִי אִיֶּסֶר אֶתְכֶם בְּעַקְרָבִים: <sup>12</sup> (וַיָּבֹאוּ) [וַיָּבֹאוּ] יִרְבֵּעַם וְכָל־הָעָם אֶל־רַחֲבֹעַם בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי כַּאֲשֶׁר דַּבֵּר הַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי: <sup>13</sup> וַיַּעַן הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־הָעָם קָשָׁה וַיַּעֲזֹב אֶת־עֲצַת הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲזֹהוּ: <sup>14</sup> וַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵיהֶם כַּעֲצַת הַיְלָדִים לֵאמֹר אָבִי הַכָּבִיד אֶת־עַלְכֶם וְאֲנִי אוֹסִיף עַל־עַלְכֶם אָבִי יִסֶּר אֶתְכֶם בְּשׁוֹטִים וְאֲנִי אִיֶּסֶר אֶתְכֶם בְּעַקְרָבִים: <sup>15</sup> וְלֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־הָעָם כִּי־הִיְתָה סִבָּה מֵעַם יְהוָה לְמַעַן הָקִים אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ אֲשֶׁר דַּבֵּר יְהוָה בְּיַד אַחֲזֵיהַּ הַשִּׁילְנִי אֶל־יִרְבֵּעַם בְּזַנְבֹּט: <sup>16</sup> וַיֵּרָא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי לֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲלֵיהֶם וַיֵּשְׁבוּ הָעָם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ דְּבַר | לֵאמֹר מִה־לָּנוּ חֶלֶק בְּדוֹד וְלֹא־נַחֲלָה בְּבֹן־יִשִׁי לְאֹהֲלֵיךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל עָתָה רְאֵה בֵיתְךָ דָּוִד וַיֵּלֶךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל לְאֹהֲלָיו: <sup>17</sup> וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּעָרֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְלְךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רַחֲבֹעַם: <sup>18</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבֹעַם אֶת־אֲדָרְסִים אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמִּסֵּ וַיִּרְגְּמוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בּוֹ אֶבֶן וַיָּמָת וְהַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבֹעַם הִתְאַמֵּץ לַעֲלוֹת בְּמַרְכָּבָה לְנוֹס יְרוּשָׁלַם: <sup>19</sup> וַיִּפְשְׁעוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבֵית דָּוִד עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: <sup>20</sup> וַיְהִי כִשְׁמֹעַ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־שָׁב יִרְבֵּעַם וַיִּשְׁלְחוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־הָעֵדָה וַיִּמְלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא הָיָה אַחֲרָי בֵּית־דָּוִד זֹלָתִי שֶׁבֶט־יְהוּדָה לְבָדוֹ: <sup>21</sup> ( וַיָּבֹאוּ ) [וַיָּבֹאוּ] רַחֲבֹעַם יְרוּשָׁלַם וַיִּקְהֵל אֶת־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־שֶׁבֶט בְּנֵימִן מֵאָה וּשְׁמָנִים אֲלֶף בַּחֹר עָשָׂה מִלְחָמָה לְהִלָּחֵם עִם־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב אֶת־הַמְּלוּכָה לְרַחֲבֹעַם בְּזַנְבֹּט: <sup>22</sup> וַיְהִי דְבַר הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־שְׁמַעְיָה אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר: <sup>23</sup> אָמַר אֶל־רַחֲבֹעַם בְּזַנְבֹּט מִלְּךָ יְהוּדָה וְאֶל־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵימִן וַיִּתֵּר הָעָם לֵאמֹר: <sup>24</sup> כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא־תֵעָלוּ וְלֹא־תִלָּחֲמוּן עִם־אַחֲיֶיכֶם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁוּבוּ אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ כִּי מֵאִתִּי נִהְיָה הַדְּבַר הַזֶּה וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לְלֶכֶת כַּדְּבַר יְהוָה: <sup>25</sup>

## **b. 1 Kings 12:1–24 (NRSV)**

<sup>1</sup>Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had gone there to make him king. <sup>2</sup>When Jeroboam son of Nebat heard this (he was still in Egypt, where he had fled from King Solomon), he returned from Egypt. <sup>3</sup>So they sent for Jeroboam, and he and the whole assembly of Israel went to Rehoboam and said to him: <sup>4</sup>"Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but now lighten the harsh labour and the heavy yoke he put on us, and we will serve you." <sup>5</sup>Rehoboam answered, "Go away for three days and then come back to me." So the people went away. <sup>6</sup>Then King Rehoboam consulted the elders who had served his father Solomon during his lifetime. "How would you advise me to answer these people?" he asked. <sup>7</sup>They replied, "If today you will be a servant to these people and serve them and give them a favourable answer, they will always be your servants." <sup>8</sup>But Rehoboam rejected the advice the elders gave him and consulted the young men who had grown up with him and were serving him. <sup>9</sup>He asked them, "What is your advice? How should we answer these people who say to me, 'Lighten the yoke your father put on us'?" <sup>10</sup>The young men who had grown up with him replied, "These people have said to you, 'Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but make our yoke lighter.' Now tell them, 'My little finger is thicker than my father's waist. <sup>11</sup>My father laid on you a heavy yoke; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions.'" <sup>12</sup>Three days later Jeroboam and all the people returned to Rehoboam, as the king had said, "Come back to me in three days." <sup>13</sup>The king answered the people harshly. Rejecting the advice given him by the elders, <sup>14</sup>he followed the advice of the young men and said, "My father made your yoke heavy; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions." <sup>15</sup>So the king did not listen to the people, for this turn of events was from the LORD, to fulfil the word the LORD had spoken to Jeroboam son of Nebat through Ahijah the Shilonite. <sup>16</sup>When all Israel saw that the king refused to listen to them, they answered the king: "What share do we have in David, what part in Jesse's son? To your tents, Israel! Look after your own house, David!" So the Israelites went home. <sup>17</sup>But as for the Israelites who were living in the towns of Judah, Rehoboam still ruled over them. <sup>18</sup>King Rehoboam sent out Adoniram, who was in charge of forced labor, but all Israel stoned him to death. King Rehoboam, however, managed to get into his chariot and escape to Jerusalem. <sup>19</sup>So Israel has been in rebellion against the house of David to this day. <sup>20</sup>When all the Israelites heard that Jeroboam had returned, they sent and called him to the assembly and made him king over all Israel. Only the tribe of Judah remained loyal to the house of David. <sup>21</sup>When Rehoboam arrived in Jerusalem, he mustered all Judah and the tribe of Benjamin--a hundred and eighty thousand able young men--to go to war

against Israel and to regain the kingdom for Rehoboam son of Solomon.<sup>22</sup> But this word of God came to Shemaiah the man of God:<sup>23</sup> "Say to Rehoboam son of Solomon king of Judah, to all Judah and Benjamin, and to the rest of the people,<sup>24</sup> "This is what the LORD says: Do not go up to fight against your brothers, the Israelites. Go home, every one of you, for this is my doing.'" So they obeyed the word of the LORD and went home again, as the LORD had ordered.

**c. 1 Kings 14:21–31 (BHS)**

<sup>21</sup> וּרְחַבְעֵם בֶּן־שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ בִּיהוּדָה בֶּן־אַרְבָּעִים וְאַחַת שָׁנָה רְחַבְעֵם בְּמָלְכוֹ וְשִׁבְעַ עֶשְׂרֵה שָׁנָה | מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר־בְּחַר יְהוָה לְשׁוֹם אֶת־שְׁמוֹ שָׁם מִכָּל שְׁבִטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית:<sup>22</sup> וַיַּעַשׂ יְהוּדָה הִרְעָ בְּעֵינָי יְהוָה וַיִּקְנְאוּ אֹתוֹ מִכָּל אֲשֶׁר עָשׂוּ אֲבֹתָם בְּחַטָּאתָם אֲשֶׁר חָטְאוּ:<sup>23</sup> וַיִּבְנוּ גַם־הֵמָּה לָהֶם בְּמֹת וּמִצְבּוֹת וְאֲשֵׁרִים עַל כָּל־גְּבֻעָה גְבוֹהָה וְתַחַת כָּל־עֵץ רַעֲנָן:<sup>24</sup> וְגַם־קִדְשׁ הָיָה בָאָרֶץ עָשׂוּ כָּכֵל הַתּוֹעֵבֹת הַגּוֹלִים אֲשֶׁר הוֹרִישׁ יְהוָה מִפְּנֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל: פ<sup>25</sup> וַיְהִי בַשָּׁנָה הַחֲמִישִׁית לְמֶלֶךְ רְחַבְעֵם עָלָה (שׁוֹשֶׁק) וְשִׁישְׁקוֹן מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם:<sup>26</sup> וַיִּקַּח אֶת־אֲצִרּוֹת בַּיַּת־יְהוָה וְאֶת־אֲזֻזוֹת בַּיַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ וְאֶת־הַכָּל לָקַח וַיִּקַּח אֶת־כָּל־מַגְנֵי הַזָּהָב אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה שְׁלֹמֹה:<sup>27</sup> וַיַּעַשׂ הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחַבְעֵם תַּחְתָּם מַגְנֵי נְחֹשֶׁת וְהַפְקִיד עַל־יַד שְׂרֵי הָרָצִים הַשְּׂמָרִים פְּתַח בַּיַּת הַמֶּלֶךְ:<sup>28</sup> וַיְהִי מִדֵּי־בָא הַמֶּלֶךְ בַּיַּת יְהוָה יִשְׂאוּם הָרָצִים וַהֲשִׁיבוּם אֶל־תֵּא הָרָצִים:<sup>29</sup> וַיִּתֵּר דְּבָרֵי רְחַבְעֵם וְכָל־אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה הֲלֹא־הֵמָּה כְּתוּבִים עַל־סֵפֶר דְּבָרֵי הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יְהוּדָה:<sup>30</sup> וּמִלְחָמָה הָיְתָה בֵּין־רְחַבְעֵם וּבֵין יָרְבֵעַם כָּל־הַיָּמִים:<sup>31</sup> וַיִּשְׁכַּב רְחַבְעֵם עִם־אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקְבֹּר עִם־אֲבֹתָיו בְּעִיר דָּוִד וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ נַעֲמָה הָעַמֹּנִית וַיִּמְלֹךְ אַבְיָם בְּנוֹ תַחְתָּיו: פ

**d. 1 Kings 14:21–31 (NRSV)**

<sup>21</sup> Rehoboam son of Solomon was king in Judah. He was forty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel in which to put his Name. His mother's name was Naamah; she was an Ammonite.<sup>22</sup> Judah did evil in the eyes of the LORD. By the sins they committed they stirred up his jealous anger more than those who were before them had done.<sup>23</sup> They also set up for themselves high places, sacred stones and Asherah poles on every high hill and under every spreading tree.<sup>24</sup> There were even male shrine prostitutes in the land; the people engaged in all the detestable practices of the nations the LORD had driven out before the Israelites.<sup>25</sup> In the fifth year of King Rehoboam, Shishak king of Egypt attacked Jerusalem.<sup>26</sup> He carried off the treasures of the temple of the LORD and the treasures of the royal palace. He took everything, including all the gold shields Solomon had made.<sup>27</sup> So King Rehoboam made bronze shields to replace them and assigned these to the commanders of the guard on duty at the entrance to the royal palace.<sup>28</sup> Whenever the king went to the LORD's temple, the guards bore the shields,

and afterward they returned them to the guardroom.<sup>29</sup> As for the other events of Rehoboam's reign, and all he did, are they not written in the book of the annals of the kings of Judah?<sup>30</sup> There was continual warfare between Rehoboam and Jeroboam.<sup>31</sup> And Rehoboam rested with his ancestors and was buried with them in the City of David. His mother's name was Naamah; she was an Ammonite. And Abijah his son succeeded him as king.

#### e. 2 Chronicles 10–12 (BHS)

10 <sup>1</sup> וַיֵּלֶךְ רְחֹבַעַם שְׁכֵמָה כִּי שָׁכַם בָּאוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיךְ אֹתוֹ: <sup>2</sup> וַיְהִי כִשְׁמַע יִרְבֵּעַם בְּוֶן־נֶבֶט וְהוּא בְּמִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר בָּרַח מִפְּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה הַמֶּלֶךְ וַיָּשֵׁב יִרְבֵּעַם מִמִּצְרַיִם: <sup>3</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ־לוֹ וַיָּבֵא יִרְבֵּעַם וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֶל־רְחֹבַעַם לֵאמֹר: <sup>4</sup> אָבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה אֶת־עַלְלָנוּ וְעַתָּה הִקְלֵ מַעֲבַדְתִּי אָבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה וּמַעַלּוֹ הַכָּבֵד אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן עָלֵינוּ וְנַעֲבֹדְךָ: <sup>5</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם עוֹד שְׁלֹשֶׁת יָמִים וְשׁוּבוּ אֵלַי וַיֵּלֶךְ הָעָם: <sup>6</sup> וַיֹּטֵץ הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחֹבַעַם אֶת־הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר־הָיוּ עֹמְדִים לִפְנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה אָבִיו בְּהִיתוֹ חַי לֵאמֹר אֵיךְ אַתֶּם נוֹעֲצִים לְהַשִּׁיב לָעַם־הַזֶּה דְבַר: <sup>7</sup> וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר אִם־תִּהְיֶה לְטוֹב לְהָעָם הַזֶּה וּרְצִיתֶם וְדַבַּרְתָּ אֲלֵהֶם דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים וְהָיוּ לָךְ עֲבָדִים כָּל־הַיָּמִים: <sup>8</sup> וַיַּעֲזֹב אֶת־עֲצַת הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲזֹהוּ וַיֹּטֵץ אֶת־הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אֹתוֹ הָעֹמְדִים לִפְנָיו: <sup>9</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵהֶם מָה אַתֶּם נוֹעֲצִים וְנָשִׁיב דְבַר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דְּבָרוּ אֵלַי לֵאמֹר הִקְלֵ מִן־הָעֶל אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן אָבִיךָ עָלֵינוּ: <sup>10</sup> וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֹתוֹ הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אֹתוֹ לֵאמֹר כֹּה־תֹאמַר לָעַם אֲשֶׁר־דְּבָרוּ אֵלֶיךָ לֵאמֹר אָבִיךָ הַכָּבִיד אֶת־עַלְלָנוּ וְאַתָּה הִקְלֵ מַעַלְלָנוּ וְאַתָּה הָעָם הַזֶּה מַעַלְלָנוּ כֹּה תֹאמַר אֲלֵהֶם קִטְנֵי עֲבָה מִמִּתְנֵי אָבִי: <sup>11</sup> וְעַתָּה אָבִי הָעַמִּים עָלֵיכֶם עַל כָּבֵד וְאֲנִי אֲסִיף עַל־עַלְכֶם אָבִי יִסֵּר אֶתְכֶם בְּשׁוֹטִים וְאֲנִי בְּעַקְרָבִים: <sup>12</sup> וַיָּבֵא יִרְבֵּעַם וְכָל־הָעָם אֶל־רְחֹבַעַם בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי כַּאֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר הַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי: <sup>13</sup> וַיַּעֲזֵב הַמֶּלֶךְ קִשָּׁה וַיַּעֲזֹב הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחֹבַעַם אֶת עֲצַת הַזְּקֵנִים: <sup>14</sup> וַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵהֶם כַּעֲצַת הַיְלָדִים לֵאמֹר אֲכַבִּיד אֶת־עַלְכֶם וְאֲנִי אֲסִיף עָלֵיכֶם אָבִי יִסֵּר אֶתְכֶם בְּשׁוֹטִים וְאֲנִי בְּעַקְרָבִים: <sup>15</sup> וְלֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־הָעָם כִּי־הִיְתָה נִסְבָּה מֵעַם הָאֱלֹהִים לְמַעַן הָקִים יְהוָה אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר בְּיַד אַחֲיָהוּ הַשְּׁלוּזִי אֶל־יִרְבֵּעַם בְּוֶן־נֶבֶט: <sup>16</sup> וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי לֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ לָהֶם וַיָּשִׁיבוּ הָעָם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר מִה־לָּנוּ חֶלֶק בְּדָוִד וְלֹא־נַחֲלָה בְּבֹנֵי־אִישֵׁי אִישׁ לְאֹהֲלֵיךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל עַתָּה רְאֵה בֵיתְךָ דָּוִד וַיֵּלֶךְ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְאֹהֲלָיו: <sup>17</sup> וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּעַרְיֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רְחֹבַעַם: <sup>18</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ רְחֹבַעַם אֶת־הַדָּרֶם אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמָּס וַיִּרְגְּמוּ־בּוֹ בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲבָן וַיָּמָת וְהַמֶּלֶךְ רְחֹבַעַם הִתְאַמֵּץ לְעֲלוֹת בְּמַרְכָּבָה לָנוֹס יְרוּשָׁלַם: <sup>19</sup> וַיִּפְשְׁעוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבֵית דָּוִד עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: <sup>ס</sup>

11 <sup>1</sup> וַיָּבֵא רְחֹבַעַם יְרוּשָׁלַם וַיִּקְהַל אֶת־בְּיַת יְהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־מִן מֵאָה וּשְׁמוֹנִים אָלֶף בַּחֹר עֲשָׂה מִלְחָמָה לְהִלָּחֵם עִם־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַשִּׁיב אֶת־הַמִּמְלָכָה לְרְחֹבַעַם: <sup>2</sup> וַיְהִי דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמַעְיָהוּ אִישֵׁה־אֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר: <sup>3</sup> אֲמַר אֶל־רְחֹבַעַם בְּוֶן־שְׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְאֵל כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בִּיהוּדָה וּבְנֵי־מִן

לאמר: <sup>4</sup> כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא־תֵעָלוּ וְלֹא־תִלַּחֲמוּ עִם־אֲחֵיכֶם שׁוּבוּ אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ כִּי מֵאֵתִי נְהִיָּה הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבַרֵי יְהוָה וַיָּשׁוּבוּ מִלִּכְתּוֹת אֶל־יְרֵבֻעַם: פ <sup>5</sup> וַיָּשָׁב רַחֲבֵעַם בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיָּבִין עָרִים לְמִצּוֹר בִּיהוּדָה: <sup>6</sup> וַיָּבִין אֶת־בֵּית־לָחֶם וְאֶת־עֵיטָם וְאֶת־תְּקוּעָה: <sup>7</sup> וְאֶת־בֵּית־צֹר וְאֶת־שׁוֹכֹ וְאֶת־עַדְלָם: <sup>8</sup> וְאֶת־גֶּת וְאֶת־מְרִשָּׁה וְאֶת־זִיף: <sup>9</sup> וְאֶת־אֲדוּרִים וְאֶת־לְכִישׁ וְאֶת־עֲזֹקָה: <sup>10</sup> וְאֶת־צָרְעָה וְאֶת־אֵילֹן וְאֶת־חֶבְרוֹן אֲשֶׁר בִּיהוּדָה וּבְבִנְיָמִן עָרֵי מְצֻרוֹת: <sup>11</sup> וַיַּחֲזֵק אֶת־הַמְּצֻרוֹת וַיִּתֵּן בָּהֶם נְגִידִים וְאֶצְרוֹת מֵאֵל וְשִׁמּוֹן וַיִּזַּן: <sup>12</sup> וּבְכָל־עִיר וְעִיר צָנוֹת וּרְמָחִים וַיַּחֲזֵק לְהַרְבֵּה מֵאֵד וַיְהִי־לוֹ יְהוּדָה וּבִנְיָמִן: ס <sup>13</sup> וְהַכְּהֻנִּים וְהַלְוִיִּם אֲשֶׁר בְּכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל הִתְיַצְּבוּ עֲלָיו מִכָּל־גְּבוּלָם: <sup>14</sup> כִּי־עָזְבוּ הַלְוִיִּם אֶת־מִגְרָשֵׁיהֶם וְאֶחְזָתָם וַיֵּלְכוּ לִיהוּדָה וְלִירוּשָׁלַם כִּי־הִזְנִיחָם יְרֵבֻעַם וּבְנָיו מִכֵּהָן לִיהוָה: <sup>15</sup> וַיַּעֲמֵד־לוֹ כְּהֻנִּים לְבָמוֹת וְלִשְׁעָרִים וְלַעֲגָלִים אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה: <sup>16</sup> וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם מִכָּל שְׁבֹטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הִנְתִּינִים אֶת־לִבָּבָם לְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת־יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל בָּאוּ יְרוּשָׁלַם לְזָבוּחַ לִיהוָה אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתֵיהֶם: <sup>17</sup> וַיַּחֲזִקוּ אֶת־מְלָכוֹת יְהוּדָה וַיֹּאמְצוּ אֶת־רַחֲבֵעַם בֶּן־שְׁלֹמֹה לְשָׁנִים שְׁלוֹשׁ כִּי הָלְכוּ בְּדֶרֶךְ דָּוִד וְשְׁלֹמֹה לְשָׁנִים שְׁלוֹשׁ: <sup>18</sup> וַיִּקַּח־לוֹ רַחֲבֵעַם אִשָּׁה אֶת־מַחֲלַת (בֶּן־) וַיְרִימוֹת בֶּן־דָּוִד אֲבִיהֶל בֶּת־אֶלְיָאָב בֶּן־יִשָּׁי: <sup>19</sup> וַתֵּלֶד לוֹ בָנִים אֶת־יַעוֹשׁ וְאֶת־שְׁמֶרְיָה וְאֶת־זֶהֶם: <sup>20</sup> וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם לָקַח אֶת־מַעֲכָה בֶת־אֲבִשְׁלוֹם וַתֵּלֶד לוֹ אֶת־אֲבִיָּה וְאֶת־עֵתִי וְאֶת־זִיזָא וְאֶת־שְׁלֹמִית: <sup>21</sup> וַיֹּאחֲזֵב רַחֲבֵעַם אֶת־מַעֲכָה בֶת־אֲבִשְׁלוֹם מִכָּל־נָשָׁיו וּפִילִגְשָׁיו כִּי נָשִׁים שְׂמוּנָה־עֲשָׂרָה נָשָׂא וּפִילִגְשָׁיִם שְׁשִׁים וַיִּוֹלַד עֲשָׂרִים וּשְׂמוּנָה בָנִים וְשְׁשִׁים בָּנוֹת: <sup>22</sup> וַיַּעֲמֵד לְרֹאשׁ רַחֲבֵעַם אֶת־אֲבִיָּה בֶן־מַעֲכָה לְנָגִיד בְּאֲחֵיו כִּי לְהַמְלִיכוֹ: <sup>23</sup> וַיָּבִין וַיִּפְרָץ מִכָּל־בְּנָיו לְכָל־אַרְצוֹת יְהוּדָה וּבִנְיָמִן לְכָל עָרֵי הַמְּצֻרוֹת וַיִּתֵּן לָהֶם הַמִּזְזֹן לָרֶב וַיִּשְׂאֵל הַמִּזְזֹן נָשִׁים:

12 וַיְהִי כִּהְלִיךְ מְלָכוֹת רַחֲבֵעַם וּכְחֻזְקָתוֹ עָזַב אֶת־תּוֹרַת יְהוָה וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עִמּוֹ: פ <sup>2</sup> וַיְהִי בַשָּׁנָה הַחֲמִישִׁית לְמִלְכּוֹת רַחֲבֵעַם עָלָה שִׁישַׁק מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם כִּי מָעָלוּ בִיהוָה: <sup>3</sup> בְּאֵלֶף וּמֵאתַיִם רֶכֶב וּבִשְׁשִׁים אֵלֶף פָּרָשִׁים וְאִין מִסְפָּר לָעָם אֲשֶׁר־בָּאוּ עִמּוֹ מִמִּצְרַיִם לְוָבִים סִבְיִים וְכוֹשִׁים: <sup>4</sup> וַיִּלָּכֵד אֶת־עָרֵי הַמְּצֻרוֹת אֲשֶׁר לִיהוּדָה וַיָּבֵא עַד־יְרוּשָׁלַם: ס <sup>5</sup> וַשְׁמַעְיָה הַנְּבִיא בָּא אֶל־רַחֲבֵעַם וְשָׂרֵי יְהוּדָה אֲשֶׁר־נֶאֱסָפוּ אֶל־יְרוּשָׁלַם מִפְּנֵי שִׁישַׁק וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם כֹּה־אָמַר יְהוָה אֲתֶם עֹזְבֵתֶם אֹתִי וְאֶף־אֲנִי עֹזְבֹתִי אֲתֶכֶם בְּיַד־שִׁישַׁק: <sup>6</sup> וַיִּכְנָעוּ שָׂרֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל וְהַמֶּלֶךְ וַיֹּאמְרוּ צַדִּיק! יְהוָה: <sup>7</sup> וּבִרְאוֹת יְהוָה כִּי נִכְנָעוּ הָיָה דְבַר־יְהוָה אֶל־שְׁמַעְיָה לֵאמֹר נִכְנָעוּ לֹא אֲשַׁחֲיֶתֶם וְנִתַּתִּי לָהֶם כַּמַּעַט לְפָלִיטָה וְלֹא־תִתְּדוּ חַמְתִּי בִירוּשָׁלַם בְּיַד־שִׁישַׁק: <sup>8</sup> כִּי יְהִי־לוֹ לְעִבְדִים וַיִּדְעוּ עֲבֹדָתִי וְעִבְדוֹת מִמְּלָכוֹת הָאֲרָצוֹת: ס <sup>9</sup> וַיַּעַל שִׁישַׁק מֶלֶךְ־מִצְרַיִם עַל־יְרוּשָׁלַם וַיִּקַּח אֶת־אֶצְרוֹת בֵּית־יְהוָה וְאֶת־אֶצְרוֹת בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־הַכֹּל לָקַח וַיִּקַּח אֶת־מִגְנֵי הַזֹּהָב אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה שְׁלֹמֹה: <sup>10</sup> וַיַּעַשׂ הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבֵעַם תַּחֲתֵיהֶם מִגְנֵי נְחֹשֶׁת וְהַפְקִיד עַל־יַד שָׂרֵי הָרָצִים הַשְּׂמָרִים פֶּתַח בֵּית הַמֶּלֶךְ: <sup>11</sup> וַיְהִי מִדֵּי־בּוֹא הַמֶּלֶךְ בֵּית יְהוָה בָּאוּ הָרָצִים וּנְשָׂאוֹם וְהִשְׁבוּם אֶל־תְּאֵת הָרָצִים: <sup>12</sup> וּבַהֲכַנְעוֹ שָׁב מִמֶּנּוּ אֶף־יְהוָה וְלֹא לְהַשְׁחִית לְכֹלָה וְגַם בִּיהוּדָה הָיָה דְבָרִים טוֹבִים: ס <sup>13</sup> וַיַּחֲזֵק הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבֵעַם בִּירוּשָׁלַם וַיִּמְלֹךְ כִּי בֶן־אַרְבָּעִים וְאַחַת שָׁנָה רַחֲבֵעַם בְּמָלְכוֹ וּשְׁבַע עֲשָׂרָה שָׁנָה מֶלֶךְ בִּירוּשָׁלַם

הָעִיר אֲשֶׁר-בָּחַר יְהוָה לָשׂוּם אֶת-שְׁמוֹ שָׁם מִכָּל שְׁבִטֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וְשָׁם אָמְרוּ גַעֲמָה הָעֲמֻנִית: <sup>14</sup>  
וַיַּעַשׂ הָרַע כִּי לֹא הָכִין לְבֹו לְדָרוֹשׁ אֶת-יְהוָה: <sup>15</sup> וַדְּבַרְי רַחֲבֵעַם הָרֵאשׁוֹנִים וְהָאֲחֵרוֹנִים הֲלֹא-  
הֵם כְּתוּבִים בְּדְבַרֵי שְׁמַעְיָה הַנָּבִיא וְעַדֹו הַחֲזָה לְהַתִּיחֵשׁ וּמִלְחָמוֹת רַחֲבֵעַם וַיִּרְבְּעַם כָּל-הַיָּמִים:  
<sup>16</sup> וַיִּשְׁכַּב רַחֲבֵעַם עִם-אֲבֹתָיו וַיִּקָּבֶר בְּעִיר דָּוִד וַיִּמְלֹךְ אָבִיהָ בְּגֹו תַחֲתָיו: פ

## f. 2 Chronicles 10–12 (NRSV)

10 1 Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had gone there to make him king. 2 When Jeroboam son of Nebat heard this (he was in Egypt, where he had fled from King Solomon), he returned from Egypt. 3 So they sent for Jeroboam, and he and all Israel went to Rehoboam and said to him: 4 “Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but now lighten the harsh labor and the heavy yoke he put on us, and we will serve you.” 5 Rehoboam answered, “Come back to me in three days.” So the people went away. 6 Then King Rehoboam consulted the elders who had served his father Solomon during his lifetime. “How would you advise me to answer these people?” he asked. 7 They replied, “If you will be kind to these people and please them and give them a favorable answer, they will always be your servants.” 8 But Rehoboam rejected the advice the elders gave him and consulted the young men who had grown up with him and were serving him. 9 He asked them, “What is your advice? How should we answer these people who say to me, ‘Lighten the yoke your father put on us’?” 10 The young men who had grown up with him replied, “The people have said to you, ‘Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but make our yoke lighter.’ Now tell them, ‘My little finger is thicker than my father’s waist. 11 My father laid on you a heavy yoke; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions.’ ” 12 Three days later Jeroboam and all the people returned to Rehoboam, as the king had said, “Come back to me in three days.” 13 The king answered them harshly. Rejecting the advice of the elders, 14 he followed the advice of the young men and said, “My father made your yoke heavy; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions.” 15 So the king did not listen to the people, for this turn of events was from God, to fulfill the word the LORD had spoken to Jeroboam son of Nebat through Ahijah the Shilonite. 16 When all Israel saw that the king refused to listen to them, they answered the king: “What share do we have in David, what part in Jesse’s son? To your tents, Israel! Look after your own house, David!” So all the Israelites went home. 17 But as for the Israelites who were living in the towns of Judah, Rehoboam still ruled over them. 18 King Rehoboam sent out Adoniram, who was in charge of forced labor, but the Israelites stoned him to death. King Rehoboam, however, managed to get into his chariot

and escape to Jerusalem. 19 So Israel has been in rebellion against the house of David to this day.

11 1 When Rehoboam arrived in Jerusalem, he mustered Judah and Benjamin—a hundred and eighty thousand able young men—to go to war against Israel and to regain the kingdom for Rehoboam. 2 But this word of the LORD came to Shemaiah the man of God: 3 “Say to Rehoboam son of Solomon king of Judah and to all Israel in Judah and Benjamin, 4 ‘This is what the LORD says: Do not go up to fight against your fellow Israelites. Go home, every one of you, for this is my doing.’ ” So they obeyed the words of the LORD and turned back from marching against Jeroboam. 5 Rehoboam lived in Jerusalem and built up towns for defense in Judah: 6 Bethlehem, Etam, Tekoa, 7 Beth Zur, Soko, Adullam, 8 Gath, Mareshah, Ziph, 9 Adoraim, Lachish, Azekah, 10 Zorah, Aijalon and Hebron. These were fortified cities in Judah and Benjamin. 11 He strengthened their defenses and put commanders in them, with supplies of food, olive oil and wine. 12 He put shields and spears in all the cities, and made them very strong. So Judah and Benjamin were his. 13 The priests and Levites from all their districts throughout Israel sided with him. 14 The Levites even abandoned their pasturelands and property and came to Judah and Jerusalem, because Jeroboam and his sons had rejected them as priests of the LORD 15 when he appointed his own priests for the high places and for the goat and calf idols he had made. 16 Those from every tribe of Israel who set their hearts on seeking the LORD, the God of Israel, followed the Levites to Jerusalem to offer sacrifices to the LORD, the God of their ancestors. 17 They strengthened the kingdom of Judah and supported Rehoboam son of Solomon three years, following the ways of David and Solomon during this time. 18 Rehoboam married Mahalath, who was the daughter of David’s son Jerimoth and of Abihail, the daughter of Jesse’s son Eliab. 19 She bore him sons: Jeush, Shemariah and Zaham. 20 Then he married Maakah daughter of Absalom, who bore him Abijah, Attai, Ziza and Shelomith. 21 Rehoboam loved Maakah daughter of Absalom more than any of his other wives and concubines. In all, he had eighteen wives and sixty concubines, twenty-eight sons and sixty daughters. 22 Rehoboam appointed Abijah son of Maakah as crown prince among his brothers, in order to make him king. 23 He acted wisely, dispersing some of his sons throughout the districts of Judah and Benjamin, and to all the fortified cities. He gave them abundant provisions and took many wives for them.

12 1 After Rehoboam’s position as king was established and he had become strong, he and all Israel with him abandoned the law of the LORD. 2 Because they had been unfaithful to the

LORD, Shishak king of Egypt attacked Jerusalem in the fifth year of King Rehoboam. 3 With twelve hundred chariots and sixty thousand horsemen and the innumerable troops of Libyans, Sukkites and Cushites that came with him from Egypt, 4 he captured the fortified cities of Judah and came as far as Jerusalem. 5 Then the prophet Shemaiah came to Rehoboam and to the leaders of Judah who had assembled in Jerusalem for fear of Shishak, and he said to them, “This is what the LORD says, ‘You have abandoned me; therefore, I now abandon you to Shishak.’” 6 The leaders of Israel and the king humbled themselves and said, “The LORD is just.” 7 When the LORD saw that they humbled themselves, this word of the LORD came to Shemaiah: “Since they have humbled themselves, I will not destroy them but will soon give them deliverance. My wrath will not be poured out on Jerusalem through Shishak. 8 They will, however, become subject to him, so that they may learn the difference between serving me and serving the kings of other lands.” 9 When Shishak king of Egypt attacked Jerusalem, he carried off the treasures of the temple of the LORD and the treasures of the royal palace. He took everything, including the gold shields Solomon had made. 10 So King Rehoboam made bronze shields to replace them and assigned these to the commanders of the guard on duty at the entrance to the royal palace. 11 Whenever the king went to the LORD’s temple, the guards went with him, bearing the shields, and afterward they returned them to the guardroom. 12 Because Rehoboam humbled himself, the LORD’s anger turned from him, and he was not totally destroyed. Indeed, there was some good in Judah. 13 King Rehoboam established himself firmly in Jerusalem and continued as king. He was forty-one years old when he became king, and he reigned seventeen years in Jerusalem, the city the LORD had chosen out of all the tribes of Israel in which to put his Name. His mother’s name was Naamah; she was an Ammonite. 14 He did evil because he had not set his heart on seeking the LORD. 15 As for the events of Rehoboam’s reign, from beginning to end, are they not written in the records of Shemaiah the prophet and of Iddo the seer that deal with genealogies? There was continual warfare between Rehoboam and Jeroboam. 16 Rehoboam rested with his ancestors and was buried in the City of David. And Abijah his son succeeded him as king.

### **g. 3 Kingdoms 12:1–24 (Greek text; Rahlfs)**

<sup>1</sup>Καὶ πορεύεται βασιλεὺς Ροβοαμ εἰς Σικιμα, ὅτι εἰς Σικιμα ἔρχοντο πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ βασιλεῦσαι αὐτόν. <sup>3(a)</sup>καὶ ἐλάλησεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ροβοαμ λέγοντες. <sup>4</sup>Ὁ πατὴρ σου ἐβάρυνεν τὸν κλοιὸν ἡμῶν, καὶ σὺ νῦν κούφισον ἀπὸ τῆς δουλείας τοῦ πατρός σου τῆς σκληρᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κλοιοῦ αὐτοῦ τοῦ βαρέος, οὗ ἔδωκεν ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς, καὶ δουλεύσομέν σοι. <sup>5</sup>καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτούς Ἐπέλθετε ἕως ἡμερῶν τριῶν καὶ ἀναστρέψατε πρὸς με· καὶ ἀπήλθον. <sup>6</sup>καὶ παρήγγειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, οἳ ἦσαν παρεστῶτες ἐνώπιον Σαλωμων

τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ ἔτι ζῶντος αὐτοῦ, λέγων Πῶς ὑμεῖς βουλευέσθε καὶ ἀποκριθῶ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ λόγον; <sup>7</sup> καὶ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν λέγοντες Εἰ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ ἔσῃ δοῦλος τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ καὶ δουλεύσης αὐτοῖς καὶ λαλήσης αὐτοῖς λόγους ἀγαθούς, καὶ ἔσονταί σοι δοῦλοι πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. <sup>8</sup> καὶ ἐγκατέλιπεν τὴν βουλήν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἃ συνεβουλευέσαντο αὐτῷ, καὶ συνεβουλευέσατο μετὰ τῶν παιδαρίων τῶν ἐκτραφέντων μετ' αὐτοῦ τῶν παρεστηκότων πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ <sup>9</sup>καὶ εἶπεν αὐτοῖς Τί ὑμεῖς συμβουλευέετε, καὶ τί ἀποκριθῶ τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ τοῖς λαλήσασι πρὸς με λεγόντων Κούφισον ἀπὸ τοῦ κλοιοῦ, οὗ ἔδωκεν ὁ πατήρ σου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς; <sup>10</sup>καὶ ἐλάλησαν πρὸς αὐτὸν τὰ παιδάρια τὰ ἐκτραφέντα μετ' αὐτοῦ οἱ παρεστηκότες πρὸ προσώπου αὐτοῦ λέγοντες Τάδε λαλήσεις τῷ λαῷ τούτῳ τοῖς λαλήσασι πρὸς σὲ λέγοντες Ὁ πατήρ σου ἐβάρυνεν τὸν κλοιὸν ἡμῶν καὶ σὺ νῦν κούφισον ἀφ' ἡμῶν, τάδε λαλήσεις πρὸς αὐτούς Ἡ μικρότης μου παχυτέρα τῆς ὀσφύος τοῦ πατρὸς μου. <sup>11</sup>καὶ νῦν ὁ πατήρ μου ἐπεσάσσετο ὑμᾶς κλοιῷ βαρεῖ καγὼ προσθήσω ἐπὶ τὸν κλοιὸν ὑμῶν, ὁ πατήρ μου ἐπαίδευσεν ὑμᾶς ἐν μάστιγι, ἐγὼ δὲ παιδεύσω ὑμᾶς ἐν σκορπίοις. <sup>12</sup>καὶ παρεγένοντο πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα Ροβοὰμ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ, καθότι ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγων Ἀναστράφητε πρὸς με τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ. <sup>13</sup>καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν σκληρά, καὶ ἐγκατέλιπεν Ροβοὰμ τὴν βουλήν τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, ἃ συνεβουλευέσαντο αὐτῷ, <sup>14</sup>καὶ ἐλάλησεν πρὸς αὐτούς κατὰ τὴν βουλήν τῶν παιδαρίων λέγων Ὁ πατήρ μου ἐβάρυνεν τὸν κλοιὸν ὑμῶν καγὼ προσθήσω ἐπὶ τὸν κλοιὸν ὑμῶν, ὁ πατήρ μου ἐπαίδευσεν ὑμᾶς ἐν μάστιγι καγὼ παιδεύσω ὑμᾶς ἐν σκορπίοις. <sup>15</sup>καὶ οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τοῦ λαοῦ, ὅτι ἦν μεταστροφή παρὰ κυρίου, ὅπως στήσῃ τὸ ῥῆμα αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ Ἀχια τοῦ Σηλωνίτου περὶ Ἱεροβοὰμ υἱοῦ Ναβατ. <sup>16</sup>καὶ εἶδον πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι οὐκ ἤκουσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν, καὶ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ λαὸς τῷ βασιλεῖ λέγων Τίς ἡμῖν μερὶς ἐν Δαυιδ; καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἡμῖν κληρονομία ἐν υἱῷ Ἰεσσαί· ἀπότρεχε, Ἰσραὴλ, εἰς τὰ σκηνώματά σου· νῦν βόσκει τὸν οἶκόν σου, Δαυιδ. καὶ ἀπῆλθεν Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὰ σκηνώματα αὐτοῦ. <sup>18</sup>καὶ ἀπέστειλεν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν Ἀδωνιραμ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ φόρου, καὶ ἐλιθοβόλησαν αὐτὸν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν λίθοις καὶ ἀπέθανεν· καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Ροβοὰμ ἔφθασεν ἀναβῆναι τοῦ φυγεῖν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ. <sup>19</sup>καὶ ἠθέτησεν Ἰσραὴλ εἰς τὸν οἶκον Δαυιδ ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης. <sup>20</sup>καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς ἤκουσεν πᾶς Ἰσραὴλ ὅτι ἀνέκαμψεν Ἱεροβοὰμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καὶ ἀπέστειλαν καὶ ἐκάλεσαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν συναγωγὴν καὶ ἐβασίλευσαν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ· καὶ οὐκ ἦν ὀπίσω οἴκου Δαυιδ πᾶρεξ σκῆπτρου Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν μόνοι.— <sup>21</sup>καὶ Ροβοὰμ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ καὶ ἐξεκκλησίασεν τὴν συναγωγὴν Ἰουδα καὶ σκῆπτρον Βενιαμὴν, ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι χιλιάδες νεανιῶν ποιούντων πόλεμον, τοῦ πολεμεῖν πρὸς οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ ἐπιστρέψαι τὴν βασιλείαν Ροβοὰμ υἱῷ Σαλωμων. <sup>22</sup>καὶ ἐγένετο λόγος κυρίου πρὸς Σαμιαὴν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων <sup>23</sup>Εἰπὸν τῷ Ροβοὰμ υἱῷ Σαλωμων βασιλεῖ Ἰουδα καὶ πρὸς πάντα οἶκον Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμὴν καὶ τῷ καταλοιπῷ τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων <sup>24</sup>Τάδε λέγει κύριος Οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ πολεμήσετε μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὑμῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραὴλ· ἀναστρέφετω ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ γέγονεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο. καὶ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λόγου κυρίου καὶ κατέπαυσαν τοῦ πορευθῆναι κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου.

### **h. 3 Kingdoms 12:1–24 (English translation; Pietersma and Wright eds.)**

1 And King Roboam went to Sikima, for all Israel was coming to Sikima to make him king.  
3(a) And the people spoke to Roboam the king saying, 4 “Your father made our collar heavy, and now you, lighten some of the hard service of your father and of his heavy collar that he placed on us, and we will be subject to you.” 5 And he said to them, “Go away for as long as three days, and come again to me,” and they went away.

6 And the king summoned the elders who had attended before his father Salmon while he was still living, saying, “How do you advise and I answer this people a word?” 7 And they spoke to him, saying, “If you will be a slave to this people in this day and be subject to them and speak good words to them, they will also be your slaves all the days.” 8 And he disregarded the advice of the elders that they counseled him and took counsel with the young men who had grown up with him who attended before him 9 and said to them, “What do you advise, and what should I answer this people who spoke to me, saying, ‘Lighten some of the collar that your father put on us?’” 10 And the young men who had grown up with him who attended before him spoke to him, saying, “This is what you shall speak to this people who spoke to you, saying, ‘Your father made our collar heavy, and now you lighten it from off us,’ this is what you shall speak to them, ‘My smallness is thicker than my father’s loins, 11 and now, my father used to lay on you a heavy collar, and I will add to your collar; my father disciplined you with whips, but I will discipline you with scorpions’.”

12 And all Israel came to King Roboam in the third day, as the king told them, saying, “Come to me again on the third day.” 13 And the king answered the people harshly, and Roboam disregarded the advice of the elders that they counseled him 14 and spoke to them according to the advice of the young men, saying, “My father made your collar heavy, and I will add to your collar; my father disciplined you with whips, and I will discipline you with scorpions.” 15 And the king did not listen to the people, because the change was from the Lord that his word which he spoke by the hand of Achia the Selonite concerning Ieroboam son of Nabat might stand. 16 And all Israel saw that the king did not listen tot them, and the people answered the king, saying,

“What share do we have in Daudid?

And we have no inheritance in the son of Iessai;

depart to your coverts, O Israel!

Now feed your own house, O Daudid.”

And Israel went away to its coverts. 18 And the king sent Adoniram who was over the levy, and all Isarel stoned him with stones, and he died, and King Roboam was the first to mount to

flee to Ierousalem. 19 And Israel rebelled against the house of Daudid to this day.

20 And it happened, when all Israel heard that Ieroboam had returned from Egypt, that they sent and called him to the gathering and made him king over Israel, and there was no one behind the house of Daudid except the scepter of Ioudas and Benjamin alone.

21 And Roboam entered into Ierousalem and convened the gathering of Ioudas and scepter of Benjamin, one hundred twenty thousand young men, practicing war, to fight against the house of Israel to restore the kingdom to Roboam son of Salomon. 22 And a word of the Lord came to Samaias, a man of God, saying: 23 Say to Roboam king of Ioudas, son of Salomon and to all the house of Ioudas and Benjamin and to the rest of the people, saying, 24 “This is what the Lord says, ‘You shall not go up or fight with your brothers, the sons of Israel; let each return to his own house, for this thing has come from me’.” And they heeded the word of the Lord and forbode to go, according to the word of the Lord.

### **i. 3 Kingdoms 12:24a–z (Greek text; Rahlfs)**

[a] Καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαλωμων κοιμᾶται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυιδ. καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Ροβοαμ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ’ αὐτοῦ ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ υἱὸς ὢν ἐκκαίδεκα ἐτῶν ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δώδεκα ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ, καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Νααμαν θυγάτηρ Ἀναν υἱοῦ Ναας βασιλέως υἱῶν Ἀμμων· καὶ ἐποίησεν τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ οὐκ ἐπορεύθη ἐν ὁδῷ Δαυιδ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ.— [b] καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὄρους Εφραιμ δοῦλος τῷ Σαλωμων, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἱεροβοαμ, καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σαριρα γυνὴ πόρνη· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν Σαλωμων εἰς ἄρχοντα σκυτάλης ἐπὶ τὰς ἄρσεις οἴκου Ἰωσηφ, καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τῷ Σαλωμων τὴν Σαριρα τὴν ἐν ὄρει Εφραιμ, καὶ ἦσαν αὐτῷ ἄρματα τριακόσια ἵππων· οὗτος ὠκοδόμησεν τὴν ἄκραν ἐν ταῖς ἄρσεσιν οἴκου Εφραιμ, οὗτος συνέκλεισεν τὴν πόλιν Δαυιδ καὶ ἦν ἐπαιρόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν. [c] καὶ ἐζήτηι Σαλωμων θανατῶσαι αὐτόν, καὶ ἐφοβήθη καὶ ἀπέδρα αὐτὸς πρὸς Σουσακιμ βασιλέα Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἦν μετ’ αὐτοῦ, ἕως ἀπέθανεν Σαλωμων. [d] καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἱεροβοαμ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅτι τέθηκεν Σαλωμων, καὶ ἐλάλησεν εἰς τὰ ὦτα Σουσακιμ βασιλέως Αἰγύπτου λέγων Ἐξαπόστειλόν με καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν γῆν μου· καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ Σουσακιμ Αἴτησαί τι αἴτημα καὶ δώσω σοι. [e] καὶ Σουσακιμ ἔδωκεν τῷ Ἱεροβοαμ τὴν Ἀνω ἀδελφὴν Θεκεμιναι τὴν πρεσβυτέραν τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ αὐτῷ εἰς γυναῖκα αὐτῆς ἣν μεγάλη ἐν μέσῳ τῶν θυγατέρων τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἔτεκεν τῷ Ἱεροβοαμ τὸν Ἀβια υἱὸν αὐτοῦ. [f] καὶ εἶπεν Ἱεροβοαμ πρὸς Σουσακιμ Ὅντως ἐξαπόστειλόν με καὶ ἀπελεύσομαι. καὶ ἐξῆλθεν Ἱεροβοαμ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἦλθεν εἰς γῆν Σαριρα τὴν ἐν ὄρει Εφραιμ· καὶ συνάγεται ἐκεῖ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Εφραιμ· καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν Ἱεροβοαμ ἐκεῖ χάρακα. [g] Καὶ ἠρρώστησε τὸ παιδάριον αὐτοῦ ἄρρωστιαν κραταιὰν σφόδρα· καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ἱεροβοαμ ἐπερωτῆσαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδαρίου· καὶ εἶπε πρὸς Ἀνω τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Ἀνάστηθι καὶ πορεύου, ἐπερώτησον τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τοῦ παιδαρίου, εἰ ζήσεται ἐκ τῆς ἀρρωστίας αὐτοῦ. [h] καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἦν ἐν Σηλω καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἀχια, καὶ οὗτος ἦν υἱὸς ἐξήκοντα ἐτῶν, καὶ ῥῆμα κυρίου μετ’ αὐτοῦ. καὶ εἶπεν Ἱεροβοαμ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ Ἀνάστηθι καὶ λαβὲ εἰς τὴν χειρά σου τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ τοῦ θεοῦ ἄρτους καὶ κολλύρια τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος. [i] καὶ ἀνέστη ἡ γυνὴ καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς τὴν χεῖρα αὐτῆς ἄρτους καὶ δύο κολλύρια καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος τῷ Ἀχια· καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος πρεσβύτερος, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἠμβλυώπου τοῦ βλέπειν. [k] καὶ ἀνέστη ἐκ Σαριρα καὶ πορεύεται, καὶ ἐγένετο εἰσελθούσης αὐτῆς εἰς τὴν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀχια τὸν Σηλωνίτην καὶ εἶπεν Ἀχια τῷ παιδαρίῳ αὐτοῦ Ἐξελθε δὴ εἰς ἀπαντὴν Ἀνω τῆς γυναικὶ Ἱεροβοαμ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῇ Εἴσελθε καὶ μὴ στήῃς, ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος Σκληρὰ ἐγὼ ἐπαποστελῶ ἐπὶ σέ. [l] καὶ εἰσῆλθεν Ἀνω πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῇ Ἀχια Ἴνα τί μοι ἐνήνοχας ἄρτους καὶ σταφυλὴν καὶ κολλύρια καὶ στάμνον μέλιτος; τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἴδοὺ σὺ ἀπελεύση ἀπ’ ἐμοῦ, καὶ ἔσται εἰσελθούσης σου τὴν πύλιν εἰς Σαριρα καὶ τὰ κοράσια σου ἐξελεύσονται σοι εἰς συνάντησιν καὶ ἐροῦσίν σοι

Τὸ παιδάριον τέθνηκεν. [m] ὅτι τάδε λέγει κύριος Ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ ἐξολεθρεύσω τοῦ Ιεροβοαμ οὐροῦντα πρὸς τοῖχον, καὶ ἔσονται οἱ τεθνηκότες τοῦ Ιεροβοαμ ἐν τῇ πόλει καταφάγονται οἱ κύνες, καὶ τὸν τεθνηκότα ἐν τῷ ἀγρῷ καταφάγεται τὰ πετεινὰ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. καὶ τὸ παιδάριον κόψονται Οὐαὶ κύριε, ὅτι εὐρέθη ἐν αὐτῷ ῥῆμα καλὸν περὶ τοῦ κυρίου. [n] καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἡ γυνή, ὡς ἤκουσεν, καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν Σαριρα, καὶ τὸ παιδάριον ἀπέθανεν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἡ κραυγὴ εἰς ἀπαντήν. [o] Καὶ ἐπορεύθη Ιεροβοαμ εἰς Σικιμα τὴν ἐν ὄρει Εφραιμ καὶ συνήθροισεν ἐκεῖ τὰς φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ, καὶ ἀνέβη ἐκεῖ Ροβοαμ υἱὸς Σαλωμων. καὶ λόγος κυρίου ἐγένετο πρὸς Σαμαϊαν τὸν Ελαμι λέγων Λαβὲ σεαυτῷ ἱμάτιον καινὸν τὸ οὐκ εἰσεληλυθὸς εἰς ὕδωρ καὶ ῥῆξον αὐτὸ δώδεκα ῥήγματα καὶ δώσεις τῷ Ιεροβοαμ καὶ ἐρεῖς αὐτῷ Τάδε λέγει κύριος Λαβὲ σεαυτῷ δέκα ῥήγματα τοῦ περιβαλέσθαι σε. καὶ ἔλαβεν Ιεροβοαμ· καὶ εἶπεν Σαμαϊας Τάδε λέγει κύριος ἐπὶ τὰς δέκα φυλὰς τοῦ Ἰσραηλ. [p] Καὶ εἶπεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς Ροβοαμ υἱὸν Σαλωμων Ὁ πατήρ σου ἐβάρυνεν τὸν κλοιὸν αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐβάρυνεν τὰ βρώματα τῆς τραπέζης αὐτοῦ· καὶ νῦν εἰ κουφιεῖς σὺ ἐφ' ἡμᾶς, καὶ δουλεύσομέν σοι. καὶ εἶπεν Ροβοαμ πρὸς τὸν λαόν Ἔτι τριῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ ἀποκριθήσομαι ὑμῖν ῥῆμα. [q] καὶ εἶπεν Ροβοαμ Εἰσαγάγετέ μοι τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους, καὶ συμβουλευέσομαι μετ' αὐτῶν τί ἀποκριθῶ τῷ λαῷ ῥῆμα ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ τρίτῃ. καὶ ἐλάλησεν Ροβοαμ εἰς τὰ ὦτα αὐτῶν καθὼς ἀπέστειλεν ὁ λαὸς πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ εἶπον οἱ πρεσβύτεροι τοῦ λαοῦ Οὕτως ἐλάλησεν πρὸς σὲ ὁ λαός. [r] καὶ διεσκέδασεν Ροβοαμ τὴν βουλὴν αὐτῶν, καὶ οὐκ ἤρεσεν ἐνώπιον αὐτοῦ· καὶ ἀπέστειλεν καὶ εἰσήγαγεν τοὺς συντρόφους αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐλάλησεν αὐτοῖς τὰ αὐτά Καὶ ταῦτα ἀπέστειλεν πρὸς με λέγων ὁ λαός. καὶ εἶπαν οἱ σύντροφοι αὐτοῦ Οὕτως λαλήσεις πρὸς τὸν λαὸν λέγων Ἡ μικρότης μου παχυτέρα ὑπὲρ τὴν ὀσφὺν τοῦ πατρός μου· ὁ πατήρ μου ἐμαστίγου ὑμᾶς μᾶστιγξιν, ἐγὼ δὲ κατάρξω ὑμῶν ἐν σκορπίοις. [s] καὶ ἤρεσεν τὸ ῥῆμα ἐνώπιον Ροβοαμ, καὶ ἀπεκρίθη τῷ λαῷ καθὼς συνεβούλευσαν αὐτῷ οἱ σύντροφοι αὐτοῦ τὰ παιδάρια. [t] καὶ εἶπεν πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὡς ἀνὴρ εἷς, ἕκαστος τῷ πλησίον αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἀνέκραξαν ἅπαντες λέγοντες Οὐ μερὶς ἡμῖν ἐν Δαυιδ οὐδὲ κληρονομία ἐν υἱῷ Ἰεσσαί· εἰς τὰ σκηνώματά σου, Ἰσραηλ, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ εἰς ἄρχοντα οὐδὲ εἰς ἡγούμενον. [u] καὶ διεσπάρη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐκ Σικιμων, καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸ σκηνώμα αὐτοῦ. καὶ κατεκράτησεν Ροβοαμ καὶ ἀπῆλθεν καὶ ἀνέβη ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρμα αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ, καὶ πορεύονται ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Ἰουδα καὶ πᾶν σκῆπτρον Βενιαμιν.— [x] καὶ ἐγένετο ἐνισταμένου τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ καὶ συνήθροισεν Ροβοαμ πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμιν καὶ ἀνέβη τοῦ πολεμεῖν πρὸς Ἱεροβοαμ εἰς Σικιμα. [y] καὶ ἐγένετο ῥῆμα κυρίου πρὸς Σαμαϊαν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ λέγων Εἰπὸν τῷ Ροβοαμ βασιλεῖ Ἰουδα καὶ πρὸς πάντα οἶκον Ἰουδα καὶ Βενιαμιν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κατάλειμμα τοῦ λαοῦ λέγων Τάδε λέγει κύριος Οὐκ ἀναβήσεσθε οὐδὲ πολεμήσετε πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ὑμῶν υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ· ἀναστρέφετε ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ, ὅτι παρ' ἐμοῦ γέγονεν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο. [z] καὶ ἤκουσαν τοῦ λόγου κυρίου καὶ ἀνέσχον τοῦ πορευθῆναι, κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου.

### **j. 3 Kingdoms 12:24a–z (English translation; Pietersma and Wright eds.)**

[a] And King Salomon slept with his fathers and was buried with his fathers in the city of David. And his son Roboam ruled in his stead in Ierousalem being a son of sixteen years when he began to reign, and he reigned twelve years in Ierousalem, and his mother's name was Naanan daughter of Anan son of Naas, king of the sons of Ammon, and he did evil before the Lord and did not go in the way of David his father. [b] And there was a person of Mount Ephraim, a slave of Salomon, and his name was Ieroboam, and his mother's name was Sarira, a prostitute, and Salomon made him ruler of the cudgel over the burdens of the house of Ioseph, and he built for Salomon Sarira, which was in Mount Ephraim, and he had three hundred chariots of horses; he built the citadel with the burdens of the house of Ephraim; he enclosed the city of David, and he was aspiring to the kingdom. [c] And Salomon was seeking to put him to death, and he was afraid and ran away to King Sousakim of Egypt, and he was with him until Salomon died. [d]

And Ieroboam heard in Egypt that Salomon had died, and he spoke in the ears of Sousakim, king of Egypt, saying, “Send me off, and I will depart into my land,” and Sousakim said to him, “Request any request, and I will give it to you.” [e] And Sousakim gave Ieroboam Ano, the older sister of Thekemina his wife, to him as wife; she was great among the king’s daughters, and she bore to Ieroboam Abia his son. [f] And Ieroboam said to Sousakim. “Do really send me off, and I will depart.” And Ieroboam departed from Egypt and came into the land of Sarira, which is in Mount Ephraim, and there all the scepter of Ephraim gathered, and Ieroboam built a palisaded camp there.

[g] And his lad was sick with a very severe sickness, and Ieroboam went to inquire about the lad, and he said to Ano his wife, “Arise, and go; ask God about the lad, whether he will recover from his sickness.” [h] And there was a person in Selo, and his name was Achia, and he was a son of sixty years, and the word of the Lord was with him. And Ieroboam said to his wife, “Arise, and take in your hand for the man of God loaves and cakes for his children and grapes and a jar of honey.” [i] And the woman arose and took in her hand loaves and two cakes and grapes and a jar of honey for Achia, and the person was rather old, and his eyes were dim-sighted to see. [k] And she arose from Sarira and came, and it happened, after she entered into the city to Achia the Selonite, that Achia said to his lad: “Indeed, go out to meet Ano the wife of Ieroboam and you will say to her, “Come in and do not stand, for this is what the Lord says, ‘I will send hard things upon you.’ ” [l] And Ano entered in before the man of God, and Achia said to her, “Why have you brought me loaves and grapes and cakes and a jar of honey? This is what the Lord says, ‘Behold, you will depart from me, and it will be when you enter the gate to Sarira that your girls will come out to meet you and will say to you, “The lad has died.” ’ [m] For this is what the Lord says ‘Behold, I will utterly destroy of Ieroboam one that urinates against a wall, and the dead of Ieroboam will be in the city; the dogs will devour [them], and the birds of the air will devour the one who has died in the field. And they shall lament for the child, “Woe, O Lord,” for there was found in him a good thing concerning the Lord.’ [n] And the woman departed when she heard, and it happened, as she entered into Sarira, that the lad died and the wailing came out to meet her.

[o] And Ieroboam went to Sikima which is in Mount Ephraim and gathered there the tribes of Israel, and Roboam son of Salomon came up there, and a word of the Lord came to Samaias the Elami, saying, “take for yourself a new garment which has not been immersed in water and tear it into twelve pieces, and you shall give to Ieroboam and say to him, ‘This is what the Lord says, Take for yourself ten pieces to cover yourself,’ ” and Ieroboam took them, and Samaias said, “This is what the Lord says concerning the ten tribes of Israel.”

[p] And the people said to Roboam son of Salomon “Your father made his collar heavy upon us and the food of his table heavy. And now if you will ease up on us, then we will be subject to you,” and Roboam said to the people, “Yet three days and I will answer you a word.” [q] And Roboam said, “Bring in the elders to me and I will take counsel with them what word I should answer the people in the third day.” And Roboam spoke in their ears as the people sent to him, and the elders of the people said, “Thus the people spoke to you.” [r] And Roboam rejected their advice, and it was not pleasing before him, and he sent and gathered those who had been brought up with him and spoke to them the issues, “And the people sent to me, saying these things.” And those who had been brought up with him said: “Thus you shall speak to the people, saying, ‘my smallness is thicker than my father’s loins; my father chastised you with whips, but I will rule you with scorpions.’ ” [s] And the word was pleasing before Roboam, and he answered the people according as the lads who grew up with him advised him. [t] And all the people as one man said, each to his neighbor, and all cried out, saying,

“There is no part for us in Daud,  
neither inheritance in the son of Iessai;  
to your coverts, O Israel,  
for this person is not for a ruler or for a leader.”

[u] And all the people were dispersed from Sikima, and each departed to his coverts. And Roboam retained control and departed and mounted on his chariot and entered into Ierousalem, and all the sceptre of Ioudas and all the sceptre of Benjamin went after him.

[x] And it happened at the beginning of the year that Roboam gathered every man of Ioudas and Benjamin and went up to fight against Ieroboam at Sikima. [y] And a word of the Lord came to Samaias a man of God, saying: Say to Roboam, king of Ioudas, and to all the house of Ioudas and Benjamin and to the rest of the people, saying, “This is what the Lord says, You shall not go up or fight against your brothers, sons of Israel; return each to his house, for this word has come from me.” [z] And they heard the word of the Lord and forbore to go, according to the word of the Lord.

### **k. 3 Kingdoms 14:21–31 (Greek text; Rahlfs)**

<sup>21</sup>Καὶ Ροβοαμ υἱὸς Σαλωμων ἐβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ Ἰουδα· υἱὸς τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτῶν Ροβοαμ ἐν τῷ βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν καὶ δέκα ἐπτὰ ἔτη ἐβασίλευσεν ἐν Ἱερουσαλημ τῇ πόλει, ἣν ἐξελέξατο κύριος θέσθαι τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ ἐκ πασῶν φυλῶν τοῦ Ἰσραηλ· καὶ τὸ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Νααμα ἢ Ἀμμανίτις. <sup>22</sup>καὶ ἐποίησεν Ροβοαμ τὸ πονηρὸν ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ παρεζήλωσεν αὐτὸν ἐν πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐποίησαν οἱ πατέρες αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἀμαρτίαις αὐτῶν, αἷς

ἤμαρτον, <sup>23</sup>καὶ ὠκοδόμησαν ἑαυτοῖς ὑψηλὰ καὶ στήλας καὶ ἄλση ἐπὶ πάντα βουνὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ ὑποκάτω παντὸς ξύλου συσκίου· <sup>24</sup>καὶ σύνδεσμος ἐγενήθη ἐν τῇ γῆ, καὶ ἐποίησαν ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν βδελυγμάτων τῶν ἐθνῶν, ὧν ἐξῆρεν κύριος ἀπὸ προσώπου υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ.— <sup>25</sup>καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν τῷ ἐνιαυτῷ τῷ πέμπτῳ βασιλεύοντος Ροβοαμ ἀνέβη Σουσακιμ βασιλεὺς Αἰγύπτου ἐπὶ Ἱερουσαλημ <sup>26</sup>καὶ ἔλαβεν πάντας τοὺς θησαυροὺς οἴκου κυρίου καὶ τοὺς θησαυροὺς οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὰ δόρατα τὰ χρυσᾶ, ἃ ἔλαβεν Δαυὶδ ἐκ χειρὸς τῶν παίδων Ἀδρααζαρ βασιλέως Σουβα καὶ εἰσήνεγκεν αὐτὰ εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ, τὰ πάντα ἔλαβεν, ὄπλα τὰ χρυσᾶ. <sup>27</sup>καὶ ἐποίησεν Ροβοαμ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὄπλα χαλκᾶ ἀντ' αὐτῶν. καὶ ἐπέθεντο ἐπ' αὐτὸν οἱ ἡγούμενοι τῶν παρατρεχόντων οἱ φυλάσσοντες τὸν πυλῶνα οἴκου τοῦ βασιλέως. <sup>28</sup>καὶ ἐγένετο ὅτε εἰσεπορεύετο ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰς οἶκον κυρίου, καὶ ἤρουν αὐτὰ οἱ παρατρεχόντες καὶ ἀπηρείδοντο αὐτὰ εἰς τὸ θεε τῶν παρατρεχόντων.— <sup>29</sup>καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν λόγων Ροβοαμ καὶ πάντα, ἃ ἐποίησεν, οὐκ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα γεγραμμένα ἐν βιβλίῳ λόγων τῶν ἡμερῶν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν Ἰουδα; <sup>30</sup>καὶ πόλεμος ἦν ἀνὰ μέσον Ροβοαμ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἱεροβοαμ πάσας τὰς ἡμέρας. <sup>31</sup>καὶ ἐκοιμήθη Ροβοαμ μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ καὶ θάπτεται μετὰ τῶν πατέρων αὐτοῦ ἐν πόλει Δαυὶδ, καὶ ἐβασίλευσεν Αβίου υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀντ' αὐτοῦ.

### **1. 3 Kingdoms 14:21–31 (English translation; Pietersma and Wright eds.)**

21 And Roboam son of Salomon reigned over Ioudas; Roboam was a son of forty and one years when he began to reign, and he reigned seventeen years in Ierousalem, the city that the Lord chose out of all the tribes of Israel to put his name there, and his mother's name was Naama the Ammanite. 22 And Roboam did what was evil before the Lord and provoked him to jealousy with all that his fathers did and with their sins with which they sinned, 23 and they built for themselves high places and poles and groves on every high hill and under every shady tree, 24 and there was also a conspiracy in the land, and they did some of all the abominations of the nations that the Lord drove out from before the sons of Israel.

25 And it happened, in the fifth year when Roboam was reigning, King Sousakim of Egypt came up against Ierousalem 26 and took all the treasures of the house of the Lord and the treasures of the king's house and the golden spears that Daudid took from the hand of the servants of Hadraazar, king of Souba, and brought them into Ierousalem; he took all the golden shields. 27 And King Roboam made bronze shields instead of them. And the officers of the runners who keep the gateway of the king's house put them on him. 28 And it happened, when the king would go into the house of the Lord, that the runners would remove them and deposit them in the Thee of the runners.

29 And the rest of the histories of Roboam and all that the did, behold, are these things not

written in a book of Histories of the Days of the Kings of Ioudas? 30 And there was war between Roboam and between Ieroboam all the days. 31 And Roboam slept with his fathers and was buried with his fathers in the city of Daud, and his son Abiou reigned instead of him.

**m. 1 Kings 12:1–24 (colour coded BHS)**

core story      *Jeroboam additions*      Deuteronomist      “narrator’s” insertion

Rehoboam’s retribution story      beginning of Jeroboam’s story

וַיִּלְךְ רַחֲבָעַם שָׁכֵם כִּי שָׁכֵם בָּא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהַמְלִיךְ אֹתוֹ: <sup>2</sup> וַיְהִי כַשְׂמַעַן יִרְבְּעָם בְּזַנְבֹּט וְהוּא עֹזֶדְנוּ בְּמִצְרַיִם אֲשֶׁר בָּרַח מִפְּנֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה וַיֵּשֶׁב יִרְבְּעָם בְּמִצְרַיִם: <sup>3</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ־לוֹ (וַיְבֹאוּ) [וַיְבֹאוּ] יִרְבְּעָם וְכָל־קַהֲלֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֶל־רַחֲבָעַם לֵאמֹר: <sup>4</sup> אָבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה אֶת־עַלְנוּ וְאַתָּה עַתָּה הִקְלֵם מֵעַבְדֹת אָבִיךָ הִקְשָׁה וּמַעַלְוֵי הַכֶּבֶד אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן עָלֵינוּ וְנַעֲבֹדְךָ: <sup>5</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם לָכוּ עַד שְׁלֹשָׁה יָמִים וְשׁוּבוּ אֵלַי וַיֵּלְכוּ הָעָם: <sup>6</sup> וַיִּזְעַץ הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבָעַם אֶת־הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר־הָיוּ עִמָּדִים אֶת־פְּנֵי שְׁלֹמֹה אָבִיו בְּהִיתוֹ חַי לֵאמֹר אֵיךְ אַתֶּם גּוֹעֲצִים לְהַשִּׁיב אֶת־הָעַם־הַזֶּה דְּבַר: <sup>7</sup> ( וַיְדַבֵּר ) (וַיְדַבְּרוּ) אֵלָיו לֵאמֹר אִם־הַיּוֹם תְּהִי־הָעֶבֶד לְעַם הַזֶּה וְעַבַדְתֶּם וְעַנִּיתֶם וּדְבַרְתֶּם אֲלֵיהֶם דְּבָרִים טוֹבִים וְהָיוּ לָךְ עֲבָדִים כָּל־הַיָּמִים: <sup>8</sup> וַיַּעֲזֹב אֶת־עֲצַת הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצָהוּ וַיִּזְעַץ אֶת־הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אִתּוֹ אֲשֶׁר הָעַמְּדִים לְפָנָיו: <sup>9</sup> וַיֹּאמֶר אֲלֵיהֶם מַה אַתֶּם גּוֹעֲצִים וְנָשִׁיב דְּבַר אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דְּבָרוּ אֵלַי לֵאמֹר הִקְלֵם מִן־הָעֵל אֲשֶׁר־נָתַן אָבִיךָ עָלֵינוּ: <sup>10</sup> וַיְדַבְּרוּ אֵלָיו הַיְלָדִים אֲשֶׁר גָּדְלוּ אִתּוֹ לֵאמֹר כֹּה־תֹאמַר לְעַם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר דְּבָרוּ אֵלַיךְ לֵאמֹר אָבִיךָ הַכְּבִיד אֶת־עַלְנוּ וְאַתָּה הִקְלֵם מֵעָלֵינוּ כֹּה תִדְבֹר אֲלֵיהֶם קִטְנֵי עֵבֶה מִמֶּתַנִּי אָבִי: <sup>11</sup> וְעַתָּה אָבִי הַעֲמִים עֲלֵיכֶם עַל כֶּבֶד וְאַנִּי אוֹסִיף עַל־עַלְכֶם אָבִי יִסֵּר אֶתְכֶם בְּשׁוֹטִים וְאַנִּי אֵיִסַר אֶתְכֶם בְּעַקְרָבִים: <sup>12</sup> ( וַיְבֹאוּ ) [וַיְבֹאוּ] יִרְבְּעָם וְכָל־הָעָם אֶל־רַחֲבָעַם בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי כַּאֲשֶׁר דְּבַר הַמֶּלֶךְ לֵאמֹר שׁוּבוּ אֵלַי בַּיּוֹם הַשְּׁלִישִׁי: <sup>13</sup> וַיַּעַן הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־הָעָם קָשָׁה וַיַּעֲזֹב אֶת־עֲצַת הַזְּקֵנִים אֲשֶׁר יַעֲצָהוּ: <sup>14</sup> וַיְדַבֵּר אֲלֵיהֶם כַּעֲצַת הַיְלָדִים לֵאמֹר אָבִי הַכְּבִיד אֶת־עַלְכֶם וְאַנִּי אוֹסִיף עַל־עַלְכֶם אָבִי יִסֵּר אֶתְכֶם בְּעַקְרָבִים: <sup>15</sup> וְלֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־הָעָם כִּי־הָיְתָה סִבָּה מֵעַם יְהוָה לִמְעַן הָקִים אֶת־דְּבָרוֹ אֲשֶׁר דְּבַר יְהוָה בְּיַד אַחֲזֵיהֶם הַשִּׁילְנִי אֶל־יִרְבְּעָם בְּזַנְבֹּט: <sup>16</sup> וַיֵּרָא כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי לֹא־שָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲלֵיהֶם וַיֵּשְׁבוּ הָעָם אֶת־הַמֶּלֶךְ דְּבַר לֵאמֹר מִה־לָּנוּ חֶלֶק בְּדָוִד וְלֹא־נַחֲלָה בְּבֹן־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֵאמֹר רְאֵה בֵּיתְךָ דָּוִד וַיִּלְךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא־הָלְיוּ: <sup>17</sup> וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיֹּשְׁבִים בְּעַרְיֵי יְהוּדָה וַיִּמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רַחֲבָעַם: <sup>18</sup> וַיִּשְׁלַח הַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבָעַם אֶת־אֲדָרָם אֲשֶׁר עַל־הַמֶּס וַיִּרְגְּמוּ כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל בּוֹ אֶבֶן וַיָּמָת וְהַמֶּלֶךְ רַחֲבָעַם הִתְאַמֵּץ לַעֲלוֹת בְּמִרְכָּבָה לָנוֹס יְרוּשָׁלַם: <sup>19</sup> וַיִּפְשְׁעוּ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּבֵית דָּוִד עַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה: <sup>20</sup> וַיְהִי כַשְׂמַעַן כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי־שָׁב יִרְבְּעָם וַיִּשְׁלַחוּ וַיִּקְרְאוּ אֹתוֹ אֶל־הַעֲדָה וַיִּמְלִיכוּ אֹתוֹ עַל־כָּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל לֹא הָיָה אַחֲרָי בֵּית־דָּוִד זֹלָתִי שִׁבְט־יְהוּדָה לְבָדוּ: <sup>21</sup> ( וַיְבֹאוּ ) [וַיְבֹאוּ] רַחֲבָעַם יְרוּשָׁלַם וַיִּקְהַל אֶת־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה וְאֶת־שִׁבְטֵי בְנֵי־מִן מֵאָה וּשְׁמֹנִים אֲלֹף בַּחֹר עֲשָׂה מִלְחָמָה

לְהִלָּחֵם עִם־בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל לְהָשִׁיב אֶת־הַמְּלוּכָה לְרַחֲבֵעַם בֶּן־שָׁלֹמֹה: פ 22 וַיְהִי דְבַר הָאֱלֹהִים אֶל־  
 שְׁמַעְיָה אִישׁ־הָאֱלֹהִים לֵאמֹר: 23 אָמַר אֶל־רַחֲבֵעַם בֶּן־שָׁלֹמֹה מֶלֶךְ יְהוּדָה וְאֶל־כָּל־בֵּית יְהוּדָה  
 וּבְנֵי־מִן וַיִּתֶּר הָעָם לֵאמֹר: 24 כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה לֹא־תֵעָלוּ וְלֹא־תִלְחַמּוּן עִם־אֲחֵיכֶם בְּנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל שׁוּבוּ  
 אִישׁ לְבֵיתוֹ כִּי מֵאֲתֵי נְהִיָה הַדָּבָר הַזֶּה וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ אֶת־דְּבַר יְהוָה וַיָּשׁוּבוּ לָלֶכֶת כַּדְּבַר יְהוָה: ס

**n. 1 Kings 12:1–24 (colour coded NRSV)**

**core story**      **Jeroboam additions**      **Deuteronomist**      **“narrator’s” insertion**

**Rehoboam’s retribution story**      **beginning of Jeroboam’s story**

<sup>1</sup>Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had gone there to make him king. <sup>2</sup>When Jeroboam son of Nebat heard this (he was still in Egypt, where he had fled from King Solomon), he returned from Egypt. <sup>3</sup>So they sent for Jeroboam, and he and the whole assembly of Israel went to Rehoboam and said to him: <sup>4</sup>"Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but now lighten the harsh labour and the heavy yoke he put on us, and we will serve you." <sup>5</sup>Rehoboam answered, "Go away for three days and then come back to me." So the people went away. <sup>6</sup>Then King Rehoboam consulted the elders who had served his father Solomon during his lifetime. "How would you advise me to answer these people?" he asked. <sup>7</sup>They replied, "If today you will be a servant to these people and serve them and give them a favourable answer, they will always be your servants." <sup>8</sup>But Rehoboam rejected the advice the elders gave him and consulted the young men who had grown up with him and were serving him. <sup>9</sup>He asked them, "What is your advice? How should we answer these people who say to me, 'Lighten the yoke your father put on us'?" <sup>10</sup>The young men who had grown up with him replied, "These people have said to you, 'Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but make our yoke lighter.' Now tell them, 'My little finger is thicker than my father's waist. <sup>11</sup>My father laid on you a heavy yoke; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions.'" <sup>12</sup>Three days later Jeroboam and all the people returned to Rehoboam, as the king had said, "Come back to me in three days." <sup>13</sup>The king answered the people harshly. Rejecting the advice given him by the elders, <sup>14</sup>he followed the advice of the young men and said, "My father made your yoke heavy; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions." <sup>15</sup>So the king did not listen to the people, for this turn of events was from the LORD, to fulfil the word the LORD had spoken to Jeroboam son of Nebat through Ahijah the Shilonite. <sup>16</sup>When all Israel saw that the king refused to listen to them, they answered the king: "What share do we have in David, what part in Jesse's son? To your tents, Israel! Look after your own house, David!" So the Israelites went home. <sup>17</sup>But as for the Israelites who were living in the

towns of Judah, Rehoboam still ruled over them.<sup>18</sup> King Rehoboam sent out Adoniram, who was in charge of forced labor, but all Israel stoned him to death. King Rehoboam, however, managed to get into his chariot and escape to Jerusalem.<sup>19</sup> So Israel has been in rebellion against the house of David to this day.<sup>20</sup> When all the Israelites heard that Jeroboam had returned, they sent and called him to the assembly and made him king over all Israel. Only the tribe of Judah remained loyal to the house of David.<sup>21</sup> When Rehoboam arrived in Jerusalem, he mustered all Judah and the tribe of Benjamin--a hundred and eighty thousand able young men--to go to war against Israel and to regain the kingdom for Rehoboam son of Solomon.<sup>22</sup> But this word of God came to Shemaiah the man of God:<sup>23</sup> "Say to Rehoboam son of Solomon king of Judah, to all Judah and Benjamin, and to the rest of the people,<sup>24</sup> "This is what the LORD says: Do not go up to fight against your brothers, the Israelites. Go home, every one of you, for this is my doing." So they obeyed the word of the LORD and went home again, as the LORD had ordered.

#### **o. the tale of the stubborn Rehoboam (NRSV 1 Kings 12:1, 3b–14, 16, 19)**

<sup>1</sup>Rehoboam went to Shechem, for all Israel had gone there to make him king. <sup>3b</sup>The whole assembly of Israel went to Rehoboam and said to him: <sup>4</sup>"Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but now lighten the harsh labour and the heavy yoke he put on us, and we will serve you." <sup>5</sup>Rehoboam answered, "Go away for three days and then come back to me." So the people went away. <sup>6</sup>Then King Rehoboam consulted the elders who had served his father Solomon during his lifetime. "How would you advise me to answer these people?" he asked. <sup>7</sup>They replied, "If today you will be a servant to these people and serve them and give them a favourable answer, they will always be your servants." <sup>8</sup>But Rehoboam rejected the advice the elders gave him and consulted the young men who had grown up with him and were serving him. <sup>9</sup>He asked them, "What is your advice? How should we answer these people who say to me, 'Lighten the yoke your father put on us'?" <sup>10</sup>The young men who had grown up with him replied, "These people have said to you, 'Your father put a heavy yoke on us, but make our yoke lighter.' Now tell them, 'My little finger is thicker than my father's waist. <sup>11</sup>My father laid on you a heavy yoke; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions.'" <sup>12</sup>Three days later all the people returned to Rehoboam, as the king had said, "Come back to me in three days." <sup>13</sup>The king answered the people harshly. Rejecting the advice given him by the elders, <sup>14</sup>he followed the advice of the young men and said, "My father made your yoke heavy; I will make it even heavier. My father scourged you with whips; I will scourge you with scorpions." <sup>16</sup>When all Israel saw that the king refused to listen to them, they answered the king: "What share do we have in David, what part in Jesse's son? To your tents, Israel! Look

after your own house, David!" So the Israelites went home.<sup>19</sup> So Israel has been in rebellion against the house of David to this day.

**p. the retribution of King Rehoboam (NRSV 1 Kings 12:18, 21–24)**

<sup>18</sup> King Rehoboam sent out Adoniram, who was in charge of forced labor, but all Israel stoned him to death. King Rehoboam, however, managed to get into his chariot and escape to Jerusalem.<sup>21</sup> When Rehoboam arrived in Jerusalem, he mustered all Judah and the tribe of Benjamin--a hundred and eighty thousand able young men--to go to war against Israel and to regain the kingdom for Rehoboam son of Solomon.<sup>22</sup> But this word of God came to Shemaiah the man of God:<sup>23</sup> "Say to Rehoboam son of Solomon king of Judah, to all Judah and Benjamin, and to the rest of the people,<sup>24</sup> "This is what the LORD says: Do not go up to fight against your brothers, the Israelites. Go home, every one of you, for this is my doing.'" So they obeyed the word of the LORD and went home again, as the LORD had ordered.

**q. Jeroboam's royal drama (NRSV 1 Kings 11:26–40; [12:2–3a, 11a] 12:20, 25–)**

<sup>26</sup> Also, Jeroboam son of Nebat rebelled against the king. He was one of Solomon's officials, an Ephraimite from Zeredah, and his mother was a widow named Zeruah.<sup>27</sup> Here is the account of how he rebelled against the king: Solomon had built the terraces and had filled in the gap in the wall of the city of David his father.<sup>28</sup> Now Jeroboam was a man of standing, and when Solomon saw how well the young man did his work, he put him in charge of the whole labor force of the tribes of Joseph.<sup>29</sup> About that time Jeroboam was going out of Jerusalem, and Ahijah the prophet of Shiloh met him on the way, wearing a new cloak. The two of them were alone out in the country,<sup>30</sup> and Ahijah took hold of the new cloak he was wearing and tore it into twelve pieces.<sup>31</sup> Then he said to Jeroboam, "Take ten pieces for yourself, for this is what the LORD, the God of Israel, says: 'See, I am going to tear the kingdom out of Solomon's hand and give you ten tribes.<sup>32</sup> But for the sake of my servant David and the city of Jerusalem, which I have chosen out of all the tribes of Israel, he will have one tribe.<sup>33</sup> I will do this because they have forsaken me and worshiped Ashtoreth the goddess of the Sidonians, Chemosh the god of the Moabites, and Molek the god of the Ammonites, and have not walked in obedience to me, nor done what is right in my eyes, nor kept my decrees and laws as David, Solomon's father, did.<sup>34</sup> " 'But I will not take the whole kingdom out of Solomon's hand; I have made him ruler all the days of his life for the sake of David my servant, whom I chose and who obeyed my commands and decrees.<sup>35</sup> I will take the kingdom from his son's hands and give you ten tribes.<sup>36</sup> I will give one tribe to his son so that David my servant may always have a lamp before me in Jerusalem, the city where I chose to put my Name.<sup>37</sup> However, as for you, I will take you,

and you will rule over all that your heart desires; you will be king over Israel. <sup>38</sup> If you do whatever I command you and walk in obedience to me and do what is right in my eyes by obeying my decrees and commands, as David my servant did, I will be with you. I will build you a dynasty as enduring as the one I built for David and will give Israel to you. <sup>39</sup> I will humble David's descendants because of this, but not forever.' ” <sup>40</sup> Solomon tried to kill Jeroboam, but Jeroboam fled to Egypt, to Shishak the king, and stayed there until Solomon's death.

[<sup>2</sup> When Jeroboam son of Nebat heard this (he was still in Egypt, where he had fled from King Solomon), he returned from Egypt. <sup>3</sup> So they sent for Jeroboam, and he and <sup>11</sup> Jeroboam and]

<sup>20</sup> When all the Israelites heard that Jeroboam had returned, they sent and called him to the assembly and made him king over all Israel. Only the tribe of Judah remained loyal to the house of David. <sup>25</sup> Then Jeroboam fortified Shechem in the hill country of Ephraim and lived there. From there he went out and built up Peniel. <sup>26</sup> Jeroboam thought to himself, “The kingdom will now likely revert to the house of David. <sup>27</sup> If these people go up to offer sacrifices at the temple of the LORD in Jerusalem, they will again give their allegiance to their lord, Rehoboam king of Judah. They will kill me and return to King Rehoboam.” <sup>28</sup> After seeking advice, the king made two golden calves. He said to the people, “It is too much for you to go up to Jerusalem. Here are your gods, Israel, who brought you up out of Egypt.” <sup>29</sup> One he set up in Bethel, and the other in Dan. <sup>30</sup> And this thing became a sin; the people came to worship the one at Bethel and went as far as Dan to worship the other. <sup>31</sup> Jeroboam built shrines on high places and appointed priests from all sorts of people, even though they were not Levites. <sup>32</sup> He instituted a festival on the fifteenth day of the eighth month, like the festival held in Judah, and offered sacrifices on the altar. This he did in Bethel, sacrificing to the calves he had made. And at Bethel he also installed priests at the high places he had made. <sup>33</sup> On the fifteenth day of the eighth month, a month of his own choosing, he offered sacrifices on the altar he had built at Bethel. So he instituted the festival for the Israelites and went up to the altar to make offerings.