

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

INTERPRETATION IN THE SEPTUAGINT OF SAMUEL

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SARAH SHAW YARDNEY

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For my family,  
and for my teachers

“I would like to start out with this supposition: in cases where the translator had an intention of his own this usually comes across through his rendering. The intended meaning is the meaning that can be read from the translation. As a matter of fact, it is only through the translated text that we know anything about the intentions of the translator.”

Anneli Aejmelaeus  
“Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator”

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her efforts were not wasted. Special thanks to Sue for helping to hold down the fort during my last week of writing while our children were home on spring break.

My children Nora and Morgan inspire me with the joy they find in struggling to acquire a new skill. I am humbled by their determination to take on new challenges, and I will never tire of watching their faces light up when they do something independently for the first time. They also keep my priorities in line and my head screwed on straight, and for that I am very grateful.

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## Abstract

This study argues that while the Septuagint of Samuel is widely considered a mechanical rendering of its *Vorlage*, the translator was capable of making creative choices informed by his sensitivity to the coherence of his narrative and his knowledge of other texts. This thesis is based on scrutiny of three examples: 1 Sam 1:6, 14:41, and 15:29. In each of these three verses, the analysis demonstrates that the translator has provided a creative solution to a perceived problem in the *Vorlage*. Early Jewish sources—including non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, Targumim, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, and a range of rabbinic texts—contextualize the translator’s decisions and support the argument that these examples represent interpretation rather than error.

The dissertation offers a fuller and more flexible conception of the Greek translator’s working methods in Samuel than has previously been proposed. The translator’s isomorphic style is shown to be a choice rather than a limitation of his ability to understand Hebrew. He can be both literal and free at the same time: he deviates very little from the textual form of the *Vorlage* even when making extensive changes to its meaning.

This expanded characterization of the translator yields more reliable reconstructions of the fragmentary Samuel scrolls from Qumran, and sheds new light on the textual relationships between the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint, and the Dead Sea Scrolls. By making the case for the translator’s creative interactions with his *Vorlage*, this study also reveals LXX Samuel’s previously unrecognized contributions to the history of Jewish biblical interpretation.

## Septuagint Manuscripts and Groupings

I have endeavored throughout the dissertation to use the sigla and manuscript groupings that will appear in the critical edition of 1 Samuel currently being prepared by Anneli Aejmelaeus for the Göttingen Septuagint series. She kindly shared the following list with me; see also the published version in Tuukka Kauhanen, *The Proto-Lucianic Problem in 1 Samuel* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2012).

### Uncials

A B M V (842) (845) (846) (867)

### Groups

*O* = 247-376

*L* = 19-82-93-108-127

*CI* = 98-(243)-379-731

*CII* = 46-52-236-242-313-328-530

*a* = 119-527-799

*b* = 121-509

*d* = 44-68-74-106-107-120-122-125-134-(370)-610

subgroups:

68' = 68-122

120' = 74-106-120-134-(370)

134' = 120-134

107' = 44-107-125-610

*f* = 56-246

*s* = 64-92-130-314-381-488-489-(762)

subgroups:

64' = 64-381

488' = 488-489

without grouping: 29 55 71 158 244 245 318 (342) 460 554 707

## Chapter 1

### Introduction

#### I. Overview

The textual history of the Book of Samuel has long held great interest for biblical scholars because of the many divergences between the Hebrew and Greek texts as well as the complicated recensional history of the Greek. Scholars as early as Thenius<sup>1</sup> suspected that the Septuagint represented an alternative *Vorlage* that was often superior to the Masoretic text, which has suffered an unusually high degree of textual corruption in Samuel.<sup>2</sup> This suspicion was verified by the discovery and subsequent publication of the scrolls of Samuel found at Qumran,<sup>3</sup> which demonstrated the existence of a Hebrew text very close to that represented by the Greek of the Septuagint. Commentators and text critics now have fuller confidence in their use of the Septuagint as a means for recovering a very early stage of the Hebrew text of Samuel. At the same time, scholars have labored to extract the earliest form of the translation, the Old Greek,

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<sup>1</sup> Otto Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (Leipzig: Wiedmann'sche Buchhandlung, 1842). Subsequent references are to the second edition, published 1864.

<sup>2</sup> See, e.g., Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 1; Bo Johnson, "On the Masoretic Text at the Beginning of the First Book of Samuel," *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 41 (1976): 130–37; P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1980), 5.

<sup>3</sup> Fragments of the scrolls were originally published in the 1950s: see Frank Moore Cross, "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint," *BASOR* 132 (Dec. 1953): 15–26; Frank Moore Cross, "The Oldest Manuscripts From Qumran," *JBL* 74, no. 3 (Sept. 1955): 147–72. Full publication of the Samuel scrolls came fifty years later in Frank Moore Cross, Donald W. Parry, Richard J. Sailey and Eugene Ulrich, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVII: Qumran Cave 4 XII 1–2 Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005), hereafter *DJD XVII*.

from the welter of textual data to ensure that studies of the Septuagint are grounded in the best possible evidence.

However, in their eagerness to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of Samuel and correct the Masoretic Text, on the one hand, and to identify the Old Greek, on the other, scholars have often not attended closely to the meaning of the Greek. As a result, they have failed to recognize instances of the translator engaging in creative interpretation. This oversight has led to an unduly rigid characterization of the translator's method. Without proper recognition of the translator's interpretive capabilities, we overlook an important source of information about how Alexandrian Jews of the third and second centuries BCE<sup>4</sup> regarded and interacted with their sacred texts.

The current study attempts to remedy this gap by identifying and analyzing examples of the translator's creativity and contextualizing them within the history of Jewish biblical interpretation. While the earliest Greek translation of Samuel is widely considered a mechanical rendering of its *Vorlage*, the examples discussed in this dissertation will demonstrate that the translator was capable of making creative choices informed by his sensitivity to the coherence of his narrative and his knowledge of other biblical texts.

In each of the following three chapters, I will discuss one verse from 1 Samuel in depth. Chapter Two will focus on 1 Sam 1:6, Chapter Three on 1 Sam 14:41, and Chapter Four on 1 Sam 15:29. These verses were chosen because they do not follow the normal patterns of translation found in the Septuagint of 1 Samuel. The translator typically provides highly

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<sup>4</sup> On the date of LXX 1 Samuel, see Marguerite Harl, Gilles Dorival and Olivier Munnich, *La Bible grecque des Septante: du judaïsme hellénistique au christianisme ancien* (Paris: Cerf, 1994), 98; Philippe Hugo, "1–2 Kingdoms (1–2 Samuel)," in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 129.

isomorphic renderings of his *Vorlage*, preserving Hebrew word order, often maintaining Hebrew syntax, and frequently resorting to stereotyped renderings of lexemes. In most cases, where LXX differs from MT, the text critic can quite quickly determine the relationship between the two: MT has suffered a haplography, the translator read *resh* where MT has *dalet*, the translator had an alternative *Vorlage*, etc. In the three verses I have singled out, however, the relationship between the translation and MT is not clear at all (although the difficulty has not always been recognized in the scholarship). In clarifying the relationship between LXX and MT, I will argue that in each of these three verses, the translator has provided a creative solution to a perceived problem<sup>5</sup> in the *Vorlage*. In 1 Sam 1:6, the problem was an obscure *Vorlage*; in 14:41, it was an inconsistency in the immediate narrative; and in 15:29, it was a combination of an obscure *Vorlage* and a missing element in the scene.

These examples of translation deserve to be considered interpretation—not simply because the Greek says something different from the Hebrew, but because the translator interacted with other biblical texts,<sup>6</sup> both near at hand and at some distance, to solve a difficulty in his *Vorlage*. This definition of interpretation in the Septuagint has not, to the best of my knowledge, been offered before. Anneli Aejmelaeus has proposed a scheme of five levels of interpretation in LXX: interpretation on the level of decoding, interpretation on the level of recoding, interpretation as adaptation or reinterpretation, interpretation as an emergency solution,

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<sup>5</sup> By “perceived problem,” I mean something that posed a difficulty for the translator but would not necessarily be considered a problem by a modern reader (or even necessarily by another ancient reader). For example, the Hebrew text of 1 Sam 1:6 is not unusually cryptic, but it gave the translator a great deal of trouble.

<sup>6</sup> The term “biblical texts” could be seen as anachronistic for the period when Samuel was translated into Greek; see the recent critique of the use of “biblical” when referring to Second Temple texts in Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016). I use the term here as a convenient way to refer to the group of texts that in time came to be included in the Bible, and not to indicate that there was a fixed canon when Samuel was first translated.

and interpretation on the level of reception.<sup>7</sup> I would argue that the examples to be discussed below—1 Sam 1:6; 14:41; and 15:29—require an additional category: interpretation as creative problem-solving. I maintain that this categorization holds even for the example of 1 Sam 1:6, where (as will become clear) the translator did not understand his *Vorlage*. One might argue that if the translator did not understand the *Vorlage*, his rendering cannot possibly be considered interpretation. But the translator attempted to solve the problem of his incomprehensible *Vorlage* by reading and rendering it in light of another biblical text (Gen 29:30–30:2). He did not simply produce nonsense Greek that gave some approximation of what he was able to recognize in the Hebrew, nor did he abandon his *Vorlage* entirely and compose something to suit the context.<sup>8</sup> These alternatives for dealing with a difficult *Vorlage* bring into relief the strategy of the translator of Samuel: rather than sidestep the difficulty, he worked his way through it.

I did not begin this study with the conviction that I would find interpretation in the Septuagint of Samuel, either in these verses or elsewhere. For as long as possible, I kept open the possibility that what struck me as unusual renderings were the result of the translator's typical handling of his *Vorlage*, or of a variant reading in the *Vorlage* itself. Only after I had exhausted the explanatory powers of these hypotheses did I conclude that a rendering was intentional and interpretive.

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<sup>7</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Levels of Interpretation: Tracing the Trail of the Septuagint Translators," in *On the Trail*, 295–312.

<sup>8</sup> Both strategies were used elsewhere in the Septuagint. For examples of the former in Hosea, see Jan Joosten, "Exegesis in the Septuagint Version of Hosea," in *Collected Studies*, 123–45; for examples of the latter in Job, see Cameron Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines: The Interlinear Paradigm for Septuagint Studies* (Leuven: Peeters, 2011), 391–429.

## II. Review of scholarship and contribution of the dissertation

In this section I will review the history of scholarship on the Septuagint of Samuel and the contribution of the dissertation to this body of literature. I will begin with textual research because of its foundational nature to the study of Samuel, reviewing scholarship on the relationship between LXX and MT and on the recensional history of the Greek. The contributions of the dissertation to this discussion are narrowly focused and so will be addressed where relevant in chapters two, three, and four. I will then turn to debates where the dissertation contributes substantially. First I will address the use of the categories “literal” and “free” for describing Septuagint translations, especially the proposal by James Barr for greater detail and nuance in the category of literalism. Having discussed how Barr can inform our descriptions of translation, I will turn to the characterization of the translation of Samuel, presenting Anneli Aejmelaeus’s analysis of the translator’s strengths and weaknesses. One of the two main features she identifies as characteristic of the translator—his word-by-word approach—will be put in dialogue with important considerations from Barr regarding the processes of reading and translating. I will then review the “interlinear paradigm” for the Septuagint and consider how a fuller and more accurate characterization of LXX Samuel challenges this theory. Finally, I will offer some thoughts regarding what we should study when we study the Septuagint, suggesting that the current dual foci of translation technique and theological renderings are too narrow, and that greater attention be paid to the phenomenon of narrative exegesis in the Septuagint.

## 1. The text of LXX Samuel

### *The relationship between the Masoretic and Septuagint versions of Samuel*<sup>9</sup>

In 1842, Otto Thenius became the first scholar to propose that the Septuagint of Samuel as found in Codex Vaticanus represented a better and fuller Hebrew version than is found in the Masoretic Text and to recommend that LXX<sup>B</sup> be used to correct MT.<sup>10</sup> Julius Wellhausen affirmed Thenius's basic position in 1871, but cautioned that before using a translation to correct MT, it is necessary to investigate the translator's approach ("der Character ihrer Uebersetzungsart") and to separate, as much as possible, those differences from MT which are due to the translator's initiative from those which are due to textual variants.<sup>11</sup> Wellhausen's observation that both kinds of differences are present in LXX and must be properly identified is foundational for modern text-critical approaches to Samuel.

The approach of Thenius and Wellhausen was strongly criticized by Theodor Nöldeke<sup>12</sup> and Max Löhr (ironically, in his introduction to the third edition of Thenius's commentary),<sup>13</sup> who wished to uphold the primacy of MT. Henry Preserved Smith, however, defended Thenius and Wellhausen forcefully in his commentary in 1899, arguing that the Masoretic text of Samuel "swarms with errors" and can be reliably reconstructed on the basis of LXX: while LXX has of course suffered textual corruption during the course of its transmission, the translators gave a

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<sup>9</sup> A detailed review of the earlier scholarship on this topic is presented in Stephen Pisano, *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel: The Significant Pluses and Minuses in the Masoretic, LXX and Qumran Texts* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 1–8. An excellent and more recent summary of the current state of research into the textual history of Samuel can be found in Philippe Hugo, "Text History of the Books of Samuel: An Assessment of the Recent Research," in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 1–19.

<sup>10</sup> Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, xxi–xxii.

<sup>11</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 9.

<sup>12</sup> Theodor Nöldeke, review of Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, *ZWT* 16 (1873): 117–22.

<sup>13</sup> Max Löhr, in Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 3rd ed. (1898), xc–xcii.

faithful rendering of their *Vorlage*.<sup>14</sup> In his study of the Hebrew text of Samuel in 1890, S. R. Driver gave a more nuanced assessment of LXX as a text-critical tool for Samuel, stating at the outset that the Septuagint is “the Version that is of greatest importance for purposes of textual criticism,”<sup>15</sup> but also noting many elements in LXX that are “presumably” due to the translator; these include doublets, transliterations, and confusion of Hebrew characters.<sup>16</sup> Alfons Schulz took a similarly measured approach in his commentary in 1919–20, voicing the methodological concerns that we do not have the text of the original translation and that Vaticanus and Alexandrinus, the two main Greek witnesses available at the time, frequently do not agree. Schulz recommended that the decision to follow MT or LXX be made on a case-by-case basis.<sup>17</sup>

The consensus which appeared to be developing around the value of LXX as a text-critical tool (albeit with appropriate caveats) was sharply rejected in 1942 by P. A. H. de Boer, who considered LXX to be “of little value” for emending the Hebrew text.<sup>18</sup> Just over a decade later, however, Frank Moore Cross published the first fragments of what would later be called 4Q51 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>),<sup>19</sup> demonstrating that a genuine Hebrew *Vorlage* lay behind many of the divergences from MT found in LXX Samuel. He concludes, “This fragment and the others yet to be published sharply underline the seriousness with which the LXX dealt with the Hebrew text in

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<sup>14</sup> Henry Preserved Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (New York: Scribner’s Sons, 1899), 398–400.

<sup>15</sup> S. R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1890), xxxix.

<sup>16</sup> Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, lvi–lxxx. Subsequent references are to the second edition, published 1913.

<sup>17</sup> Alfons Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel, vol 2: Das zweite Buch Samuel* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1920), 323.

<sup>18</sup> P. A. H. de Boer, *Research into the Text of 1 Samuel I–XVI* (Amsterdam: 1938), 69.

<sup>19</sup> Cross, “New Qumran Fragment,” 15–26.

their hands, and confirms most emphatically the usefulness of the LXX for the establishment of a *more nearly original* Hebrew text.”<sup>20</sup>

Hans Joachim Stoebe in his 1973 commentary hesitated to go so far, cautioning that the text-type represented by LXX and the Qumran scrolls was not necessarily better but simply different from MT.<sup>21</sup> Similarly, P. Kyle McCarter’s commentary of 1980 took as a basic assumption that “none of the ancient witnesses to the text of Samuel has a monopoly on primitive readings”;<sup>22</sup> as a result, McCarter opted to produce an eclectic reconstruction of the Hebrew, which then formed the basis of his translation and exegesis. Emanuel Tov (1980) also argued that Cross had overstated the case for similarities between the Qumran scrolls and LXX, observing that the Samuel scrolls “agree now with this and then with that text (MT, LXX, and Sam. Pent.), and in addition contain a significant number of exclusive readings.”<sup>23</sup> The text-critical situation is much more complicated than is admitted by the characterization of the Samuel scrolls as “Septuagintal.” These important cautions not to oversimplify the textual picture of Samuel did not, however, detract from the basic conclusion that the Qumran scrolls appear to confirm the close and careful method of the Septuagint translator.

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<sup>20</sup> Cross, “New Qumran Fragment,” 25; italics mine. See also his characterization of 4Q52 (4QSam<sup>b</sup>) in Cross, “Oldest Manuscripts,” 165–72: “Its affinities with the tradition to which the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek belongs is most important, and cannot be neglected in developing new methods and evaluations in future critical studies of the text of Samuel.”

<sup>21</sup> Hans Joachim Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuelis* (Gütersloh: Mohn, 1973), 30–31.

<sup>22</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 8.

<sup>23</sup> Emanuel Tov, “Determining the Relationship between the Qumran Scrolls and the LXX: Some Methodological Issues,” in Tov, *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel*, 64. See also the conclusion in Jason Driesbach’s recent study of 4Q51 that “the numerous unique readings in 4Q show a significant degree of independence from G.... It seems best to conclude that 4Q and the *Vorlage* of the OG do share a genetic relationship that separates them from MT, but that 4Q’s text has developed significantly since the time when the OG was produced.” Jason K. Driesbach, *4QSamuel<sup>a</sup> and the Text of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 281.

A few scholars nevertheless continued to express hesitation over the value of LXX for reconstructing MT Samuel. In the same 1980 conference in which Tov pressed for methodological clarity, Dominique Barthélemy argued that while LXX and the Qumran scrolls are important aids in repairing the unusual degree of textual corruption found in MT Samuel, these non-Masoretic texts display a high degree of literary creativity.<sup>24</sup> As a result, shorter and more difficult readings in MT should not as a rule be corrected by means of LXX or the Qumran scrolls. Stephen Pisano came to a similar conclusion in his 1984 study of the pluses and minuses in the MT, LXX, and Qumran scrolls of Samuel: “in the vast majority of cases a large plus or minus occurring in the LXX or 4QSam<sup>a</sup> vis-à-vis MT indicates a further literary activity by LXX or 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.”<sup>25</sup>

Anneli Aejmelaeus demonstrated the flaws in Pisano’s approach and conclusions in a 1987 article, criticizing the faulty logic that underlies his explanations of textual phenomena.<sup>26</sup> She argued forcefully that the burden of proof lies with the scholar who wishes to claim that a divergence in LXX cannot have originated with the *Vorlage*.<sup>27</sup> In their 1997 translation and commentary on LXX 1 Samuel in the *Bible d’Alexandrie* series, Lestienne and Grillet also resisted Pisano’s tendency, contending that when LXX clearly diverges from MT, the difference

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<sup>24</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, “La qualité du Texte Massorétique de Samuel,” in Tov, *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel*, 43.

<sup>25</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 283. A more extreme position regarding 4Q51 has been adopted by Alexander Rofé, who argues based on the unique readings of 4Q51 that the scroll is not a copy of the biblical book of Samuel at all but rather a midrash on the same. Alexander Rofé, “Midrashic Traits in 4Q51 (So-Called 4QSam<sup>a</sup>),” in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 75–88. Driesbach gives some support to Rofé’s general observation, concluding that “a defining characteristic of 4Q is the prevalence of secondary readings ... most [of which] result from scribal exegesis.” Driesbach, *4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>*, 273.

<sup>26</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know About the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint?” in *On the Trail*, 82–3.

<sup>27</sup> Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know,” 85.

is due not to the translator but to a variant *Vorlage*.<sup>28</sup> The basis for this assertion is, first, the frequent agreement between LXX and the Qumran scrolls against MT, and second, the presence of semitisms in the passages where LXX diverges. Eugene Ulrich similarly concluded in his 1999 study of the Dead Sea Scrolls that LXX was translated from a Hebrew text which preserved passages lost through scribal error in an ancestor of MT.<sup>29</sup> He maintained this position in his 2015 monograph, arguing that

the OG repeatedly demonstrates that it faithfully translates a Hebrew text that is simply at variance with the MT. Thus, sound Greek readings which differ from the MT but lack extant Hebrew manuscript support should be seriously considered as based on an alternate Hebrew manuscript and thus as a serious candidate for the “original” text.<sup>30</sup>

This line of scholarship, which has emerged as the dominant one in the field, is also followed by A. Graeme Auld in his 2011 commentary on Samuel.<sup>31</sup>

The consensus that the Samuel scrolls from Qumran confirm the careful work of the LXX translator while also presenting a large number of original readings was further strengthened by the full publication of the scrolls in 2005 by Cross, Parry, Saley, and Ulrich in the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert series.<sup>32</sup> Many of the transcriptions and reconstructions have been criticized

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<sup>28</sup> Michel Lestienne and Bernard Grillet, eds., *Premier livre des Règles*, Bible d'Alexandrie 9.1 (Paris: Cerf, 1997), 51.

<sup>29</sup> Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999), 189–90.

<sup>30</sup> Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Developmental Composition of the Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 80.

<sup>31</sup> A. Graeme Auld, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 2011), 4–5.

<sup>32</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*.

in the decade since this initial publication, however, signaling that there is more work to be done on these important manuscripts.<sup>33</sup>

One particular line of investigation in the wake of the Qumran discoveries is whether there is evidence of multiple editions of Samuel preserved in MT, LXX, and 4Q51. While no proof has been found that these three version represent wholly different editions, the argument has been successfully made for different editions of the psalm of Hannah in 1 Sam 2:1–10<sup>34</sup> and for the story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam 17–18.<sup>35</sup>

One final issue of note regarding the relationship between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint in Samuel regards the increasing scholarly conviction that there are theological and/or ideological corrections in MT. While commentators in the nineteenth century such as Wellhausen, Smith, and Driver were already aware of the *unintentional* changes in Samuel, it is

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<sup>33</sup> Philippe Hugo, Ingo Kottsieper and Annette Steudel, “Notes paléographiques sur 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (4Q51) (le cas de 2 Sam 3),” *RQ* 23, no. 1 (June 2007): 93–108; Émile Puech, “4QSam<sup>a</sup> (4Q51). Notes épigraphiques et nouvelles identifications,” in *Florilegium Lovaniense. Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, ed. H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn and M. Vervenne (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 373–86; Philippe Hugo, Ingo Kottsieper and Annette Steudel, “Reflections on Epigraphy and Critical Editing of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (4Q51) Col. XI,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera: Florilegium Complutense*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 115–31; Bronson Brown-deVost, review of R. Müller, J. Pakkala, and B. ter Haar Romeny, *Evidence of Editing: Growth and Change of Texts in the Hebrew Bible*, *JHS* (forthcoming). Andrew Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran: 4QSam<sup>a</sup> Restored and Compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>c</sup>* (Leiden: Brill, 2001) and Edward D. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>* (Leiden: Brill, 1997) both published before *DJD XVII*, propose many alternative readings. See also pp. 249–273 in Chapter Five.

<sup>34</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Hannah’s Psalm in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,” in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 23–37; Donald Parry, “Hannah in the Presence of the Lord,” in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 53–73; Emanuel Tov, “Different Editions of the Song of Hannah and of Its Narrative Framework,” in *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 433–55; Jürg Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel. Textkritische und literarische Analyse von 1. Samuel 1–2 unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 2004); Stanley D. Walters, “Hannah and Anna: The Greek and Hebrew Texts of 1 Samuel 1,” *JBL* 107, no. 3 (1988): 385–412.

<sup>35</sup> Johann Lust, “David dans la Septante,” in *Figures de David à travers la Bible: XVII<sup>e</sup> congrès de l’ACFEB (1997)*, ed. L. Desrousseaux and J. Vermeylen (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 243–63; Lust and Tov in Dominique Barthélemy, David W. Gooding, Johann Lust and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Story of David and Goliath: Textual and Literary Criticism; Papers of a Joint Research Venture* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1986); Stephen Pisano, “Alcune osservazioni sul racconto di Davide e Golia. Confronto fra TM e LXX,” *Annali di Scienze Religiose*, 10 (2005): 129–37; Julio Trebolle Barrera, “The Story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17–18): Textual Variants and Literary Composition,” *BIOSCS* 2 (1990): 16–23.

only in the past few decades that text critics have begun to recognize intentional changes made in MT. Instances of theological and/or ideological changes in MT Samuel have been identified by Barthélemy,<sup>36</sup> Hutzli,<sup>37</sup> Dietrich,<sup>38</sup> and Hugo,<sup>39</sup> among others. An especially interesting cluster of corrections in the story of Hannah in 1 Sam 1–2 has been studied by Tov,<sup>40</sup> Aejmelaeus,<sup>41</sup> and Dietrich,<sup>42</sup> who suggest that MT intentionally reduces Hannah’s cultic activity in the narrative. Ulrich, on the other hand, acknowledges the presence of a cluster of variants in MT 1 Sam 1–2 but sees no intentional pattern in them.<sup>43</sup> Stanley Walters also objects to the idea that MT has been redacted, arguing instead that MT and LXX represent two unrelated texts which arose from alternate traditions.<sup>44</sup>

### *The recensional history of LXX Samuel*

LXX Samuel and Kings have undergone a complex recensional history.<sup>45</sup> Because the dissertation participates in the scholarly debates on this topic in a very limited way, I will review

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<sup>36</sup> Barthélemy, “La qualité,” 5–6.

<sup>37</sup> Jürg Hutzli, “Theologische Textänderungen in Massoretischen Text und in der Septuaginta von 1–2 Sam,” in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 243–47.

<sup>38</sup> Walter Dietrich, “Doch ein Text hinter den Texten? Vorläufige textkritische Einsichten eines Samuel-Kommentators,” in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 151–56.

<sup>39</sup> Philippe Hugo, “L’Archéologie textuelle du temple de Jérusalem. Étude textuelle et littéraire du motif théologique du temple en 2 Samuel,” in Hugo and Schenker, *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel*, 165–212; Philippe Hugo, “The Unique Messiah: A Tendency in Favour of David’s Kingship in the MT of Samuel,” in *In the Footsteps of Sherlock Holmes: Studies in the Biblical Text in Honour of Anneli Aejmelaeus*, ed. Kristin De Troyer, T. Michael Law and Marketta Liljeström (Leuven: Peeters, 2014), 331–64.

<sup>40</sup> Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress, 2012), 254–56.

<sup>41</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction? Textual Development in the MT of 1 Samuel 1,” in *Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera – Florilegium Complutense*, ed. Andrés Piquer Otero and Pablo A. Torijano Morales (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 11–16.

<sup>42</sup> Dietrich, “Doch Ein Text,” 149–51.

<sup>43</sup> Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 108.

<sup>44</sup> Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 410.

<sup>45</sup> While many of the issues under discussion below apply to both Samuel and Kings, I will focus primarily Samuel for the sake of simplicity and clarity.

the extensive literature on the subject only briefly. More detailed bibliography can be found in the work of Dines;<sup>46</sup> Fernández Marcos;<sup>47</sup> Harl, Dorival, and Munnich;<sup>48</sup> Kauhanen;<sup>49</sup> Metzger;<sup>50</sup> Tov;<sup>51</sup> and Ulrich.<sup>52</sup>

a. The *kaige* recension

In 1907, Henry St. John Thackeray observed that different sections of Samuel and Kings as preserved in LXX<sup>B</sup> demonstrated a strikingly different translation style.<sup>53</sup> He divided and labeled the sections as follows:

- $\alpha$  = 1 Samuel
- $\beta\beta$  = 2 Sam 1:1–11:1
- $\beta\gamma$  = 2 Sam 11:2–1 Kgs 2:11
- $\gamma\gamma$  = 1 Kgs 2:12–21:43
- $\gamma\delta$  = 1 Kgs 22 and 2 Kings

The sections  $\beta\gamma$  and  $\gamma\delta$  stood out from the rest, being marked by distinct renderings such as  $\kappa\alpha\iota$   $\gamma\epsilon$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  and  $\epsilon\gamma\omega\ \epsilon\iota\mu\iota$  for  $\kappa\alpha\iota$ , and by the lack of the historical present which is so common in the other sections. Thackeray argued that a single translator was responsible for the sections  $\beta\gamma$

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<sup>46</sup> Jennifer M. Dines, *The Septuagint* (London: T&T Clark, 2004), 81–107.

<sup>47</sup> Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Lucianic Text in the Books of Kingdoms: From Lagarde to the Textual Pluralism,” in *De Septuaginta: Studies in Honour of John William Wevers*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Claude E. Cox (Mississauga, Ont.: Benben, 1984), 161–74; Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, eds., *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega I: 1–2 Samuel* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989), xv–xxviii; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *Introducción a las versiones griegas de la Biblia* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1998), 151–62, 209–60.

<sup>48</sup> Harl, Dorival and Munnich, *Bible grecque*, 129–200.

<sup>49</sup> Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 13–23.

<sup>50</sup> Bruce Metzger, “The Lucianic Recension of the Greek Bible,” in *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1963), 1–41.

<sup>51</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 141–47.

<sup>52</sup> Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 15–37.

<sup>53</sup> Henry St. John Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings,” *JTS* 8, no. 30 (Jan. 1907): 262–78.

and  $\gamma\delta$ , while  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta\beta$ , and  $\gamma\gamma$  were the work of three independent translators. He also noted that the Lucianic recension (see below) in section  $\beta\gamma$  lacked the distinctive renderings, concluding that Lucian must have removed them, “presumably as monstrosities.”<sup>54</sup>

Thackeray’s hypothesis regarding multiple translators was widely accepted until Barthélemy’s discovery in 1963 that a Greek scroll of the Minor Prophets found at Naḥal Ḥever (8HevXIIgr) displayed the same translational idiosyncrasies as Thackeray’s  $\beta\gamma$  and  $\gamma\delta$  sections.<sup>55</sup> On the basis of this new evidence, Barthélemy was able to demonstrate that the unique translational profile of the  $\beta\gamma$  and  $\gamma\delta$  sections of LXX<sup>B</sup> Samuel–Kings was the result not of a different translator, but rather of a recension which aimed to bring the Greek into greater conformity with the proto-Masoretic text. Barthélemy named this the *kaige* recension because of its characteristic translation of  $\delta\lambda$ . Furthermore, the Antiochene text (see below) was shown not to have been subject to the *kaige* recension; as a result, it preserves a text much closer to the Old Greek for the *kaige* sections of Samuel–Kings than does LXX<sup>B</sup>.<sup>56</sup>

Thackeray’s initial study gave the impression that LXX<sup>B</sup> in sections  $\alpha$ ,  $\beta\beta$ , and  $\gamma\gamma$  (1 Sam 1:1–2 Sam 11:1; 1 Kgs 2:12–21:43) was untouched by the *kaige* recension, and this assumption remained almost entirely unchallenged for over a century. While Brock commented

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<sup>54</sup> Thackeray, “Greek Translators of Kings,” 266.

<sup>55</sup> Dominique Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d’Aquila; première publication intégrale du texte des fragments du Dodécaprophéton trouvés dans le désert de Juda* (Leiden: Brill, 1963).

<sup>56</sup> Barthélemy in fact argued that the Antiochene text was the Old Greek in the *kaige* sections of Samuel–Kings; Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d’Aquila*, 127. Brock, however, resisted this interpretation, pointing out recensional elements of the Antiochene text even in the *kaige* sections. His thesis is that the Antiochene text “still remains a recensional text, even though it has escaped the Palestinian [i.e., *kaige*] revision”; Sebastian P. Brock, “Lucian *redivivus*: Some Reflections on Barthélemy’s *Les Devanciers d’Aquila*,” in *Studia Evangelica 5: Papers Presented to the Third International Congress on New Testament Studies Held at Christ Church, Oxford, 1965; Part II: The New Testament Message*, ed. F. L. Cross (Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1968), 177. Brock’s analysis of the Antiochene text has become the dominant one: see Siegfried Kreuzer, “B or Not B? The Place of Codex Vaticanus in Textual History and in Septuagint Research,” in *Text-Critical and Hermeneutical Studies in the Septuagint*, ed. Johann Cook and Hermann-Josef Stipp (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 81.

hypothetically in 1966 that “probably from the very beginning of its existence the translation was subject to sporadic ‘correction’ on the basis of current Hebrew texts,”<sup>57</sup> he adduced no evidence in support of the idea, and even Aejmelaeus in 1992 described 1 Samuel as “a section which was spared from the *καλύε* recension.”<sup>58</sup> Since then, however, Aejmelaeus has documented many examples of what she describes as “*καλύε*-type revisions” in LXX 1 Samuel, which forms part of the non-*kaige* sections of LXX<sup>B</sup> for Samuel–Kings.<sup>59</sup> These corrections are only “sporadically detected”<sup>60</sup> and do not suggest the same kind of thorough revision found in the *kaige* sections; nevertheless, they demonstrate that the text of LXX<sup>B</sup>, long considered a relatively reliable witness to the Old Greek in the non-*kaige* sections, has at times been corrected towards a Hebrew text much like MT and thus cannot be taken at face-value.

#### b. The (so-called) Lucianic recension

This recension has historically been called “Lucianic” because of early traditions attributing the recension to Lucian of Antioch (3rd–4th c. CE). Many scholars, however, prefer the more neutral term “Antiochene (or Antiochian) text,”<sup>61</sup> and that is the one I will adopt here.

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<sup>57</sup> Sebastian P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuaginta Version of I Samuel* (Torino: S. Zamorani, 1996), 303.

<sup>58</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” in *On the Trail*, 127.

<sup>59</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “A Kingdom at Stake: Reconstructing the Old Greek—Deconstructing the *Textus Receptus*,” in *Scripture in Transition*, ed. Anssi Voitila and Jutta Jokiranta, 357–58, 366; Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction,” 13n25; Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Does God Regret? A Theological Problem That Concerned the *Kaige* Revisors” (forthcoming). See also Kreuzer, “B or Not B,” 82–96.

<sup>60</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Kingdom at Stake,” 366.

<sup>61</sup> Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d’Aquila*, 127. “Antiochene text” is also the term preferred by Fernández Marco and Busto Saiz: Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, eds., *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989–1996).

After the early work of Ceriani,<sup>62</sup> Field,<sup>63</sup> and Lagarde<sup>64</sup> in identifying cursive manuscripts which matched both biblical quotations from the Antiochene fathers and passages marked as “Lucianic” in the Syrohexapla, Rahlfs was able to establish the Antiochene manuscripts for Samuel–Kings as 19, 82, 93, 108, and 127.<sup>65</sup> These manuscripts were studied and characterized most fully by Sebastian Brock in his 1966 dissertation, published in monograph form in 1996.<sup>66</sup> Brock concluded that the Antiochene text in Samuel had split off from the rest of the Greek textual tradition at an early date and so was not affected by the *kaige* recension; it thus preserves some original readings. He also notes, however, that in addition to hexaplaric influence, the Antiochene manuscripts display “a definitely recensional element” aimed primarily at replacing *koine* forms with Attic forms and adapting the text for public reading.<sup>67</sup>

Further complicating the picture are the still-unsettled questions of what text formed the base for the recension and how that base text is related to the other textual witnesses, especially 4Q51, Josephus, and the Old Latin; this cluster of unresolved difficulties, known as the “proto-Lucianic problem,” has been described by John William Wevers as “the most difficult problem in modern Septuagint work.”<sup>68</sup> The contentious debates on this issue, a full review of which would

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<sup>62</sup> A. M. Ceriani, *Monumenta sacra et profana ex codicibus praesertim Bibliothecae Ambrosianae* (1864).

<sup>63</sup> Frederick Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt sive veterum interpretum Graecum in totum Vetus Testamentum fragmenta* (Oxford: 1875).

<sup>64</sup> P. de Lagarde, *Librorum Veteris Testamenti canonicorum pars prior graece* (Göttingen: 1883).

<sup>65</sup> Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (Göttingen: 1911).

<sup>66</sup> Brock, *Recensions*.

<sup>67</sup> Brock, *Recensions*, 306.

<sup>68</sup> John William Wevers, “Proto-Septuagint Studies,” in *The Seed of Wisdom: Essays in Honour of T. J. Meek*, ed. W. Stewart McCullough (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 69.

take us too far afield from material directly relevant to the dissertation, are well summarized in Tuukka Kauhanen's 2012 study.<sup>69</sup>

### c. The Hexaplaric recension

Perhaps the most well-known of the Septuagintal recensions, the Hexaplaric recension is the direct result of Origen's monumental text-critical work, the Hexapla, and the confusions that arose during its subsequent transmission.<sup>70</sup> From Origen's commentary on the Gospel of Matthew (249 CE), it is known that he attempted a large-scale revision of the Greek text of the Bible, which had become significantly corrupted by inaccurate copying. His revised text, found in the fifth column of the Hexapla, was then copied and disseminated widely.<sup>71</sup>

The complete Hexaplaric fragments were first collected in 1713 by Bernard de Montfaucon.<sup>72</sup> The next major publication came in 1875 with Field's edition, which collected not only the Greek Hexaplaric fragments but also all the evidence from the Syrohexapla.<sup>73</sup> He also provided a substantial *Prolegomena*, which remains the starting point for most scholarship on the Hexapla.<sup>74</sup>

Three issues continue to generate scholarly debate: which text did Origen use as his basis for the fifth column, was the text corrected or not, and were text-critical signs (asterisks and

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<sup>69</sup> Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 14–23.

<sup>70</sup> On this recension see especially Bo Johnson, *Die hexaplarische Rezension des 1. [i. e. Ersten] Samuelbuches der Septuaginta* (Lund: C. W. K. Gleerup, 1963); Brock, *Recensions*, 37–173; Timothy Michael Law, "A History of Research on Origen's *Hexapla*: From Masius to the *Hexapla Project*," *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 30–48.

<sup>71</sup> Fernández Marcos, *Introducción*, 215.

<sup>72</sup> Bernard Montfaucon, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, multi partibus auctiora quam a Flaminio Nobilio et Joanne Drusio edita fuerint* (Paris: 1713).

<sup>73</sup> Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum*.

<sup>74</sup> Law, "Origen's *Hexapla*," 43.

obeli) included in the original? Brock addressed all three in his dissertation, concluding that Origen used as his base text a text closely related to Bya<sub>2</sub>Eth (= B b Aeth), and that the fifth column contained Origen's revised text marked with asterisks and obeli.<sup>75</sup> These results have not been universally accepted, however; Giovanni Mercati, for example, argued in 1958 that the fifth column did not contain asterisks and obeli on the basis that these marks do not appear in the palimpsest Codex Ambrosiana O 39 sup. (9th c.), which contains fragments of the Hexapla of Psalms.<sup>76</sup> Brock also noted that the text groups<sup>77</sup> *O* (= A *O*) *D* (= 120' 554) *L* (19 82 93 107 127) *E* (= 52 92 130 314 489) have been particularly affected by the inclusion of Hexaplaric material.

## 2. The use of the categories “literal” and “free” to describe translations

Before attempting to characterize LXX Samuel as a translation, we must establish which categories we should use to describe the various approaches to translation found in the Septuagint. Theo van der Louw observes that although scholars may use different terminology, “the age-old polarity *literal* versus *free* serves as the background of almost every book [on translation].”<sup>78</sup> (He notes that the categories of “isolate” and “contextual” used by Albert

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<sup>75</sup> Brock, *Recensions*, 170.

<sup>76</sup> Giovanni Mercati, *Psalterii Hexaplaris reliquiae* (Rome: Biblioteca Vaticana, 1958).

<sup>77</sup> Brock's textual groupings differ from those used by the Göttingen Septuagint. Göttingen sigla appear in parentheses after Brock's.

<sup>78</sup> Theo A. W. van der Louw, *Transformations in the Septuagint: Towards an Interaction of Septuagint Studies and Translation Studies* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 10; italics original. Van der Louw himself maintains the categories of “literal” and “free” while attempting to add greater specificity to these categories through his inventory of transformations.

Pietersma in his theorization of the interlinear paradigm<sup>79</sup> [see below] can also be understood as variations on “literal” and “free.”<sup>80</sup>)

Table 1: Examples of scholarly categorizations of translations<sup>81</sup>

literal	↔	free
<i>verbum de verbo</i>	↔	<i>sensus de sensu</i> (Jerome)
<i>verfremdend</i>	↔	<i>eindeutschend</i> (Schleiermacher)
foreignizing	↔	domesticating (L. Venuti)
direct	↔	oblique (Vinay & Darbelnet)
direct	↔	indirect (E.-A. Gutt)
overt	↔	covert (J. House)
documentary	↔	instrumental (C. Nord)
semantic	↔	communicative (P. Newmark)
formal-equivalent	↔	dynamic-equivalent (E. A. Nida)
formal-correspondent	↔	functional-equivalent (Nida – De Waard)

“Literal” and “free” as categories of translational activity have been cogently problematized, however, by James Barr in his essay on the typology of literalism.<sup>82</sup> He argues that “there are different ways of being literal and of being free, so that a translation can be literal and free at the same time but in different modes or on different levels.”<sup>83</sup> Thus a translation could be “literal” in its choice of stereotyped renderings but “free” in its word order, or “literal” in its word order but add a “free” expansion. As a result, “the simple conceptual distinction between

<sup>79</sup> See Albert Pietersma, *Translation Manual for “A New English translation of the Septuagint (NETS)”* (Ada, MI: Uncial, 1996), 13; also Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright, “To the Reader of NETS,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), xvii.

<sup>80</sup> Louw, *Transformations*, 10n38.

<sup>81</sup> Louw, *Transformations*, 10.

<sup>82</sup> James Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in Ancient Biblical Translations* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1979).

<sup>83</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [6].

literal and free is not sufficiently flexible to formulate the more complicated set of relations which obtain in many actual texts.”<sup>84</sup> Scholars must instead ask in which ways a given translation is literal or free. Barr goes on to argue that “free” translations as modern readers understand them were largely unheard of in the ancient world, and so a more productive vein of inquiry is to consider the different kinds of literalism that appear in translations.<sup>85</sup> He enumerates the following modes of difference between more and less literal renderings in the Septuagint.<sup>86</sup>

1. The division into elements or segments, and the sequence in which these elements are represented.
2. The quantitative addition or subtraction of elements.
3. Consistency or non-consistency in the rendering, i.e. the degree to which a particular versional term is used for all (or most) cases of a particular term of the original.
4. Accuracy and level of semantic information, especially in cases of metaphor and idiom.
5. Coded “etymological” indication of formal/semantic relationships obtaining in the vocabulary of the original language.
6. Level of text and level of analysis.

These modes allow scholars to be more precise in their categorizations of translations. A given translation can be assessed in terms of how literal it is in each of the six modes, yielding a more nuanced composite description rather than a flat “literal,” “more literal,” “less literal,” etc.<sup>87</sup>

The findings of the dissertation directly support Barr’s conclusion that the translators of the Septuagint were capable of being both literal and free in different modes at the same time.

The examples to be discussed below demonstrate that the translator of Samuel could remain

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<sup>84</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [6].

<sup>85</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [7].

<sup>86</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [20].

<sup>87</sup> Cf. Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” 128: “It is commonplace to say that this translation [of Samuel–Kings] is of the more literal kind. How problematic and actually empty a general estimate like this is at once becomes clear when the attention is directed to the *καλύτε* recension, which compared to the other sections is more literal. How does one distinguish literal from more literal?”

literal in his retention of Hebrew word order and syntax (mode #1) or his rendering consistency (mode #3) while being free in his addition or omission of elements (mode #2) or in his analysis of the text (mode #6).

While Barr's categories are helpful in thinking systematically about what constitutes literalism in a translation and in mapping out the types of literalism in a specific rendering, they also obscure a more generalized point that I would like to make about the translator of Samuel: even when the translator decides to change the meaning of the text in his translation (1 Sam 14:41, 15:29)—or cannot help but change the meaning of the text because he does not understand it (1:6)—he still attempts to give as close a representation of the Hebrew text as he can. He makes changes while disturbing the text of the *Vorlage* as little as possible. I would thus describe him, at least in these examples, as textually literal but semantically free. While this description is not as specific as what can be achieved with Barr's six categories of literalism, it has the benefit of identifying the trend across the three examples. Nor would Barr likely object to the description. Earlier in the essay he broadly identifies three types of translations:

- (a) "free" renderings which state more or less correctly the general purport of the original text
- (b) literal renderings which also give an adequate semantic rendering of the original
- (c) literal renderings which, while their semantic indication is far from being an adequate indication of the meaning of the original, nevertheless show a close and understandable relation to the form of the original.<sup>88</sup>

The examples I have drawn from 1 Samuel are of the third type. They do not give an "adequate indication" of the original *meaning*, but they do maintain "a close and understandable relation" to the original *form*.

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<sup>88</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [15].

### 3. Characterizing the Septuagint translator of Samuel

The most extensive analysis of the translator of LXX Samuel has been carried out by Anneli Aejmelaeus.<sup>89</sup> One of her primary observations is that the translator was working word by word: he considered one word, or possibly two, at a time and did not take note of larger syntactic structures.<sup>90</sup> She bases this conclusion on a study of the translator's use of the circumstantial participle,<sup>91</sup> noting the following examples:

1 Sam 4:14

MT  
והאיש מהר ויבא

LXX  
καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος σπεύσας εἰσῆλθεν

The translator followed the Hebrew word order, placing the participle immediately before the main verb rather than at the beginning of the sentence (i.e., καὶ σπεύσας ὁ ἄνθρωπος εἰσῆλθεν).

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<sup>89</sup> Aejmelaeus, "Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 123–41. Her study elaborates on earlier characterizations in Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive in der Septuaginta* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1965), 176–90; and Raija Sollamo, *Renderings of Hebrew Semiprepositions in the Septuagint* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1979), 280–89.

<sup>90</sup> "The ability of the translator to master the syntactical structure in larger contexts was obviously very limited... He mostly proceeded by the convenient word-for-word method." Aejmelaeus, "Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 134, 140.

<sup>91</sup> "The [*participium coniunctum*] as a rendering of coordinate clauses is a criterion of translation technique that measures—at least in the more extensive examples—the translator's ability to master larger units than a couple of words." Anneli Aejmelaeus, "*Participium coniunctum* as a Criterion of Translation Technique," in *On the Trail*, 10.

1 Sam 14:52

MT

וּרְאָה שְׂאוּל כָּל אִישׁ גָּבוּר וְכָל בֶּן חַיִל וַיֹּאסְפֵהוּ אֵלָיו

LXX

καὶ ἰδὼν Σαουλ πάντα ἄνδρα δυνατὸν καὶ  
πάντα ἄνδρα υἷὸν δυνάμεως καὶ συνήγαγεν  
αὐτοὺς πρὸς αὐτόν

In this instance, the translator renders the finite verb וּרְאָה with a circumstantial participle but retains the conjunction καὶ before the finite verb that follows, thereby representing the Hebrew use of apodotic *vav*.

1 Sam 20:14

MT

וְלֹא אִם עוֹדֵנִי חַי וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה עִמָּדִי חֶסֶד יְהוָה וְלֹא  
אִמּוֹת

LXX

καὶ μὲν ἔτι μου ζῶντος καὶ ποιήσεις ἔλεος μετ'  
ἐμοῦ καὶ ἐὰν θανάτῳ ἀποθάνω

In this related example of the translator's use of the genitive absolute, we again see καὶ coordinating a participle with a finite verb.

In these instances, the translator has made use of a syntactical feature native to Greek but has followed the Hebrew in either the word order or the use of conjunctions, resulting in Greek that is unusual (in the first example) or entirely ungrammatical (in the second and third). Based on these examples, Aejmelaeus surmises that the translator must have been working in a highly atomistic manner. Her unstated assumption seems to be that the translator would have produced more idiomatic Greek if he had had a firmer grasp on the syntax of the *Vorlage*.

Aejmelaeus's conclusion about the limited abilities of the translator finds a challenge in the work of James Barr, who has argued against the basic premise that translators, even the most literal, could have considered their *Vorlagen* one word at a time:

What does the literal translator actually do? Does he really translate each single component separately, paying no attention to the meaning of the environing words? Though this might seem so at first sight, further thought indicates that it cannot be so. There are two sides to the process of translation, which we may call the input side and the expression side. The input is the translator's recognition of the meanings of the original. The expression is the way in which he expresses this recognition in the versional language. It is not probable that even the literal translator understood the material only word by word, except where the text was so obscure that no more synthetic understanding was possible. Generally speaking, it is not possible in any text, in any language, to make even basic identifications of words without some attention to their context, which is the sole resource available to select between the multiple possible values of the signs.... Thus the translator was commonly not able to make his basic diagnosis of meaning word for word. Even the literalist had to work by the context, as the freer translator did. But—and this is the difference—having made his judgements, with the context taken into account at least to some degree, he then proceeded to *express* the results in a manner that as far as possible gave representation to each word or element as a separate unit of meaning for the purpose of translation. Thus we must not insult the literalist translator by imputing to him a crudely particularistic reading technique: this may have been so at times but it was not necessarily so and at many points we can be sure that it was not in fact so. Word-for-word expression did not necessarily exhaust the literal translator's appreciation of the meaning of the text: rather, it was his *choice* that he should express himself so in the versional language.<sup>92</sup>

Barr makes a critical methodological point here: because the only way to determine the meaning of a word, particularly in an unpointed Hebrew text, is to evaluate its context, it is impossible that the Septuagint translators could have been reading and translating in a strictly word-by-word manner except in cases where the text was too obscure for context to be helpful. Instead, translators would have had to read enough of the text to make determinations about the meanings

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<sup>92</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [22–23]; italics original.

of words before they translated. The difference, then, between a “literal” translator and a “free” translator is not how they read the *Vorlage*, as Aejmelaeus suggests, but rather how they expressed the *Vorlage* in Greek after reading it. According to Barr, word-for-word expression is thus a choice rather than a limitation.<sup>93</sup>

Another significant point in Aejmelaeus’s assessment of the translator of 1 Samuel is the tension in his work between rigidity and freedom. On the one hand, the translator almost always reproduces the word order of the Hebrew, forgoing almost entirely the use of common Greek postpositive conjunctions such as *δέ* and *γάρ* because they would invert the original word order.<sup>94</sup> (The translator did, however, make use of the postpositive particle *δή* for *אָנִי*, presumably because both could appear in the same place in the word order.<sup>95</sup>) On the other hand, he treats verbs with a great deal of flexibility, both in terms of which Greek equivalent he chooses and how he handles tenses.<sup>96</sup> We find an example of lexical variation in 1 Sam 1:5–6:<sup>97</sup> for the Hebrew *גָּרַם*, the translator uses *ἀπέκλεισεν* in v. 5 and *συνέκλεισεν* in v. 6 (the non-prefixed form *κλείω* would have sufficed in both instances; cf. 1 Sam 23:20). Turning from choice of equivalent to choice of

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<sup>93</sup> We could well ask what motivation there might be to produce a translation so literal that it was ungrammatical. Barr offers a few suggestions which, while necessarily speculative, are nevertheless thought-provoking: 1. literal translation practices were convenient; 2. the move towards more literal translations may have been caused by a desire for greater consistency; 3. the idea of inspired Scripture encouraged greater literalism because every element of the text was sacred; 4. a literal translation brings the reader to the original and allows him to make exegetical decisions; 5. as Jews came to believe that the Hebrew Scriptures were more authoritative than the Greek, translators were more concerned to reproduce features of the Hebrew. Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [50–51]. Not all of these rationales apply to the translation of Samuel; some pertain to a much later time period. Barr’s first suggestion, however—that literal translation practices were convenient, especially for early translators who were not sophisticated exegetes—could apply to Samuel.

<sup>94</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Participium Coniunctum,” 128–29, 132–33.

<sup>95</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Participium Coniunctum,” 133.

<sup>96</sup> “For instance, in the case of *הִגִּיף* hiph. for which *καθιέναι* 1 Sam 2:14 at first sight seems like a very special equivalent, the translator used several different equivalents, in the majority of cases *πατάσσειν*, but for the sake of variation: *παίειν* (perfect 1 Sam 13:4), *πλήσσειν* (passive voice 1 Sam 4:2; 5:12) and *τύπτειν* (present stem 1 Sam 11:11; 27:9; 31:2), as well as special renderings according to the context: *ἀποκτείνειν* (1 Sam 17:46), *θανατοῦν* (1 Sam 20:33), *ἐκζείν* (1 Sam 5:6).” Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” 138–39.

<sup>97</sup> See pp. 52–54 in Chapter Two.

tense, the translator often uses the historical present,<sup>98</sup> “a feature in which the translator could not follow his Hebrew *Vorlage* but gave expression to his own understanding of the events described in the text.”<sup>99</sup> Moreover,

particularly in subordinate clauses within narration as well as in indirect discourse, ... he regularly uses non-narrative forms to give expression to the viewpoint of the dramatic character—and not that of the story-teller. By using the perfect and the present tense the translator expresses what was seen, heard, or known by a person in the story, as something present for this person.<sup>100</sup>

Based on these observations, Aejmelaeus suggests that “the translator had the preceding context in mind and this affected his choice of vocabulary as well as verbal forms.”<sup>101</sup> This analysis, however, undermines her conclusion that the translator worked in such small segments that he could not accurately track syntax.

In sum, Aejmelaeus concludes the Septuagint translator of 1 Samuel seems not to have had a uniform approach to his work. He could choose equivalents for Hebrew verbs that would create stylistic variation. He could also create nuance in his translation by using a tense which expressed action from the point of view of a character, thereby demonstrating a sensitivity for narrative. Nevertheless, he tended to strictly preserve Hebrew word order, frequently producing unidiomatic (or even ungrammatical) renderings in Greek.

The research presented in the dissertation suggests that Aejmelaeus’s characterization of the Septuagint translator of Samuel needs to be expanded and nuanced. I will demonstrate that the translator maintained a strong fidelity to the text of his *Vorlage* but was not averse to

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<sup>98</sup> 1 Sam 1:19; 3:15; 4:1, 2, 4, 10; 5:8; 7:1; 8:4; 9:11; 10:10, 21; 11:4; 13:5; etc.

<sup>99</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” 136.

<sup>100</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” 137.

<sup>101</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” 140.

exercising semantic freedom: even when his translation says something quite different from what the *Vorlage* says—and even when this difference is intentional—a retroversion of that translation into Hebrew will bear a strong resemblance to the text of the *Vorlage*; in the case of 1 Sam 14:41, the retroversion is nearly identical to the *Vorlage*. I will further demonstrate that the translator had a greater literary sensibility than he has been credited with: he was attuned to the coherence of his narrative on both a small and large scale, and he was sensitive to echoes from elsewhere in the biblical corpus.<sup>102</sup> A corollary to this argument is that the translator knew (parts of) the biblical corpus; while this may seem an obvious assumption, it should not be overlooked. Finally, I will demonstrate that the translator was not reading and translating his *Vorlage* one or two words at a time but was considering passages as long as several sentences before committing himself to a translation. This conclusion contradicts Aejmelaeus’s analysis of the translator’s method but finds support in Barr’s recognition of the impossibility of reading and rendering word-by-word without regard for context. I will argue, however, also in agreement with Barr, that the translator did fall back on a word-by-word approach when he was unable to understand his *Vorlage* synthetically, as in the case of 1 Sam 1:6.

#### 4. The interlinear paradigm

The high degree of Hebrew influence on the Greek of the Septuagint is a defining feature of much of the translation. LXX has been described as “so deeply affected by Semitic influence

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<sup>102</sup> On the use of the term “biblical” in this context, see n6 on p. 3.

as often to be hardly Greek at all, but rather Hebrew in disguise,”<sup>103</sup> and (less dramatically) as “a Greek text with Hebrew structure.”<sup>104</sup> Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen writes,

When an expert in classical Greek or even in Hellenistic Koine begins to read the Septuagint, he gets the impression that this language is quite unfamiliar to him, that it is an unfamiliar language with Greek vocabulary. The syntax seems especially strange to him. The language of the Septuagint is to quite a great extent Hebrew with Greek words.<sup>105</sup>

The Greek is often highly isomorphic, retaining Hebrew word order and attempting to provide a Greek equivalent for every lexical item in the *Vorlage*.<sup>106</sup> There is also a tendency towards so-called stereotyped renderings—that is, the use of a certain Greek word for every instance of a Hebrew word regardless of context, e.g., κεφαλή for פֶּטֶחַ even in the phrase αἱ κεφαλαὶ τῶν ὀρέων (Gen 8:5) where κορυφή would be more appropriate. At the same time, a number of biblical books (most famously Isaiah, Job, and Proverbs, but also Esther and Daniel) do not hew closely to the Hebrew at all.<sup>107</sup>

As a result of the perplexing nature of the linguistic data, the question of how we should characterize the Greek of the Septuagint holds a central place in current scholarship. A proper understanding of the character of the translation is necessary not only for reconstructing its

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<sup>103</sup> F. C. Conybeare and St. George Stock, *Grammar of Septuagint Greek* (Boston: Ginn, 1905), 21.

<sup>104</sup> Georg Walser, “The Greek of the Bible: Translated Greek or Translation Greek?” in Voitila and Jokiranta, *Scripture in Transition*, 456.

<sup>105</sup> Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien zur Septuaginta-Syntax* (Helsinki: Suomalainen Tiedeakatemia, 1987), 42. “Wenn ein Kenner des klassischen Griechisch und auch der hellenistischen Koine die Septuaginta zu lesen beginnt, so erhält er den Eindruck, dass ihm diese Sprache ganz fremd ist, es ist eine fremde Sprache mit griechischen Vokabeln. Besonders die Syntax scheint ihm fremd. Die Sprache die Septuaginta ist in ziemlich großem Maße Hebräisch mit griechischen Wörtern.”

<sup>106</sup> The exception to this rule is the definite direct object marker, τὸν, which most translators did not attempt to represent. Aquila, of course, is the exception to this exception, rendering τὸν consistently with σύν as if it were the preposition ἐν.

<sup>107</sup> “In Isaiah it is often exceedingly difficult to decide to which Hebrew elements the Greek words correspond; in Proverbs the translator appears to have inserted a number of passages that he knew in Greek; in Job large parts of the text were left out.” Jan Joosten, “Reflections on the ‘Interlinear Paradigm’ in Septuagintal Studies,” in *Collected Studies*, 238.

origins but, perhaps even more pressingly, for determining how we understand it. If we believe the Greek was meant to point the reader back to the Hebrew, then at times it could mean something quite different from what it might mean if we believe it was meant to be an independent, stand-alone translation. For example, LXX most often renders the Hebrew conjunction וַ with καί, but וַ can mean “and,” “but,” or “then,” and sometimes requires no translation at all, whereas καί—at least outside the Septuagint—means “and” or “also.”<sup>108</sup> So when LXX reads καί, does it mean only “and,” or does it sometimes mean “but” or “then”? And does the answer to this question differ from translator to translator? Furthermore, how do we understand Greek calques of Hebrew idioms, such as the rendering ἐν ἐμοί for וַ (= “please,” “I pray you”; 1 Sam 1:26; 25:24)?

An attempt to address these questions in a manner that is both theoretically and methodologically rigorous was proposed by Albert Pietersma in 1998<sup>109</sup> and came to be known as the “interlinear paradigm.” Pietersma argues that the basic character of the Septuagint is of linguistic subservience to and dependence on the Hebrew *Vorlage*; in other words, we should understand LXX as a kind of interlinear translation of the Hebrew. While he insists that he

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<sup>108</sup> This discussion of the uses of וַ and καί is of course an oversimplification. For the full range of וַ, see HALOT s.v. וַ; GKC § 111h; 112ff–oo; 143d; 154a–b; 159o, s. For the full range of καί, see LSJ s.v. καί; Smyth §1091, 1501a, 2169, 2868–91, 2921, 2974–78.

<sup>109</sup> Albert Pietersma, “A New English Translation of the Septuagint,” in Taylor, *X Congress*, 217–28. He further expands and clarifies these initial ideas in Albert Pietersma, “A New Paradigm for Addressing Old Questions: The Relevance of the Interlinear Model for the Study of the Septuagint,” in *Bible and Computer: The Stellenbosch AIBI-6 Conference*, ed. Johann Cook (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 337–64; Albert Pietersma, “Septuagintal Exegesis and the Superscriptions of the Greek Psalter,” in *The Book of Psalms: Composition and Reception*, ed. Peter W. Flint and P. D. Miller (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 443–75; Albert Pietersma, “LXX and DTS: A New Archimedean Point for Septuagint Studies?,” *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 1–11; and Albert Pietersma, “Beyond Literalism: Interlinearity Revisited,” in “*Translation Is Required*,” ed. Robert J. V. Hiebert, 3–21. A nascent form of the interlinear paradigm can be found in Pietersma, *Translation Manual*. The fullest articulation and defense of the interlinear paradigm appears in Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*. See also Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “Who’s Afraid of *Verlegenheitsübersetzungen*?” in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, ed. Hans Ausloos et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 197–210; and Cameron Boyd-Taylor, “The Semantics of Biblical Language *Redux*,” in Hiebert, *Translation Is Required*, 41–57.

intends “interlinear translation” to function as a metaphor for the linguistic relationship between the Hebrew and the Greek—he does not claim that there ever existed a physical interlinear Hebrew-Greek translation of the Bible—he also points to various Greco-Roman interlinear translations as supporting evidence, and concludes that the interlinear character of LXX strongly suggests an origin in a Jewish pedagogical setting, where students would use LXX to study the Hebrew biblical text.<sup>110</sup>

This model for understanding LXX arose from the New English Translation of the Septuagint project (NETS), co-edited by Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright.<sup>111</sup> As the translators struggled with the question of how to render the Septuagint into English, they came to the conclusion that a certain degree of unintelligibility was an “inherent characteristic” of LXX: the Septuagint cannot be fully understood without the help of the Hebrew, and so one must always read “with one eye on” the meaning of the *Vorlage*.<sup>112</sup> Moreover, because of the dependent relationship of the Septuagint to its *Vorlage*, it was meant to be read in this manner: “the formal dependence of a Septuagint translation on its source constitutes an intrinsic part of its total meaning as an act of communication. This is to say, to read the text as it was originally intended to be read *is* to read it with one eye, as it were, on its parent.”<sup>113</sup> In other words, the need to consult the Hebrew for meaning is not a sign of failure on the part of modern translators, but

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<sup>110</sup> Pietersma, “New Paradigm,” 346–49. The pedagogical origins of LXX have been strongly disavowed as “fraught with problems” by Pietersma’s former student and otherwise staunch supporter Cameron Boyd-Taylor; see Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 95. Pietersma himself seems to drop the issue of Septuagint origins in later formulations of the interlinear paradigm, perhaps in response to the strong resistance the theory provoked (see pp. 36–38 below).

<sup>111</sup> Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader.”

<sup>112</sup> Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader,” xv.

<sup>113</sup> Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 13; italics original.

rather constitutes an inherent part of the Septuagint in terms of both *what* it means and *how* it means.

The theoretical underpinnings of the interlinear paradigm lie in the method of descriptive translation studies, developed by Gideon Toury.<sup>114</sup> Toury's basic insight, grounded in the observation that translations are created to fulfill a particular need in a particular culture, is that

the position and function of translations (as entities) and of translating (as a kind of activity) in a prospective target culture, the form a translation would have (and hence the relationships which would tie it to its original), and the strategies resorted to during its generation do not constitute a series of unconnected facts.<sup>115</sup>

The intended function of a translation, the way the target language is used in the translation, and the translation strategies employed by the translator are interdependent. As Pietersma notes, "it may be useful ... to remember that the arrows in [the diagram below] can be made to point in either direction."<sup>116</sup>

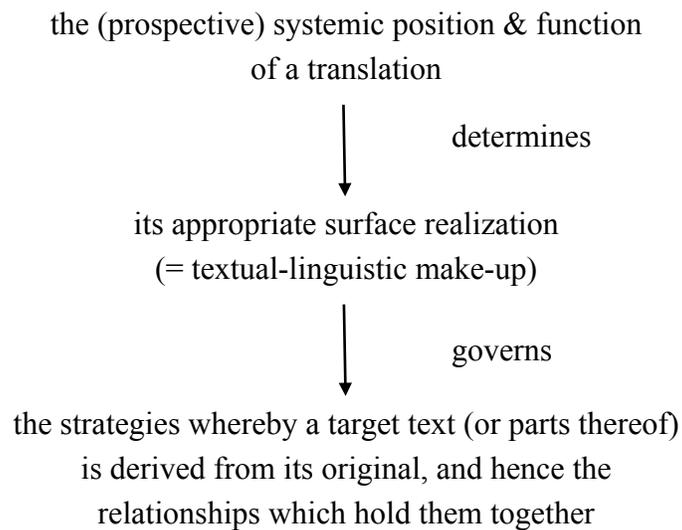
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<sup>114</sup> Gideon Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond* (Amsterdam; Philadelphia: J. Benjamins, 1995). See also Gideon Toury, "A Handful of Methodological Issues in DTS: Are They Applicable to the Study of the Septuagint as an Assumed Translation?" *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 13–25.

<sup>115</sup> Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 24.

<sup>116</sup> Pietersma, "Septuagintal Exegesis," 445.

Figure 1: The relations between function, product, and process in translation<sup>117</sup>



Because of the fundamental interrelationship between the function of a translation, its textual-linguistic make-up, and the translation strategies that produced it, we should theoretically be able to derive one of these three factors from the other two. In other words, given that we can see the textual-linguistic make-up of the Septuagint and can with some confidence<sup>118</sup> assess the translators' strategies, we should be able to deduce the intended function of the Septuagint as well.<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup> Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 13.

<sup>118</sup> An analysis of translation strategies relies upon having access to both the translation and the original. Because we can never in all certainty claim to have access to the LXX *Vorlage*, we must always maintain some cautious humility in our conclusions regarding the translators' strategies.

<sup>119</sup> Benjamin G. Wright, "The *Letter of Aristeas* and the Reception History of the Septuagint," *BIOSCS* 39 (2006): 50; Benjamin G. Wright, "Moving Beyond Translating a Translation: Reflections on a *New English Translation of the Septuagint (NETS)*," in Hiebert, *Translation Is Required*, 25; Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 40.

The task of exploring how the intended function of the Septuagint can be inferred from the quality of the Greek and its relationship to the *Vorlage* has been undertaken in particular by Benjamin Wright.<sup>120</sup> He describes the textual-linguistic make-up of the Septuagint as follows:

The Greek of the LXX often contains, for example, a fairly high degree of stereotyping of lexical items, word order that follows the Hebrew, and odd to sometimes non-Greek syntactical features like unidiomatic uses of prepositions. The frequent occurrence of these features does not suggest that the translators produced throughout nonsensical Greek, however. Much, even most, of the Greek of the LXX is adequate and understandable, but it certainly does not generally rise to a level that one might characterize as literary.<sup>121</sup>

He goes on to note, citing Pietersma,<sup>122</sup> that “even if we were to ignore an entire range of LXX translation phenomena such as transliterations, purely mechanical translations, or unidiomatic uses of prepositions and other ‘structure words,’”<sup>123</sup> we would still have to contend with what has been described as “the special prominence given [in LXX] to certain correct, though unidiomatic, modes of speech, because they happen to coincide with Hebrew idioms.”<sup>124</sup> This phenomenon, which is common to some degree in all translations, has been described by Toury as interference, or transference of phenomena from the source text to the target text.<sup>125</sup> Toury defines two types of interference: negative interference, which refers to “deviations from normal,

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<sup>120</sup> Benjamin G. Wright, “Access to the Source: Cicero, Ben Sira, the Septuagint, and Their Audiences,” *JSJ* 34, no. 1 (2003): 1–27; Benjamin G. Wright, “Translation as Scripture: The Septuagint in Aristeas and Philo,” in Kraus and Wooden, *Septuagint Research*, 47–61; Wright, “*Letter of Aristeas*,” 47–67; Wright, “Moving Beyond,” 23–39; Benjamin G. Wright, “The Textual-Linguistic Character and Sociocultural Context of the Septuagint,” in Hiebert, *Translation Is Required*, 235–38. Several of these articles deal specifically with the claims made by the *Letter of Aristeas* for the origins of the Septuagint and how these compare with what we can infer about the origins of the Septuagint from the internal linguistic evidence of LXX.

<sup>121</sup> Wright, “*Letter of Aristeas*,” 61–62.

<sup>122</sup> Pietersma, “New Paradigm,” 342–43.

<sup>123</sup> Wright, “*Letter of Aristeas*,” 62.

<sup>124</sup> Henry St. John Thackeray, *A Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek According to the Septuagint* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909), 29.

<sup>125</sup> Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 275. See also the earlier theorization of Rabin, who characterizes the ability of a text to absorb linguistic interference as “semantic tolerance.” Chaim Rabin, “The Translation Process and the Character of the Septuagint,” *Textus* 6 (1968): 9.

codified practices of the target system”;<sup>126</sup> and positive interference, which refers to “the propensity to select and employ features of the source text that also exist in the target system,”<sup>127</sup> resulting in an over-representation of those features.<sup>128</sup> For proponents of the interlinear paradigm, the relatively high incidence of both types of interference in the Septuagint signals that “the LXX was meant from its inception to act as a gateway to lead the reader back to the Hebrew original.”<sup>129</sup>

Two other features that Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor identify as characteristic of the Septuagint as an interlinear translation deserve mention; they will prove significant for the argument of the dissertation. First, they point out that “whereas a translation that replaces the original can be counted on to ‘solve’ the problems of the original, in an interlinear rendition these may simply be passed on to the reader.”<sup>130</sup> In other words, a translation that is intended to be read independent of the original will provide exegetical solutions for difficult words or passages in the *Vorlage*, whereas a translation that is meant to be read in tandem with the original will provide a gloss that represents the *Vorlage* without explaining it.<sup>131</sup> Insofar as Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor find evidence of this sort of translation in the Septuagint, it supports their hypothesis that

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<sup>126</sup> Toury, *Descriptive Translation Studies*, 275.

<sup>127</sup> Wright, “*Letter of Aristeas*,” 62n37.

<sup>128</sup> Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 58–59.

<sup>129</sup> Wright, “*Letter of Aristeas*,” 63.

<sup>130</sup> Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader,” xvi. See also Pietersma, “New English Translation,” 223.

<sup>131</sup> On the phenomenon of translators passing on exegetical problems to their readers, see Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [18]: “far from it being the case that every translation is also necessarily an interpretation, there could be points in some ancient translations of the Bible where one of the main motives was, if we may put it paradoxically, to avoid interpreting. This was often the case with literal renderings. The concern of the translator was not to take the exegetical decisions but to pass on to his readers, in Greek, Latin or whatever it might be, the semantic raw material upon which a decision might later be built.”

the Septuagint was intended to point the reader back to the Hebrew rather than to function independently.

A second and related feature is that at times the Greek of the Septuagint does not make sense unless it is thought of in terms of the Hebrew it is meant to represent. As Boyd-Taylor puts it, “on the assumption of interlinearity, the translator’s primary concern was not to produce a Greek rendering which made sense independently of its Hebrew parent, but rather to signal the form of the Hebrew locution to a Greek reader.”<sup>132</sup> And again: “in speaking of the text’s unintelligibility as inherent, what Pietersma and Wright underscore is Barr’s insight that the Greek translation was not necessarily produced with a view to its meaning as a Greek text.”<sup>133</sup> A translation whose primary goal is to give readers access to the original (such as the Septuagint, according to Boyd-Taylor) will not overly concern itself with producing a text that is coherent in the target language. The first priority of such a translation is to give a representation of the *Vorlage*, and as a result, the comprehensibility of the translation as a communication in the target language is at times sacrificed. According to Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor, the Septuagint translators did not mind if their Greek did not make sense as long as it adequately represented the Hebrew.

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<sup>132</sup> Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 98.

<sup>133</sup> Boyd-Taylor, “Who’s Afraid,” 201. His references are to Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader,” xv: “unintelligibility of the text *qua* Greek text is one of its inherent characteristics”; italics original; and Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [19]: “Now ἐν ἐμοί [for יָב, e.g., 1 Sam 1:26] is certainly semantically misleading and does not provide us with a meaning ‘please’: what it says is ‘in me.’ But this does not mean that these translators did not understand that the meaning was ‘please’—perhaps they did, perhaps they did not; all we can tell is that their rendering does not give us the answer. What they are saying to their readers is: ‘there is a word here the form of which is identical to that of the common Hebrew expression “in me.”’ How far they realized that this expression, though homonymic, must have entirely different semantic content, the translation does not inform us.”

The interlinear paradigm has met with resistance from other Septuagint scholars. The most direct critique comes from Marguerite Harl,<sup>134</sup> editor of *La Bible d'Alexandrie* (BA),<sup>135</sup> a French translation and commentary series on the Septuagint which takes a dramatically different approach to understanding the Septuagint. While NETS translates the Greek “with one eye on” the Hebrew, BA pays no attention to the meaning of the *Vorlage*,<sup>136</sup> attempting instead to produce “translation done rigorously ‘according to the Greek.’”<sup>137</sup> Rather than seeing the Greek of the Septuagint as fundamentally dependent upon the Hebrew for its meaning, Harl asks her translators to approach the Septuagint as they would any other ancient Greek text. This approach is grounded in the conviction that, just like any other translation, the Septuagint was intended to be read independent of its *Vorlage*. She rejects outright the proposal that the Septuagint is an interlinear translation; one wonders, however, whether she has perhaps misunderstood Pietersma’s hypothesis, taking “interlinear translation” as a literal description rather than as a metaphor.

Harl further contests Pietersma’s description of the Greek of the Septuagint as unintelligible. She argues that the Septuagint translators “produce a text if not easy to read, in any case, almost always of good ‘greekness,’ comprehensible and coherent—at least just as much so as the MT, and sometimes more so.”<sup>138</sup> While the Greek of the Septuagint may not always be

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<sup>134</sup> See also the similar objections of Natalio Fernández Marcos, “Reactions to the Panel on Modern Translations,” in Taylor, *X Congress*, 233–40.

<sup>135</sup> Marguerite Harl, ed., *La Bible d'Alexandrie: traduction du texte grec de la Septante* (Paris: Cerf, 1986–).

<sup>136</sup> Marguerite Harl, “La Bible d'Alexandrie: I. The Translation Principles,” in Taylor, *X Congress*, 183. This principle is not always borne out in practice in the BA translation. See, e.g., the translations of 1 Sam 1:6, 22 in Lestienne and Grillet, *Règnes*, 129, 136, which have been influenced by the meaning of the *Vorlage* and do not, strictly speaking, represent the meaning of the Greek.

<sup>137</sup> Harl, “Translation Principles,” 182.

<sup>138</sup> Harl, “Translation Principles,” 187.

easy to read due to linguistic interference from the *Vorlage*, it is nevertheless almost always understandable. (She notes that MT itself is not always readable and asserts it would be unreasonable to hold LXX to a higher standard.) This point regarding the intelligibility of the Greek forms part of Harl's larger argument that the Septuagint was intended to be and was used as an independent document. Her position contrasts sharply with the basic premise of the NETS approach that the Septuagint is linguistically dependent on the Hebrew *Vorlage* and so can only be understood in relation to that *Vorlage*.

Jan Joosten takes something of a middle approach, acknowledging that the literal approach of the Septuagint translators often results in a Greek text that, "if it weren't for the problem of the direction of the writing ... could indeed easily be aligned between the lines of the Hebrew source text,"<sup>139</sup> but taking issue with Pietersma's assumption that this linguistic phenomenon can have only one possible explanation—namely that the Septuagint was intended to be used as a study aid in a school setting. Although this particular feature of Pietersma's theory appears to have fallen by the wayside,<sup>140</sup> many of Joosten's remarks still hold as a critique of the broader claim that the Septuagint was not meant to stand as an independent text. He notes first that the non-literary register of the Greek can be explained by the translators' literal approach and their social status as non-elites. He next points out that Greek translations that are

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<sup>139</sup> Joosten, "Reflections," 230. Pietersma seems to believe that Joosten agrees with the NETS analysis of the Septuagint as linguistically dependent on the Hebrew, and that Joosten's critique only addresses the interlinear paradigm as a theory of Septuagint origins; Pietersma, "Beyond Literalism," 14–15. This is, I believe, a misreading of Joosten's argument. He does concede at the outset that "there can be no doubt about the relatively literal translation technique underlying most of the Septuagint books" (Joosten, "Reflections," 229–30) and says he will focus on the question of whether that technique necessarily means that the Septuagint was intended to be used as a school text, but he then goes on to bring arguments against the theory that the Septuagint is linguistically dependent on its *Vorlage*. Given that the dependent relationship of the Greek to the Hebrew is the core of what the interlinear paradigm attempts to express, Pietersma's reading of Joosten seems overly optimistic.

<sup>140</sup> See n110 on p. 30.

comprehensible only in relation to the *Vorlage* are in fact of no help to readers who need the Greek to understand the Hebrew. “If the Septuagint had been created in order to explain the Hebrew text, one would have expected the translation to make more sense.”<sup>141</sup> Examples such as ἐν ἐμοί for בִּי,<sup>142</sup> therefore, actually offer support against the interlinear paradigm rather than for it.<sup>143</sup>

Joosten then brings several strong counterarguments against the claim that the Septuagint was not meant to be read independently. First, the Septuagint seems at times concerned with style, deviating from the *Vorlage* by varying equivalents for repeated words, creating alliteration, and eliminating repetitions. Such stylistic improvements are perceptible only in the Greek and have no relationship to the Hebrew. Second, we can detect harmonizations in the Septuagint that extend beyond the limits of the clause or verse. Although minor, these adjustments only enhance the coherence of the Greek and add nothing to a reader’s comprehension or appreciation of the Hebrew. Finally, certain books of the Bible (Job, Esther, Proverbs, Isaiah, and Daniel) were translated quite freely and must have been intended as independent texts. These examples raise the question of why only some biblical books and not others would have been meant to be independent.

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<sup>141</sup> Joosten, “Reflections,” 235.

<sup>142</sup> See p. 29.

<sup>143</sup> See also Jan Joosten, “Translating the Untranslatable: Septuagint Renderings of Hebrew Idioms,” in Hiebert, *Translation Is Required*, 66: “Literal renderings [of idioms] almost always result in unusual turns of phrase in the target text. To different degrees they may have been hard to understand for Greek readers. This does not mean that such renderings presuppose readers who had access to the Hebrew source text. While literal renderings may lack clarity, they make up for this by making the target text more ‘Hebraic.’ Literal renderings of Hebrew idioms are an index of foreignness. A large part of the intended readership may not have been averse to this. At the same time, Hebraisms of the type created in this way would have been at least partly comprehensible from the context, even to those who did not know Hebrew.”

The validity of the interlinear paradigm is a central methodological debate in contemporary Septuagint studies, not least because of its implications for our understanding of the early history of the Septuagint. While the goal of this dissertation is not to argue either for or against the interlinear paradigm, the three examples I will discuss in the following chapters can and should be used as evidence in the discussion.

As noted above, there are two salient features that Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor identify as characteristic of the Septuagint as an interlinear translation: first, that an interlinear translation passes on problems to reader rather than solving them; and second, that it makes sense only in relation to the Hebrew. Examples of the second phenomenon are not difficult to find in 1 Samuel; in fact, one of the parade examples of so-called interlinear translation—the use of ἐν ἐμοί for בִּי<sup>144</sup>—occurs twice (1:26; 25:24). We might also point to lexical cases, such as the repeated use of *σκῆπτρον* to render טַבַּשׁ (= “tribe”), sometimes accompanied by a second translation using *φυλή* (1 Sam 2:28; 9:21; 10:19–21; 15:17). Examples of the first phenomenon might include instances of double renderings that include a transliteration (5:4; 14:25; 15:3, 17;

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<sup>144</sup> See p. 29. See also Barr’s discussion description of the impact of this particular calque in n133 on p. 35 above.

23:14; 25:31). These data among others could suggest that LXX 1 Samuel is the sort of translation that Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor describe as interlinear.<sup>145</sup>

On the other hand, the three examples investigated in this dissertation demonstrate the opposite behaviors: that is, the translator is actively involved in solving problems rather than passing them along to the reader, and the Greek can only be understood *apart from* the Hebrew.

That is, we can only understand what the Greek means when we relinquish the conviction that

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<sup>145</sup> After a detailed comparison of the texts of Aquila and Rahlfs for 1 Kgs 20:7–17, Boyd-Taylor concludes that OG Reigns (his terminology, to be addressed momentarily) is not a “typical” interlinear translation but rather represents “a modest but nontrivial departure from type.” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 174. There is some slippage in whether Boyd-Taylor is comparing merely the translation found in this passage (“I should stress that my aim is not to extrapolate general statements concerning the versions as such,” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 119) or the two versions as a whole (“Our task then is to describe the constitutive character of the Aquilanic text,” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 116; the same inconsistency appears in his chapters on the *kaige* text of Reigns, LXX Psalms, and LXX Genesis). Regardless of whether he means to characterize only these eleven verses in Kings or all four books of Reigns, his finding is irrelevant for the study of Samuel. By referring to “OG Reigns,” Boyd-Taylor gives the impression that the Greek books of Samuel and Kings have a similar translational profile, but this is not borne out by the scholarship. Compare, for example, the descriptions of LXX Samuel and Kings in Hugo, “1–2 Kingdoms,” 128–36, and Timothy Michael Law, “3–4 Kingdoms (1–2 Kings),” in *T&T Clark Companion to the Septuagint*, ed. James K. Aitken (London: Bloomsbury T&T Clark, 2015), 148–60. In particular, LXX Kings appears to include deliberate large-scale alterations to the text while LXX Samuel does not. It is therefore inaccurate to apply conclusions about the translation technique of LXX Kings to all four books of Reigns. Furthermore, in calling Rahlfs’s text “OG,” Boyd-Taylor ignores the many text-critical difficulties present in the passage of LXX Kings he analyzes; he says he will deal with these difficulties “on the fly” (Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 121), but this ad hoc approach is inadequate for the complex textual situation in Kings and undermines his comparison of “OG” with Aquila. As Law notes, “we have yet to identify OG” in Kings (Law, “3–4 Kingdoms,” 148), and so any attempt to compare OG with another Greek version without first seeking to establish OG for the passage in question is inherently flawed. Boyd-Taylor defends his use of the term “OG” by saying he means simply “non-*kaige*” (Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 118n10), but this hardly improves the matter. The text he is using for comparison remains undefined. Moreover, Boyd-Taylor’s conclusion that “on the assumption of interlinearity, OG [Reigns] would not be typical of the larger translational corpus” (Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 174) points to a deep methodological flaw in the interlinear paradigm, at least as he presents it in this monograph. Earlier he writes, “The interlinear paradigm [captures underlying continuities and patterns of resemblance] by treating interlinearity as typical of the corpus. This need not imply that every translation is an interlinear, *nor even that the majority of translation units are correctly so described*. It is merely to claim that the translations which come down to us are best characterized in relation to interlinear translation as a paradigm from which they would have varied according to the specific circumstances of their production. That a given translation within the corpus may be seen to depart from this paradigm is not only perfectly consistent with this assumption, it is to be expected.” Boyd-Taylor, *Reading between the Lines*, 103; italics mine. In this formulation, the interlinear paradigm is said to accurately describe only some, and perhaps not even most, of the translation found in the Septuagint. At the same time, Boyd-Taylor still insists that interlinearity is somehow “typical” of the corpus. But what can it mean for interlinearity to be “typical” if only a minority of the corpus exhibits this translational profile? To describe OG Reigns, or indeed any other part of the Septuagint, as a departure from the typical is meaningless if the “typical” is not in fact typical. Boyd-Taylor argues that interlinear translation is “typical” insofar as the Septuagint translators took it as the norm from which they would then choose to vary or not, but he offers no evidence to support this assertion.

the Greek intends to communicate the same thing as the Hebrew. Indeed, as I will argue below, it has been the refusal of scholars to read these verses apart from the Hebrew that has prevented them from understanding the meaning of the Greek (in 1:6 and 14:41) and from recognizing the creative abilities of the translator. Theo van der Louw makes the important methodological point that

scholars are sometimes inclined to equate the meaning of the Greek with the (presumed) meaning of MT, for, they reason, the translators intended to render the meaning of the Hebrew faithfully into Greek. But ... [w]e must interpret and translate Greek words in meanings attested in Koine Greek and be very cautious to conclude that the translators had the “intention” of expressing the meaning of the Hebrew in the sense a 20<sup>th</sup> century scholar gives to it.<sup>146</sup>

There are in fact three distinct but related arguments in van der Louw’s statement. First, we should not assume that the translator meant to render the Hebrew faithfully. Second, we should not assume that even if he meant to render the Hebrew faithfully, the translator had the same understanding of what that Hebrew meant as twentieth- (and twenty-first-) century scholars have. Third, as a result, we should attempt to interpret and render the meaning of the Greek as Greek despite the difficulties inherent to the project.

Despite the dissertation’s support for Harl’s position that LXX should be read independent of the *Vorlage*, I would not insist, as she does, that the Septuagint is “almost always of good ‘greekness,’ comprehensible and coherent.”<sup>147</sup> As noted above, one of the most characteristic features of Septuagint Greek is the high level of interference from the Hebrew that it displays. Even when a given translation in the Septuagint is comprehensible and coherent, it is

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<sup>146</sup> Louw, *Transformations*, 90. See also the fuller quotation on p. 84 below.

<sup>147</sup> Harl, “Translation Principles,” 187.

not necessarily “of good ‘greekness,’” and there are many instances in which the Septuagint is neither comprehensible nor coherent.

The most reasonable (and reasoned) approach is that of Joosten, who both acknowledges the very Hebraic nature of the Greek of the Septuagint (contra Harl) and points out numerous literary features which make sense only if the Septuagint were intended to be read independently of its *Vorlage* (contra Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor). Joosten’s characterization of the Greek of the Septuagint—both Hebraic and independent—accounts well for the variety of textual evidence found in LXX 1 Samuel. The three examples of translational creativity which are the focus of this dissertation demonstrate that LXX 1 Samuel was meant to be an independent document, and so scholars must seek an explanation other than the interlinear paradigm for its many Hebraistic qualities. Joosten proposes a few, such as inexperience on the part of the translators, reverence for the Hebrew, and the socio-educational status of the translators.<sup>148</sup>

Another possibility not mentioned by Joosten in his essay can be inferred from James Barr’s observation that “the following of the Hebrew word order—not strictly but in large measure—is probably to be attributed to habit and the quest for an easy technique rather than to any literalist policy”:<sup>149</sup> the translators produced “interlinear” Greek not as a considered policy but rather because it simplified the challenging task of translation.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>148</sup> Joosten, “Reflections,” 233. Joosten does not endorse any one of these explanations in particular. His point is that the linguistic characteristics of the Septuagint does not require the conclusion that it was meant to be a dependent document.

<sup>149</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [26].

<sup>150</sup> See also the similar suggestion by Bickerman that stereotyped renderings were used to avoid mistakes. Elias Bickerman, “The Septuagint as a Translation,” in *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 178–79.

## 5. Final methodological considerations: what should we study when we study the Septuagint?

Contemporary scholarship on the Septuagint is heavily weighted on the extreme ends of what might be called the exegetical spectrum.<sup>151</sup> At one end of the spectrum are a large number of influential studies which exclusively consider renderings of syntactical features. These studies attempt to clarify translation technique (*Übersetzungsweise*), defined by Aejmelaeus as “the relationship between the text of the translation and its *Vorlage*,” or again as “the activity of the translator or the process of translation which led from the *Vorlage* to the translation.”<sup>152</sup>

Translation technique as an object of study was defined in the 1960s by Ilmari Soisalon-Soininen<sup>153</sup> in Helsinki and continues to be most widely addressed by Finnish scholars, notably Raija Sollamo<sup>154</sup> and Anneli Aejmelaeus.<sup>155</sup> These scholars have focused on the analysis of syntax in the Septuagint as a methodologically rigorous way to assess the approach of a given translator and compare his approach with that of other translators. To give a few examples, Soisalon-Soininen has written a monograph on the translation of Hebrew infinitives;<sup>156</sup> Sollamo has written monographs on the translation of “semiprepositions” (prepositions formed with nouns,

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<sup>151</sup> This overview focuses only on studies of the Septuagint per se and excludes studies which aim to use LXX to address text-critical issues in MT.

<sup>152</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” in *On the Trail*, 205–6. She notes, however, that translation technique does not denote “a system acquired or developed or resorted to by the translators”; Aejmelaeus, “Translation Technique,” 206. It is something neutral that occurs inherently any time a text is translated and should not be thought of as a systematic approach to translation. Rabin also proposes that translation best be understood as a “*process* of encoding”; Rabin, “Translation Process,” 6; italics original.

<sup>153</sup> See, e.g., Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive*; Soisalon-Soininen, *Studien*.

<sup>154</sup> See, e.g., Sollamo, *Hebrew Semiprepositions*; Raija Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronoun in the Septuagint* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995); Raija Sollamo, “Translation Technique as a Method,” in *Translating a Translation: The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism*, ed. Hans Ausloos et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 35–41.

<sup>155</sup> See, e.g., Anneli Aejmelaeus, *On the Trail of the Septuagint Translators: Collected Essays* (Leuven: Peeters, 2007). See also the many contributions of Aejmelaeus in the bibliography.

<sup>156</sup> Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive*.

such as לְפָנַי) and on personal pronouns;<sup>157</sup> and Aejmelaeus has done studies on renderings of כִּי, on the use of circumstantial participles to translate various Hebrew constructions, and on clause connectors such as וְ.<sup>158</sup>

At the other end of the spectrum lie a large number of studies which attempt to glean information about the theology and ideology of the translators—and by extension, about the worldview of Hellenistic Judaism before the Common Era more broadly—from how they rendered their *Vorlage*. While an exhaustive review of the studies on this topic is beyond the scope of the present work, it is also worthwhile to be aware of the popularity of the subject, for it has attracted a large number of exegetes. Thus we might note the studies by Baer,<sup>159</sup> Cook,<sup>160</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Sollamo, *Hebrew Semiprepositions*; Sollamo, *Repetition of the Possessive Pronoun*.

<sup>158</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “OTI *casuale* in Septuagintal Greek,” in *On the Trail*, 11–29; Anneli Aejmelaeus, “OTI *recitativum* in Septuagintal Greek,” in *On the Trail*, 31–41; Aejmelaeus, “Participium Coniunctum,” 1–10; Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Significance of Clause Connectors in the Syntactical and Translation-Technical Study of the Septuagint,” in *On the Trail*, 43–57.

<sup>159</sup> David A. Baer, *When We All Go Home: Translation and Theology in LXX Isaiah 56–66* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 2001).

<sup>160</sup> Johann Cook, “The Ideology of Septuagint Proverbs,” in Taylor, *X Congress*, 463–79; Johann Cook, “‘Theological/Ideological’ *Tendenz* in the Septuagint—LXX Proverbs: A Case Study,” in *Interpreting Translation*, ed. Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 65–79; Johann Cook, “Towards the Formulation of a Theology of the Septuagint,” in *Congress Volume Ljubljana 2007*, ed. André Lemaire (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 621–40.

Ekblad,<sup>161</sup> Fabry,<sup>162</sup> Glenny,<sup>163</sup> Hugo,<sup>164</sup> Hutzli,<sup>165</sup> Joosten,<sup>166</sup> Parry,<sup>167</sup> Rösel,<sup>168</sup> Schniedewind,<sup>169</sup> and Wagner.<sup>170</sup>

Both approaches to the study of the Septuagint have been criticized, the first for being overly objective, the second for being overly subjective: the focus on translation technique and syntax misses the forest for the trees,<sup>171</sup> while the attempt to identify theological or ideological tendencies often ignores a more straightforward textual or translational solution.<sup>172</sup> Both approaches, of course, also have strengths, and there have been recent attempts to combine the careful methodology of the former with the attention to context of the latter.<sup>173</sup> As Aejmelaeus argues, “There has developed an artificial polarity in at least some Septuagintal scholarship between the study of translation technique and the study of theological interpretation, as if the

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<sup>161</sup> Eugene Robert Ekblad, *Isaiah's Servant Poems According to the Septuagint: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Leuven: Peeters, 1999).

<sup>162</sup> Heinz-Josef Fabry, “Messianism in the Septuagint,” in Kraus and Wooden, *Septuagint Research*, 193–205.

<sup>163</sup> W. Edward Glenny, *Finding Meaning in the Text: Translation Technique and Theology in the Septuagint of Amos* (Leiden: Brill, 2009).

<sup>164</sup> Hugo, “L'Archéologie textuelle,” 161–212.

<sup>165</sup> Hutzli, “Theologische Textänderungen,” 213–36.

<sup>166</sup> Jan Joosten, “Une théologie de la septante? Réflexions méthodologiques sur l'interprétation de la version grecque,” *RTP* 132, no. 1 (2000): 31–46; Jan Joosten, “To See God: Conflicting Exegetical Tendencies in the Septuagint,” in *Die Septuaginta—Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten*, ed. Martin Karrer and Wolfgang Kraus (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 287–99; Jan Joosten, “Divine Omniscience and the Theology of the Septuagint,” in *Collected Studies*, 171–81.

<sup>167</sup> Parry, “Hannah in the Presence,” 53–73.

<sup>168</sup> Martin Rösel, “Towards a ‘Theology of the Septuagint’,” in Kraus and Wooden, *Septuagint Research*, 239–52.

<sup>169</sup> William M Schniedewind, “Textual Criticism and Theological Interpretation: The Pro-Temple *Tendenz* in the Greek Text of Samuel-Kings,” *HTR* 87, no. 1 (Jan. 1994): 107–16.

<sup>170</sup> J. Ross Wagner, *Reading the Sealed Book: Old Greek Isaiah and the Problem of Septuagint Hermeneutics* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2013).

<sup>171</sup> Wilson de Angelo Cunha, *LXX Isaiah 24:1-26:6 as Interpretation and Translation: A Methodological Discussion* (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2014), 37–38; Glenny, *Finding Meaning*, 41–42; John A. Beck, *Translators as Storytellers: A Study in Septuagint Translation Technique* (New York: Peter Lang, 2000), 53–54.

<sup>172</sup> Albert Pietersma, “Messianism and the Greek Psalter: In Search of the Messiah,” in *The Septuagint and Messianism*, ed. M. A. Knibb 2006), 49–75; Aejmelaeus, “Levels of Interpretation,” 295–312,

<sup>173</sup> See for example Joosten, “To See God: Conflicting Exegetical Tendencies in the Septuagint,” 287–99; Glenny, *Finding Meaning*.

two had nothing in common. That they do have much in common is what my ... thesis is about: *The theology of a translator can only be studied in relation to his mode of translation, as revealed in his language usage.*<sup>174</sup> As Aejmelaeus rightly notes, the only way to distinguish theological exegesis is through detailed investigation of translation technique. Without knowing how a translator typically handles his *Vorlage*, it is impossible to tell straightforward renderings from interpretive ones.

The present work identifies and analyzes instances of exegesis in LXX Samuel with due attention paid to translation technique: for each example, I will describe what the Greek means, how the translator interacted with his *Vorlage* to arrive at his rendering, and why the translation should be considered exegetical rather than accidental. Unlike recent studies of exegesis in LXX Samuel,<sup>175</sup> however, the cases I will adduce are narrative, not theological. This approach implies a methodological critique of both strands of scholarship just reviewed. In response to the research on translation technique, the dissertation argues that having established how a translator handles his *Vorlage*, it is necessary to ask also what his translation means. In response to the research on theological renderings, the dissertation argues that there is more to the intellectual life of a community than its theological and ideological concerns. From the translator's desire to solve perceived problems in the narrative of his *Vorlage* and from the solutions he devises, we can surmise that Jewish readers of second-century Alexandria were attuned to the coherence, consistency, and completeness of narrative texts. As they read, they noticed connections between

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<sup>174</sup> Aejmelaeus, "Translation Technique," 218; italics original. See her own efforts in this area in Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Übersetzungstechnik und theologische Interpretation: Zur Methodik der Septuaginta-Forschung," in *On the Trail*, 223–39; Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Von Sprache zur Theologie: Methodologische Überlegungen zur Theologie der Septuaginta," in *On the Trail*, 265–93.

<sup>175</sup> See Hugo, "L'Archéologie textuelle," 161–212; Hutzli, "Theologische Textänderungen," 213–36; Parry, "Hannah in the Presence," 53–73; Schniedewind, "Pro-Temple *Tendenz*," 107–16.

stories from different periods of Israelite history, and they wanted the narrative in front of them not only to make sense as a unit, but also to be in agreement with related narratives.

### III. Synopsis of Chapters Two, Three, and Four

Each of the following three chapters will give an extended analysis of a single verse in LXX 1 Samuel. Chapter Two will focus on 1:6, which forms part of Samuel's birth narrative. This verse in MT relates that Elkanah's second wife, Peninnah, used to torment Hannah at the family's yearly pilgrimage to Shiloh; in LXX, however, Peninnah does not appear in the verse at all. Instead, LXX tells us that Hannah was despondent because of her inability to conceive a child. I will argue that the translator assimilated the narrative of 1 Sam 1 to the narrative of Rachel and Leah recounted in Gen 29–30.

Chapter Three will discuss 14:41, in which LXX preserves a lengthy plus depicting Saul asking for an oracular response by means of *'ûrîm wətummîm* during a series of battles between the Israelites and the Philistines. I will argue that the LXX rendering *δὸς δὴ ὀσιότητα*, long assumed to represent *הבה תמים* ("give *tummîm*!"), instead represents *הבה תמים* ("declare innocence!"). The non-intuitive decision by the translator to render *תמים* rather than *תמים* will be shown to address an inconsistency in the narrative of the verse. This argument leads to a reconsideration of the reading of the Old Greek for 14:41.

Chapter Four will investigate 15:29, in which Samuel rebukes Saul for his lack of obedience to YHWH. MT in this verse preserves an unusual epithet for YHWH, *נצח ישראל*, which the translator renders as a verbal clause, *δαιρεθήσεται Ισραηλ εἰς δύο*, thereby creating a

prediction of the divided monarchy. I will argue that this translation intentionally assimilates the narrative of 1 Sam 15 to the narrative of 1 Kgs 11 and also forms part of several larger patterns of translation within LXX Samuel. In addition, I will critique the published reconstruction of this passage for 4Q51 in *DJD XVII*.

My research has led me to disagree on a number of points with Anneli Aejmelaeus, who has contributed more than anyone else to the study of LXX 1 Samuel. Nevertheless, this study is deeply indebted to her work on 1 Samuel and on the methodology of textual criticism, as will become clear in the pages that follow.

#### IV. Sources

The text of Codex Vaticanus (Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 1209) comes from Alan England Brooke, Norman McLean and Henry St. John Thackeray, eds., *The Old Testament in Greek According to the Text of Codex Vaticanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009). The text of Codex Alexandrinus (BL, Royal 1 D. V–VIII) comes from *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus* (London: British Museum, 1879–1883). The Antiochene text comes from Natalio Fernández Marcos and José Ramón Busto Saiz, eds., *El texto Antioqueno de la Biblia griega I: 1–2 Samuel* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989). The text of Codex Basiliano-Vaticanus (Bibl. Vat., Vat. gr. 2106) has been reconstructed from the variants listed in Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray. Unless otherwise specified, other citations of LXX are taken from Alfred Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta: Id Est Vetus Testamentum Graece Iuxta LXX Interpretes* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 2006).

For the Masoretic text of 1 Sam 1:5–6; 14:41; 15:27–29, I have consulted the Leningrad Codex (St. Petersburg I Firkovitch B19a) and the Aleppo Codex in facsimile; they are in agreement in each case. Other citations of MT are taken from Rudolf Kittel, et al., eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelstiftung, 1977).

The text of 4Q51 and 4Q52 comes from Frank Moore Cross, Donald W. Parry, Richard J. Sailey and Eugene Ulrich, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XVII: Qumran Cave 4 XII 1–2 Samuel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

All translations of ancient and modern texts are mine unless otherwise noted.

## Chapter 2

### 1 Sam 1:6: Reading Hannah and Peninnah in Light of Gen 29–30

#### I. Introduction

The MT version of 1 Samuel opens with the story of childless Hannah longing for a child while being tormented by her prolific rival wife Peninnah.<sup>1</sup> The version of Hannah's story in the Septuagint, however, does not include Peninnah's torment. Peninnah is simply the second wife of Elkanah, and Hannah's distress is due entirely to her inability to conceive. This dramatic difference is due primarily to divergences between MT and LXX in 1 Sam 1:6, but very little scholarly attention has been paid to the textual variation in this verse. While many have noted that the two versions are markedly different,<sup>2</sup> there has been no sustained inquiry into the nature of the *Vorlage*, the meaning of the Greek, or what we can infer from this verse about the translator's methods and abilities.

In this chapter I will argue that the translator drew on the narrative of Rachel and Leah in Gen 29–30 in order to solve difficulties in his *Vorlage*, and as a result, the Septuagint rendering of 1 Sam 1:6 deserves to be considered interpretive. Aware of his inability to give a rendering of the *Vorlage* that was semantically accurate, the translator nevertheless committed himself to

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<sup>1</sup> For the sake of simplicity, I will use the same spelling for characters' names regardless of which source I am translating or referring to. I will thus refer to both חַנָּה and Ἄννα as Hannah, and to both פְּנִינָה and Φεννάνα as Peninnah.

<sup>2</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 36; August Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuelis und der Könige* (Nördlingen: CH Beck, 1887), 1; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 7–8; Arnold B. Ehrlich, *Randglossen zur Hebräischen Bibel: textkritisches, sprachliches und sachliches* (Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1908), 163; Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 18–19; Walters, "Hannah and Anna," 389, 392–97; Lestienne and Grillet, *Règles*, 129; Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 25; Anneli Aejmelaeus, "Where Do Doublets Come From?" in *Biblical Greek in Context: Essays in Honour of John A. L. Lee*, ed. James K. Aitken and Trevor V. Evans (Leuven: Peeters, 2015), 10–11.

giving a rendering that was textually accurate—that is, a rendering which adequately represented the *Vorlage* in form if not in meaning. He had a simultaneous commitment to producing coherent Greek, and this commitment drove him to create meaning out of a Hebrew text which was, to him, incomprehensible. In order to accomplish this task, he used his literary knowledge of the narratives of Genesis to guide his translational choices, thereby creating a reading of the *Vorlage* which reflected those narratives.

After a review of the manuscript evidence for 1 Sam 1:6, I will discuss the textual relationship between MT and LXX, demonstrating that the *Vorlage* comprised the MT text as well as two pluses, one at the beginning of the verse and one at the end. I will also establish that the translator was not simply free-writing but rather was attempting to represent the form of the *Vorlage*. I will then turn to the meaning of the Greek in 1 Sam 1:6, presenting a new reading of this verse in conjunction with v. 5. I will argue that the meaning of LXX 1 Sam 1:5–6, which has not been correctly evaluated by other scholars, is grounded in the Pentateuchal narrative of Rachel and Leah. This thesis extends Emanuel Tov’s work on the influence of the Greek translation of the Pentateuch. Finally, I will turn to the history of Jewish interpretation to contextualize the translator’s choices, determining that LXX represents an early Jewish interpretation of Hannah and Peninnah that runs counter to almost every interpretation in the Jewish tradition which follows. The one exception is Josephus, who relied on a Greek Bible to compose the *Jewish Antiquities*. The Septuagint translation of 1 Sam 1:6 thus provides an important contribution to the history of Jewish interpretation of Samuel’s birth narrative.

## II. The text of 1 Sam 1:6

Although the two versions of 1 Sam 1:6 preserved in MT and LXX are quite different in meaning, they share a close textual relationship. The translator was not free-writing, nor did he have a radically different *Vorlage*. On the contrary, a detailed analysis of the Hebrew and Greek texts will demonstrate that the Masoretic text forms the bulk of the LXX *Vorlage*; the remainder comprised two pluses, one at the beginning of the verse and one at the end. The translator misunderstood the Hebrew before him and was further hindered by his method of working word by word. His translation, borne out of his floundering, misrepresents his *Vorlage* and diverges from MT both semantically and syntactically.

The manuscript evidence in Hebrew and Greek will be reviewed, discussed, and organized. After establishing that the translator primarily considered only a word or two of his *Vorlage* at a time, I will turn to a discussion of how the Hebrew of MT was transformed into the Greek of LXX, proceeding word by word as the translator would have done.

### 1. Manuscript evidence

Although the focus of this chapter is on the translation of 1 Sam 1:6, the preceding verse plays a significant role in the creation of that translation (as will become evident). Thus despite the fact that the analysis of this section will treat only the textual relationship between MT and LXX in v. 6, I nevertheless present the manuscript evidence for v. 5 as well so that all of this evidence is located together for convenient reference.

MT<sup>3</sup>

5 ולחנה יתן מנה אחת אפים כי את חנה אהב ויהוה סגר רחמה 6 וכעסתה צרתה גמ כעב  
בבעבור הרעמה כי סגר יהוה בעד רחמה

LXX<sup>B</sup> (OG;<sup>4</sup> = Rahlfs)

5 και τῆ Ἀννα ἔδωκεν μερίδα μίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδίον πλὴν ὅτι τὴν Ἀνναν ἡγάπα  
Ἐλκανα ὑπὲρ ταύτην και κύριος ἀπέκλεισεν τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς 6 ὅτι οὐκ  
ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς και κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς  
θλίψεως αὐτῆς και ἡθύμει διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς  
τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον

5 μερίδα μίαν] + διπλην M | ὅτι 2° επει 247; επι A 376 | ἀπέκλεισεν] συναπεκλεισεν A  
6 παιδίον 1°] παιδαριον M 158 | ἀπέκλεισεν] συναπεκλεισεν A

Antiochene Text

5 τῆ δὲ Ἀννα ἔδωκε μερίδα μίαν κατὰ πρόσωπον ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδίον πλὴν ὅτι  
ἡγάπα ὁ Ἐλκανα τὴν Ἀνναν ὑπὲρ τὴν Φεννανα και κύριος ἀπέκλεισε τὰ περὶ τὴν  
μήτραν αὐτῆς 6 και παρώργιζεν αὐτὴν ἢ ἀντίζηλος αὐτῆς και γε παροργισμῶ διὰ τὸ  
ἐξουθενεῖν αὐτὴν και οὐκ ἔδωκε κύριος αὐτῇ παιδίον κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς και κατὰ  
τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτῆς και ἡθύμει διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι συνέκλεισε κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν  
μήτραν αὐτῆς τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον

6 διὰ τὸ ἐξουθενεῖν] εξουθενουσα 106 107 120 134 554; εξουθενουσα 127 | αὐτὴν 2°] + οτι  
απεκλεισεν  $\bar{\kappa}\varsigma$  κατα της μητρας αυτης 55 158

The Greek textual evidence merits brief attention. There are two main strands of transmission for these verses: one represented by LXX<sup>B</sup>, and one represented by the Antiochene text. Looking first at the LXX<sup>B</sup> variants, διπλην (M) appears to be an attempt to make Hannah's single portion match her status as the favored wife. επι (A 376) and (likely secondarily) επει (247) for οτι 2° could easily be a misreading of the uncial script. συναπεκλεισεν (A) for

<sup>3</sup> The Qumran scrolls of Samuel are not extant for this verse; thus MT, as represented by the Aleppo and Leningrad codices, is our main Hebrew witness.

<sup>4</sup> Aejmelaeus accepts LXX<sup>B</sup> as OG for this verse; Aejmelaeus, "Doublets," 10.

απεκλεισεν and παιδαριον (M 158) for παιδιον are minor variations that do not impact the meaning of the verse. Turning to the Antiochene text, there are several striking divergences from LXX<sup>B</sup>; these will be enumerated here and discussed in greater detail below. In v. 5, the Antiochene text has a plus of *κατα προσωπον*. In v. 6, the Antiochene text has a lengthy plus: *και παρωργιζεν αυτην η αντιζηλος αυτης και γε παροργισμω δια το εξουθενειν αυτην*, and the following clause begins with *και* rather than *οτι*. Finally, after *την αθυμιαν* the Antiochene text reads *της ψυχης* rather than repeating the noun *θλιψις* as LXX<sup>B</sup> does. As for variants within the Antiochene strand of transmission, the participial form of *εξουθενεω* (106 107 120 134 554; 127 preserves an alternative spelling) has little impact on the overall sense. The additional repetition of the phrase *οτι απεκλεισεν κυριος κατα της μητρας αυτης* (55 158; cf. the end of v. 5 and the end of v. 6) appears to have been picked up from the surrounding text.

In the argument that follows, I will focus on the non-Antiochene strand of transmission—that is, the text preserved in LXX<sup>B</sup>—which in this verse is sufficiently unified that I will refer to it simply as LXX. As will become evident, the divergences from LXX found in the Antiochene text are attempts to approximate the Hebrew *Vorlage* and are thus not pertinent to a discussion of the translator's method.

## 2. Organizing the evidence

The text of 1 Sam 1:6 may be divided into three categories: elements that are clearly represented in both versions; elements that clearly appear only in LXX; and elements that may or may not be represented in both versions.

a. Elements clearly represented in both versions

There is one clause that is clearly represented in both versions:

<u>MT</u>	<u>LXX</u>
כי סגר יהוה בעד רחמה	ὅτι συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς

b. Elements which clearly appear only in LXX

There are two clauses which clearly appear in LXX but not in MT:

<u>LXX</u>	<u>Retroverted Hebrew</u>
1. ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον	1. כי לא נתן לה יהוה ילדים <sup>5</sup>
2. τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον	2. מִתַּת לָהּ ילדים <sup>6</sup>

c. Elements which may or may not be represented in both versions

The following elements may or may not be represented in both versions:

<u>Elements in MT which may be in LXX</u>	<u>Elements in LXX which may be in MT</u>
וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה	κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς καὶ ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο

I will first address the elements which may or may not be present in both versions, demonstrating that all of LXX except the first prepositional phrase, *κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς*, is an attempt to represent the Hebrew found in MT. I will then turn to the LXX pluses, which I will argue are original to the *Vorlage* and were not created by the translator.

<sup>5</sup> On the phrase *נתן ילד*, see Isa 8:18. On the plural *ילדים*, cf. 1 Sam 1:2.

<sup>6</sup> The Greek construction *τοῦ μὴ* + infinitive most frequently renders *מן* + infinitive construct in Samuel (1 Sam 7:8; 8:7; 15:26; 2 Sam 18:16; 21:5). The Greek could also represent *תת* (2 Sam 14:13). On *ילדים*, see previous note.

Before proceeding, however, it is important to note that the translator appears to have been working word by word in this verse. As the following analysis of the Greek will suggest, he considered one or possibly two words at a time and did not take larger syntactic structures into account. Aejmelaeus has argued that this word-by-word approach was the translator's default in Samuel. Barr cogently observes that this conclusion is implausible because a translator could determine the meaning of a word only if he considered its context;<sup>7</sup> he makes an exception, however, for cases "where the text was so obscure that no more synthetic understanding was possible."<sup>8</sup> 1 Sam 1:6 appears to have been such a case. The translator was, in a sense, forced to render isolated words one at a time because he did not understand his *Vorlage* well enough to allow context to guide his decisions. While the *Vorlage* of this verse is perhaps not as obscure as what Barr has in mind, its meaning was evidently thoroughly opaque to the translator.

### 3. The transformation from the Hebrew to the Greek

I will now turn to the investigation of how MT 1 Sam 1:6 became LXX 1 Sam 1:6. The translator seems to have been confused by the Hebrew of his *Vorlage* and was hindered by the word-by-word approach he took as a result of that confusion. In order to think through the challenges faced by the translator, I will consider the Hebrew of v. 6 sequentially as the translator would have encountered it.

The translator struggled with the first word of v. 6 preserved in MT, וּבְעִסְתָּהּ. The verb בָּעַס appears in the *piel* only twice in the Hebrew Bible: in addition this instance in 1 Sam 1:6,

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<sup>7</sup> See the discussion on pp. 22–27 of the Introduction.

<sup>8</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [22].

the only other attestation is Deut 32:21. This root usually appears in the *hiphil*,<sup>9</sup> in which most of the verbal forms have a distinctive consonantal pattern. In the absence of the *hiphil* markers which the translator was likely accustomed to seeing with the verbal forms of this root, he did not recognize it as a verb at all and construed it instead as a noun, ἀθυμία.<sup>10</sup> He then took the “noun” to be in construct with the following noun, צרתה, and so rendered it in the genitive.

The translator’s choice of ἀθυμία (“despondency”) to render כעס (“vexation”) is surprising. ἀθυμία appears only here and in Ps 119(118):53, where MT reads זלעפה, “raging heat.” The cognate verb ἀθυμέω, however, appears twice in the immediate context: it renders MT תכעסנה in 1 Sam 1:7 as well as MT כעס later in 1:6.<sup>11</sup> Despite the different semantic ranges of the Greek and the Hebrew, the placement of ἀθυμία and ἀθυμέω in these verses indicates that they represent כעס.

Coming next to צרה, the translator appears not to have known that this noun—which in every other attestation in the Hebrew Bible means “affliction” or “distress”<sup>12</sup>—has a second meaning of “rival wife.”<sup>13</sup> The unique usage here is undoubtedly what caused the confusion for

<sup>9</sup> See Deut 4:25; 9:18; 31:29; 32:16, 21; Judg 2:12; 1 Sam 1:7; 1 Kgs 14:9, 15; 15:30; 16:2, 7, 13, 26, 33; 21:22; 22:54; 2 Kgs 17:11, 17; 21:6, 15; 22:17; 23:19, 26; Isa 65:3; Jer 7:18-19; 8:19; 11:17; 25:6-7; 32:29-30, 32; 44:3, 8; Ezek 8:17; 16:26; 32:9; Hos 12:15; Ps 78:58; 106:29; Neh 3:37; 2 Chr 28:25; 33:6; 34:25.

<sup>10</sup> Reading כעסנה as a noun requires ignoring the 3fs verbal suffix. Tov has demonstrated that the LXX translators felt free to disregard prefixes and suffixes. Emanuel Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators Always Understand Their Hebrew Text?” in *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 212.

<sup>11</sup> See p. 61.

<sup>12</sup> Gen 35:3; 42:21; Deut 31:17, 21; Judg 10:14; 1 Sam 10:19; 26:24; 2 Sam 4:9; 1 Kgs 1:29; 2 Kgs 19:3; Isa 8:22; 30:6; 33:2; 37:3; 46:7; 63:9; 65:16; Jer 4:31; 6:24; 14:8; 15:11; 16:19; 30:7; 49:24; 50:43; Obad 1:12, 14; Jonah 2:3; Nah 1:7, 9; Hab 3:16; Zeph 1:15; Zech 10:11; Ps 20:2; 22:12; 25:17, 22; 31:8; 34:7, 18; 37:39; 46:2; 50:15; 54:9; 71:20; 77:3; 78:49; 81:8; 86:7; 91:15; 116:3; 120:1; 138:7; 142:3; 143:11; Job 5:19; 27:9; Prov 1:27; 11:8; 12:13; 17:17; 21:23; 24:10; 25:19; Dan 12:1; Neh 9:27, 37; 2 Chr 15:6; 20:9.

<sup>13</sup> It is impossible to know why the “rival wife” meaning was apparent to other ancient translators and commentators but not to the LXX translator. The meaning here is undisputed, however; compare the evidence from Mishnaic Hebrew (m. Yebam. 1:1-4; 2:1-2; 3:6-7; 4:7, 11; 7:4; 10:1, 5, 8; 13:8; 15:4, 6; 16:1; m. Soṭah 6:2; m. ‘Ed. the Antiochene text, which translates צרה with ἀντιζήλος, “adversary.” Jerome also understood צרה correctly, rendering it with *aemula*, “rival.” See also Targum Samuel 1:6; Midr. Samuel 1.8; Pesiq. Rab. 43.7-8; b. B. Bat. 16a.

the translator. His use of θλίψις for צרה is entirely consistent with renderings of this word found in Samuel and elsewhere in the Bible,<sup>14</sup> but it radically alters the sense of the verse. From these two errors regarding וכעסתה צרתה, he created the phrase ἡ ἀθυμία τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς.

Nothing in the Hebrew, however, can account for the preposition κατά (Hebrew כִּ) before this phrase. It is possible that the translator added it. He needed to make a syntactic connection between the noun phrase he had just created and what preceded it, but the previous clause (ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον) already had a subject, an object, and even an indirect object. Thus a preposition was the only way to make the syntactic connection he was looking for. He may also have known that a כִּ prefixed to כעס<sup>15</sup> could have been lost due to haplography.

Emanuel Tov has suggested that

the translators sometimes knowingly manipulated the Hebrew consonants in order to create words which would fit the context better than the words of their *Vorlage*, either because the *Vorlage* was not understandable to them or because the translator made certain adaptations in the wake of other changes or mistranslations. Such renderings do not reflect real variants, but rather “pseudo-variants,” that is, Hebrew readings which existed only in the translator’s mind and not on parchment.... The alleged manipulations are based on the translators’ paleographical understanding, for it must have been known to them that certain Hebrew letters were graphically so similar that they were often interchanged in Hebrew sources. Therefore a translator who could make no sense of a word when written, let us say, with a *daleth*, would have been strongly tempted to render it as if it were written with a *resh*.<sup>16</sup>

As an example of this phenomenon, he points to Jer 31(38):8.<sup>17</sup> In this verse, MT reads בָּם עִוְרִים וּפְסִיחִים, “among them the blind and the lame,” whereas LXX reads ἐν ἐορτῇ φασεκ, “at the feast of

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<sup>14</sup> Cf. 1 Sam 10:19; 26:24; 2 Sam 4:9. See also Gen 35:3; 42:21; Deut 31:17; Judg 10:14; 1 Kgs 1:29; 2 Kgs 19:3; etc.

<sup>15</sup> Recall that the translator seems to have been reading the construct noun כעס rather than the verb כעסתה.

<sup>16</sup> Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 210–11.

<sup>17</sup> Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 211.

Pesach.” LXX implies a *Vorlage* of **בְּמוֹעֵד פֶּסַח** which, Tov suggests, existed only in the translator’s mind. The translator imagined this new *Vorlage* based on what he knew to be common textual corruptions, presumably because he did not understand the Hebrew before him. The transformation from MT to the implied *Vorlage* of LXX requires different word division, metathesis of *ayin* and *vav*, exchange of *resh* and *dalet*, and loss of conjunctive *vav*. If the translator of Jeremiah could postulate so many textual corruptions to arrive at his new *Vorlage*, it seems plausible that the translator of Samuel could imagine the loss of a single *kaph*.

The translator’s next stumbling block is **גַּם כַּעַס**. His word-by-word method of translation prevents him from seeing that **גַּם כַּעַס** forms a construction with **וּכְעַסְתָּהּ**. Because the two halves of the construction are separated by **צִרְתָּהּ**, he does not recognize them as a syntactical unit. Furthermore, by the time he gets to **גַּם כַּעַס** he has already read **וּכְעַסְתָּהּ** as a construct noun, and this earlier choice limits his options.<sup>18</sup> Indeed, he has effectively barred himself mentally from translating this construction accurately. His difficulties are exacerbated by the fact that the construction **גַּם כַּעַס וּכְעַסְתָּהּ** is unusual. This particular construction of finite verb + **גַּם** + cognate noun is unique in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>19</sup> but it is not incomprehensible. It seems most likely that this construction is emphatic.<sup>20</sup> Several pieces of evidence point towards this interpretation. First,

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<sup>18</sup> See again Tov’s example of Jer 31(38):8 for how translational choices and mistakes beget more choices and mistakes. Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 211–12. The translator was of course not incapable of changing what he had already translated, but once he had made a choice, other options may no longer have been apparent to him. After starting down one interpretive path, he could not see the other paths he had not taken. On this phenomenon see also p. 105.

<sup>19</sup> This sequence of elements does appear in Hos 12:12, but there the syntax is entirely different: **גַּם** begins a new clause, and the noun is the subject of the following verb rather than the object of the preceding cognate verb as it is in 1 Sam 1:6. The example in Hosea therefore does not shed any light on this clause in 1 Samuel.

<sup>20</sup> It is certainly possible, however, to read **גַּם כַּעַס** not as an emphatic but as an adverbial accusative: “she would provoke her to anger,” or even “she would provoke her by vexing her.” McCarter provides the first translation in his commentary (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 49) even though in his textual notes he suggests repointing **כַּעַס** as an infinitive absolute (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 52), which would yield the emphatic reading I am suggesting.

a similar construction is attested in Isa 35:2 with אף instead of גם: “[The wilderness] shall indeed blossom, and it shall surely rejoice.” In this case, the parallelism with the more common construction of infinitive absolute + finite verb (פָּרַחַ תִּפְרַחַ) gives us good standing to say that the less common construction finite verb + אף + cognate noun (וּתִגַּל אֶף גִּילַת) is also emphatic. We can also productively compare 1 Sam 1:6 with examples of the emphatic construction of finite verb + גם + infinitive absolute in Gen 31:15; 46:4; Num 16:13; Jer 6:15 (see also Jer 8:12, which has identical wording).<sup>21</sup> In none of these examples, however, does the LXX translator have as much trouble with the emphatic construction as does the translator of 1 Sam 1:6:

Table 2: LXX translations of emphatic constructions with גם and אף

verse	MT	LXX	LXX translation technique
Isa 35:2	פָּרַחַ תִּפְרַחַ וּתִגַּל אֶף גִּילַת	καὶ ἐξανθήσει καὶ ἀγαλλιάσεται	single finite verb
Gen 31:15	וַיֹּאכַל גַּם אֲכֹל אֶת כֶּסֶפּוֹ	καὶ κατέφαγεν καταβρώσει τὸ ἀργύριον ἡμῶν	finite verb + semantically related dative noun
Gen 46:4	וַאֲנֹכִי אֶעֱלֶךְ גַּם עִלָּה	καὶ ἐγὼ ἀναβιβάσω σε εἰς τέλος	finite verb + prepositional phrase expressing duration
Num 16:13	כִּי תִשְׁתַּרַר עֲלֵינוּ גַם הַשְׁתַּרַר	ὅτι κατάρχεις ἡμῶν ἄρχων	finite verb + etymologically related participle
Jer 6:15	גַּם בּוֹשׁ לֹא יְבוֹשׁוּ	καὶ οὐδ' ὧς καταισχυνόμενοι κατησχύνθησαν	ὧς + cognate participle + finite verb

<sup>21</sup> On this construction see also *IBHS* 35.3.1f. Because of this more frequently attested construction, commentators including Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 3:163; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 9; and McCarter, *I Samuel* 52, have suggested repointing the noun כֶּסֶף as the infinitive absolute כֶּסֶפֶס. Although this is a defensible move and does little to disrupt MT, it also seems unnecessary. Examples with the infinitive absolute help us to make sense of 1 Sam 1:6, but it does not follow that the MT pointing of 1 Sam 1:6 must be an error. Furthermore, the example of Isa 35:2 discussed above suggests that 1 Sam 1:6 is readable, if unusual.

As these examples demonstrate, different translators found different solutions to the problem of representing a Hebrew construction that has no equivalent in Greek. The translator of 1 Samuel, however, fails to recognize that the emphatic construction expresses a single idea, most likely because he was working word by word rather than looking for larger syntactic structures. He thus translates **גם** with *καί* and reanalyzes the noun **כעס** as the 3fs *qal* verb **כעסה**.<sup>22</sup> The Hebrew **גם כעס** has now become *καὶ ἤθύμει*.<sup>23</sup>

There are two possibilities for how **בעבור הרעמה** became *διὰ τοῦτο*.<sup>24</sup> One is that the translator changed the word division<sup>25</sup> and read **בעבורה רעמה**.<sup>26</sup> He then translated **בעבורה** (“on account of it”) with *διὰ τοῦτο* and left **רעמה** untranslated because he could not fit it into his sentence.<sup>27</sup> Another possibility is that finding himself utterly at a loss to identify **הרעמה**, he rendered it with the generic pronoun *τοῦτο*, which at least has the merit of creating intelligible Greek. It is also possible that in the absence of vowel markings, **הרעמה** looked like a noun to the translator, surrounded as it is by so many nouns with feminine singular pronominal suffixes. If

<sup>22</sup> On the translator’s willingness to jettison suffixes, see n. 47. Intriguingly, the translator’s phrase *καὶ ἤθύμει* represents a Hebrew *weqatal* form (**וּכְעָסָה**), suggesting that in his mind he changed **גם** to a conjunctive **ו**. This move demonstrates creative problem solving; the semantic ranges of **גם** and **ו** of course overlap, but the **ו** in **וּכְעָסָה** serves a specific morphosyntactic function which **גם** cannot.

<sup>23</sup> While the Greek conjunction *καί* is most often used to translate the Hebrew conjunction **ו**, it is also the only translational equivalent for **גם** in the book of Samuel. Even though the syntactical function of the conjunctions in the two versions is markedly different (*καί* is coordinating two independent clauses, while **גם** is part of an emphatic construction), they are lexically equivalent.

<sup>24</sup> The phrase *διὰ τοῦτο* as a whole is used frequently in Samuel to translate the Hebrew **על כן** (1 Sam 5:5; 10:12; 19:24; 20:29; 23:28; 2 Sam 5:8, 20: 7:27; 22:50) and **לכן** (1 Sam 2:30; 27:6), neither of which bears any resemblance to MT. The preposition *διὰ* on its own, however, is commonly used to translate **בעבור** (1 Sam 12:22; 23:10; 2 Sam 5:12; 7:21; 9:7; 13:2; see also Gen 12:13, 16; 18:26; 26:24; Exod 13:8). Contrast Pisano, who believes that *διὰ τοῦτο* renders **בעבור** and that **הרעמה** is left untranslated (Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 19); *διὰ τοῦτο* is not a translational equivalent for **בעבור**, however.

<sup>25</sup> On the phenomenon of differing word division between MT and LXX, see Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 117–19.

<sup>26</sup> My thanks to Simeon Chavel for this suggestion.

<sup>27</sup> On the phenomenon of translators leaving difficult words untranslated, see Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 203n1, 212.

so, then his choice of τούτο is more understandable: he is substituting a pronoun for (what is in his mind) a noun rather than for a verb.

It is no surprise that הרעמה caused problems for the LXX translator. Of the thirteen times that the verbal root רע"ם is attested, it is used eleven times to refer to the thundering of YHWH or the sea (1 Sam 2:10; 7:10; 2 Sam 22:14; Pss 18:14; 29:3; 96:11; 98:7; Job 37:4, 5; 40:9; 1 Chr 16:32). The other two attestations of the root are here in 1 Sam 1:6 and in Ezek 27:35. In these two verses, the subject of the verb is a person rather than a deity or a body of water, and the meaning “to thunder” (or “cause to thunder” in the *hiphil*) is difficult to understand in its literal

sense.<sup>28</sup> Under the circumstances, there was little the translator could do to make sense of this word. Other ancient translations seem to have made contextual guesses: the Lucianic recension has *το ἐξουθενεῖν αὐτήν*, “to disdain her;”<sup>29</sup> the Vulgate has *ut exprobraret*, “in order to reproach;” the Targum has *לאקניויתה*, “for her jealousy [i.e., to make her jealous].” This trend of interpretation, however, was not available to the LXX translator: in each of the other versions,

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<sup>28</sup> For 1 Sam 1:6 and Ezek 27:35 Koehler and Baumgartner have suggested a homonym root רע"ם (cognate with Ugaritic *rgm*) which in the *qal* means to be troubled or to be brought low, and in the *hiphil* means to bring low or to appear depressed (*HALOT* s.v. רע"ם II). Their suggestion is based on a proposal made by Dietrich and Loretz, who translate the Ugaritic *pnm trgn(w)* as “she is sad (in the face),” citing the Hebrew רע"ם פנים in Ezek 27:35; M. Dietrich and O. Loretz, “Die Bannung von Schlangengift (KTU 1.100 und DTU 1.107: 7b–13a.19b–20),” *UF* 12 (1980): 157, 161. Contrast Dennis Pardee, “A Philological and Prosodic Analysis of the Ugaritic Serpent Incantation UT 607,” *JANES* 10 (1978): 88–89, who translates, “she turns (with respect to her face).” Koehler-Baumgartner also cite Joseph Reider, who argues for an Arabic parallel for רע"ם in both 1 Sam 1:6 and Ezek 27:35. For the phrase רעמו פנים in Ezek 27:35, Reider contends, “there is an identical idiom [which] is quite current in Arabic, where we find *raghima 'anfuhu*, ‘his nose clave to the ground’, i.e. he was abased or became humble; also the expression *'arghama allah 'anfahu*, ‘God has abased or humbled him.’ ... Similarly, *בעבור הרעמה* in 1 Sam 1:6 should properly be rendered ‘in order to humble her’”; Joseph Reider, “Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew,” *VT* 2, no. 2 (April 1952): 120. The Ezekiel text, however, may be the result of scribal error: for MT רעמו, LXX reads *ἐδάκρυσεν*, “they wept,” which could represent the Hebrew דמעו (Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 10). A simple interchange between *dalet* and *resh* and metathesis of *mem* and *ayin* could have resulted in the difficult MT reading. On the other hand, the more difficult MT text might be correct while the LXX is based on a “pseudo-variant” which the translator invented to make sense of a word he did not understand (see p. 58). Another possibility for understanding *הרעמה* in 1 Sam 1:6 is to look at the Aramaic cognate רע"ם, which is used in the Targums in the *itpaal* meaning to be rebellious or to murmur (Jastrow s.v. רע"ם I; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 10). McCarter takes advantage of this Aramaic cognate in his translation of *הרעמה* as “to complain aloud” (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 49, 52). This solution is not ideal either: 1 Sam 1:6 is the only place where this Aramaicized use of the verb is attested, and the Targum does not use רע"ם in this verse, which one might expect if the translator had recognized an Aramaic usage. The Targum of Samuel instead reads *בדיל לאקניויתה לה מרגזא אף ערתה לה מרזבא לה*, “Her rival used to provoke her, also anger her, in order to make her jealous.” Although no one has suggested it, possibly because of the lack of support from LXX, it is also possible that the same corruption occurred in 1 Sam 1:6 that may have occurred in Ezek 27:35, namely the substitution of רע"ם for דמ"ע. In that case, instead of *הרעמה*, “to make her thunder,” we should read *הדמעקה*, “to make her weep.” Without another textual witness, however, this is purely conjectural. It is of course also possible that the Hebrew does indeed mean “in order to make her thunder” and the meaning is figurative rather than literal. The same could be true of Ezek 27:35. Amidst all of these possibilities, what seems clear is that the meaning of the Hebrew has something to do with Peninnah upsetting Hannah. Several unlikely textual emendations have also been proposed. Klostermann suggests an original reading *זה בעבור זה* based on LXX *ὁ ἀ τοῦτο* which was then glossed with *רחמה*, yielding *זה רחמה זה בעבור זה*; *רחמה* of *זה* then dropped out and the *he* became attached to the following word, which was then modified and resulted in the reading of MT (Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 1–2). Smith proposes *זה בעבור חרפתה*, on the logic that “after *בעבור* we expect mention of the cause of Hannah’s grief” (Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 8).

<sup>29</sup> Cf. p. 53.

the subject of the verb is the “rival” Peninnah, but there is no rival in LXX to act as the subject of the verb.<sup>30</sup> The translator was therefore forced to come up with another reading.

The difficult הרעמה in 1 Sam 1:6 is hardly the only time that a Septuagint translator was at a loss. As Emanuel Tov has demonstrated, the Septuagint translators did not always understand their Hebrew *Vorlage*.<sup>31</sup> In the absence of comprehensive word-lists or lexica, translators were forced back on context, interpretive traditions, their own knowledge of the language, and, for the translators of the Prophets and Writings, the already completed translation of the Pentateuch.<sup>32</sup> Tov identifies a number of strategies the translators of the Septuagint employed when they did not understand the Hebrew before them: transliterating words rather than translating them; guessing from context; changing the consonants of the *Vorlage* based on their knowledge of easily confused letters; guessing based on parallelism; using general words; and translating or guessing based on etymology.<sup>33</sup> Although Tov does not give an example of the substitution of a general pronoun for a perplexing word,<sup>34</sup> this strategy seems at home with the others he identifies.

Thus far I have argued that the *Vorlage* of καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς καὶ ἡθύμει διὰ τοῦτο is the MT text וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה. I have yet to consider κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς, the first prepositional phrase in the LXX verse. What is its relationship not only to MT but to the rest of the LXX verse? It is tempting to see the two prepositional phrases κατὰ

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<sup>30</sup> This also explains why in LXX v. 7 we find καὶ ἡθύμει (וכעסה), “she became despondent,” instead of MT תכעסנה, “she would torment her.” Because Peninnah is no longer Hannah’s tormenter in LXX, the verb becomes intransitive instead of causative.

<sup>31</sup> Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 203–18.

<sup>32</sup> Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 203.

<sup>33</sup> Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 204–18.

<sup>34</sup> His examples of “general words” are of verbs such as δίδωμι (“to give”) or παρασκευάζω (“to prepare”).

τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς as an error or scribal invention of some kind—perhaps a double translation<sup>35</sup> or a scribe going back and correcting his work.

A number of scholars have proposed that the two prepositional phrases represent a double translation. Wellhausen takes this approach, identifying κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς as the original phrase and κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς to be a doublet (“*Duplette*”) which crept into the text.<sup>36</sup> This explanation is problematic, however. Zipora Talshir cogently argues that double translations should be defined as the readings that result when a single Hebrew term is represented by two alternative renderings: “each of the two renderings now joined in the ‘double translation’ could have been an independent equivalent to the relevant *Vorlage*-item.”<sup>37</sup> As I have demonstrated, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς is an attempt to render הַתַּרְצִי הַתְּסוּבָּה, but it is very difficult to see how κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς could reflect the same *Vorlage*. Wellhausen’s argument takes into account only the repetitiveness of the Greek text without considering the relationship of the Greek to the Hebrew. Treballe Barrera also concludes that the Greek contains a double translation, suggesting that “κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς καὶ ἡθύμει = *srth -k ‘s / srth -k ‘s*.”<sup>38</sup> This analysis, however, suffers from a weakness similar to Wellhausen’s: it notes the repetition of elements in the Greek (namely θλίψις and ἀθυμία) without properly accounting for how the Greek as a whole—including the prepositions, conjunctions, and articles—could have evolved from the Hebrew. Ulrich likewise argues for a

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<sup>35</sup> Driver has described double translations as characteristic of the LXX of Samuel and gives numerous examples (Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, lv–lvii). He notes, however, that they are more common in the Antiochene text.

<sup>36</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 36. He is followed by Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 19, who refers to κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς as a “second translation” for κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς.

<sup>37</sup> Zipora Talshir, “Double Translations in the Septuagint,” in *VI Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Jerusalem, 1986*, ed. Claude E. Cox (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1987), 23.

<sup>38</sup> Julio Treballe Barrera, *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum: variantes textuales y composición literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes* (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1989), 45.

doublet, concluding that *κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς* is a “free translation” of ככעסת צרתה and *καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς* is “a closer translation of the same.”<sup>39</sup> As the analysis of this dissertation demonstrates, however, the translator of Samuel did not engage in the kind of “free translation” that Ulrich is proposing in which entire words are ignored.<sup>40</sup>

Walters offers an alternative proposal that the two *κατά* phrases represent a mistranslation of a lost Hebrew proverb, which he reconstructs as כצרה וכמצוק הצרה, “her distress was like the stress caused by a co-wife.”<sup>41</sup> While his solution is creative and innovative, it is not thoroughly convincing. His retroversion is improbably tortuous, and he does not explain how this proverb would have fit into the surrounding syntax.

There is a better explanation for the evidence: *κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς* accurately represents its *Vorlage*, which also included the LXX plus at the beginning of the verse and read *כי לא נתן לה יהוה ילדים כצרתה*, “for YHWH had not given her children *like her rival*.”<sup>42</sup> This possibility was recognized by H. P. Smith in his 1899 commentary, although he seems rather hesitant to accept it because he cannot see how it connects to what follows.<sup>43</sup> The connection, however, is clear: the *Vorlage* read *כי לא נתן לה יהוה ילדים כצרתה וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה כי סגר יהוה בעד*

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<sup>39</sup> Ulrich, *Developmental Composition*, 90

<sup>40</sup> The two supporting examples of double translations that Ulrich suggests are both of quite a different nature from what he proposes in 1 Sam 1:6. In 2 Sam 20:8, it appears that a second translation which specifies the referent of the ambiguous pronoun *αὐτή* was inserted into the text of LXX<sup>B</sup> (the double translation appears only in B, 501, and the Armenian); this is not a case of “free translation” but of clarification. In 2 Sam 6:2, LXX provides one translation of MT’s *מבעלי* and another of *במעלי* (with metathesis of the first two characters). Again, this is not “free translating” but rendering two different textual forms.

<sup>41</sup> Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 396.

<sup>42</sup> This proposed *Vorlage* displays good biblical Hebrew syntax: cf. Deut 3:20, *עד אשר יניח יהוה לאחיכם ככם*, “Until YHWH gives rest to your brothers like [he has given rest to] you.” See also Josh 1:15, which repeats this language verbatim. See Joüon §133h for a discussion of the elision of expected prepositions after כ as well as more examples.

<sup>43</sup> “In this place, however,  $\Theta^B$  renders *κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς*, evidently reading *כצרתה*. This would join very well to the preceding clause of  $\Theta^B$ . ‘For the Lord had not given her a son *like her rival*.’ But, on the other hand, it does not join well with what follows.” Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 8.

רחמה, “For YHWH had not given her children like [he had given to] her rival, and her rival used to torment her terribly because YHWH had shut up her womb.” The two clauses fit together both syntactically and logically.<sup>44</sup>

If we take כצרתה to be part of the *Vorlage* instead of a mistake or scribal insertion, we can also better account for the repetition of κατά in the Greek. I argued above that the translator might have assumed that a *kaph* prefixed to כעס(תה) had been lost due to haplography. He would have been much more likely to make this assumption if his *Vorlage* included כצרתה because there would have been a prefixed *kaph* in the immediate vicinity of כעס(תה). Another possible explanation is that he thought the single preposition in כצרתה was meant to apply to כעס(תה) as well and so “clarified” the Hebrew by translating the preposition before both nouns; in other words, he distributed the preposition over two phrases, translating κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς instead of κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς. Regardless of the translator’s exact reasons, it is much easier to understand where the second instance of κατὰ came from when we know that כצרתה was part of the *Vorlage*.

Furthermore, we can say with some assurance that the LXX plus at the beginning of the verse, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς (כצרתה כידים יהוה לה נתן לה לא ילד), is original and not an invention of the translator because it makes sense in Hebrew but not in

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<sup>44</sup> Despite the somewhat repetitive nature of the Hebrew *Vorlage* I am proposing (כצרתה וכעסתה צרתה), there is no reason to assume that the Hebrew arose from a scribal error. Furthermore, it is difficult to see how a scribal error could result in this text. While errors of repetition due to homoioteleuton can certainly be found in the biblical text (Leeor Gottlieb, “Repetition Due to Homoioteleuton,” *Textus* 21 [2002]: 21–43), that seems an unlikely possibility here. To produce כצרתה וכעסתה צרתה from כעסתה צרתה, a scribe would have had to pass over ן of כעסתה, then write the כ of the same word, then skip to צרתה and write צרתה before realizing his mistake and continuing on with the correct text. This explanation seems unlikely.

Greek.<sup>45</sup> The Hebrew is easily understandable—“For Y<sub>HWH</sub> had not given her children like [he had given to] her rival”—while the Greek is problematic.<sup>46</sup> It is unlikely in the first place that the translator would insert a phrase which is so unclear in Greek, and it is more unlikely still that this phrase would accidentally make sense if retroverted into Hebrew. We can thus conclude that the plus is an original part of the *Vorlage*.

We could accept the existence of the plus in the LXX *Vorlage* with greater confidence if it were supported by textual evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls. Although this verse is unfortunately not extant in the Samuel fragments from Qumran, there is significant support for other LXX pluses from 4Q51 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>).<sup>47</sup> In 1 Samuel we find a significant number of pluses attested in both LXX and 4Q51 against MT. Table 2 gives an illustrative sample. The pluses range in size from one to twenty-one Greek words, or one to thirteen Hebrew words, and are not limited by part of speech or position in the sentence. Some of the pluses seem to represent alternative readings to the Masoretic tradition, while others appear to preserve an older text of which MT is a corruption (see especially 1:24–25; 2:24).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> Contra Pisano, who states that “there is no clear indication of whether [the pluses in v. 6] show literary creativity on LXX’s part or whether they were already found in its *Vorlage*” (Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 19).

<sup>46</sup> See the discussion on pp. 78–81 regarding the difficulty of the two *κατά* phrases in this verse.

<sup>47</sup> It would be circular to argue that the reconstructed readings in Table 2 below, which are based largely on the Septuagint, offer support for the specific language of the Septuagint pluses; what is significant is that the space exists in 4Q51 for pluses which correspond in position and length to the pluses of LXX. Whether or not the full text of 4Q51 would have matched the LXX *Vorlage* word for word, the fact remains that the Qumran text supports the argument that the LXX pluses were not added by a Greek translator. So also Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 40.

<sup>48</sup> On 1:24–25, see Cross, “New Qumran Fragment,” 19–20; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 57; Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 33–36; Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction,” 6–7; Driesbach, *4QSamuel<sup>a</sup>*, 76–77. On 2:24, see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 81; Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 43.

Table 3: LXX pluses in 1 Samuel also attested in 4Q51

verse	LXX	4Q51	MT
1:11	καὶ δώσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιόν σου δοτὸν ἕως ἡμέρας θανάτου αὐτοῦ καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ πίεται καὶ σίδηρος οὐκ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ	ונתתיהו לְ[פניך נזיר] [עד] יום מותו ויין ושכר לוא ישתה ו[מורה לא יעבור ע]ל ראשו	ונתתיו ליהוה כל ימי חייו ומורה לא יעלה על ראשו
1:24	καὶ ἀνέβη μετ' αὐτοῦ εἰς Σηλωμ	ותעל אותו שילה	ותעלהו עמה
1:24	ἐν μόσχῳ τριετίζοντι καὶ ἄρτοις	בפר בן [בקר משלש ולחם	בפרים שלשה
1:24–25	καὶ τὸ παιδάριον μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ προσήγαγον ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἔσφαξεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἐποίει ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας τῷ κυρίῳ	והנער [עמם ויביאוהו לפני יהוה וישחט אביו את [הזבח [כ]אשר [יעשה מימים ימימה ליהוה [ [ ] ]	והנער נער
2:16	καὶ λαβὲ σεαυτῶ ἐκ πάντων	וקח לך מכול	וקח לך
2:24	μη τέκνα ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἡ ἀκοή ἦν ἐγὼ ἀκούω μὴ ποιεῖτε οὕτως ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ αἱ ἀκοαὶ ἅς ἐγὼ ἀκούω τοῦ μὴ δουλεύειν λαὸν θεῶ	[ אל בני כי לוא טובה הש]מועה אשר אנכי שומם[ע אל] [תעשון בן כי לוא טובות השמועות]אשר אני שומע מעבֵר[ים] [עם יהוה [	אל בני כי לוא טובה השמעה אשר אנכי שמע מעברים עם יהוה
2:25	ἐὰν ἀμαρτάνων ἀμάρτη	[ אם ]חטוא] יחטא	אם יחטא
6:3	τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ	את ארון] ברית יהוה אלוהי ישראל	את ארון אלהי ישראל
10:25	καὶ ἐξαπέστειλεν Σαμουηλ πάντα τὸν λαὸν καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ	[וישלח שמואל את] כֹּל[ה]עם וילכו איש למקומו[ו] [	וישלח שמואל את כל העם איש לביתו

The authenticity of the first LXX plus in 1 Sam 1:6 as well as the extensive support for other LXX pluses from 4Q51 invite us to consider that the three additional LXX pluses in vv. 5–6 are, at the very least, not the work of the translator. Pisano states that “the repetitiousness of these pluses is a clear sign that they are editorial additions,” observing that the Vulgate, Targum, and Syriac all follow MT and that “no [modern] author has accepted them as original.”<sup>49</sup> But the Vulgate, Targum, and Syriac tend to follow MT, so it is no surprise that these three versions do not reproduce the LXX pluses. We would not expect them to. This is not proof that the pluses were not part of the LXX *Vorlage*. As for whether MT or the LXX *Vorlage* represents the original text in any given case, there is no logical reason to assume that repetition is a signal of editorial activity. Authors are just as likely as editors to be repetitive. There is thus sufficient reason to consider the pluses not to have come from the hand of the translator.

#### 4. Theoretical models for understanding the translator’s process

James Barr and Jan Joosten have developed theoretical models which elucidate how the Septuagint translators interacted with their *Vorlagen*. Their work deserves brief consideration here.

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<sup>49</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 18. He also concludes that “there is no clear indication of whether [the pluses in vv. 5–6] show literary creativity on LXX’s part or whether they were already found in its *Vorlage*” (Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 19); I have argued here that there is good reason to consider the pluses to have been part of the *Vorlage*.

*James Barr: were the Septuagint translators guessing?*

Barr's contribution to our understanding of the translator's process in 1 Sam 1:6 is to demonstrate, though an articulation of what it means to "merely" guess at the meaning of an unpointed Hebrew text, that the translator was in fact not "merely" guessing but rather working methodically. He further argues that any reading of an unpointed text will involve both certainty and trial and error.

Barr has proposed that there are two ways to imagine that ancient readers, including translators, read Hebrew biblical texts before the advent of vowel pointing.<sup>50</sup> One way, which he terms Method A, is that translators would decide upon the meaning of ambiguous words by analyzing the semantics and syntax of the passage; the pronunciation of those words—i.e., how to vocalize the consonantal text—was an afterthought, if they considered it at all. Another way, termed Method B, is that translators had access to a complete vocalization tradition for the text they were working on, either because they had memorized it themselves or because they could easily talk to someone who had, and that the vocalization of the text was part of the data they used to decide upon its meaning. While it is likely that both methods were used, Barr emphasizes that Method A "has explanatory power in numerous passages, explanatory power that no other

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<sup>50</sup> James Barr, "Vocalization and the Analysis of Hebrew Among the Ancient Translators," in *Hebräische Vortforschung, Fs W. Baumgartner*, ed. Benedikt Hartmann, et al. (Leiden: Brill, 1967), 1–11. Also in James Barr, "Reading a Script without Vowels," in *Writing without Letters*, ed. W. Haas (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), 76–100; and more concisely in James Barr, "'Guessing' in the Septuagint," in *Studien zur Septuaginta—Robert Hanhart zu Ehren*, ed. Detlef Fraenkel, Udo Quast and John William Wevers (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1990), 21. Here I specify Hebrew *biblical* texts because, as Barr points out, Method B is really only applicable to a text (such as the Bible) for which an established vocalization tradition exists. It could not be used, for example, to translate contracts or letters: "If a Greek-speaking client in Jerusalem brought to [a commercial translator] a letter in Hebrew from someone in Hebron, would he go to Hebron or send a messenger to find the writer and ask him for the 'vocalization' of it? Of course he would not. He worked out the meanings of the Hebrew from the semantic and syntactical possibilities of the written text." Barr, "Guessing," 28.

suggestion can deploy.”<sup>51</sup> In addition to the examples he cites,<sup>52</sup> Method A can also help explain the translator’s confusion in 1 Sam 1:6. If the translator had known or otherwise had access to a vocalized reading tradition of the *Vorlage*, he never would have rendered the verse in the way he did. He very well may still have mistaken the sense of צרה, since the two meanings—“rival wife” and “distress”—are pronounced in the same way, at least in the Masoretic tradition; the rest of the verse, however, would not have gone so far off-track had he known, for example, the “correct” reading of ובעסתה.

Even more useful than his analysis of ancient reading strategies, however, is Barr’s discussion of the relationship between Method A and “guessing,” defined as answering a question (in this case, the meaning of a given word) randomly and in haste:<sup>53</sup>

Method A ... in a certain sense does belong to “guessing”: it does indeed work by hypothesis of a kind, it does belong to trial and error. But it is not guessing in the sense of an exceptional or abnormal procedure: rather, it is something that was very normal and, given the nature of the writing system of the time, necessary and inevitable. In another respect, however, Method A did not belong to guessing at all. Guessing there certainly was: and real guessing meant a sort of creative writing of the sort of sentiment that might be appropriate to the Bible, along with perhaps some sort of similarity to the likely meaning of two or three characters in the text. But Method A is not really guessing of this kind. It is a proper and appropriate reading method which was normal in almost all written documents except (perhaps) the Bible itself.... It may be guessing, but it is not *mere* guessing, it is a clear and powerful *method* with its own logic.<sup>54</sup>

Method A, the approach most often used by translators, was both guessing and not guessing: it was guessing in the sense that it involved trial and error, but it was not guessing in the sense that

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<sup>51</sup> Barr, “Guessing,” 27.

<sup>52</sup> These include interchanges of indicative and participial forms of נָתַן in Deuteronomy; Ps 90(89); and interchanges of *dalet* and *resh* frequently throughout the biblical corpus. Barr, “Guessing,” 24–27, 29–30.

<sup>53</sup> Barr, “Guessing,” 19–20.

<sup>54</sup> Barr, “Guessing,” 32; italics original.

it was not random but rather quite methodical. As Barr puts it, it is not “*mere* guessing.” This articulation of the in-between nature of the Septuagint translators’ process helps to clarify what was happening for the Samuel translator in 1:6. Although his rendering of this verse could be described as closer to “true” guessing (“a sort of creative writing ... with perhaps some sort of similarity to the likely meaning of two or three characters in the text”) than his rendering of more straightforward passages, it is nevertheless still not “*mere*” guessing. The translator worked methodically, considering each Hebrew word in turn, and doing his best to understand both the morphology of each individual word as well as the semantic and syntactic relationships between the words. He did not abandon his *Vorlage* and resort to creative writing. In fact, his translation displays a commitment to the text of the *Vorlage*, even as it diverges from its meaning substantially. The characters of the *Vorlage* constrained him despite the fact that he did not understand them.

*Jan Joosten: the phenomenon of accidental exegesis*

Joosten’s definition of categories of exegesis further clarify our understanding of how the translator was working in 1 Sam 1:6. His insistence on accidental exegesis as a phenomenon worthy of attention is particularly useful since that best defines (although with qualifications) how the translator was working in 1 Sam 1:6.

Joosten delineates three categories of exegesis in the Septuagint.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>55</sup> Jan Joosten, “Interpretation and Meaning in the Septuagint Translation,” in *Translation – Interpretation – Meaning*, ed. Anneli Aejmelaeus and Päivi Pahta (Helsinki: Helsinki Collegium for Advanced Studies, 2012), 53–58. Also in Jan Joosten, “The Septuagint and the Hebrew Bible/Old Testament: A Conversation,” in *Oxford Handbook to the Septuagint*, ed. Alison G. Salvesen and T. Michael Law (forthcoming).

1. Spontaneous exegesis: the basic explanation of a Hebrew text that occurs when it is translated into Greek; this kind of exegesis is largely invisible unless dealing with unusual words or idioms<sup>56</sup>
2. Deliberate exegesis: the intentional choice on the part of a translator to write something that he knows has a different meaning from the original
3. Accidental exegesis: a divergence from the *Vorlage* caused by faulty analysis of the text

The third category, accidental exegesis, is of particular interest to Joosten, both because it occurs frequently and because of the middle ground it occupies between spontaneous and deliberate exegesis:

Accidental exegesis is like spontaneous translation in that the translator produced the rendering more or less straightforwardly from his understanding of the Hebrew. In most cases, one may submit, the translator thought he was producing a faithful rendering of the Hebrew. Accidental exegesis is like deliberate exegesis in that the resultant Greek diverges markedly from the source text.<sup>57</sup>

The translator who engages in accidental exegesis produces a text that says something very different from the *Vorlage*, but he may not realize it. He may believe that he has rendered the Hebrew accurately. Insofar as his only intention was to give an accurate translation of the *Vorlage*, accidental exegesis resembles spontaneous exegesis; but insofar as the result diverges from the *Vorlage*, it resembles deliberate exegesis.

The translation of 1 Sam 1:6 serves as an interesting test case because it does not fit neatly into Joosten's categories. On the one hand, it certainly has the main features of accidental

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<sup>56</sup> See also Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [17–18]: “It is true that the mere fact of putting the meaning of a text into another language can force upon the translator the making of certain decisions. The two linguistic systems with which he is working are non-congruent: where there is one form in Hebrew, it may require a choice between two or three forms in Greek; and where there are several forms in Hebrew it may seem that no comparable difference is available in Greek.”

<sup>57</sup> Joosten, “Interpretation and Meaning,” 57–58.

exegesis: the divergence between the meaning of the *Vorlage* and the meaning of the translation was caused by the translator's faulty analysis of the Hebrew (or, we may say, his inability to analyze the Hebrew). On the other hand, given how many mental manipulations of the Hebrew were required to produce his rendering,<sup>58</sup> we may surmise that the translator was likely aware that his Greek said something quite different from the *Vorlage*, and this awareness is a feature of what Joosten has defined as deliberate exegesis.

## 5. Review of evidence

I will now review the conclusions of this analysis of the textual evidence. The correspondence between the elements identified as those which may or may not be present in both versions of 1 Sam 1:6 is summarized in the following table:<sup>59</sup>

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<sup>58</sup> See pp. 56-70.

<sup>59</sup> This analysis is also followed by Emanuel Tov and Frank Polak, "The Revised CATSS Hebrew/Greek Parallel Text" (accessed via Accordance Bible software), 1 Sam 1:6.

Table 4: Correspondences between ambiguous items in v. 6

MT	LXX	Notes
————	κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς	LXX plus
וכעסתה	καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν	preposition not present in MT, translator repeats it from previous phrase; interchange between verbal form in MT and nominal form in LXX; suffixed pronoun not represented in LXX
צרתה	τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς	different sense of צרה in MT and LXX
גם	καὶ	
כעס	ἠθύμει	interchange between nominal form in MT and verbal form in LXX
בעבור	διὰ	
הרעמה	τοῦτο	no correspondence between MT and LXX; translator substituted a generic pronoun for a word he did not understand

We may also summarize the correspondence between the two versions of 1 Sam 1:6 as wholes:

Table 5: Correspondences between MT and LXX 1 Sam 1:6

MT	LXX	Notes
————	ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς	LXX plus
וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה	καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς, καὶ ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο	LXX derived from MT
כי סגר יהוה בעד רחמה	ὅτι συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς	MT and LXX equivalent
————	τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον	LXX plus

I thus propose the following summary of my analysis of 1 Sam 1:6 (see Table 6: Textual analysis of 1 Sam 1:6 below). The first column represents the text of LXX. The second column

represents the Hebrew text the translator rendered; this Hebrew, however, never existed outside of the translator's mind. It is what John Srenock calls the translator's "mental text": it is "how the translator has read and understood the physical *Vorlage*."<sup>60</sup> I include it here because the mental text shows us the intermediary step between the *Vorlage* and the translation. Although the translation is quite different from the *Vorlage*, the mental text is quite similar to it. (I have marked with darker boxes those elements from the translator's mental text which differ from the proposed *Vorlage*.) The third represents what I believe to have been the LXX *Vorlage* for this verse. The fourth column represents MT.

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<sup>60</sup> John Srenock, *Traductor Scriptor: The Old Greek Translation of Exodus 1–14 as Scribal Activity* (Leiden: Brill, 2017), 81. "Whether the translator was conscious of it or not, there existed a version of the Hebrew text in the mind of the translator, based on the physical *Vorlage* but not necessarily identical to it. In other words, the translation process did not involve one single move from the physical *Vorlage* directly to the physical text of the translation; rather, in the translator's mind there were additional intermediary stages, appropriately conceived of as texts, through which this move was channeled." Srenock, *Traductor Scriptor*, 76. This notion of a mental text, while related to Tov's concept of pseudo-variants, is more flexible and comprehensive. As Srenock argues, the concept helps to explain the occurrence of certain kinds of scribal errors such as metatheses, and also clarifies how variant reading traditions could influence a translation.

Table 6: Textual analysis of 1 Sam 1:6

LXX	Translator's mental text	Proposed <i>Vorlage</i>	MT
ὅτι	כי	כי	
οὐκ	לא	לא	
ἔδωκεν	נתן	נתן	
αὐτῇ	לה	לה	
κύριος	יהוה	יהוה	
παιδίον	ילדים	ילדים	
κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς	כצרתה	כצרתה	
καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν	וככעס	וכעסתה	וכעסתה
τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς	צרתה	צרתה	צרתה
καὶ ἠθύμει	גם כְּעָסָה	גם כעס	גם כעס
διὰ	בעבור	בעבור	בעבור
τοῦτο	זה	הרעמה	הרעמה
ὅτι	כי	כי	כי
συνέκλεισεν	סגר	סגר	סגר
κύριος	יהוה	יהוה	יהוה
τὰ περὶ	בעד	בעד	בעד
τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς	רחמה	רחמה	רחמה
τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι	מִתַּת	מִתַּת	
αὐτῇ	לה	לה	
παιδίον	ילדים	ילדים	

### III. The Meaning of the Greek in 1 Sam 1:6

Having established the textual relationship between MT and LXX in 1 Sam 1:6, I turn now to a consideration of the meaning of the Greek in this verse, which is not immediately self-evident. The difficulties are caused primarily by the contextual meaning of *κατά* in the two

prepositional phrases, *κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς*.<sup>61</sup> Causing further confusion is the lack of obvious sentence breaks, exacerbated by the ambiguous function of the second *καί*.

Translators have taken various approaches to handling these issues. The NETS translation of v. 6 reads,

Since the Lord did not give her a child according to her affliction and according to the despondency of her affliction, she was also becoming despondent because of this, that the Lord had closed the area of her womb so as not to give her a child.<sup>62</sup>

This translation takes *κατὰ* + accusative to mean “according to.”<sup>63</sup> NETS reads the whole verse as a single independent sentence, with the first *ὅτι* clause read as dependent on the verb *ἠθύμει*, and the second *καί* read as adverbial.<sup>64</sup> The BA translation, in contrast, reads,

... car le Seigneur ne lui avait pas donné d'enfant au temps de sa détresse et au temps du découragement dû à sa détresse; et elle était découragée parce que le Seigneur avait clos sa matrice: il ne lui avait pas donné d'enfant.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>61</sup> *κατὰ* + accusative has a wide range of uses, including spatial, distributive, purpose, conformity, and temporal. See LSJ s.v. *κατά*, BDAG s.v. *κατά*, and Smyth §1690 for the full set of options.

<sup>62</sup> Largely followed by Aejmelaeus, “Doublets,” 11. See also Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 394.

<sup>63</sup> LSJ s.v. *κατά* B.IV. Support for this translation choice can be found in the other instances in Samuel where *κατά* is used to render כִּי. *κατά* appears as the translational equivalent of כִּי in twenty-six verses in Samuel: 1 Sam 2:14, 23; 8:8, 20; 9:21; 13:14; 18:24; 25:9, 12, 25; 30:24; 2 Sam 3:33, 39; 7:9, 17, 21; 9:11; 12:8; 13:35; 14:3; 15:6, 15; 17:6; 22:21, 25; 24:19. In twenty-two of these, *κατά* and כִּי both clearly express conformity, appearing in phrases like *κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα/האלהים כדבריהם* (1 Sam 18:24) and *κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν σου/כלבך* (2 Sam 7:21). In two cases, 1 Sam 8:20 and 2 Sam 7:9, the כִּי is better understood as comparative, but the meaning “in accordance with” is appropriate still for *κατά*. In 1 Sam 30:24, the translator takes the idiomatic construction כִּי...וכִּי and renders it with *κατὰ...οὕτως*, expressing the same idea in Greek with a different construction in which *κατά* still indicates conformity. Another instructive case is 2 Sam 12:8: here he renders the phrase כהנה וכהנה with *κατὰ ταῦτα*, evidently taking the Hebrew phrase to mean that YHWH will give David more of the same. So also Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 292.

<sup>64</sup> LSJ s.v. *καί* B.2, Smyth §2885.

<sup>65</sup> “... for the Lord had not given her a child in the time of her distress and in the time of the discouragement due to her distress; and she was discouraged because the Lord had closed her womb: he had not given her a child.” Lestienne and Grillet, *Règues*, 129–30.

This translation takes *κατά* + accusative as temporal<sup>66</sup> and sees the *ὅτι* clause which begins the verse as an explanatory gloss on the end of v. 5 (*καὶ κύριος ἀπέκλεισεν τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς*) rather than as the beginning of a new sentence. The second *καί* is read as conjunctive, with the preceding semi-colon marking a new syntactical unit which nevertheless continues the idea of the first half of the verse.

The drawback to both of these translations is that neither one particularly makes sense.<sup>67</sup> Put another way, both fail to make the Greek make sense. In the NETS translation, what does it mean that “the Lord did not give her a child *according to* her affliction”? And which ideas does the “also” intend to join? The BA translation is an improvement, but the logic of the *κατά* phrases is still not obvious: it sounds as if Hannah’s distress is already a reality when *ΥΗWH* refuses her a child, but the inability to conceive is apparently the cause of the distress and so ought to precede rather than follow it.

Perhaps these translations fall short because the Greek simply does not make sense. This is the conclusion reached by Aejmelaeus:

The translator clearly missed the point, and accordingly, the Greek text is extremely difficult to translate: “According to her affliction and according to the despondency of her affliction, and she was becoming despondent because of this.” The obvious incompetence of the translation is precisely the reason why a [Lucianic] doublet appeared in the textual transmission of this passage.<sup>68</sup>

In this view, the translator was so completely at a loss that he failed to produce comprehensible Greek. The translators of NETS presumably reached the same conclusion: their translation is

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<sup>66</sup> LSJ s.v. *κατά* B.VII.

<sup>67</sup> Walter Dietrich takes a third approach, rendering *κατά* with “in” marked with a question mark. Dietrich, “Doch ein Text,” 140. While this choice results in a comprehensible German sentence, *κατά* does not mean “in.”

<sup>68</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Doublets,” 11.

intended to provide “a genuine representation of the Greek, reflecting not only its perceived meaning but also ... its infelicities, pleonasms, problems and conundra,”<sup>69</sup> and so the reader might assume that their unclear translation reflects the unclear nature of the Greek, at least as it was perceived by the NETS translators.

We ought to beware, however, of giving up on the meaning of the Greek too easily. I propose the following translation, beginning in v. 5 because that verse forms an integral part of the thought being communicated:

5 και τῇ Ἀννα ἔδωκεν μερίδα μίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδίον πλὴν ὅτι τὴν Ἀνναν ἠγάπα Ἐλκανα ὑπὲρ ταύτην και κύριος ἀπέκλεισεν τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς 6 ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς και κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς και ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον

5 And to Hannah he gave one portion because she did not have a child; nevertheless, Elkanah loved Hannah more than her [Peninnah]. And the Lord closed the area around her womb, 6 for he did not give her a child in order to cause her affliction and the despondency born of that affliction.<sup>70</sup> And she was despondent because of the fact that the Lord closed the area around her womb in order not to give her a child.

In this new translation, *κατά* is taken to express purpose.<sup>71</sup> As in the BA translation, the first ὅτι clause is read as an explanation of *και κύριος ἀπέκλεισεν τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς*,<sup>72</sup> and *και ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο* begins a new sense unit. Despite the similarities with BA, the proposed translation carries quite a different meaning: YHWH closed Hannah’s womb *in order to upset her*, and as a result, she did indeed become upset.

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<sup>69</sup> Pietersma and Wright, “To the Reader,” xviii.

<sup>70</sup> Reading τῆς θλίψεως as genitive of material, Smyth §1323.

<sup>71</sup> LSJ s.v. *κατά* B.III. As I will demonstrate, this reading of *κατά* leads to a clear and coherent interpretation of the verse; contrast Walters: “no use of *kata* known to me can make sense of it,” Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 394.

<sup>72</sup> So also Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 1; Aejmelaeus, “Doublets,” 10.

The decision to read *κατά* as purpose in this verse requires some defense. When it is used to render the Hebrew preposition כִּי, *κατά* with an accusative noun in Samuel usually expresses conformity, as in the NETS translation. That usage has more attestations in Muraoka's Septuagint Lexicon than any other.<sup>73</sup> Indeed, the use of *κατά* to express purpose is not even listed in Muraoka's Lexicon. It is, however, adequately represented in Homeric, Classical, and non-Septuagintal *koine* Greek. A full review of Homeric, Classical, and *koine* usage is outside the scope of this study, but a few examples will give sufficient illustration:

- Hom. *Od.* 3.106 (8th c. BCE): *πλάζεσθαι κατά ληΐδα*, to rove for the purpose of (acquiring) booty
- Hom. *Il.* 1.424 (8th c. BCE): *ἔβη κατά δαΐτα*, he went for the purpose of a feast
- Thuc. 6.31 (5th c. BCE): *κατά θέαν ἦκειν*, to have come for the purpose of seeing
- Xen. *Anab.* 3.5.2 (4th c. BCE): *καθ' ἀρπαγὴν ἐσκεδασμένοι*, having scattered for the purpose of (finding) plunder
- 2 Cor 11:21 (1st c. CE): *κατά ἀτιμίαν λέγω*, I speak for the purpose of (expressing) shame
- Arr. *Anab.* 1.17.12 (2nd c. CE): *τοὺς δὲ κατά ἀρπαγὴν χρημάτων ἀποκτενεῖ*, others [they] would kill for the purpose of seizing their property
- Ant. Lib. *Met.* 24.1 (2nd c. CE?): *Δημήτηρ ἐπήει γῆν ἅπασαν κατά ζήτησιν τῆς θυγατρὸς*, Demeter was traversing the whole earth for the purpose of searching for her daughter

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<sup>73</sup> T. Muraoka, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the Septuagint* (Leuven: Peeters, 2009).

Given that *κατά* was used to express purpose throughout Greek literature, both earlier and later than the translation of Samuel, it would be unreasonable to suggest that the Septuagint translators did not know the usage or were unable to employ it.

It could also be argued against my proposal that when *κατά* is used to render כִּי in the Septuagint, we must restrict the semantic range of *κατά* to where it overlaps with כִּי.<sup>74</sup> While there has been a push in recent decades to read the Septuagint as literature in its own right rather than only in relation to MT,<sup>75</sup> we cannot ignore the fact that the Septuagint is first and foremost a translation. As such, the range of meaning of Septuagint Greek is in some cases restricted by its Hebrew *Vorlage*. If we accept this reasoning, then *κατά* can never express purpose when it translates כִּי because כִּי cannot express purpose. The flaw in this argument, however, is that it assumes that the translator had a solid understanding of what כִּי could and could not be used for. It is possible instead that he knew *κατά* was an appropriate translation of כִּי and that, as a result, his knowledge of the semantic range of *κατά* influenced his understanding of כִּי. He may, in other words, have assigned inaccurate meanings to כִּי on the basis of his knowledge of *κατά*. Furthermore, as van der Louw has argued, it is in all cases methodologically necessary to consider the meaning of the Greek independent of (what biblical scholars judge to be) the meaning of the Hebrew:

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<sup>74</sup> See, for example, Jan Joosten, “Source-Language Oriented Remarks on the Lexicography of the Greek Versions of the Bible,” in *Collected Studies*, 83: “the Hebrew source, whenever it can be determined, may give one an idea of what the translator was thinking when he made the choice of a given Greek word.” So also Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Translating a Translation: Problems of Modern ‘Daughter Versions’ of the Septuagint,” in *On the Trail*, 262: “when determining the meaning of individual words and phrases, it is important to focus on the meaning intended by the translator and in this respect the Hebrew text functions as a positive criterion, helping to understand the way the translator proceeded and to choose among the existing alternative meanings.”

<sup>75</sup> Joosten, “Exegesis in Hosea,” 123; Louw, *Transformations*, 90.

The analysis of the LXX-translation as an independent text should *precede* a comparison with MT. If no independent meaning is given to the Greek translation, it is strictly speaking impossible to make a comparison with MT. Scholars are sometimes inclined to equate the meaning of the Greek with the (presumed) meaning of MT, for, they reason, the translators intended to render the meaning of the Hebrew faithfully into Greek. But there seems to be a growing tendency to interpret the Greek translation as a text in its own right and to ascribe Greek meanings to Greek words. This is our methodological starting-point, although I recognize the difficulties involved, as in some cases Greek words do not make sense in the translated text unless we take recourse to the Hebrew original. We must interpret and translate Greek words in meanings attested in Koine Greek and be very cautious to conclude that the translators had the “intention” of expressing the meaning of the Hebrew in the sense a 20<sup>th</sup> century scholar gives to it.<sup>76</sup>

With the important caveat that at times the words of the Septuagint can only be understood in relation to their *Vorlage*,<sup>77</sup> we must endeavor to read LXX without assuming that it expresses—or is even trying to express—the same meaning that modern scholars believe the Hebrew expresses. We should therefore discard the restriction that *κατά* in 1 Sam 1:6 needs to express something compatible with the meaning of כִּי.

The strongest argument in favor of the new translation I propose is that it makes sense of the Greek where others have failed to do so. In order to fully understand *why* it makes sense, however, we need to consider the full scope of the narrative in the opening verses of 1 Samuel. The translator, prompted by cues in his *Vorlage*, produced a version of the Hannah and Peninnah story that resembles the narrative of Rachel and Leah in Gen 29–30. While certain echoes of this matriarchal narrative are present in MT as well, the LXX *Vorlage* contained more of them, and the translator created still more. The statement in 1 Sam 1:6 that Y<sub>HWH</sub> closed Hannah’s womb in order to upset her is a reflection of the Rachel and Leah story.

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<sup>76</sup> Louw, *Transformations*, 90; italics original.

<sup>77</sup> The clearest and most extreme example are calques, such as ἐν ἐμοί for כִּי (= “please,” “I pray you”); cf. 1 Sam 1:26; 25:24.

To make this case, I will discuss first the variations between the narratives of MT and LXX in the larger unit of 1 Sam 1:4–7 and then turn to the influence of the matriarchal narratives of Genesis, particularly the story of Rachel and Leah, upon the translator’s work.

#### IV. The story of Hannah and Peninnah: MT vs. LXX

The story of the relationship between Hannah and Peninnah forms one part of Samuel’s birth narrative in 1 Sam 1. Although a reader’s first impression might be that MT and LXX tell the same basic story—a man has two wives, one with children and one without— there are a number of text critical differences between these two versions in 1 Sam 1:4–7 which result in two very different stories. In MT, these verses read,

4 ויהי היום ויזבח אלקנה ונתן לפננה אשתו ולכל בניה ובנותיה מנות 5 ולחנה יתן מנה אחת אפים כי את חנה אהב ויהוה סגר רחמה 6 וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה כי סגר יהוה בעד רחמה 7 וכן יעשה שנה בשנה מדי עלתה בבית יהוה כן תכעסנה ותבכה ולא תאכל

4 One day Elkanah sacrificed. Now it was his custom to give portions to Peninnah his wife and to all her sons and daughters, 5 but to Hannah he would give one special<sup>78</sup> portion because he loved Hannah although Y<sup>HWH</sup> had closed her womb. 6 Her rival would torment her terribly in order to make her thunder because Y<sup>HWH</sup> had closed up her womb. 7 And thus it would happen<sup>79</sup> year after year; whenever she went up to the house of Y<sup>HWH</sup>, thus [Peninnah] would torment her [Hannah], and [Hannah] would weep and not eat.

In LXX, these verses read,

4 και ἐγενήθη ἡμέρα και ἔθυσεν Ελκανα και ἔδωκεν τῇ Φεννανα γυναικί αὐτοῦ και τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτῆς μερίδας 5 και τῇ Αννα ἔδωκεν μερίδα μίαν ὅτι οὐκ ἦν αὐτῇ παιδίον

<sup>78</sup> This translation is conjectural. See pp. 91-98.

<sup>79</sup> The masculine form of the verb יעשה is problematic in this context. I read the *niphal* יעשה instead of the *qal* יעשה with Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 4; and Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 38. In contrast, Carl Friedrich Keil, *Die Bücher Samuels* (Leipzig: Dörffling und Franke, 1864), 18; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 7; and McCarter, *I Samuel*, 49 take Elkanah as the subject of the verb. Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 11 recommends reading the 3fs form תעשה with the Peshitta.

πλὴν ὅτι τὴν Ανναν ἠγάπα Ελκανα ὑπὲρ ταύτην καὶ κύριος ἀπέκλεισεν τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς 6 ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον κατὰ τὴν θλίψιν αὐτῆς καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς καὶ ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο ὅτι συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον 7 οὕτως ἐποίει ἐνιαυτὸν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν τῷ ἀναβαίνειν αὐτὴν εἰς οἶκον κυρίου καὶ ἠθύμει καὶ ἔκλαιεν καὶ οὐκ ἤσθιεν

4 And it happened one day and Elkanah sacrificed, and he gave portions to Peninnah his wife and to her sons. 5 And to Hannah he gave one portion because she did not have a child; nevertheless, Elkanah loved Hannah more than her [Peninnah]. And the Lord closed the area around her womb, 6 for the Lord did not give her a child in order to cause her affliction and the despondency born of that affliction. And she was despondent because of the fact that the Lord closed the area around her womb in order not to give her a child. 7 Thus she would do year after year when she went up to the house of the Lord, and she would become despondent and cry, and she would not eat.

A few differences stand out right away. In the MT story, Peninnah, who is described as Hannah's "rival," taunts and provokes Hannah about her childlessness until she weeps and refuses to eat at the pilgrimage festival. Peninnah harasses her for years: her abuse of Hannah is long-term and ongoing. In the LXX story, on the other hand, Peninnah is simply Elkanah's other wife who has children while Hannah has none (1 Sam 1:2), and Hannah's distress is caused entirely by her own inability to conceive. There is no provocation by Peninnah at all. Hannah is described not as the victim of Peninnah's cruelty, but as someone grappling with her emotions. Instead of a "rival wife" (צרה), Hannah has "distress" (θλίψις). Instead of Peninnah "tormenting her terribly" (וכעסתה גם כעס), Hannah has "despondency" (ἀθυμία) and "feels despondent" (ἀθυμέω). Her weeping at the shrine is caused not by Peninnah's taunting but by these difficult feelings. LXX is very clear that the despondency is caused by her lack of children: it repeats four times in 1 Sam 1:5–6 that Hannah has no children, twice as many times as MT in the same space. MT emphasizes Peninnah's treatment of Hannah as the cause of her suffering, while LXX emphasizes Hannah's childlessness at the hands of YHWH as the cause.

We can address the differences in the two narratives more systematically by comparing the text of MT with the retroverted Hebrew of LXX.<sup>80</sup>

Table 7: Comparison of 1 Sam 1:4–7 in MT and retroverted LXX

v.	MT	Retroverted Hebrew of LXX
4	ויהי היום ויזבח אלקנה ונתן לפננה אשתו ולכל בניה ובנותיה מנות	ויהי היום ויזבח אלקנה ויתן לפננה אשתו ולבניה מנות <sup>a</sup>
5	ולחנה יתן מנה אחת אפים כי את חנה אהב ויהוה סגר רחמה	ולחנה נתן מנה אחת כי אין לה ילדים אפס כי <sup>b</sup> את חנה אהב אלקנה מזאת ויהוה סגר בעד רחמה
6	וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה כי סגר יהוה בעד רחמה	כי לא נתן לה יהוה ילדים כצרתה וככעס צרתה גם כְּעָסָה בעבור זה כי סגר יהוה בעד רחמה מתת לה ילדים
7	וכן יעשה שנה בשנה מדי עלתה בבית יהוה כן תכעסנה ותבכה ולא תאכל	כן תעשה שנה בשנה בעלתה בבית יהוה וכְּעָסָה ובכתה ולא תאכל

<sup>a</sup> There is a textual difference here—MT reads “and to all her sons and daughters,” while LXX reads “to her sons.” Because it does not contribute substantially to a different understanding of the narrative, however, I have chosen not to highlight it.

<sup>b</sup> For the retroversion כי אפס from πλγλι εἶτι, see Judg 4:9; 2 Sam 12:14; Amos 9:8.

I will first discuss the pluses, highlighted in blue, and then the other significant differences between the two versions, highlighted in yellow. All of the pluses occur in LXX. First there is the plus in v. 5 of ὑπὲρ ταύτης (retroverted מזאת). In MT, Elkanah loves Hannah despite her childlessness, but in LXX he loves her *more than Peninnah* despite her childlessness. In LXX, then, there is a hierarchy between the two wives that is inverse to their fertility: Hannah is

<sup>80</sup> Pluses are highlighted in blue. Other significant differences are highlighted in yellow. For the retroversion of v. 6, see Table 6: Textual analysis of 1 Sam 1:6, p. 78. My retroversion of LXX does not necessarily represent this version’s *Vorlage*; it is merely a clearer way of comparing LXX and MT. Furthermore, it is not my concern at this moment to determine which version is preferable or to evaluate individual readings (except in one case, which will become clear below). My goal at this juncture is solely to investigate what story the two versions are telling.

infertile and more beloved, Peninnah is fertile and less beloved. In MT, we have no information regarding Elkanah's feelings for Peninnah.<sup>81</sup> We know only that despite Hannah's inability to bear children, Elkanah still loves her.<sup>82</sup>

Then there are three pluses in vv. 5–6 which all reference Hannah's childlessness: in v. 5, ὅτι οὐκ ἔγινε αὐτῇ παιδίον (כי אין לה ילדים); in v. 6, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον (כי לא נתן לה) and τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον (מתת לה ילדים). Although this element of the story is present in both versions, these pluses magnify it substantially in LXX. In the space of vv. 4–7, MT spends eight words on Hannah's childlessness, while LXX (retroverted) spends twenty-two words.

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<sup>81</sup> Joan Cook claims that in MT Elkanah does not love Peninnah (Joan E. Cook, *Hannah's Desire, God's Design: Early Interpretations of the Story of Hannah* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic, 1999], 15), but this is reading more than the text actually says. MT 1 Sam 1 does not say anything at all about Elkanah's feelings for Peninnah. Cook seems to be extrapolating from the story of Rachel and Leah (much as I will argue the LXX translator has done).

<sup>82</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 18 claims that "LXX has also heightened the contrast and rivalry between Hannah and Peninnah by adding Ἐλκανα ὑπερ ταυτην" ("Elkanah [loved Hannah] more than her [Peninnah]," 1 Sam 1:5), but this is an insensitive reading. The LXX plus describes Elkanah's relative feelings towards his two wives. It does not heighten a rivalry because in LXX there is no rivalry between the two women. There is nothing to heighten.

Turning now to the other significant differences between the two versions, we might first note the impact of the differences in the verbal aspects. In MT, after the initial two verbs,<sup>83</sup> the main verbal forms in these verses are imperfective: in v. 4, ונתן is a *weqatal*; in v. 5, יתן is a *yiqtol*; in v. 6, וכעסתה is a *weqatal*; and in v. 7, יעשה, תכעסנה, and תאכל are all *yiqtol*.<sup>84</sup> MT describes a situation which occurs again and again. Whenever Elkanah made a sacrifice, he divided the portions in a certain way, and each time they went to Shiloh, Peninnah would taunt Hannah about her childlessness, and each time Hannah would be distraught. Thus in MT when Hannah goes to pray to Y<sub>HWH</sub> for a child in vv. 9–11, she seems to be responding to a longstanding situation, and the reader does not know why she chooses this particular visit to Shiloh to pray. In LXX, by contrast, the distribution of portions happens in perfective verbs, viz. the two instances of the aorist εἰδωκεν in vv. 4 and 5 (retroverted respectively as the *wayyiqtol* ויתן

<sup>83</sup> The verbal sequence in MT makes the narrative somewhat difficult to follow. After beginning with two *wayyiqtol* forms, ויהי and ויזבח, which indicate the main narrative and seem to describe a singular event, the text switches to *weqatal* forms, indicating habitual action. The next *wayyiqtol* form is ותבכה in v. 7, but taking this verb as a perfective is nonsensical (see n. 21). A better place to resume the narrative might be with ויאמר in v. 8 (so also R. J. Kotzé, “Reading between the Sentences: Notes on the Sentence Relations in 1 Samuel 1:1–8,” *JNSL* 16 [1990]: 61–84), which is what I have done in my interpretation of the story, but it remains unclear why Elkanah speaks only on this occasion. In his analysis of the verbal forms in 1 Sam 1, Jan Joosten suggests that the switch from the *wayyiqtol* verbs ויהי and ויזבח back to *weqatal* verbs be considered a conscious narrative technique: “I ... take [ויהי and ויזבח in] v. 4a as the beginning of the narrative, a kind of ‘false start’: having begun to recount what happened on the precise day when Hannah prayed for a child, the narrator is then reminded, as it were, that he hasn’t yet provided all the necessary background—and launches into another series of frequentatives. If this analysis is acceptable, then we should probably suppose that the ‘false start’ is a calculated step in the narrative strategy of the author: he introduces a break in the long exposition, in order not to lose [*sic*] the attention of his audience” (Jan Joosten, “Workshop: Meaning and Use of the Tenses in 1 Samuel 1,” in *Narrative Syntax and the Hebrew Bible*, ed. E. van Wolde [Leiden: Brill, 1997], 73). Contrast the less compelling argument from Pardee, who proposes that we solve the problem by understanding ויהי היום ויזבח אלקנה in v. 4 as habitual: “on each such occasion, when Elkanah had offered the sacrifice...;” the narrative proper, he suggests, commences with ותקם in v. 9 (Dennis Pardee, “The Biblical Hebrew Verbal System in a Nutshell,” unpublished paper, 10–11). It is worth noting that LXX has different verbal forms which give a clearer narrative; perhaps the translator also found the verbal sequence in the Hebrew unsatisfying.

<sup>84</sup> Given that it is surrounded by imperfective verbs, MT ותבכה in v. 7 must be read as an imperfective as well despite its *wayyiqtol* form. It would be nonsensical to suggest that while on every occasion Hannah did not eat and on every occasion Peninnah tormented her, on only one occasion did Hannah weep. Stanley Walters seems to read the verse in just this way (Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 391), but this interpretation unnecessarily privileges morphosyntax over sense. Contrast Joosten, who argues for a contextual understanding of ותבכה as continuing the exposition (Joosten, “Meaning and Use of Tenses,” 73, 80).

and the *qatal* (נתן). In relation to these verbs, the imperfect verbs in vv. 6 and 7—ἡθύμει (*weqatal* ובעסה), ἐποίησε (*yiqtol* תעשה), ἔκλειεν (*weqatal* ובכתה), and ἤσθιεν (*yiqtol* תאכל)—give the background to the present narrative, which resumes with the perfective verbs in vv. 8–9 ff.<sup>85</sup> In LXX, Hannah has been upset over her childlessness for a long time, but when she goes to pray, she seems to be responding to this particular occasion on which Elkanah deals out the sacrificial portions in such a way that it draws attention to her misfortune.

Next there is the issue of MT אפים against LXX אפס. Given the difficulty of making sense of אפים, and given the graphic similarity between אפים and אפס,<sup>86</sup> the best solution seems to be reading with LXX.<sup>87</sup> I hesitate to make any comments on the impact the two readings have on their respective stories because any interpretation of אפים as it stands is pure guesswork. Above I translated אפים as “special,” following the general consensus among scholars who maintain the MT reading that Elkanah is treating Hannah preferentially by giving her either a better or a larger portion than he gave Peninnah.

<sup>85</sup> In v. 8, *wayyiqtol* ויאמר, Greek aorist ἔπειν; in v. 9, *wayyiqtol* ותקם, Greek aorist ἀνέστη.

<sup>86</sup> The corrupted form אפים would have been caused by a scribe mistaking the *samek* in אפס for a final *mem*. While this is not a common error, the two letters share a similar shape. To take just one early example from 4Q52 (c. 250 BCE according to Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 220), the last line of frg. 7 (1 Sam 21:7) preserves the text הפנים המוסר: in this scribe’s handwriting, the *samek* of המוסר and the final *mem* of הפנים are very similar in shape (although the *mem* is unmistakably larger; see plate XXIV in *DJD XVII*). The error is also not surprising given the relative prevalence of the two letters: *samek* appears 356 times in the MT books of Samuel, while final *mem* appears 2,788 times, nearly eight times more frequently. After the *samek* was mistaken for a *mem*, the *yod* would have been added by a scribe trying to make sense of the non-word אפס. Both changes could even have been made at one time by a single person.

<sup>87</sup> So also Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 36; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 8; Alfons Schulz, *Die Bücher Samuel*, vol 1: *Das erste Buch Samuel* (Münster: Aschendorff, 1919), 11.

Excursus: מנה אחת אפים

The form אפים as it appears in MT appears to be the dual of אף, which usually means “nose,” “face,” or “anger.” None of these meanings makes good sense here. The Targum of Samuel renders בחיר, “a choice portion,” but this appears to be a contextual guess. The Vulgate’s reading *tristis*, “sadly,” might indicate that Jerome thought אפים had something to do with Elkanah’s facial expression. Hertzberg attempts to maintain a literal meaning of אפים by suggesting that “perhaps ‘portion of the face’ signifies a particularly large piece, a portion of honor,”<sup>88</sup> but this interpretation of the phrase is purely conjectural, and furthermore his translation “portion of the face” is not supported by the syntax of the Hebrew. In a similarly literal vein, Tsumura reads “two noses” and takes it as “a technical term of the ritual sacrifice,”<sup>89</sup> but this use of אפים is otherwise unattested.

Taking another approach, Thenius contends that אפים should be taken as an adverbial accusative (cf. Dan 11:20 where באפים seems to mean “angrily”); Thenius proposes an analogy with בנדבה/נדבה, both of which mean “willingly,” cf. Num 15:3; Deut 23:24; Hos 14:5; Ps 54:8) and supports the Vulgate reading *tristis*, but he quotes Böttcher suggesting that “with displeasure, reluctantly” (“unmuthsvoll, ungerne”) is more appropriate.<sup>90</sup> Wellhausen, however, rightly counters that אפים cannot mean “sad” or “reluctant.”<sup>91</sup> Budde similarly admits that while the Targum’s בחיר and the Vulgate’s

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<sup>88</sup> Hans Wilhelm Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1964), 24.

<sup>89</sup> David Toshio Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 113. So also Lestienne and Grillet, *Règles*, 129: “Le mot *’appāyīm*, «narines», semble employé ici dans un sens technique (vocabulaire sacrificiel) pour désigner une part d’honneur ou de choix.”

<sup>90</sup> Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 4.

<sup>91</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 36

*tristis* are both attractive, neither is supported by the Hebrew text. He proposes the reading מר אפים, “with a bitter expression,” on the grounds that “the reflection of her misfortune in Elkanah’s face would be the most likely cause of Hannah’s weeping in v. 7b” (“für das Weinen Hannas in v. 7b wäre die Spiegelung ihres Unglücks in Elkanas Mienen der denkbar beste Anlass”) but he acknowledges that אפים is never used for the expression of the face.<sup>92</sup> He recommends Smith’s suggestion that we emend to לפניהם based on the Antiochene reading κατὰ πρόσωπον,<sup>93</sup> but this reading simply tries to represent אפים. Smith, for his part, notes contra Budde’s מר אפים that “the point of the narrative is that Hannah wept because of the contrast between herself and her co-wife, not because of anything in her husband’s mien.”<sup>94</sup>

Keil claims that “‘One part for two people,’ that is, a double portion ... is the only explanation which can be justified linguistically and gives a suitable meaning” (“‘einen Theil für zwei Personen’, d. h. eine doppelte Portion ... ist die einzige [Erklärung], die sich sprachlich rechtfertigen lässt und einen passenden Sinn gibt”), although he confesses that there are no other examples which support his interpretation.<sup>95</sup> Wellhausen argues strongly in response that since אפים never means “two people” elsewhere, it cannot mean so here.<sup>96</sup> Klostermann also argues that “a double portion” is the sense but sees אפים as a scribal error: he claims that the LXX<sup>M</sup> reading μερίδα διπλήν, “a double portion,” is the

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<sup>92</sup> Karl Budde, *Die Bücher Samuel* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1902), 5.

<sup>93</sup> See section II.1: Manuscript evidence, pp. 52–54.

<sup>94</sup> Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 8.

<sup>95</sup> Keil, *Bücher Samuels*, 17–18.

<sup>96</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 36.

original.<sup>97</sup> Based on Deut 21:17 and 2 Kgs 2:9, he argues that we should retrovert *μερίδα μίαν διπλήν* as *מנה אחת כפי שנים*, which would have been abbreviated as *כפי ב' ש' or כפי ב'*. He suggests that *אפים* is a graphical error for one of these abbreviations.<sup>98</sup> Stoebe supports the sense of “double portion,” if not Klostermann’s somewhat tortuous reconstruction, but he provides no basis for his opinion.<sup>99</sup>

Taking a different approach, McCarter proposes “restoring *kpym* on the assumption of an early confusion of *k* and *’*, and read *kěpîm*, ‘proportionate to them, equal to them,’” but he offers no argument for why this confusion would have taken place.<sup>100</sup> Aberbach suggests a different meaning for *אפים*, analyzing it as derived from the root *פ"ם* with prosthetic *aleph* and meaning “a weight equivalent to approximately two thirds of a shekel,” cf. 1 Sam 13:21.<sup>101</sup> While he may be correct that prosthetic *aleph* is acceptable morphologically, he fails to make the semantic argument that adding an *aleph* to the name of a weight creates a word meaning “equivalent to said weight.” Moreover, his argument about the morphology of prosthetic *aleph* has been challenged by Ferdinand Deist.<sup>102</sup> Deist’s own proposal, that we should read *אבסה* (“fattened”) is also problematic because his reconstruction requires four separate scribal corruptions of different types (phonological interchange of *bet* and *pe*, graphical interchange of *samek* and *mem*, loss of

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<sup>97</sup> See section II.1: Manuscript evidence, pp. 52–54.

<sup>98</sup> Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 1.

<sup>99</sup> Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 90.

<sup>100</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 52.

<sup>101</sup> David Aberbach, “מנה אחת אפים” (1 Sam 1:5): A New Interpretation,” *VT* 24, no. 3 (July 1974): 350–53.

<sup>102</sup> Ferdinand Deist, “*’APPAYIM* (1 Sam. I 5) < *\*PYM?*,” *VT* 27, no. 2 (1977): 205–8.

*mater lectionis*, addition of *yod*), which is certainly a plausible explanation but hardly an economical one.

Although it goes largely unmentioned in the literature, אפּים might also be related to פּימה, a word which appears only in Job 15:27 but is used in parallel with the more common חלב; it also has an Arabic cognate meaning “to become full (of fat)” (BDB s.v. פּים) or “to abound with” (HALOT s.v. פּימה). If we adopt this solution, however, we still have to deal with the difficulties raised by Deist regarding the prosthetic *aleph*. Stoebe takes note of this possibility and suggests that we consider the reading ופּימה or ופּאימה, “a fatty piece” (“ein Fettstück”).<sup>103</sup> He does not explain how the MT reading would have evolved from his proposed original, however.

The text critical solution of reading אפּס following LXX instead of אפּים with MT has several advantages over the proposals reviewed above. First, it does not require us to posit any new meaning, etymology, or usage for אפּים. Second, it requires minimal conjecture. Third, it is simple and economical. McCarter objects that “this reading ... leaves Peninnah’s rancor unexplained, unless by simple displeasure at sharing her husband’s affections. We expect some evidence of preferential treatment of Hannah.”<sup>104</sup> What we “expect” from a story, however, is not always what the biblical text gives us and does not constitute grounds for McCarter’s reconstruction. What he describes as Peninnah’s “rancor” may not be rancor per se at all—she might be eager to assert her

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<sup>103</sup> Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 90.

<sup>104</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 52.

superiority over her co-wife for non-emotional reasons, or she might simply be an unkind woman—and requires no explanation from a narrative standpoint.<sup>105</sup>

McCarter also argues<sup>106</sup> that “on purely textual grounds ... the more difficult reading is to be preferred,”<sup>107</sup> but the rule of *lectio difficilior* is not appropriate in cases of scribal error.<sup>108</sup> Aberbach contends that **כִּי אַפְסֵי** is “a clear non sequitur,”<sup>109</sup> but his objection, like McCarter’s, is based on his expectation that Hannah receive more than one portion of meat. Several other scholars also fail to see how **כִּי אַפְסֵי/πλήν ὅτι** could fit into the logic of the sentence. Smith writes, “It is awkward ... to say: Nevertheless he loved Hannah and Yahweh had shut her womb.”<sup>110</sup> Stoebe similarly argues that “This is not what the context calls for” (“das ist nicht das, was der Zusammenhang fordert”).<sup>111</sup> Klostermann goes even further, dismissing **πλήν ὅτι** and **אַפְסֵי** as equally “meaningless” (“sinnlos”).<sup>112</sup> These protests, however, are unwarranted. **כִּי אַפְסֵי** means “but” or “nevertheless,”<sup>113</sup> and the sense of the Hebrew sentence is that Elkanah gave Hannah only

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<sup>105</sup> See Erich Auerbach, *Mimesis: The Representation of Reality in Western Literature*, trans. Willard R. Trask (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 3–32, on everything that biblical Hebrew narrative leaves to the imagination.

<sup>106</sup> Followed by Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 18n4.

<sup>107</sup> McCarter, *I Samuel*, 52.

<sup>108</sup> Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 275–77.

<sup>109</sup> Aberbach, “מנה אחת אפיים,” 351.

<sup>110</sup> Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 7–8.

<sup>111</sup> Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 90.

<sup>112</sup> Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 1.

<sup>113</sup> Cf. Num 13:28; Deut 15:4; Judg 4:9; 2 Sam 12:14; Amos 9:8; see also *IBHS* 39.3.5e; contra *HALOT*, which glosses it as “notwithstanding.”

one portion, but he loved her anyway (even though Y<sub>HWH</sub> had shut her womb).<sup>114</sup> In other words, even though Elkanah did not give Hannah a portion of honor, this seeming slight was not an indication of his affection for her. As for the sense of the Greek, *πλὴν ὅτι* generally means “except that” outside the Septuagint (which would indeed be rather awkward in 1 Sam 1:5),<sup>115</sup> but within the Septuagint it can have a more general contrastive sense of “but,” “however,” or “nevertheless”; cf. Deut 2:27; 1 Sam 8:9; 2 Sam 12:14; Amos 9:8.

Walters’s equivocation that “the equivalence *plēn hoti* = *’epes kī* is not securely established”<sup>116</sup> is unwarranted: *πλὴν ὅτι* is used to translate כִּי סָפַן in 2 Sam 12:14 and Amos 9:8 (see also Judg 4:9, where for כִּי סָפַן LXX reads *πλὴν γίνωσκε ὅτι*), and these examples give perfectly adequate support for reconstructing סָפַן in 1 Sam 1:6.

There is also one difference between the two versions that arises only when we read the Greek of LXX instead of the retroversion. At the end of v. 5, MT’s disjunctive clause וַיְהוּהוּ סָגַר provides background information and is most likely intended to be concessive:<sup>117</sup> “although Y<sub>HWH</sub> had closed her womb.” The translator renders this phrase *καὶ κύριος ἀπέκλεισεν τὰ περὶ τῆν μήτραν αὐτῆς*, “and the Lord closed the area around her womb,” which represents the word order and morphology of the Hebrew, but not its sense. The aorist, while equivalent to the Hebrew

<sup>114</sup> So also Schulz: “The sense is: even though he gave her only one part, even though he diminished her status, nevertheless he loved her more” (“Der Sinn ist: Trotzdem er ihr nur einen Teil gab, trotzdem er sie zurücksetzte, liebte er sie doch mehr”; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 11); see further the notes in Lestienne and Grillet, *Règles*, 128–9: “Anna has only a single portion despite the fact that Elkanah loves her more than the other” (“Anna n’a qu’une seule part, *bien qu’*Elkana l’aime plus que l’autre”; italics original).

<sup>115</sup> See LSJ s.v. *πλὴν* II.2.4 and BDAG s.v. *πλὴν* 1.d.

<sup>116</sup> Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 390.

<sup>117</sup> See Joüon §171f on this construction.

*qatal* in many respects, cannot denote the pluperfect like the *qatal* can;<sup>118</sup> and placing the subject before the verb does not signal concession in Greek as it can in Hebrew. When we read the Greek as it stands, without reference to the Hebrew, it apparently says that the Lord closed Hannah’s womb after, and therefore because of, Elkanah’s preference for her over Peninnah.<sup>119</sup>

Finally, there is the absence in LXX of the rivalry between Hannah and Peninnah. This difference is due mainly to the textual variations in v. 6a: as previously discussed, MT reads *וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס בעבור הרעמה*, “Her rival would torment her terribly in order to make her thunder,” while LXX reads *καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀθυμίαν τῆς θλίψεως αὐτῆς καὶ ἠθύμει διὰ τοῦτο*, “[for the Lord did not give her a child] in order to cause her affliction and the despondency born of that affliction. And she was despondent because of the fact that....” There is a further discrepancy in v. 7, where MT has a suffixed *piel* *תכעסנה* (“she would torment her”) and LXX has *ἠθύμει* (*qal* *וכעסה*, “she became despondent”).<sup>120</sup>

To review: in MT, Elkanah loves his wife Hannah despite the fact that she has given him no children. His prolific other wife Peninnah, however, taunts Hannah over her childless state, and Hannah suffers greatly as a result. In LXX, on the other hand, Elkanah loves Hannah more

<sup>118</sup> When we look at the translator’s approach to handling verbal tenses, the matter becomes somewhat more complicated. The pluperfect appears in LXX Samuel twenty-one times: 1 Sam 13:16; 14:3, 27; 16:21; 19:20; 22:6, 15, 22; 30:12 (2x); 2 Sam 1:6, 10; 3:22 (2x), 26; 11:16, 20, 22; 17:17; 18:11; 20:12. Eight of these instances (1 Sam 14:3; 22:15, 22; 2 Sam 1:10; 3:26; 11:16, 20, 22) are pluperfect forms of *οἶδα* and so are pluperfect in morphology only. There are thus only thirteen genuine instances of the pluperfect in Samuel. Of these, five are pluperfects of *ἴστημι* (including prefixed forms of the verb), which seems to “attract” the pluperfect in LXX. For contextually pluperfect *qatal* verbs (e.g., 1 Sam 3:2; 4:6, 18; 7:7, 14; 10:16; 13:5, 11; 14:3; 15:35; 19:18; 22:21; 23:7, 15; 25:35; 28:20; 30:1, 18), LXX uses a mixture of aorist, perfect, and historical present. One could thus argue that the tense of *ἀπέκλεισεν* in 1 Sam 1:5 should not be taken too strictly; cf. Lestienne and Grillet, *Règles*, 129, who translate *ἀπέκλεισεν* as a pluperfect, “avait fermé.” Fortunately, we do not have to decide whether the translator intended *ἀπέκλεισεν* to express time contemporaneous with or prior to the main narrative because the sense of the verse—that YHWH closed Hannah’s womb in order to cause her distress because she was the more favored wife—is sufficiently communicated by the coordinating conjunction *καί* before *ἀπέκλεισεν* and by the two *κατὰ* phrases; see p. 81.

<sup>119</sup> This interpretation of the Greek, which may seem puzzling, will be discussed in greater depth below; see pp. 112–115.

<sup>120</sup> See n30 on p. 64.

than Peninnah. As a result, Y<sup>HWH</sup> prevents Hannah from conceiving in order to cause her distress, and Hannah suffers greatly as a result. The cast of characters is the same in both stories—Elkanah, prolific Peninnah, childless Hannah, and Y<sup>HWH</sup>—but their relationships and the causes of Hannah’s suffering are dramatically different. These differences come about in three ways: first, there is a series of pluses in LXX, likely original to the *Vorlage*,<sup>121</sup> which tell us that Elkanah loved Hannah more than Peninnah and emphasize Hannah’s inability to conceive. Second, there is the translator’s technique, which led to a conjunctive rendering—*καὶ ἀπέκλεισεν κύριος*—of the disjunctive original, וַיְהוֹה סָגַר. Third, there is the translator’s confusion regarding the meaning of the *Vorlage* in v. 6 and his subsequent misrepresentation of the meaning of the Hebrew.

#### V. The influence of the matriarchal narratives

The translator could have handled his obscure *Vorlage* in any number of ways, and it is worthwhile to consider why he made the choices in 1 Sam 1:6 that he did. It appears that his translational choices may have been influenced by the matriarchal stories in Genesis. Certainly the version of Hannah’s story in LXX is more closely aligned with the Pentateuchal stories of childless women and rival wives than is the MT version. As Mary Callaway has observed regarding the MT story,

When we compare 1 Samuel 1 with the two other stories of the rivalry between a barren and a fruitful wife, we see that the aspect of Hannah as victim is unique to 1 Samuel 1. In the stories of the conflict between Sarah and Hagar and between

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<sup>121</sup> See pp. 66–70.

Rachel and Leah, the beloved but barren wife was not the victim of her child-bearing rival. On the contrary, the high-handed actions of Sarah and Rachel make Hagar the outcast and Leah, the unloved wife, the object of the reader's sympathies.<sup>122</sup>

Within this trio of stories (Sarai and Hagar in Gen 16, Rachel and Leah in Gen 29–30, Hannah and Peninnah in 1 Sam 1), Peninnah's abuse of Hannah in MT is unique. In contrast, the story told by LXX lacks this unusual element. The choices made by the translator thus resulted in a story more like the matriarchal narratives.

This section will argue that when faced with Hebrew he did not understand in 1 Sam 1:6, the translator made choices which were guided by his knowledge of the matriarchal narratives, particularly the story of Rachel and Leah. Echoes of the Rachel and Leah story (and secondarily of the stories about Sarai) in his *Vorlage* triggered an association for the translator<sup>123</sup> and led him to assimilate his translation to the earlier narrative. Assimilation is defined by Zakovitch as a phenomenon in which “a traditionist or editor increases the affinity of stories already similar in themselves by adding to one of them material borrowed from the parallel tradition or composed by him under the influence of the parallel tradition.”<sup>124</sup> Indeed, it seems that assimilation may have taken place at more than one stage in the transmission process: while there are certain similarities between MT 1 Sam 1 and the matriarchal narratives, there appear to have been

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<sup>122</sup> Mary Callaway, *Sing, O Barren One: A Study in Comparative Midrash* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 42.

<sup>123</sup> See similar examples of the translator of the Minor Prophets understanding his source text “with the aid of catchwords and their related biblical passages” in Myrto Theocharous, *Lexical Dependence and Intertextual Allusion in the Septuagint of the Twelve Prophets: Studies in Hosea, Amos, and Micah* (New York: T&T Clark, 2012), 107–95.

<sup>124</sup> Yair Zakovitch, “Assimilation in Biblical Narratives,” in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism*, ed. Jeffrey H. Tigay (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 176. He demonstrates that assimilation occurred in extrabiblical paraphrases, biblical manuscripts, ancient translations, and even in repetitions of stories within the Bible.

significantly more similarities in the LXX *Vorlage*. These were then further augmented by the translator in his rendering of v. 6.

I will first review the echoes of matriarchal narratives which appear in MT of 1 Sam 1, followed by the echoes which are unique to the LXX *Vorlage*. I will then turn to research from the field of psychology which provides a clear articulation of how these echoes resulted in the rendering of 1 Sam 1:6. Finally, I will present examples from elsewhere in the Septuagint which illustrate similar influence from the Pentateuch.

### 1. Echoes of matriarchal narratives in MT 1 Sam 1

The Masoretic text of 1 Sam 1 contains two main echoes of the matriarchal narratives. The first is the figure of Hannah as the infertile woman who is contrasted with a fertile co-wife. This same pairing occurs in the narrative of Sarai, who is contrasted with Hagar (Gen 16),<sup>125</sup> and of course in the narrative of Rachel and Leah (Gen 29–30). In all three narratives, a woman who will give birth to a major character in the biblical history first suffers the emotional distress of not being able to conceive while her co-wife successfully bears children. Although the intentional abuse of the infertile wife is particular to 1 Samuel, the Pentateuchal narratives also include an element of strife between the two rivals.<sup>126</sup>

There is also the repetition in all three narratives of the idea that Y<sub>HWH</sub> closes and opens wombs. In Gen 16:2, Sarai says to Abram, עֲצַרְנִי יְהוָה מִלֵּדָת, “Y<sub>HWH</sub> has locked me up so that I

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<sup>125</sup> Hagar is Sarai’s surrogate rather than her co-wife, but she serves a similar function in the story: she is a woman who can bear children to Abram while Sarai remains childless.

<sup>126</sup> See Gen 16:4–6; 30:1, 14–15.

cannot bear.”<sup>127</sup> Similarly, in 1 Sam 1:6, as we have seen, we are told regarding Hannah that סגר יהוה בעד רחמה, “YHWH had closed her womb.” The verb used in Genesis for shutting up a womb, עצר, is not the same as the verb used in 1 Samuel, which is סגר, but the underlying idea is the same. The Septuagint, on the other hand, renders both עצר in Gen 16:2 and סגר in 1 Sam 1 with συγκαλείω,<sup>128</sup> resulting in a stronger connection between the two passages.

	<u>Gen 16:2</u>	<u>1 Sam 1:6</u>
MT	עצרני יהוה	יהוה סגר בעד רחמה
LXX	<u>συνέκλεισέν με κύριος</u>	<u>συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς</u>

The reversal of this motif, in which YHWH instead opens wombs, is found in the Rachel and Leah narrative in Gen 29:31<sup>129</sup> and 30:22. While there is no specific mention of YHWH opening Hannah’s womb, the concept that YHWH is responsible for closing and opening wombs is central to the narrative of 1 Sam 1.

	<u>Gen 29:31</u>	<u>Gen 30:22</u>
MT	ויפתח [יהוה] את רחמה	ויפתח [אלהים] את רחמה
LXX	<u>κύριος ... ἤνοιξεν τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς</u>	<u>ὁ θεὸς ... ἀνέωξεν αὐτῆς τὴν μήτραν</u>

<sup>127</sup> A similar expression is used in the story of Abraham and Sarah’s sojourn in Egypt in Gen 20:18: כי עצר עצר יהוה, “YHWH completely locked up every womb in the house of Abimelech.”

<sup>128</sup> סגר is regularly rendered with κλείω and its various prefixed forms, but עצר is rendered with συγκαλείω only in Gen 16 and 20.

<sup>129</sup> Also see the discussion on pp. 112-115.

## 2. Echoes of matriarchal narratives in the LXX *Vorlage* of 1 Sam 1

The LXX *Vorlage* of Samuel appears to have already been engaged in assimilating the Hannah narrative to the matriarchal narratives, for there are several pluses recorded in LXX 1 Sam 1 which strengthen the similarities between them. The first occurs in 1 Sam 1:5, where LXX reports that Elkanah loved Hannah *more than* Peninnah (τὴν Ανναν ἡγάπα Ελκανα ὑπὲρ ταύτην).

### LXX Gen 29:30

ἡγάπησεν δὲ Ραχὴλ μᾶλλον ἢ Λεῖαν

### LXX 1 Sam 1:5

τὴν Ανναν ἡγάπα Ελκανα ὑπὲρ ταύτην

As we have seen,<sup>130</sup> this hierarchy between the two women is part of the LXX narrative but not part of the MT narrative. It is also one of the central elements of the Rachel and Leah narrative.

We find a further echo of the Rachel and Leah narrative in the first LXX plus in 1 Sam 1:6, ὅτι οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον.<sup>131</sup>

### LXX Gen 29:33

κύριος ... προσέδωκέν μοι καὶ τοῦτον

### LXX 1 Sam 1:6

οὐκ ἔδωκεν αὐτῇ κύριος παιδίον

The phrase *διδόναι παιδίον* (נתן ילד) is rare in the Bible, appearing only in Isa 8:18, but a similar phrase appears in Gen 29:33, where Leah says “Ὅτι ἤκουσεν κύριος ὅτι μισοῦμαι καὶ προσέδωκέν μοι καὶ τοῦτον, “For the Lord heard that I was hated, and he granted to me also this one” (MT כי זה שמע יהוה כי שנואה אנכי ויתן לי גם את זה). Although a pronoun is used in place of the noun *παιδίον*,

<sup>130</sup> See p. 87.

<sup>131</sup> This phrase is also repeated in the plus at the end of 1 Sam 1:6, τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον (Hebrew לֹא תַתֶּן יָלֵדָיָם).

the same verb is used,<sup>132</sup> and the sense is the same: Ὑἠῶη “gave” a woman a child, meaning that she conceived and bore a child through divine intervention.

The plus at the end of LXX 1 Sam 1:6 contains another echo, this time of the Sarai narrative. The plus, which reads τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον, expresses the purpose of the previous clause, συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς. As discussed above, the statement that Ὑἠῶη shut Hannah’s womb in MT already mirrors Gen 16:2, but LXX extends the parallel by adding the statement of purpose. The full content of Sarai’s sentence is συνέκλεισέν με κύριος τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν (MT יהוה מלדת עצרני יהוה מלדת), “The Lord closed me *so that I could not bear.*” Both Greek purpose clauses use the same construction, τοῦ μὴ + infinitive.

	<u>Gen 16:2</u>	<u>1 Sam 1:6</u>
LXX	συνέκλεισέν με κύριος <u>τοῦ μὴ τίκτειν</u>	συνέκλεισεν κύριος τὰ περὶ τὴν μήτραν αὐτῆς <u>τοῦ μὴ δοῦναι αὐτῇ παιδίον</u>
MT	<u>מלדת</u> יהוה עצרני	יהוה סגר בעד רחמה

One further echo of the Rachel and Leah narrative has been identified by Aejmelaeus in LXX 1 Sam 1:13, where a number of Greek manuscripts (among them LXX<sup>M</sup> and LXX<sup>N</sup>, as well as three of the Lucianic minuscules) preserve a quotation of Gen 30:22. Aejmelaeus concludes that “this sentence was present in the *Vorlage* as well as in the original Old Greek.”<sup>133</sup>

<sup>132</sup> The prepositional prefix on the Greek verb does not significantly alter its meaning.

<sup>133</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “How to Reach the Old Greek in 1 Samuel and What to Do with It,” in *Congress Volume Helsinki 2010*, ed. Martti Nissinen (Leiden: Brill, 2012), 198.

	<u>Gen 30:22</u>	<u>1 Sam 1:13</u>
LXX	<u>καὶ ἐπήκουσεν αὐτῆς ὁ θεὸς</u>	<u>καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἤκούετο καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῆς κύριος</u>
MT	<u>וישמע אליה אלהים</u>	וקולה לא ישמע

These four pluses in the Septuagint of 1 Sam 1, all of which have clear parallels in the matriarchal narratives of Genesis, suggest that the process of assimilating Hannah’s story to those narratives had already begun in the *Vorlage*. As a result, the translator had a *Vorlage* which resembled the matriarchal narratives, and in particular the story of Rachel and Leah, to a greater extent than MT does. The strong resemblance between the narrative of his *Vorlage* and the narrative of Rachel and Leah appears to have triggered the choices made by the translator in his handling of 1 Sam 1:6, which brought LXX even more in line with Gen 29–30.<sup>134</sup> This process has been described by psychologists as associative activation:<sup>135</sup> “ideas that have been evoked trigger many other ideas, in a spreading cascade of activity in your brain.”<sup>136</sup> The statement in v. 5 that Elkanah loved Hannah more than Peninnah, combined with the information from v. 2 that Peninnah had children while Hannah had none, evoked the narrative of Rachel and Leah for the translator. This evocation then triggered a cascade of other mental activity, specifically the mental transformation of the *Vorlage* into a text that more closely resembles the Rachel and Leah

<sup>134</sup> Note that the adaptations in vv. 5–6 serve only to bring the story of Hannah and Peninnah more in line with the matriarchal narratives. These are not ideological changes of the kind noted in Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction,” 10–16, which aim to discredit Hannah’s agency in determining her son’s future. The case of the plus in 1 Sam 1:13 is more ambiguous. While it does participate in the pattern of LXX assimilation to the Rachel and Leah story, Aejmelaeus argues that rather than being an addition to the *Vorlage*, the clause וישמע אליה יהוה was removed from MT as part of “a whole network of editorial corrections that change the picture of Hannah and her son” Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction,” 13–15.

<sup>135</sup> Carey K Morewedge and Daniel Kahneman, “Associative Processes in Intuitive Judgment,” *Trends in Cognitive Science* 14, no. 10 (Oct. 2010): 435–40.

<sup>136</sup> Daniel Kahneman, *Thinking, Fast and Slow* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2011), 51.

story. Furthermore, research on associative activation has shown that associated ideas tend to reinforce one another, “whereas initially activated ideas that are not reinforced soon drop out.”<sup>137</sup>

The more decisions the translator made to assimilate his translation to the Rachel and Leah narrative, the less able he was to consider other options for the meaning of the *Vorlage*.

### 3. Making decisions under conditions of uncertainty

Research from the field of psychology can help clarify the mental processes of the translator when faced with a *Vorlage* he did not understand in 1 Sam 1:6. Daniel Kahneman has done extensive investigations into how people make decisions under conditions of uncertainty.<sup>138</sup> He has discovered that when people are asked a question to which they do not know the answer, they will usually resort to heuristics rather than guessing randomly, not unlike in Barr’s Method A for reading unpointed Hebrew texts.<sup>139</sup> One particular heuristic which is helpful for understanding the translator’s process is what Kahneman refers to as substituting questions:<sup>140</sup> “If a satisfactory answer to a hard question is not found quickly, System 1 [the system in the mind that carries out quick and automatic thinking] will find a related question that is easier and will answer it.... [T]he operation of answering one question in place of another [is called]

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<sup>137</sup> Morewedge and Kahneman, “Associative Processes,” 436.

<sup>138</sup> Much of Kahneman’s work was initially developed in partnership with Amos Tversky. Their central thesis that intuitive thinking is dominated by reliance on heuristics and biases was first articulated in Amos Tversky and Daniel Kahneman, “Judgment Under Uncertainty: Heuristics and Biases,” *Science* 185, no. 4157 (Sept. 1974): 1124–31. The initial research focused on the question of whether people are good intuitive statisticians and is not obviously relevant to Septuagint studies. However, the more recent publication by Kahneman, *Thinking*, discusses the broader implications of their findings and is quoted here because of its more accessible presentation.

<sup>139</sup> See pp. 71–73.

<sup>140</sup> Although never called “substituting questions,” this process is described in greater depth in Tversky and Kahneman, “Judgment Under Uncertainty,” 1124–28. See also Morewedge and Kahneman, “Associative Processes,” 436–38.

*substitution.*<sup>141</sup> Kahneman gives a series of examples of target questions (the questions you intend to answer) and possible heuristic questions (the simpler questions you actually answer) that could be substituted for them.<sup>142</sup>

Table 8: Kahneman’s target and heuristic questions

<i>Target Question</i>	<i>Heuristic Question</i>
How much would you contribute to save an endangered species?	How much emotion do I feel when I think of dying dolphins?
How happy are you with your life these days?	What is my mood right now?
How popular will the president be six months from now?	How popular is the president right now?
How should financial advisers who prey on the elderly be punished?	How much anger do I feel when I think of financial predators?
This woman is running for the primary. How far will she go in politics?	Does this woman look like a political winner?

“The right-hand counterpart of each of the left-hand questions is very likely to be evoked and very easily answered.... The heuristic questions provide an off-the-shelf answer to each of the difficult target questions.”<sup>143</sup> When faced with a question that is too difficult to answer in a reasoned way, the human brain automatically substitutes an easier question and answers that one instead *without realizing that the substitution has taken place*. A person who is asked, “How

<sup>141</sup> Kahneman, *Thinking*, 97; italics original. Full definitions and discussion of System 1 as well as its corollary System 2 can be found in Kahneman, *Thinking*, 19–30. The terms “System 1” and “System 2” to describe two modes of thinking were first introduced in Keith E. Stanovich and Richard F. West, “Individual Differences in Reasoning: Implications for the Rationality Debate?” *Behavioral and Brain Sciences* 23, no. 5 (Oct. 2000): 645–65.

<sup>142</sup> Kahneman, *Thinking*, 98–99.

<sup>143</sup> Kahneman, *Thinking*, 99.

happy are you with your life these days?” and substitutes the question, “What is my mood right now?” believes that she is still answering the target question.

A similar process appears to have taken place for the translator: he was faced with a question that was too difficult for him to answer, namely the meaning of his *Vorlage* in 1 Sam 1:6, and so he substituted a new question that was easier for him to answer—that is, he created a new mental text<sup>144</sup> that he was capable of translating. This mental text is what we see reflected in his translation. His translation “answers” the heuristic question of the meaning of his mental text rather than the target question of the meaning of the *Vorlage*.

One significant difference, however, between the process described by Kahneman and what the translator seems to have done is that the translator did not make his substitution unconsciously. The creation of pseudo-variants, unless they arise from a misreading (for example, mistaking *dalet* for *resh*), requires deliberate consideration of the various possibilities for transforming the *Vorlage* into something translatable. The Septuagint translators can be seen going to great lengths to mentally manipulate their *Vorlage*, as in the example of Jer 31(38):8 above.<sup>145</sup> Another difference is that Kahneman’s heuristic questions tend to be affect-based (“how much emotion do I feel? what kind of emotion do I feel?”) while the creation of pseudo-variants is a non-affective process. Nevertheless, the core observation that human brains will attempt to substitute an easier question for a harder one rather than simply abandoning the question

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<sup>144</sup> See p. 77.

<sup>145</sup> See p. 58.

altogether<sup>146</sup> provides a useful theoretical framework for the empirical phenomenon of pseudo-variants and thus also for the translator's process in rendering 1 Sam 1:6.

#### 4. Examples of influence from the Pentateuch

An explanation of the next step in the translator's process—deciding *which* pseudo-variants to translate—can be found in the work of Emanuel Tov, which suggests that the influence of the matriarchal narratives on the translation of 1 Sam 1:6 participates in a larger pattern of influence from the Greek Pentateuch on the translations of later books.<sup>147</sup> Tov provides evidence for four ways in which this impact occurred:

1. the vocabulary established in the Pentateuch was used in later books;
2. the Greek Pentateuch served as a lexicon for difficult Hebrew in later books;
3. quotations from and allusions to the Pentateuch in later books were often phrased in an identical manner;
4. the Greek Pentateuch often influenced translations in later books on an exegetical level.

The Septuagint translation of 1 Sam 1:6 falls into this final category: rather than produce a translation that was as opaque to his audience as the *Vorlage* was to him, the translator made decisions about how to handle the Hebrew in a way that produced a coherent Greek translation.

Since the translator was likely aware that his translation did not communicate the sense of the

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<sup>146</sup> In the context of the Septuagint, abandonment of a difficult question might consist of transliterating rather than translating an unknown word or producing a translation which is incoherent. Translators did at times resort to both of these techniques; LXX 1 Samuel includes several examples of transliteration (e.g., 1 Sam 14:1, 25), and translators with particularly difficult *Vorlagen*, such as the Hebrew of Hosea, at times created apparently meaningless renderings; see examples such as Hos 9:12 and 13:1, analyzed in Joosten, "Exegesis in Hosea," 126–27.

<sup>147</sup> Emanuel Tov, "The Impact of the Septuagint Translation of the Torah on the Translation of the Other Books," in *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 183–94.

*Vorlage*, his process was not exegetical in the strictest sense. Insofar as the translator found meaning in a difficult text, however, his work deserves to be considered interpretive.

In order to contextualize the influence of the Rachel and Leah narrative on the Septuagint translation of 1 Sam 1:6, it will be instructive to consider other examples of LXX Pentateuch affecting later translations on an exegetical level. Tov gives two examples of the exegetical influence of the Greek Pentateuch. The first is from Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32(39):17, where אהה אדני יהוה (“alas, Lord YHWH”) has been translated as ὁ ὢν δέσποτα κύριε (“O One Who Is, lord Lord”).<sup>148</sup> It seems that the Septuagint translator of Jeremiah derived אהה (“alas”) from אהיה (“I am”) in Exod 3:14 and translated it according to the Greek of that verse, ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ὢν (MT אהיה אהיה).<sup>149</sup> The second example is from Prov 24:28, where אל תהי עד חנם ברעך (“do not be a witness against your neighbor without cause”) has been translated as μὴ ἴσθι ψευδῆς μάρτυς ἐπὶ σὸν πολίτην (“do not be a false witness against your neighbor”). The Septuagint translator of Proverbs seems to have had the Decalogue in his ear: οὐ ψευδομαρτυρήσεις κατὰ τοῦ πλησίον σου μαρτυρίαν ψευδῆ (Exod 20:16; MT לא תענה ברעך עד שקר), “do not bear false witness against your neighbor.”<sup>150</sup> This translator knows the meaning of חנם,<sup>151</sup> but he was pushed towards a particular exegesis of the term in this context by his knowledge of the Pentateuch.

Another intriguing example of the influence of the Pentateuch comes from Seeligmann’s work on the translation technique of LXX Isaiah.<sup>152</sup> He notes that in Isa 19:6, the translator has

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<sup>148</sup> This reading is not followed by Rahlfs but is reflected in the Göttingen Septuagint volume edited by Ziegler.

<sup>149</sup> Tov, “Impact of Septuagint Translation,” 193.

<sup>150</sup> Tov, “Impact of Septuagint Translation,” 193.

<sup>151</sup> He renders it with μάτην (“in vain”) in Prov 3:30, with μάταιος (“vain”) in Prov 26:2, and with κένος (“empty”) in Prov 23:29.

<sup>152</sup> Isaac Leo Seeligmann, *The Septuagint Version of Isaiah: A Discussion of Its Problems* (Leiden: Brill, 1948), 46.

rendered יארי מצור (“the rivers of Egypt”) quite freely with συναγωγὴ ὕδατος (“pool of water”). Looking for an explanation of this unexpected translation, Seeligmann observes that this Greek phrase also occurs in Lev 11:36 where it provides a more literal translation of מקוה מים (“pool of water”), a priestly term of religious ritual; however, the translator of Isaiah does not seem particularly interested in drawing a connection to Leviticus, so Seeligmann probes further. He notices that in Isa 19:6 the translator also uses the terms ποταμοί (“rivers”), διώρυγες (“brooks”), and ἔλος (“marsh”), which are only loosely related to MT.<sup>153</sup> All three terms, however, also appear in LXX Exod 7:19, along with the phrase συνεσθηκὸς ὕδωρ (“water that has collected”), which represents MT מימיהם. It is possible that the translator had a version of LXX Exodus in which מקוה מימיהם was translated with συναγωγὴ ὕδατος rather than συνεσθηκὸς ὕδωρ, in which case the translator of LXX Isaiah was making straightforward use of that version of LXX Exod 7:19. It is also possible, however, that the translator of LXX Isaiah was in fact triangulating between three verses in two different languages. The phrase יארי מצור put him in mind of MT Exod 7:19 which he then brought into his verse using Greek not only from LXX Exod 7:19 but also from LXX Lev 11:36. His reasons for using the phrase from LXX Leviticus instead of the phrase from LXX Exodus are unknown; what we can see is his familiarity with the Pentateuch in both Hebrew and Greek and his use of these texts in his own work. The result of this triangulation is a Greek verse which not only differs significantly from its Hebrew counterpart but lacks the phrase (יארי מצור) which triggered the triangulation in the first place.

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<sup>153</sup> ποταμοί represents MT נהרות, but διώρυγες and ἔλος have no equivalent in MT.

Table 9: The exegetical influence of LXX Pentateuch on LXX Isa 19:6

verse	MT	LXX
Isa 19:6	והאזניחו נהרות דללו וחרבו יארי מצור קנה וסוף קמלו	καὶ ἐκλείψουσιν οἱ <u>ποταμοὶ</u> καὶ αἱ <u>διώρυγες</u> τοῦ ποταμοῦ, καὶ ξηρανθήσεται πᾶσα <u>συναγωγὴ ὕδατος</u> καὶ ἐν παντὶ <u>ἔλει</u> καλάμου καὶ παπύρου
Lev 11:36	אך מעין ובור <u>מקוה מים</u> יהיה טהור	πλὴν πηγῶν ὑδάτων καὶ λάκκου καὶ <u>συναγωγῆς ὕδατος</u> , ἔσται καθαρὸν
Exod 7:19	קח מטך ונטה ידך על מימי מצרים על נהרתם על יאריהם ועל אגמיהם ועל כל <u>מקוה מימיהם</u> ויהיו דם	λαβὲ τὴν ῥάβδον σου καὶ ἔκτεινον τὴν χεῖρά σου ἐπὶ τὰ ὕδατα Αἰγύπτου καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς <u>ποταμοὺς</u> αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς <u>διώρυγας</u> αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ <u>ἔλη</u> αὐτῶν καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν <u>συνεστηκὸς ὕδωρ</u> αὐτῶν, καὶ ἔσται αἷμα

What is compelling about this example is that although a specific phrase seems to have acted as a trigger and specific language was imported into the verse, the association itself is vague. The translator does not have a direct quote from Exodus in his verse; he simply has a phrase which reminds him of Exodus. But it is enough of a prompt that he brings in material which has no equivalent in the Hebrew original.

These three examples demonstrate that the influence of the Pentateuch could come in different forms and for different reasons. In the example from Jeremiah, the specific language of the Greek Pentateuch pushed the translator towards a different understanding of the Hebrew altogether; the translator may have not recognized the Hebrew interjection אהה or may have misread it.<sup>154</sup> In the example from Proverbs, the *content* of the Pentateuch suggested a contextual translation of the Hebrew; the translator evidently understood the term חנם, but he chose a

<sup>154</sup> The Septuagint almost certainly does not represent a different *Vorlage*. It is highly unlikely that Jer 1:6; 4:10; 14:13; 32(39):17 would have read אהיה אדני יהוה.

different translation here than he did elsewhere because of the similarities between his verse and the Decalogue. In the example from Isaiah, a phrase that reminded the translator of Exodus set off a chain reaction of associations which resulted in an expanded and modified verse.

Seeligmann's analysis of LXX Isa 19:6 is quite similar to the proposal of this chapter for 1 Sam 1:6. In both cases, a phrase reminiscent of the Pentateuch caused an associative activation for the translator, resulting in a Greek text that says something quite different from MT. Unlike the example of Isa 19:6, however, the translator of Samuel felt a high level of commitment to his *Vorlage* and did not produce any Greek that was not in some way textually related to the Hebrew. Furthermore, unlike all three examples presented above, both the original passage in 1 Sam 1 and the "trigger" passage in Genesis are narrative, and the exegesis that has taken place in LXX 1 Sam 1:6 is an exegesis not only of the words of the *Vorlage* but of its story. The example of 1 Sam 1:6 thus extends Tov's theory of the Pentateuchal influence on the Greek translation of later books by demonstrating that this phenomenon holds for narratives as well as for individual words.

## VI. Return to 1 Sam 1:5–6

I would like to return now to the meaning of vv. 5–6 in LXX and why it is that Y<sup>HWH</sup> intends to cause Hannah distress by closing her womb. These verses appear to be a reflection of a few specific verses in the Rachel and Leah narrative:

Gen 29:30–30:2<sup>155</sup>

30 ויבא גם אל רחל ויאהב גם את רחל מלאה ויעבד עמו עוד שבע שנים אחרות 31 וירא יהוה כי שנואה לאה ויפתח את רחמה ורחל עקרה 32 ותהר לאה ותלד בן ותקרא שמו ראובן כי אמרה כי ראה יהוה בעניי כי עתה יאהבני אישי 33 ותהר עוד ותלד בן ותאמר כי שמע יהוה כי שנואה אנכי ויתן לי גם את זה ותקרא שמו שמעון 34 ותהר עוד ותלד בן ותאמר עתה הפעם ילוח אישי אלי כי ילדתי לו שלשה בנים על כן קרא שמו לוי 35 ותהר עוד ותלד בן ותאמר הפעם אודה את יהוה על כן קראה שמו יהודה ותעמד מלדת 30:1 ותרא רחל כי לא ילדה ליעקב ותקנא רחל באחתה ותאמר אל יעקב הבה לי בנים ואם אין מתה אנכי 2 ויחר אף יעקב ברחל ויאמר התחת אלהים אנכי אשר מנע ממך פרי בטן

30 [Jacob] came also to Rachel—moreover, he loved Rachel more than Leah. And he worked for [Laban] another seven years. 31 YHWH saw that Leah was scorned, and so he opened her womb; but Rachel was barren. 32 Leah conceived and bore a son, and she called him Reuben, for she said, “YHWH saw my affliction. Now my husband will love me!” 33 She conceived again and bore a son, and she said, “YHWH heard that I was scorned, and he gave me this one, too.” She named him Shimon. 34 She conceived again and bore a son, and she said, “Now this time my husband will join himself to me, for I have born him three sons.” Therefore she named him Levi. 35 She conceived again and bore a son, and she said, “This time I will praise YHWH.” Therefore she named him Judah. Then she stopped bearing. 30:1 Rachel saw that she had not born children to Jacob, and Rachel became jealous of her sister. She said to Jacob, “Give me children! If you do not, I am a dead woman.” 2 Jacob became angry with Rachel and said, “Is it I rather than God who has withheld the fruit of the womb from you?!”

In this passage, YHWH sees that Leah is the less-favored wife and so opens her womb. Leah herself explains his motivation (v. 32b): YHWH wants her to be loved and, as a result, for her status in the family to increase. Leah gives variations of this interpretation at the births of her second and third sons (vv. 33–34), emphasizing the point that YHWH is giving her these children to remove her affliction (עני) by improving her standing with Jacob. Although it is never made explicit, a simultaneous and complementary process is clearly implied by the passage: YHWH is preventing Rachel from conceiving (29:31; 30:2). Rachel experiences the discrepancy with acute emotional distress, becoming jealous (קנא) of Leah and telling Jacob that she is as good as dead (מתה אנכי) if he cannot impregnate her.

<sup>155</sup> There are no substantial textual variations in LXX.

It is this second implied narrative that the translator reflects in LXX 1 Sam 1:5–6: Y<sup>HWH</sup> sees that Hannah, like Rachel, is the more-favored wife, and so he closes her womb while granting Peninnah child after child. Although presumably in Gen 29–30 Y<sup>HWH</sup> intends to level the playing field between the two sisters rather than to punish Rachel per se, the translator of Samuel depicts Y<sup>HWH</sup>'s action as deliberate punishment. This is the meaning of the two *κατά* clauses. In a reversal of Gen 29:31–32, where Y<sup>HWH</sup> opens Leah's womb in order to *relieve* affliction, in LXX 1 Sam 1:5–6 Y<sup>HWH</sup> closes Hannah's womb in order to *cause* affliction.

This aspect of punishment, which might at first seem surprising, is of course not a purely independent creation of the translator's imagination but rather came about through the interaction between the translator and his *Vorlage*. Even though the translation of 1 Sam 1:5–6 is distant in meaning from the *Vorlage*, it is also bound to it textually, as was demonstrated above.<sup>156</sup> The translator misunderstood the *Vorlage* but also did his best to represent it while at the same time producing a coherent Greek statement. In his efforts to balance the textual restrictions of the *Vorlage* with his desire to produce a comprehensible narrative, the translator expressed a rather unusual theology.

There are certain parallels between the analysis I have offered of 1 Sam 1:6 and Aejmelaeus's analysis of Isa 9:5. She puts the Septuagint translation of this verse in the category of "interpretation as an emergency solution":

The Hebrew text contains four throne names of the Messiah that the translator obviously did not understand. The interpretation of the difficult passage is built around a few items that have been analyzed in an incorrect way.... The syntactic structure of the Greek text is based on mere guessing. The translator simply panicked and looked for an "emergency exit." The result can be characterized as

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<sup>156</sup> See pp. 52–78.

rewriting of the source text. It can hardly be regarded as an interpretation of the passage.... In cases like this, the difficulty of the source and the ignorance of the translator give way to contemporary theological or ideological convictions.<sup>157</sup>

I have argued similarly for 1 Sam 1:6 that the translator did not understand his *Vorlage* and that he incorrectly analyzed several items; I would furthermore agree that her description of the translator panicking and looking for an “emergency exit” would be apt here as well as in the Isaiah example. Where my analysis of 1 Sam 1:6 departs from Aejmelaes’s analysis of Isa 9:5 is in the argument that 1 Sam 1:6 can and indeed should be regarded as an interpretation of the passage because of its allusive interaction with Gen 29:30–30:2. Where she sees the confusion of the translator of Isaiah producing bland platitudes (“Peace to the rulers’ of all nations must have been a concern of Hellenistic Jews—an idea to be supported even today”), I see the confusion of the translator of Samuel producing intertextuality. His “emergency exit” was the narrative of Rachel and Leah rather than any theological or ideological conviction. To use another metaphor, when he found himself lost in the impenetrable tangle of his *Vorlage*, he turned to another text to guide his translation out of the mess and back to clarity. Thus despite the similarities between 1 Sam 1:6 and Isa 9:5, I would characterize the verse from Samuel not as interpretation as an emergency solution, but rather as interpretation as creative problem-solving.<sup>158</sup>

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<sup>157</sup> Aejmelaes, “Levels of Interpretation,” 309–310.

<sup>158</sup> See also p. 4 of the Introduction.

## VII. The history of interpretation of Peninnah

I would like to turn now to the history of interpretation of 1 Sam 1:6, specifically how Peninnah is treated in early Jewish sources. The LXX version of 1 Sam 1:4–8 is intriguing as an early Jewish interpretation of the story of Hannah and Peninnah which stands firmly outside the interpretive tradition that follows. The LXX evidence also explains how Josephus arrived at his version of the story, which is starkly different from the majority tradition as well.

In order to appreciate how unusual LXX and Josephus are, we first have to look at how other Jewish interpreters have dealt with the character of Peninnah. There is not a great deal of material on Peninnah from early Jewish exegetes, but what exists is overwhelmingly negative. Interpreters expand her role as Hannah's tormenter, quoting in direct speech what she would say to upset her unfortunate rival. A brief example of this interpretive trend is found in Midrash Samuel 1.8:<sup>159</sup>

וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס. מכעסת וחוזרת ומכעסת, מה הות אמרה לה, זבנת לברך רבה סודר  
ולתנינא חלוק

“And her rival would torment her terribly” [1 Sam 1:6]. She was provoking and going back and provoking again. What would she say to her? “Have you bought a scarf for your eldest son? And have you bought an undershirt for your second son?”

The darshan draws out two meanings of the phrase *וכעסתה צרתה גם כעס*: that Peninnah's abuse was continual and that it was mean-spirited. By asking Hannah about her oldest son and her second son, Peninnah not only reminds Hannah that she has no children, but she draws an implicit distinction with herself, the mother of several children. Furthermore, there seems to be a

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<sup>159</sup> Solomon Buber, ed. *Midrasch Samuel*. Cracow: Fischer, 1893. This Palestinian collection of midrash, which was gathered together not earlier than the eleventh century, nevertheless preserves a great deal of old material. See H. L. Strack and Günter Stemberger, *Introduction to the Talmud and Midrash*, trans. Markus Bockmuehl (Minneapolis: Fortress, 1996), 357.

hint that even if Hannah had children, she would not be a good mother because she would have failed to provide adequate clothing for them. In a context of rivalry, a question like “have you bought a scarf for your eldest son?” is hardly a neutral request for information; rather, it expects a negative answer that can then be seized upon by the questioner as an example of her own superiority.

A similar and fuller instance of this kind of midrash is found in *Pesiqta Rabbati* 43.8:<sup>160</sup>

וכעסותה צרתה גם כעס שהיתה פנינה מכעסת את חנה כעס בתוך כעס ומה היתה עושה אמר רבי נחמן בר אבא היתה פנינה משכמת ואומרת לחנה אין את עומדת ומרחצת פניהם של בנייך כדי שילכו לפני הספר ובשש שעות היתה אומרת אין את עומדת ומקבלת את בנייך שבאו מבית הספר זה וכעסותה צרתה גם כעס אמר רבי תנחומא בר אבא היו יושבים לאכול והיה אלקנה נותן לכל אחד ואחד מן בניו חלקו מה היתה פנינה עושה מתכוננת להכעיס את חנה היתה אומרת לאלקנה תן לזה בני חלקו ולזה בני לא נתתה חלקו למה בעבור הרעימה “Her rival would torment her terribly” [1 Sam 1:6], meaning that Peninnah would provoke Hannah with provocation in the midst of provocation. And what would she do? R. Nahman b. Abba said that Peninnah would rise early and say to Hannah, “Aren’t you going to get up and wash your children’s faces so that they can go before the Bible teacher?” And at the sixth hour she would say, “Aren’t you going to get up and meet your children when they come from the house of the Bible teacher?” This is what is meant by “her rival would torment her terribly” [1 Sam 1:6]. R. Tanhuma b. Abba said that when they would sit down to eat, Elkanah would give each of his sons his portion. What would Peninnah do? Intending to provoke Hannah, she would say to Elkanah, “Give this son of mine his portion! And you haven’t given this son of mine his portion!” Why? “In order to make her thunder” [1 Sam 1:6].

In this passage two midrashim expand upon Peninnah’s provocation of Hannah. In the first, from R. Nahman b. Abba, Peninnah’s taunting takes on a rather gleeful tone: she wakes up early in the morning so she can stand over Hannah in her bed and taunt her with her sarcastic questions. Not content to leave well enough alone, she picks up the theme again later in the day when children

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<sup>160</sup> Meir Friedmann and Moritz Güdemann, eds. *Midrash Pesikta Rabbati* (Vilnius: M. Ish Shalom, M. Gidemann, 1879 or 1880). This collection appears to have undergone a lengthy and complex process of compilation which may have begun in the sixth or seventh century. Greece, southern Italy, and Palestine have all been suggested as locations of origin. See the discussion in Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 299–302.

are coming home from school. The syntax of הִיהָ + participle further suggests that Peninnah's abuse was a daily or near daily affair. In the second midrash, from R. Tanhuma b. Abba, the scene of the abuse is the daily family meal, where Peninnah takes a more roundabout means of tormenting Hannah. Rather than speaking to Hannah directly, she speaks to Elkanah, demanding that portions of food be given to her children even though she knows perfectly well that Elkanah will feed them without any prodding. Her demands serve only to point out that Peninnah has given Elkanah several children while Hannah has remained childless.

Yet another expansion of Peninnah's speech comes in Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities* 50.1–2:<sup>161</sup>

Et cum essent Elchane due mulieres, nomen uni Anna, et nomen altere Fenenna. Et quia Fenenne erant filii et Anne non erant, improperavit ei Fenenna dicens: Quid prodest quod te diligit Elchana vir tuus, tu vero es lignum siccum? Et ego scio quia dilecturus est me delectatus in conspectu filiorum meorum astantium in circuitu eius tamquam plantatio oliveti. (2) Et sic cum quotidie improperaret ei, et Anna contristaretur valde, et esset timens Deum a iuventute sua, factum est ut superveniente die bono pasche cum ascenderet vir eius ut sacrificaret, insultans Fenenna Anne dicens: Non est dilectus mulieris, si diligat eam vir eius aut pulchritudinem illius. Ne gloriatur in specie sua Anna, sed qui gloriatur gloriatur cum videt semen suum ante conspectum suum. Et quando inter mulieres non ita fuerit fructus ventris eius, in vanum fiet dilectio. Quid enim profuit Rachel, quod dilexit eam Iacob? Et nisi datus fuisset ei fructus ventris illius, in vanum fuerat dilectio eius. Et cum audisset hec Anna, dissoluta est anima eius, et perfusa est lacrimis.

Now Elkanah had two wives, one named Hannah and the other named Peninnah. And because Peninnah had children and Hannah did not, Peninnah taunted her saying, "What good is it that Elkanah your husband loves you, when you in truth are dry wood? And I know that he is going to love me, delighted by the sight of my sons standing around him just like a plantation of olive trees." (2) And thus because she taunted her every day, and because Hannah became very sad even

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<sup>161</sup> Howard Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum, with Latin Text and English Translation* (Leiden: Brill, 1996). Pseudo-Philo's *Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* is a Jewish work composed ca. 70–150 CE. Originally written in Hebrew, it was later translated into Greek and then into Latin. Only the Latin is extant. See the Introduction in Jacobson, *Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1:195–280.

though she feared God from her youth,<sup>162</sup> it happened on the Passover holiday when her husband went up to sacrifice that Peninnah insulted Hannah, saying, “It is not a distinction for a woman if her husband loves her or her beauty. Let not Hannah glory in her appearance, but let he<sup>163</sup> who glories glory when he sees his seed before his eyes. And when among women there is no fruit of her womb as in your case, love will be in vain. For what did it profit Rachel that Jacob loved her? Unless the fruit of her womb had been given to her, his love would have been in vain.” And when Hannah heard these things, her soul was devastated, and it poured out in tears.

In this interpretation, Peninnah takes a different approach: rather than goad Hannah for her lack of children, she tries to frighten her by telling her that Elkanah will not love her unless she bears him a child. She calls Hannah “dry wood,” in contrast to Peninnah who has produced “a plantation of olive trees” to stand around Elkanah and delight him. She also seems to wait until Elkanah is away at the shrine (a twist on the biblical narrative, in which the entire family goes) to be particularly cruel to Hannah, telling her that even if Elkanah does love her it amounts to nothing unless she has a child. This interpretation also makes clear that some level of torment was a daily event.

It is intriguing that like the Septuagint, Pseudo-Philo creates a parallel between the story of Hannah and Peninnah and the story of Rachel and Leah. Pseudo-Philo is clearly reading a text similar to MT because he retells the story of Peninnah as Hannah’s tormentor, so he seems to have made the connection with the other matriarchal narrative independent of LXX. His literary technique is different—he has the character Peninnah articulate the parallel rather than changing

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<sup>162</sup> The logic of these two *cum* clauses is somewhat unclear. I take them to mean that since Peninnah’s taunting and Hannah’s distress (despite her trust in God, which should have brought her comfort) were daily events, they also took place on this particular Passover holiday. Jacobson treats these clauses as independent in his translation (Jacobson, *Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1:175), but the subjunctive verbs *improperaret* and *contristaretur* indicate that the clauses are subordinate.

<sup>163</sup> Jacobson translates, “but she who glories, let her glory” (Jacobson, *Commentary on Pseudo-Philo*, 1:175) as if the relative pronoun *qui* were feminine, but it is unambiguously masculine.

the narrative the way LXX does—but he recognized the same relationship between the two stories. We thus have a second example of an early Jewish interpreter associating the narrative of 1 Sam 1 with the narratives of Genesis, providing support for the argument that the changes in LXX 1 Sam 1:6 came about partly through the translator’s associations with the story of Rachel and Leah.

In *Biblical Antiquities* 50.5, Pseudo-Philo further expands Peninnah’s role as Hannah’s harasser by making her the impetus for Hannah’s silent prayer in 1 Sam 1:13:

Et noluit Anna orare clara voce sicut omnes homines. Tunc enim cogitavit dicens:  
Ne forte non sim digna exaudiri, et erit ut plus me zelans improperet mihi  
Fenenna sicut quotidie dicit: Ubi est Deus tuus in quo confidis?

And Hannah did not want to pray aloud like other people. For then she thought to herself, “Perhaps I will not be worthy of being heard, and it will mean that Peninnah will taunt me more zealously just as she says every day, ‘Where is your God in whom you trust?’”

Pseudo-Philo explains Hannah’s unusual manner of prayer as the direct result of her fear of Peninnah. But it is not only fear for herself: she is worried that if her prayer is not worthy of being answered, it will encourage Peninnah to disparage God, which she apparently already does on a daily basis. As if her mistreatment of Hannah were not enough, Peninnah is also portrayed as an impious mocker of God. In contrast, Pseudo-Philo increases Hannah’s piety through her desire to protect God from Peninnah’s contempt.

These portrayals of Peninnah follow a common midrashic pattern of amplification described by Rofé, in which

the duplication of one deed by the same hero ... turns the deed into a permanent trait of character. According to Genesis, Abraham was tested once (22:1–19); the Book of Jubilees counts seven tests (17:17), or even ten (19:8), and the latter number appears constantly in the rabbinic sources (*’Abot* 5:3). Thus Abraham becomes the symbol of the righteous man who stands the test. According to the

biblical story, Balaam was invited once to curse Israel in order to assure the victory of Balak (Num. 22:6, 17); Pseudo-Philo's *Biblical Antiquities*, however, informs us that Balaam had already performed this service against the Amorites on behalf of Balak's father, Zippor (18:2). Thus Balaam has become a habitual curser. Doeg the Edomite slandered the priest Ahimelech in the presence of Saul (1 Sam. 22:9), but according to the Talmud, Doeg had already incited Saul against David even before the latter was brought to court (*BT San.* 93b) and again after the battle with Goliath (*BT Yeb.* 76b). Thus Doeg is implicitly defined as the defamer par excellence (cf. Ps. 52) and is deprived in the Mishnah of any share in the "world to come" (*San.* 10:2). As for David himself, in the MT the authorship of 73 psalms is attributed to him. In Tannaitic tradition he is the author of the whole Book of Psalms, with contributions by ten "elders" (*BT BB* 14b–15a), and according to the Qumran Psalm Scroll (11Q Ps) he is the author of 3600 psalms and 450 songs. Thus David became the epitome of a divine poet.<sup>164</sup>

While in MT Peninnah torments Hannah at the yearly visits to Shiloh, in the interpretations gathered here she torments her daily in their home. Peninnah's behavior as described in MT is amplified to make her a crueler and more relentless adversary, one who attacks Hannah not just on occasion, but continually, and not only Hannah, but her God as well.

Even when Peninnah is not portrayed as an unrepentant villain, no attempt is made to disguise or erase her behavior. The midrash is still firmly grounded in the events narrated by MT. For example, *Pesiqta Rabbati* 43.7 relates a tradition that when God remembered Hannah and gave her children, every time she gave birth, two of Peninnah's children would die. When only two of Peninnah's children still survived and Hannah was about to give birth again, Peninnah entreated Hannah:

בבקשה ממך נעניתי לך יודעת אני שחטאתי לך אלא וותר לי כדי שיחיו שני בני שנשתיירו לי  
 באותה השעה נתפללה חנה לפני הקדוש ברוך הוא אמרה לפניו וותר לה את שני בניה שיחיו  
 אמר לה הקדוש ברוך הוא חייך שהיו ראויים למות אלא הואיל שנתפללת עליהם שיחיו לשמך  
 אני קורא אותם

"I pray you, I humble myself before you. I know that I have sinned against you, but forgive me so that the two children who are left to me may live." In that

<sup>164</sup> Alexander Rofé, "The Acts of Nahash According to 4QSam<sup>a</sup>," *Israel Exploration Journal* 32 (1982): 132.

moment, Hannah prayed to The Holy One Blessed Be He. She said to him, “Forgive her regarding her two children so that they may live.” The Holy One Blessed Be He said to her, “By your life, they were designated for death, but since you prayed on their behalf that they might live, I will call them by your name.”

This midrash serves two functions. First, it shows that Peninnah knows that she was wrong to torment Hannah, and she becomes a more sympathetic character because of both her humility and the loss she has suffered. Nevertheless, the abuse described in 1 Sam 1 is clearly in the background of this story. The darshan does not say that Peninnah was blameless or undeserving of her punishment. Second, the midrash makes Hannah an even more sympathetic character by showing her forgive Peninnah and beseech God on behalf of her former rival and that rival’s children, the very children who made her own life so miserable for so long. It also equates Hannah with Abraham and Moses, who both interceded with God on behalf of others who had done wrong (Gen 18; Exod 34; Deut 9). Thus even though Peninnah is made virtuous in this midrash, Hannah is made even more virtuous still, and so the contrast between them remains.

The only positive rabbinic portrayal of Peninnah comes in b. Baba Batra 16a, but even here her behavior in 1 Sam 1 is not denied.<sup>165</sup>

א"ר לוי שטן ופנינה לשם שמים נתכוונו שטן כיון דחזיא להקדוש ברוך הוא דנטיה דעתיה  
בתר איוב אמר חס ושלום מינשי ליה לרחמנותיה דאברהם פנינה דכתיב וכעסתי צרתה גם  
כעס בעבור הרעימה

R. Levi said, Satan and Peninnah intended for the sake of heaven. Satan, when he saw that The Holy One Blessed Be He took kindly to Job, said, “Heaven forbid that He forget His love for Abraham.” As for Peninnah, it is written, “And her rival would torment her terribly in order to make her thunder” [1 Sam 1:6].

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<sup>165</sup> Isidore Epstein, ed. *Hebrew-English Edition of the Babylonian Talmud* (London: Soncino, 1960). On the debates regarding the textual history of the Babylonian Talmud, see Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 192–212.

R. Levi equates Satan and Peninnah in their roles as adversaries to Job and Hannah but explains that both were well-intentioned. Satan wanted to disparage Job so that God would not be so blinded by the man's virtue that Abraham would be forgotten. Peninnah's intention is not made explicit, but the implication seems to be that she wanted to prompt Hannah to pray to God for a child. There is a fuller expression of this idea in Pesiq. Rab. 43.8:

דבר אחר בעבור הרעימה על האלהים לטובתה אמר לה הקדוש ברוך הוא את מתרעמת  
אותה עלי חייך שאין רעמים שאין אחריהם מטר מיד אני פוקדה כי פקד יהוה את חנה ותהר  
ותלך שלשה בנים ושתי בנות

Another interpretation of “in order to make her thunder” [1 Sam 1:6]: she thundered [i.e., prayed] to God for her own good. The Holy One Blessed Be He said to her [Peninnah], “You are causing her to express her discontent [רע] to me. By your life, there is no thunder [רעם] that is not followed by rain. I will attend to her at once.” “For YHWH attended to Hannah, and she conceived, and she bore three sons and two daughters” [1 Sam 2:21].<sup>166</sup>

In other words, Peninnah taunted Hannah in order to help her have the children she longed for. This revision of Peninnah's motivation paints her in a positive light, but R. Levi does not erase Peninnah's torment of Hannah as LXX does. He makes Peninnah a sympathetic character by changing her intentions, not her behavior. She was still Hannah's “Satan” despite the fact that she was motivated by a desire to ease Hannah's suffering in the end.

Josephus, however, tells a very different story. In the *Jewish Antiquities* 5.342–3, he writes,<sup>167</sup>

Ἀλκάνης Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολιτῶν τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ῥαμαθὰν πόλιν κατοικῶν ἐγάμει δύο γυναῖκας Ἄνναν τε καὶ Φενάνναν ἐκ δὴ ταύτης καὶ παῖδες αὐτῶ γίνονται τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἄτεκνον οὖσαν ἀγαπῶν διετέλει (343) ἀφικομένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ Ἀλκάνου εἰς Σιλῶ πόλιν θῦσαι ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεπήγει καθὼς προειρήκαμεν καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν νέμοντος μοίρας κρεῶν

<sup>166</sup> See also the parallel tradition in Midr. Samuel 1.8.

<sup>167</sup> Henry St. John Thackeray, ed. *Josephus*. Loeb Classical Library. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1956. Josephus completed the *Jewish Antiquities* in Rome in 93–94 CE (see Ant. 20.267).

ταῖς τε γυναίξιν καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις ἢ Ἄννα θεασαμένη τοὺς τῆς ἐτέρας παιῖδας τῇ μητρὶ περικαθημένους εἰς δάκρυά τε προύπεσε καὶ τῆς ἀπαιδίας αὐτὴν ὠλοφύρετο καὶ τῆς μονώσεως

Elkanah, a middle-class Levite dwelling in the city of Ramathaim belonging to the allotment of Ephraim, married two women, Hannah and Peninnah. He had children by the latter, but he continued loving the other even though she was childless. (343) When Elkanah came with his wives to the city of Shiloh to sacrifice (for there the tent of God had been fixed as I have said before) and as usual during the feast dealt out portions of meat to his wives and children, Hannah looked at the other woman's children sitting around their mother and fell into tears and bewailed herself because she had no children and was alone.

The story Josephus tells is much like the one related in LXX. Rather than receiving abuse at the hands of Peninnah, Hannah weeps simply at the sight of her co-wife surrounded by her numerous offspring. In this version, Peninnah seems entirely unconcerned with Hannah, in stark contrast with the previous midrashim. Compared to the midrashic details of Peninnah's egregious cruelty to Hannah, Josephus's version of the story is remarkably non-violent.

Josephus's deviation from what we might call the mainstream interpretation of Hannah and Peninnah might be surprising except for what we know about his sources. Ulrich has demonstrated that

Josephus clearly employed a bible of the 4QSam [sic] tradition as his basis for the Samuel portion of the *Jewish Antiquities*, and he clearly used a Greek form of it. For the sections of Samuel for which 4QSam is extant, he shows not a single detail which is clearly or even probably dependent on a bible of the Massoretic tradition or on a biblical text in the Hebrew language. His bible was in Greek, it was a slightly revised form of OG, and it was intimately affiliated with the QSama tradition.<sup>168</sup>

Our example of Josephus's treatment of Peninnah is consistent with the conclusion that Josephus was not using MT as a source when writing the *Jewish Antiquities*. Unlike all the other Jewish

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<sup>168</sup> Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 259. A worthwhile critique of Ulrich's methods, which nevertheless does not undermine his conclusions regarding Josephus's *Vorlage*, can be found in Emanuel Tov, "The Textual Affiliations of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>," in *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 273–83.

sources discussed above (Midrash Samuel, Pesiqta Rabbati, Pseudo-Philo, b. Baba Batra), Josephus does not tell the story of Peninnah tormenting Hannah. Instead we hear the echo of the mistakes and choices made by the translator whose work is preserved in LXX.

A careful reading of Josephus's narrative, however, reveals that his story is not exactly the same as the one recounted in LXX. Specifically, Josephus does not relate that Elkanah loved Hannah *more* than Peninnah. He simply says that Elkanah *still* loved her (ἀγαπῶν διτελεί) despite her childlessness. The detail of Elkanah's greater love for Hannah, however, is recorded in every Greek manuscript save 127,<sup>169</sup> and so the most likely cause of its absence from Josephus's account is simply that he was paraphrasing.

This review of early Jewish sources demonstrates that the LXX story of Hannah and Peninnah stands in contrast to the majority Jewish interpretive tradition. The interpretation found in Josephus's *Jewish Antiquities*, the only one that agrees with LXX, can be explained as dependent on a Greek text very much like LXX. The translation of 1 Sam 1:6 in the Septuagint thus contributes an important voice to the history of Jewish interpretation.

## VIII. Conclusion

This chapter has argued that in LXX 1 Sam 1:6 we have not only a translation but also an interpretation of MT. The text of MT 1 Sam 1:6 formed the bulk of the LXX *Vorlage* of this verse, and the LXX version, which is markedly different from the MT version, is the result of the

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<sup>169</sup> A B 56 121 247 376 read *υπερ ταυτην*. The alternative phrase *υπερ την φεννανα* is preserved, with various spellings, in the remaining manuscripts save 127.

translator's inability to understand the *Vorlage*, his goal to nevertheless give a textually accurate representation of the *Vorlage*, his simultaneous goal to produce coherent Greek, and his assimilation of the Hannah narrative to the story of Rachel and Leah. The combined pressures of the first three factors—his goal of producing a coherent Greek translation that accurately represented the text of a Hebrew *Vorlage* he could not understand—may well have been an important part of the impetus for the assimilation. The translator needed some form of assistance to accomplish the challenging translational task before him, and the Rachel and Leah narrative provided him with a framework for his rendering. It seems probable that he was aware that his translation did not accurately represent the meaning of the *Vorlage*, but it is not difficult to see how a rendering modeled on Genesis would be more appealing to the translator than a rendering pulled out of thin air. LXX 1 Sam 1 stands outside the mainstream Jewish interpretive tradition, which expanded and enhanced Peninnah's role as Hannah's tormentor. It also clearly influenced Josephus's version of the story, which otherwise would stand as an anomaly.

The analysis presented here of the textual relationship between MT and LXX in 1 Sam 1:6 has two implications for the characterization of the translator. First, it demonstrates that in this verse the translator was working word-by-word. This evidence, however, should not be taken as typical of the translator's approach. 1 Sam 1:6 is a case in which the translator could not consider more than a word at a time because "the text was so obscure that no more synthetic understanding was possible."<sup>170</sup> This argument cannot, of course, stand on the basis of a single example; the translation of 1 Sam 14:41, however, which is the subject of the next chapter, confirms that the translator read his *Vorlage* in larger sense units when he was able to. Second,

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<sup>170</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [22]. See also pp. 24–25 in the Introduction.

the analysis of 1 Sam 1:6 expands Aejmelaeus's assessment of the translator to suggest that he was attuned to literary features of his text, capable of both recognizing and producing them. While Aejmelaeus has proposed that the translator was capable of nuance and creativity in his use of verbal tenses and equivalents,<sup>171</sup> the example of 1 Sam 1:6 demonstrates that he possessed a sensitivity to narrative that went beyond the narrow confines of renderings of individual verbs.

Two further conclusions can be drawn from this example: first, as has already been noted, that the translator failed to understand his *Vorlage*, and second, that his rendering of 1 Sam 1:6 was not guided by knowledge of the Hannah narrative as it is presented in MT. These observations may be related insofar as they both point to a lack of deep familiarity with the Hebrew of this verse. I believe it would be a mistake, however, to extrapolate from this conclusion that he was unfamiliar with the book of Samuel as a whole.<sup>172</sup> It is not unreasonable to assume that the translator would have known certain episodes of the Bible more thoroughly than others, and some episodes not thoroughly at all. As a scholarly presupposition, the idea that the Septuagint translators had "all-or-nothing" knowledge of their *Vorlagen* is impractically rigid. The most likely explanation for the translator's difficulty with 1 Sam 1:6 is simply that this particular episode was not familiar to him. Moreover, as will be shown in chapter four, the translator had more than passing knowledge of the book of Kings.<sup>173</sup> On the basis of their similar

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<sup>171</sup> See p. 25 in the Introduction.

<sup>172</sup> Aejmelaeus has proposed that Samuel was not yet considered Scripture and perhaps had just recently arrived in Alexandria when it was translated into Greek. Anneli Aejmelaeus, "When Did the Books of Samuel Become Scripture?" in *From Author to Copyist: Essays on the Composition, Redaction, and Transmission of the Hebrew Bible in Honor of Zipi Talshir*, ed. Cana Werman (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2015), 264–5. See also p. 274 in Chapter Four.

<sup>173</sup> See pp. 208–212, 274 in Chapter Four.

content and genre, it is not unreasonable to posit that if Kings was familiar to the translator, Samuel was too.

## Chapter 3

### 1 Sam 14:41: Reading תמים in Light of the Narrative Context

#### I. Introduction

The Masoretic text in 1 Sam 14:41 preserves the odd phrase הבה תמים, which modern exegetes have been unable to explain satisfactorily. The Septuagint, however, contains a lengthy plus which describes Saul consulting the *'ûrîm watummîm*. The textual evidence of the Septuagint, supported by the witness of 4Q52, suggests that MT has been corrupted by homoioteleuton, and that הבה תמים should instead be read תמים הבה, “give *tummîm*.” There is, however, a difficulty in the Septuagint which has never been adequately addressed: the Greek noun *δσιότης*, which scholars have taken as a rendering of the Hebrew תמים in this verse, is nowhere else used to translate “*tummîm*”; the Pentateuchal rendering, which would have been known to the translator, is consistently *ἀλήθεια*. If the translator had wanted to translate תמים, he should have used *ἀλήθεια*; instead, he chose *δσιότης*. We need to ask why he made this choice.

In their eagerness to reconstruct the *Vorlage* of 1 Sam 14:41 and repair the Masoretic text, scholars have failed to ask what the Greek means in this verse. This chapter intends to correct that oversight. I will argue that the translator did not intend *δσιότης* in 1 Sam 14:41 to render “*tummîm*,” as has been widely assumed, but rather meant it to carry its usual meaning of “piety” or, more contextually, “blamelessness.” That is, it is a rendering not of תמים but of תמים.<sup>1</sup> The logic for this surprising translational choice—logic which has been obscured in the Rahlfs text—

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<sup>1</sup> As I will argue, however, in certain Septuagint manuscripts we are required by the syntax of the verse to understand *δσιότης* as “*tummîm*” despite the fact that this was not the translator’s intended meaning.

can be discerned in Codices Alexandrinus and Vaticanus: these witnesses show us that through skillful translational choices and one small textual emendation, the translator was able to thoroughly alter both the syntax and the meaning of the verse in order to solve a perceived problem in the narrative of his *Vorlage*. 1 Sam 14:41 thus constitutes another example of interpretive translation. Unlike in 1:6 and 15:29, however, the translation of 14:41 does not interact with passages from other biblical books. The translator's focus in this example is local: both the perceived problem and the solution arise from the text of the verse itself.

While the use of *δσιότης* for the consonants תמים is preserved in all LXX manuscripts, the rest of the interpretive choices made by the translator are not. I will thus argue that the translation found in LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> must represent the Old Greek because it is the only translation in which the choice of *δσιότης* rather than *ἀλήθεια* makes sense.

Evidence from the history of interpretation further supports this argument. An investigation of ancient Jewish texts reveals an understanding of *'ûrîm wətummîm* distinct from the modern notion that these two objects (or two sides of a single object) gave two discrete and mutually exclusive responses to a query. Instead, the *'ûrîm wətummîm* were understood to function singularly or together to convey a single message. This ancient conception would have given the translator the freedom to jettison *tummîm* from his translation. Furthermore, the depiction of the *'ûrîm wətummîm* in the *Vorlage* (which accords with the modern understanding) may not have made sense to the translator; he might even have thought it was inaccurate. It is therefore possible that he was attempting to improve upon the *Vorlage* not only in regard to its narrative but also in regard to its depiction of *'ûrîm wətummîm*.

Finally, a proposed textual history will account for the development of the various major extant witnesses: the fragment of this verse from Qumran, the Masoretic text, LXX<sup>A</sup>, LXX<sup>B</sup>, LXX<sup>V</sup>, and the Antiochene text. I will also offer a response to Anneli Aejmelaeus's preliminary text of 1 Sam 14:41 in her forthcoming critical edition of LXX Samuel for the Göttingen series.

## II. The Problem

### 1. The LXX plus

Before turning to the question of why *ὁσιότης* in LXX 1 Sam 14:41 is problematic, we need to investigate the authenticity of the LXX plus in this verse, which has been the subject of much scholarly debate. If the plus were not a translation of an original Hebrew text, it would be irrelevant for a discussion of the translator's technique.

I have underlined the plus in LXX for clarity.

MT

ויאמר שאול אל יהוה אלהי ישראל הבה תָּמִים וילכד יונתן ושאול והעם יצאו

Saul said to YHWH, the God of Israel,<sup>2</sup> “Answer honestly!”<sup>3</sup> Jonathan and Saul were selected while the people were exonerated.

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<sup>2</sup> *אלהי ישראל* could also be understood as a vocative that begins the quotation (i.e., “Saul said to YHWH, ‘O God of Israel...’”); in MT, however, the entire phrase *יהוה אלהי ישראל* is joined together with conjunctive accents, indicating that the Masoretes took it as a single grammatical unit.

<sup>3</sup> This translation is conjectural. The difficulties in understanding the phrase *הבה תָּמִים* will be discussed below.

LXX (Rahlfs)<sup>4</sup>

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωνᾶθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ δὸς δῆλους· καὶ εἰάν τάδε εἴπῃς Ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα. καὶ κληροῦται Ἰωνᾶθαν καὶ Σαουλ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If the wrongdoing is in me or in my son Jonathan, Lord God of Israel, give ἕριμ. And if you say thus, ‘In your people Israel,’ give *tummîm*.”<sup>5</sup> And Jonathan and Saul were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].<sup>6</sup>

<sup>4</sup> The Rahlfs version has been chosen as the starting point for the discussion for two reasons: first, as the only diplomatic critical edition currently available for Samuel, it is the text most frequently used by other scholars in their discussions of this verse. Even scholars who wrote before Rahlfs seem to assume a text very close to his, dismissing the idiosyncrasies of Vaticanus and Alexandrinus as errors. Second, there is no extant text, Greek or Hebrew, which can help account for all the textual evidence for this verse as well as Rahlfs can. Each manuscript presents its own difficulty, but none provides an adequate base for reconstructing the textual history of the verse. The use of Rahlfs in this case, therefore, is more of a pragmatic necessity than a methodological desideratum.

<sup>5</sup> The use of δῆλοι as an equivalent for אִרְיִם is well-established: see Num 27:21; Deut 33:8; 1 Sam 28:6. The etymologically related δῆλωσις is used in Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8. (In Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65, אִרְיִם is translated with participial forms of φωτίζω.) In contrast, the use of ὁσιότης in this verse requires detailed discussion, which will be the primary focus of this chapter. For now, suffice it to say that because of its location in the verse, ὁσιότης is clearly intended to translate the consonants אִרְיִם. The logical structure of the verse in Rahlfs’s text supports reading those consonants as אִרְיִם despite the fact that ὁσιότης is not the expected translational equivalent for this word (see below). Saul’s request has the structure of a double conditional: “if *a*, then *x*; but if *b*, then *y*.” This structure presents a contrast between *x* (ἕριμ) and *y* (ὁσιότης). In Rahlfs, therefore, ὁσιότης must be the opposite of ἕριμ—that is, it must be *tummîm*. I have thus translated ὁσιότης as “*tummîm*” in this verse despite the fact that, strictly speaking, ὁσιότης does not mean “*tummîm*.”

Because the Greek words of the Septuagint do not usually take on the meaning of the Hebrew words they translate (Joosten, “Source-Language Oriented Remarks,” 83), it is methodologically preferable in general to translate the normal meaning of the Greek and not the meaning of the Hebrew behind it; thus one might prefer to translate δῆλοι as “Clarity” (technically, “Clear [masculine plural] Things/People”) and ὁσιότης as “Piety.” The translators of BA and NETS take this approach. As Joosten notes, however, there are a few cases in which Greek words in the Septuagint *do* take on the meaning of their Hebrew equivalents, such as διαθήκη and χριστός (ibid., n7). There are also words which may be described as cases in which “the intentions of the translators . . . determine the real meaning of words in the LXX” (Emanuel Tov, “Three Dimensions of Words in the Septuagint,” in *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 87), such as ἀρχή for מַלְאָכָה in Gen 1:16 and δύναμις for כֹּחַ (e.g., Ps 23[24]:10). δῆλοι is another such example: the translator did not intend his audience to understand this word as “Clear Things (or People)” but rather as “ἕριμ.” For this reason, and for the sake of clarity, I have translated δῆλοι as “ἕριμ” and ὁσιότης as “*tummîm*” (in cases where “*tummîm*” is indeed the intended meaning).

<sup>6</sup> Lot-casting as a divinatory process seems able to give only limited information, and so it takes several steps to receive an answer. In this first step, Saul places himself and Jonathan in one party and the rest of the people in the other party, and asks that the lot indicate which party contains the wrong-doer. In the following verse, Saul asks the lot to choose between himself and Jonathan: καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Βάλετε ἀνά μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ ἀνά μέσον Ἰωνᾶθαν τοῦ υἱοῦ μου . . . καὶ κατακληροῦται Ἰωνᾶθαν, “And Saul said, ‘Cast between me and Jonathan my son.’ . . . And Jonathan was selected.” Cf. Josh 7:16–18; 1 Sam 10:19–21; in both instances, several castings of lots is required to single someone out.

For decades, scholars were divided on whether to accept the LXX plus as original.<sup>7</sup> There were some who considered it a midrashic expansion prompted by the difficult phrase הבה תמים.<sup>8</sup> These scholars argued that despite the difficulty, the MT phrase is intelligible as it stands.<sup>9</sup> In addition to the translation I gave above, “answer honestly!”, others have proposed “give a complete answer!”,<sup>10</sup> “give a perfect lot!”,<sup>11</sup> “make a correct decision!”,<sup>12</sup> “give a truthful

<sup>7</sup> See the detailed review of the various positions in Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 183–89.

<sup>8</sup> Keil, *Bücher Samuels*, 107; Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 53; Andrés Fernández Truyols, *1 Sam 1–15: crítica textual* (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1917), 88–89; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 213–16; Johannes Lindblom, “Lot-Casting in the Old Testament,” *VT* 12, no. 2 (April 1962): 177; Cornelis Van Dam, *The Urim and Thummim: A Means of Revelation in Ancient Israel* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1997), 201.

Lindblom and Van Dam have argued that the LXX plus cannot be authentic because it contains misinformation about the use of *’ûrîm wätummîm*. The two scholars raise different objections. Lindblom contends that there was a distinction between lay and cultic lot-casting in ancient Israel, and that 1 Sam 14:38–42 is an instance of lay lot-casting which the LXX translator has misidentified as an instance of cultic lot-casting. Lindblom, “Lot-Casting,” 164–78. His reasoning, however, is circular. Lindblom assumes that descriptions of divination using the ephod or employing the phrase *לִבְיָהוּוָה/בְּאֱלֹהִים* refer to cultic lot-casting using the *’ûrîm wätummîm*. Lindblom cites Judg 18:5; 20:27–28; 1 Sam 14:3, 18 (LXX); 22:10; 23:2, 4, 9–12; 30:7–8; 2 Sam 2:1; 5:19. Those who support the assumption that (some of) these verses imply use of *’ûrîm wätummîm* include Keil, *Bücher Samuels*, 168; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 91; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 336; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 371; Cornelis Houtman, “The Urim and Thummim: A New Suggestion,” *VT* 40, no. 2 (April 1990): 230; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 182–90. See further the notes in Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 182–90. But the only explicit depiction of the use of *’ûrîm wätummîm* which could anchor this assumption is the LXX plus in 1 Sam 14:41. He is attempting to discredit the authenticity of the plus by appeal to evidence that relies on that very text.

Van Dam, on the other hand, argues that the *’ûrîm wätummîm* were not a lot-oracle at all, and so the LXX translators have misrepresented their function completely in 1 Sam 14:41. Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 195–214. He claims that a lot-oracle would not have been able to give detailed responses such as we find in Judg 1:1–2; 20:18–28; 1 Sam 10:22; 23:2–4, 10–12; 30:8; 2 Sam 2:1; 5:23–24. In his review of Van Dam’s book, however, Hurowitz demonstrates from contemporary ancient Near Eastern examples that “complex questions and answers are [not] incompatible with binary decisions”: long and detailed questions were often asked of and answered by divinatory means which yielded essentially yes-no decisions; Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “True Light on the Urim and Thummim,” *JQR* 88, no. 3/4 (January–April 1998): 267. Van Dam fails to address this evidence, which thoroughly undermines his thesis. For a specific ANE parallel to the *’ûrîm wätummîm*, see Wayne Horowitz and Victor Avigdor Hurowitz, “Urim and Thummim in Light of a Psephomancy Ritual from Assur (LKA 137),” *JANES* 21 (1992): 95–115. Van Dam rejects this parallel on the grounds that the similarities between LKA 137 and the *’ûrîm wätummîm* are too general and the differences too significant (Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 41–2). His primary objection to the parallel, however, is that for apparently theological (and, by extension, Christian apologetical) reasons, Van Dam believes that the *’ûrîm wätummîm* were not a means of divination at all but rather a miraculous authentication of priestly prophecy; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 221–26, 271–74. He therefore considers any divinatory practice to be an inadequate parallel.

<sup>9</sup> Ehrlich, however, proposes emending to הבה רחמים, “have pity!” (“habe Erbarmen!”). He recognizes the difficulty of MT but rejects the LXX plus on the grounds that it is inappropriate for Saul to give YHWH such detailed instructions, which he claims are absurd regardless of the recipient. Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 215.

<sup>10</sup> TOB, “donne une réponse complète!”

<sup>11</sup> KJV.

<sup>12</sup> Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 111.

decision!";<sup>13</sup> "make it completely clear!";<sup>14</sup> "make the truth known!";<sup>15</sup> "show the right!";<sup>16</sup> and "reveal (guilt and) innocence!"<sup>17</sup> These readings are plausible, but they stretch the sense of the Hebrew. תָּמִים is most often an adjective whose primary meaning is "complete" or "intact."<sup>18</sup> By extension it also has a cultic meaning of free from blemish, used of animals for sacrifice.<sup>19</sup> It is used to describe Y<sub>HWH</sub>, as one who is perfect,<sup>20</sup> and to describe people whose moral character is flawless.<sup>21</sup> תָּמִים can also be a noun meaning integrity or honesty.<sup>22</sup> Most of the proposed translations of 1 Sam 14:41 seem to understand תָּמִים as an adjective and then supply a noun for it to modify. The syntax of the phrase הִבֵּה תָּמִים suggests, however, that we ought to take תָּמִים as a noun.<sup>23</sup> Thus we should translate, "give honesty!" The provisional translation given above, "answer honestly!", takes תָּמִים as an adverbial accusative<sup>24</sup> and renders הִבֵּה as "answer" because of the apparent oracular decision provided in the second half of the verse. Wellhausen observes, however, that even if we manage to find a satisfactory translation for הִבֵּה תָּמִים, we are still left

<sup>13</sup> Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 102, "gib du Redliches oder Redlichkeit, das wäre zu verstehn als wahrhaftige Entscheidung" (italics original); Richard Press, "Das Ordal im alten Israel II," *ZAW* 10 (1933): 228–29, "gib wahrhaftige Entscheidung!"; Lindblom, "Lot-Casting," 173.

<sup>14</sup> Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 266, "gib vollkommene Klarheit."

<sup>15</sup> Fernández Truyols, *Crítica textual*, 87, "da verdad (da a conocer la verdad)"; Fritz Stolz, *Das erste und zweite Buch Samuel* (Zurich: Theologischer Verlag, 1981), 89, "gib doch die Wahrheit kund!"

<sup>16</sup> ASV.

<sup>17</sup> Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 52–53, "offenbare (die Schuld und) die Unschuld!"

<sup>18</sup> Lev 3:9; Ezek 15:5; Prov 1:12.

<sup>19</sup> Exod 12:5; Lev 1:3; Num 6:14; Ezek 43:22.

<sup>20</sup> Deut 32:4; Ps 18:31.

<sup>21</sup> Gen 6:9; Deut 18:13; Prov 11:5.

<sup>22</sup> Gen 17:1; Josh 24:14; Judg 9:16; Ps 84:12.

<sup>23</sup> Masculine singular substantive adjectives as a rule refer to a person, "one who is...." It would be highly irregular for the implied noun to be "answer," "decision," or "lot." Thus "הִבֵּה תָּמִים" might mean 'give one who is perfect:' but this is not the sense which is here required: Saul does not ask for one who is perfect to be produced; and though he might ask for the one who is in the right to be declared, this would be expressed by צְדִיק (Dt. 25, 1; I Ki. 8, 32), not by תָּמִים." Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 117.

<sup>24</sup> GKC §118m, q.

with the problem that Jonathan and Saul are selected (וילכד)<sup>25</sup> when there has been no explicit mention of lots thus far.<sup>26</sup> The MT verse thus presents further difficulties in addition to the translation of הבה תמים.

Those in favor of the originality of the plus, on the other hand, argued that there is no need to struggle to make sense of הבה תמים since LXX provides us with a superior text. When we read the LXX plus, we see that Saul is seeking information from ὉΘΕΟΣ by means of *úrîm* (δῆλοι) and *tummîm* (δσιότης),<sup>27</sup> and so it was suggested that the consonants תמים had acquired the wrong vowels in MT. We should read not תמים but תמים.<sup>28</sup> MT's mistaken vowels were an attempt to make sense of a text that had been corrupted through scribal error, and so we should restore the correct vowels along with the plus.<sup>29</sup> Moreover, homoioteleuton easily explains the absence of the plus in MT: a scribe's eye skipped from the phrase "God of Israel" (MT אלהי

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<sup>25</sup> Cf. Josh 7:15–18; 1 Sam 10:20–21.

<sup>26</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 94. Lindblom has argued against Wellhausen's objection that "to every Hebrew reader or hearer it was immediately clear that the measures taken in the previous part of the narrative in order to discover who was guilty (the placing of the two parties opposite each other and Saul's prayer) had reference to an ordinary lot-casting procedure," Lindblom, "Lot-Casting," 176; see also Fernández Truyols, *Crítica textual*, 88. Lindblom finds the rather abrupt MT text to be "an example of good Hebrew narrative style [which] does not differ much from many narratives in Genesis against which no objection is raised" (Lindblom, "Lot-Casting," 176). While it has been argued that biblical narrative is oblique by its very nature (see Auerbach, *Mimesis*, 3–23), that does not mean that we should accept as original every text whose brevity makes it difficult to read. See also Bertil Albrektson, "Some Observations on Two Oracular Passages in 1 Sam.," *Annual of the Swedish Theological Institute* 11 (1977/78): 5–6: "The vague reference to the narrative style of other biblical books without any specific examples is hardly a sufficient justification of a text as obscure as this; moreover it disregards the fact that the narrative in this particular book is sometimes long-winded and circumstantial rather than condensed (as, e.g., in 13,8–14 or 14,34–35)." And although Lindblom and Fernández Truyols are correct that Wellhausen may have overstated the difficulties of וילכד, "a pertinent observation by Wellhausen is passed over in silence: that the narrator nevertheless finds it necessary to introduce the lot-casting in the following verse (v. 42), 'wo sie viel entbehrllicher ist'" (Albrektson, "Some Observations," 6).

<sup>27</sup> See n5 on p. 132 on understanding δσιότης as "tummîm" in the Rahlfs text.

<sup>28</sup> Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 64; Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 94; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 124; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 117; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 247–48; Tov, *Text-Critical Use*, 128–29. See further bibliography in Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 184.

<sup>29</sup> "This vocalization [תמים] seems to be a desperate attempt to make the best of a corrupt text" (A. Toeg, "A Textual Note on 1 Sam XIV 41," *VT* 19, no. 4 [October 1969]: 497). In response to the critique that הבה תמים is nowhere attested in the Hebrew Bible and thus cannot be considered "proper Hebrew," see Edward Noort, "Eine weitere Kurzbemerkung zu 1 Samuel XIV 41," *VT* 21, no. 1 (January 1971): 114–16.

לְיִשְׂרָאֵל) to the phrase “your people Israel” (LXX τῶ λαῶ σου Ἰσραηλ, Hebrew לְיִשְׂרָאֵל), and the intervening text was lost.<sup>30</sup>

While the majority scholarly opinion was in favor of the originality of the plus, for a long time there was no consensus.<sup>31</sup> This debate has been largely laid to rest, however, since the full publication of the Samuel material from Qumran. 4Q52 (4QSam<sup>b</sup>) contains the following fragment of 1 Sam 14:41.<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> Stoebe objects that homoioteleuton is not a sufficient explanation for how so important a piece of text could have been lost (Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 270; the same argument appears in Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 201). But the inadvertent nature of the error means that the importance of the passage does not matter. Homoioteleuton does not differentiate between crucial and expendable text. Furthermore, the MT text of Samuel has been particularly prone to this kind of error (pace Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, esp. 238–42); cf. 1 Sam 3:15; 10:1; 12:8; 13:5, 15; 23:6; 2 Sam 2:22; 13:21, 27, 34. The great number of instances of haplography in Samuel make it all the more believable that it occurred here.

Vroom has helpfully used concepts from cognitive science to describe and clarify the process of haplography; Jonathan Vroom, “A Cognitive Approach to Copying Errors: Haplography and Textual Transmission of the Hebrew Bible,” *JSOT* 40, no. 3 (2016): 259–79. He concludes that “(1) haplography is only caused by the repetition of words, not single letters; (2) haplography does not typically result in the loss of large portions of text” (Vroom, “Cognitive Approach,” 262). These two conclusions then become criteria by which we may judge whether a shorter text has been created by haplography or is instead the original which has been expanded in other textual traditions. Vroom’s first point is convincingly supported by research on the cognitive processes of reading: once we have become competent readers in a language, our brains process the letters in a word simultaneously and in parallel rather than one at a time in sequence. Because we read whole words rather than strings of individual letters, two words that merely end in the same letter are not similar enough to trigger a haplography. Vroom’s second conclusion relies on research into spatial working memory. He argues that because we have the ability to remember where something is in space, a scribe’s eye would naturally return to the same place on the parchment after he had turned away to write his copy or translation. If his eye returns to the wrong word, it should nevertheless land somewhere nearby. Thus haplography should only result in the loss of a word or two, unless there happens to be very close vertical alignment between identical words on different lines, in which case an entire line could be lost. This argument, however, is less solid than the first. Numerous examples of lengthier haplographies (see instances in Samuel listed above; see also Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 223–4) suggest that spatial working memory is not nearly as precise as Vroom seems to assume. The proposed haplography in 1 Sam 14:41, therefore, should not be rejected on the grounds that too much text (but not enough to make up an entire line) has been lost. On the other hand, the fact that the haplography was caused by the repetition of a full word (לְיִשְׂרָאֵל) fulfills Vroom’s first criterion for correctly identifying this phenomenon.

<sup>31</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 189. Pisano himself concludes that it is impossible to decide definitively for or against the plus.

<sup>32</sup> The DJD editors describe 4Q52 as “a remarkably pristine textual witness.... The most extraordinary characteristic of the text of 4QSam<sup>b</sup> is the high proportion of original readings which it preserves.” Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 223–4. This evaluation allows us to trust 4Q52 as a reliable witness for the originality of the plus in 1 Sam 14:41.

	f2
[למה לא ענית את עבדך היום אם יש בי] או ב'יונתן בני העון יהוה אלהי ישראל הבה	1
ארים ואם ישנו בעמד ישראל]	
[הבה תמים וילכד יונתן ושאלו והעם יצ'א.י]	2
[1 “Why have you not answered your servant today? If the guilt is in me] or in [my son Jonathan, Y <sup>HWH</sup> God of Israel, give <i>’ûrîm</i> . But if it is in your people Israel, 2 give <i>tummîm</i> .” Jonathan and Saul were selected while the people were exon]erated.	

Although the majority of the verse has been reconstructed, a few letters from the middle of the plus have been preserved; these letters combined with considerations of space in the scroll<sup>33</sup> provide enough evidence to argue that the plus was not created by the LXX translator.<sup>34</sup> When all the evidence is taken together—the textual witness from Qumran, the clear trigger for the

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<sup>33</sup> See Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 220 on the physical description of 4Q52. The column widths appear to have been fairly uniform.

<sup>34</sup> The editors of the DJD volume state without equivocation that “the Masoretic text has suffered a long haplography in v 41 caused by *homoioleuton*.... The longer text is original.” Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 225; italics original.

haplography, and the difficult reading in MT that can be resolved by recourse to LXX—it seems most prudent to consider the plus original.<sup>35</sup>

Given that the majority of the fragment has been reconstructed, however, we should not equate this Qumran text with the LXX *Vorlage*: the actual reading of 4Q52 is unknowable unless additional fragments can be found. Furthermore, because 4Q52 has been reconstructed following LXX, it would be circular to argue that it provides evidence to support the details of the LXX reading.<sup>36</sup> 4Q52 can tell us only that the translator did not create the plus. Therefore, in the interest of not conflating 4Q52 with a hypothetical reconstructed *Vorlage*, I propose the following *Vorlage* for 1 Sam 14:41, retroverted from Rahlfs and in most respects identical with the reconstruction of 4Q52; I will use this retroversion in all further discussion of the *Vorlage*:

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<sup>35</sup> Another possibility which could be raised, although I do not believe it has been, is that the LXX plus was deliberately removed from MT rather than being lost accidentally. Seeligmann and Rofé have both argued that in 1 Sam 14:18 there was a tendentious replacement of a reference to the ephod with a reference to the ark; see Isaac L. Seeligmann, “Studies in the History of the Biblical Text,” *Textus* 20 (2000): 8; Alexander Rofé, “‘No Ephod or Teraphim’—*oude hierateias oude dēlōn*: Hosea 3:4 in the LXX and in the Paraphrases of Chronicles and the Damascus Document,” in *Sefer Moshe: The Moshe Weinfeld Jubilee Volume: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East, Qumran, and Post-Biblical Judaism*, ed. Avi Hurvitz, Shalom M. Paul, Moshe Weinfeld and Chaim Cohen (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2004), 145. MT in this verse reads **כִּי אָמַר שָׂאוּל לְאַחִיָּה הַגִּישָׁה אֶרֶוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים כִּי הָיָה אֶרֶוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל**, “Saul said to Ahijah, ‘Bring the ark of God!’ for the ark of God at that time was with [reading **לפני** instead of **ובני**] Israel”; LXX, on the other hand, reads **καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ τῷ Ἀχία Προσάγαγε τὸ εφουδ· ὅτι αὐτὸς ἦρεν τὸ εφουδ ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκεῖνῃ ἐνώπιον Ἰσραηλ**, “and Saul said to Ahijah, ‘Bring the ephod!’ for he carried the ephod at that time before Israel.” Seeligmann and Rofé contend that LXX preserves the original reading, and that the Hebrew has been altered in order to make the ark the sole tool of divination. Seeligmann and Rofé make a compelling case for 14:18, but I do not think we should extend the argument to our current example in 14:41. It seems too much of a coincidence for a tendentious alteration to also happen to have the form of a homoioteleuton (following and ending with the same word, in this case **ישראל**). Furthermore, the altered text of MT in 14:18 makes good grammatical sense, even if one can argue that it fails to accurately represent divinatory practice, while the altered text of MT in 14:41 is quite difficult to understand (see the many proposals above).

Juha Pakkala has made a convincing argument for the phenomenon of intentional scribal omissions in the Hebrew Bible more widely; Juha Pakkala, *God’s Word Omitted: Omissions in the Transmission of the Hebrew Bible* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2013), especially 248–52. He concludes, however, that omissions occurred most often for ideological or theological reasons, and secondarily for stylistic reasons (e.g., removal of a doublet or clarification of a difficult reading), and 1 Sam 14:41 would not fit either of these categories. It thus seems unlikely that the omission of text in MT was intentional.

<sup>36</sup> See the similar argument in n47 on p. 68.

ויאמר שאול יהוה אלהי ישראל למה לא ענית את עבדך היום אם יש<sup>37</sup> בי או ביונתן בני העון  
יהוה אלהי ישראל הבה אורים ואם כה תאמר בעמך ישראל הבה<sup>38</sup> תמים וילכד יונתן ושאול  
והעם יצאו

Saul said, “YHWH, God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If the guilt is in me or in Jonathan my son, YHWH, God of Israel, give *’úrîm*. But if you say thus: ‘In your people Israel,’ give *tummîm*.” And Jonathan and Saul were selected while the people were exonerated.

The only significant point of contention in this retroversion is the Hebrew behind *τάδε εἶπης*.

Wellhausen holds that *τάδε εἶπης* should be retroverted as ישנו.<sup>39</sup> He argues that because LXX reads ἀποκριθῆ in 1 Sam 14:39 where MT has ישנו, the speech verb εἶπης in v. 41 can also be a rendering of ישנו.<sup>40</sup> The DJD editors also reconstruct ישנו in this verse using an argument similar to Wellhausen’s: “Compare ישנו in v 39 which the Greek translator renders as ἀποκριθῆ, apparently again at a loss as to the meaning of the expression.”<sup>41</sup> The DJD argument fails to take into account, however, the many times in Samuel that the translator accurately translates יש with ἐστίν or εἰσίν, both before and after 14:41 (1 Sam 9:11–12; 17:46; 20:8; 21:4–5, 9; 23:23; 2 Sam 9:1; 14:32; 19:29). Furthermore, there is evidence to suggest that the LXX *Vorlage* in v. 39 did not read ישנו: the expression ἀποκρίνομαι κατὰ used in v. 39 appears three additional times in LXX—all three times in Samuel—and consistently renders ענה ב (1 Sam 12:3, 2x; 2 Sam

<sup>37</sup> See 1 Sam 14:39, where Saul uses the construction אם ישנו ביונתן בני העון. Still, it is not certain whether we should retrovert יש here. It has no equivalent in the Greek text, and although that is not unheard of (see Judg 18:14; 2 Kgs 2:16 where יש is not rendered in LXX), it is far more common for יש to be translated (see, e.g., 1 Sam 9:11–12; 17:46; 20:8; 21:4–5, 9; 23:23; 2 Sam 9:1; 14:32; 19:29, where it is consistently rendered with ἐστίν or εἰσίν).

<sup>38</sup> A Greek imperative with δή usually translates a Hebrew imperative with נא; however, I have chosen not to reconstruct נא here because it is not attested in MT. In support of this decision, there are many instances in LXX Samuel of a δή with imperative that does not have a corresponding נא in MT: see 1 Sam 6:3; 17:32; 26:16; 27:5; 28:21; 30:15; 2 Sam 3:21. It is of course possible that the LXX *Vorlage* differed from MT here. Since the presence or absence of נא does not have a significant impact on the meaning of the verse, I err on the side of following MT.

<sup>39</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 94.

<sup>40</sup> Driver makes the same argument without citing Wellhausen (Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 117), and McCarter follows Wellhausen explicitly (McCarter, *I Samuel*, 247). Fernández Truyols uses the same reconstruction: Fernández Truyols, *Crítica textual*, 87.

<sup>41</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 225.



letters *yod* and *vav* being difficult to distinguish in many Hebrew manuscripts.<sup>47</sup> The larger phrases of which these words form a part are also strikingly similar: MT immediately before the plus reads הפילו ביני ובין יונתן בני, while the end of the LXX plus retroverted reads ויפילו בינו ובין יונתן בנו. Thenius makes just this argument for the authenticity of the plus.<sup>48</sup>

Many commentators, however, follow Wellhausen, who rejects the plus on the basis of its content. He argues first that it would be irreverent for the people to interrupt the divinatory process, and second that they would be so anxious to know the outcome that they would not want to interrupt.<sup>49</sup> Pisano rightly objects that Wellhausen's argument is purely subjective; we cannot make text-critical determinations based on what we think the Israelites ought to have said on a given occasion.<sup>50</sup> Pisano goes on to argue against the plus for two other reasons: first, that the content is superfluous; and second, that neither the phrase οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο nor the Hebrew equivalent, לא יהיה הדבר הזה, is ever found in the Bible, and it has thus proven impossible to provide a “satisfying” Hebrew retroversion; “this may point ... to the fact that what looks like a translation from Hebrew may be LXX's own Hebraism.”<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Tov counts six interchanges of *yod* and *vav* between the Septuagint and MT in 1 Samuel and ten in 2 Samuel, comprising roughly 9% of the total number of interchanges in these two books. The rate of interchange between *yod* and *vav* is second only to the rate of interchange between *dalet* and *resh*, which accounts for one third of the total number of interchanges. Emanuel Tov, “Interchanges of Consonants between the Masoretic Text and the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint,” in *Greek and Hebrew Bible*, 307.

<sup>48</sup> Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 65. He is followed by Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 53; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 124; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 102–3; and McCarter, *I Samuel*, 248. So also Lestienne and Grillet, *Règles*, 60.

<sup>49</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 95. See also Keil, *Bücher Samuels*, 106–7; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 118; Fernández Truyols, *Crítica textual*, 90–91; Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 270; and Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 117.

<sup>50</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 201.

<sup>51</sup> Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 203.

His second point is an objective argument against the plus and so is worth considering. It is true that LXX<sup>B</sup>'s phrase οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο (as well as the retroverted Hebrew) is not found anywhere else in the Bible; however, the Antiochene text preserves a variant: οὐκ ἔσται κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο, “it shall not be *according to* this thing.”<sup>52</sup> And this phrase does have a parallel in the LXX A text of Judg 19:30: Τάδε ἐρεῖτε πρὸς πάντα ἄνδρα Ἰσραηλ Εἰ γέγονεν κατὰ τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ἀπὸ τῆς ἡμέρας ἀναβάσεως υἰῶν Ἰσραηλ ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἕως τῆς ἡμέρας ταύτης, “Thus shall you say to every man of Israel: Has it ever happened according to this thing since the day the Israelites came up from Egypt until this day?” This reading is supported by a large number of manuscripts, including 54-59-75-82-314, which have been identified as Antiochene manuscripts in Judges and are thought to preserve OG for that book. The reading is also supported by OL, which increases its odds of representing OG.<sup>53</sup> This passage in Judg 19:30 forms part of a plus, however, and LXX Judges is a text marked by editorial expansions.<sup>54</sup> The plus itself is a repetition of material found in MT and so could perhaps be discounted as one such editorial expansion, but Satterthwaite has suggested that this is one of a few places where LXX Judges is based on a different *Vorlage*.<sup>55</sup> If so, then we should consider LXX A Judg 19:30 to be a case of a translator creating a doublet by preserving two variant

<sup>52</sup> Also compare Deut 18:22: ולא יהיה הדבר ולא יבוא, LXX καὶ μὴ γένηται τὸ ῥῆμα καὶ μὴ συμβῆ.

<sup>53</sup> Natalio Fernández Marcos, “The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Judges,” in *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible: The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered*, ed. Adrian Schenker (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 8, 14.

<sup>54</sup> P. E. Satterthwaite, “Some Septuagintal Pluses in Judges 20 and 21,” *BIOSCS* 24 (1991): 25–35.

<sup>55</sup> P. E. Satterthwaite, “Judges,” in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. Albert Pietersma and Benjamin G. Wright (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 196; see also C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London: Rivingtons, 1920), 470; Robert G. Boling, *Judges: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1975), 277.

Hebrew readings.<sup>56</sup> In this case, the plus represents a non-extant Hebrew *Vorlage* and provides a suitable parallel to the Antiochene text of 1 Sam 14:42. On these grounds, we can dismiss Pisano's objection that the plus in 1 Sam 14:42 cannot be authentic because it contains an invented Hebraism. Given the clear trigger for the homoioteleuton, I believe we should consider the plus in 1 Sam 14:42 to be authentic.

## 2. The issue of *δοσιότης*

With the LXX plus accepted as original, the problem posed by the translator's use of *δοσιότης* can now be addressed: this word is not the expected translational equivalent for *מִמֵּת*. We would expect the translator to use the same equivalent for *מִמֵּת* that is used in the Pentateuch, which is *ἀλήθεια* (Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Deut 33:8). This expectation is based on three factors: first, that the Greek translation of the Pentateuch was generally very influential on the translations of later books;<sup>57</sup> second, that the translator of Samuel frequently makes use of technical terms from LXX Pentateuch in his own work; and third, that he uses the Pentateuchal equivalent of *δῆλοι*<sup>58</sup> for *אורִים* in 1 Sam 28:6 and so ought to also know and use the Pentateuchal equivalent for *מִמֵּת*. And yet he did not use *ἀλήθεια*; he used *δοσιότης*.

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<sup>56</sup> Cf. Shemaryahu Talmon, "Double Readings in the Massoretic Text," *Textus* 1 (1960): 150–51; Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 245–47. Paul Harlé, ed., *Les Juges* (Paris: Cerf, 1999), 247, believes instead that the Hebrew has suffered homoioteleuton, but as Webb points out, if we restore the entire plus, the result is "a text that is repetitive and doesn't make complete sense" (Barry G. Webb, *The Book of Judges* (Grand Rapids, MI: William B. Eerdmans, 2012), 471). We should instead consider the Greek to preserve a doublet.

<sup>57</sup> Tov, "Impact of Septuagint Translation," 183–94.

<sup>58</sup> Cf. Num 27:21; Deut 33:8. The etymologically related *δῆλωσις* is used in Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8.

*The use of technical terms from LXX Pentateuch in LXX Samuel*

In a recent publication, Anneli Aejmelaesus has argued,

One of the things that have been taught us about the Septuagint translation is that the later translators used the Greek Torah as a model or a dictionary that provided them with Hebrew-Greek equivalences. This has been taken for granted—but it does not hold true for the books of Samuel. Most of the time, the translator is of course using the same Greek equivalents for Hebrew words as in the Pentateuch, because there are actually no alternatives, but when it comes to rare words, there are some striking gaps in his vocabulary.... What does this indicate about the translator and about his translation project? This person was not a scholar; if he had been, he would have studied the Torah both in Hebrew and in Greek. He probably knew only the Greek text, which gave him a certain familiarity with biblical translation Greek but not the Hebrew-Greek correspondences that he would need.<sup>59</sup>

She gives the example of 1 Sam 15:3, where the translator fails to recognize the *hiphil* verb הִחֲרִים, a not uncommon Hebrew verb, and is so utterly at a loss that he renders it as a proper noun. She describes this as “a clear example (and by far not the only one) of this translator’s incompetence.”<sup>60</sup> There is no doubt that the translator struggled at times with his Hebrew—this struggle was plainly on display in 1 Sam 1:6—but Aejmelaesus has drawn too far-reaching a conclusion from these examples. In addition to what she calls the “striking gaps in [the translator’s] vocabulary,” there are also a striking number of instances in which the translator correctly uses Pentateuchal equivalents for technical terms in his translation.

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<sup>59</sup> Aejmelaesus, “When Did Samuel,” 264–65. See also Aejmelaesus, “Doublets,” 15–16.

<sup>60</sup> Aejmelaesus, “When Did Samuel,” 264.

Emanuel Tov has compiled a non-exhaustive list of technical terms from LXX Pentateuch that are used in translations of later books.<sup>61</sup> Of these, thirty-four appear in Samuel. Thirty are found in the non-*kaige* sections of Samuel or are attested in the Antiochene text within the *kaige* sections,<sup>62</sup> and six are terms that Tov has identified as neologisms in the Pentateuch. The neologisms are especially instructive since the translator of LXX Samuel could only have known how to use these words correctly if he had recourse to the Hebrew behind them.

Table 10: Examples of technical terms from LXX Pentateuch in LXX Samuel

Greek	Hebrew	Attestations in Samuel
ἄδης	שׂאוֹל	1 Sam 2:6
ἀκαρθασία	טמאה	2 Sam 11:4**
ἀπαρχή	ראשית	1 Sam 2:29
ἀπαρχή	תרומה	2 Sam 1:21
βούτυρον	חמאה	2 Sam 17:29
γονορρυής*	זוב	2 Sam 3:29
διαθήκη	ברית	1 Sam 11:1; 20:8; 23:18; 2 Sam 3:12, 13, 21; 5:3; 15:24; 23:5
δίφρος	כסא	1 Sam 1:9; 4:13, 18
δορκάς	צבי	2 Sam 2:18
δῶρον	שׁחד	1 Sam 8:3

<sup>61</sup> Tov, “Impact of Septuagint Translation,” 185–91. Tov’s thesis that these terms are evidence for the use of LXX Pentateuch as a kind of lexicon has come under criticism from Barr, who points out that the method by which translators used the Pentateuch as a lexicon has not been worked out; that it has not been explained how translators dealt with words which were rendered in multiple ways in the Pentateuch; that many of the examples adduced as evidence do not support Tov’s thesis; that Tov has not addressed negative evidence; and that many other hypotheses could support the data, including the possibility that the translators were drawing from a common store of *koine* terminology that existed prior to the translation of the Pentateuch. James Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch Really Serve as a Dictionary for the Translation of the Later Books?,” in *Hamlet on a Hill: Semitic and Greek Studies Presented to Professor T. Muraoka on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. M. F. J. Baasten and W. Th. van Peursen (Leuven: Peeters, 2003), 523–43. See also the recent qualified criticism of Tov in Theodorou, *Lexical Dependence*, 28–66. My goal in using Tov’s data, however, is not to defend the lexicon theory but rather to demonstrate, contra Aejmelaeus, that the translator must have had some sort of access to the Hebrew of the Pentateuch. Despite their critiques of the lexicon theory, neither Barr nor Theodorou deny that the translators of non-Pentateuchal books had access to the Hebrew behind the Pentateuchal equivalents they used in their own work.

<sup>62</sup> Any attestation in the *kaige* section of Samuel could potentially be the result of that revision and not the work of the same translator that we find in the non-*kaige* portions of LXX<sup>B</sup>. Because the Antiochene text was not subject to the *kaige* revision, however, the vocabulary it preserves in 2 Sam 11:2–2 Sam 24 is more likely to be original.

Table 10 continued

δῶρον	מנחה	1 Sam 10:27
εγαστρίμυθος	אוב	1 Sam 28:3, 8, 9
ἔλαφος	אילה	2 Sam 22:34
ἐξιλάσκομαι	כפר	1 Sam 3:14; 2 Sam 21:3
επισιτισμός	צידה	1 Sam 22:10
θυμίαμα	קטרת	1 Sam 2:28
θυσιαστήριον*	מזבח	1 Sam 2:28, 33; 7:17; 14:35; 2 Sam 24:18, 21, 25
κιβωτός	ארון	1 Sam 3:3; 4:3–6, 11, 13, 17–19, 21–5:4; 5:7–8, 10–11; 6:1–3, 8, 11, 13, 15, 18, 19, 21–7:2; 2 Sam 6:2–4, 6–7, 9–13, 15–17; 7:2; 11:11; 15:24–25, 29
κρεάγρα	מזלג	1 Sam 2:13, 14
λειτουργέω	שרת	1 Sam 2:11, 18; 3:1
λιθοβολέω*	סקל	1 Sam 30:6
μυρσιψός	רקח	1 Sam 8:13
μῦς	עכבר	1 Sam 6:5, 11, 18
μῶμος	מום	2 Sam 14:25
νόμος	תורה	2 Sam 7:19
οἶφι*	איפה	1 Sam 1:24
ὀλκή	משקל	2 Sam 21:16**
ὀρθρίζω*	השכים	1 Sam 1:19; 5:3–4; 15:12; 29:10–11; 2 Sam 15:2
πλημμέλεια	אשם	2 Sam 14:13**
προσκυνέω	השתחוה	1 Sam 1:3, 19; 2:36; 15:25, 30–31; 20:41; 24:9; 25:23, 41; 28:14; 2 Sam 1:2; 9:6, 8; 12:20; 14:4, 22, 33; 15:5, 32; 16:4; 18:21, 28; 24:20
πρωτότοκος*	בכור	1 Sam 8:2; 14:49; 2 Sam 3:2
στήλη	מצבה	2 Sam 18:18
τιθηνός	אמן/אמנת	2 Sam 4:4
φακός	עדשה	2 Sam 17:28; 23:11

\* identified by Tov as a neologism

\*\* from the *kaige* section of Samuel and not represented in the Antiochene text

To this list we can also add δῆλοι for אורים (1 Sam 28:6). There are likely other examples which have not yet been identified.

These data, and in particular the neologisms, strongly indicate that the translator of Samuel had recourse either to the Pentateuch in Hebrew or at the very least to a word-list<sup>63</sup> of Pentateuchal Hebrew-Greek equivalents for technical terms. It cannot be the case, as Aejmelaeus states, that the translator was “influenced [only] by the Greek text of the Torah without recourse to the underlying Hebrew.”<sup>64</sup> The translator should have known and used the equivalent of ἀλήθεια for אֱמֶת. The most compelling evidence for this conclusion, of course, is that the translator knew to use δῆλοι as an equivalent for אֱוֹרִים (1 Sam 28:6). δῆλοι is not an obvious translation of אֱוֹרִים—that is, not one that the translator of Samuel would have arrived at independently—and so the translator must have learned it, either from the Pentateuch (according to Tov) or from contemporary *koine* usage (according to Barr).<sup>65</sup> In either case, it is highly unlikely that the translator would have known to render אֱוֹרִים with δῆλοι but *not* have known to render אֱמֶת with ἀλήθεια.

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<sup>63</sup> Although we have no direct evidence that the Septuagint translators had access to Hebrew-Greek glossaries, similar tools were prevalent throughout the ancient Mediterranean. Compare especially the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (P.Oxy 1802 + 4812), which preserves Greek glosses for Near Eastern languages, and likely comes from Alexandria between the first century BCE and the first century CE. Francesca Schironi, *From Alexandria to Babylon: Near Eastern Languages and Hellenistic Erudition in the Oxyrhynchus Glossary (P.Oxy. 1802 + 4812)* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2009). See further discussion in the Conclusion.

<sup>64</sup> Aejmelaeus, “When Did Samuel,” 264–65.

<sup>65</sup> Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch,” 538. See also n61 on p. 145.

### 3. An alternative proposal for *δοσιότης*

Most scholars seem to take for granted that *δοσιότης* is intended to translate תמים despite the fact that it is not the expected Pentateuchal equivalent.<sup>66</sup> I would like to challenge this assumption. When we consider other attestations of *δοσιότης* and the related adjective *δοσιος* in the Septuagint, an interesting pattern emerges:<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Wellhausen, Schulz and Noort are explicit on this point. Wellhausen writes, “liest man aber mit LXX תמים,” as if *δοσιότης* were identical with תמים (Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 94). Schulz states that “Δήλως soll dem hebräischen תמים entsprechen, *δοσιότητα* dem תמים” (Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 214). Noort is similarly unequivocal: “in 1 Sam xiv 41 steht δήλοι für *’ûrîm* und δὸς *δοσιότητα* für ‘Gib Thummim’” (Noort, “Eine weitere Kurzbeobachtung,” 116). Others implicitly assume that *δοσιότης* represents תמים: see Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 64; Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 55; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 124; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 102; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 117; Toeg, “Textual Note,” 494; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 247; Cornelis Houtman, *Exodus*, trans. Sierd Woudstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 493.

<sup>67</sup> In the following table, examples from Joshua, Judges, and Samuel come from the Antiochene manuscripts, which are considered the best approximation of the Old Greek for the sections from which the examples were taken. For Joshua, these manuscripts are 54 75 314; for Judges, 54 59 75 82 314; and for Samuel, 19 82 93 108 127. All other examples come from the available uncials, and no significant textual variants are attested. The data from Josh–Sam were compiled by Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 193. Van Dam draws on these same data as part of his argument for the authenticity of MT: “the fact that *hosiotēs* would be used only here of *tummîm* but elsewhere (in variants from Codex B) translates *tāmîm* could suggest that the Hebrew text of the translators read *tāmîm* (as in the MT) rather than *tummîm*” (Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 201–2). This suggestion, however, is nonsensical. If, as Van Dam claims, the translator “[misunderstood] the phrase *hābā tāmîm* as referring to the Thummim” and expanded the text in order to include *’ûrîm* and thereby clarify the reference to *tummîm* (Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 201), then he would hardly have rendered תמים instead of תמים. Furthermore, the Hebrew text of the translators contained no vowel pointing and so could not have “read” תמים as Van Dam proposes or, for that matter, תמים. In other words, the translator’s *Vorlage* did not differentiate between the two possible pronunciations of תמים, and to suggest otherwise is anachronistic.

Table 11: Examples of *όσιο-*

Verse	LXX	Hebrew equivalent
Deut 9:5	<i>όσιότητα</i>	ישׁר
Josh 24:14	<i>όσιότητα</i>	תמים
Judg 9:16	<i>όσιότητα</i>	תמים
Judg 9:19	<i>όσιότητα</i>	תמים
2 Sam 22:24	<i>όσιος</i>	תמים
2 Sam 22:26	<i>όσίω</i>	תמים
2 Sam 22:31	<i>όσια</i>	תמים
2 Sam 22:33	<i>όσιότητα</i>	תמים
1 Kgs 9:4	<i>όσιότητα</i>	תם
Amos 5:10	<i>όσιον</i>	תמים
Prov 2:21	<i>όσιοι</i>	תמימים
Prov 10:29	<i>όσίω</i>	תם
Prov 14:32	<i>όσιότητα</i>	תום <sup>a</sup>
Prov 29:10	<i>όσιον</i>	תם
Sir 39:24	<i>όσίοις</i>	תמים <sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Apparent metathesis of MT מות.

<sup>b</sup> This reading is attested in Manuscript B from the Cairo genizah; see Pancratius C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 68.

In these instances, the stem *όσιο-* is used to translate תמים, the noun תם from the same root (ת"ם), and the semantically related noun ישׁר.<sup>68</sup>

Based on these data, we need to take seriously the possibility that *όσιότης* in 1 Sam 14:41 reflects not תמים, as has been generally assumed, but תמים, the reading tradition which scholars

<sup>68</sup> There are additional attestations of *όσιότης* in Odes 9:75; Wis 2:22; 5:19; 9:3; 14:30, but we have no Hebrew to compare in these examples since both Wisdom of Solomon and this passage in Odes (a quotation from Luke 1:68–79) were likely composed in Greek. *όσιος* is a much more common word than *όσιότης*. Beyond the examples given here, *όσιος* is used most frequently to translate חסיד, especially in Psalms (Deut 33:8; Pss 4:4; 12:2; 16:10; 18:26; 30:5; 31:24; 32:6; 37:28; 43:1; 50:5; 52:11; 79:2; 85:9; 86:2; 89:20; 97:10; 116:15; 132:9, 16; 145:17; 148:14; 149:1, 5, 9).

have argued evolved to make sense of the proto-MT text, which had been corrupted through scribal error.<sup>69</sup>

This possibility raises two important questions: Was the translator trying to render תָּמִים or תְּמִים? If he was trying to render תָּמִים, why would he read the consonants תמִים in this way?

### III. The Proposed Solution

#### 1. The readings of LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup>

The answer to these questions can be found in LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup>, which preserve a few key differences from the Rahlfs text in this verse. These differences are minor in scope, but they have a large impact on the meaning of the verse. LXX<sup>AB</sup> and the Rahlfs text derive from the same *Vorlage*, presented above, which describes Saul asking for an oracular response by means of *’ûrîm wātummîm*, but LXX<sup>AB</sup> intentionally depart from the *Vorlage* in order to harmonize the contents of the verse and thereby fix a perceived problem in the narrative.

Before proceeding, there are a few textual issues in LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> that need to be addressed. Both manuscripts communicate the same sense in 1 Sam 14:41 (although I will refrain from translating for the moment), but both have also suffered minor textual corruptions. By comparing the two versions side by side, the errors in each manuscript can be corrected by

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<sup>69</sup> Pisano makes a similar observation: “Since תָּמִים never occurs in Sam we may not draw any absolute conclusions about how it would have been rendered by the LXX translators, but if we take the information we have at hand, it seems evident that at 14:41 they were aware of the vocalization of תָּמִים since they rendered it as σοιστητα.” Pisano, *Additions or Omissions*, 193. He does not explore the implications of this statement, however. Barthélemy suggests that the translation *σοιστητα* indicates that the original translation was later revised to accord with MT’s תָּמִים; Barthélemy, “La qualité,” 4. It seems unlikely that a redactor interested in correcting LXX toward MT would change only one word rather than removing the entire plus.

the other. I have boxed the discrepancies and underlined the preferred reading in each case.

Manuscripts which support the variant reading are given in footnotes.

Figure 2: Comparison of LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup>

LXX <sup>A</sup> <sup>70</sup>	καὶ	εἶπεν	Σαουλ	Κύριε	ὁ	θεὸς	Ἰσραηλ	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">ὅτι<sup>71</sup></span>	οὐκ	
LXX <sup>B</sup>	καὶ	εἶπεν	Σαουλ	Κύριε	ὁ	θεὸς	Ἰσραηλ	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">τί ὅτι</span>	οὐκ	
<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">ἀπεκρίθη<sup>72</sup></span>	τῷ	δούλῳ	σου	σήμερον	ἢ	ἐν	ἐμοὶ	ἢ	ἐν	Ἰωναθαν
<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">ἀπεκρίθης</span>	τῷ	δούλῳ	σου	σήμερον	ἢ	ἐν	ἐμοὶ	ἢ	ἐν	Ἰωναθαν
τῷ	υἱῷ	μου	ἢ	ἀδικία	κύριε	ὁ	θεὸς	Ἰσραηλ	δὸς	δήλους
τῷ	υἱῷ	μου	ἢ	ἀδικία	κύριε	ὁ	θεὸς	Ἰσραηλ	δὸς	δήλους
καὶ	ἐάν	τάδε	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">εἴπης</span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">[ ]</span>	τῷ	λαῷ	σου	Ἰσραηλ	δὸς	δὴ
καὶ	ἐάν	τάδε	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">εἴπῃ<sup>73</sup></span>	<span style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 2px;">δὸς δὴ<sup>74</sup></span>	τῷ	λαῷ	σου	Ἰσραηλ	δὸς	δὴ
ὀσιότητα	καὶ	κληροῦται	Ἰωναθαν	καὶ	Σαουλ	καὶ	ὁ	λαὸς	ἐξῆλθεν	
ὀσιότητα	καὶ	κληροῦται	Ἰωναθαν	καὶ	Σαουλ	καὶ	ὁ	λαὸς	ἐξῆλθεν	

By correcting the two manuscripts against each other, we arrive at a clean eclectic text. I

will refer to this edited text as LXX<sup>A/B</sup>.

<sup>70</sup> Both printed editions of Codex Alexandrinus—Joannes Ernestus Grabe, et al., eds., *Hē Palaia Diathēkē Kata Tous Hebdomēkonta = Vetus Testamentum Juxta Septuaginta Interpretes* (Oxonii: E Theatro Sheldoniano, 1707–1720); and Frederick Field, ed., *Vetus Testamentum Graece Juxta LXX Interpretes* (Oxford: Jacob Wright, 1859)—contain several errors in this verse. The text presented here comes from *Facsimile of the Codex Alexandrinus*.

<sup>71</sup> O 68-107' 245.

<sup>72</sup> O 488 Aeth.

<sup>73</sup> LXX<sup>B</sup> is alone in this reading.

<sup>74</sup> 509; δός (without δὴ) is attested in O d<sup>(-125)</sup> 554 Aeth. δὸς δὴ appears to be a mistaken anticipation of the following clause. Another possible explanation of the LXX<sup>B</sup> reading, however, is that δὸς δὴ is an attempt to clarify that τῷ λαῷ is the indirect object of δός and not of εἴπης; it is grammatically ambiguous in LXX<sup>A</sup> which verb governs the dative. (The two modern editors of LXX<sup>A</sup> incorrectly understood τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ to be the indirect object of εἴπης and so placed a comma after the dative phrase, thereby distorting both the meaning and the syntax of LXX<sup>A</sup>.)

Let us now compare LXX<sup>A/B</sup> with the Rahlfs text of 1 Sam 14:41. By way of reminder, here is Rahlfs (also presented above on p. 132):

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, δὸς δῆλους· καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἴπῃς Ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ, δὸς δὴ ὀσιότητα. καὶ κληροῦται Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If the wrongdoing is in me or in my son Jonathan, Lord God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*. And if you say thus, ‘In your people Israel,’ give *tummîm*.” And Jonathan and Saul were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].

Here, by contrast, is the text found in LXX<sup>A/B</sup>:

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία; κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ δὸς δῆλους· καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἴπῃς τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ δὸς δὴ ὀσιότητα. καὶ κληροῦται Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? Is the wrongdoing either in me or in my son Jonathan?<sup>75</sup> Lord God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*! And if you say thus [i.e., that one of us did wrong], to your people Israel please give blamelessness [i.e., declare them innocent].” And Jonathan and Saul were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].<sup>76</sup>

Note the key differences found in LXX<sup>A/B</sup>, which I have underlined in the Greek text:

1. Instead of the conditional particle εἰ, LXX<sup>A/B</sup> has a correlating conjunction, ἢ.<sup>77</sup> Although **ⲓⲛ** is more frequently translated in Samuel with εἰ or ἐὰν, the rendering ἢ is also attested several times.<sup>78</sup> This difference in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> is thus not a deviation from the *Vorlage* but rather a

<sup>75</sup> Although it is difficult to convey in English, this question should be understood in the same way as Saul’s question in the Rahlfs text: not, “Did I do wrong or was it Jonathan who did wrong?” but rather, “Was it one of us or was it somebody else entirely?” See also n6 on p. 132 above.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. the similar translation (but of LXX<sup>B</sup> rather than of an eclectic LXX<sup>A/B</sup> text) in Lestienne and Grillet, *Règnes*, 264.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. 1 Sam 2:14; 12:3; 26:10; 2 Sam 19:36; 24:13.

<sup>78</sup> **ⲓⲛ** is attested 93 times in 1–2 Samuel; of these, five attestations are translated with ἢ alone: 2 Sam 19:36 (2x), 43; 24:13 (2x). There are another nine cases of **ⲓⲛ ⲓ** translated with ἀλλ’ ἢ or ὅτι ἀλλ’ ἢ (or, in one case, ἀλλ’ ἢ ὅτι): 1 Sam 8:19; 21:5, 7; 30:17, 22; 2 Sam 12:3; 13:33; 19:29; 21:2. Unfortunately there are no other examples in Samuel of **ⲓⲛ...ⲓⲛ** translated by ἢ...ἢ; however, ἢ...ἢ renders the similar construction **ⲓⲛ...ⲓⲛ** in 2 Sam 19:36; 24:13, as well as the construction **ⲓⲛ...ⲓⲛ** in 1 Sam 2:14; 26:10.

translational choice, albeit an unusual one. The LXX<sup>A/B</sup> reading could be mistaken for a spelling error, but that is unlikely. The misspelling of ῥ for εἰ is characteristic of some manuscripts—notably 158, 245, and occasionally LXX<sup>V</sup>—but never occurs in LXX<sup>B</sup>, and occurs only once in LXX<sup>A</sup> in a rendering of רַחֵ (2 Sam 19:24).<sup>79</sup> In fact, LXX<sup>B</sup> shows a slight tendency to misspell in the other direction, reading εἰ where it ought to be ῥ.<sup>80</sup>

2. δὸς δῆλους in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> is no longer the apodosis of a condition. This difference between the two texts is purely contextual.
3. Also contextually, the pronoun τᾶδε can no longer refer forward to a quotation but must refer backward to the preceding question. There is no part of the text that follows which could logically constitute a quotation. Possible translations would be 1) “If you say thus, ‘To your people Israel,’ give blamelessness”; 2) “If you say thus to your people Israel, ‘Give blamelessness’”; 3) “If you say thus, ‘To your people Israel, give blamelessness.’” None of these possibilities produces a comprehensible sentence. In the first option, the quotation is fragmentary and the meaning unclear; in the second and third options, the protasis is left hanging without an apodosis, and the meaning is obscure. Because there is no way to produce a logical quotation out of the text that follows τᾶδε, the pronoun must of necessity be

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<sup>79</sup> εἰ is attested 82 times in the Rahlfs text of LXX Samuel. It renders ׀ 30 times, and the remaining 52 instances are renderings of other Hebrew, most often רַחֵ. In renderings of ׀, there are fifteen cases of εἰ misspelled as ῥ: 1 Sam 3:14 (V 247 93\* 376); 6:9 (82); 14:45 (158); 20:8 (158), 29 (V\*[vid] 158 245); 21:10 (158); 25:22 (245); 26:19 (158); 28:10 (158 245); 2 Sam 11:11 (158); 12:8 (V 158); 14:19 (158 245 376); 18:25 (V\*); 19:8 (158); 20:20 (V\* 55 158). In renderings of Hebrew other than ׀, there are eighteen cases of εἰ misspelled as ῥ: 1 Sam 9:11 (236); 14:6 (55 245); 15:22 (158); 19:24 (A 29 489); 21:9 (158); 22:7 (158); 23:2 (158), 11 (158); 24:20 (93<sup>a</sup>); 30:8 (158); 2 Sam 2:20 (V\*); 7:7 (19 108 376); 12:22 (158); 19:7 (376), 23 (82); 20:17 (V\*[vid] 707), 18 (158); 23:17 (119<sup>at</sup> 707).

<sup>80</sup> 2 Sam 19:36; 24:13.

anaphoric. The anaphoric use of *τάδε* is unusual, but cf. LXX 1 Sam 2:14; 27:11; 1 Kgs 2:30.<sup>81</sup>

4. LXX<sup>A/B</sup> lacks the preposition *έν* before *τῷ λαῷ*. The omission of *έν* is the *only* genuine textual departure from the *Vorlage*.<sup>82</sup>

A comparison of Rahlfs and LXX<sup>A/B</sup> demonstrates that *δσιότης* represents something entirely different in the two versions. Because of the syntax in Rahlfs, we can see that *δσιότης* is meant to represent *דַּמְיָה* despite the fact that that is not what it means: Saul's request in Rahlfs has the structure "if *a*, then *x*; but if *b*, then *y*," presenting an opposition between *x* (*'úrîm*) and *y* (*δσιότης*). Therefore *δσιότης* must be the opposite of *'úrîm*; it must be *tummîm*. The syntax of LXX<sup>A/B</sup>, on the other hand, precludes the translation of *δσιότης* as "*tummîm*." If we were to translate "*tummîm*" in LXX<sup>A/B</sup>, the verse would say in essence, "If Jonathan or I did wrong, then give *'úrîm*. And if one of us did wrong, then give *tummîm*." This would be nonsensical. Instead,

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<sup>81</sup> See also further examples in BDAG s.v. *ἔδε* 1.b of anaphoric use of this pronoun, although not in the context of speech.

<sup>82</sup> It seems highly unlikely that the loss of the preposition could be a scribal error of some kind. *Bet* does not commonly drop out by accident, and it would be nearly impossible for it be confused for a *lamed* (if one wanted to argue that *τῷ λαῷ σου* *Ισραηλ* is a reflection of *לְיִשְׂרָאֵל* *יְרַמְבֶּט*). It seems equally unlikely that *τῷ λαῷ σου* is a straightforward but clumsy rendering of *רַמְבֶּט*, as Jan Joosten would like to understand it (personal communication). It is the case, as Joosten notes, that the Greek translators at times render *ב* + noun with a dative, but the dative which results is never a dative of indirect object. Datives which render *ב* + noun in Samuel are of the following types:

- temporal (6)
  - 1 Sam 6:16; 21:7; 30:1; 2 Sam 1:2; 5:8; 7:4
- means (6)
  - 1 Sam 19:13; 26:8; 28:12; 2 Sam 2:28; 15:16; 23:6
- idiomatic, i.e., particular to the Greek verb in question (4)
  - 1 Sam 18:22, 26; 2 Sam 6:7; 20:2
- respect (1)
  - 2 Sam 2:18

Reading *τῷ λαῷ σου* in 1 Sam 14:41 as any of these kinds of dative creates nonsense. Moreover, these data demonstrate that the translator knew perfectly well that *ב* + noun does not express the indirect object in Hebrew and did not translate it as such.

in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> *ὁσιότης* carries its true meaning of “piety” or, more contextually, “blamelessness.” In other words, *ὁσιότης* in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> represents *םימח*, as it does throughout the Septuagint, despite the fact that *םימח* was the intended meaning of its *Vorlage*.

Before proceeding with my argument, it will be necessary to address an important methodological challenge laid out by Anneli Aejmelaeus:

All in all, the scholar who wishes to attribute deliberate changes, harmonizations, completion of details and new accents to the translator is under the obligation to prove his thesis with weighty arguments and also to show why the divergences cannot have originated with the *Vorlage*. That the translator *may* have manipulated his original does not mean that he necessarily did so. All that is known of the translation techniques of the Septuagint points firmly enough in the opposite direction.<sup>83</sup>

What evidence allows us to say that these changes in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> were made by the translator and were not present in his *Vorlage*? The reading of the Antiochene text in this verse gives us the grounds to make this case with some confidence:<sup>84</sup>

καὶ εἶπε Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, δὸς δῆλους· καὶ εἰ τάδε εἴποις Ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἡ ἀδικία, δὸς ὁσιότητα. καὶ κατακληροῦται Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωναθαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαός.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If the wrongdoing is in me or in my son Jonathan, Lord God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*. And if you should say thus, ‘The wrongdoing is in the people,’ give *tummîm*.”<sup>85</sup> And Saul and Jonathan were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].

The Antiochene text in 1 Sam 14:41 does not share the features of LXX<sup>A/B</sup> which alter the narrative: the use of ἢ instead of εἰ; δὸς δῆλους as a free-standing clause instead of an apodosis;

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<sup>83</sup> Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know,” 85; italics original.

<sup>84</sup> This text is discussed in greater detail on pp. 192–194. LXX<sup>V</sup> (see pp. 195–195) shares some of the same features as the Antiochene text.

<sup>85</sup> Just as in the Rahlfs text, the logical structure of the verse in the Antiochene text demands that we translate *ὁσιότης* as “*tummîm*” even though strictly speaking that is not what it means. See n5 on p. 132 and p. 192.

the shift of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\delta\epsilon$  from cataphoric to anaphoric; and the omission of  $\acute{\epsilon}\nu$  before  $\tau\tilde{\omega}\lambda\alpha\tilde{\omega}$ . If  $LXX^{A/B}$  were an accurate representation of the *Vorlage*, then there would be no explanation for the reading of the Antiochene text: there would be no motivation for the Antiochene text to change the  $LXX^{A/B}$  reading. If, however,  $LXX^{A/B}$  is *not* an accurate representation of the *Vorlage*—if it represents a departure from the *Vorlage*—then the Antiochene text can be understood as a correction towards the Hebrew.

## 2. The decision to render תמים

To understand why the translator chose to render תמים rather than תמים, we have to consider how he would have read the *Vorlage*. If he reads תמים as תמים, then the verse says that Saul makes a request for an oracular response by means of *'urîm* and *tummîm*, but it never explicitly says that either *'urîm* or *tummîm* was given.<sup>86</sup> Thus Saul's request and its outcome do not match.<sup>87</sup>

It is not unlikely that the translator would have noticed this incongruence. Scholars have identified other instances of the translator “fixing” what he perceived to be inconsistencies in the *Vorlage*. A few examples will suffice:<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>86</sup> The statement that Jonathan and Saul were selected of course implies that the *'urîm* was given. It seems, however, that the translator was looking for an explicit reference.

<sup>87</sup> This very incongruity has been noted by Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 214 and Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 202n37, both of whom take it as evidence that the LXX plus is secondary. It is no small irony that the Greek translator perceived and attempted to fix a problem in the narrative which now has become an argument for the inauthenticity of the very narrative he was trying to fix.

<sup>88</sup> Barthélemy notes a number of other examples of what he describes as the Septuagint's concern with the internal coherence of the *Vorlage*, including 1 Sam 3:4–10; 20:41; 21:10; 23:10; 2 Sam 11:18; 15:7. Barthélemy, “La qualité,” 11–15. While I am hesitant to ascribe these harmonizations to the translator, as Barthélemy seems to do, rather than to the *Vorlage*, nevertheless they demonstrate that ancient readers were troubled by inconsistency in the biblical text.

- 1 Sam 3:6, 9: MT reads שוב שכב in v. 6 and לך שכב in v. 9. Since Samuel has already been lying down in v. 9, LXX renders both phrases with ἀνάστρεφε κάθευδε.<sup>89</sup>
- 1 Sam 8:4: LXX reads ἄνδρες Ισραηλ for MT’s זקני ישראל. This reading brings about greater narrative coherence—the “elders of Israel” are not mentioned again in the chapter—and links this verse to the end of the chapter where Saul tells the “men of Israel” (אנשי ישראל, v. 22) to return to their cities.<sup>90</sup>
- 1 Sam 30:1 (OG): the surprising use of ἐξέρχομαι to translate בו”א may be an attempt to resolve the difficult chronology of the narrative, despite the fact that is an incorrect rendering of the Hebrew.<sup>91</sup>
- 2 Sam 11:18–22: in MT, Joab sends a messenger to David with news of the battle, warning the messenger of what David might say in reply; v. 22 concludes, וילך המלאך ויבא ויגד לדוד את כל אשר שלחו יואב, “The messenger went and came to David and told him everything that Joab had sent him to say.” The Antiochene text (considered the best representation of OG for these verses, which form part of the *kaige* recension), however, proceeds to relate that David then said everything which Joab had predicted. This example is a particularly strong parallel for what I have argued the translator has done in 1 Sam 14:41: just as the translator was unsatisfied that Saul asked for *’urîm* or *tummîm* but appeared to receive neither, the Antiochene text demonstrates that an ancient reader was unsatisfied that Joab predicted a response from David which appeared not to occur.

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<sup>89</sup> Lestienne and Grillet, *Règues*, 62.

<sup>90</sup> Lestienne and Grillet, *Règues*, 62.

<sup>91</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “David’s Return to Ziklag: A Problem of Textual History in 1 Samuel 30:1,” in *XII Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Leiden, 2004*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters (Leiden: Brill, 2006), 103.

The translator sensed a tension in the narrative if he read תמים as תמים. By contrast, if the translator reads תמים as תמים, then Saul is asking for an oracular indication of guilt and a declaration of the people's innocence. And that is exactly what he receives: וילכד יונתן ושאוּל והעם יצאו. Reading תמים removes the incongruity between Saul's request and the response received. In other words, the translator chose תמים because he thought it was the better reading. He then adjusted the rest of his translation to clarify the meaning. Note, however, how little he actually deviated from the *Vorlage*: he omitted exactly one Hebrew character. His translation thoroughly reshapes the meaning of the verse while still maintaining a tight relationship to the consonantal Hebrew. His mental text, in other words, is almost identical to his *Vorlage*.

I do not claim that תמים is the better reading—on the contrary, it seems clear that the *Vorlage* is talking about *'ûrîm wətummîm*. Rather I am proposing a reconstruction of the translator's thought process that explains his decision to use the word δσιότης. The translator considered the verse he was translating in the context of the narrative and made a decision to render the text as best as he could.

Furthermore, the translator may have believed that there was biblical evidence for *'ûrîm* being used by itself as a means of divination. Usually *'ûrîm wətummîm* appear as a pair, but there are two instances where *'ûrîm* appears alone:<sup>92</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> The translator may have been familiar with either or both examples. Aejmelaeus has recently suggested that the text of Samuel might have become available to the translator not long before he began his work and so was not familiar to him; Aejmelaeus, "When Did Samuel," 265. The evidence of 1 Sam 15:29, however, suggests that this scenario is unlikely. See p. 274 below.

Num 27:21

ולפני אלעזר הכהן יעמד ושאל לו במשפט האורים לפני יהוה על פיו יצאו ועל פיו יבאו הוא  
וכל בני ישראל אתו וכל העדה

[Joshua] will stand before Eleazar the priest, and he will consult the judgment of the *'ûrîm* for him before Y<sub>HWH</sub>. At his command they will go out, and at his command they will return—he and all the Israelites with him and the whole congregation.

1 Sam 28:6

וישאל שאל ביהוה ולא ענהו יהוה גם בחלמות גם באורים גם בנביאים  
Saul consulted Y<sub>HWH</sub>, but Y<sub>HWH</sub> did not answer him, neither by dreams, nor by *'ûrîm*, nor by the prophets.

Modern scholars assume that when *'ûrîm* appears alone in these two verses, it functions as a synecdoche for the pair,<sup>93</sup> but of course that does not mean that an ancient translator would have made the same assumption. He may have concluded based on these two verses that divination could be conducted by means of *'ûrîm* alone. If so, then he would have considered himself justified in excluding the *tummîm* from 1 Sam 14:41 when he translated תמים as *ὁσιότης*. If we assume that the translator believed the entire divinatory practice to consist of *'ûrîm* (or at least that he believed it *could* consist solely of *'ûrîm*), then we should understand Saul's request, "give *'ûrîm*!" as simply another way of asking for a response to the question of his or Jonathan's guilt. It is the equivalent of "answer me!" This request is more open-ended than the binary response presumed in the *Vorlage*, where *'ûrîm* means that either Jonathan or Saul is guilty while *tummîm* means that the people are guilty.

There are a number of biblical attestations of תמים that could have informed the translator's decision to read the consonants תמים in this way. תמים is used of humans in a non-

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<sup>93</sup> Lestienne and Grillet, *Règues*, 92; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 180–81; Houtman, *Exodus*, 493; HALOT s.v. אור II. See further bibliography in Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 181n11.

physical sense<sup>94</sup> in Gen 6:9; 17:1; Deut 18:13; Josh 24:14; Judg 9:16, 19; 2 Sam 22:24, 26; Ezek 28:15; Amos 5:10; Pss 15:2; 18:24; 84:12; 101:2, 6; 119:1, 80; Job 12:4; Prov 2:21; 11:5, 20; 28:10, 18. In order to assess this evidence, however, we need to consider the larger narrative of which 1 Sam 14:41 is a part. The narrative is what determines how the translator might have understood תמים in this verse. Saul consults the oracle to find out who is responsible for the singuilt (חטאת) which prevented YHWH from answering him the day before (1 Sam 14:37–39). The most likely candidate is the troops, who slaughtered their newly acquired spoils upon the ground and ate the blood (v. 32), and so Saul might reasonably assume the transgression is cultic. In the context of the narrative, then, the translator would likely have understood תמים in v. 41 to mean blameless in the sense of acting in accordance with the laws of YHWH. The most useful parallels for this sense of תמים are the following:

2 Sam 22:23–24 (identical to Ps 18:23–24)

23 כי כל משפטיו<sup>95</sup> לנגדי וחקתיו לא אסור ממנה 24 ואהיה תמים לו ואשתמרה מעוני

23 For all his laws are before me, and I will not set aside his statutes. 24 I have been blameless to him, and I have kept myself from my wrongdoing.

Ps 119:1

אשרי תמימי דרך ההלכים בתורת יהוה

Blessed are those whose path is blameless, those who walk in the Torah of YHWH.

Ps 119:80

יהי לבי תמים בחקיד למען לא אבוש

Let my heart be blameless in your statutes so that I may not be ashamed.

<sup>94</sup> The most common usage of תמים is to describe animals fit for sacrifice because they are free of physical blemish; see, e.g., Lev 1:3, 10; 3:1, 6, 9; 4:3, 23, 28, 32; 5:15, 18, 25; 9:2–3; 14:10; 22:19, 21; 23:12, 15, 18; 25:30; Num 6:14; 19:2; 28:3, 9; 29:2, 8, 13, 17.

<sup>95</sup> Reading with the *qere*. The *ketiv* reads משפטו.

Josh 24:14

ועתה יראו את יהוה ועבדו אתו בתמים ובאמת והסירו את אלהים אשר עבדו אבותיכם בעבר הנהר ובמצרים ועבדו את יהוה

And now, fear YHWH and serve him blamelessly and truthfully. Set aside the gods which your fathers served on the other side of the river and in Egypt, and serve YHWH.

Deut 18:12–14

12 כי תועבת יהוה כל עשה אלה ובגלל התועבת האלה יהוה אלהיך מוריש אותם מפניך 13 תמים תהיה עם יהוה אלהיך 14 כי הגוים האלה אשר אתה יורש אותם אל מענגים ואל קסמים ישמעו ואתה לא כן נתן לך יהוה אלהיך

12 For all who do these things [viz. consult mediums, witches, necromancers, etc.] are an abomination to YHWH, and it is on account of these abominations that YHWH your God is disinheriting them before you. 13 You shall be blameless with YHWH your God. 14 For these peoples whom you will disinherit listen to witches and diviners, but you—YHWH your God did not allow this for you.

What these examples demonstrate is that when the translator was looking at the unvocalized consonants תמים and trying to decide how to translate them, he could read them as תָּמים and have biblical precedent for understanding this word to refer to faithful observance of YHWH's laws. The example from 2 Samuel 22 is perhaps the most appropriate of all. In the context of 2 Sam 22:23–24, being תָּמים means being conscious of YHWH's laws and statutes (משפּתים וחקות) and staying away from wrongdoing (עון). This is precisely what the troops have *not* done in 1 Sam 14: they have been unmindful of the prohibition against eating blood and have committed עון. In fact, עון was likely the word Saul used in the *Vorlage* to describe the transgression: the noun ἀδικία preserved in the LXX plus in v. 41 almost exclusively renders עון in the book of Samuel.<sup>96</sup>

<sup>96</sup> 1 Sam 3:13, 14; 20:8; 25:24; 28:10; 2 Sam 3:8; 14:32. ἀδικία alternatively renders עולה in 2 Sam 3:34; 7:10.

The translator thus had in the text of Samuel itself a viable parallel, in both general content and specific vocabulary, for his reading of תמים in 14:41.<sup>97</sup>

### 3. A potential counterargument: the word-by-word technique of the translator

The example of 1 Sam 14:41 has significant implications for Aejmelaeus's argument that the translator worked in a word-for-word fashion, considering only very small segments of his *Vorlage* at a time.<sup>98</sup> If Aejmelaeus is correct, and the translator in all cases considered only a word or two at a time and not the entire verse, sentence, or even clause before him, this conclusion poses serious difficulties for my argument. My proposal that the translator was harmonizing the middle of the verse with the end of the verse requires the assumption that the translator read and considered the entire verse before beginning his translation, or that, having reached the end of the verse, he went back and altered his translation of the middle of the verse. Neither option is consonant with Aejmelaeus's assessment of the translator's abilities.

If we were to accept Aejmelaeus's position, we would have to account for the translation of LXX<sup>A/B</sup> by positing that as the translator proceeded word by word through the verse, he made choices which then compelled him, as it were, to make other choices in a sort of cascade effect.<sup>99</sup> We would say that he did not read the whole verse before he began but simply started at the beginning, and as he made choices about one or two words at a time, each choice changed the

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<sup>97</sup> Furthermore, the semantic possibilities of *δοσιότης* map well onto this cultic sense of תמים. *δοσιότης* and *δοσιος* are used in both classical and *koine* Greek to designate righteousness with respect to God's laws, in contrast with *δικαιοσύνη/δίκαιος* which is used to designate righteousness with respect to human laws. See LSJ and BDAG s.v. *δοσιότης, δοσιος*. Thanks to James Covington for bringing this distinction to my attention.

<sup>98</sup> Aejmelaeus, "Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 133–35, 140–41. See also the discussion on pp. 22–27 of the Introduction.

<sup>99</sup> See Tov, "Did the Septuagint Translators," 211–12.

context to the extent that he could no longer follow the *Vorlage* closely but was rather required to make additional choices that took him even further from the sense of the *Vorlage*. In other words, we would have to demonstrate that the decision to render םא with הָ (the first choice which causes a change from the sense of the *Vorlage*) in some way forced the translator to omit the preposition ב־/ἐν and render the phrase בעמך ישראל as τῷ λαῷ σου Ισραηλ (the second choice which causes a change from the sense of the *Vorlage*). That choice would then need to be shown to have required the decision to render תמים as δσιότης.

I do not think this thesis can be proven. The choice of הָ for םא in no way requires the rendering of בעמך ישראל as τῷ λαῷ σου Ισραηλ. Furthermore, הָ is an unusual translation of םא, occurring only five times out of 93 attestations of םא in MT 1–2 Samuel,<sup>100</sup> which suggests that the translator may already have had in mind the intended meaning of the verse as a whole. One could argue that the change from בעמך ישראל to τῷ λαῷ σου Ισραηλ required the choice of δσιότης for תמים, but there is no motivation for the loss of ב־/ἐν unless the translator had already decided to use δσιότης. The decision to render תמים with δσιότης must have preceded the decision to omit the preposition and make the object of the preposition instead the indirect object of the verb.

Thus 1 Sam 14:41 appears to be an example of the translator *not* working word by word or in very small segments of text, but rather considering larger segments of text—perhaps even several sentences at a time. While this conclusion is in direct opposition to Aejmelaeus’s description of the translation technique used in Samuel, it does not seem possible to account for the evidence found in this verse by recourse to her hypothesis. To insist that the translation of 1 Sam 14:41 was the unintentional result of the translator’s word-by-word approach means arguing

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<sup>100</sup> See n78 on p. 152.

that purely by accident the translator produced a rendering with a new meaning that a) is coherent;<sup>101</sup> b) addresses a gap in the narrative; and c) coincides with ancient Jewish depictions of *'urîm* and *tummîm* (as will be demonstrated below). This scenario is more likely than the translator making strategic choices *only if* we are rigidly committed to the theory that the translator was incapable of creativity. I do not intend to debunk the hypothesis that the translator primarily gave mechanical renderings of very small segments of text, for indeed that does seem to be his typical approach. The evidence of 1 Sam 14:41 demonstrates, however, that while he may have rendered in small segments, he could read in larger segments.

Barr's argument regarding the implausibility of strict word-by-word translation<sup>102</sup> clarifies the relationship between the rendering of 1 Sam 14:41 and the translation approach we see elsewhere in LXX 1 Samuel. If a word-by-word translation was a choice the translator made about how to express himself in Greek, as Barr contends, rather than a necessity born from his limitations as a translator, as Aejmelaeus contends, then the rendering we see in 1 Sam 14:41 is unusual rather than impossible. According to Barr's model, the translator *always* read his *Vorlage* for context before producing a rendering; the difference in 1 Sam 14:41 is thus not that the translator considered more of the *Vorlage* than usual, but rather that the rendering does not strictly represent the text of the *Vorlage*. According to Aejmelaeus's model, in contrast, the translator was *incapable* of reading the *Vorlage* for context. To account for the translation of 1 Sam 14:41 under this model, one would have to argue that the translator abruptly acquired a skill

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<sup>101</sup> Although the Greek of LXX<sup>A/B</sup> is somewhat idiosyncratic, it is comprehensible. The assumption that the Greek means the same thing as its Hebrew retroversion has caused sufficient mental interference that scholars have largely been unable to read the Greek on its own terms. A reliance on Rahlfs, who failed to recognize the meaning of LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup>, has further obscured the sense of these manuscripts from scholarly view. Once we remove the distortion caused by the *Vorlage* and Rahlfs, the meaning of LXX<sup>A/B</sup> comes into focus.

<sup>102</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [22–23]. See also the discussion on pp. 24–25 of the Introduction.

that he did not previously possess—the ability to read, comprehend, and analyze several Hebrew sentences as a sense-unit—and then apparently lost it again, as he returns immediately to his typical, segmented approach. This position is untenable. Barr’s theory, on the other hand, provides a concise explanation for the evidence of this verse: the translator was reading multiple sentences of the *Vorlage* at one time, as was his usual practice, and he noticed an apparent incongruity in the narrative which he proceeded to address with his translation.

#### IV. The History of Interpretation

The history of Jewish interpretation provides further support for the argument that the translator made a conscious choice to read and render תָּמִים rather than תְּמִים. Early Jewish texts can give us valuable insight into how the translator might have understood the *’ûrîm wətumîm*. The understanding of *’ûrîm wətumîm* expressed in early Jewish texts, across a wide range of time and literary genres, does not accord with the understanding held by modern scholars. Scholars do not know what kind of objects the *’ûrîm wətumîm* were (or was, if we imagine a single object with two sides), nor if they were cast upon the ground, drawn from a pouch, or used in some other way; but it does seem that a question would be posed, and the *’ûrîm wətumîm* would give a binary response. *’ûrîm* would indicate one possible answer, and *tumîm* the other.<sup>103</sup> This modern understanding is based on LXX 1 Sam 14:41 (and, by implication, a number of other passages in Judges and Samuel)<sup>104</sup> and ancient Near Eastern parallels, most

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<sup>103</sup> It also seems that “no answer” was a possible response; see 1 Sam 28:6.

<sup>104</sup> Often cited as implied instances of the use of *’ûrîm wətumîm* are Judg 18:5; 20:27–28; 1 Sam 23:2, 4, 9–12; 30:7–8; 2 Sam 2:1; 5:19.

compelling of which is the psephomancy ritual described in *LKA* 137.<sup>105</sup> Early Jewish descriptions of *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm*, on the other hand, never depict them as a binary oracle. If the translator did not think that the use of *'ûrîm* also required the use of *tummîm*, he had no reason to represent *tummîm* in his translation.

The texts gathered here display two consistent tendencies: first, various parts of the high priest's garments—the *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm*, the two stones on the shoulders of the ephod, and the twelve stones on the breast-piece<sup>106</sup>—are confused and conflated;<sup>107</sup> and second, these (conflated) stones are thought to serve multiple purposes in multiple ways, but they are never described in the binary fashion in which modern scholars believe the *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm* functioned.

The texts will be presented in chronological order.

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<sup>105</sup> Horowitz and Hurowitz, “Urim and Thummim.” See also the critique by Irving L. Finkel, “In Black and White: Remarks on the Assur Psephomancy Ritual,” *ZA* 85 (1995): 271–76, and the response in Hurowitz, “True Light.” For other proposals of ANE parallels, see Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 39–81.

<sup>106</sup> See Exod 28.

<sup>107</sup> Also noted in Horowitz and Hurowitz, “Urim and Thummim,” 95n1. This confusion is almost certainly due in part to the challenges posed by the ambiguous text of Exod 28. Because the *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm* are not described—indeed, not even identified as objects—ancient readers may have thought that אורים ותמים were not discrete objects at all but rather descriptors for the stones of the breastpiece: “shining and perfect,” or, if taken as a hendiadys, “perfect lights.” In Exod 28:30a (ונתת אל חשן המשפט את האורים ואת התמים), האורים and התמים could be taken as substantive adjectives which function as an alternative designation for the breastpiece stones: thus, “You will place in the breastpiece of judgment the shining and perfect [stones].” Some readers seem to have taken the names אורים ותמים as metaphors. For example, Rashi gives the following comment: את האורים ואת התומים: הוא כתב שם המפורש, שהיה נותנו בתוך כפלי החשן, שעל ידו הוא מאיר דבריו ומתמם את דבריו of the Divine Name, which [Moses] puts inside the folds of the breastpiece, so that by means of [the breastpiece] it can clarify [מאיר] its words and fulfill [מתמם] its words.” The breastpiece and its stones function in this description as a sort of enabler for the Divine Name, and the terms אורים ותמים are reimagined as actions performed by the Name by means of the breastpiece.

## 1. 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup>

The earliest text is a Qumran fragment of a peshar on Isaiah, 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> (4Q164).<sup>108</sup> It has been dated to approximately 150–125 BCE,<sup>109</sup> perhaps only a few decades after the translation of Samuel into Greek.

	f1
[--] . ושמתי כדכד	3
כול שמשותידך . פשרו על שנים עשר [--]	4
מאירים במשפט <sup>110</sup> האורים והתומים [--]	5
הנעדרות מהמה כשמש בכול אורו .	6

3 “I will make of rubies 4 all your battlements” [Isa 54:12]: its interpretation concerns the twelve [...] 5 making shine the *’ûrîm watummîm* in judgement [or, the *’ûrîm watummîm* are shining in judgement, or, at the time of judgement] [...] 6 that are missing<sup>111</sup> from them like the sun in all its light.

Because of the fragmentary nature of the text, its overall meaning is unclear. Setting aside many other potential topics of discussion, I would like to focus on line five, where we find the mention of *’ûrîm watummîm*. There are two points of ambiguity in this line. First, the *’ûrîm watummîm* could be the subject of the *hiphil* participle מאירים or they could be its direct object,<sup>112</sup> in which case the subject of the participle would likely be the twelve people or things mentioned in line

<sup>108</sup> John Allegro, ed., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan V: Qumrân Cave 4 (4Q158–4Q186)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968), 27–28.

<sup>109</sup> John Strugnell, “Notes en marge du volume V des ‘Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan,’” *RevQ* 7, no. 2 (1970): 196; Cross, “Oldest Manuscripts,” 153n15.

<sup>110</sup> Pace Allegro, who incorrectly reads the preposition on this noun as a כ־ instead of a ב־. The separate stroke for the bottom arm of the letter clearly indicates that it is a ב־. So also Yigael Yadin, “Some Notes on the Newly Published *Pesharim* of Isaiah,” *Israel Exploration Journal* 9, no. 1 (1959): 41n12; Strugnell, “Notes en marge,” 196: “la projection à droite du trait indépendant qui forme la base identifie péremptoirement le *beth*.”

<sup>111</sup> Michael O. Wise, Martin G. Abegg, Jr. and Edward M. Cook, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls: A New Translation* (San Francisco: HarperSanFrancisco, 1996) suggest “[and there is nothing] missing.” This conjecture is appealing, but it remains a conjecture nonetheless. Yadin similarly proposes “that this refers to the precious stones of the Urim and Thummim whose number is full, and thus their light is not inferior to the sun in its full light,” and tentatively reconstructs ואין האבנים at the end of line five. Yadin, “Some Notes,” 42.

<sup>112</sup> The use of the definite direct object marker את, which would resolve this ambiguity, was in decline during the Second Temple period; Angel Sáenz-Badillos, *A History of the Hebrew Language*, trans. John Elwolde (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 119. We should therefore not expect it to appear in this Qumran text to mark the direct object.

four.<sup>113</sup> Second, the prepositional phrase במשפט could function adverbially (they are shining “in a judging way”)<sup>114</sup> or temporally (they are shining at the time of judgement).<sup>115</sup> Unfortunately, without more context it is impossible to decide definitively between these options. It is nevertheless possible to make two key observations: the *’ûrîm watummîm* have something to do with judgement, and they emit light. Neither of these observations is surprising; the *’ûrîm watummîm* are explicitly linked to judgement (משפט) in Exod 28:30 and Num 27:21, and the notion of them shining (אור in the *hiphil*) seems to play etymologically on the word אורים. It is worth noting, however, that nowhere in the biblical text does it ever say that the *’ûrîm watummîm* shine. It is also worth noting that there is no mention in 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> of the *’ûrîm watummîm* giving any sort of binary response. Given the fragmentary nature of the text, one could argue that such a mention is simply not preserved. But it does seem from this (fragmentary) text that when the *’ûrîm watummîm* are involved in judgement, they shine. This shining is an innovation of the interpretive tradition and does not derive from the Hebrew Bible. As we will see, the idea of the *’ûrîm watummîm* shining receives fuller treatment in later texts.

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<sup>113</sup> Yadin suggests that שנים עשר in line four refers to the priests. Yadin, “Some Notes,” 41. So also the translation in Wise, Abegg and Cook, *The Dead Sea Scrolls*.

<sup>114</sup> This could be classed as a circumstantial *bet*; see *IBHS* 11.2.5d–e.

<sup>115</sup> See *IBHS* 11.2.5c. Yadin takes the ב as a direct object marker and attempts to draw a parallel with the interpretation of Deut 33:8 found in 4QTest 1:14–18: ויאירו משפטיך ליעקוב תורתכה ... ויאירו משפטיך ואורך ... וללוי אמר הבו ללוי תמיד ואורך ... לישראל, “And to Levi he said, ‘Give to Levi your *tummîm* and your *’ûrîm*... and he [?] will enlighten your judgements to Jacob and your Torah to Israel.” The comparison with 4QTest is valuable, and Yadin’s analysis of במשפט is syntactically plausible (cf. 1QS 4:2: להאיר בלבב איש, “to enlighten a man’s mind”). Yadin suggests the meaning is that “the priests are those who by using the Urim and Thummim light (enlighten) the law” (Yadin, “Some Notes,” 41), but האורים והתמים are not marked as instrumental in the Hebrew text. His interpretation thus strains the sense of the Hebrew.

## 2. 4Q376 (=1Q29)

The next text of interest is 4Q376, also known tentatively as 4QapocrMos<sup>b?</sup>, dated to ca. 50–25 BCE.<sup>116</sup>

	4Q376 fli	
	1	[ -- ] נִי הַכוֹהֵן הַמְשִׁיחַ
	2	[ -- פ ] בֶּן בְּקָר וְאֵיל [ ]
	3	[ -- ] לְאֹרִים.
	flii	
	1	יֵאֱרֹכֵה וַיֵּצֵא עִמּוֹ בַלְשָׁנוֹת אֵשׁ הָאֲבָן הַשְּׂמַאֲלִית אֲשֶׁר עַל צִדּוֹ
	2	הַשְּׂמַאֲלִי תִגְלַה לְעֵינֵי כּוֹל הַקְּהָל עַד כְּלוֹת הַכוֹהֵן לְדַבֵּר וְאַחַר נַעֲלָה
	3	[ -- ] לְ לֵוִי? [ -- ] וְאַתָּה תִשְׁמֹר וְעַל שִׁיתָה כּוֹל [אֲשֶׁר] יִדְבֹּר [א] לְיִכֹּהֵ
	4	[ -- ] וְהַנְּבִיא [ -- ]

fli:1 [...] the anointed priest 2 [... a b]ull of the herd and a ram 3 [...] for the 'ûrîm. flii:1 They will shine upon you, and he will go out with him in flames of fire. The left-hand stone which is upon his left side 2 will be uncovered for the whole congregation to see until the priest finishes speaking. And after it [the cloud?] has been removed 3 [...] and you will carefully d[o al]l [that] he will say to you. 4 [And the prophet ...]

This text appears to be another copy of a composition also preserved in 1Q29, also known as Liturgy of the Three Tongues of Fire (text that overlaps with 4Q376 has been double underlined; text that is similar to 4Q376 has been single underlined):<sup>117</sup>

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<sup>116</sup> Magen Broshi et al., eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert XIX: Qumran Cave 4 V Parabiblical Texts, Part 2* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 120–36. The text was first published in John Strugnell, “Moses-Pseudepigrapha at Qumran: 4Q375, 4Q376, and Similar Works,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin*, ed. Lawrence H. Schiffman (Sheffield, UK: JSOT Press, 1990), 221–56.

<sup>117</sup> D. Barthélemy and J. T. Milik, eds., *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert I: Qumran Cave I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1955), 130–32.

## 1Q29 f1

[ -- ]°° ת [ -- ]	1
[ -- ] האבן כאשר [ -- ]	2
[ -- ] ויצא עמו בלשונות אש [ -- ]	3
[ -- ] עד כלות הכוהן לדבר [ -- ]	4
[ -- ] ידבר אליכה והנבא [ -- ]	5
[ -- ] ל [ -- ] המדבר סרה [ -- ]	6
[ -- ] ל [ -- ] יהוה אל והיכה [ -- ]	7

## f2

[ -- ] כל [ -- ]	1
[ -- ] האבן הימנית בצאת הכוהן [ -- ]	2
[ -- ] שלוש לשונות אש מ [ -- ]	3
[ -- ] ואחר יעלה ונגעל [ -- ]	4
[ -- ] א ינ [ -- ]	5

f1:1 [...] 2 [...] the stone when [...] 3 [...] and he will go out with him in flames of fire. [...] 4 [...] until the priest finishes speaking. [...] 5 [...] he will say to you. And the proph[et [...] 6 [...] the one who speaks falsely [...] 7 [...] Y<sup>HWH</sup> your G[od ...]. f2:1 [...] 2 [...] the right-hand [st]one when the prie[st] goes out [...] 3 [...] three tongues of fire f[rom?] ... 4 and afterwards it [he?] will be removed and it [will be?] closed [...] 5 [...].

The quantity of text shared between the second column of 4Q376 and fragment 1 of 1Q29 (double underlined above), as well as the compelling similarities between the second column of 4Q376 and fragment 2 of 1Q29 (single underlined above), have led scholars to conclude that these are two copies of the same composition.<sup>118</sup> Read together, the two texts present a picture of an anointed priest offering sacrifices, moving in and out of a space, and addressing the

<sup>118</sup> Broshi et al., *DJD XIX*, 124–30; Florentino García Martínez, “Magic in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Metamorphosis of Magic From Late Antiquity to the Early Modern Period*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer and Jan R. Veenstra (Leuven: Peeters, 2002), 19–20. See also Strugnell, “Moses-Pseudepigrapha.” Strugnell further suggests that 4Q375, which describes the preparations for a ritual that determines the authenticity of a prophet, is yet another copy of the same composition. He proposes that 4Q376/1Q29 gives the instructions for the ritual itself. While this thesis is tempting, it has not been proven.

congregation; flames flashing from somewhere; and two stones, one on the right and one on the left.

There are several biblical passages that can bring clarity to this fragmentary and somewhat confusing scene. The first is Lev 9:23–24:

23 ויבא משה ואהרן אל אהל מועד ויצאו ויברכו את העם וירא כבוד יהוה אל כל העם 24 ותצא אש מלפני יהוה ותאכל על המזבח את העלה ואת החלבים וירא כל העם וירגזו ויפלו על פניהם

23 Moses and Aaron entered the Tent of Meeting. Then they came out and blessed the people, and the Glory of YHWH appeared to all the people. 24 Fire went out from before YHWH and consumed the whole burnt offering and the fat upon the altar. All the people saw and shouted and fell upon their faces.

The scenario described in this passage, particularly the similar language *יצא אש*, suggests that we should understand the clause *יצא עמו בלשנות אש* in 4Q376 fl ii:1 (= 1Q29 fl:3) to mean that when the *priest* (the antecedent of the pronominal suffix *עמו*) leaves the sanctuary, *YHWH* (the subject of the verb *יצא*) will accompany him in flames of fire.<sup>119</sup> We may also infer from this parallel that the priest has just finished communicating directly with YHWH when he comes out to address the congregation.

The second passage to consider is Exod 34:30–35:

30 וירא אהרן וכל בני ישראל את משה והנה קרן עור פניו וייראו מגשת אליו 31 ויקרא אלהם משה וישבו אליו אהרן וכל הנשאים בעדה וידבר משה אלהם 32 ואחרי כן נגשו כל בני ישראל ויצום את כל אשר דבר יהוה אתו בהר סיני 33 ויכל משה מדבר אתם ויתן על פניו מסוה 34 ובבא משה לפני יהוה לדבר אתו יסיר את המסוה עד צאתו ויצא ודבר אל בני ישראל את אשר יצוה 35 וראו בני ישראל את פני משה כי קרן עור פני משה והשיב משה את המסוה על פניו עד באו לדבר אתו

30 Aaron and all the Israelites looked at Moses and saw that the skin of his face was shining, and they were too afraid to approach him. 31 Moses called to them, and Aaron and all the leaders of the congregation returned to him, and Moses

<sup>119</sup> Contra Strugnell, who translates “he/it (i.e. ‘the priest’ or ‘the cloud’) shall go forth together with it (?) with flashes of fire”; Strugnell, “Moses-Pseudepigrapha,” 238; Broshi et al., *DJD XIX*, 124. Based on Lev 9:23–24, the subject of *יצא* should be understood as YHWH, not the priest or a cloud, and the antecedent of the pronominal suffix *עמו* is the priest, not an undefined “it.”

spoke to them. 32 After that, all the Israelites approached, and Moses commanded them [to do] everything which Y<sub>HWH</sub> had said to him on Mount Sinai. 33 When Moses finished speaking with them, he placed a veil over his face. 34 When Moses would go before Y<sub>HWH</sub> to speak with him, he would remove the veil until he left. He would leave and tell the Israelites whatever he would command. 35 And the Israelites would see that the skin of Moses's face shone. And Moses would put the veil back on his face until he came to speak with [Y<sub>HWH</sub>].

This passage describes Moses acquiring a sort of radiant divine sunburn from his time speaking with Y<sub>HWH</sub> on Mount Sinai. Y<sub>HWH</sub> is so luminous that he leaves Moses with a permanent glow.<sup>120</sup> This glow frightens the Israelites, and so Moses covers his face with a veil. He removes the veil whenever he is speaking with Y<sub>HWH</sub> or delivering Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s message to the Israelites. When Moses finishes delivering a message (ויכל משה מדבר אתם, v. 33), he replaces the veil.

Moses's face in this passage appears to be the model for the left-hand stone in 4Q376: just as Moses uncovers his face so that it is visible to the Israelites while he delivers Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s message, the stone is uncovered so that the entire congregation may see it (לעיני כול הקהל), and it remains uncovered until the priest finishes speaking (עד כלות הכוהן לדבר), using the same phrase כלה ל-/מדבר used in Exod 34:33. Furthermore, if it is correct that Lev 9:23–24 forms the background for the flames of fire in 4Q376 f1ii:1 (= 1Q29 f1:3), as suggested above, then the priest is coming from an immediate encounter with Y<sub>HWH</sub> in the inner sanctuary just as Moses is coming from an immediate encounter with Y<sub>HWH</sub> on Sinai; we also might presume, given the

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<sup>120</sup> Jeffrey Stackert, *A Prophet Like Moses: Prophecy, Law, and Israelite Religion* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 187–88. On Moses's shining face, see also Menahem Haran, "The Shining of Moses' Face: A Case Study in Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Iconography," in *In the Shelter of Elyon: Essays on Ancient Palestinian Life and Literature in Honor of G. W. Ahlström* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1984), 159–73; Seth L. Sanders, "Old Light on Moses' Shining Face," *VT* 52, no. 3 (2002): 400–406.

imperfective verb forms of 4Q376,<sup>121</sup> that the priest's communication with Y<sup>HWH</sup> is a repeated event just as Moses's is in Exod 34.<sup>122</sup>

The stone thus appears to have an authenticating function.<sup>123</sup> The priest comes from the sanctuary having received direct communication from Y<sup>HWH</sup>, and he uncovers the stone so that the entire congregation can see it and thereby see that the message he delivers does indeed come from the deity. How exactly does the stone authenticate the priest's message? While the extant fragments are not explicit on this point, the verb יאירוכה at the beginning of 4Q376 f1ii:1, as well as the parallel with Moses's face in Exod 34, suggest that the stone would shine. The fragments are no more explicit on the precise import of the stone's luminescence. Several possibilities present themselves, all equally supported by the text: one possibility is that, similar to Moses's face, the stone was illuminated by an initial encounter with Y<sup>HWH</sup> and since that time emits light continuously; the congregation sees it shining whenever it is uncovered and is thereby reminded that the priest who wears it has special access to Y<sup>HWH</sup> as well as the status conferred by that access. A second possibility is that the stone shines immediately after an encounter with Y<sup>HWH</sup> but then ceases to shine some time after; it would need to be "recharged" by another encounter to shine again, and so the congregation knows that the priest has just come from Y<sup>HWH</sup>'s presence. Yet a third possibility is that the stone acts as a sort of indicator light, shining specifically when an authentic message from Y<sup>HWH</sup> is being delivered, regardless of whether the stone has recently

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<sup>121</sup> ויציא in 4Q376 f1ii:1 should be understood as a conjunctive *vav* plus *yiqtol*, as in Mishnaic Hebrew, and not as a Biblical Hebrew *wayyiqtol*.

<sup>122</sup> My thanks to Jeffrey Stackert for this observation.

<sup>123</sup> Jeffrey Stackert has argued, contra Haran, "Shining of Moses's Face," that Moses's shining face is not intended to authenticate his prophetic message because the P source's "positive anthropology" makes legitimation of prophecy wholly unnecessary; Moses's radiant face is rather an image of royalty. Stackert, *Prophet Like Moses*, 179–90. Stackert makes a convincing argument about P's understanding of Moses's face, but the author of 4Q376 was not a source critic and likely would have considered the shining face to be a sign of prophetic legitimacy.

been in proximity to the deity; the congregation knows that as long as the stone is shining, the words being spoken by the priest are a genuine communication from Y<sup>HWH</sup>. In each case, the congregation would receive slightly different information from seeing the stone shining.

While the extant fragments do not give a clear picture of how the stone functioned, they do provide clues about its identity. The plural form of the verb **יאירוכה** suggests that we should take as the subject the *'ûrîm* from f1i:3.<sup>124</sup> In other words, 4Q376 identifies the left-hand stone as the *'ûrîm*. This proposal is based on three observations: first, and most obviously, that *'ûrîm* is mentioned just before the description of the left-hand stone; second, that the use of **אויר** in the *hiphil* (**יאירוכה**) to describe the stone's behavior strongly suggests word-play with **אורים**,<sup>125</sup> and third, that the left-hand stone needs to be uncovered to be visible. Of all the stones on the high priest's garments, the *'ûrîm watummîm* are the only ones that might possibly be covered up.<sup>126</sup> The other stones worn by the high priest—the two stones on the shoulders of the ephod (Exod 28:9–13) and the twelve stones on the breast-piece (Exod 28:17–21)—were on the outside of his clothing. We can deduce this information from Lev 8:7–9, which describes Moses dressing Aaron in his vestments:

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<sup>124</sup> That particular instance of **אורים** is of course not the grammatical subject of **יאירוכה**: it has a prefixed *lamed*, which precludes it from being a subject, and from 1Q29 we can see that there was additional text between the first and second columns of 4Q376. Either there was a second instance of **אורים** closer to the verb or the additional text provided the necessary context to understand **אורים** as the implied subject.

<sup>125</sup> Ancient exegetes (and some modern ones) have often reasoned etymologically that **אורים** must have something to do with light. See, for example, 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup> (above); Josephus, *Ant.* 3:214–218 (below); b. Yoma 73b (below); further examples in Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 31–32. See also the LXX translation of **אורים** in Ezra 2:63; Neh 7:65 with participles of φωρίζω, “to give light.” Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion render **אורים** with φωτισμοί, “illuminations,” in Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Num 27:21; 1 Sam 28:6 (Lestienne and Grillet, *Règnes*, 92).

<sup>126</sup> Although modern scholars do not assume that the *'ûrîm watummîm* were stones, this assumption was widespread among early readers; see the many examples in Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 16–32.

7 ויתן עליו את הכתנת ויחגר אתו באבנט וילבש אתו את המעיל ויתן עליו את האפד ויחגר  
אתו בחשב האפד ויאפד לו בו 8 וישם עליו את החשן ויתן אל החשן את האורים ואת התמים  
9 וישם את המצנפת על ראשו וישם על המצנפת אל מול פניו את ציץ הזהב נזר הקדש כאשר  
צוה יהוה את משה

7 [Moses] placed the tunic upon [Aaron], and he belted him with the sash. Then he dressed him in the robe, and he placed upon him the ephod and belted it with the band of the ephod; he fitted it to him. 8 He put the breast-piece upon him, and he placed the *'ûrîm wātummîm* in the breast-piece. 9 Then he put the headdress upon his head, and in the front he put the golden medallion, the holy diadem, just as YHWH had commanded Moses.

The order in which Moses places the various garments on Aaron tells us the order in which they were worn. Moses first puts on the tunic, then the sash, then the robe, then the ephod with its band, and then the breast-piece. There is nothing that goes over the shoulders of the ephod, where the two stones are located, nor is there anything that goes over the breast-piece. Thus if the high priest in 4Q376 wanted either the two stones on the shoulders or the twelve stones on the breast-piece to be visible to the whole congregation, he would have no need to uncover them. They are already visible all the time. The *'ûrîm wātummîm*, on the other hand, are kept inside the

breast-piece.<sup>127</sup> Thus they would need to be uncovered in order to be visible. The author of the composition preserved in 4Q376 and 1Q29 seems to understand that the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* sat in the breast-piece side by side, one on the left side and one on the right, and that they could be uncovered at appropriate moments.

Contra Strugnell, who originally published 4Q376, we should not understand תגלה in 4Q376 f1ii:2 as “shall shine forth.”<sup>128</sup> His translation relies on a passage from Josephus, *Ant.* 3:214–215, which he describes as “strikingly similar”.<sup>129</sup>

(214) Ὁ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολῆς παρέλιπον διελθεῖν βούλομαι· οὐδαμόθεν γὰρ προφητῶν κακουργίαις κατέλιπεν ἀφορμὴν, εἰ δέ τινες τοιοῦτοι γένοιτο παρεγχειρεῖν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώματι, αὐτοκράτορα δ’ εἶναι τὸν θεὸν παρατυγχάνειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατέλιπεν ὅποτε θελήσειε καὶ μὴ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτ’ οὐχ

<sup>127</sup> See Exod 28:30: ונתת אל חשן המשפט את האורים ואת התמים, “You shall place the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* inside the breastpiece of judgement.” Although it is unusual for the preposition אל to mean “into,” note that אל תן is used to describe placing the testimony (עֵדוּת) inside the ark in Exod 25:16, 21. See also Num 4:12; 5:17 where אל תן is best understood as “to place in.” It is generally assumed that the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* were placed inside the breast-piece; see KJV, NRSV, NJPS, NIV; Martin Noth, *Exodus*, trans. J. S. Bowen (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1962), 222; Umberto Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Exodus*, trans. Israel Abrahams (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1967), 378; Brevard S. Childs, *The Book of Exodus* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1974), 517; Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 154–60; Houtman, *Exodus*, 492, 496; William H. C. Propp, *Exodus 19–40* (New York: Doubleday, 2006), 347, 442–43. For arguments against this position, see Van Dam, *Urim and Thummim*, 154–57.

Also note the following clause of Exod 28:30: והיו על לב אהרן בבואו לפני יהוה. This is usually translated, “They will be upon [or over] Aaron’s heart when he comes before YHWH” (e.g., NJPS; NRSV; Propp, *Exodus 19–40*, 314; Childs, *Exodus*, 517), suggesting that the translator considers this a description of the physical location of the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm*. A few scholars are explicit in this regard: Houtman, *Exodus*, 491 translates “on Aaron’s chest”; Cassuto, *Exodus*, 378 translates “upon his breast.” The text does seem to bear this meaning: Exod 28 is a detailed description of the realia of the high priest’s garments and how he shall wear them, and the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* are indeed intended to rest upon Aaron’s chest. But the phrase על לב is a most unusual way to express this idea because its meaning is almost exclusively *internal*—that is, mental and/or emotional: see Gen 34:3; 50:21; Judg 19:3; 1 Sam 1:13; 2 Sam 19:8; 2 Kgs 12:5; Isa 40:2; 42:25; 46:8; 47:7; 57:1, 11; 65:17; Jer 3:16; 7:31; 12:11; 19:5; 31:33; 32:35; 44:21; Ezek 14:3; Hos 2:16; Mal 2:2; Prov 25:20; Ruth 2:13; Dan 1:8; 2 Chr 7:11; 30:22. There are two examples in which the parallelism of the verse indicates that על לב has a physical sense (Prov 6:21, where על לב parallels על גרירת, and Song 8:6, where it parallels על זרוע), but in both of these cases, the physical is a metaphor for the internal. It may be the case that the physical sense of על לב is being used at once literally and metaphorically in Exod 28:29, 30b: Aaron carries the names of the Israelites (v. 29) and their judgement (משפט, v. 30b) both on his chest and in his mind at the same time. While it is not clear what it would mean for Aaron to have the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* “on his mind,” the use of the phrase על לב in Exod 28:30a nevertheless strongly suggests an internal sense. Although this would be an idiosyncratic usage, the author may have meant that Aaron wore the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* inside his clothing and thus closer to his heart than they would have been on the outside of his clothing. A more straightforward description for the physical location of the *’ûrîm wətum̄mîm* would be על חיק אהרן.

<sup>128</sup> Strugnell, “Moses-Pseudepigrapha,” 238; Broshi et al., *DJD XIX*, 124.

<sup>129</sup> Broshi et al., *DJD XIX*, 124.

Ἑβραίοις δῆλον εἶναι μόνον ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι.  
 (215) τῶν γὰρ λίθων, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα προεῖπον, σαρδόνυχες δὲ ἦσαν καὶ σημαίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν ἠγοῦμαι περισσὸν πᾶσιν εἰς γνώσιν ἀφιγμένων, συνέβαινε λάμπειν, ὅποτε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ θεὸς παρείη, τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὤμων πεπορημένον ἀγῆς ἀποτηδῶσης καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω φαινομένης, οὐ πρότερον ταύτης ὑπαρχούσης τῷ λίθῳ.

(214) However, I want to recount something I passed over regarding the raiment of the high priest. For [Moses] left behind no possible occasion for the villainy of [false] prophets, if there should be any of the kind that would interfere with God's decree, but let God decide for himself whether to be present at the holy rites when he should wish or not to be present, and he wanted this to be clear not only to the Hebrews, but also to any foreigners who happened to be there. (215) For concerning the stones, which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders (they were sardonyxes, and I consider it superfluous to explain their character when it is already known to everyone), it would come to pass that whenever God was present at the religious services, the one pinned on the right shoulder [of the priest] would shine, with a bright light leaping from it which was visible even to those farthest away, and which had not already existed in the stone prior to that moment.<sup>130</sup>

While it is true that there are significant parallels between the Josephus passage and 4Q376, there is also a critical difference: the two passages describe different stones. Josephus describes the stones that are on the priest's shoulders: [οἱ λίθοι] οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα προεῖπον, “the stones which I said before the high priest wore on his shoulders.” As was argued above, these stones do not need to be uncovered in order to be visible. 4Q376, on the other hand, describes the *’ûrîm*, which does need to be uncovered in order to be visible. When Strugnell translates הלל in 4Q376 as “shall shine forth,” he conflates the act of uncovering of the stone so that it *can* shine with the act of shining itself. In so doing, he also collapses the distinction between 4Q376 and Josephus.<sup>131</sup>

<sup>130</sup> This passage will be discussed in full below.

<sup>131</sup> Moreover, it is a gross methodological error to use Josephus to determine the meaning of a word in a non-biblical composition from Qumran. First there are all the difficulties posed by the fact that Josephus wrote in Greek while 4Q376 is written in Hebrew. Second, and more importantly, even if Josephus and 4Q376 were describing the same event or phenomenon, which they are not, there is no guarantee that they would understand it in the same way or use similar terms to talk about it.

To summarize the discussion of 4Q376: this Qumran fragment, along with the fragments of 1Q29, describe the priestly use of the *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm*. After the priest communicated with YHWH in the sanctuary, he would come out to address the congregation, and he would uncover the *'ûrîm* so that the congregation could see it shining and be able to trust that the priest's message was authentic. Flames would also shoot out from the sanctuary. The description of this scene is informed by the description of Moses's shining face in Exod 34:30–35 and by the description of Moses and Aaron coming out of the Tent of Meeting accompanied by the fiery Glory of YHWH in Lev 9:23–24. What we learn from this text is that the *'ûrîm* (and possibly the *tummîm* as well, although a description of its function is sadly not preserved) was thought to have the miraculous property of emitting light and that it was used to authenticate divine messages communicated through a human agent. The ability of the *'ûrîm* to shine is reminiscent of the shining *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm* that we saw in 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup>. Also similar to 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup>, there is no reflection of the modern understanding that *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm* give a binary response to a posed question.

### 3. Josephus, *Ant.* 3.214–18

We turn now in greater detail to the passage from Josephus which is partially presented above in the discussion of 4Q376. Josephus completed the *Jewish Antiquities* in 93–94 CE (see *Ant.* 20.267). Although the *'ûrîm wətum̄mîm* are nowhere mentioned by name, the passage is clearly influenced by them.

(214) Ὁ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολῆς παρέλιπον διελθεῖν βούλομαι· οὐδαμόθεν γὰρ προφητῶν κακουργίαις κατέλιπεν ἀφορμὴν, εἰ δέ τινες τοιοῦτοι γένοιντο παρεγχειρεῖν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώματι, αὐτοκράτορα δ' εἶναι τὸν θεὸν

παρατυγχάνειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατέλιπεν ὁπότε θελήσειε καὶ μὴ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτ' οὐχ Ἑβραίοις δῆλον εἶναι μόνον ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι. (215) τῶν γὰρ λίθων, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα προεῖπον, σαρδόνυχες δὲ ἦσαν καὶ σημαίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν ἠγοῦμαι περισσὸν πᾶσιν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένων, συνέβαινε λάμπειν, ὁπότε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ θεὸς παρείη, τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὤμων πεπορημένον αὐγῆς ἀποπηδῶσης καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω φαινομένης, οὐ πρότερον ταύτης ὑπαρχούσης τῷ λίθῳ. (216) θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μὴ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπ' ἐκφραλισμῷ τῶν θείων ἠσκηκόσιν, ὃ δ' ἐστὶ τούτου θαυμασιώτερον ἐρῶ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν δώδεκα λίθων, οὓς κατὰ στέρνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐνερραμμένους τῷ ἐσσηνι φορεῖ, νίκην μέλλουσι πολεμεῖν προεμήνυεν ὁ θεός· (217) τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀπήστραπτεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν αὐγὴ μήπω τῆς στρατιᾶς κεκινημένης, ὡς τῷ πλήθει παντὶ γινώριμον εἶναι τὸ παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ὅθεν Ἕλληνες οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα τιμῶντες ἔθθη διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν δύνασθαι τούτοις τὸν ἐσσηνα λόγιον καλοῦσιν. (218) ἐπαύσατο μὲν οὖν ὃ τε ἐσσην καὶ ὁ σαρδόνυξ τοῦ λάμπειν ἔτεσι διακοσίοις πρότερον ἢ ταύτην ἐμὲ συνθεῖναι τὴν γραφὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεράναντος ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, περὶ ὧν ἐροῦμεν εὐκαιρότερον. τρέψομαι δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον.

(214) However, I want to recount something I passed over regarding the raiment of the high priest. For [Moses] left behind no possible occasion for the villainy of prophets, if there should be any of the kind that would interfere with God's decree, but let God decide for himself whether to be present at the holy rites when he should wish or not to be present, and he wanted this to be clear not only to the Hebrews, but also to any foreigners who happened to be there. (215) For concerning the stones, which I said before<sup>132</sup> the high priest wore on his shoulders (they were sardonyxes, and I consider it superfluous to explain their character when it is already known to everyone), it would come to pass that whenever God was present at the religious services, the one pinned on the right shoulder [of the priest] would shine, with a bright light<sup>133</sup> leaping from it which was visible even to those farthest away, and which had not already existed in the stone prior to that moment. (216) Now, this is already a marvel to those who have not practiced natural philosophy until they have contempt for divine things, but I will speak of something even more marvelous than this: for by means of the twelve stones which the high priest wears on his chest sewn into the *essēn*,<sup>134</sup> God would indicate victory to those about to fight. (217) For such a bright light would shine forth from [the stones] before the army was put in motion that it was clear to the whole people that God had come to their aid. For this reason, the Greeks who honor our customs because they can say nothing against them call the *essēn* "oracle."<sup>135</sup> (218) But both *essēn* and sardonyx stopped shining two hundred years

<sup>132</sup> See *Ant.* 3.165.

<sup>133</sup> The primary meaning of *αὐγὴ* is the light of the sun, so this is a very bright light indeed.

<sup>134</sup> This word appears to be a transliteration of *ישן*.

<sup>135</sup> See LXX Exod 28:30 where *ישן* is rendered with *λογεῖον* (apparently an alternate spelling of *λόγιον*).

before I composed this work because God was disgusted at the transgression of the laws; but about these things we will speak at a more appropriate time. For now I will turn to the next part of my narrative.

The first half of the passage, as discussed above, bears some significant resemblance to 4Q376: both passages describe a stone on the priest's garment shining to indicate that the priest has had a legitimate encounter with God. In 4Q376, that stone is described as the left-hand stone (האבן השמאלית), whereas in Josephus, it is the right-hand stone ([ὁ λίθος] ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὤμων πεπορπημένο[ς]), but this discrepancy is minor. The truly notable difference between the two passages, as argued above, is that 4Q376 refers to the *'ûrîm* kept inside the breast-piece, while Josephus refers to the sardonyx upon the priest's shoulder.

The second half of the passage turns to the function of the twelve stones of the breast-piece, which would shine before a battle to announce to Israel that they would be victorious because God was there to help them. In fact, both sets of stones have a similar function, exercised in different contexts: to verify the presence of God. The two shoulder stones shine to verify that God is present at religious rites, and the twelve stones of the breast-piece shine to verify that God is present in battle.

These observations suggest that Josephus has taken what he understood as the function of the *'ûrîm watummîm* and given those functions to the other stones on the priest's garments. He seems to know the tradition represented by 4Q376 that the *'ûrîm* would shine to authenticate the priest's message as a legitimate communication from YHWH, and he gives this function to the right-hand shoulder stone. He also seems to draw on Num 27:21, where YHWH says that Joshua

must stand before Eleazar and consult the *'ûrîm watummîm* before going into battle,<sup>136</sup> presumably to ascertain whether the Israelites will be victorious; Josephus gives this function to the stones on the breast-piece.

Again we see the two themes that are being traced through these various passages: the *'ûrîm watummîm* have been conflated with the shoulder stones and breast-piece stones, and there is no indication that Josephus understood them to function as modern scholars do. It does seem that Josephus thought these two sets of stones delivered a type of binary message: they would shine if Y<sub>HWH</sub> was present and presumably would remain dark if he was not. Tellingly, however, Josephus does not say that, for example, the right stone would shine if Y<sub>HWH</sub> was present while the left stone would shine if he was not; or that certain of the breast-piece stones would light up if the Israelites were going to be victorious while others would light up if they were going to lose. Josephus seems to think that only the right-hand shoulder stone would shine, and that all the breast-piece stones shone together. We see no reflection of the idea that *'ûrîm* would indicate one possible answer and *tummîm* the other.

#### 4. b. Yoma 73a–b

The next passage to consider comes from the Babylonian Talmud, tractate Yoma. Rabbinic literature is notoriously difficult to date; however, the rabbis mentioned by name in this passage come from the second, third, and fourth generation of Amoraim, suggesting a tentative

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<sup>136</sup> ולפני אלעזר הכהן יעמד ושאל לו במשפט האורים לפני יהוה על פיו יצאו ועל פיו יבאו הוא וכל בני ישראל אתו וכל העדה, “[Joshua] will stand before Eleazar the priest, and he will seek the judgement of the *'ûrîm* for him before Y<sub>HWH</sub>. According to his command they will go out, and according to his command they will come in—he and all the Israelites with him and the whole congregation.”

*terminus a quo* in roughly the middle of the fourth century CE.<sup>137</sup> B. Yoma is of course much later than LXX Samuel, but it demonstrates the continuity of the Jewish understanding of *'ûrîm wətumîm* as a non-binary oracular medium.

The Talmud goes into some detail about precisely how one asks questions of the *'ûrîm wətumîm*: one is to stand facing the priest who in turn faces the *Shekhinah*; one should not speak too loudly or too softly; one should ask only one question at a time. Then comes a discussion of how the *'ûrîm wətumîm* functioned:

כיצד נעשית רבי יוחנן אומר בולטות ריש לקיש אומר מצטרפות והא לא כתיב בהו צד"י אמר  
רב שמואל בר יצחק אברהם יצחק ויעקב כתיב שם והא לא כתיב טי"ת אמר רב אחא בר  
יעקב שבטי ישורון כתיב שם

How was it done [i.e., how was the divine message delivered]? R. Yohanan says, “[The letters] stand in relief.” Resh Laqish says, “[The letters] combine themselves.” But the letter *tsade* is not written on them! R. Samuel b. Isaac said, “Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are written there.” But the letter *tet* is not written! R. Aha b. Jacob said, “The tribes of Jeshurun are written there.”

This passage gives two different explicit explanations for how the *'ûrîm wətumîm* delivered their message.<sup>138</sup> Both explanations presume that there are letters written on the *'ûrîm wətumîm*. R. Yohanan suggests that the letters pop into relief from the stones to spell out the message, while Resh Laqish suggests that the letters move about and rearrange themselves to spell out the message. These two proposals are innovations, for there is no mention in the biblical text of letters being written on the *'ûrîm wətumîm* (let alone the letters behaving in the miraculous ways described by the rabbis). There *are* letters written, however, on the two shoulder stones and the twelve breast-piece stones: the two shoulder stones each bear the names

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<sup>137</sup> On the dates of these particular rabbis, see Strack and Stemberger, *Introduction*, 86, 90, 95.

<sup>138</sup> y. Yoma 7:3, 50b suggests a third alternative that the high priest heard a voice which would deliver the message (cf. Num 7:89), but it is unclear how the *'ûrîm wətumîm* participated in this scenario.

of six of the twelve tribes of Israel (Exod 28:9–10), and the twelve breast-piece stones each bear one of the names (Exod 28:21). This seems to be the writing that the rabbis have in mind.<sup>139</sup>

Similar to Josephus, the rabbis have conflated the *'ûrîm wətummîm* with the stones of the high priest's garments. They are imagining something, perhaps stones, engraved with the names of the twelve tribes of Israel which were used to receive divine communications. These communications were delivered by miraculous manipulation of the letters on the stones.

This text from b. Yoma offers yet another explanation for how the *'ûrîm wətummîm* functioned that is at odds with the modern conclusion that each could give one half of a binary response. The *'ûrîm wətummîm* in this passage are not two independent objects or responses. In fact, they function together: because divine messages could not be fully received without all the letters, both *'ûrîm wətummîm* would need to be examined simultaneously for a response.

## 5. Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer 38

The final passage to examine comes from Pirqe Rabbi Eliezer, which has been dated to the first half of the eighth century.<sup>140</sup> Unlike the other passages examined thus far, this one specifically treats 1 Sam 14.

תדע לך כח החרם בא וראה משאול בן קיש שהחרים שיצומו כל העם מקטן ועד גדול שנא'  
ארור האיש אשר יאכל לחם ויהונתן לא שמע ואכל מעט דבש ויאורו עיניו שנא' ותאורנה שתי  
עיניו ראה שאול את הפלשתים חוזרים על ישראל וידע שמעלו ישראל בחרם וראה בשנים

<sup>139</sup> The names of the twelve tribes are in fact lacking the letters *tsade* and *tet* as the *stam* notes. They are also lacking the letters *khet* and *qoph*, although these go unmentioned; these letters would also be supplied by the inclusion of the name Isaac (יצחק) as R. Samuel b. Isaac suggests. y. Yoma 7:3, 50b correctly notes the absence of all four letters (*khet*, *tet*, *tsade*, and *qoph*).

<sup>140</sup> Moshe David Herr, "Pirkei de-Rabbi Eliezer," in *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, ed. Michael Berenbaum and Fred Skolnik (Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA, 2007), 16:182. See also the proposal for the later date of the first few decades of the ninth century in Gerald Friedlander, ed., *Pirkê de Rabbi Eliezer* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., 1916), liii–liv. Like b. Yoma, PRE is much later than LXX Samuel but still displays the same tendencies as the earlier examples given above. The cited text is from the Friedlander edition.



presumably the twelve stones on the high priest's breast-piece—would light up if the members of the tribe had been following Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s commandments (עשׂה דבר מצוה) but would remain dark if the members had transgressed (עשׂה עבירה). Consulting these stones is thus the first step Saul takes to determine who has displeased Y<sub>HWH</sub>.

This passage provides yet another example of the conflation of the *'ûrîm wātummîm* with the stones of the high priest's garments. In this case, the twelve stones of the breast-piece have taken on the oracular function of the *'ûrîm wātummîm* as well as their ability to emit light, which we saw above in 4QpIsa<sup>d</sup>, 4Q376, and Josephus. There seems to be a subtle distinction, however, between the texts discussed above and Pirque Rabbi Eliezer. The earlier texts describe the *'ûrîm wātummîm* (and their conflated versions) as controlled by Y<sub>HWH</sub>: in 4Q376 and Josephus, the stones shine when Y<sub>HWH</sub> is or has just been present, and in b. Yoma they spell out messages sent from Y<sub>HWH</sub>. In Pirque Rabbi Eliezer, on the other hand, the stones seem to have a magical quality. They have the ability to monitor the behavior of all the Israelites, of whom there are now at least several hundred thousands, to detect when someone has committed a transgression, to know which tribe that person belongs to, and to dim the appropriate stone on the breast-piece, all without any apparent intervention from Y<sub>HWH</sub>. They are presented as autonomous in a way that they are not in the earlier texts.

After Saul has consulted the stones and determined that the tribe of Benjamin is to blame, he still needs to identify the individual transgressor. To do this, he casts lots. It is tempting to understand these lots as the *'ûrîm wātummîm*. In favor of this interpretation is the fact that the first step in the process of identifying the transgressor—looking at the twelve stones to see which one is not shining and thereby to determine which tribe has the offending member—has a

miraculous nature, and so perhaps the second step (casting lots) should be as well. In an alternative version of this process, described in David Kimhi's commentary on Joshua, individuals would pass before the ark, and the transgressor would become rooted to the ground and be unable to move.<sup>142</sup> If we take Kimhi's description as a model, then the step of identifying the individual transgressor in Pirque Rabbi Eliezer should also be miraculous. In this case, we should understand the lots (גורלות) to be the *'ûrîm wətummmîm* rather than lay lots.

In opposition to this interpretation stand three factors: first, if Pirque Rabbi Eliezer wanted to say that these lots were the *'ûrîm wətummmîm*, it could have, but it does not. Second, the mention of lots at this point in the narrative is likely a reflection of the language used for lots in 1 Sam 14:40, 42, specifically the dividing of the people into two groups in v. 40 and the verbs לִכְדּוֹד (*niph'al*) and יִצַּא in v. 42.<sup>143</sup> It thus has an identifiable source in the biblical narrative and need not follow the model of creative elaboration we see in Kimhi. Third, we have seen a pattern in the history of interpretation of *'ûrîm wətummmîm* that they were not considered lots to be cast, and so it is unlikely that Pirque Rabbi Eliezer understands them that way. Given the relative strength of these three arguments, it is preferable that we consider the lots in Pirque Rabbi Eliezer to be lay lots and not the *'ûrîm wətummmîm*.

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<sup>142</sup> See Kimhi on Josh 7:14: אמרו כי העבירים לפני הארון והגלכד הוא שהיה הארון קולטו שלא היה יכול לזוז משם, "They say that he made them pass before the ark, and the ark would grab the one who was indicated, so that he would be unable to move from the spot."

<sup>143</sup> These are the very elements which prompted Lindblom to argue that "to every Hebrew reader or hearer it was immediately clear that the measures taken in the previous part of the narrative in order to discover who was guilty (the placing of the two parties opposite each other and Saul's prayer) had reference to an ordinary lot-casting procedure," Lindblom, "Lot-Casting," 176; see n26 on p. 135. The author of Pirque Rabbi Eliezer is evidently one of those Hebrew readers to whom it was clear that Saul was casting lots.

## 6. Concluding observations

Although these passages cannot tell us how the Septuagint translator of Samuel thought the *'ûrîm wətummîm* functioned, they can tell us something about what he likely did *not* think. In keeping with the traditions presented here, the translator likely did not believe that when the *'ûrîm wətummîm* were consulted, each would represent one of two possible and mutually exclusive answers to a posed question. Seen in this light, the translator's decision to render תמים rather than תמים is all the more reasonable. If he did not believe that *tummîm* was the necessary correlative of *'ûrîm*, then he had no logical requirement to keep *tummîm* in his translation: it was not necessary for the coherence of the verse.

To push these observations a little further, the translator may have been correcting the *Vorlage* not only for narrative consistency, as argued above, but also to keep it consistent with what he knew about *'ûrîm wətummîm*. He may in fact have thought that the *Vorlage* was misrepresenting how *'ûrîm wətummîm* were used. Certainly the depiction in the *Vorlage* is nothing like the depictions in later Jewish literature. The translator may have been partly motivated to use *δσιότης* in 1 Sam 14:41 by a desire to represent *'ûrîm wətummîm* in a way that he believed to be more accurate.

## V. The Textual Development of 1 Sam 14:41

Finally, I turn now to a consideration of the various textual witnesses we have for 1 Sam 14:41. Aejmelaeus has written that “the first and foremost question in textual criticism is not ‘which one of the readings is the most original?’ or ‘which reading best of all suits the context?’,

but instead, ‘what happened to the text?’ or ‘how did the various readings come about?’<sup>144</sup> She further elaborates,

In textual criticism the most important criterion for me is that the reading from which it is easiest to derive all the other readings should be regarded as the original. The task of the textual critic is like that of a Sherlock Holmes, trying to find out on the basis of the evidence what has happened. Tracing the change from one text-form to another and examining the motives behind the change is my idea of textual criticism in the Septuagint. The motives play an essential role because so many changes have been made on purpose.<sup>145</sup>

In this section I will present a theory of textual development that accounts for how the various readings in the Hebrew and Greek witnesses came about. I will argue that LXX<sup>A/B</sup> represents the earliest Greek translation of 1 Sam 14:41 and discuss how the other translations derive from it, taking care to examine the motivations behind the changes.

We begin with the *Vorlage*, which is shared by all the textual witnesses, so that we can see clearly how they relate to each other.<sup>146</sup>

ויאמר שאול יהוה אלהי ישראל למה לא ענית את עבדך היום אם יש בי או ביונתן בני העון  
יהוה אלהי ישראל הבה אורים ואם כה תאמר בעמך ישראל הבה תמים וילכד יונתן ושאול  
והעם יצאו

Saul said, “Y<sup>HWH</sup>, God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If the wrongdoing is in me or in Jonathan my son, Y<sup>HWH</sup>, God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*. But if you say thus: ‘In your people Israel,’ give *tummîm*.” And Jonathan and Saul were selected while the people were exonerated.

This proposed *Vorlage* is the starting point for the many versions, both Hebrew and Greek, that we have of 1 Sam 14:41.

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<sup>144</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Corruption or Correction,” 2.

<sup>145</sup> Aejmelaeus, “David’s Return,” 104.

<sup>146</sup> This proposed *Vorlage* is first presented on p. 139.

First, let us look briefly again at 4Q52, which in its reconstructed form is almost identical with the *Vorlage* (save for the first few words of the verse, which are not extant and have not been reconstructed):

1 [למה לא ענית את עבדך היום אם יש בי] או ב[יונתן בני העון יהוה אלהי ישראל הבה  
ארים ואם ישנו בעמך ישראל]  
2 [הבה תמים וילכד יונתן ושאל והעם יצ]אֹ.

1 “Why have you not answered your servant today? If the guilt is in me or in my son Jonathan, YHWH God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*. But if it is in your people Israel, 2 give *tummîm*.” Jonathan and Saul were selected while the people were exonerated.

As discussed above, to the extent that the reconstruction can be trusted, 4Q52 seems to be a reasonable representation of the *Vorlage*.

Next we will review MT, our other Hebrew witness for this verse:

וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲבֵה תַמִּים וְיִלְכַד יוֹנָתָן וְשָׁאוּל וְהָעָם יִצְאוּ  
Saul said to YHWH, the God of Israel, “Answer honestly!” Jonathan and Saul were selected while the people were exonerated.<sup>147</sup>

By looking at the *Vorlage*, the trigger for the homoioteleuton that created the MT text is clear.

The scribe’s eye skipped from one instance of *ישראל* to the next. Besides the absence of the plus, the consonantal text of MT is almost identical to the *Vorlage*.<sup>148</sup> As discussed above, the vocalization *תמים* seems to have been an attempt to make sense of a corrupted text.<sup>149</sup>

I turn now to the Greek witnesses. The following chart compares the Greek versions to each other and to the *Vorlage*. For the sake of precision, LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> have been kept

<sup>147</sup> For notes on this translation, see n2 on p. 131 and n3 on p. 131.

<sup>148</sup> The one difference that remains is the preposition *אל* in MT, which is not reflected in any of the LXX manuscripts. The scholarship is largely silent on the relationship of this preposition to the rest of the textual tradition. McCarter tentatively suggests that it could be a misreading of a vocative *lamed*; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 247. On vocative *lamed*, see *IBHS* 11.2.10i. This proposal is questionable, but a better suggestion has not been forthcoming.

<sup>149</sup> See pp. 135–136.

separate in the chart, but in the discussion that follows, I will refer to the combined text LXX<sup>A/B</sup>;  
on the deviations in the two texts, see above.<sup>150</sup>

Table 12: The major Greek versions of 1 Sam 14:41

<i>Vorlage</i>	LXX <sup>A</sup>	LXX <sup>B</sup>	Antiochene text	LXX <sup>V</sup>
ויאמר שאול	καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ	καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ	καὶ εἶπε Σαουλ	καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ
יהוה אלהי ישראל	Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ	idem	idem	idem
למה	ὅτι	τί ὅτι	τί ὅτι	τί ὅτι
לא ענית	οὐκ ἀπεκρίθη	οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης	οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης	οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης
את עבדך היום	τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον	idem	idem	idem
אם	ἢ	ἢ	εἰ	ἢ
יש בי או ביונתן בני העון יהוה אלהי ישראל הבה אורים	ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ δὸς δῆλους	idem	idem	idem
ואם	καὶ ἐάν	καὶ ἐάν	καὶ εἰ	καὶ ἐάν
כה תאמר	τάδε εἶπης	τάδε εἶπη	τάδε εἶποις	τάδε εἶπης
בעמד ישראל	τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ	δὸς δὴ τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ	ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἢ ἀδικία	ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ ἢ ἀδικία
הבה תמים	δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα	δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα	δὸς ὁσιότητα	δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα
וילכד	καὶ κληροῦται	καὶ κληροῦται	καὶ κατακληροῦται	καὶ κατακληροῦτε
יונתן ושאל	Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ	Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ	Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωναθαν	Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ
והעם יצאו	καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν	καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν	καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαὸς	καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν

<sup>150</sup> See p. 151.

First we will review the composite text LXX<sup>A/B</sup>, which has been presented above:<sup>151</sup>

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία; κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραὴλ δὸς δῆλους· καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἴπῃς τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραὴλ δὸς δὴ ὀσιότητα. καὶ κληροῦται Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? Is the wrongdoing either in me or in my son Jonathan? Lord God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*! And if you say thus [i.e., that one of us did wrong], [then] to your people Israel please give blamelessness [i.e., declare them innocent].” And Jonathan and Saul were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].

As this chapter argues, the translator read the *Vorlage* and, in order to make the narrative consistent and to depict the *’ûrîm watummîm* in keeping with his understanding of how they worked, decided that the best reading of the consonants םמַת was םמַת rather than םמַת. To accommodate his reading of the text, he omitted the preposition ׀/ἐν and rendered the particle ם as ἦ. These adjustments to the *Vorlage* are quite minor; the second may not be considered an “adjustment” at all but rather a valid alternative interpretation. As discussed above, there are also two purely contextual changes in LXX<sup>A/B</sup>: δὸς δῆλους is no longer an apodosis, and the pronoun τάδε has become anaphoric. It is remarkable that the translator was able to change the meaning of the verse so thoroughly with so few alterations to the *Vorlage*. Indeed, if LXX<sup>A/B</sup> were to be retroverted into Hebrew, the consonants would be identical with the *Vorlage* except for the absence of the preposition ׀ before םמַת. The translator seems to have tried to adhere to the *Vorlage* as closely as possible while also addressing what he saw as deficiencies in the text. The way in which the translator approached this verse is thus related to the highly isomorphic technique he generally practices.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>151</sup> See pp. 151–155.

<sup>152</sup> On the typically rigid, isomorphic technique of the translator of LXX Samuel, see Aejmelaeus, “Septuagint of 1 Samuel,” especially 124, 128–34.

Now we turn to the Antiochene text:

καὶ εἶπε Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, δὸς δῆλους· καὶ εἰ τὰδε εἴποις Ἐν τῷ λαῷ ἢ ἀδικία, δὸς ὀσιότητα. καὶ κατακληροῦται Σαουλ καὶ Ἰωναθαν, καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαός.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? If the wrongdoing is in me or in my son Jonathan, Lord God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*. And if you should say thus, ‘The wrongdoing is in the people,’ give *tummîm*.” And Saul and Jonathan were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].

A few textual differences notwithstanding, the Antiochene text has the same logical structure as Rahlfs: “if *a*, then *x*; but if *b*, then *y*.” Despite the fact that *ὀσιότης* means “blamelessness” and not “*tummîm*,” we can see that the Antiochene text, like Rahlfs, *intends* *ὀσιότης* to mean “*tummîm*.” If we were to translate *ὀσιότης* in the Antiochene text as “blamelessness,” then Saul’s request would mean, “If the wrongdoing is in me or Jonathan, give *’ûrîm*; but if you say the wrongdoing is in the people, give blamelessness.” The logic of this request would be unclear because there is no obvious opposition between *’ûrîm* and blamelessness.<sup>153</sup> By contrast, the logic of a request for *’ûrîm* under condition *a* or *tummîm* under condition *b* is quite clear and accords with the modern scholarly understanding of how the *’ûrîm wātummîm* functioned.

The Antiochene text preserves a number of variants typical of this text, which tends to prefer Attic forms to *koine* forms, to clarify content, to improve style, and to replace simple verbs with compound verbs:<sup>154</sup>

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<sup>153</sup> If the Antiochene text did indeed intend “blamelessness” by *ὀσιότης*, the verse would seem to mean that Saul wants himself or Jonathan to be punished for wrongdoing but he hopes the people will be pardoned for any transgression. It is not clear, however, that an indication of wrongdoing by means of *’ûrîm* implies punishment by YHWH. Indeed, the threat of punishment comes from Saul himself (see v. 39), so there is no need for him to ask YHWH to refrain from blaming (and then punishing) the people. It seems more likely that the Antiochene text understands Saul to be asking for a response of *’ûrîm* or *tummîm*.

<sup>154</sup> Fernández Marcos, *Introducción*, 233–34. See also Brock, *Recensions*, 224–99.

- The aorist subjunctive εἴπῃς is replaced by the optative εἴποις.
- ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ is simplified to ἐν τῷ λαῷ.<sup>155</sup> The excision of the words σου and Ἰσραηλ should be understood as attempts to improve the text. The editor may have understood the possessive pronoun σου to refer to Saul and considered it inappropriate for Y<sup>H</sup>W<sup>H</sup> to refer to Israel as Saul’s people. As for the loss of Ἰσραηλ, it is possible that the editor thought that the guilt of the entire people Israel was not in question; contextually we can understand מַעַן in this passage as “the troops”—that is, not the entire Israelite nation, but rather only the people who were with Saul and Jonathan, namely the army. And indeed, as we saw in the discussion of the narrative, it is likely that Saul considers the fault to lie in the troops, who have improperly slaughtered and eaten their spoils. There are thus exegetical reasons for the Antiochene text to have altered the original reading.<sup>156</sup>
- ἡ ἀδικία is repeated after ἐν τῷ λαῷ. This repetition seems intended to clarify the meaning of the sentence by making explicit the implied subject.
- The names of Jonathan and Saul are presented in reverse order in the last clause. The Antiochene text seems to have reversed the original order (“Jonathan and Saul”) to harmonize Saul’s request with the response. Saul asks, “Is the wrongdoing in me or in my son Jonathan?” and so the Antiochene text says that they were indicated in that order, first Saul and then Jonathan.

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<sup>155</sup> The Antiochene reading ἐν τῷ λαῷ cannot be the original; if the second instance of “Israel” were not present in the *Vorlage*, there would not be a clear trigger for the homoioteleuton in MT.

<sup>156</sup> On the tendency of the Antiochene text to make changes to the text for exegetical reasons, see Fernández Marcos, *Introducción*, 234: “El texto antioqueno en [los libros históricos] completa lo que ha quedado por decir o está dicho implícitamente en la cadena narrativa..., y realiza otra serie de intervenciones editoriales de carácter teológico, midrásico o simplemente cultas (‘Gelehrtenkorrekturen’).”

- κληροῦται is changed to the compound verb κατακληροῦται.<sup>157</sup>
- The Hebrew word order καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν has been changed to καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ὁ λαός.

The Antiochene text represents a revision back towards the meaning of the Hebrew,<sup>158</sup> most likely via the mediation of a hexaplaric text.<sup>159</sup> One might reasonably ask how do we know that the Antiochene text is a revision; why is it not simply the earliest translation, which was then altered in the other Greek versions? The evidence in favor of the Antiochene text as a revision is that it misuses the word δσιότης in describing the use of *’ûrîm wətummîm*. The choice of δσιότης rather than ἀλήθεια makes sense only in the context of LXX<sup>A/B</sup>, which understood the consonants םמׁת to mean “blamelessness,” not “*tummîm*,” and which made additional changes to the structure and meaning of the verse in order to accommodate this reading. The Antiochene text, however, retains the sense of the *Vorlage* and therefore has no reason to use δσιότης unless that word has already become an established part of the textual tradition. The Antiochene text must be following LXX<sup>A/B</sup> in its use of δσιότης even as it reinstates the *Vorlage*’s sense of the verse.

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<sup>157</sup> Contrast Brock, who argues that the compound κατακληροῦται is original on the basis of its use in LXX<sup>B</sup> at 1 Sam 10:20, 21; 14:42. Brock, *Recensions*, 280. It is easier, however, to imagine that the Antiochene text is harmonizing the verb in v. 41 with the verbs in 10:20, 21 and 14:42 than to explain why LXX<sup>A/B</sup> would have omitted the prepositional prefix.

<sup>158</sup> A similar phenomenon occurs in 1 Sam 1:6 (see pp. 52–54 in Chapter Two), although in that case the Antiochene text preserved a double translation: the mistaken translation of LXX<sup>B</sup> and the accurate translation. In 1 Sam 14:41, only the translation which accurately represents the *Vorlage* has been preserved, perhaps because it is so similar to the LXX<sup>A/B</sup> translation.

<sup>159</sup> On the presence of hexaplaric corrections in the Antiochene text, see Brock, *Recensions*, 170–73, 297–98; Anneli Aejmelaeus, “What Rahlfs Could Not Know: 1 Sam 14,4–5 in the Old Greek,” in *After Qumran: Old and Modern Editions of the Biblical Texts—The Historical Books*, ed. Hans Ausloos, Bénédicte Lemmelijn and Julio Trebolle Barrera (Leuven: Peeters, 2012), 89; Aejmelaeus, “Doublets,” 10–13, 19. Fernández Marcos, *Introducción*, 234 suggests that for certain books the earliest stratum of the Antiochene text was corrected directly from the *Vorlage* (“el primer principio recensional consiste en la corrección del texto según la *Vorlage* hebreo-aramea correspondiente”), but as Brock and Aejmelaeus point out, knowledge of Hebrew was quite rare among early Christians.

Finally, let us consider LXX<sup>V</sup>. Unlike LXX<sup>A</sup>, LXX<sup>B</sup>, and the Antiochene text, LXX<sup>V</sup> has not been published, so I have reconstructed it from the variants listed in the critical apparatus in Brooke, McLean, and Thackeray and the preliminary apparatus of the Göttingen edition:

καὶ εἶπεν Σαουλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; ἢ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἢ ἀδικία; κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, δὸς δῆλους· καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἴπῃς, Ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ ἢ ἀδικία, δὸς δὴ ὀσιότητα. καὶ κατακληροῦτε Ἰωναθαν καὶ Σαουλ, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.

And Saul said, “Lord God of Israel, why have you not answered your servant today? Is the wrongdoing either in me or in Jonathan my son? Lord God of Israel, give *’ûrîm*! And if you say thus, ‘The wrongdoing is in your people Israel,’ give *tummîm*.” And Jonathan and Saul were selected, and the people were exonerated [literally, left].

This text preserves elements found in both the Antiochene text and LXX<sup>A/B</sup>. From LXX<sup>A/B</sup> it has retained the conjunction ἢ, the possessive pronoun σου, the appositive Ἰσραηλ, and the word order at the end of the verse; from the Antiochene text it has retained the preposition ἐν, the second instance of ἢ ἀδικία, and the compound verb κατακληροῦτε (Antiochene text -ται). Although LXX<sup>V</sup> follows LXX<sup>A/B</sup> in having only a single conditional sentence, nevertheless ὀσιότης in this text should be understood to represent “*tummîm*” as it does in the Antiochene text. Like the Antiochene text, LXX<sup>V</sup> reads ἐν before τῷ λαῷ and ἢ ἀδικία after it, thereby creating a clear dichotomy between two options: is the wrongdoing in Saul or Jonathan, or is the wrongdoing in the people? If option *a*, then give *’ûrîm*; if option *b*, then give ὀσιότης. The context demands that ὀσιότης be understood as “*tummîm*” here just as it is in the Antiochene text. LXX<sup>V</sup> must also be following LXX<sup>A/B</sup> in the use of ὀσιότης.

In fact, every Greek witness attests the use of ὀσιότης (save 509, which has θειότης), but LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> are the only texts which make the necessary changes that allow ὀσιότης rather

than ἀλήθεια to make sense. Put another way, LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> are the only texts where δσιότης is not the wrong word.

The conclusion to be drawn from this discussion is that the oldest Greek translation of 1 Sam 14:41 must be LXX<sup>A/B</sup> because it is the text which shows us why the translator used the word δσιότης: he was not translating “’ûrîm” and “tummîm,” but rather “’ûrîm” and “blamelessness.” The choice of δσιότης in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> is accommodated by minor changes which were introduced into the Greek text in order to clarify the translator’s intended meaning. LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup> are clearly derived from this hypothetical composite text: they both convey the meaning of LXX<sup>A/B</sup> but have suffered from errors (and perhaps additions)<sup>160</sup> in the transmission process. Both the Antiochene text and LXX<sup>V</sup> must be later than LXX<sup>A/B</sup> because they follow that text in using δσιότης despite the fact that, strictly speaking, it is not what they mean.

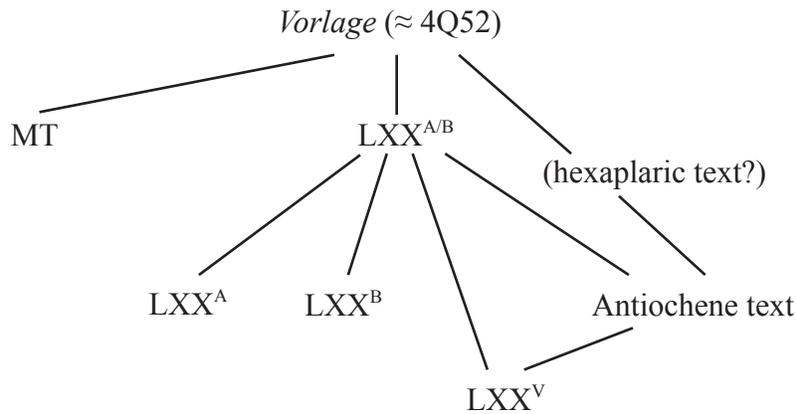
My proposal for the textual development of 1 Sam 14:41 is represented in the following chart. Although a certain amount of relative chronology is implied, it should not be read too strictly; the intent of the chart is to show lines of influence rather than chronology per se.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>160</sup> See n74 on p. 151 on the second instance of δὸς δῆ in LXX<sup>B</sup>.

<sup>161</sup> The hesitancy about equating 4Q52 with the *Vorlage* (see the approximation sign) is due to the fact that 4Q52 is almost entirely reconstructed. It seems overly confident to say that a text we do not have in its entirety is a perfect candidate for the *Vorlage*. See also p. 138.

Figure 3: The textual development of 1 Sam 14:41



It is somewhat surprising that the Antiochene text and LXX<sup>V</sup> use LXX<sup>A/B</sup>'s *δοσιότης* even though it does not make sense in the verse as they present it. Given that both texts show changes to LXX<sup>A/B</sup>, it is unlikely that they retained *δοσιότης* out of some sense of loyalty. It is quite possible that the scribes did not realize that *δοσιότης* in LXX<sup>A/B</sup> is not intended to render *דָּמִים*; after all, modern scholars have also not recognized this misalignment of the Greek with the *Vorlage*.<sup>162</sup> The Antiochene text is particularly striking in this regard since it had some sort of access to the *Vorlage* and corrected the sense of LXX<sup>A/B</sup> back towards it (restoring the conditional particle *εἰ* and the preposition *ἐν*). Perhaps the scribe assumed that *δοσιότης* was an acceptable rendering of *דָּמִים*. This oversight could suggest that, at least in this case, the person responsible for the Antiochene text had less acquaintance with Pentateuchal translation equivalents than did the translator.

<sup>162</sup> See n66 on p. 148.

*Aejmelaeus's proposed text*

In her forthcoming critical edition of the Greek text of Samuel for the Göttingen Septuagint series,<sup>163</sup> Aejmelaeus proposes the following reconstructed text of 1 Sam 14:41:

καὶ εἶπεν Σαούλ Κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωναθὰν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραήλ, δὸς δῆλους· καὶ ἐὰν τὰδε εἴπῃς Ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραήλ ἡ ἀδικία, δὸς δὴ ὁσιότητα. καὶ κατακληροῦται Ἰωναθὰν καὶ Σαούλ, καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἐξῆλθεν.

Her inclusion of ἡ ἀδικία after τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραήλ is surprising; presumably she takes this to be an accurate representation of the *Vorlage*, but then we must wonder why the corresponding Hebrew is not preserved in MT since it comes after the homoioteleuton. I also disagree that the compound verb κατακληροῦται is original, but Brock supports Aejmelaeus in this reading.<sup>164</sup>

The most important challenge that can be raised against her reconstruction, however, is that as in Rahlfs, the Antiochene text, and LXX<sup>V</sup>, the logical structure of Saul's request in her text—"if the wrongdoing is in me or Jonathan, give *'urîm*, but if the wrongdoing is in the people, give *ὁσιότης*"—demands that we translate *ὁσιότης* as "*tummîm*" even though that is not what the Greek means. Moreover, simply correcting *ὁσιότης* to ἀλήθεια (the Pentateuchal equivalent for *מִמְתָּ*)<sup>165</sup> does not solve the problem, for then we have to account for how *ὁσιότης* came to be used in the extant text forms. If we were to take Aejmelaeus's text, with the correction of ἀλήθεια for *ὁσιότης*, as OG, then we would have to imagine that LXX<sup>A/B</sup> looked back at the *Vorlage*<sup>166</sup> and corrected OG *away from* the Hebrew. As she herself has said, "changes against the Hebrew... are

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<sup>163</sup> *Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum, Auctoritate Societatis Litterarum Göttingensis editum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1931–).

<sup>164</sup> Brock, *Recensions*, 280. See n157 on p. 194.

<sup>165</sup> Exod 28:30; Lev 8:8; Deut 33:8.

<sup>166</sup> The LXX<sup>A/B</sup> translation can only have been produced from the Hebrew because of the *מִמְתָּ/מִמְתָּ* interchange. It could not have arisen from an interaction solely with another Greek translation.

not typical of any known recension of the Septuagint.”<sup>167</sup> Aejmelaeus’s reconstruction therefore cannot represent OG. The Old Greek must be the text which accounts for *δσιότης*, and that text is LXX<sup>A/B</sup>.

## VI. Conclusion

The argument of this chapter suggests several surprising conclusions. The first is that MT and LXX arrived at the same non-intuitive reading—*דסיִוִּת*/*δσιότης*—but by different means. The MT reading came about through scribal error, while the LXX reading came about through the translator’s careful and creative editing of the *Vorlage* to address a perceived problem in the narrative. The intersection of the MT and LXX texts in this one word appears to be a coincidence.

The second surprise is that LXX<sup>A/B</sup> represents the Old Greek despite the fact that it is not an accurate representation of the *Vorlage*; conversely, Rahlfs text appears to accurately represent the consonantal text of the *Vorlage* but cannot be the Old Greek because it cannot account for *δσιότης*. This is an unusual state of affairs because the translator of Samuel tended to give a very close, highly isomorphic rendering of his *Vorlage*; indeed, it is one of the hallmark traits of his

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<sup>167</sup> Aejmelaeus, “David’s Return,” 100.

work.<sup>168</sup> In this case, however, he has intentionally deviated from the *Vorlage* in order to address what he sees as a deficiency in the narrative. He has attempted to improve on the *Vorlage* with his translation. This example urges us to nuance our description of the translator: he is not always as rigid as he is generally considered. Our description must expand to include the possibility that when he considered it necessary, the translator was able to make interpretive departures from the *Vorlage*.

Our description must also expand to accommodate the idea that the translator was capable of considering larger segments of the text rather than being confined to a word-by-word approach. It is not possible to account for the textual evidence of 1 Sam 14:41 unless we recognize that the translator had the ability to broaden his focus more widely than has previously been argued. This finding is in agreement with Barr's position that word-by-word translation is a choice the translator makes about how to represent his *Vorlage* rather than a result of his incompetence as a reader of Hebrew.

This chapter thus argues for a somewhat different conception of the translator of Samuel than has previously been proposed. The example of 1 Sam 14:41 demonstrates that the translator could, at times, show a degree of creativity and freedom from the constraints of the *Vorlage* that has not been previously imagined. He could read several sentences of his Hebrew text at a time and consider whether they were coherent, both with each other and, perhaps, with extra-biblical

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<sup>168</sup> Aejmelaeus, "Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 124. Aejmelaeus does note a few important areas in which the translator felt a greater degree of freedom, namely in his use of the genitive absolute, his choice of verbal tenses (hence the frequent use of the historical present in LXX 1 Samuel), and his choice of equivalents for verbs of motion (Aejmelaeus, "Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 135–39). See the more detailed discussion on pp. 25–27 of the Introduction. We should not gloss over this aspect of the translator's technique; however, none of Aejmelaeus's examples prepare us for the creativity which we find in 1 Sam 14:41. She also notes that "it is typical of most good free renderings used by this translator that he only needed to consider a small segment of the Hebrew text at a time, just one or two Hebrew words" (Aejmelaeus, "Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 135), but the example of 1 Sam 14:41 demonstrates that he was capable of free renderings which required the consideration of larger portions of text.

traditions such as alternative methods of using the *'ûrîm wətummîm*. When he determined that his text was not coherent, he could “repair” the *Vorlage* with his translation, employing strategies as subtle as choosing a rarely-used equivalent and as bold as omitting a preposition. While some limited creativity has been attributed to the translator in the past,<sup>169</sup> it is neither of the same type nor on the same scale as what we have seen in 1 Sam 14:41. The ability to read and consider several Hebrew sentences at a time before committing a translation to writing also attests to a greater facility with both Hebrew language and the practice of translation than has previously been argued. The fact that he *could* consider more than a word or two at a time also leads us to surmise that typical “word-by-word” approach is a choice rather than a necessity.

Finally, we must ask why we see this kind of creativity in 1 Sam 14:41. The best explanation may simply be that the translator, like all humans, is neither consistent nor systematic. Something about this verse struck him as needing a different approach, or he had an insight into the meaning of the verse which drove him away from his usual translational strategies. Fortunately, we are still able to see *what* the translator did even if we are unable to see *why* he did it. That knowledge alone has already proven to be of great value.

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<sup>169</sup> See n167 on p. 200.

## Chapter 4

### 1 Sam 15:29: Reading נצח ישראל in Light of 1 Kgs 11

#### I. Introduction

This chapter argues that the Septuagint rendering of the phrase נצח ישראל in 1 Sam 15:29 is not simply a mistaken translation, as has been suggested,<sup>1</sup> but rather exemplifies the translator's ability to engage in translation as creative problem-solving. The unusual divine epithet נצח ישראל is rendered in the Septuagint by a verbal clause, διαίρεθήσεται Ισραηλ, evidently reflecting a mental text of נחצה ישראל created through metathesis of the *khet* and the *tsade* and the addition of a final *he*.<sup>2</sup> Transformations of these kinds are well-documented in the Septuagint.<sup>3</sup> The translator then rendered נחצה with the future passive form of διαίρέω,<sup>4</sup> thereby creating a prediction of the division of the monarchy into the Northern and Southern Kingdoms after the death of Solomon.

After a review of the textual data for 1 Sam 15:29, I will present evidence from the Septuagint to support the hypothesis that the rendering of נצח ישראל is an attempt by the translator to solve difficulties in his *Vorlage*. The translator faced two perceived problems in this

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<sup>1</sup> Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 101; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 236; Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 291; Aejmelaes, "Does God Regret." Aejmelaes suggests as an alternative that the LXX reading was originally a marginal note, indicating that the correct reading of the text is not ישראל but rather אל ישראל. (See the related proposal in Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 60 that the correct reading of the Hebrew is in fact אל ישראל.) While an intriguing possibility, her proposal leaves unclear what the original Greek text would have read before the accidental inclusion of the marginalia.

<sup>2</sup> The "reading" נחצה reflected in LXX could also be described an example of what Tov has termed "pseudo-variants"; Tov, "Did the Septuagint Translators," 211. See also p. 58 in Chapter Two.

<sup>3</sup> See Tov, "Did the Septuagint Translators." For more examples of metatheses in 1 Samuel in particular, see Lestienne and Grillet, *Règues*, 65.

<sup>4</sup> διαίρέω is the most common equivalent for חצה; cf. Gen 32:8; Exod 21:35; Num 31:27, 42; Judg 7:16; 9:43; 2 Kgs 2:8; Isa 30:28; Ezek 37:22. The translator's use of the future tense will be discussed below.

verse. First, the scene between Samuel and Saul in 15:27–29 appears to have an element missing: in a parallel scene in 1 Kgs 11, the prophet Ahijah tears his cloak and then interprets the action to Jeroboam as a dual prediction that the united monarchy will be taken away from Solomon’s dynasty and subsequently will be divided into two kingdoms. The MT of 1 Sam 15:27–29, however, has a counterpart for only the first prediction. An additional perceived problem facing the translator is that the meaning of נצח in this context appears to have been unclear to him. The semantics of this term shifted over time, ostensibly under influence from Aramaic. It cannot be assumed that the translator of Samuel knew the older meaning of “eternity” or “duration,” while the newer meaning, “victory,” is inappropriate for the context of 1 Sam 15:29. The translator solves both problems at once by creating a mental text of נחצה.

The translator’s decision to mentally emend his text cannot be properly understood without considering how he handles his *Vorlage* in similar contexts elsewhere. The rendering of the (mental) *qatal* form נחצה with a future verb, *διαιεθήσεται*, fits a pattern of the translator rendering Samuel’s pronouncements on the demise of Saul’s dynasty with future verbs. This pattern, which has been overlooked by commentators, is demonstrably intentional and not the result of error. The use of translational strategies to produce a prophecy of the divided monarchy fits a second pattern of the translators of Samuel and Kings mentally transforming their *Vorlagen* to both generate and harmonize prophecies in the biblical text.

The second half of the chapter will refute the counterargument that the translator had a different *Vorlage*, represented by 4Q51 (4QSam<sup>a</sup>). Cross’s reconstruction of 4Q51 for 1 Sam 15:24–32 in *DJD XVII* appears to support the position that there was an alternative *Vorlage* in v.

29 which read יִחְצֶה יִשְׂרָאֵל לְשָׁנִים.<sup>5</sup> If this were in fact the *Vorlage*, then LXX would be a straightforward rendering with no demonstrable creativity. We should, however, reject Cross's reconstruction of 4Q51 for 1 Sam 15:29. First, there is no way to account for the textual relationship between his reconstruction and the Masoretic text. The two are so similar that one ought to be a variant of the other, but there is no plausible explanation for how 4Q51 would have developed from MT or vice versa. On the other hand, the first half of this chapter explains clearly how the transformation of MT took place in the Greek.

Second, Cross has misread a number of fragments in this passage, including one that appears to confirm his proposed reconstruction of v. 29. With that fragment removed from the passage, we can reconstruct the MT text in this verse just as well as the LXX text. Several of Cross's other reconstructions in this passage also deserve to be rejected because they rely on misread fragments. This finding further justifies the need to reassess the reconstruction of v. 29.

## II. Manuscript evidence

Before proceeding with the argument of this chapter, I will lay out and briefly discuss the Hebrew and Greek manuscript evidence for 1 Sam 15:29. Readings for 1 Sam 15:28 have been included to provide narrative context for v. 29.

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<sup>5</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 77. Cross recommends taking the verb as a *qal* with Y<sub>HWH</sub> as the implied subject rather than as a *niphal* as suggested by LXX.

*DJD XVII* was co-edited by Cross, Parry, Saley, and Ulrich, but the volume does not make clear which editor is responsible for which decisions. For the sake of simplicity, I will refer to all editorial decisions as Cross's as he was the lead editor, mindful that this may result in the false attribution of another editor's work to Cross.

MT

28 ויאמר אליו שמואל קרע יהוה את ממלכות ישראל מעליך היום ונתנה לרעד הטוב ממך  
29 וגם נצח ישראל לא ישקר ולא ינחם כי לא אדם הוא להנחם

28 Samuel said to him, “YHWH has torn the kingdom of Israel away from you today and will give it to your comrade who is better than you. 29 Moreover, the Eternal One of Israel will not go back on his word and will not regret, for he is not a human that he should regret.”<sup>6</sup>

4Q51, frgs. 9–10 a–b, 11 (reconstructed in Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*)<sup>7</sup>

[ו] יחזק שאול [בכנף מעילו ויעצר ויקרעהו ויאמר] ליו שמואל קרע יהוה	5
מלכות ישראל [ל מעליך ונתנה לרעד הטוב ממך ו] גם [יחצה ישראל לשנים]	6
[ולו] א' ישוב [ולוא] ינחם כ' [י לוא אדם ה] וא' לה' [נחם]	7

LXX (OG)<sup>8</sup>

28 και εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουηλ Διέρρηξεν κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ ἐκ χειρός σου σήμερον και δώσει αὐτὴν τῷ πλησίον σου τῷ ἀγαθῷ ὑπὲρ σέ 29 και διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραηλ εἰς δύο και οὐκ ἀποστρέψει οὐδὲ μετανοήσει ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐστὶν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι αὐτός ἀπειλήσει και οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ;

28 And Samuel said to him, “The Lord has torn your kingdom over Israel out of your hands today and will give it to your neighbor who is better than you. 29 And Israel will be divided in two, and he will not turn back nor change his mind, for he is not like a human to change his mind. Shall he threaten and not stand fast?”

<sup>6</sup> Much has been written about the theological content of this verse, its apparent contradiction with 1 Sam 15:11 (ל' אש' לא ינחם, “I regret that I made Saul king”), and the parallel statement in Num 23:19 (אש' לא ינחם, “God is not a man that he should lie, nor a mortal that he should change his mind”). Early scholars such as Keil and Thenius endorse the proposal of Jean Leclerc that v. 11 is a statement made “ἀνθρωποπαθῶς” while v. 29 is a statement made “θεοπροπεῶς”; Keil, *Bücher Samuels*, 116; Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 70–71. Ehrlich attempts to avoid the problem by arguing that נחם in v. 11 means “to regret” while in v. 29 it means “to change one’s mind”—in other words, YHWH *regrets* the decision to make Saul king and *will not change his mind* regarding his decision to take the kingship from Saul; Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 220. Smith, Schulz, Stoebe, and McCarter see the contradiction as the result of stages of redaction, suggesting that a later scribe inserted v. 29 because of his theological discomfort with v. 11; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 140; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 238; Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 291; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 268. The Septuagint translators were also aware of the contradiction, as well as of the larger theological problem of whether God ever regrets his decisions, and sought to resolve it through their choice of equivalents; Aejmelaeus, “Does God Regret.”

<sup>7</sup> This reconstruction is problematic and will be contested below; see pp. 249–273.

<sup>8</sup> On this form of the text as OG, see Aejmelaeus, “Kingdom at Stake,” 359–64.

28 σου ἐπί] σου απο B A L; > Ra | Ισραηλ] > V  
 29 διαιρεθήσεται] σχισθήσεται L | ἀποστρέψει] επιστρέψει L | μετανοήσει] + ο αγιος του  
 Ισραηλ L | οὐδέ] και ου A | αὐτός – ἐμμενεῖ] αὐτός A B O b <sup>-121mg</sup> d <sup>-44</sup> = Ra; > αὐτός V 245  
 707; > L 44 La<sup>M</sup> = π

Josephus, *Ant.* 6.152–3

(152) Σαοῦλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σαμουήλον ἐλλαμβάνεται τῆς διπλοῖδος καὶ βιαίας τῆς ὀλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ' ὀρμῆς ἀπιέναι τὸν Σαμουήλον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἱμάτιον. (153) τοῦ δὲ προφήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως αὐτοῦ διασχισθῆναι φήσαντος καὶ λήψεσθαι ταύτην ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον, ἐμμένειν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις ὡς τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφειν τὴν γνώμην ἀνθρωπίνου πάθους ὄντος οὐχὶ θείας ἰσχύος....

(152) Wishing to detain Samuel, Saul seized hold of his cloak, and because Samuel was walking away rapidly, his pull became so violent that he tore the cloak in two. (153) And the prophet said that just in this way had his kingdom been torn in two and that someone good and just would receive it, for God would stand fast regarding what he had decided concerning [Saul], since changing one's mind and reversing one's intention are characteristic of the human condition and not of divine strength.

The two main Hebrew witnesses for these verses are MT and 4Q51, which is quite fragmentary for this passage and has largely been reconstructed. From the extant text of 4Q51, two divergences between MT and 4Q51 can be discerned: in v. 28, MT ממלכות vs. 4Q51 מלכות; and in v. 29, MT ישקר vs. 4Q51 ישוב. The MT reading ממלכות appears to be a hybrid of מלכה and מלכות.<sup>9</sup> The right margin of 4Q51 is not visible, but based on the alignment of יחזק[ן on the line above, it seems unlikely that there would have been room for the additional *mem* of ממלכות. The LXX reading τὴν βασιλείαν σου suggests ממלכתך, but it seems unlikely that this is original given that it would be difficult to account for the loss of the pronominal suffix in MT and 4Q51.

<sup>9</sup> See HALOT s.v. ממלכות; Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 291; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 264. Wellhausen and Budde amend to ממלכת. Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 100; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 112. The form is further attested (only ever in the construct state, as in 1 Sam 15:28) in Josh 13:12, 21, 27, 30-31; 2 Sam 16:3; Jer 26:1; Hos 1:4.

The relationship between **ישקר** and **ישוב** is unclear. **ישוב** is supported by LXX (*ἀποστρέψει*). On the basis of the agreement between 4Q51 and LXX, *DJD* rejects Wellhausen's suggestion that **ישוב** was intended as a euphemism.<sup>10</sup> While they are correct that the 4Q51 evidence precludes the possibility that *ἀποστρέψει* is a creation of the translator, it is still possible that **ישוב** was a euphemistic change. McCarter takes a different approach, suggesting that **ישוב** is a scribal corruption that took place in stages.<sup>11</sup>

The apparent agreement between 4Q51 and LXX in v. 29 will be considered in detail below. I will argue that the reconstruction of 4Q51 in *DJD* should be rejected in favor of a new reconstruction that agrees with MT.

The relationship between the LXX reading *διαιρεθήσεται Ισραηλ εις δύο* and the MT reading **נצח ישראל וגם נחצה** will be the focus of this chapter and so receives only passing mention here. For now, suffice it to say that *καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ισραηλ* appears to represent **גם נחצה ישראל**; the additional phrase *εις δύο* has no counterpart in the Hebrew and was likely added by the translator or a later scribe.<sup>12</sup> The Antiochene text preserves a different verb, *σχισθήσεται*, echoed in Josephus (*διασχισθήναι*).<sup>13</sup> The Antiochene text also supplies a subject, *ὁ ἅγιος του Ισραηλ*, for the verbs *ἀποστρέψει* and *μετανοήσει*, recognizing that the Greek form of the verse lacks an explicit subject. (In MT, of course, the explicit subject is **נצח ישראל**, which has been transformed from a

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<sup>10</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 77; Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 101.

<sup>11</sup> “The confusion of *q* and *b* was possible in fourth-century scripts, of *r*, *w*, and *y* in third.” McCarter, *I Samuel*, 264.

<sup>12</sup> See further discussion on p. 248.

<sup>13</sup> Contra Auld, the use of a different verb in the Antiochene text does not imply that it is an independent rendering of the *Vorlage*. It is much more likely a stylistic alteration; so also Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 104.

nominal phrase to a verbal phrase in LXX, thereby removing the explicit subject of the following verbs.)

Many LXX manuscripts—although not LXX<sup>A</sup>, LXX<sup>B</sup>, or the Antiochene text—preserve a lengthy plus at the end of v. 29. Rahlfs follows the shorter reading of LXX<sup>B</sup>, which seems to have been corrected towards MT.<sup>14</sup> There may be a reflection of the plus in Josephus: despite having a different position in Samuel’s speech, the clause ἐμμένειν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις (153) expresses a similar sentiment and uses the same verb ἐμμένω.

### III. The argument from the Septuagint

This section will present evidence from the Septuagint in support of the claim that the rendering of נצח ישראל is an example of translation as creative problem-solving. The narrative parallels between 1 Sam 15:27–29 and 1 Kgs 11:29–31 likely provided the initial trigger for the mental transformation from נצח to נחצה. Diachronic semantic shifts in the word נצח may also have caused the translator difficulty and influenced his rendering. Once the translator arrived at נחצה, his decision to use a future-tense verb (διαίρεθήσεται) followed larger patterns both within and beyond the book of Samuel.

#### 1. The intertextual relationship between LXX 1 Sam 15 and 1 Kgs 11

Strong parallels between 1 Sam 15:27–29 and 1 Kgs 11:29–31, both in the narrative and in specific diction, appear to have influenced the translator’s decision to render נחצה rather than

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<sup>14</sup> Aejmelaeus, “Kingdom at Stake,” 362. So also Ulrich, *Qumran Text*, 142.

נצח.<sup>15</sup> These parallels were likely the initial trigger for his interpretive translation. As the translator read his *Vorlage*, he recognized the similarities between the two passages; he also noticed that the scene in 1 Kgs 11 had an element which his *Vorlage* lacked. He then created the missing element with his translation.

1 Sam 15:27–29

27 ויסב שמואל ללכת ויחזק בכנף מעילו ויקרע 28 ויאמר אליו שמואל קרע יהוה את ממלכות ישראל מעליך היום ונתנה לרעד הטוב ממך 29 וגם נצח ישראל לא ישקר ולא ינחם כי לא אדם הוא להנחם

27 Samuel turned to go, and [Saul] seized the edge of his cloak and it tore. 28 Samuel said to him, “Y<sup>H</sup>WH has torn the kingdom of Israel away from you today and will give it to your comrade who is better than you. 29 Moreover, the Eternal One of Israel will not go back on his word and will not regret, for he is not a human that he should regret.”<sup>16</sup>

1 Kgs 11:29–31

29 ויהי בעת ההיא וירבעם יצא מירושלם וימצא אתו אחיה השילני הנביא בדרך והוא מתכסה בשלמה חדשה ושניהם לבדם בשדה 30 ויתפש אחיה בשלמה החדשה אשר עליו ויקרעה שנים עשר קרעים 31 ויאמר לירבעם קח לך עשרה קרעים כי כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל הנני קרע את הממלכה מיד שלמה ונתתי לך את עשרה השבטים

29 At that time, Jeroboam went out from Jerusalem, and the prophet Ahijah the Shilonite met him on the road—he was wearing a new cloak—and the two of them were alone in the open fields. 30 Ahijah seized his new cloak and tore it into twelve pieces. 31 He said to Jeroboam, “Take ten pieces for yourself, for thus says Y<sup>H</sup>WH, the God of Israel: ‘I am about to tear the kingdom from the hand of Solomon, and I will give ten tribes to you.’”

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<sup>15</sup> Another textual echo occurs in Ezek 37: ועשיתי אתם לגוי אחד בארץ בהרי ישראל ומלך אחד יהיה לכלם למלך ולא יהיו: “I will make them one nation in the land, in the hills of Israel, and one king will be king for them all. Never again will they be two nations, and never ever again will they be divided into two kingdoms.” The verb used to describe the division of the kingdom is חצ׳ה *niphal*, the same verb supposed by the LXX reading *διαίρεθήσεται* in 1 Sam 15:29 to prophesy the coming partition of the nation into two kingdoms. This echo appears significant at first glance because חצ׳ה *niphal* is not a common verb in MT. In fact, it is used only three other times: twice to describe Elijah and Elisha splitting the waters of the Jordan (2 Kgs 2:8, 14), and once to describe the splitting of a foreign kingdom (Dan 11:4). It seems unnecessarily tortuous, however, to claim that the translator drew on both 1 Kgs 11 and Ezek 37 in his rendering. A much simpler explanation is that both the LXX translator of Samuel and the author of Ezek 37 were aware of 1 Kgs 11 and re-used its language.

<sup>16</sup> On the expegetical use of ל + infinitive construct, see GKC §114o, *IBHS* 36.2.3e.

The parallels between the two passages are unmistakable. In both cases, a prophet delivers a divine message to a (future) ruler, and the prophet's torn cloak<sup>17</sup> is interpreted as a sign that the current ruler's dynasty will not retain its political power. Much of the specific language is also repeated: the phrase *קר"ע מיד*<sup>18</sup> and the use of *נת"ן* to express the transfer of power appear in both passages.<sup>19</sup>

However, Ahijah gives two interpretations of the symbolic action of tearing his cloak: first, that the kingdom will be taken away from Solomon and given to another; and second, that the kingdom will be divided into two: one comprised of ten tribes under the rule of Jeroboam, and the other comprised of one tribe<sup>20</sup> under the rule of Solomon's dynasty. Ahijah does not lay out the two interpretations systematically, but they are implied by the careful way in which the author has used the root *קר"ע*. He uses both a verbal form (*ויקרעה*) and a nominal form (*קרעים*) in v. 30 to describe Ahijah's actions, and then the verbal form and the nominal form receive separate interpretations: in other words, the act of tearing and the pieces which result from the tearing are interpreted as two separate but intertwined events. The verb symbolizes the removal of the kingdom from Solomon, while the noun symbolizes the division of the kingdom. MT 1 Sam 15 lacks any version of the second interpretation. The Septuagint, on the other hand, supplies the second interpretation through its transformation of *נצח ישראל* into *נחצה ישראל*.

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<sup>17</sup> The word used to describe the cloak differs in the two passages: in 1 Sam 15 it is a *מעיל*, while in 1 Kgs 11 it is a *שלמה*. The word choice in 1 Kgs 11 may be intended as a pun on the name of Solomon (*שלמה*), with which it shares identical consonants.

<sup>18</sup> Cf. LXX 1 Sam 15:28 *διαρρηγνυμι ἐκ χειρός*, reflecting *קר"ע מיד*; MT has *קר"ע מעל*.

<sup>19</sup> See also the similar wording in 1 Kgs 11:11: *ויאמר יהוה לשלמה יען אשר היתה זאת עמך ולא שמרת בריתי וחקתי אשר צויתי עליך קרע אקרע את הממלכה מעליך ונתתיה לעבדך*.

<sup>20</sup> The Levites appear not to figure in the count of the tribes of Israel, presumably because they hold no territory. Mordechai Cogan, *I Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 340.

LXX 1 Sam 15:27–29

27 καὶ ἀπέστρεψεν Σαμουηλ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ἐκράτησεν Σαουλ τοῦ πτερυγίου τῆς διπλοῖδος αὐτοῦ καὶ διέρρηξεν αὐτό· 28 καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουηλ Διέρρηξεν κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν Ἰσραηλ ἐκ χειρὸς σου σήμερον καὶ δώσει αὐτὴν τῷ πλησίον σου τῷ ἀγαθῷ ὑπὲρ σέ· 29 καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραηλ εἰς δύο, καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει οὐδὲ μετανοήσει, ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι αὐτός.

27 And Samuel turned his fact to leave. And Saul grabbed the edge of his robe and tore it. 28 And Samuel said to him, “The Lord has torn the kingdom of Israel out of your hands<sup>21</sup> today and will give it to your neighbor who is better than you. 29 And Israel will be divided in two, and he will not turn back nor change his mind, for he is not like a human to change his mind.”

The three passages can be summarized as follows:

Table 13: Summary of correspondences between 1 Sam 15:27–29 and 1 Kgs 11:29–31

MT 1 Sam 15:27–29	LXX 1 Sam 15:27–29	1 Kgs 11:29–31
The cloak is torn.	The cloak is torn.	The cloak is torn.
Interpretation 1: the kingdom will be taken from Saul and given to another.	Interpretation 1: the kingdom will be taken from Saul and given to another.	Interpretation 1: the kingdom will be taken from Solomon and given to another.
_____	Interpretation 2: the kingdom will be divided into two parts.	Interpretation 2: the kingdom will be divided into two parts.

As the translator worked through the *Vorlage* of 1 Sam 15:27–28, the narrative context and the phraseology reminded him of 1 Kgs 11, and the similarities primed him for his encounter with the obscure phrase נִצַח יִשְׂרָאֵל.<sup>22</sup> It is possible to imagine a number of ways in which 1 Kgs 11 could have influenced the translator’s decision to create a mental text of נִצַח from נִצַח. The

<sup>21</sup> Note that LXX uses the phrase “tear out of your hands” (διέρρηξεν ἐκ χειρὸς σου), an exact echo of 1 Kgs 11:31 (קרע מיד שלמה), where MT has “tear away from you” (קרע מעליך). This match between LXX and 1 Kings could be a further example of the translator creating parallels between his *Vorlage* and his intertext, or it could be a case of a common interchange between Hebrew and Greek: in 1 Kgs 11:11, MT reads אֶקְרַע אֶת הַמַּמְלָכָה מֵעֲלֶיךָ, “I will tear the kingdom away from you,” while LXX reads διαρρήξω τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐκ χειρὸς σου, “I will tear the kingdom out of your hands.”

<sup>22</sup> As will be argued below, the translator may have been unable to understand the phrase because of diachronic semantic shifts in נִצַח.

similarities between the passage in Kings and his *Vorlage* may have lead him to expect נחצה and thus caused him to misread נצח; there could thus be an element of error in this verse, as there is in 1:6. It is also possible that the similarities between the two texts suggested to him that נצח was a scribal corruption, and that his *Vorlage* ought to read נחצה. Another option is that the similarities prompted the translator to intentionally take נצח as an opportunity for creative problem-solving in his rendering. In the absence of further data, it is not possible to decide conclusively which of these descriptions is most accurate. However, as in the case of 14:41, we can see what the translator did even if we cannot know why he did it: he solved perceived problems in his *Vorlage* by interacting with another biblical text. In addition to being translatable, the translator's mental text expanded Samuel's prophecy so that it mirrored Ahijah's, thereby creating greater consistency across the biblical narrative.<sup>23</sup> Furthermore, as noted by Auld, in the Septuagint "Samuel is credited with the first prediction of the division of the kingdom,"<sup>24</sup> while in MT this distinction goes to Ahijah. The translator could have thought it more proper that the credit for this important prophecy go to Samuel, a major character in the biblical history of the early monarchy, than to the relatively minor figure of Ahijah. The translator thus solved several problems—and several different kinds of problems—with his deviation from the *Vorlage*.

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<sup>23</sup> Ancient commentators assumed that "Scripture is perfect and perfectly harmonious.... [T]here is no mistake in the Bible, and anything that might look like a mistake ... must therefore be an illusion to be clarified by proper interpretation." James Kugel, *The Bible as It Was* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1997), 20.

<sup>24</sup> Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 174.

## 2. The semantic shift of נצח and its impact upon the translator

Although the narrative parallels with 1 Kgs 11 provide a sufficient trigger for the decision to render נחצה, it is also possible that the translator was unable to understand the phrase נצח ישראל. It is not difficult to understand his struggle. While נצח is not an uncommon word in the Hebrew Bible,<sup>25</sup> nowhere else is it used as a divine epithet. The intended meaning of נצח ישראל is not transparent even to modern readers.<sup>26</sup> The most commonly attested meaning of נצח is “duration” or “eternity,” frequently used as the object of the preposition ל- to denote “forever.”<sup>27</sup> It also appears in 1 Chr 29:11 in a list of attributes of YHWH:

לך יהוה הגדלה והגבורה והתפארת והנצח וההוד

To you, YHWH, belong greatness, strength, radiance, glory [?], and majesty.

Because נצח appears here in context with תפארת and הוד, it appears to mean “glory” or “splendor,” but this sense is not clearly attested elsewhere in MT.<sup>28</sup> It is, however, supported by the Syriac cognate ܢܚܝܢ, “to be bright, shine,” which also developed the meanings “to be

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<sup>25</sup> It is attested 45 times in MT: see 1 Sam 15:29; 2 Sam 2:26; Isa 13:20; 25:8; 28:28; 33:20; 34:10; 57:16; 63:3, 6; Jer 3:5; 15:18; 50:39; Amos 1:11; 8:7; Hab 1:4; Ps 9:7, 19; 10:11; 13:2; 16:11; 44:24; 49:10, 20; 52:7; 68:17; 74:1, 3, 10, 19; 77:9; 79:5; 89:47; 103:9; Job 4:20; 14:20; 20:7; 23:7; 34:36; 36:7; Prov 21:28; Lam 3:18; 5:20; 1 Chr 29:11.

<sup>26</sup> Earlier scholars recommended emendation: Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 59 suggests נכח; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 112 wonders rather the author intended נחה; Ehrlich, *Randglossen*, 220 proposes נצר. Emendation is unnecessary, however. The MT text, while unusual, is readable.

<sup>27</sup> 2 Sam 2:26; Isa 13:20; 25:8; 28:28; 33:20; 34:10; 57:16; Jer 3:5; 50:39; Amos 8:7; Hab 1:4; Ps 9:7, 19; 10:11; 44:24; 49:10; 52:7; 68:17; 74:1, 10, 19; 77:9; 79:5; 89:47; 103:9; Job 4:20; 14:20; 20:7; 23:7; 36:7; Prov 21:28; Lam 5:20

<sup>28</sup> Some have proposed this sense for Isa 63:6 and Lam 3:18; see bibliography in HALOT s.v. נצח I.

illustrious” and “to be victorious, prevail.”<sup>29</sup> A similar development can be seen in the Targum of Samuel, where נצח ישראל is rendered with מרי נצחניה דישראל, “Master of Israel’s victory.”<sup>30</sup>

Based on the example from 1 Chr 29, a few scholars support the rendering “the Glory of Israel” in 1 Sam 15:29.<sup>31</sup> Many, however, maintain that the usual meaning of “eternity” is more appropriate because the verse stresses the immutability of Y<sub>HWH</sub> in contrast to the fickle nature of human beings.<sup>32</sup> According to their readings, נצח in this verse would mean “The (Eternally) Unchangeable One.” Stoebe, on the other hand, believe that נצח is a sort of single-word hendiadys: “sowohl Glanz wie Dauer, also etwa der beständige Ruhm,”<sup>33</sup> “both splendor and permanence, so roughly ‘eternal glory.’”

It is not clear, however, that any of these potential meanings of the Hebrew—glory, eternity, or eternal glory—was available to the translator. There is only one other attestation of נצח in Samuel, which is not enough evidence to say with any degree of certainty what the translator knew about this word, but in that instance he renders נצח with νῆκος, “victory”:

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<sup>29</sup> Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 128; D. Winton Thomas, “The Use of נצח as a Superlative in Hebrew,” *JSS* 1, no. 2 (April 1956): 106.

<sup>30</sup> This double translation maintains the reference to Y<sub>HWH</sub> with the word מרי while also using נצחן to incorporate the original Hebrew wording. This rendering may have been influenced by Targum Onkelos on Exod 15:3, where Y<sub>HWH</sub> is referred to as מרי נצחן קרביא, “the Master of the victory of war.” Eveline van Staalduine-Sulman, *The Targum of Samuel* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), 334.

<sup>31</sup> Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 128; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 193 chooses the related “Victor of Israel.”

<sup>32</sup> Keil, *Bücher Samuels*, 116; Thenius, *Bücher Samuels* 70; Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 101; Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 59; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 236–37; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 264; Lestienne and Grillet, *Règnes*, 281; Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 173.

<sup>33</sup> Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 291. So also Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel*, 122n.

2 Sam 2:26a

ויקרא אבנר אל יואב ויאמר הלנצח תאכל חרב

Abner called to Joab and said, “Will the sword devour forever?”

καὶ ἐκάλεσεν Αβεννηρ Ἰωαβ καὶ εἶπεν Μὴ εἰς νῆκος καταφάγεται ἡ ῥομφαία;

And Abner called Joab and said, “The sword will not devour until victory, will it?”

At first glance, this translation seems surprisingly unidiomatic, but *νῆκος/νίκη* is a common equivalent for *נצח* throughout the Septuagint.<sup>34</sup> Also attested are various verbal forms of *ἰσχύω*, “to prevail or be victorious.”<sup>35</sup> Some of the translators do seem to know the meaning “eternity,” for there are cases in which they translate *εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα* or something similar for *לנצח*,<sup>36</sup> but many of those same translators will also translate *לנצח* as *ἰσχύσας* or *εἰς νεῖκος*.<sup>37</sup>

This evidence from the Greek points to a semantic shift that has taken place in the Hebrew: under the influence of the Aramaic cognate, *נצח* took on the meaning “victory.” This shift is apparent not only in the Septuagint but also in the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, where in addition to the older usage, we also find instances of *נצח* meaning “victory” and verbal forms from *נצח* meaning “to prevail.”

1QM 4:13–14

ובשובם מן המלחמה יכתובו על אותותם ישועות אל *נצח* אל עזר אל משענת אל שמחת אל  
הודות אל תהלת אל שלום אל

When they return from battle, they will write upon their banners, “The Deliverance of God,” “The Victory of God,” “The Help of God,” “The Support of God,” “The Joy of God,” “The Thanksgivings of God,” “The Praise of God,” “The Peace of God.”

<sup>34</sup> In addition to 2 Sam 2:26, see Jer 3:5; Amos 1:11; 8:7; Job 36:7; Lam 3:18; 5:20; 1 Chr 29:11.

<sup>35</sup> Isa 25:8; Jer 15:18 (*κατισχύω*); 1 Chr 15:21 (*ἐνισχύω*).

<sup>36</sup> E.g., Isa 28:28; Jer 50[27]:39; Ps 9:7; Job 14:20.

<sup>37</sup> E.g., Isa 25:8; Jer 3:5; Job 36:7.

1QM 12:4–5

ולפקוד צבָּ[אות ב]חִיריכה לאלפיהם ולרבואותם יחד עם קדושיכה [ועם] מלאכיכה לרשות יד  
במלחמה [להכניע] קמי ארץ בריב משפטיכה ועם בחירי שמים נוצָּ[חיים]<sup>38</sup>

... to appoint the hosts of your chosen ones by thousands and by ten thousands,  
together with your holy ones and your angels, to empower them in battle to  
subdue the earthly opponents by a trial of your legal claims, and with the elect of  
heaven they will prevail.

1QM 16:9<sup>39</sup>

[ והכוהנ]ים יהיו מריעים בחצוצרות החללים והמלחמה מתנצחת בכתיים

The priests will be sounding the trumpets of the slain, and the Kittim will be  
conquered in battle [literally, the battle will prevail against the Kittim].

1QS 4:18–19

ואל ברזי שכלו ובחכמת כבודו נתן קץ להיות עולה ובמועד פקודה ישמידנה לעד ואז תצא  
לנצח אמת תבל

God in his mysterious understanding and his glorious wisdom has given a time for  
there to be injustice, but at the time appointed for punishment, he will destroy it  
forever. Then truth will go forth in victory<sup>40</sup> on the earth.

11Q19 58:11–13

והיה אם נצחו את אויביהמה ושברום והכום לפי { } חרב ונשא את שללמה ונתנו ממנו  
למלך מעשרו

But if they defeat their enemies and crush them and smite them with the sword  
and carry off their plunder, they will give one tenth of it to the king.

<sup>38</sup> Although reconstructed, the reading נוצחים is relatively secure. The *nun* is clearly visible on the parchment, the majority of the *vav* is still present, and *tsade* is the best fit for the remaining ink traces.

<sup>39</sup> See also the parallel passage at 1QM 17:15.

<sup>40</sup> Given the strong temporal element in this example, לנצח could also plausibly be understood here as “forever.” My translation relies on the contrast between injustice (עולה), which will be destroyed (ישמידנה), and truth (אמת), which will go forth לנצח. If this contrast is analyzed as a verbal analogy, then injustice : truth :: destruction : נצח. This analysis suggests that נצח should be understood as the opposite of destruction, i.e., victory.

This later, Aramaized sense of נצח and נצ"ח also becomes quite common in rabbinic Hebrew.<sup>41</sup>

Obviously we cannot be certain about what the translator of Samuel did not know, but we ought to consider the possibility that he was unaware of the earlier meaning(s) of נצח as “eternity” (or “glory”) but only the later meaning of “victory.” In the context of 1 Sam 15:29, a reference to “Israel’s victory” makes little sense; even if the phrase is understood as an epithet for Y<sub>HWH</sub> (in itself not an obvious reading), the passage is about Y<sub>HWH</sub>’s decision to terminate Saul’s dynasty, not about Y<sub>HWH</sub> as the source of Israel’s military success. In other words, the translator may not have had the lexical knowledge necessary to make sense of the epithet נצח ישראל in the context of 1 Sam 15:29. This appears to be a case of linguistic interference from post-Classical Hebrew: “the translator, although familiar with the lexeme in question, was simply unaware that at an earlier stage of Hebrew it carried a different meaning.”<sup>42</sup>

When the translator found himself unable to make sense of the Hebrew before him, and having been primed by the similarities between his *Vorlage* and 1 Kgs 11, he looked at נצח and mentally transformed it into נחצה.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> See examples in Marcus Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2005), s.v. נצח, נצח. Cf. also the related words נצח and נצחון. For further evidence from extra-biblical Hebrew, Aramaic, Syriac, and other Semitic languages, see Thomas, “The Use of נצח as a Superlative in Hebrew,” 108–9.

<sup>42</sup> Jan Joosten, “On the Septuagint Translators’ Knowledge of Hebrew,” in *Collected Studies*, 31. Joosten gives three criteria necessary to argue that a rendering is based on post-Classical Hebrew: 1) the post-Classical word invoked must be consonantly identical to the word in MT; 2) the meaning of the post-Classical word must exactly match the rendering in LXX; 3) the later meaning must be “quite distinct” from the earlier meaning found in MT. The example of נצח rendered as *victoria* easily meets the first two requirements and arguably meets the third as well: “victory” is indeed quite distinct from “eternity,” and although “victory” bears a semantic relationship to the alternative meaning “glory,” the only clear attestation of the latter sense is 1 Chr 29, which is already post-Classical.

<sup>43</sup> Another possibility is that the translator transformed נצח not into נחצה but into נחץ, an apocopated jussive form; Barthélemy, “La qualité,” 7. Given the pattern, however, of the translator translating *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* verbs with future verbs in statements regarding Saul’s political future—and, by proxy, the political future of Israel—it seems more likely that the translator was reading the *qatal* form נחצה.

### 3. A pattern of rendering *wayyiqtol/qatal* verbs with future verbs

Once the textual transformation of נצח to נחצה had taken place in the translator's mind, he then created a second mental text, transforming the newly-created *qatal* verb into a *yiqtol*, יחצה, which he then renders with a future verb, διαιρεθήσεται.<sup>44</sup> This translational decision fits a pattern: when Samuel talks to Saul about his political legacy in MT, he speaks with perfective verbs (either *wayyiqtol* or *qatal*), while in LXX, he speaks with future tense verbs. This discrepancy occurs every time that Samuel addresses Saul about the future of his dynasty.<sup>45</sup> The consistency of this difference between MT and LXX suggests that it represents a deliberate choice in the Greek. As the more difficult reading, the Hebrew *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* verbs are almost certainly original, while the Greek future verbs represent a revision that harmonizes Samuel's statements with the chronology of the narrative.<sup>46</sup> Saul does not die until 1 Sam 31:4; David does not become king until 2 Sam 5:3 after a long struggle against Saul's son Ishboshet. Thus Samuel's pronouncements in 1 Sam 13, 15, and 28 that YHWH *has* rejected Saul as king seem out of place chronologically. The Greek consistently chooses to render these specific

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<sup>44</sup> McCarter suggests that καὶ διαιρεθήσεται is a reflection of נחצה, a *weqatal* form, rather than נצח; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 264. So also Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 101 and Auld, *I & II Samuel*, 174, who claims that "what is completely absent from GT [Greek text] is any rendering of MT's ... strengthening *gm*." The omission of נג from the retroversion is unnecessary, however. The Hebrew נג is translated simply by καὶ in every instance in Samuel until 2 Sam 2:6: see 1 Sam 1:28; 2:26; 4:17; 10:26; 12:14; 13:4; 14:21; 18:5; 21:9; 23:17; 26:25; 28:23; 2 Sam 1:4, 11; 2:2. (Beginning in 2 Sam 2:6, נג is rendered with the characteristic καὶ γε.) Thus καὶ διαιρεθήσεται in 1 Sam 15:29 could represent נצח נג just as plausibly as נחצה. The tense of the Greek future verb comes not from the morphology of the Hebrew, but from the translator's project of harmonizing Samuel's statements about Saul's kingship with the chronology of the narrative.

<sup>45</sup> This pattern has been overlooked in the commentaries on Samuel and does not seem to be addressed anywhere else in the scholarly literature.

<sup>46</sup> Samuel's speeches in Hebrew make use of the so-called "prophetic perfect" or "*perfectum confidentiae*." See the various presentations of this usage in GKC §106n(b), Joüon §112h, *IBHS* 30.5.1e. Samuel's *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* verbs thus do not pose an actual problem. The LXX translator, however, either did not understand this usage or thought his audience would not understand it when translated into Greek.

perfective verbs with future verbs, thereby removing the chronological difficulty.<sup>47</sup> The example of 1 Sam 13:14 (see below), where the Hebrew verb in question is a *qatal* form, demonstrates that the translator was not simply analyzing the forms as *vav + yiqtol*.

Two examples of this pattern can be found in the immediate context of 1 Sam 15:29:

a. 1 Sam 15:23

כי חטאת קסם מרי ואון ותרפים הפצר יען מאסת את דבר יהוה וימאסך ממלך

“For the sin of divination is rebellion, and the nothingness of idolatry is insubordination.<sup>48</sup> Because you have rejected the word of YHWH, he has rejected you as king.”

ὅτι ἄμαρτία οἰώνισμά ἐστιν ὀδύνην καὶ πόνους θεραφιν ἐπάγουσιν· ὅτι ἐξουδένωσας τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου καὶ ἐξουδενώσει σε κύριος μὴ εἶναι βασιλέα ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ.

“For augury is a sin, and teraphim bring pain and suffering. Because you have scorned the word of the Lord, so also the Lord will consider you unworthy of being king over Israel.”<sup>49</sup>

Here the Hebrew uses a *wayyiqtol* (וימאסך) to describe YHWH’s rejection of Saul—“he *has rejected* you as king”—whereas the Greek uses a future verb (ἐξουδενώσει): “the Lord *will consider* you unworthy of being king.”

The same phenomenon occurs just three verses later:

b. 1 Sam 15:26

ויאמר שמואל אל שאול לא אשוב עמך כי מאסתה את דבר יהוה וימאסך יהוה מהיות מלך על ישראל

Samuel said to Saul, “I will not return with you; for you have rejected the word of YHWH, and YHWH has rejected you from being king over Israel.”

<sup>47</sup> Scholars appear not to have noticed this translational pattern in LXX Samuel. The consistent shifting of Samuel’s statements regarding Saul’s dynasty into the future tense has gone unremarked. There are isolated notices that the Greek verbs differ from the Hebrew; see, e.g., Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 59 on 1 Sam 15:23; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 87 on 1 Sam 13:14; Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 245 on 1 Sam 13:14. Most commentaries, however, do not even note the discrepancy.

<sup>48</sup> On this difficult half-verse, see Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 138–9; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 127–8; Stoebe, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 291; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 263, 268.

<sup>49</sup> The relationship between the Greek and Hebrew in the first half of the verse is unclear. See the discussion in Lestienne and Grillet, *Règnes*, 279–80.

καὶ εἶπεν Σαμουηλ πρὸς Σαουλ Οὐκ ἀναστρέφω μετὰ σοῦ ὅτι ἐξουδένωσας τὸ ῥῆμα κυρίου καὶ ἐξουδενώσει σε κύριος τοῦ μὴ εἶναι βασιλέα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλ.

And Samuel said to Saul, “I will not turn back with you, for you have scorned the word of the Lord, and the Lord will consider you unworthy of being king over Israel.”

The same verbs appear here as in v. 23: Samuel says that YHWH *has rejected* Saul in the Hebrew (דַּמְאָס), but that he *will consider* Saul unworthy in the Greek (ἐξουδενώσει).

This pattern also occurs twice outside of chapter 15:

c. 1 Sam 13:14

ועתה ממלכתך לא תקום בקש יהוה לו איש כלבבו ויצוהו יהוה לגיד על עמו כי לא שמרת את אשר צוה יהוה

“Now, your dynasty will not remain. YHWH has sought for himself a man after his own heart, and YHWH has appointed him leader over his people, for you did not listen to what YHWH had commanded you.”

καὶ νῦν ἡ βασιλεία σου οὐ στήσεται καὶ ζητήσῃ κύριος ἑαυτῷ ἄνθρωπον κατὰ τὴν καρδίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐντελεῖται κύριος αὐτῷ εἰς ἄρχοντα ἐπὶ τὸν λαὸν αὐτοῦ ὅτι οὐκ ἐφύλαξας ὅσα ἐνετείλατό σοι κύριος.

“And now your kingdom will not remain, and the Lord will seek for himself a man according to his own heart, and the Lord will appoint him leader over his people, for you did not guard what the Lord commanded you.”

Note the contrast between the *qaṭal* verb בקש and the future verb ζητήσῃ, and between the *wayyiqtol* ויצוהו and the future ἐντελεῖται. This example, where the *qaṭal* בקש is translated with the future ζητήσῃ, demonstrates that the translator felt comfortable rendering *qaṭal* as well as *wayyiqtol* forms with the future tense despite the fact that the consonantal form of the *qaṭal* verbs does not support the rendering. Just as in this case, where the translator rendered both בקש and ויצוהו with future verbs, so in 1 Sam 15 he rendered both נחצה (the “pseudo-variant” in v. 29) and דַּמְאָס (vv. 23, 26) with future verbs.

d. 1 Sam 28:17

ויעש יהוה לו כאשר דבר בידי ויקרע יהוה את הממלכה מידך ויתנה לרעד לדוד

“YHWH has done for himself just as he said through me: he has torn the kingdom from your hand and has given it to another, to David.”

καὶ πεποίηκεν κύριός σοι καθὼς ἐλάλησεν ἐν χειρὶ μου καὶ διαρρήξει κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐκ χειρός σου καὶ δώσει αὐτὴν τῷ πλησίον σου τῷ Δαυιδ.

“And the Lord has done to you just as he said in my hand, and the Lord will tear your kingdom from your hand and will give it to the one who is close to you, to David.”

Here, too, note the discrepancy between the *wayyiqtol* ויקרע and ויתנה and the future verbs διαρρήξει and δώσει. Given the consistency of the pattern, it is surprising that the Greek uses the perfect verb πεποίηκεν for the *wayyiqtol* ויע at the beginning of the verse. It is tempting to speculate that the translator began the verse not realizing that it was another prediction of Saul’s loss of his dynasty, and that once he recognized the content of the verse, he made the characteristic change to the future tense.

The argument that the translator has singled out these particular verbs for revision requires some context. There are 2,392 *wayyiqtol* verbs in MT 1–2 Samuel; of these, fifteen (0.63%) are translated with future verbs in Greek.<sup>50</sup> Eight of those appear in poetry,<sup>51</sup> where Hebrew frequently alternates between *yiqtol* and *wayyiqtol* forms;<sup>52</sup> the Greek appears to be simplifying the text by collapsing these forms into the future tense. There are thus seven examples in prose; five of these are Samuel telling Saul that his dynasty will not endure (see above). The remaining two merit brief discussion:

<sup>50</sup> 1 Sam 13:14 (also note the *qatal* וקט translated with the future ἐντελείται); 15:23b, 26b; 25:29; 28:17 (2x); 2 Sam 14:15; 22:7, 24, 25, 38, 39 (2x), 40, 44.

<sup>51</sup> 2 Sam 22:7, 24, 25, 38, 39 (2x), 40, 44.

<sup>52</sup> See examples and discussion in James Kugel, *The Idea of Biblical Poetry: Parallelism and Its History* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 16–19.

e. 1 Sam 25:29

וַיִּקָּם אָדָם לְרֹדֵףךָ וּלְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת נַפְשְׁךָ וְהִיתָה נַפְשׁ אֲדֹנָי צְרוּרָה בְּצִרּוּר הַחַיִּים אֶת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ

A man has arisen to pursue you and to seek your life; the life of my lord will be bound up in the bag of life<sup>53</sup> with YHWH your God.

καὶ ἀναστήσεται ἄνθρωπος καταδιώκων σε καὶ ζητῶν τὴν ψυχὴν σου καὶ ἔσται ἡ ψυχὴ κυρίου μου ἐνδεδεμένη ἐν δεσμῶ τῆς ζωῆς παρὰ κυρίῳ τῷ θεῷ

A man will arise, pursuing you and seeking your life, and the life of my lord will be bound in the bond of life with the Lord God.

As pointed in MT, the initial verb וַיִּקָּם is a *wayyiqtol*, but this form produces peculiar syntax. The more expected form would be וְקָם (or וַיִּקָּם/וַיִּקָּם), which would produce a future less vivid condition:<sup>54</sup> “should a man arise ... my lord’s life would be bound up.” Numerous modern commentators have called for either emendation or revocalization of וַיִּקָּם to address this issue.<sup>55</sup> The Greek translator apparently was also aware that the Hebrew syntax was anomalous and sought to correct it by translating וַיִּקָּם with καὶ ἀναστήσεται, as if reading וַיִּקָּם/וַיִּקָּם.

f. 2 Sam 14:15

וְעַתָּה אֲשֶׁר בָּאתִי לְדַבֵּר אֶל הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲדֹנָי אֶת הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה כִּי יִרְאַנִי הָעָם וְתֹאמַר שְׂפַחַתְךָ אֲדַבְּרָה נָא אֶל הַמֶּלֶךְ אֲוִלִי יַעֲשֶׂה הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת דְּבַר אֲמַתּוֹ

“And now, here is the reason that I came to tell my lord the king about this matter: a kinsman has been frightening me,<sup>56</sup> and your maidservant thought, ‘I will speak to the king. Perhaps the king will do what his servant has said.’”

<sup>53</sup> See HALOT s.v. 2 צרור.

<sup>54</sup> cf. GKC §159g.

<sup>55</sup> Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, 118; Wellhausen, *Bücher Samuelis*, 135; Klostermann, *Bücher Samuelis*, 112; Smith, *Books of Samuel*, 227; Budde, *Bücher Samuel*, 167; Driver, *Hebrew Text of Samuel*, 201; Schulz, *Erste Buch Samuel*, 364; McCarter, *I Samuel*, 394.

<sup>56</sup> “Verses 16 and 10 refer to one member of the clan in particular who has been threatening the woman, and both references assume that this man has already been mentioned. Quite probably, then, we should understand ‘am in the sense of ‘kinsman’ here, rendering the definite article according to the force explained in GK<sup>2</sup> §126qr—thus, ‘a certain kinsman,’ i.e., one member of the clan in particular. In support of this interpretation is the likelihood that the verb ‘was terrorizing me’ is to be read as singular [because of the defective spelling]” P. Kyle McCarter, *II Samuel: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1984), 346; see also *ibid.*, 339 on the defective spelling of יראני.

καὶ νῦν ὃ ἦλθον λαλῆσαι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κύριόν μου τὸ ῥῆμα τοῦτο ὅτι ὄψεται  
με ὁ λαός καὶ ἐρεῖ ἡ δούλη σου Λαλησάτω δὴ πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα εἴ πως ποιήσει ὁ  
βασιλεὺς τὸ ῥῆμα τῆς δούλης αὐτοῦ·

“And now, what I came to say to my lord the king is this: the people will see me,  
and your maidservant will say, ‘Let someone speak to the king, if in some way the  
king will do what his maidservant has said.’”

Among the multiple differences in LXX in this verse, the *wayyiqtol* וַיִּאָמֶר has been rendered with καὶ ἐρεῖ, reflecting וַיִּאָמֶר. Although the motivation behind this choice is not as clear as it was in the previous example, it appears that LXX has a different understanding of the woman’s purpose. The Hebrew יִרְאֵנִי has been translated as if from רִאֵה rather than from יִרְאֵה, and the resulting Greek implies that the woman wants her audience with the king to be public knowledge: the people *will see* her when she *will speak* to the king. Perhaps the translator understood the woman to hope that her adversaries would be intimidated if they knew the king was involved in the matter. While these proposals are speculative, it does seem quite plausible that the (mis-)translation of יִרְאֵנִי with ὁράω informed the decision to render וַיִּאָמֶר with a future verb.<sup>57</sup>

Several conclusions may be drawn from these seven examples from Samuel. First, the rendering of בַּקֵּשׁ with καὶ ζητήσῃ in 1 Sam 13:14 demonstrates that the translator gave himself permission to depart from the consonantal text when needed. His choice of future tense verbs for *wayyiqtol* forms is thus more than an alternative reading of the consonants. This willingness to deviate from the consonantal text suggests a certain commitment to his project of harmonizing Samuel’s speeches with the chronology of the narrative. Second, the translator did not decide to mechanically render any and all of Samuel’s statements into predictions: Samuel’s speeches are

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<sup>57</sup> On the “cascade effect” of translational choices, see Tov, “Did the Septuagint Translators,” 211.

shifted to the future tense only when they concern Saul's kingship. Furthermore, verbs in the speeches of other characters (Abigail, the wise woman from Tekoa) are shifted as well when the case warrants. This observation supports the idea that the translator's primary concern was the coherence of his narrative rather than, for example, the enhancement of Samuel's prophetic credentials. Finally, outside of the pattern of Samuel's pronouncements to Saul concerning his dynasty, the translator translates *wayyiqtol* forms with the future tense very rarely—only twice out of 2,379 verbs (.08%)<sup>58</sup>. When he does, the choice appears deliberate and not the result of accident or error.

#### 4. Examples of *wayyiqtol* rendered as future outside of Samuel

The observation that the translator of Samuel was deliberate in rendering *wayyiqtol/qatal* verbs with future verbs is reinforced by looking outside of Samuel at the other historical books. In Genesis through Judges and 1–2 Kings, there are 8,196 *wayyiqtol* verbs, of which a mere thirteen (0.16%) are translated with the future tense: Gen 33:10; 49:17; Exod 9:15 (2x); Deut 5:26; 33:5, 27; Josh 9:21; 17:9-11; 2 Kgs 4:25 (2x). Three of these appear in poetry and, like the instances in 2 Sam 22, are attempts to simplify the complex verbal patterns of Hebrew verse.<sup>59</sup> The remaining ten instances demonstrate that there is a larger pattern of LXX translators rendering Hebrew perfective verbs with Greek future verbs in order to improve the coherence of the text. (Examples where the Hebrew verb in question is an apocopated form demonstrate that, as in Samuel, the translators were not simply reading *wayyiqtol* forms as *weyiqtol*. See below:

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<sup>58</sup> 2,379 is the number of *wayyiqtol* verbs that remain in 1–2 Samuel after we account for the eight that occur in poetry and the five that occur in Samuel's speeches to Saul about his kingship.

<sup>59</sup> Gen 49:17; Deut 33:5, 27.

Exod 9:15; Deut 5:26; Josh 17:9–11.) In each case, it is possible to discern what prompted the translator to use a future form:

a. Gen 33:10

וַיֹּאמֶר יַעֲקֹב אֶל נָא אִם נָא מִצָּאתִי חֵן בְּעֵינֶיךָ וְלִקְחָתָּ מִנַּחְתִּי מִיָּדַי כִּי עַל כֵּן רָאִיתִי פְּנֵיךָ כְּרֹאֵת פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים וְתִרְצָנִי

Jacob said, “No, please—if I have found favor in your eyes, accept my gift from my hand. For seeing your face is like seeing the face of God, and you have received me favorably.”

εἶπεν δὲ Ἰακώβ· Εἰ εὐρηκα χάριον ἐναντίον σου δέξαι τὰ δῶρα διὰ τῶν ἐμῶν χειρῶν· ἔνεακεν τούτου εἶδον τὸ πρόσωπόν σου ὡς ἂν τις ἴδοι πρόσωπον θεοῦ καὶ εὐδοχήσεις με·

But Jacob said, “If I have found favor before you, accept the gifts through my hands. Because of this I saw your face, as one might see the face of God, and you will be pleased with me.”

In MT, the *wayyiqtol* וְתִרְצָנִי refers to Esau’s treatment of Jacob thus far in their encounter; it can be understood as part of Jacob’s entreaty that Esau receive his gifts<sup>60</sup> or as a modification of the clause בְּרֹאֵת פְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים.<sup>61</sup> The translator, on the other hand, thinks that Jacob means Esau *will* be pleased with him *after* he accepts the gifts.

b. Exod 9:15

כִּי עַתָּה שִׁלַּחְתִּי אֶת יָדִי וְאֶךְ אוֹתְךָ וְאֶת עַמְּךָ בַּדְּבָר וְתִכְתַּד מִן הָאָרֶץ

For now, I could have stretched out my hand and struck you and your people with plague, and you would have been wiped from the earth.

<sup>60</sup> So JPS: “But Jacob said, ‘No, I pray you; if you would do me this favor, accept from me this gift; for to see your face is like seeing the face of God, and you have received me favorably.’” This translation implies that because Esau has already received Jacob favorably, he should continue to do so by also accepting Jacob’s gift.

<sup>61</sup> So Speiser: “But Jacob said, ‘No, I beg of you! If you will do me this favor, please accept this present from me; just to see your face is like seeing the face of God, now that you have received me so kindly.’” E. A. Speiser, *Genesis* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964), 258. Speiser’s translation suggests that Esau’s kindness allows Jacob to feel that he is looking upon God’s face when he looks at his brother.

νῦν γὰρ ἀποστείλας τὴν χεῖρα πατάξω σε καὶ τὸν λαόν σου θανάτῳ καὶ ἐκτριβήσῃ ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς·

For now, when I have sent forth my hand, I will strike you and your people with death, and you will be rubbed out from the earth.

In MT, the context makes it clear that the *qatal* שָׁחַת and the *wayyiqtol* forms וָאֵל and וַתַּחַד are expressions of possible rather than actually completed action.<sup>62</sup> “I *could have* stretched out my hand and struck you and your people with plague, and you *would have been* wiped from the earth.” The translator, however, either does not understand the usage of the perfective verbs or thinks his audience will not, and so he renders the statement as a future action instead: “When I (*will*) have sent forth my hand, I *will* strike you and your people with death, and you *will be* wiped from the earth.” Given the translator’s use of the word θάνατος for דָּבַר, the Greek verse apparently refers to the final plague, the death of the firstborn,<sup>63</sup> which indeed has not yet taken place at this point in the narrative.

### c. Deut 5:26

כִּי מִי כָל בֶּשֶׂר אֲשֶׁר שָׁמַע קוֹל אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים מְדַבֵּר מִתּוֹךְ הָאֵשׁ כַּמֵּנוּ וַיְחִי

For what person is there who has heard the voice of the Living God speaking from the midst of the fire as we have and has lived?

<sup>62</sup> See GKC §106p.

<sup>63</sup> θάνατος is universally used for דָּבַר in LXX (except twice when the consonants are read as דָּבַר: Jer 32[39]:36; Hab 3:5): see Exod 5:3; 9:3, 15; Lev 26:25; Num 14:12; Deut 28:21; 2 Sam 24:13, 15; 1 Kgs 8:37; Jer 14:12; 21:6-7, 9; 24:10; 27:8; 28[35]:8; 32[39]:24, 36; 34[41]:17; 38[45]:2; 42[49]:17, 22; 44[51]:13; Ezek 5:12, 17; 6:11-12; 7:15; 12:16; 14:19, 21; 28:23; 33:27; 38:22; Amos 4:10; Ps 78[77]:50; 1 Chr 21:12, 14; 2 Chr 6:28; 7:13; 20:9. Because θάνατος is not a precise semantic fit for דָּבַר, this consistency across the canon is noteworthy. One possibility is that a Pentateuchal translator (perhaps the translator of Exodus) chose this rather free rendering which was then replicated by later translators; see Tov, “Impact of Septuagint Translation,” 184–91. Another possibility is that the equivalence was established in the oral translation tradition which may have preceded the written tradition; see Anneli Aejmelaeus, “The Septuagint and Oral Translation,” in *XIV Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Helsinki, 2010*, ed. Melvin K. H. Peters (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2013). Despite the fact that θάνατος is the standard equivalent for דָּבַר, it is still worthwhile to ask what the Greek means in Exod 9:15 independent of the Hebrew, and the Greek seems to refer to a specific future event of death. If for whatever reason the translator already intended to use θάνατος, that decision may even have influenced his choice of verbal tense: the only plague which causes death among the Egyptians themselves (rather than among their animals or crops) is the striking of the firstborn, which has not yet occurred at this point in the narrative.

τίς γὰρ σὰρξ ἥτις ἤκουσεν φωνὴν θεοῦ ζῶντος λαλοῦντος ἐκ μέσου τοῦ πυρὸς ὡς ἡμεῖς  
καὶ ζήσεται;

For what flesh is there who has heard the voice of a living God speaking from the  
midst of the fire as we have and will live?

The Hebrew maintains the perfective aspect throughout the verse, “who ... *has heard* ... and *has lived?*”, while the Greek switches to the future tense, perhaps emphasizing the impossibility of the proposal: “who has heard ... and *will [be able to] live?*”<sup>64</sup> It may also be that the future ζήσεται is simply a harmonization: the preceding verse in MT has several *yiqtol* and *weqatal* verbs describing what will or might happen to the Israelites in the future for having been in close proximity to YHWH,<sup>65</sup> and these may have influenced the translator. He may also be harmonizing with v. 24: וְחַי הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה רָאִינוּ כִּי יְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת הָאָדָם וְחַי (LXX: ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταύτῃ εἶδομεν ὅτι λαλήσει ὁ θεὸς πρὸς ἄνθρωπον καὶ ζήσεται).

d. Josh 9:21

וַיֹּאמְרוּ אֲלֵיהֶם הַנְּשִׂיאים יַחֲיוּ וַיְהִיו חֹטְבֵי עֵצִים וְשֹׂאבֵי מִים לְכֹל הָעֵדָה כְּאֲשֶׁר דִּבְרוּ לָהֶם  
הַנְּשִׂיאים

The leaders said to them, “Let them live.” And so they became woodcutters and water-carriers for the whole congregation, just as the leaders said to them.

ζήσονται καὶ ἔσονται ξυλοκόποι καὶ ὕδροφόροι πάσῃ τῇ συναγωγῇ, καθάπερ εἶπαν αὐτοῖς οἱ ἄρχοντες.

“They will live, and they will be woodcutters and water-carriers for the whole congregation, just as the leaders said to them.”<sup>66</sup>

<sup>64</sup> The editors of *BA* wonder whether the Greek future is a theological revision: “serait-ce pour éviter une contradiction avec l’idée généralement exprimée dans la Bible selon laquelle on ne peut voir Dieu sans mourir (cf. 4, 33 et déjà Ex, 33, 20 avec la note en *Exode*, BA 2)?” Cécile Dogniez and Marguerite Harl, eds., *Le Deutéronome* (Paris: Cerf, 1992), 151.

<sup>65</sup> Deut 5:25: וּמַתְנוּ הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה רָאִינוּ כִּי יְדַבֵּר אֱלֹהִים אֶת הָאָדָם וְחַי

<sup>66</sup> LXX lacks the introduction of the quotation, “The leaders said to them.” On the textual problems presented by both versions, see Thomas B. Dozeman, *Joshua 1–12: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 406–7.

As pointed in MT, the verb ויהיו is a *wayyiqtol*; if the vocalization is maintained, then the quotation apparently ends with the preceding word, יחיו, and the rest of the verse is a report of what took place: “they became woodcutters and water-carriers for the whole congregation, just as the leaders said to them.” Read this way, the leaders’ charge to the Gibeonites is elided, and only the outcome is reported.<sup>67</sup> It is also possible, however, to read the consonants as a *weyiqtol*, in which case the quotation apparently ends with העדה, and a verb such as ויעשו is elided.<sup>68</sup> The translator has read the second way and rendered both verbs with the future tense.<sup>69</sup> As a result, the quotation from the leaders is more complete, but the final clause is somewhat obscure. Nevertheless, to take ויהיו as a *weyiqtol* is perhaps the more obvious (if not necessarily the better) choice given that the immediately preceding verb is a *yiqtol*.

e. Josh 17:9–11 (same translational choice in each verse)

9 וירד הגבול נחל קנה נגבה לנחל ערים האלה לאפרים בתוך ערי מנשה וגבול מנשה מצפון לנחל ויהי תצאתיו הימה 10 נגבה לאפרים וצפונה למנשה ויהי הם גבולו ובאשר יפגעון מצפון וביששכר ממזרח 11 ויהי למנשה ביששכר ובאשר בית שאן ובנותיה ויבלעם ובנותיה ואת ישבי דאר ובנותיה וישבי עין דר ובנותיה וישבי תענך ובנותיה וישבי מגדו ובנותיה שלשת הנפת

9 The boundary went down to Wadi Kanah. Those cities south of the wadi belonged to Ephraim in the midst of the cities of Manasseh. The boundary of Manasseh went from north of the wadi and ended at the sea. 10 To the south belonged to Ephraim, and to the north belonged to Manasseh, and the sea was its boundary. They touched Asher to the north and Issachar to the east. 11 In Issachar and Asher, Manasseh possessed Beth-shean and its villages, Ibleam and its villages, the inhabitants of Dor and its villages, the inhabitants of En-dor and its

<sup>67</sup> This approach is followed by Dozeman, *Joshua 1–12*, 399.

<sup>68</sup> See Boling’s translation: “And the leaders said to them, ‘Let them live, and let them be woodcutters and water carriers for all the congregation.’ And all the congregation did just as the leaders told them.” Robert G. Boling, *Joshua: A New Translation with Notes and Commentary* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), 256.

<sup>69</sup> The Hebrew *yiqtol* forms are most likely intended as jussives, but the translator has rendered them as straight futures.

villages, the inhabitants of Taanach and its villages, and the inhabitants of Megiddo and its villages: three hills.<sup>70</sup>

9 και καταβήσεται τὰ ὄρια ἐπὶ φάραγμα Καρανα ἐπὶ λίβα κατὰ φάραγμα Ιαριηλ, τερέμινθος τῷ Εφραιμ ἀνὰ μέσον πόλεως Μανασση· καὶ ὄρια Μανασση ἐπὶ τὸν βορρᾶν εἰς τὸν χειμάρρουν, καὶ ἔσται αὐτοῦ ἡ διέξοδος θάλασσα. 10 ἀπὸ λιβὸς τῷ Εφραιμ, καὶ ἐπὶ βορρᾶν Μανασση, καὶ ἔσται ἡ θάλασσα ὄρια αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἐπὶ Ασηρ συνάψουσιν ἐπὶ βορρᾶν καὶ τῷ Ισσαχαρ ἀπ' ἀνατολῶν. 11 καὶ ἔσται Μανασση ἐν Ισσαχαρ καὶ ἐν Ασηρ Βαιθσαν καὶ αἱ κῶμαι αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Δωρ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς κατοικοῦντας Μαγεδδῶ καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ τρίτον τῆς Ναφετα καὶ τὰς κώμας αὐτῆς.

9 The borders will go down to the ravine of Karana to the southwest by the ravine of Iariel, a terebinth belonging to Ephraim in the midst of the city of Manasseh. And the boundaries of Manasseh to the north go to the wadi, and the sea will be its outlet. 10 From the southwest belongs to Ehraim, and to the north is Manasseh, and the sea will be their boundary, and they will border Aser to the north and Issachar from the east. 11 And in Issachar and in Aser, Manasseh will have Baithsan and their villages, and the inhabitants of Dor and its villages, and the inhabitants of Mageddo and its villages, and one third of Naphet and its villages.

The text of MT describes the borders of the tribal territories as historical fact, using a series of *wayyiqtol* verbs. The Greek, on the other hand, uses future tense verbs because at this point in the narrative of Joshua, the borders under discussion do not yet exist. The Hebrew speaks from the chronological point of view of the reader, while the Greek speaks from the point of view of the actors in the narrative.

f. 2 Kgs 4:25

וּתְלַךְ וּתְבוֹא אֶל אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים אֵל הַר הַכְּרִמֹּל וַיְהִי כִּרְאוֹת אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים אֶתָּה מִנְּגַד וַיֹּאמֶר אֵל  
גִּיחִזִּי נִעְרוּ הִנֵּה הַשּׁוֹנְמִית הִלֹּךְ

She came to the man of God at Mt. Carmel. When the man of God saw her from afar, he said to his servant Gehazi, “Here comes that Shunammite.”

<sup>70</sup> נִפְתָּ is a hapax legomenon with uncertain meaning. See *HALOT*, BDB s.v. נִפְתָּ.

δεῦρο καὶ πορεύσῃ καὶ ἐλεύσῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον τοῦ θεοῦ εἰς τὸ ὄρος τὸ Καρμήλιον.  
καὶ ἐγένετο ὡς εἶδεν Ελισαιε ἐρχομένην αὐτήν, καὶ εἶπεν πρὸς Γιεζι τὸ παιδάριον  
αὐτοῦ Ἴδοὺ δὴ ἡ Σωμανίτις ἐκείνη·

“Come now, you will go and come to the man of God at the Carmelite mountain.”  
And it happened when Elisaie saw her, and he said to his servant Giezi, “Look, it  
is that Somanite.”

The key to understanding the translation of the first two *wayyiqtol* verbs in this verse is the initial word δεῦρο. This Greek imperative has no equivalent in MT of this verse; it comes rather from the concluding clause of the previous verse: כִּי אִם אִמְרַתִּי לָךְ. The final word לָךְ (preposition with 2ms suffix) is subject to a double translation in LXX: it is rendered as σοί at the end of v. 24 and as δεῦρο (reading the consonants as לָךְ) at the beginning of v. 25. Under the influence of δεῦρο, the translator read the 3fs *wayyiqtol* forms וַתֵּלֶךְ and וַתְּבוֹא as 2ms *weyiqtol*. This decision can rightly be seen as an error, but not as an error committed at random. The double translation of לָךְ in effect forced the translator’s hand when he came to וַתֵּלֶךְ וַתְּבוֹא.

These examples further reinforce the conclusion that the Septuagint translators rarely translated *wayyiqtol* verbs with future verbs, and when they did, the choice was always purposeful. In almost every case, the use of a future verb for a *wayyiqtol* addresses some irregularity, whether real or perceived. The one exception is 2 Kgs 4:25, in which the translation of *wayyiqtol* with future appears to be a mistake, but as argued above, it is a mistake clearly prompted—even required, in a sense—by the double translation that precedes it. The translational choice of a Greek future verb for a *wayyiqtol* is not haphazard, nor is it the result of sloppiness. It is a deliberate choice borne out of a concern for coherence.

5. A potential counter-argument: the translators were influenced by later Hebrew usage

I have argued that these instances of *wayyiqtol* forms being translated by a future verb, as if they were *weyiqtol*, represent intentional choices on the part of the translator. One potential counter-argument to this proposal is that the translators were simply making mistakes, and I have assumed intention where there is none. After all, the *wayyiqtol* was falling out of use when the Septuagint translators were working.<sup>71</sup> Abegg's numerical analysis of verbal forms in Qumran Hebrew is striking: biblical Hebrew expresses completed action with *qatal* 48% of the time and *wayyiqtol* 52% of the time—i.e., roughly half and half—while Qumran Hebrew uses *qatal* 75% of the time and *wayyiqtol* just 25% of the time.<sup>72</sup> These data from Qumran are relevant because it seems that “the Qumran writers and the Septuagint translators tap into the same ‘reservoir’ of linguistic knowledge,”<sup>73</sup> so that a verbal form that was becoming less common for authors at Qumran may have been less familiar for the translators as well. Perhaps these cases of *wayyiqtol* translated as future are instances in which the translators confused two *états de langue*.<sup>74</sup>

In response to this counter-argument, we must give proper credit to the linguistic knowledge of the translators: out of 10,588 *wayyiqtol* forms in Gen–2 Kgs, there are a mere seventeen of these forms in prose that are rendered with a future verb in Greek. It seems implausible almost to the point of impossibility that the translators would have correctly

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<sup>71</sup> There is already a decrease in the frequency of *wayyiqtol* in LBH, and by the rabbinic period the form has dropped out altogether. Sáenz-Badillos, *History of the Hebrew Language*, 129, 193.

<sup>72</sup> Martin G. Abegg, Jr., “The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls After Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment*, ed. Peter W. Flint and James C. VanderKam (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 338.

<sup>73</sup> Jan Joosten, “The Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew in the Hellenistic Period: Qumran and the Septuagint,” in *Collected Studies*, 52. But see also his caveat on pp. 51–52 that there are many differences between Qumran Hebrew and the Hebrew of the translators.

<sup>74</sup> See the lexical examples of this phenomenon in Joosten, “Septuagint Translators’ Knowledge,” 25–26, and Joosten, “Knowledge and Practice of Hebrew,” 41–49.

identified *wayyiqtol* forms 10,571 times and then been led astray by interference from contemporary Hebrew usage on seventeen occasions. Their ability to accurately parse and translate out-dated verbal forms is part of a larger pattern of linguistic competency:

It is important to note that the translators did not systematically confuse Classical and Post-Classical Hebrew whenever the occasion arose. On the contrary, more often than not they show a keen awareness of the classical meaning obtaining in the biblical text while disregarding the post-classical meaning which one suspects must have been familiar to them from contemporary Hebrew.... During the Hellenistic period, the classical language laid down in ancient texts, and the spoken language of every-day life were not the only existing varieties of Hebrew. As intensive study of the Dead Sea Scrolls, of the Book of Ben Sira and of the Hebrew of the late biblical books has established, “Biblical Hebrew” continued to be practised in certain circles as a literary language.<sup>75</sup>

Joosten’s evidence is lexical rather than morpho-syntactical, but his conclusions still have bearing on the question of whether the use of future for *wayyiqtol* could have been accidental rather than intentional. As he points out, the translators were usually well-attuned to the differences between the biblical texts they were translating and contemporary Hebrew, and as a result they did not frequently confuse the one for the other. This ongoing acquaintance with, “for all practical purposes, a dead language”<sup>76</sup> may be attributed to the use of “Biblical Hebrew” as a literary language, which could be used to compose new texts. This literary language necessarily differed from the Classical Hebrew it emulated,<sup>77</sup> but it nevertheless accurately preserved many features of the earlier form of the language and kept them familiar. There is ample evidence that for the translators, the meaning of the *wayyiqtol* was one of the features of Classical Hebrew with which they were well-acquainted.

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<sup>75</sup> Joosten, “Septuagint Translators’ Knowledge,” 33–34.

<sup>76</sup> Joosten, “Septuagint Translators’ Knowledge,” 32.

<sup>77</sup> Joosten, “Septuagint Translators’ Knowledge,” 34.

## 6. The pattern of translations creating and harmonizing prophecies

The Septuagint translation of 1 Sam 15:29 participates in yet another pattern: LXX translators using creative renderings to both generate and harmonize prophecies in the biblical text.<sup>78</sup> Examples of this pattern will be limited to prophecies that occur in the context of narrative as these are most analogous to Samuel's prophecies concerning Saul's kingship. A number of excellent examples are clustered in 2 Sam 7;<sup>79</sup> these are particularly instructive since the translations come from the same hand as the translations of Samuel's prophecies.

### a. 2 Sam 7:5

לך ואמרת אל עבדי אל דוד כה אמר יהוה האתה תבנה לי בית לשבתי

“Go say to my servant, to David, ‘Thus says YHWH: will you build a house for me to dwell in?’”<sup>80</sup>

Πορεύου καὶ εἰπὸν πρὸς τὸν δοῦλόν μου Δαυιδ Τάδε λέγει κύριος Οὐ σὺ οἰκοδομήσεις μοι οἶκον τοῦ κατοικῆσαί με·

“Go and say to my servant David, ‘Thus says the Lord: you will not build a house for me to dwell in!’”

Cf. 1 Chr 17:4b: *לֹא אַתָּה תִּבְנֶה לִּי הַבַּיִת לְשִׁבְתִּי*.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> The harmonization, as we will see, takes two forms: matching the contents of the prophecy with later events in the biblical narrative, and creating consistency within the prophecy itself.

<sup>79</sup> The compositional history of this chapter, and particularly of Nathan's oracle in vv. 5–16, is fraught with difficulties and has been the subject of much scholarly debate; see the review and discussion in McCarter, *II Samuel*, 210–31, 239–41. Because the focus of the current discussion is on the Greek translator's treatment of the Hebrew text, issues particular to the Hebrew will not be treated here.

Schniedewind sees the revisions in LXX 2 Sam 7:5, 11, and 16, which will be treated below, as the result of a pro-temple bias, “manifest in the alteration and expansion of narratives concerning the temple at critical junctures in its history.” Schniedewind, “Pro-Temple *Tendenz*,” 108. While he may be correct that the translator had such a bias, the current proposal that the translator was creating and harmonizing prophecies more fully accounts for the Septuagint renderings of these verses. See n85 on p. 234, n91 on p. 238, and n94 on p. 240.

<sup>80</sup> The Hebrew contains two emphatic pronouns: *אתה* and *לי* (as noted by McCarter, *II Samuel*, 198, *לי* is redundant, and hence emphatic, because of the 1cs pronominal suffix on *לשבתי*); see *GKC* §135a. This subtlety can best be expressed in English through spoken emphasis, hence the use of italics in the translation.

<sup>81</sup> So also the Syriac: *לֹא לִי אֶבְנֶה*.

Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s interrogative sentence in MT is expressed as a negative declarative in LXX. The use of emphatic pronouns in Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s question in the Hebrew “suggest[s] that things are proceeding in the wrong direction, that David’s gesture posits a reversal of the appropriate or previously known roles.”<sup>82</sup> Although formed as a question, Y<sub>HWH</sub> is in fact expressing an “indignant refusal.”<sup>83</sup> The translator knows that it is not David but Solomon who builds Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s temple in Jerusalem (1 Kgs 6); indeed, Y<sub>HWH</sub> declares to David in v. 13 that not he but his offspring will carry out the task: הוא יבנה בית לשמי, “*He* will build a house for my name.” The translator seems to have been uncomfortable leaving Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s pronouncement in v. 5 open to interpretation, and so instead of a rhetorical question, he produces an unquestionably negative declaration: οὐ σὺ οἰκοδομήσεις μοι οἶκον, “*You*<sup>84</sup> will *not* build a house for me!”<sup>85</sup> The Chronicler appears to have been similarly bothered by the possible ambiguity of Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s question: in his version, as in LXX, Y<sub>HWH</sub> declares that it is not David who will build the temple. Despite the agreement between LXX and Chronicles in this verse, it is much more likely that the non-intuitive MT reading is the original and that the other versions are ensuring continuity between Nathan’s prophecy and the biblical narrative.

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<sup>82</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 198.

<sup>83</sup> GKC §150d.

<sup>84</sup> The nominative personal pronoun is emphatic in Greek as well as in Hebrew; Smyth §1190.

<sup>85</sup> Schniedewind notes that while in MT Y<sub>HWH</sub> challenges the assumption that a temple would be an appropriate dwelling for him, in LXX the focus shifts to whether David is the appropriate person to build the temple; Schniedewind, “Pro-Temple *Tendenz*,” 111. He thus sees this verse as evidence for his theory of a pro-temple bias in LXX. Despite what Schniedewind describes as the “underlying negative attitude towards the temple” in MT (Schniedewind, “Pro-Temple *Tendenz*,” 113), however, there is never any question that the temple will be built; cf. 2 Sam 7:13. The LXX translator therefore had no reason to insist, as Schniedewind implies, that the temple ought to be built, with the question being only who would do the building. 2 Sam 7:5 is thus better understood, along with 1 Chr 17:14, as an attempt to harmonize Nathan’s prophecy with the biblical history.

b. 2 Sam 7:9

ואהיה עמך בכל אשר הלכת ואכרתה את כל איביך מפניך ועשתי לך שם גדול כשם הגדלים  
אשר בארץ

“I have been with you in all your endeavors, and I have destroyed all your enemies from before you; I will make for you a great name, like the name of the illustrious upon the earth.”

καὶ ἦμην μετὰ σοῦ ἐν πᾶσιν, οἷς ἐπορεύου, καὶ ἐξωλέθρευσα πάντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς σου ἀπὸ προσώπου σου καὶ ἐποίησά σε ὀνομαστόν κατὰ τὸ ὄνομα τῶν μεγάλων τῶν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς.

“And I have been with you in all your endeavors, and I destroyed all your enemies from before you, and I made you famous, like the name of the illustrious upon the earth.”

MT’s *weqatal* ועשתי, “I will make,” is rendered in LXX by an aorist ἐποίησα, “I made.” The MT verbal form is unexpected at first glance: has YHWH not already brought renown upon David? McCarter proposes, however, that we “understand the promise of a name for David primarily as an anticipation of the dynastic promise in vv. 11b–16.”<sup>86</sup> If we take שם גדול as a reference to dynasty and not to personal renown during David’s lifetime, then the *weqatal* form is easily understood. The translator’s rendering of שם with the adjective ὀνομαστός, “famous,” suggests that he understands this clause as a reference to the fame that YHWH has already granted to David and not to the promise of a dynasty; accordingly, he has rendered the imperfective ועשתי with an aorist to signal a fully completed action.

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<sup>86</sup> McCarter, *II Samuel*, 203. He also notes that “to make a name” for someone in ancient Middle Eastern languages often refers to the establishment of some kind of monument, and so this verse may be a reference to the erection of the temple by David’s offspring.

c. 2 Sam 7:11b

והגיד לך יהוה כי בית יעשה לך יהוה

“YHWH hereby announces<sup>87</sup> to you, ‘As for a house, YHWH will make one for you.’”

καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ.

“And the Lord will announce to you that you will build a house for him.”

In the Hebrew of this verse, Nathan delivers to David YHWH’s promise that he will make David a house, that is, a dynasty. This promise reuses the language in v. 5 of the “house” (בית), but with an important reframing: David will not build a house (i.e., a temple) for YHWH, but rather YHWH will build a house (i.e., a dynasty) for David. Given the fairly straightforward meaning of the verse, the LXX version is rather surprising: in the first clause, the *weqatal* והגיד has been rendered with a future, ἀπαγγελεῖ, following the morphology of the Hebrew verb but ignoring its contextual meaning; and in the second clause, the subject and indirect object have exchanged places. Whereas in MT, YHWH will make a house for David, in LXX, David will make a house for YHWH. At first glance, this statement appears nonsensical in light of v. 5. There YHWH says that David will emphatically *not* build the temple, but here he seems to say that David will. To understand the LXX rendering of this verse, we need to consider the preceding verse and a half.

2 Sam 7:10–11a

10 ושמתי מקום לעמי לישראל ונטעתיו ושכן תחתיו ולא ירגז עוד ולא יסיפו בני עולה לענותו  
כאשר בראשונה 11 ולמן היום אשר צויתי שפטים על עמי ישראל והניחתי לך מכל איבך  
10 I will establish a place for my people, for Israel, and I will plant them, and they will dwell in their spot. They will not tremble again, and never again will malicious people oppress them as happened before, 11 since the day when I appointed judges over my people Israel and gave you rest from all your enemies.

<sup>87</sup> On the instantaneous perfect, see *IBHS* 30.5.1d; cf. McCarter, *II Samuel*, 205.

This is a perplexing statement from Y<sub>HWH</sub> because it appears to refer to the conquest and settlement of the land as a future event.<sup>88</sup> Gelston raises the intriguing possibility that since the conquest and settlement have already taken place, perhaps they are not the subject of this passage. He proposes that מקום in v. 10 is being used in its technical sense of cultic center, or of the Jerusalem temple itself, and that it is the מקום rather than עמי ישראל which is the antecedent of the pronominal suffixes on ונטעתיו, ותחתיו, and לענותו, and the subject of the verbs ושכן and ירגו.<sup>89</sup> In this reading of vv. 10–11a, the subject is not the conquest and settlement of the land but rather the founding of the temple in Jerusalem, which is indeed still a future event at this point in the narrative. The evidence in support of this claim comes from 4QFlorilegium (4Q174) 1:1–3a:

[ -- ] דֹּאֹיִבְּ] -- ולוא יוסי] ה בן עולה] לענותו] כאשר בראישונה ולמן היום אשר	1
[צויתי שפטים] על עמי ישראל הואה הבית אשר] -- ]ל] -- ב]אחרית הימים כאשר כתוב בספר	2
[ -- ] מקדש אדני כ]וננו ידיכה יהוה ימלוך עולם ועד	3

Lines 1–2a, while fragmentary, appear to be a quotation from 2 Sam 7:10–11 concluding with על עמי ישראל. Immediately following the quotation is the interpretation, “This is the house which...” (הואה הבית אשר) and a quotation from Exod 15:17–18, which in turn is interpreted as an eschatological temple. This midrash evidently reads 2 Sam 7:10–11 as a reference to the Jerusalem temple. “The only possible basis for such a reference would seem to be מקום in II Sam

<sup>88</sup> Some have attempted to argue that the *weqatal* verbs in this passage should be understood as referring to past events; see L. Rost, *Die Überlieferung von der Thronnachfolge Davids* (Stuttgart: Kolhammer, 1926), 59–60; Hertzberg, *I & II Samuel* 285; O. Loretz, “The *Perfectum Copulativum* in 2 Sm 7,9–11,” *CBQ* 23, no. 3 (July 1961): 294–96. While this use of the *weqatal* is found in both early and late Hebrew, it seems unlikely here, especially given the presence of two *yiqtol* verbs (ירגו and יסיפו) in the same passage. So also A. Gelston, “A Note on II Samuel 7:10,” *ZAW* 84 (1972): 93; McCarter, *II Samuel*, 202.

<sup>89</sup> Gelston, “A Note on II Samuel 7:10,” 93. He provides the following translation of vv. 10–11a: “I will appoint a sanctuary for my people, for Israel, and I will establish it: and it shall dwell in its place, and shall not again quake, nor shall the sons of wickedness master it any more, as formerly and from the time when I commanded judges to be over my people Israel.” The historical reference in 10b–11 is to the destruction of the temple at Shiloh.

7:10, understood as a reference to the projected sanctuary.”<sup>90</sup> Gelston’s proposal is appealing because of its ability to solve the difficulty of MT 2 Sam 7:10, but he has not made the case that the later meaning of מקום as “temple” was available to the author. Examples of this usage prior to the Second Temple period would strengthen his argument.

In any case, the LXX translator does not understand 2 Sam 7:10–11 as Gelston proposes.<sup>91</sup> The translator follows the Hebrew in expressing the events of vv. 10–11a as still to come, and within this context, his translation of v. 11b reads as the culmination of these future events:

10 καὶ θήσομαι τόπον τῷ λαῷ μου τῷ Ἰσραὴλ καὶ καταφυτεύσω αὐτόν, καὶ κατασκηνώσει καθ’ ἑαυτὸν καὶ οὐ μεριμνήσει οὐκέτι, καὶ οὐ προσθήσει υἱὸς ἀδικίας τοῦ ταπεινῶσαι αὐτόν καθὼς ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς 11 ἀπὸ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ὧν ἔταξα κριτὰς ἐπὶ τὸν λαόν μου Ἰσραὴλ, καὶ ἀναπαύσω σε ἀπὸ πάντων τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου καὶ ἀπαγγελεῖ σοι κύριος ὅτι οἶκον οἰκοδομήσεις αὐτῷ.

10 I will give a place for my people Israel and I will plant them, and they will dwell by themselves,<sup>92</sup> and they will never worry, and an unrighteousness man will never again abase them as happened in the beginning, 11 since the days when I appointed judges over my people Israel, and I will give you rest from all your enemies, and [then, when all this has happened,] the Lord will announce to you that you will build a house for him.

Whatever the historical referents may be in the LXX version of these verses, the cited events have not yet happened, and ὙΗΩΗ will not announce the building of his temple until they do. Because the temple will not be built until *after* the other events have taken place, those events cannot logically refer to the founding of the temple.

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<sup>90</sup> Gelston, “A Note on II Samuel 7:10,” 94.

<sup>91</sup> Contra Schniedewind, who suggests that the Septuagint’s “pro-temple” translation of 2 Sam 7 “may have been influenced by the pervasive use of the term ‘place’ (מקום) for the temple in the Second Temple period.” Schniedewind, “Pro-Temple *Tendenz*,” 113. He appears not to have recognized that the LXX translation of vv. 10–11 does not interpret מקום in v. 10 as a reference to the temple, as presumably it would if the entire passage had been influenced by the translator’s understanding of מקום as the temple. The failure of LXX to interpret מקום as the temple in v. 10 calls into question Schniedewind’s thesis of a pro-temple bias in 2 Sam 7.

<sup>92</sup> On this sense of κατά, see GELS s.v. κατά II.9; cf. Zec 12:6: καὶ κατοικήσει Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔτι καθ’ ἑαυτήν.

Reading v. 11b as the culmination of the events described in vv. 10–11a explains the tense of the future verb ἀπαγγελεῖ, but what about the role reversal which follows? By temporally relocating the building of the “house” to a future time, the house in question can no longer be David’s dynasty, which is not contingent on the fulfillment of the promise of rest. The house must rather be the temple, and so the translator is forced to change the subject of the verb from the third person (MT *ישׁע*): *YHWH* is not going to build his own temple. It is of course Solomon who will build the temple, but he has not yet been mentioned in Nathan’s speech, and so he is not available to be the subject of the verb. While it seems illogical for the translator to use a second person verb (*οἰκοδομήσεις*) because it seems to make David the implied subject, perhaps he was taking a broader view of who was included in “you”: not just David, but his progeny as well. This interpretation is not entirely satisfying. The translator seems to have painted himself into a corner in this verse, forcing himself to make choices which were less than ideal.

d. 2 Sam 7:16

ונאמן ביתך וממלכתך עד עולם לפניך כסאך יהיה נכון עד עולם

“Your house and your kingdom will endure forever before you; your throne will be permanent forever.”

καὶ πιστωθήσεται ὁ οἶκος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ βασιλεία αὐτοῦ ἕως αἰῶνος ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ, καὶ ὁ θρόνος αὐτοῦ ἔσται ἀνωρθωμένος εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα.

“And his house and his kingdom will be made secure forever before me, and his throne will be restored forever.”

Cf. 1 Chr 17:14: העמדתיהו בביתי ובמלכותי עד העולם וכסאו יהיה נכון עד עולם

The Greek has third person pronouns in every case where the Hebrew has second person.<sup>93</sup> This difference appears to be a systematic choice on the part of the translator to make this promise refer to Solomon and not to David: it is *Solomon's* house,<sup>94</sup> kingdom and throne whose permanence are ensured. The Chronicler makes a similar choice (although intriguingly the house and kingdom belong to Y<sup>HWH</sup>; Solomon will merely be established in them, not hold them as his own).<sup>95</sup> This decision brings v. 16 into conformity with the preceding three and a half verses, in both the Hebrew and the Greek, all of which discuss Solomon and his future relationship with Y<sup>HWH</sup>.

What is interesting about the translator's work in these four verses is that in the first two cases (vv. 5 and 9), he is harmonizing Nathan's oracle with the biblical narrative: he clarifies that Solomon rather than David will build the Jerusalem temple, and having understood  $\square\psi$  as

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<sup>93</sup> The one exception is the second person pronominal suffix on  $\text{לפניך}$ , for which LXX has a first person pronoun. The MT reading appears to be a scribal error for  $\text{לפני ה'}$ ; see McCarter, *II Samuel*, 195. LXX preserves the original reading (*ἐνώπιον ἐμοῦ καί*).

<sup>94</sup> Schniedewind interprets Solomon's "house" in this verse as a reference to the temple on the grounds that "the Septuagint undoes the literary play on בית (either 'temple' or 'dynasty') when it translates verse 11 as 'you [David] shall build a house for him [the Lord].' In the Septuagint, 'house' is only a reference to the temple." Schniedewind, "Pro-Temple *Tendenz*," 113. While it is true that LXX removes the explicit word play on the two instances of בית in vv. 5 and 16, it does not necessarily follow that the οἶκος of Solomon is not his dynasty. οἶκος is used beyond this passage to mean dynasty (cf. Isa 2:5; 7:2; Obad 1:17-18; Zeph 2:7; Zech 8:13; 12:8), and so the meaning could still hold here. This verse thus fails to provide adequate support for Schniedewind's thesis of a pro-temple bias in LXX 2 Sam 7.

<sup>95</sup> As Japhet observes regarding the ideology of Chronicles expressed in this verse, "the Chronicler ... eliminates the conflict between theocracy and earthly monarchy expressed in the time of Gideon and Saul. According to Chronicles, Y<sup>HWH</sup> is ruler, but His rule is executed by the kings of Israel. The earthly monarchy does not contrast divine kingship—it puts God's kingship into practice here on earth. This principle clarifies one of the differences between 2 Sam 7:16 and the parallel text in 1 Chr 17:14. 2 Sam 7:16 reads: 'And your house and your kingdom shall be made sure forever before me'—the monarchy is David's, yet God assures him that it will be established 'before' Him. In Chronicles, we find 'I will confirm him in my house and in my kingdom'—the kingship is not 'before' Y<sup>HWH</sup>; it *is* Y<sup>HWH</sup>'s." Sara Japhet, *The Ideology of the Book of Chronicles and Its Place in Biblical Thought*, trans. Anna Barber (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2009), 313–14. Knoppers notes further that "in this respect, the Chronicler's work follows the pattern of ancient Near Eastern royal ideology. In Canaan, Egypt, and Mesopotamia, kings had certain sacral privileges and responsibilities.... The Chronicler ... generally endorses a strong connection between king and temple." Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles 10–29: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 673.

David's fame rather than his dynasty, he "corrects" a verbal form to say that David is already famous in accord with the narrative of David's ascendancy. But in the second two cases (vv. 11 and 16), he is not harmonizing the oracle with the biblical narrative but rather with the oracle itself. In v. 11, he has carefully followed the *weqaṭal* verbs in the Hebrew and is forced to reckon with what it could mean that Y<sub>HWH</sub> *will* announce the building of the "house" to David. While his solution is far from perfect, his attempt to create coherence is evident in his struggle. In v. 16, he appears uncomfortable with the abrupt switch from Solomon to David as the subject of Y<sub>HWH</sub>'s promises and so changes the pronouns from second to third person. While this change could theoretically have an ideological impulse to favor Solomon over David,<sup>96</sup> it is more likely to have a literary one: the translator's objective was simply to create a smoother, more readable text.

#### Excursus: differences in pronouns between MT and LXX Samuel

Differences in person and number of pronouns do not occur frequently in LXX Samuel, but when they do, they are most often attempts to "smooth out" the text.<sup>97</sup> Out of 2,291 pronominal suffixes in MT of the non-*kaige* portions of Samuel (1 Sam–2 Sam 11:1), LXX (according to Rahlfs) has just 26 differences in person or number, not including the examples already discussed in 2 Sam 7.<sup>98</sup> Almost all cases of changes in number appear to be harmonizations with the immediately surrounding text: for example,

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<sup>96</sup> While there is certainly revision in the Greek translation of Samuel-Kings, there is no apparent attempt to raise Solomon's status over David's.

<sup>97</sup> It is not possible to prove definitively that all of these changes are the work of the translator, but it is also not possible to prove definitively that they are not. The only one of the following examples attested in the Dead Sea scrolls is 1 Sam 5:10, where 4Q51 agrees with MT.

<sup>98</sup> Changes in number only occur in 1 Sam 5:10–11 (5x); 10:12 (2x), 15, 16; 11:3; 15:18; 21:7, 14; 29:3; 30:22; 2 Sam 9:10. Changes in person (and sometimes also in number) occur in 1 Sam 4:9; 6:4; 7:8; 14:17; 15:17, 18, 21; 20:7; 2 Sam 2:26; 9:11.

a singular pronoun will be changed to a plural if more than one person is speaking (1 Sam 5:10–11; 30:22) or if more than one person is implicitly referenced (1 Sam 11:3; 29:3). In the two exceptional cases, the change in number has to do instead with differences between the two languages: in 1 Sam 21:7 and 2 Sam 9:10, the singular **אִישׁ** is the antecedent of a singular pronoun, while the Greek equivalent *ἄρτοι* is plural and so is followed by a plural pronoun (*ἄρτος* appears in the plural slightly less than half the time in LXX; **אִישׁ** is always singular).

Several examples of changes in person are also cases of harmonization (1 Sam 4:9; 6:4; 14:17; 20:7 as part of a larger harmonization with v. 10). In two cases, the MT text appears to have suffered corruption and LXX preserves the better reading (1 Sam 15:18; 2 Sam 9:11). In a few cases, however, neither harmonization nor corruption can explain the difference between the two versions. In MT 1 Sam 7:8, the Israelites refer to Y<sub>HWH</sub> as “our God,” while in LXX they call him “your [Samuel’s] God”; but in MT 1 Sam 15:21, Saul calls Y<sub>HWH</sub> “your [Samuel’s] God,” while in LXX he calls him “our God.” The lack of consistency between these two verses is difficult to explain.<sup>99</sup> In 2 Sam 2:26, the textual differences highlight different aspects of the narrative: MT’s **אֶחָד־בְּאֶחָד** makes the point that Abner and Joab are engaged in a civil war, while LXX’s *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν* makes the point that Joab’s troops are defeating Abner’s.<sup>100</sup> Finally, in 1 Sam 15:17, the change in pronoun completely shifts the emphasis of the verse: in MT,

<sup>99</sup> A bit of plausible speculation: Perhaps in 1 Sam 7, the translator is emphasizing that the Israelites’ faith in Y<sub>HWH</sub>’s leadership is inadequate, while in 1 Sam 15, he is uncomfortable with Saul calling Y<sub>HWH</sub> “Samuel’s God” since Saul clearly worships him as well.

<sup>100</sup> Another possible interpretation of LXX’s *τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν* is that Abner is attempting to create sympathy in Joab by using an inclusive 1pl pronoun

Samuel asks, “Even though you are small in your own eyes, are you not head of a tribe of Israel?” In LXX, Samuel asks, “Are you not small in [YHWH’s] eyes even though you are head of a tribe of Israel?”<sup>101</sup> The MT version echoes Saul’s concern about his low status, originally expressed in 1 Sam 9:21, and here refuted by Samuel. The LXX version, on the other hand, says that Saul’s status before YHWH is indeed lowly despite his political accomplishments.

These examples demonstrate that the translator does occasionally have a particular narrational or (perhaps) theological agenda in changing the person of a pronoun, but that the overwhelming majority of the differences in person or number arise from an apparent desire to create a more consistent text. These differences serve to harmonize the person and number of the pronoun with the person and number of the antecedent, whether stated or implied, or to create consistency from one pronoun to the next.

It is intriguing to find a cluster of these changes in 1 Sam 15: there are changes in pronoun in vv. 17, 18 (2x), and 21. All four come in dialogue, with the first three from the mouth of Samuel and the fourth from the mouth of Saul, and they immediately precede Samuel’s prophecies regarding the demise of Saul’s dynasty. It is tempting to speculate that the translator’s alteration of the pronouns in vv. 17, 18, 21 was in some way influenced by the impending prophecy, but this proposal seems unlikely for three out of the four changes in these verses. In v. 18, MT has **בו** in agreement with the collective

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<sup>101</sup> See Lestienne and Grillet, *Règnes*, 276: “N’es-tu pas petit à son regard, bien que chef d’un sceptre d’une tribu d’Israël?” Samuel’s question in LXX is quite difficult to understand. NETS translates, “Are you not small before him, a leader of a scepter of a tribe of Israel?”, apparently taking “leader” in apposition to “him,” but this is nonsensical: the antecedent of “him” is YHWH, and he is not a leader of a tribe of Israel.

singular עמלק, while LXX instead has αὐτούς in agreement with τοὺς ἁμαρτάνοντας. “Amalek” and “the sinners” are in apposition to each other, so choosing which noun should be the grammatical antecedent of the pronoun is somewhat a matter of personal preference. In that same verse, MT’s כלותם appears to be an error; LXX’s συντελέσης (= כלותך) is a better reading. In v. 21, Saul calls YHWH θεοῦ ἡμῶν instead of יהיה; this change is easily understood as a response to discomfort, either theological or narrational, with Saul not claiming YHWH as his own God. In other words, the changes in vv. 18, 21 could have happened anywhere in the book of Samuel. They are not particularly linked to chapter 15. It is more plausible to suggest that the change in v. 17 could somehow be connected to Samuel’s prophecy, insofar as it downplays the significance of Saul’s political power just a few verses before Samuel prophesies the end of that power. It may deserve to be included in the constellation of changes that take place in the Septuagint version of Samuel’s speech to Saul, discussed above.

#### e. 2 Kgs 22:20

A final example of harmonization in the Septuagint can be found in Huldah’s prophecy of Josiah’s death in 2 Kgs 22:20:

לכן הנני אספך על אבתך ונאספת אל קברתך בשלום ולא תראינה עיניך בכל הרעה אשר  
אני מביא על המקום הזה

“Therefore I am going to gather you to your fathers. You will be gathered to your grave<sup>102</sup> in peace, and your eyes will not see all the evil which I am going to bring upon this place.”

<sup>102</sup> Reading קברתך with LXX; MT’s plural form is peculiar.

LXX<sup>A</sup>, Syrohexapla, 243, 554

οὐχ οὕτως· ἰδοὺ ἐγὼ προστίθην σε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου καὶ συναχθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον σου ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ καὶ οὐκ ὀφθήσεται ἐν τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς σου ἐν πᾶσιν τοῖς κακοῖς οἷς ἐγὼ εἶμι ἐπάγω ἐπὶ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον.

“Not so! Behold, I add you to your fathers, and you will be gathered to your place in Jerusalem, and all the evils which I bring upon this place will not be seen by your eyes.”

τόπον] ταφον B | ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ] rell εν ειρηνη

Given that Josiah dies a violent death on the battlefield at the hands of Pharaoh Neco (2 Kgs 23:29–30), Huldah’s prophecy that Josiah will die and be buried in peace seems patently inaccurate.<sup>103</sup> The possibility of a false prophecy from the mouth of YHWH<sup>104</sup> has caused great consternation among commentators, both ancient and modern.<sup>105</sup> That very early readers were concerned with this problem can be seen in Chronicles, which takes a narrational approach to addressing the discrepancy between Huldah’s prophecy and Josiah’s death: the Chronicler substantially expands the encounter between Josiah and Neco (2 Chr 35:20–24) and has Neco warn Josiah to get out of his way; God is with him, he says, and he does not want to destroy Josiah in order to carry out God’s plan that he battle the king of Assyria. Josiah refuses to turn aside, however, and this is the crux of the Chronicler’s explanation: Josiah dies because he does not listen to the word of God spoken by Neco (לֹא שָׁמַע אֶל דְּבַר יְהוָה מִפִּי אֱלֹהִים). The logic of the

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<sup>103</sup> The syntax of the MT text suggests that בשלום should modify only the clause about Josiah’s burial, and not the clause about his actual death; however, “Kings consistently distinguishes between kings who ‘lay with their fathers,’ or died natural deaths, and kings who died violently.... The J and DtrH expression, ‘to lie with the fathers,’ and the P expression, ‘to be gathered to one’s kin,’ which together underlie Huldah’s words, both apply only to those who die naturally. Huldah’s ‘gathering to the fathers’ would seem to be a portmanteau.” Baruch Halpern, “Why Manasseh Is Blamed for the Babylonian Exile: The Evolution of a Biblical Tradition,” *VT* 48 (1998): 500. Huldah’s phrase הָנִי אֲבַתֵּךְ אֶסְפֶּךָ עַל אֲבֹתֶיךָ would thus not be an accurate characterization of Josiah’s death on the battlefield at the hands of Neco.

<sup>104</sup> See the prophetic formula with which Huldah begins her speech in 2 Kgs 22:15: ותאמר אליהם כה אמר יהוה אלהי ישראל.

<sup>105</sup> For a review of the many attempts to explain away the apparent inaccuracy of Huldah’s prophecy, see Esther J. Hamori, *Women’s Divination in Biblical Literature: Prophecy, Necromancy, and Other Arts of Knowledge* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2015), 155–56.

Chronicler's version is that Josiah *could* have died in peace if he had listened to God's word, and because Huldah could not have known that he would be so recalcitrant, her prophecy is not rendered inaccurate by the circumstances of Josiah's death.<sup>106</sup>

A Greek reader was evidently troubled by Huldah's prophecy as well. While LXX<sup>B</sup>, along with the majority of witnesses, reads ἐν εἰρήνῃ for בְּשָׁלוֹם, LXX<sup>A</sup> takes the innovative step of rendering ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, as if reading בְּשָׁלֹם.<sup>107</sup> This reading "corrects" Huldah's prophecy by saying that Josiah would be buried not in peace, but in Jerusalem. And indeed, Josiah is buried in Jerusalem in 2 Kgs 23:30. Thus in LXX<sup>A</sup>, Huldah's prophecy is accurate.<sup>108</sup>

One intriguing question is whether ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ is intended to modify only συναχθήσῃ εἰς τὸν τόπον [τάφον] σου, or if it also modifies προστίθῃμι σε πρὸς τοὺς πατέρας σου. In other words, is the prophecy in LXX<sup>A</sup> that Josiah will be buried in Jerusalem, or that he will die *and* be buried in Jerusalem? If the former, then LXX<sup>A</sup> harmonizes Huldah's prophecy with Josiah's fate in Kings, but if the latter, it harmonizes Huldah's prophecy with Josiah's fate in Chronicles. Although in the book of Kings, Josiah dies in Megiddo (2 Kgs 23:30), in Chronicles he is brought back wounded to Jerusalem and dies there (2 Chr 35:23–24). It may be too far-fetched to

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<sup>106</sup> Hamori, *Women's Divination*, 156.

<sup>107</sup> On this unusual shortened form of בְּשָׁלוֹם, see Gen 14:18; Ps 76:3. For the sake of brevity, this paragraph names only LXX<sup>A</sup>, but the alternative reading is also found in the Syrohexapla and mss 243, 554.

<sup>108</sup> It is unclear whether the reading ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ represents an independent translation of the Hebrew that was incorporated into LXX<sup>A</sup> or a reworking of the translation ἐν εἰρήνῃ. If it is an independent translation, it is possible that a translator had a defective spelling in his manuscript of 2 Kgs 22:20 (cf. 1 Kgs 2:5 [2x]; 5:26) and read בְּשָׁלֹם quite innocently, without thinking about the interpretive ramifications. Given the relative frequencies of בְּשָׁלֹם and בְּשָׁלוֹם, however—בְּשָׁלֹם is attested twice in MT, בְּשָׁלוֹם is attested 237 times—it is difficult to imagine that a translator would not have assumed that even a defective spelling was meant to be read as בְּשָׁלוֹם. It seems far more likely that a translator saw בְּשָׁלוֹם (or possibly בְּשָׁלֹם but nevertheless recognized it as בְּשָׁלוֹם), knew that *matres lectionis* were expendable, and saw a way to make Huldah's prophecy accurate by mentally "erasing" the *vav* and rendering the uncommon sense of the consonantal text. If, on the other hand, the reading in LXX<sup>A</sup> represents a revision of a Greek text, a scribe would have had to create a mental text of בְּשָׁלֹם by retroverting ἐν εἰρήνῃ with the defective spelling (on the concept of "mental text," see p. 77 in Chapter Two).

suggest that a scribe or translator had Chronicles in mind while he was working on Kings, or that he would harmonize with Chronicles rather than the book he was working on; it is worth noting, however, that his text does address the issue of Josiah's death as well as the issue of his burial. We should therefore at least consider the possibility that this choice was intentional.

## 7. Summation of evidence from the Septuagint

In this first section, I have presented evidence that 1) the translator was influenced by the parallels, both narrational and verbal, in 1 Kgs 11:29–31 in his decision to render נחצה rather than נצח in 1 Sam 15:29; 2) he may also have been confused about the contextual meaning of נצח; 3) the translator chose a future verb, *διαίρεθήσεται*, to render the *qaṭal* form נחצה in keeping with a pattern of rendering Samuel's predictions of Saul's dynastic demise in the future tense; and 4) his translation fits a larger pattern of creating and harmonizing prophecies.

From this evidence, we may construct a hypothetical account of how the LXX reading *διαίρεθήσεται* *Ἰσραηλ εἰς δύο* came about.<sup>109</sup> As the translator worked through his *Vorlage*, the narrative and specific language of 1 Sam 15 reminded him of 1 Kgs 11, where the prophet Ahijah tears his cloak and interprets the gesture as a prophecy of the division of the monarchy. When he came to the phrase נצח ישראל and could not make sense of it because of the shift that had occurred in the semantics of נצח, he saw that graphically נצח was very similar to נחצה. He realized that if he read נחצה, v. 29 could fill out the prophecy in 1 Sam 15 to match the prophecy in 1 Kgs 11, thereby creating a new instance of prophecy which accurately predicts the biblical

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<sup>109</sup> This account aims merely to demonstrate how the collected evidence may be integrated to explain the LXX translation in 1 Sam 15:29. I do not suggest that any of the account can be proven.

history; furthermore, it would give Samuel the distinction of being the first to predict the divided kingdom. In keeping with his pattern of rendering Samuel's statements about Saul's dynasty in the future tense, he then translates  $\eta\zeta\eta$  as  $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ .

The provenance of the phrase  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  in the Septuagint of 1 Sam 15:29 remains to be dealt with. Strictly speaking, it is not necessary for the meaning of the verse: the Greek would still be coherent, if less precise, without it. It has no textual equivalent in MT, so we cannot say that it is a transformation of some element in the Hebrew. One possibility is that the translator thought of  $\eta\zeta\eta$  strictly as "to divide into two parts,"<sup>110</sup> a sense which is not denoted by  $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ .<sup>111</sup> A more precise Greek term for "to divide into two parts" would be  $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ , or its compounds  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ / $\acute{\epsilon}\nu\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$ ,<sup>112</sup> but this verb usually is the stereotypical rendering in LXX for  $\gamma\text{״קב}$ , which is textually too dissimilar from  $\eta\zeta\eta$  for the translator to make the necessary mental transformation. Another related possibility is that, as Kauhanen has suggested, the translator added  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  because the connotations of  $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  "point to division in a logical sense rather than enforced tearing."<sup>113</sup> A third possibility is that  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  was added by a later scribe attempting to clarify the meaning of the text, and that the original translation read only  $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\epsilon\theta\acute{\eta}\sigma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ . On the one hand, in the absence of evidence that would decisively signal the work of a later redactor, we have no reason to assume that  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  was not part of the original translation.<sup>114</sup> On the other hand, the tendency of the

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<sup>110</sup> Cf. Gen 32:8; Exod 21:35; Num 31:42; 2 Kgs 2:8, 14; Ezek 37:22.  $\eta\zeta\eta$  can also be used when more than two pieces result from the division: see Gen 33:1; Judg 7:16; 9:43; Dan 11:4.

<sup>111</sup>  $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  can of course mean to divide into two parts, but the number of parts must be specified. It does not mean "to halve." See LSJ, BDAG, *GELS* s.v.  $\delta\iota\alpha\iota\rho\acute{\epsilon}\omega$  for specific examples of usage.

<sup>112</sup>  $\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  and  $\delta\iota\alpha\sigma\chi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$  appear respectively in the Antiochene text and Josephus, presumably because they are the more precise verb. See section II: Manuscript evidence on pp. 204–208.

<sup>113</sup> Kauhanen, *Proto-Lucianic Problem*, 104.

<sup>114</sup> To insist that  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma\ \delta\acute{\upsilon}\omicron$  is the work of a later scribe would be an example of what John Barton has called "the disappearing redactor": if the text is coherent as it stands, there is no need to posit the work of a redactor. John Barton, *Reading the Old Testament: Method in Biblical Study* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox, 1996), 56–8.

translator to deviate as little as possible from the textual form of the *Vorlage*, as demonstrated by the examples of 1 Sam 1:6 and 14:41 above, might suggest that indeed the phrase εἰς δύο is not his work. Given that εἰς δύο is attested across all the manuscript evidence, however, it must have been added very early if it was not the original translation.

#### IV. The evidence from the Dead Sea Scrolls

I cannot make the case that the translator was responsible for his translation in 1 Sam 15:29 without refuting the textual evidence from 4Q51. Cross reconstructs this verse in *DJD XVII* on the basis of his retroversion of LXX, and if he is correct, then LXX is a straightforward rendering of a Hebrew *Vorlage* that differs from MT and not a creative choice. His reconstruction should be rejected, however, for two reasons: first, it is impossible to account for the textual relationship between his reconstruction of v. 29 and MT; and second, his reconstruction is based on a misreading of f.10a.<sup>115</sup>

Here is the reconstruction of the entire passage as it appears in *DJD XVII* (fragments 8–10 a–b,11; plate XIIa). To aid in the discussion that follows, I have color-coded the text assigned to each fragment.

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<sup>115</sup> As I will argue below, figs. 8 and 11 have also been misread. Thus several of Cross's reconstructions in this passage require reevaluation.

Figure 4: 4Q51 frgs. 8–10 a–b, 11

[ו]יאמר שאול אל שמואל חטאתי [כִּי] [עברתי את פי יהוה ואת דברך כי]	1
[יראתי את הע] [ם] [ואשמע בקולם] [ועתה] [שא נא את חטאתי ושוב עמי]	2
[ואשתחוה ל] [י] [הוה] [ויאמר שמואל אל שאול לוא אשוב עמך כי מאסתי]	3
[את דב] [ר] [יהוה] [וימאסך יהוה מהיות מלך על] [י] [שראל ויסב שמואל ללכת]	4
[ו] [יחזק שאול] [בכנף מעילו ויעצר ויקרעהו ויא] [מר] [א] [ליו שמואל קרע יהוה]	5
[מלכות ישראל] [ל מעליך ונתנה לרעד הטוב ממך ו] [גם] [יחצה ישראל לשנים]	6
[ולו] [א] [ישוב] [ולוא] [ינחם כ] [י לוא אדם ה] [וא] [לה] [נחם ויאמר שאול חטאתי]	7
[ו] [כבד] [ני נא נ] [גד] [זקני עמ] [י ונגד יש] [רא] [ל שו] [ב עמי והשתחוייתי ליהוה אלוהיך]	8
[ו] [ישוב שמו] [א] [ל] [אח] [ר] [י] [שאול וישת] [חו ליהוה] [ ] [vacat]	9
[ו] [יאמר שמ] [ואל הגישו אלי את אג] [וג] [מל] [ד עמלק וילך אליו אג]	10

f.8
f.9
f.10a
f.10b
f.11

As is immediately evident, the reconstruction of the passage hangs on very few actually attested characters. The largest fragment, f.9, covers nine lines of text but preserves roughly only the first third of the total column width, and not completely. Unfortunately, the words which would be of most interest to the present study, found at the end of line 6, are not attested. Based on Cross's reading of f.10a, however, considerations of vertical alignment appear to support his reconstruction [יחצה ישראל לשנים]; if we were instead to reconstruct MT's shorter text, נצח ישראל, without making any other changes to the line, it would result in an unusually short line. In order to understand why line 6 appears short with the reconstruction of the MT text, we must delve into the methods used for reconstructing biblical Dead Sea Scrolls.

### 1. Assessing methods for reconstructing biblical Dead Sea Scrolls

Scholars who wish to reconstruct biblical Dead Sea Scrolls must evaluate possible textual variants by determining whether they would fit well in the space available. An accurate

reconstruction thus depends upon an accurate estimate of how much text could fit in a given space. There are currently two methods available for calculating these estimates. The older method, used by the editors of *DJD XVII* as well as many others, I will call the “character count” method. Cross describes his procedure as follows:

We have found that by counting letters and spaces we are able to get a sufficiently accurate measure of the line lengths in a given column. Wide and narrow letters, and the spaces between words (that are not to be ignored), tend to even out over the forty-five to seventy letters and spaces that make up the lines of script. Moreover, given also the scribe’s flexibility in observing the left margin, micromasurement of the width of letters adds little aid in reconstruction. On the contrary, the use of “vertical alignment” as we have termed it, is perhaps the best aid in reconstruction. By vertical alignment we refer to placing each letter and space preserved on a given fragment precisely above or below the letter or space on either the line above, or the line below, or where all three lines of the fragment are extant, aligning it both above and below. Where the preserved fragments are substantial in size, this procedure checks that the position of letters and words are precisely where they belong on the lines of script. Where there is a lacuna in our line of script, and reconstruction is desiderated, vertical alignment can often sharply narrow the choice of possible readings that can be fitted into the lacuna.<sup>116</sup>

Cross and the many others who work in the same way reconstruct the text on a grid, as it were.

They treat individual characters as if they were arranged in columns, so that each character (or space) is situated “precisely” (note their repeated use of this adverb) above and/or below another.

The differences between wide letters, such as *sin/shin*, and narrow letters, such as final *nun*, “tend to even out” over the length of the line and so are not worth taking into consideration. Thus two lines of text which are both comprised of the same number of characters and spaces should be essentially equal in length, regardless of what the actual characters are.

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<sup>116</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 24.

A newer method, proposed by Herbert first in his dissertation and then in the monograph which followed, I will call the “average width” method. Herbert developed this method in response to what he saw as the inaccuracy of the character count method:

Amounts of text to be reconstructed are generally measured by counting characters. Such character counts constitute an approximation for the space occupied by that reconstruction, but it is an approximation that takes no account of the varying widths of the letters of the Hebrew alphabet... This observation suggests that the first refinement should be the development of a measure of the amount of space that a reconstructed series of characters can be expected to occupy which takes account of the varying widths of the Hebrew letters that make up that series. The first stage towards this end is to calculate the average width of each letter of the alphabet within the scroll in question. Once this has been achieved, a “reconstructed width” is calculated for each proposed reconstruction, which is the sum of the average letter widths of the letters that comprise that reconstruction. Thus, for instance, the reconstructed width of the Hebrew word לָא is the sum of the average letter widths for א, ל, and the following space. Reconstructed widths represent the amount of space that the scribe would have used to write the series of characters if he had been writing each of the characters at their average width for the scroll. It is of course true that no scribe, even the most professional and regular hand, would have been completely consistent in the way he wrote individual characters. It should, however, be clear that an estimate of the space occupied by a series of characters based upon the calculation of its reconstructed width constitutes a *better approximation* to the actual space occupied than one based merely upon numbers of characters.<sup>117</sup>

Unlike Cross, Herbert does not believe that the different widths of characters are of no consequence when attempting to reconstruct text. He points out that a series with a disproportionately high number of wide characters will take up much more space than a series with a disproportionate number of narrow characters.<sup>118</sup> Herbert thus proposes to calculate the

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<sup>117</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 7; italics original. Herbert’s full method of reconstruction comprises several additional procedures, including the creation of vertical dividers, the development of tables of critical deviations, the identification of margins, and the assessment of scribal margin policy. The discussion that follows will focus on using the average widths of characters to estimate space and the use of tables of critical deviations.

<sup>118</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 7.

average width of each character and space for a given scroll and then sum those averages to estimate space. The sum of the averages he calls the reconstructed width of a series.

Common sense suggests that Herbert's method ought to be the more accurate, and that does indeed seem to be the case. The average width method gives far more tailored results than the character count method does. For example, in the scribal hand of 4Q51 the word שִׁקְט would have a reconstructed width of 9.58mm, whereas the word זִמְן would have a reconstructed width of only 4.36mm. Thus even though the two words have an identical number of characters, the former would require more than twice the space of the latter in a reconstruction. We may also consider discrepancies that arise in entire lines of text. 1QM 8:3 and 8:9 both contain 59 characters and spaces, but line 3 has a reconstructed width of 125.75mm while line 9 has a reconstructed width of only 115.59mm. Despite an identical number of characters and spaces, the reconstructed width of line 3 is more than 10mm longer than the reconstructed width of line 9. It is not the case, as the editors of *DJD XVII* claim, that the differences in the widths of the characters “even out” over the length of the line.

Herbert tests his approach on a number of non-fragmentary scrolls<sup>119</sup> before turning to a reconstruction of a portion of 4Q51, and he demonstrates quite compellingly that the average width method is consistently more precise than the character count method. For each scroll, Herbert chose well-preserved portions of several columns and drew vertical dividers down the length of each column to create sections that were 20, 40, and 80mm wide. For each section, he then calculated the average number of characters and the average reconstructed width. Then for each section of each line, the number of characters and the reconstructed width were expressed

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<sup>119</sup> 1QM, 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 11QT<sup>a</sup>, 11QpHab, and 1QS.

as a percentage deviation from the average for the column. Herbert then collated these data to show how often for each scroll the character count and the reconstructed width deviated from the average by more than 5%, 10%, 15%, 20%, 25%, and 30%.

For example, within a 20mm section of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 52% of the character count sample deviated from the average by more than 10%; 16% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 15%; 12% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 20%; and 2% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 25%. By contrast, 45% of the reconstructed width sample deviated from the average by more than 5%; 24% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 10%; 8% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 15%; 2% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 20%; and 0.2% of the sample deviated from the average by more than 25%.<sup>120</sup>

Table 14: Results for 1QIsa<sup>a</sup>, 20mm section: Percentage of sample deviating by more than specified percentage deviation

	Percentage deviation					
	5%	10%	15%	20%	25%	30%
Character count	0	52	16	12	2	0
Reconstructed width	55	24	8	2	0.2	0

The conclusion to be drawn from these results is that “reconstructed widths represent a much better measure of the amount of text that can fit into a given space than character counts. For each section size within each of the five scrolls, the move from character count to reconstructed

<sup>120</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 34–43 includes a more detailed description of the procedure as well as fuller and more detailed results.

widths markedly reduces the proportion of the sample that deviates by more than 10%, 15%, 20% and so on.”<sup>121</sup>

Herbert also uses this method of calculating the percentage of deviation from the average to test possible reconstructions. He recognizes that “it is important to assess whether a deviation of reconstructed widths is small enough to be caused by scribal inconsistency rather than by the inappropriateness of the reconstruction.... In particular, it is important now to consider how great a deviation from the average of corresponding sections is required before a given reconstruction should be rejected.”<sup>122</sup> In order to determine how much deviation from the average should be accepted when considering a reconstruction, he constructs tables of critical deviations for each of his control scrolls and for 4Q51. These tables show how often a reconstructed width deviates from the average by a given percentage. For example, Herbert provides the following table of critical deviations for general use where average letter widths from the scroll under investigation have been used:<sup>123</sup>

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<sup>121</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 35.

<sup>122</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 14.

<sup>123</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 16; also presented on 58.

Table 15: Critical deviations for general use (%)

Section width (mm)	Significance levels				
	5%	4%	3%	2%	1%
7.5–12.49	15.8	16.4	17.2	18.6	21.1
12.5–17.49	12.9	13.4	14.1	15.2	17.3
17.5–22.49	11.3	11.7	12.3	13.3	15.1
22.5–27.49	10.1	10.5	11.0	11.9	13.5
27.5–32.49	9.3	9.6	10.1	10.9	12.4
32.5–37.49	8.6	8.9	9.4	10.1	11.5
37.5–42.49	8.1	8.4	8.8	9.5	10.8
42.5–57.49	7.5	7.8	8.2	8.8	10.0
57.5–72.49	6.9	7.1	7.5	8.1	9.1
72.5–87.49	6.4	6.6	6.9	7.5	8.5
87.5–102.49	6.1	6.3	6.6	7.1	8.1
102.5–117.49	5.8	6.0	6.3	6.8	7.7
117.5–132.49	5.6	5.8	6.1	6.6	7.5
132.5–187.49	5.2	5.4	5.7	6.1	7.0

To use this table, we would first determine the average width of the section in which we are attempting to reconstruct. If the average is, say, 42.1mm, then we would read across the table in the row for section widths 37.5–42.49mm. This row tells us that for our passage, the width of a reconstructed section will differ from the average width by 8.1% in 5% of cases; it will differ from the average by 8.4% in 4% of cases; by 8.8% in 3% of cases; by 9.5% in 2% of cases; and by 10.8% in 1% of cases. Herbert directs our attention to the 5% and 1% significance levels, the ones most often used in statistics, and suggests that a 5% significance level should be interpreted as raising “substantial suspicion” that a reconstruction is invalid, and a 1% significance level should be interpreted as raising “reasonable confidence” that a reconstruction is invalid. Thus in

our example case, if our reconstruction were to differ in width from the average by 10.8% or more, this would be represented by the 1% significance level and we should have “reasonable confidence” that our reconstruction is invalid. If, on the other hand, our reconstruction deviated from the average by less than 8.1%, the percentage represented by the 5% significance level, the reconstruction could be accepted as far as space considerations are concerned.

There are a few important methodological caveats to this process of using significance levels. As Herbert notes,

the proposed 5% and 1% significance levels are not intended to be used in an absolute way, but rather as a guide.... The above method will be of greatest service if the conclusions that arise from it are drawn with care, indicating the degree of certainty and range of alternative solutions that are possible. In particular, it is important not to overstate the conclusions reached. Thus, for instance, the fact that space considerations may indicate that the only ancient version that can provide a viable reconstruction for a given lacuna is the LXX does not of necessity mean that the scroll actually was in line with LXX at that point, but merely that it may be.<sup>124</sup>

The 5% and 1% significance levels are merely a tool for assessing possible reconstructions for length and are not intended to have the last word. A reconstruction that defies the numbers may nevertheless prove to be the most likely. Scribes were human, after all, and any number of circumstances could have resulted in their handwriting becoming more cramped or more expansive. This method also cannot take into account corrections and interlinear additions. Moreover, simply because a reconstruction could fit in a given lacuna does not mean that the original text *did* follow the reconstruction, only that it could have.

One other significant consideration, which Herbert unfortunately does not address, is that his calculations of critical deviations do not hold when we consider entire lines of text.

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<sup>124</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 17–18.

Presumably this is the result of scribal flexibility with regard to the left margin. We can see this deficiency in Herbert’s method when we calculate reconstructed widths for entire lines of extant scrolls and then compare the longest and shortest lines to the average:<sup>125</sup>

Table 16: Examples from extant scrolls where deviation of reconstructed width from the average exceeds the 1% or 5% significance level

Col/lines	Avg. rec. width (mm)	Min. rec. width (mm)	Diff. from avg. (mm)	Diff from avg. (%)	Max. rec. width (mm)	Diff. from avg. (mm)	Diff. from avg. (%)
1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 48:8–14	150.57	138.97	11.60	7.70	156.45	5.88	3.91
1QIsa <sup>a</sup> 48:23–29	150.08	142.90	7.18	4.78	160.59	10.51	7.01
1QpHab 6:1–7	91.61	83.88	7.73	8.44	97.38	5.77	6.30
1QpHab 6:7–13	95.58	84.49	11.09	11.60	100.43	4.85	5.07
1QpHab 11:1–7	82.55	77.56	4.99	6.05	89.65	7.10	8.60
1QpHab 11:7–14	86.54	75.30	11.24	12.99	95.66	9.12	10.54
1QS 4:3–11	168.10	160.96	7.14	4.25	182.08	13.98	8.32
1QS 5:13–19	176.67	169.76	6.91	3.91	187.95	11.28	6.39
11QT 58: 4–9	109.55	100.66	8.89	8.12	115.46	5.91	5.39
11QT 58:10–17	110.23	103.54	6.69	6.07	113.64	3.41	3.09
11QT 59:9–15	105.00	95.66	9.34	8.89	113.57	8.57	8.16
11QT 59:15–21	108.13	98.40	9.73	9.00	114.35	6.22	5.75

1.23 = greater percentage deviation from the average than represented by the 1% significance level (“reasonable confidence” that a reconstruction is invalid)

1.23 = greater percentage deviation from the average than represented by the 5% significance level (“substantial suspicion” that a reconstruction is invalid)

<sup>125</sup> These results are illustrative and not exhaustive. Reconstructed widths were calculated for every line of 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> 39, 48; 1QpHab 6, 11; 1QS 4–6; and 11QT 58–59 based on average character widths given for each scroll in Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 29–33. Averages were calculated for six-line groups per Herbert’s procedure; Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 54; see also *ibid.*, 44 on the decision to use six-line groups. Significance levels were taken from his table of critical deviations for general use (see above); this table was used rather than the tables specific to each scroll because the latter included calculations only for sections of 20, 40, and 80mm rather than for a range of widths.

These results demonstrate that a substantial number of actual readings from extant scrolls would be rejected as invalid on the basis of space considerations if we were to evaluate them with Herbert's tables of critical deviations. Therefore when we are attempting to reconstruct a fragmentary text, such as 4Q51, we do not necessarily need to reject a reconstruction if the line as a whole deviates from the average by a percentage represented by either the 5% or 1% significance level. That said, we should not completely abandon evaluation by significance levels: a total of 30 sections were tested to create the above chart, and of those 12 were found to have lines which did not pass the significance level test; this means that 18 sections (60%) did pass the test. Furthermore, we can see from these data that even when the reconstructed widths of whole lines deviate from the average, they do so within a certain range. The greatest deviation from the average in the above chart is 12.99% (in 1QpHab 11:7–14). While further investigation might turn up examples of lines whose reconstructed widths differ from the average more, it seems unlikely that they would differ a great deal more. We should still be suspicious if our reconstruction yields a line whose reconstructed width differs from the average by, say, 30%, which is clearly outside the range suggested by an evaluation of extant scrolls.

Despite these necessary cautions, Herbert's proposed method represents a dramatic improvement over the older method of counting characters and spaces. It takes into account the sometimes dramatic differences in the width of Hebrew characters and provides an objective measure for evaluating reconstructions that also allows for variations in scribal hands.

In the discussion of 4Q51 that follows, I will use Herbert's average width method for estimating the width of lines and of reconstructed text, and for evaluating the various proposals for reconstructing 1 Sam 15:24–32.

## 2. Analysis of 4Q51

First, let us establish values for frgs. 8–10 a–b, 11 in 4Q51 as reconstructed in *DJD*.

Table 17: Values for 4Q51 frgs. 8–10 a–b, 11

Line	Text	Reconstructed width (mm) <sup>126</sup>	Character count <sup>127</sup>
1	ויאמר שאול אל שמואל חטאתי כי עברתי את פי יהוה ואת דברך כי	106.98	57
2	יראתי את העם ואשמע בקולם ועתה שא נא את חטאתי ושוב עמי	107.60	53
3	ואשתחוה ליהוה ויאמר שמואל אל שאול לוא אשוב עמך כי מאסטה	107.85	55
4	את דבר יהוה וימאסך יהוה מהיות מלך על ישראל ויסב שמואל ללכת	110.36	58
5	ויחזק שאול בכנף מעילו ויעצר ויקרעהו ויאמר אליו שמואל קרע יהוה	114.12	61
6	מלכות ישראל מעליך ונתנה לרעך הטוב ממך וגם יחצה ישראל לשנים	112.09	58
7	ולוא ישוב ולוא ינחם כי לוא אדם הוא להנחם ויאמר שאול חטאתי	106.31	57
8	וכבדני נא נגד זקני עמי ונגד ישראל שוב עמי והשתחית ליהוה אלוהיך	116.36	64
9	וישוב שמואל אחרי שאול וישתחו ליהוה	<sup>a</sup> [65.57]	<sup>a</sup> [34]
10	ויאמר שמואל הגישו אלי את אגוג מלך עמלק וילך אליו אגג	<sup>b</sup> [96.29]	<sup>b</sup> [52]
	Average reconstructed width	110.21	
	Minimum reconstructed width	106.31	
	Difference of minimum from average	3.90 (3.54%)	
	Maximum reconstructed width	116.36	
	Difference of maximum from average	6.15 (5.58%)	

<sup>a</sup> Line 9 has been excluded from the average and the minimum because the line contains a vacat.

<sup>b</sup> Line 10 has been excluded from the average and the minimum because the reconstruction is incomplete.

<sup>126</sup> Reconstructed widths have been calculated from the average character widths for 4Q51 in Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 80.

<sup>127</sup> Although character counts will not feature in the argument that follows, they have been included here for interest. Note that the line with the shortest reconstructed width (line 1) is not the same as the line with the lowest character count (line 2).

The *DJD* reconstruction yields reasonably good numerical results.<sup>128</sup> The reconstructed width of the shortest line (7) differs from the reconstructed average by only 3.54%. The reconstructed width of the longest line (8) differs from the average by 5.58%, slightly more than the 5% significance level established by Herbert for 4Q51.<sup>129</sup> As we have seen, however, when calculating full lines of text, this degree of deviation is not sufficient cause to reject the reconstruction on the basis of space considerations. Moreover, Herbert notes that because of the fragmentary nature of 4Q51, the sample sizes for constructing the table of critical deviations is limited, and data for sections longer than 52.49mm have been extrapolated from trends in the table.<sup>130</sup>

By contrast, if we reconstruct the MT text **וּגַם נִצַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל** at the end of line 6 and make no other changes to the reconstruction, the numbers do not work out quite so well. The new reconstructed width of line 6 would be 97.13mm, making it the shortest line, and it would differ from the new average (108.58mm) by 11.45mm, or 10.55%. For passages of this width in 4Q51, Herbert has calculated the 1% significance level to represent a deviation from the average of 8%, and this alternative reconstruction would yield a line that differs quite a bit more. As demonstrated above, this degree of deviation is insufficient reason to reject a reconstruction. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the reconstructed widths in this passage from 4Q51 are more regular when we keep the original *DJD* reconstruction than when we follow MT at the end of

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<sup>128</sup> Note that the right margin is extant only for line 6; the left margin has been entirely reconstructed. See Figure 4: 4Q51 frgs. 8–10 a–b, 11 on p. 250.

<sup>129</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 82.

<sup>130</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 81.

line 6. This observation might suggest that the *DJD* reconstruction, which follows LXX at the end of line 6, is preferable to one which follows MT.

The *DJD* reconstruction of this passage—most importantly for the argument of this chapter, the reconstruction of line 6—should be rejected, however, for two reasons. First, it is impossible to account for the textual relationship between MT’s נצח ישראל וגם and *DJD*’s וגם יחצה ישראל לשנים. A scribe who was a native speaker of Hebrew would be unlikely to have difficulty understanding נצח ישראל,<sup>131</sup> and even if the phrase had confused him, he would have written נחצה, which is an easy textual transformation of נצח, and not יחצה. The future tense of *διαίρεθήσεται* in LXX comes not from the *Vorlage*, but from the decision made by the translator to render Samuel’s statements about Saul’s dynasty as future predictions (see above).<sup>132</sup> In other words, we can reconstruct how the LXX reading evolved from the MT reading, but there is no logical explanation for how the 4Q51 reading would have evolved from MT (or vice versa).

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<sup>131</sup> While the meaning of נצח was shifting at the time that 4Q51 was copied (see above), there are still numerous examples in the non-biblical Dead Sea Scrolls of נצח bearing the older meaning “eternity”; see, e.g., 1QS 4:1; 11:12; 1QM 8:1; 1QHa 9:26; 12:14. See also Isa 25:8, where MT’s phrase בלע המות לנצח is rendered in LXX as κατέπιεν ὁ θάνατος ἰσχύσας, but 1QIsa<sup>a</sup> (20:4) maintains the MT consonants. Unfortunately this is the only case of LXX rendering נצח according to the later meaning where we also have extant text in the Dead Sea Scrolls, but it does support the contention that a Hebrew scribe would not have been tempted to alter נצח ישראל even if its original meaning had become obscure to a Greek translator.

<sup>132</sup> Aejmelaeus similarly notes that Cross’s reconstruction “shows his at times uncritical reliance on the Septuagint”; Aejmelaeus, “Does God Regret.” Cross concluded early on that 4Q51 and LXX “stand in the same general tradition” and that “the divergences between 4Q and LXX are sufficiently explained by the century or so between the translation of Samuel into Greek, and the copying of our MS, during which time there was certainly some cross-fertilization between Hebrew textual traditions current in Palestine.” Cross, “New Qumran Fragment,” 23. This analysis has been criticized by Tov and others; see the discussion on pp. 7–11 in the Introduction. Nevertheless, Cross’s early conviction appears to have influenced many of his reconstructions in *DJD XVII*, including that of 15:29.

Second, the Cross has misread and thus misidentified fragments 8, 10a, and 11.<sup>133</sup> They do not belong to this passage of Samuel and do not support the *DJD* reconstruction.<sup>134</sup>

a. f.8

Figure 5: 4Q51 f.8: *DJD XVII* Plate XIIa; Leon Levy Digital Library Plate 1107, Frag 78 (B-488362)

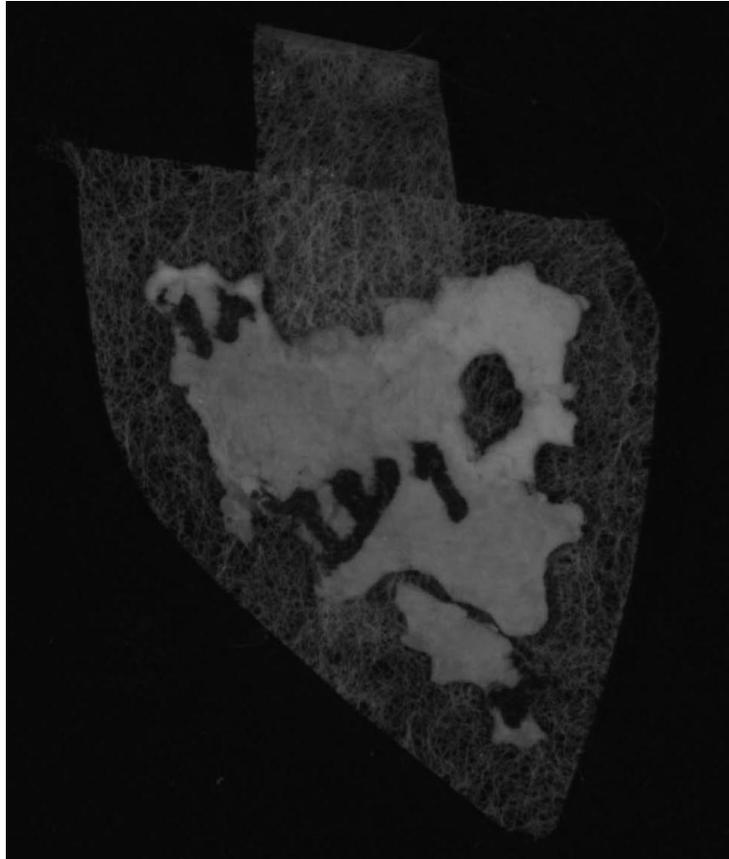


Image © Israel Antiquities Authority

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<sup>133</sup> The editors also fail to recognize that f.17 belongs to this passage. They identify it as 1 Sam 18:4–5 and reconstruct as follows:

[ וְעַד הָרְבוּ ] 1  
[ שֶׁאֵל וַיִּשְׁבְּ ] 2

Herbert, however, correctly identifies this fragment as 1 Sam 15:30–31 (Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 202). Line 1 properly reads ]גַּד י' , and line 2 properly reads ]וֹל וַיִּשְׁבְּ .

<sup>134</sup> The analyses which follow are based on an inspection of the high-resolution digital images of the fragments available through the Leon Levy Digital Library ([www.deadseascrolls.org.il](http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il)). These new images are markedly more clear than the older photographs reproduced in *DJD XVII*, which are also available through the Levy Library.

Cross reads the two letter traces at the top of the fragment as יב, but it is impossible that the first letter trace represents a *kaph*. The angle of the line is wrong, the line thickens where it should not, and all other instances of the letter combination *kaph-yod* extant in 4Q51 show clearly that the bottom arm of the *kaph* extends below the base of the *yod*, which is shortened to accommodate the *kaph*.<sup>135</sup> The first character is more likely an *aleph*.

While this fragment clearly does not belong to 1 Sam 15:24–32, it is still unclear where it comes from instead. Herbert, apparently reading the character trace after the *ayin* as a *mem* rather than a *tav*, gives the fragment a “likely” identification of 2 Sam 20:12, or as a second option, 1 Sam 19:3.<sup>136</sup> I am not thoroughly convinced of his reading, however. The character trace is sufficiently ambiguous to support reconstruction of both *tav* and *mem*.

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<sup>135</sup> 3.a.2, 6; 3.b.19; 9.b.1; f.30:1; f.44:2; f.51:4; f.54:3; f.61i:3; f.61ii:16; f.63:2; f.101:5; f.102i:8; f.106i:13; f.120:3; f.129:8; f.136:3, 4; f.145:6; f.147:2.

<sup>136</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 203. He lists this fragment under PAM 43.113 as F7. “Likely” identifications are Herbert’s third level of certainty, preceded by “firm” and “very likely.”

b. f.10a

Figure 6: 4Q51 f.10a: *DJD XVII* Plate XIIa; Leon Levy Digital Library Plate 1097, Frag 12 (B-484222)<sup>137</sup>

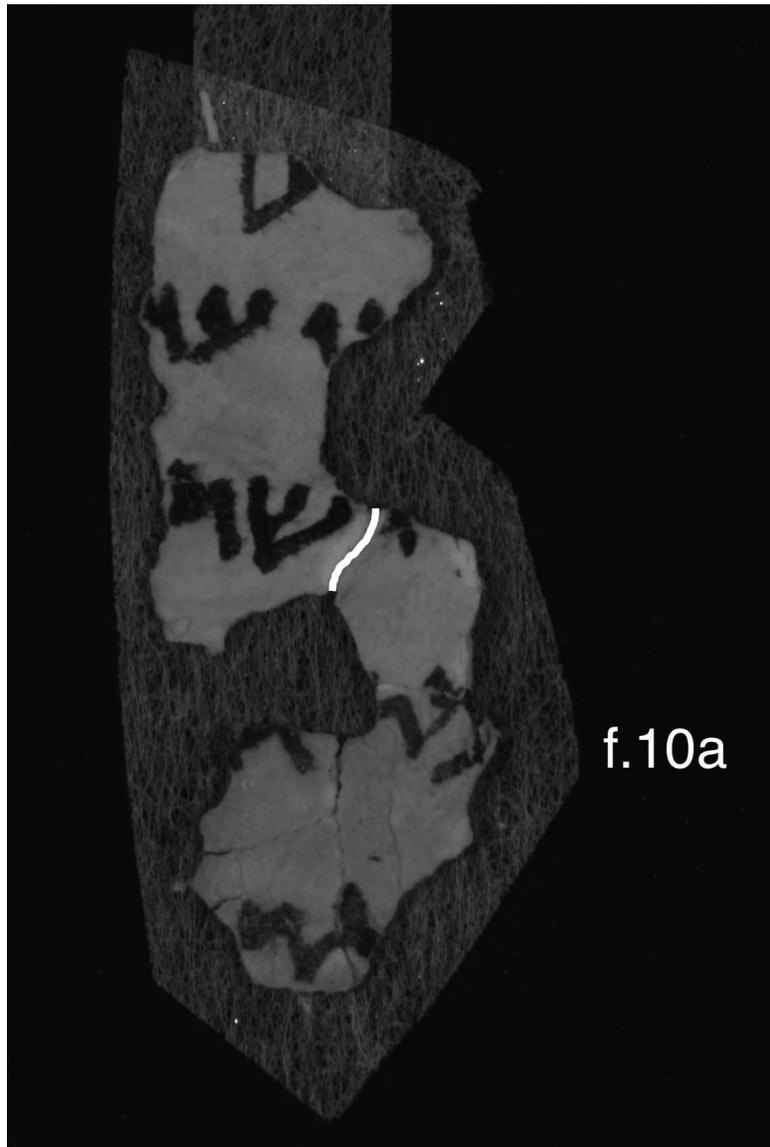


Image © Israel Antiquities Authority

Cross makes several errors in his reading of this fragment. First, the trace in the second line which he identifies as an *aleph* is clearly not. While the angle made by the two strokes

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<sup>137</sup> NB: in this image, what Cross identifies as f.10a has been correctly displayed with part of what *DJD* has numbered f.51; see *DJD XVII* Plate XIV. *DJD* incorrectly identifies these fragments as two different passages. Cross's f.10a is the fragment below the join, which is marked here in white for greater visibility. PAM 43.111 also correctly displays the two fragments together.

nominally resembles an *aleph*, the thickness of the strokes do not. Furthermore, a trace of another character is visible to the left of the *aleph* which cannot be a *lamed* as he proposes: the stroke is vertical rather than diagonal as it would be for *lamed*. Finally, the word in the third line he reads as גַּם is in fact גַּר. The top of the second letter is not the correct shape for a final *mem*; compare especially the two very legible attestations of גַּם in 4Q51 f.61i:30 and f.93:3.

This fragment is instead to be identified as 2 Sam 1:10–13.<sup>138</sup> It shares a physical join with part of what *DJD* has numbered f.51; see Plate XIV. Both PAM 43.111 and the Leon Levy Digital Library (see Figure 3) correctly display the two fragments together.

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<sup>138</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 97, 249.

c. f.11

Figure 7: 4Q51 f.11: *DJD XVII* Plate XIIa; Leon Levy Digital Library Plate 1107, Frag 16 (B-488114)

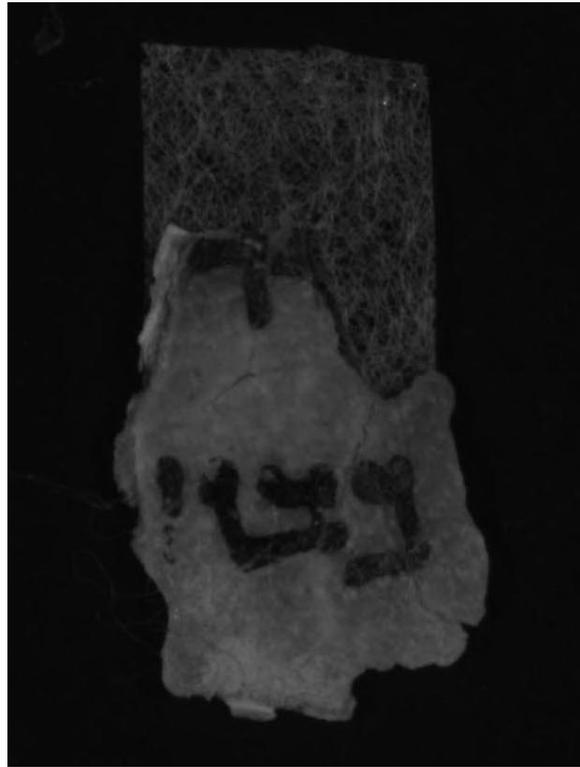


Image © Israel Antiquities Authority

This fragment similarly contains a host of misreadings in *DJD*. The first line clearly does not read *aleph*; there are two characters rather than one, and the second is unmistakably *dalet* or *resh*. In the second line of the fragment, the extant letters are כבו, not כבד. What Cross seems to have read as the left-most edge of the top stroke of a *dalet* is in fact a separate character. Finally, given the amount of blank space to the right of the *kaph*, it is not possible that the original reading was וכ. On the amount of parchment preserved, we would be able to see at the very least a trace of a *vav* if one had been written. Compare the appearance of וכול in 4Q51 f.61i:22 (Plate

XV). We may also reject the reconstruction א[ולו], which Cross asserts is required by vertical alignment.<sup>139</sup> There is no reason not to follow MT and reconstruct אָל<sup>140</sup> without conjunctive *vav*.

The correct identification of this fragment is still uncertain. Herbert identifies it as 1 Sam 10:4–5,<sup>141</sup> reading the first line as מ[יד]ם and the second line as כבוי]אך. Despite the fact that Herbert lists this as a “firm” identification, his reconstruction is problematic. In the first line, the vertical stroke of the rightmost character appears to continue much further down than a *yod* would. In the second line, the character trace to the right of the *vav* shows just one stroke, which is furthermore too straight to be an *aleph*; an *aleph* would show two strokes creating a distinct angle.

Despite the fact that two of these three fragments have yet to be identified satisfactorily, it is clear that they do not belong with 1 Sam 15:24–32 and should not be considered evidence to support a reconstruction of this passage. The rejection of f.10a and f.11 especially impact the reconstruction. Cross makes a number of decisions based on the need to accommodate f.10a. In

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<sup>139</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 78.

<sup>140</sup> The defective spelling אָל is the preferable reconstruction here. It is possible with the aid of computer software to establish the right margin of f.9:5–7 within approximately 0.5mm. Once the margin is set, we can see that there is a space of approximately 5mm between the right margin and the beginning of the word ישוב. Using Herbert’s character averages, we can estimate the width of אָל with a following space to be 5.40mm, and of לוֹא with a following space to be 6.63mm. The defective spelling is thus a better fit for the space. By contrast, the *DJD* reconstruction לוֹא וְלוֹא requires 7.86mm, roughly 50% more space than what is available. Furthermore, although 4Q51 tends to favor *plene* spellings, Herbert notes that eight out of ten occurrences of לוֹא/לוֹא without prefix are spelled defectively, and the remaining two are the emphatic first words of quotations (Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 84), which this instance is not. On this basis, we should also reconstruct אָל with defective spelling the second time it appears without a prefix in line 7.

Using the same software, we can also establish the right margin of lines 8–10, although with slightly more caution because of shrinkage in the parchment which has caused some distortion of the lines of text. We then see that there are approximately 7.75mm between the right margin and the visible left edge of the bottom stroke of a *nun*. Using Herbert’s average character widths, we can estimate the width of כבדני to be 7.34mm, while the estimated width of וכבדני (the *DJD* reconstruction) is 8.57mm. A reconstruction without *vav* is thus a better fit for the available space.

<sup>141</sup> Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 201.

line 5, he reconstructs ויעצר ויקרעהו (MT ויקרע; LXX<sup>B</sup> διέρρηξεν αὐτό) on the basis of the Antiochene text and Josephus<sup>142</sup> “in order to satisfy vertical alignment in lines 4, 5, and 6 as fixed by frg. 10a.”<sup>143</sup> Cross also excludes the definite direct object marker את at the end of line 5 because it “is not necessary here [and] would make the line too long” if appended to the rest of his reconstruction.<sup>144</sup> He further omits היום in line 6 against all the major witnesses, a decision also “dictated by vertical alignment.”<sup>145</sup> In fact, none of these choices is necessary or even defensible once we recognize that f.10a provides no textual evidence for this passage. Without f.10a, the words ישראל in line 4, ויאמר אליו in line 5, and וגם in line 6 no longer need to be vertically aligned, giving us greater freedom in our reconstruction. In line 5, we can reconstruct ויקרע following MT or ויקרעהו following LXX<sup>B</sup>,<sup>146</sup> and we can include את at the end of the line.<sup>147</sup> In line 6, we can reinstate היום, which, when we also reconstruct the MT reading וגם נצח ישראל, brings the reconstructed width of the line (106.63 mm) well within range of the average width for the passage (109.51 mm).<sup>148</sup> In other words, when we recognize that f.10a has been misread and undo the mistakes that relied upon the initial error, we can reconstruct נצח ישראל at the end of line 6 without any difficulty.

<sup>142</sup> Antiochene text: καὶ ἐπέσχεν καὶ διέρρηξεν αὐτό. Josephus *Ant.* 4.152: ἐλλαμβάνεται τῆς διπλοῖδος καὶ ... διασχίζει τὸ ἰμάτιον. See section II: Manuscript evidence on pp. 204–208 above.

<sup>143</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 78. Cross identifies this reconstruction as a Proto-Lucianic plus; sadly that identification must be relinquished.

<sup>144</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 78.

<sup>145</sup> Cross, Parry, Saley and Ulrich, *DJD XVII*, 78.

<sup>146</sup> Considerations of space do not dictate which of these two forms (with or without pronominal suffix) must be chosen. The form with pronominal suffix yields a line whose reconstructed width is moderately closer to the average for the passage, and so I have chosen this option in the proposed reconstruction below. The form without pronominal suffix is also perfectly defensible on the basis of available space.

<sup>147</sup> Without ויעצר, there is no longer any concern that the inclusion of את makes the line too long.

<sup>148</sup> The difference between line 6 and the average is thus 2.88 mm, or 2.63% of the average. See the table below for the full set of calculations.

Furthermore, without f.11 and its two reconstructed *vav*'s, line 7 can continue the clause begun in line 6 instead of beginning a new clause,<sup>149</sup> and we can also follow MT or LXX in reconstructing either עתה (MT) or אך (the reading suggested by LXX's ἀλλά) at the end of line 7.<sup>150</sup>

I propose the following alternative reconstruction of 4Q51 for 1 Sam 15:24–32, which is based solely on frgs. 9 and 10b. I have omitted line 1 because there is no textual evidence to serve as the basis for reconstruction. Further differences from the *DJD* reconstruction, aside from minor changes in placement of square brackets,<sup>151</sup> are underlined>.

יראתי את הע]ם [ואשמע בקולם ועתה שא נא את חטאתי ושוב עמי]	2
[ואשתחוה] ליהוה [ויאמר שמואל אל שאול לוא אשוב עמך כי מאסתה]	3
[את דב]ר יהוה [וימאסך יהוה מהיות מלך על ישראל ויסב שמואל ללכת]	4
[ו]יחזק שאול [בכנף מעילו ויקרעהו ויאמר אליו שמואל קרע יהוה את]	5
מלכות ישראל]ל מעליך היום ונתנה לרעך הטוב ממך וגם נצח ישראל]	6
[לא] ישוב [ולוא] ינחם כי] לא אדם [הוא לה]נחם ויאמר שאול חטאתי עתה]	7
[כבד]נ]י נא נג]ד זקני עמ]י ונגד יש]ראל שו]ב עמי והשתחויתי ליהוה אלהיך]	8
[וי]שוב שמו]אל אחרי שאול וישת]חו ליהוה] [ vacat ]	9
ויאמר שמ]ואל הגישו אלי את אג]וג מלך] עמלק וילך אליו אגג ]	10

A quantitative analysis of this reconstruction demonstrates that the reconstructed widths of the lines are closer to the average than they are in the *DJD* reconstruction. To the extent that smaller

<sup>149</sup> In fact, even if the *DJD* editors had correctly read the letters on f.11, we would still be able to reject their reconstructions of *vav* at the beginnings of lines 7 and 8 because of space considerations; see n140 on p. 268.

<sup>150</sup> Both reconstructions are viable in terms of space considerations. Given the current (lack of) textual evidence for the end of line 7, the choice is at the discretion of the editor. On ἀλλά as a rendering of אך, see 1 Sam 1:23; 16:6; 29:9. The translator also uses ἀλλά less frequently for כי (1 Sam 6:3); כי אם (1 Sam 21:6); and ואולם (1 Sam 20:3). It appears to render וי in 1 Sam 15:19, but as argued above, the reconstruction ויכבדני is not a good fit for the available space; see n140 on p. 268.

<sup>151</sup> In a few cases, characters which the editors mark as reconstructed are in fact partially visible (and vice versa), e.g., the *vav* and *yod* of ויאמר in line 10. I have placed the square brackets where they most accurately represent the state of the evidence.

deviations from the average reconstructed width of a passage are a desideratum,<sup>152</sup> my reconstruction improves upon the line lengths of the *DJD* reconstruction.

Table 18: Values for proposed reconstruction of 4Q51 for 1 Sam 15:24–32

Line	Text	Reconstructed width (mm) <sup>153</sup>
2	יראתי את העם ואשמע בקולם ועתה שא נא את חטאתי ושוב עמי	107.60
3	ואשתחוה ליהוה ויאמר שמואל אל שאול לוא אשוב עמך כי מאסתי	107.85
4	את דבר יהוה וימאסך יהוה מהיות מלך על ישראל ויסב שמואל ללכת	110.36
5	ויחזק שאול בכנף מעילו ויקרעהו ויאמר אליו שמואל קרע יהוה את	109.05
6	מלכות ישראל מעליך היום ונתנה לרעך הטוב ממך וגם נצח ישראל	106.63
7	לא ישוב ולוא ינחם כי לא אדם הוא להנחם ויאמר שאול חטאתי עתה	111.20
8	כבדני נא נגד זקני עמי ונגד ישראל שוב עמי והשתחוויתי ליהוה אלוהיך	113.90
9	וישוב שמואל אחרי שאול וישתחו ליהוה	<sup>a</sup> [65.57]
10	ויאמר שמואל הגישו אלי את אגוג מלך עמלק וילך אליו אגג	<sup>b</sup> [96.29]
	Average reconstructed width	109.51
	Minimum reconstructed width	106.63
	Difference of minimum from average	2.88 (2.63%)
	Maximum reconstructed width	113.90
	Difference of maximum from average	4.39 (4.01%)

<sup>a</sup> Line 9 has been excluded from the average and the minimum because the line contains a vacat.

<sup>b</sup> Line 10 has been excluded from the average and the minimum because the reconstruction is incomplete.

<sup>152</sup> As a general rule, we may aim to minimize deviations from the average in our reconstructions, but recall that analyses of extant scrolls show that scribes felt free to create lines that substantially deviated from the average (see above). For our reconstructions to be methodologically sound, of course, lines should be of relatively uniform length because that was normal scribal practice. We should be more conservative in our reconstructions than scribes were in their creation of texts.

<sup>153</sup> Reconstructed widths have been calculated from the average character widths for 4Q51 in Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 80.

In this reconstruction, the shortest line (now line 6 rather than line 7) differs from the average by only 2.63%, and the longest line (line 8) differs by only 4.01%.<sup>154</sup> While this is only a modest improvement, all lines are now well within Herbert's 5% significance level for passages of this width in 4Q51.

It is possible, of course, that some of Cross's reconstructions are correct. It is possible that line 5 read ויעצר ויקרעהו, or that line 6 lacked היום. The difficulty is that we have no evidence from 4Q51 to support these reconstructions. It is most sound methodologically to reconstruct conservatively, and the most conservative approach is to maintain MT whenever possible because it is the extant text which most closely resembles 4Q51.<sup>155</sup> When we cannot maintain MT, we should attempt to retrovert the Old Greek (to the extent that it can be established). The Antiochene text, which is the source of the reading ויעצר ויקרעהו, might be our third choice for reconstruction, while reconstructions such as the absence of היום, a reading which is not found anywhere else, should simply not be accepted. The reconstruction I propose may not be accurate in all its particulars—it is impossible to know with so much of the passage missing—but it is defensible methodologically, which Cross's is not.

### 3. Summation of argument regarding 4Q51

Cross's reconstruction of 4Q51 for 1 Sam 15:24–32, and, most importantly for the argument of this chapter, for v. 29 in particular, cannot be maintained. First, his reliance on the

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<sup>154</sup> In the *DJD* reconstruction, the shortest line differs by 3.54% and the longest line by 5.58%.

<sup>155</sup> Despite the fact that MT Samuel is error-prone, and that 4Q51 and LXX frequently agree against MT, the reality is that the shared language of MT and 4Q51 makes MT the most reliable witness. Retroverting the Greek witnesses is always an uncertain business, even under the best of circumstances; see the discussion in James Barr, *Comparative Philology and the Text of the Old Testament* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1987), 238–72.

Septuagint in his reconstruction of the end of line 6 is misguided. There is no way to account for the textual relationship between his reconstruction, יחצה ישראל לשנים, and the MT text, נצח ישראל. Furthermore, the Greek future verb διαιρεθήσεται, from which he retroverts the *yiqtol* form יחצה, is the result of a translational pattern within LXX 1 Samuel and does not reflect the *Vorlage*. Second, three of the five fragments upon which he bases his reconstruction have been misread and do not belong to this passage. His misreadings of frgs. 10a and 11 led him to commit a number of errors in his reconstruction which need to be corrected.

In lieu of Cross's reconstruction, I have proposed an alternative which makes several changes in lines 5–8 and which follows MT at the end of line 6, reading וגם נצח ישראל. This reconstruction is based solely upon the two fragments which actually attest this passage, namely 9 and 10b, and is therefore more methodologically sound (and necessarily more conservative) than Cross's.

These conclusions remove the possibility that the LXX reading in 1 Sam 15:29, καὶ διαιρεθήσεται Ἰσραηλ εἰς δύο, is a straightforward rendering of an alternative *Vorlage*. Furthermore, the significant errors in Cross's reading and identification of fragments, which in turn occasion a large number of errors in reconstruction, strongly suggest that *DJD XVII* is in need of correction—perhaps extensive correction. If there are so many errors in a relatively short passage, it seems quite likely that there are more which have yet to be found.

## V. Conclusion

The first conclusion to be drawn from this study is that in 1 Sam 15:29 we have another example of translation as creative problem-solving. In this case, the translator assimilated his *Vorlage* to 1 Kgs 11 in order to address two perceived problems in the narrative: first, that the scene he was translating in 1 Sam 15 was missing an element vis-à-vis the parallel scene in Kings; and second, that the meaning of the epithet נַצַּח יִשְׂרָאֵל was likely unclear to him. The translation of 1 Sam 15:29 thus resembles both the example of 1 Sam 1:6, where the translator assimilated his narrative to Gen 29–30 because his *Vorlage* was opaque to him, and the example of 1 Sam 14:41, where the translator noticed that his narrative was incomplete.

We may further conclude that the text of 1 Kgs 11 was familiar to the translator. This finding is significant for our reconstruction of the Jewish community in Alexandria and the question of what access they had to (what later became) biblical texts. Aejmelaesus has proposed that the struggles with Hebrew vocabulary which are evident in LXX Samuel are evidence that Samuel was not yet considered Scripture and perhaps had just recently arrived in Alexandria.<sup>156</sup> Given the similar genre and contents of Kings, one might be inclined to extend her theory to that book as well.<sup>157</sup> The intertextual relationship between 1 Kgs 11 and LXX 1 Sam 15, however, argues strongly against the hypothesis that Kings was relatively unknown to the translator of

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<sup>156</sup> Aejmelaesus, “When Did Samuel,” 264–5.

<sup>157</sup> Aejmelaesus describes Samuel as “not indispensable to the Jewish way of life,” but rather an archive of “a great deal of ancient material” which grants it authority. Aejmelaesus uses categories proposed by Molly Zahn to define Samuel as a text which was authoritative but not scriptural, as opposed to the Pentateuch, which possessed specifically scriptural authority. Aejmelaesus, “When Did Samuel,” 269. Presumably she would define Kings in similar terms.

Samuel. Whether or not he knew other parts of the book, he certainly knew the episode of Ahijah and Jeroboam in some detail.<sup>158</sup>

As I have suggested above, this study also demonstrates that Cross's reconstruction of 4Q51 needs to be revisited and corrected. He chose an inferior method for estimating space available in the scroll, and many of his readings are inaccurate. Fortunately, the high-resolution digital photographs of the Dead Sea Scrolls which have been made available in the past few years through the Leon Levy Digital Library make it possible to study the fragments in great detail. We must take full advantage of this resource for 4Q51 and not rely on Cross's transcriptions and reconstructions.<sup>159</sup>

Finally, on a methodological point, this study makes clear how intertwined the study of the Septuagint and the study of the Dead Sea Scrolls are. If we are going to make arguments about how the translator handled his *Vorlage*, we need as much information as possible about what the *Vorlage* was, and sometimes the only way to obtain that information is through the highly technical process of reconstructing biblical Scrolls.

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<sup>158</sup> See also the examples gathered by Barthélemy of additions in LXX Samuel which attempt to harmonize with the narrative of Kings: 2 Sam 8:7 (cf. 1 Kings 14:25–26); 2 Sam 8:8 (cf. 1 Kgs 7:46); 2 Sam 14:27 (cf. 1 Kgs 15:2); 2 Sam 24:25. Barthélemy, "La qualité," 15–17. It is of course possible that these additions did not come from the translator but from his *Vorlage* (we might even say likely, given what this dissertation has demonstrated regarding the translator's commitment to the text of his *Vorlage*), but they remain suggestive of early knowledge of Kings.

<sup>159</sup> Although a systematic correction of *DJD XVII* is outside the scope of the current study, I hope to undertake such a project in the near future.

## Chapter 5

### Conclusion

#### I. Summary of results

I have argued that LXX 1 Sam 1:6, 14:41, and 15:29 represent interpretation on the part of the translator. In each verse, the translator perceived a problem in his *Vorlage* which he attempted to solve with his translation. This aspect of the renderings—their creative problem-solving—qualifies them as interpretations. It is not simply that they differ from the *Vorlage*, but the *reason for which* they differ that identifies them as interpretive translations.

In 1 Sam 1:6, the perceived problem was an incomprehensible *Vorlage*. As is evident from the rendering, the translator struggled with the semantics, morphology, and syntax of the verse. He could have dealt with this difficulty in a number of ways, but the solution he chose was to read and translate the verse in light of Gen 29:30–30:2. This choice was prompted in part by other echoes of the Rachel and Leah narrative in his *Vorlage*, most importantly the statement in v. 5 that Elkanah loved Hannah more than Peninnah. The translator did not draw on the explicit narrative of Gen 29–30, however, but rather on the implied narrative that Y<sup>HWH</sup> closed Rachel's womb at the same time as he opened Leah's. Genesis tells the story from Leah's perspective, but the translator imagines the story from Rachel's perspective. Guided by this story, the translator mentally manipulated the text of his *Vorlage* into something he was competent to translate, thereby creating a Greek version very much at odds with the Hebrew. His interpretation of the Hannah and Peninnah story as an inverted reflection of the Rachel and Leah story stands outside the Jewish exegetical tradition which followed.

In 1 Sam 14:41, the perceived problem was a missing element in the narrative: Saul asks for an oracular display of *'ûrîm* or *tummîm*, but the *Vorlage* never explicitly says that either appeared. What the text does say is that Saul and Jonathan were indicated to be guilty (more specifically, one of them was guilty, with the guilty individual still to be determined) while the rest of the Israelites were exonerated. The translator saw that he could address the mismatch between what Saul requested and what he received by rendering the consonants תמים as if the word were תמים (δόσιότης) rather than תמים (ἀλήθεια): instead of asking for *'ûrîm* or *tummîm* as two mutually exclusive answers to his question, Saul could ask for an oracular indication of his or Jonathan's guilt, to be given by *'ûrîm* alone, and a declaration of the other Israelites' innocence (their δόσιότης). The extant sources which depict or discuss the *'ûrîm wətummîm* suggest that the translator's portrayal of the *'ûrîm* as functioning independently was in line with the ancient Jewish understanding of this oracular medium. The translator clarified the new meaning of the verse by choosing an unusual rendering of a particle and omitting a preposition. These subtle choices are preserved only in LXX<sup>A</sup> and LXX<sup>B</sup>, but they must represent the Old Greek because the decision to use δόσιότης—which appears across the manuscript tradition—makes sense only in this context.

In 1 Sam 15:29, the translator was faced with several perceived problems. First, the diachronic shifts in the semantics of נצח and its unusual use as a divine epithet in this verse may have prevented him from understanding the term in context. Second, when compared to the similar scene in 1 Kgs 11, the scene in 1 Sam 15 seems to be missing an element, namely a

prophecy of the division of the monarchy.<sup>1</sup> The translator was able to solve both of these problems by mentally transforming נצח into the *niphal* verb נחצה. In so doing, however, he creates a new problem of chronology, for obviously the monarchy has not yet been divided.<sup>2</sup> This problem he solves by translating the *qatal* form with a future verb, διαμεθήσεται, in keeping with a pattern he has established of rendering *qatal* and *wayyiqtol* forms in Samuel's speeches to Saul with future verbs. Further examples of the translators of Samuel and Kings creating and harmonizing prophecies corroborates the conclusion that the rendering of 15:29 is intentional. Cross's reconstruction of 4Q51 for this passage, which seems to support an alternative *Vorlage* of יחצה לשנים in 15:29, is rife with errors and requires re-evaluation.

With due caution, I would like to make the observation that the translator's approach to his *Vorlage* in these three examples shares much in common with reading strategies found in aggadic midrash. Obviously the translator was working several centuries earlier and (likely) several hundred miles from where the first aggadic midrash was written down, so I do not mean to say that the translator had any sort of access to rabbinic literature ("rabbinic literature" itself of course being an anachronism for the period of LXX Samuel). Nor do I wish to position rabbinic Judaism as normative with Hellenistic Judaism as its poor and imitative relative. It would be myopic, however, not to notice the similarities between midrash and what the translator has done in our examples. Much of aggadic midrash is concerned with identifying and solving problems (many of which, using the terminology of the dissertation, I would classify as perceived

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<sup>1</sup> Broadly construed, the example of 15:29 is a combination of the previous two examples: in 1:6, the translator has an incomprehensible *Vorlage*; in 14:41, he has an element missing in his narrative; in 15:29, he has both an incomprehensible *Vorlage* and an element missing in his narrative.

<sup>2</sup> This problem, which exists only in the mental text of the translator, could also be considered a perceived problem since a *qatal* form נחצה in this context could be understood as a prophetic perfect; see n46 on p. 218.

problems), just as the translator does. Often these problems are addressed by recourse to another biblical text, as the translator does in 1:6. Sometimes the issue is solved by the use of *'al tigrê*, suggesting an alternative pronunciation of the consonantal text which changes its meaning, as the translator does in 14:41. At other times, when the problem is an insufficient correspondence between two biblical texts, one will be used to fill the “gaps” of the other, as the translator does in 15:29. While it is tempting to speak of shared Jewish exegetical strategies, or of the translator distinguishing between (proto-) biblical texts and non-(proto-)biblical texts, there is inadequate evidence at this time to make either claim. The very least that can be said is that these strategies for reading and interpreting texts clearly did not originate with the rabbis.

The new interpretations I have offered of 1 Sam 1:6, 14:41, and 15:29 result from an approach to LXX Samuel which departs from the conventional wisdom about this text. Deviations from the *Vorlage* in LXX Samuel which lack a text-critical explanation are usually thought to be errors on the part of the translator or of a later copyist.<sup>3</sup> This working theory is based on observations of the translator’s technique and abilities: he takes a literal approach with regard to the division of the *Vorlage* into individual words or components of words and the sequence in which they are represented, and also with regard to consistency in the rendering of lexemes (Barr’s modes of literalism #1 and #3);<sup>4</sup> and there are numerous examples of his

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<sup>3</sup> See, e.g., Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know,” 78–85. There are of course exceptions to this general trend. For example, the use of the historical present is recognized as the translator’s initiative and is considered neither evidence of an alternative *Vorlage* nor the result of error.

<sup>4</sup> Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [20]. Also see the discussion on pp. 18–22 in the Introduction. Barr describes the first mode as “doubtless the aspect that has been most commonly identified as the essential differentiating characteristic which divides between literal and free translations.” Barr, *Typology of Literalism*, [20]. The high degree to which the translator is literal in this mode has likely been particularly responsible for scholars’ inability to consider the possibility of creativity in LXX Samuel.

struggles with Hebrew syntax, morphology, and vocabulary. Evidence of agreement with 4Q51 where LXX Samuel deviates from MT has further strengthened scholars' confidence in their assessment of the translator: he meant to represent his *Vorlage* accurately, and if he failed to do so, the failure was caused by incompetence.

My approach, by contrast, has been not to assume that the Greek intends to mean the same thing as the Hebrew *Vorlage*, even in cases where the Greek adequately represents the text of the *Vorlage*. I have instead attempted to determine the meaning of the Greek as it stands. This strategy has yielded unexpected results for 1:6 and 14:41, where it became clear that scholars have not understood the sense of the translation.<sup>5</sup> In 15:29, the meaning of the Greek is fairly straightforward, but the pattern of the translator rendering *wayyiqtol* and *qatal* verbs with future verbs in Samuel's speeches to Saul has gone unnoticed, preventing an accurate evaluation of the translation of 15:29 as intentional. This lack of attention seems to stem from an assumption that because the translator tended to give isomorphic renderings, he was incapable of creative interaction with his *Vorlage*. While I have not assumed that the translator was giving an interpretive rendering, either in these verses or elsewhere, I have also not assumed that he could not do so. The value of this approach is that it has identified aspects of the translator's technique which other approaches have overlooked.

Based on the results of this more flexible approach to the study of LXX Samuel, I am prepared to offer a re-characterization of the translator that expands and nuances previous proposals. The translator of Samuel read coherent sense units, up to several sentences at a time,

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<sup>5</sup> Note the exception of Lestienne and Grillet, *Règles*, who give a similar translation of 14:41 to what I have proposed. See n76 on p. 152.

before producing a rendering. He chose an isomorphic translation style which reproduced Hebrew word order and syntactical structures, but this translation style does not represent his approach to reading Hebrew. He departed from this usual *modus operandi* when forced by an obscure *Vorlage*; in these cases, such as 1 Sam 1:6, he rendered one word at a time. Even when forced into a word-by-word translation method, however, he still strove to produce meaningful Greek. When he noticed inconsistencies in the narrative of the *Vorlage*, his commitment to providing his audience with a coherent text could drive him to deviate intentionally from both the textual form and the sense of the *Vorlage* in order to address the inconsistency. His approach to translation was not uniform, however. While I have identified three instances in which he attempted to solve problems in the *Vorlage* with his rendering, he was in most cases content to translate his *Vorlage* “as is.”

His knowledge of Hebrew vocabulary was similarly not uniform. On the one hand, he seems not to have known the most common biblical meaning of **נִצַּח**, and he appears to be unaware of the alternative meaning of **צָרָה**.<sup>6</sup> On the other hand, he correctly renders **אֹרִיִּים** with **δῆλοι** (1 Sam 28:6 and presumably 14:41), as well as competently handling a wide range of other technical terms. While these inconsistencies can be frustrating for textual critics attempting to derive reliable retroversions from LXX Samuel, they serve as an important reminder that the translator was human and thus not flawlessly systematic. Furthermore, as both Aejmelaeus and Joosten have argued, the Septuagint translators did not begin their task with a fully developed

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<sup>6</sup> Both terms are correctly rendered by other ancient translators. On **צָרָה**, see p. 57 in Chapter Two. On **נִצַּח**, see pp. 213–217 in Chapter Four.

theory or method of translation but rather dealt with their assignment in an ad hoc manner.<sup>7</sup> The evidence from the dissertation supports this conclusion.

At the same time as the translator lacked a systematic approach to his project, however, his renderings display sensitivity to narrative and sophisticated textual creativity: he could notice problems in his narrative and find translational solutions to those problems—that is, solutions which remain rooted in the textual form of the *Vorlage*. In each example I have discussed, the translator thoroughly alters the meaning of the *Vorlage* with his rendering while also maintaining a close relationship to the text of the *Vorlage*. Another way to describe this phenomenon is to say that his mental text differs very little from the *Vorlage* despite the fact that his translation differs substantially.

Furthermore, the translator could relate his narrative to others, such as the story of Rachel and Leah and the scene between Ahijah and Jeroboam. This observation implies, first of all, that he knew other biblical narratives: he appears to have had detailed familiarity with the passages he draws on from Gen 29–30 and 1 Kgs 11. It also implies that he was thinking about other narratives while he was working. Aejmelaeus has argued that harmonizations are more likely to be the work of copyists than of translators because “the range of vision of the translator at work was very limited,”<sup>8</sup> but her conclusion is not supported by the evidence of the dissertation. One could of course argue that the examples of narrative assimilation I have discussed are the work of a copyist rather than of the translator, but there is no textual basis for this assertion; such an argument would therefore be founded on an a priori conviction that translators were incapable of

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<sup>7</sup> Anneli Aejmelaeus, “Translation Technique and the Intention of the Translator,” in *On the Trail*, 60–61; Joosten, “Translating the Untranslatable,” 68–69.

<sup>8</sup> Aejmelaeus, “What Can We Know,” 84.

the “long-range” vision (to adopt Aejmelaesus’s metaphor) required for narrative assimilation. Furthermore, to the extent that Samuel and Kings are similar kinds of narratives about similar periods in the biblical history, the translator’s familiarity with Kings might also imply familiarity with Samuel.<sup>9</sup> This suggestion contradicts Aejmelaesus’s theory that the translator had not studied Samuel “in great detail” nor even necessarily had access to Samuel much prior to translating it.<sup>10</sup> The example of 14:41 further suggests that the translator may have had other, potentially non-textual, sources in mind while he was working, such as prevalent conceptions of *’ûrîm wə’tummîm*, and that he was capable of taking these sources into account in his translation as well.

Another characteristic feature of the translator of Samuel is that he can be both “literal” and “free” at the same time. In the Introduction, I described him as textually literal but semantically free, and this description has been borne out by the examples of translation investigated in the previous chapters. I have already touched on this issue in my characterization of the translator and do not mean to belabor the point, but I believe it is worth repeating that it is inaccurate to describe the translator of Samuel as literal, as is so often done (frequently qualified, as, for example, “among the most literal”<sup>11</sup>). He is literal in some aspects of his translation, but in

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<sup>9</sup> See the longer discussion of this issue on p. 274 in Chapter Four.

<sup>10</sup> Aejmelaesus, “When Did Samuel,” 265.

<sup>11</sup> Aejmelaesus, “What Can We Know,” 83. In support of this assessment, she cites the intuitive description of Thackeray, *Grammar*, 13, and the statistical analyses of translation technique in Soisalon-Soininen, *Die Infinitive*, especially 171–72; Sollamo, *Hebrew Semiprepositions*, 280–89; and Emanuel Tov and Benjamin G. Wright, “Computer-Assisted Study of the Criteria for Assessing the Literalness of Translation Units in the LXX,” *Textus* 12 (1985): 159–87. These kinds of approaches, however, are the ones most likely to overlook the interpretive translations found in 1 Samuel. Intuitive descriptions such as Thackeray’s are impressionistic and lack the meticulous attention to detail which is required to detect interpretive renderings that still give an adequate representation of the text of the *Vorlage*. Statistical analyses of translation technique, meanwhile, reflect only the translator’s tendencies to preserve Hebrew word order and to use stereotyped equivalents. Because the translator maintains these practices even when engaging in interpretation, the quantitative translation-technical approach fails to detect those interpretations.

others he is quite free and flexible. In 1 Sam 1:6, 14:41, and 15:29, he thoroughly alters the meaning of the verse in his translation. What is remarkable about this translator is that even when making changes to the meaning of the *Vorlage*, he deviates so little from the textual form of the *Vorlage*. In fact, it is this ability of the translator to change so much while simultaneously changing so little that has led to the near-invisibility of his exegetical efforts to modern scholars. Dramatic deviations from the *Vorlage*, such as are found in LXX Isaiah, for example, are easily recognized, whereas the deviations in LXX Samuel lie hidden in plain sight, camouflaged by their similarity to the text of the *Vorlage*.

These camouflaged interpretations in LXX Samuel undermine the interlinear paradigm proposed by Pietersma, Wright, and Boyd-Taylor. Specifically, the theory of the Septuagint's linguistic dependence on its *Vorlage* does not hold up against the evidence presented here. Pietersma et al. maintain that a linguistically dependent translation puts greater emphasis on transmitting the form of the *Vorlage* than on transmitting meaning; in Brock's formulation, it aims to bring readers to the original.<sup>12</sup> Thus according to the interlinear paradigm, while the Greek of the Septuagint often makes sense, this is a fortunate by-product, as it were, of the representation of the form of the *Vorlage* rather than being a goal of the translation.

The Septuagint translations of 1 Sam 1:6, 14:41, and 15:29 demonstrate, however, that this analysis is inadequate. In each case, the translator has indeed attempted to represent the form of the *Vorlage*, but this aim is secondary to producing meaning for his Greek-speaking audience. That meaning has been given priority over fidelity to the textual form of the *Vorlage* can be seen

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<sup>12</sup> Sebastian P. Brock, "The Phenomenon of the Septuagint," in *The Witness of Tradition: Papers Read at the Joint British-Dutch Old Testament Conference Held at Woudschoten, 1970*, ed. Martinus Adrianus Beek (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 17.

in the translations themselves: in each case, the translator departs (albeit in minor ways) from the form of the *Vorlage* in order to create renderings which solve perceived problems in the Hebrew. One could argue that his hand was forced in 1:6 (and perhaps also in 15:29) because of his inability to comprehend the *Vorlage*, but in fact he was not without options. He could have maintained a closer formal relationship with the *Vorlage* if he had been willing to produce nonsensical Greek; he could also have chosen to transliterate, perhaps not the entire verse, but the most troublesome words. Instead he deviated from the form of the *Vorlage* to the extent necessary to produce a meaningful translation. He follows the same approach in 14:41 and 15:29, allowing himself slight formal deviations from the *Vorlage* for the sake of a less problematic, more coherent Greek text. Rather than bringing his readers to the original in these verses, the translator distances them from each other.

## II. Further implications and suggestions

In addition to the conclusions I have drawn from the evidence presented in chapters two, three, and four, I would like to suggest two further implications of this research: one regarding the mechanics of translation in the Septuagint, and one regarding the contemporary discipline of Septuagint studies.

A possibility raised by the evidence of the dissertation, and which requires further research, is that the translator may have been working from a limited Hebrew-Greek glossary.

We have no direct evidence that the Septuagint translators used glossaries, nor even that such documents existed.<sup>13</sup> Several observations, however, could be argued to point in this direction.

First, there is the inconsistent ability with which the translator of Samuel handles Hebrew lexemes. As we have seen, the translator struggles with נצח while evincing no difficulty with אורים, a far less common word. There are also numerous cases in which the translator transliterated rather than translating;<sup>14</sup> some of the transliterated words, such as יער, one would expect a competent reader of Hebrew to know. At the same time, there are a substantial number of technical terms which the translator renders accurately.<sup>15</sup> This inconsistency could be explained by the hypothesis that the translator had a glossary which listed primarily technical Hebrew terms: these would a) likely be unfamiliar to a translator, and b) have to be rendered by the “correct” Greek equivalent for the audience to be able to understand the translation. If the translator were to use a different equivalent for אורים than one of the two options established in the Pentateuch, his audience would have no way of knowing what his translation referred to. By contrast, any number of Greek equivalents could adequately convey the sense of a routine word such as הל”ך (and indeed, the translator uses a wide range of equivalents for הל”ך, including πορεύομαι, διαπορεύομαι, ἀπέρχομαι, διέρχομαι, ἀναστρέφω, ἀποτρέχω, δεῦρο, περιπατέω, and καταδιώκω). A modern analogy to the kind of limited list I am suggesting is the “reader’s lexicon,” which provides lexical identifications only of words which occur infrequently, assuming that the reader will shoulder the burden of learning common words.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>13</sup> Tov, “Impact of Septuagint Translation,” 191.

<sup>14</sup> See, e.g., 1 Sam 2:18; 5:4; 10:5; 14:25; 15:3, 8; 21:8; 23:14, 19.

<sup>15</sup> See Table 10: Examples of technical terms from LXX Pentateuch in LXX Samuel on p. 145.

<sup>16</sup> See, e.g., Douglas L. Busby, Terry A. Armstrong, and Cyril F. Carr, *A Reader's Hebrew-English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2013).

Second, although it has been suggested by Tov and others<sup>17</sup> that the Pentateuch served as a kind of lexicon for the translators of later books, the mechanics of this proposed process have never been worked out. As Barr notes regarding the plausibility of the process happening by memory, “while it is possible that people knew the entire Hebrew text by heart, and possible also that some knew the entire Greek Pentateuch by heart, to know them *both* by heart, in such a way as to say, when faced with an unusual word in Hosea or Proverbs, ‘Oh, yes, that occurs near the end of Numbers and is there rendered with the Greek word X’ is, in the absence of written concordances, no easy task.”<sup>18</sup> The use of the Pentateuch as a lexicon seems no more plausible if we imagine it took place on parchment: given the cost of scrolls in antiquity, it is unlikely that each translator had access to a copy of the entire Pentateuch in both Hebrew and Greek. Even if it were possible for each translator to have had such access, it would have been highly impractical to first scan through as many as five different scrolls in Hebrew to find an instance of the lexeme one wanted to translate and then locate that same passage in a Greek scroll in order to see which equivalent had been used. (If we imagine the translators knew the Hebrew text well enough to remember that the lexeme they wanted occurred in, for example, the description of the curtains on the tabernacle, they would still at the very least need to find that passage in the Greek

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<sup>17</sup> In addition to Tov, “Impact of Septuagint Translation,” 183–94, see Henry St. John Thackeray, “The Greek Translators of the Prophetic Books,” *JTS* 4, no. 16 (1903): 583; Martin Flashar, “Exegetische Studien zum Septuagintapsalter,” *ZAW* 32, no. 2 (1912): 83–89; G. Gerleman, *Studies in the Septuagint II: Chronicles* (Gleerup: Lund, 1946), 22–23; Seeligmann, *Septuagint of Isaiah*, 45–49; Peters Walters, *The Text of the Septuagint: Its Corruptions and Their Emendation* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 150–53; Leslie C. Allen, *The Greek Chronicles: The Relation of the Septuagint of I and II Chronicles to the Massoretic Text* (Leiden: Brill, 1974); Johann Lust, “The Vocabulary of LXX Ezekiel and Its Dependence upon the Pentateuch,” in *Deuteronomy and the Deuteronomical Literature: Festschrift C. H. W. Brekelmans*, ed. Marc Vervenne and Johann Lust (Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 529–46.

<sup>18</sup> Barr, “Did the Greek Pentateuch,” 526; italics original.

scroll without the aid of chapter or verse markings.) By contrast, a glossary of, say, a few dozen terms could be inexpensively reproduced and would be efficient to use.

Finally, despite the lack of *direct* textual evidence of Hebrew-Greek glossaries in Alexandria in the second century BCE, we do have analogous textual evidence. There are, for example, numerous extant Greek-Latin glossaries, apparently intended for pedagogical purposes,<sup>19</sup> as well as glossaries of Greek dialectical words.<sup>20</sup> Even more suggestive is the Oxyrhynchus Glossary, likely produced in Alexandria between the first century BCE and the first century CE.<sup>21</sup> This document, of which only a portion survives, contains Greek glosses for numerous terms described as “Persian,” “Babylonian,” and “Chaldean.” It is unclear which languages these descriptors indicate, and the terms themselves have apparently been transcribed incorrectly, further complicating specific identifications of both the terms themselves and of the languages from which they derive.<sup>22</sup> Nevertheless, the Oxyrhynchus Glossary attests the existence of semitic-Greek word lists for the place and rough time period of the translation of Samuel.

Given these three factors—the high degree of inconsistency in the translator’s ability to render Hebrew lexemes, the need for a plausible explanation of the mechanics of lexical transfer from the Pentateuch, and the existence of a semitic-Greek glossary in Alexandria within perhaps a century of the production of LXX Samuel—it is reasonable to consider the possibility that the

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<sup>19</sup> See Henri Irénée Marrou, *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité* (Paris: Seuil, 1948); Robert E. Gaebels, “The Greek Word-Lists to Vergil and Cicero,” *BJRL* 52, no. 2 (Spring 1970): 284–325; Johannes Kramer, *Glossaria bilingua in papyris et membranis reperta* (Bonn: R. Habelt, 1983).

<sup>20</sup> Schironi, *Alexandria to Babylon*, 28–38.

<sup>21</sup> Schironi, *Alexandria to Babylon*.

<sup>22</sup> See the full and careful discussion of these problems in Schironi, *Alexandria to Babylon*, 20–27.

translator had access to a Hebrew-Greek word-list. The weakness in this hypothesis is that it is impossible to falsify. The only textual evidence we have is the translation itself, and nearly any lexical datum could potentially be explained by recourse to a limited glossary of the kind I am proposing. (“You say the translator did not know Hebrew term *a*? Well, it was not in his glossary. He did know term *b*? Well, that was in his glossary!”) The theory therefore cannot and should not be pushed too far. Nevertheless, it has substantial explanatory power and should be explored further.

On a final note, the dissertation has engaged in two disciplines not usually practiced in concert with Septuagint studies: the history of Jewish interpretation,<sup>23</sup> and the reconstruction of biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. The investigation of Jewish interpretive sources demonstrated the unique character of the translator’s depiction of Hannah and Peninnah in 1 Sam 1; it also yielded insights into how the translator might have understood the *’ûrîm wətummîm*, thus supporting the argument that his choice of *δοσότης* to render תמים in 14:41 was intentional. The painstaking technical work of pursuing alternative reconstructions of 4Q51, meanwhile, was necessary to make the case that 15:29 is not a straightforward rendering of a variant *Vorlage*. One implication of this study, therefore, is that Septuagint research needs to be multidisciplinary. While it may be necessary at times to focus narrowly on one aspect of the Septuagint—in order, for example, to establish the text and its *Vorlage* with as much confidence as possible—we must then build upon those results rather than rest on them.

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<sup>23</sup> The history of Christian biblical interpretation has been integrated into Septuagint studies; see for example its use in the Bible d’Alexandrie commentary series (described in Harl, “Translation Principles,” 194–96). Jewish biblical interpretation, on the other hand, has largely been excluded from the scholarly discourse, except for periodic comparisons between the Septuagint and the Targumim. Even here, though, the emphasis is on the two corpora as translations, not as interpretations.

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