

The Hebrew Text of Samuel:  
Differences in 1 Sam 1 – 2 Sam 9  
between the Masoretic Text, the Septuagint,  
and the Qumran Scrolls

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# 1. Introduction

## 1.1. The Purpose of this Dissertation

This dissertation is a text-critical study of the Hebrew text of 1 Sam 1 – 2 Sam 9 in the Hebrew Bible. The entire Hebrew text of Samuel is known today only in its Masoretic text form, which is itself the result of a standardization process that began around the onset of the Common Era. Before this standardization process, the Hebrew text was evidently fluid, and several different textual editions of the Book of Samuel would have existed. This is evidenced by the manuscripts of Samuel found at Qumran (dated between the 2nd and the 1st centuries BCE) and the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint. There is no exact date for the Greek translation of Samuel, but, since the Pentateuch was first translated in the 3rd century BCE and the last parts of the Septuagint in the 1st century BCE, it is reasonable to surmise that Samuel was translated sometime in between—i.e., 2nd century BCE.

The purpose of this dissertation is to study how these three main witnesses—the Masoretic text, the Qumran manuscripts and the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint—differ from and are related to one another. Such a study entails an investigation of what kinds of changes took place in each textual tradition: were these changes intentional? What were the possible motivations behind the changes? What kinds of unintentional changes happened in the texts and what do these changes tell us about the textual history of each text? Finally, these results can be used to evaluate the reliability of each text when attempting to reconstruct the most original text—i.e., as original a text as possible.

## 1.2. The Method of Study

The method of this study is that of textual criticism, the main task of the text critic being to make sense of what happened in the textual history of a given work with the help of existing textual witnesses: what kinds of developments are most probable? Which reading is primary and which are secondary? Textual criticism is sometimes compared to the visual arts, but a more illustrative analogy for textual criticism is the reasoning of a detective. Textual criticism has therefore also been dubbed ‘the method of Sherlock Holmes’ or the evidential paradigm.<sup>1</sup>

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1. See Aejmelaeus 2007c, 184–185; 2007b.

Like a detective, the text critic comes upon the site only after everything has already taken place. Some of the evidence might be mixed up, whether intentionally or accidentally. Still, scattered traces can be found on the scene. From this evidence, the text critic uses inductive reasoning to try to arrive at the most likely course of events. He tries to consider all the different possibilities of what might have happened. The most likely course of events is that which fits best with the evidence. In each new case, the evidence must be weighed anew to find out what has happened in that particular textual history. The so-called general text critical guidelines, such as *lectio brevior* or *lectio difficilior*, are nothing but common-sense solutions translated into a precise language—e.g., the shorter reading is the original one so long as it fits best with the evidence. Above all, the most important question for the text critic is always the following: what happened?<sup>2</sup>

With the Septuagint as a textual witness, there are certain challenges. To use the Septuagint in comparison with the Masoretic text, one has to find out first the original wording of the Septuagint itself and its translation technique. Only then can one produce a reverse translation from Greek to Hebrew and compare this so-called *retroversion* to the Masoretic text. The situation is, however, more complex, since our understanding of the original wording of the Septuagint, its translation technique and the most original text of the Hebrew Bible are mutually dependent. Prior research creates a framework for understanding each of these three elements, but, during that process, a researcher must frequently correct these initial proposals, as new evidence comes to light and old evidence is re-evaluated.

### 1.3. Texts

The Leningrad Codex (Ms Heb B 19<sup>A</sup>), the same manuscript also adopted as the main text of Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS), is used here as the main witness for the Masoretic text. Of the Qumran texts, there are four manuscripts that contain 1 Samuel—namely, 1QSam and 4QSam<sup>a-c</sup>. These texts are published in the series Discoveries in the Judaean desert.<sup>3</sup>

#### 1QSam (1Q7)

This manuscript consists of seven fragments, identified as containing a text from four different passages. Frag. 1 is the only one containing the text of 1 Sam, but this is a crucial fragment, since it has been identified as 1 Sam 18:17–18, a section absent from the source text of

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2. For a discussion of the artistic or scientific features of textual criticism, see Seppänen 2014, 353.  
3. DJD I; XVII.

the Septuagint. The other passages are 2 Sam 20:6–10 (frags. 2–3), 2 Sam 21:16–18 (frags. 3–7) and 2 Sam 23:9–12 (frag. 8). The manuscript is paleographically dated approximately the first half of the first century BCE.<sup>4</sup>

#### 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (4Q51)

This manuscript contains hundreds of fragments from almost every chapter in 1–2 Sam. It is written in late Hasmonean–early Herodian script, suggesting a dating of 50–25 BCE.

#### 4QSam<sup>b</sup> (4Q52)

This manuscript comprises 7 fragments and contains four chapters from 1 Sam: 16:1–11 (frag. 1), 19:10–17 (frag. 2), 21:3–7 (frag. 3), 21:8–10 (frag. 4) and 23:9–17 (frags. 5–7). It has been recognised as one of the oldest manuscripts among the Dead Sea scrolls, dated 250–200 BCE.

#### 4QSam<sup>c</sup> (4Q53)

This manuscript contains mainly text from 2 Sam (14:7–33; 15:1–15). The only passage from 1 Sam is 25:30–32, but this does not offer much as to the discussion on differences between the texts.<sup>5</sup> The manuscript is paleographically dated 100–75 BCE but carbon-dated to 196–47 BCE.

The critical text of 1–2 Samuel in the Septuagint is being prepared by Anneli Aejmelaeus (1 Sam) and Tuukka Kauhanen (2 Sam) and their respective project members. Over the course of my dissertation work, I have had the privilege of being a member of both projects and have had the opportunity to make use of the preliminary critical text and apparatus of both editors. The manuscript grouping in this thesis follows those of the forthcoming publications of 1–2 Sam, though some changes may be made in the final editions. The Greek witnesses and their grouping are as follows:

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4. Ulrich 2016, section 5.1.1.

5. Besides orthographical differences, there are two variant readings in 1 Sam 25:31: for לְפִינָהּ in MT, 4QSam<sup>c</sup> has לְמִנְקָה; for לֵי in MT, 4QSam<sup>c</sup> has לֵי.

Codices: A B M V

Fragments: 842 845 846 867

Manuscript groups:

*O* = 247-376

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

19' = 19-108

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

98' = 98-379

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

46' = 46-52

242' = 242-328

$C' = CI + CII$

*a* = 119-527-799

*b* = 121-509

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

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)

64' = 64-381

488' = 488-489

Manuscripts without a grouping:

29 55 71 158 244 245 318 (342) 460 554 707

## 1.4. Outline of the Study

In general, this dissertation proceeds from the specific to the general. First, variant readings of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> are analysed. This analysis is then used as a basis for statistical analysis. Lastly are discussed the two major text critical problem in 1 Sam—namely, the story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam 17–18 and the large plus of Nahash the Ammonite in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in 1 Sam 10:27–11:1.

## 2. Textual Relationships between the Witnesses

In this chapter, I discuss the textual relationships between the major witnesses of the text of the Books of Samuel: the Masoretic text (M), the Septuagint (G) and manuscripts 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (Q<sup>a</sup>) and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> (Q<sup>b</sup>). For practical reasons, I have limited my study to 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9—i.e., the non-*kaige* section in the Greek manuscript tradition. The *kaige* revision is present from 2 Sam 10 onward, making reconstruction of the Old Greek text complicated. This limitation is relevant only for 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, since no text from 2 Sam is preserved in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. My aim is to study the statistical relations between each of the texts—which witnesses are more closely linked to one another and which more distant from one another. I have included in my analysis all the actual variant readings of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> listed in the DJD edition, excluding all reconstructed variants, since they are more or less speculative and cannot be used for evaluating textual relationships between the witnesses. For the same reason, I have excluded all cases where technical considerations related to translation do not allow for determination of whether the source text of the Septuagint should be read according to the Masoretic text or according to the Qumran scroll. My assumption is that the cases which remain from these criteria represent a general picture of the relationships—that is, the material preserved in the Qumran scrolls is random, and the cases that are excluded because of the Septuagint do not substantially change the overall picture.

In listing the variant readings in the DJD edition, Cross consistently denotes also the Lucianic revision of the Septuagint (L). The idea is evidently to show that the Lucianic text occasionally has some ‘links’ with the Qumran scroll(s). To explain these similarities between the Lucianic text and the Qumran text, Cross assumes that there exists a Proto-Lucianic stratum in the Lucianic text which resembles, in some cases, the Qumran text—I evaluate the validity of this assumption after the analysis. Regardless of the Proto-Lucianic hypothesis, it is possible that, in some cases, the differences between the Lucianic text and the Old Greek do not emerge purely from an intra-Greek development but may reflect differences borne out in a separate Hebrew text. Thus, whenever the Lucianic text differs from the Septuagint and the difference does not clearly originate from an intra-Greek development, I have also included L as a witness and commented on this variant reading as well.<sup>6</sup>

To study the variant readings statistically, I have arranged the material according to 1) agreement (i.e., which texts agree and which do not; e.g., MG≠Q denote that the reading of M and G does not agree with Q) and 2) type of change, denoting the kind of change that took place

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6. In my notations, the siglum L generally denotes ‘the Hebrew that is behind the Lucianic recension’, while *L* in italics is reserved for the Lucianic manuscripts (written in Greek). Similarly, G denotes the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. When discussing the Greek text of the Septuagint, I may use the common abbreviations LXX or OG (Old Greek).

in the textual history. Based on my observations, the changes can be divided into following categories:

- a) Short quantitative change (plus/minus of one or two words)
- b) Long quantitative change (plus/minus of at least three words)
- c) Change in the morphology of a word (e.g., change of gender, tense, number, person, or suffix)
- d) Interchange of a word (including prepositions and conjunctions, regardless of whether or not they are attached to a word)
- e) Interchange of several words (including changes in word order)
- f) More complicated change or a combination of the above categories

In addition, I have taken into consideration the primary or secondary nature of the reading, since secondary readings better reveal the interdependence of witnesses than do original readings. Before proceeding to the actual statistical analysis, I shall first present a qualitative analysis of the readings. Here, I comment briefly on each variant reading, discussing what kind of change took place and which reading should be taken as primary.

## 2.1. Variant Readings in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>

### 2.1.1 MG≠Q<sup>a</sup> (54)

There are 54 cases where the Masoretic text and the Septuagint (including L) agree against the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.

In 18 cases, there is a *short quantitative change* of which Q<sup>a</sup> has a plus in 9 cases and a minus in 9 cases.<sup>7</sup>

#### *Pluses in Q<sup>a</sup>*

1S1:24 שְׁלֶשָׁה M G ( τριετίζοντι < משלש ) || pr בקר [ בן Q<sup>a</sup>

The reading בקר [ in the Qumran scroll could be an equivalent to ἐν μόσχῳ in the Septuagint (the Masoretic text has בפרים), but, more likely, בפר should be reconstructed in the *lacuna*, just before בן. Thus, בקר [ בן is considered a plus, most probably an addition to conform the vocabulary of the narrative with Pentateuchal language surrounding sacrifices.<sup>8</sup> The shorter

7. Notations: M = Masoretic text; G = the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint; L = the Hebrew text that the Lucianic text reflects; Q<sup>a</sup> = 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. Square brackets are used to indicate reconstructions in Q; the sign || is used for the lemma.

8. Cf. פר בן בקר in Ex 29:1; Lev 4:3, 14; 16:3; 23:8; Num 7:15, 21, 27, 33, 39, 45, 51, 57, 63, 69, 75, 81; 8:8 (*bis*); 15:24; 28:11 (*pl.*); 28:19 (*pl.*); 28:27 (*pl.*), 29:2; 29:8; 29:13 (*pl.*); 29:17 (*pl.*). DJD XVII, 33.

reading in the Masoretic text and in the Septuagint could hardly have originated from a haplography בפר בן בקר → בפר G (→ בפרים M).

1S2:10 *lacking* M G || ]◦תם בשלמ◦[ Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran manuscript has a unique plus of at least two words not present in any other witness. Unfortunately, the text is so poorly preserved that one cannot conclude whether this plus is primary or not.

1S2:16 כיום M G (πρῶτον) || pr הכוהן Q<sup>a</sup>

The extra word in the Qumran scroll supplies the subject and is thus secondary.<sup>9</sup> In addition, this may well be a nomistic correction according to Lev 7:31, as suggested by Rofé.<sup>10</sup>

1S5:10 ת[א] ארון אלוהי ישראל M G (τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ) || אֶת־אָרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים Q<sup>a</sup>

The epithets for God vary widely, especially when attached to ‘the ark’. However, in the narrative of 1 Sam 3–5, there are some apparent patterns: ‘the ark of God’ is used by the narrator, whereas ‘the ark of the God of Israel’ is used in the speech of the Philistines. Thus, in the case under question, the shorter reading is probably primary and is expanded by the previous occurrence of ‘the ark of the God of Israel’ in v. 8. As for the Greek manuscripts, *L* 731 56 318 add the word Ἰσραηλ after θεοῦ, making the phrase resemble the reading of Q<sup>a</sup>. It is not, however, likely that these manuscripts—among the Lucianic recension—were moving toward a Q<sup>a</sup>-like Hebrew text. In the Lucianic text, there is some tendency to expand the text to the fuller expression τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ also elsewhere, and the reading in question seems also to reflect this tendency. Thus, both Q<sup>a</sup> and the Lucianic text betray similar but independent forms of expansion.<sup>11</sup>

1S10:18 כול בני M G (σίους) || [ני] כול Q<sup>a</sup>

The word כול in the Qumran manuscript is evidently an addition. Such emphasizing words are often added into a text.

1S14:29 עכר M G (Ἀπίλλαχεν) || {◦◦◦} עכור Q<sup>a</sup>

Cross suggests that, behind the damaged text, there was originally a finite form of the preceding infinitive absolute—i.e., עכור עכר.<sup>12</sup> Furthermore, he ponders whether the latter word is merely damaged or in fact corrected to agree with the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. However, in the latter case, it would be expected for the first word in the infinitive construct to have been removed. Thus, I consider the form in the Qumran manuscript to have emerged from a copying error that was later corrected by the same scribe. In any case, it is safer to conclude that the reading in M and G is primary.

9. *Pace* DJD XVII, 41.

10. Rofé 1989, 253.

11. Kauhanen 2012, 173–76. *Contra* DJD XVII, 50.

12. DJD XVII, 74.

1S25:9–10 ויפּחזוּ וַיִּנּוּחוּ: וַיַּעַן נָבָל M G (καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Ναβαλ) || וַיִּפְחֹזוּ [נ]בֹּל Q<sup>a</sup>

The Masoretic text and the Septuagint agree in so far as the subjects of the verb וַיִּנּוּחוּ and וַיִּפְחֹזוּ are not explicitly defined, as they are in the Qumran scroll. With respect to the verbs, the original reading must be וַיִּפְחֹזוּ, which was corrupted to וַיִּנּוּחוּ in the Masoretic text (see p. 48). The corruption, however, suggests that, in the primary text, the verb was not followed by the word Nabal, since, in that case, the corruption into third person plural would be unlikely. Thus, Q<sup>a</sup> presents a secondary reading with respect to the reading נָבָל, after וַיִּפְחֹזוּ—either repeating the proper name (וַיִּפְחֹזוּ נָבָל וַיַּעַן נָבָל, as reconstructed by Cross)<sup>13</sup> or just changing the word order (וַיִּפְחֹזוּ נָבָל וַיַּעַן). The Lucianic text reads (together with *d*<sup>106</sup>) καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν Ναβαλ καὶ ἀπεκρίθη, which resembles the reading of Q<sup>a</sup>. However, this does not reflect a Q<sup>a</sup>-like Hebrew text. The change in word order is simply a characteristic of the attempt in a recension to define the subject of ἀναπηδάω as Nabal, not the neuter plural τὰ παιδάρια earlier given in the verse.<sup>14</sup>

1S28:1 יזרעאל]ה + זרעאל]ה M G (εἰς πόλεμον) ||

The word זרעאל]ה is probably an addition to locate the battle more accurately (cf. 1 Sam 29:1).<sup>15</sup>

2S3:34 בּוֹזְקִים וּרְגָלֶיךָ M G (οἱ πόδες σου) ||

The reading בּוֹזְקִים is not equivalent to אַסְרוֹת (ἐδέθησαν), which precedes the reading in the Masoretic text and the Septuagint but is a plus.<sup>16</sup> Most probably, בּוֹזְקִים was part of the original text, belonging to the first half of the parallel structure and making the cola symmetrical.<sup>17</sup>

#### Minuses in Q<sup>a</sup>

1S2:16 קָטַר M G (ὁ θύων) || > Q<sup>a</sup>

The Masoretic text vocalizes the verb as an infinitive absolute forming a *figura etymologica* with the following finite verb, יִקְטִירוּן, while the Septuagint translator read the word as a participle and probably linked it with the previous word (הָאִישׁ – ἀνήρ). Cross considers the omission of the word קָטַר the result of haplography,<sup>18</sup> but it is equally probable for it to have been dittography or an intentional addition to emphasize the following verb.

13. DJD XVII, 87.

14. Kauhanen 2012, 182.

15. DJD XVII, 95. Ulrich (1978, 171–72) has observed that Josephus, *Ant.* 6.325 supports this reading in Q<sup>a</sup>. However, both Q<sup>a</sup> and Jos could have taken the location Jezreel independently from 1 Sam 29:1.

16. In addition, the word order might be different in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>; see under ‘reconstructed variants’ in DJD XVII, 117.

17. DJD XVII, 117.

18. DJD XVII, 41.

1S2:16 **וְאִם לֹא** M G (καὶ ἐὰν μὴ, λήμψομαι)  $\parallel$  > Q<sup>a</sup>

The clause here does not make any sense without **וְאִם לֹא**, ‘if not’. Thus, the reading in the Masoretic text and in the Septuagint is to be preferred. However, it is probable that the original reading assigned a different tense to the following verb **לִקַּח**, either consecutive perfect or imperfect,<sup>19</sup>—sc. **וְאִם לֹא לִקַּחְתִּי** or **וְאִם לֹא לִקַּח**. In either case, the omission of **וְאִם לֹא** can be understood as the result of haplography.

1S2:25 **אֲבִיהֶם** M G (τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν)  $\parallel$  > Q<sup>a</sup>

The reading without explication of whose voice is not obeyed makes little sense.<sup>20</sup> Thus, the reading in Q<sup>a</sup> must be secondary, though there is no evident reason why **אֲבִיהֶם** should have been omitted here.

1S9:7 **לְנַעֲרוֹ** M G (τῷ παιδαρίῳ)  $\parallel$  > Q<sup>a</sup>

The Masoretic text and the Septuagint both define the indirect object and, thus, are most probably secondary.<sup>21</sup>

2S3:10 **וְעַל־יְהוּדָה** M G (καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰουδαῖον)  $\parallel$  Q<sup>a</sup> **וְיְהוּדָה**

In the preceding context, the phrase **עַל־יִשְׂרָאֵל** is used, so the preposition **עַל** can be repeated. It is equally possible for the preposition to have been added or omitted.

2S3:25 **אֶת־אֲבִנֵּר בֶּן־נֵר** M G (Ἀβεννηρ υἱοῦ Νηρ)  $\parallel$  **אֶת אֲבִנֵּר** Q<sup>a</sup>

The name Abner is sometimes mentioned with the patronym ‘son of Ner’ (e.g., 1 Sam 14:15; 26:5, 14; 2 Sam 2:8, 12; 3:23, 28), sometimes without the patronym (1 Sam 17:55, 57; 20:25; 26:7, 14; 2 Sam 2:14, 17, 19; 3:22, 24, 26, 27, 30). Any absolute rule for when the epithet should be omitted is not evident. In this case, the Qumran reading might have originated from haplography, or the reading in the Masoretic text could reflect an intentional addition or dittography.<sup>22</sup>

2S3:34 **כָּל־הָעָם** M G (πᾶς ὁ λαὸς)  $\parallel$  **כָּל** Q<sup>a</sup>

The word **כָּל** can be used absolutely (i.e., not connected with a preceding or following word) as the subject of a verb, but this would be uncommon.<sup>23</sup> As Cross points out, the phrase **כָּל־הָעָם** is ‘a prominent expression in this section regarding Abner’s funeral (vv 31–38)’. Although it is easy to explain that **הָעָם** as an addition in this case to make the expression coherent with the surrounding verses, it is difficult to see why the original form would have been the incongruous expression of **כָּל** without **הָעָם**. The omission might have happened because the scribe’s eye skipped from **ל** to **ל**.<sup>24</sup> Thus, I consider Q<sup>a</sup> secondary in this case.

19. DJD XVII, 42.

20. *Pace* DJD XVII, 43

21. DJD XVII, 60.

22. Thus also in DJD XVII, 114.

23. HALOT (s.v. **כָּל**) gives only one example, Jer 44:12: **כָּל יִתְמוּ** = ‘all shall be consumed’.

24. DJD XVII, 116

2S3:35 כה יע[ש]ה || M G (τάδε ποιήσαι μοι) || Q<sup>a</sup>

Although this expression is used without the preposition ל in the Masoretic text of 1 Sam 14:44, it does regularly take the preposition, indicating the indirect object (1 Sam 3:17; 11:7; 17:27; 20:13; 25:22; 2 Sam 3:9, 35; 19:14; 1 Kgs 2:23; 2 Kgs 6:31; Jer 5:13; Ruth 1:17). Indeed, the unusual expression in the Masoretic text of 1 Sam 14:44 becomes dubious, since a large number (viz., more than 60) of Hebrew Mss, as well as the Septuagint, the Peshitta, the Vulgate and some Targum manuscripts, have the indirect object ‘to me’ in this particular verse. I thus regard the reading כה יעֲשֶׂה־לִי as primary in this case and the reading in Q<sup>a</sup> as secondary, a corrupted reading.

2S6:7 וימות || M G (ἀπέθανεν ἐκεῖ) || Q<sup>a</sup>

The word שָׁם is most probably an addition. Its function is to give the text a further sense of location.

In 8 cases, there is a *long quantitative change*, in 7 of which cases the Qumran manuscript has a plus and in 1 case a minus.

1S1:22 ונת[תיהו נזיר עד עולם] + Q<sup>a</sup> || M G *fin*

In DJD, Cross suggests that this ‘addition ultimately may be derived from 1:11’; cf. ונתתיהו in 1 Sam 1:11; in 1:22, the omission of ונתתיהו נזיר עד עולם ‘in the Masoretic text and the versions stems from an ordinary haplography caused by homoioteleuton’ (עד עולם – עולם).<sup>25</sup> I agree that the plus is likely secondary. However, since the phrase ונת[תיהו נזיר עד עולם] is secondary, it is not necessary to assume M and G emerged as a result of homoeoteleuton; they should rather be understood as witnesses to the earlier reading (*contra* DJD).

1S1:22 כול ימי [חיי] + Q<sup>a</sup> || M G *fin*

The phrase in Q<sup>a</sup> is an expansion, probably inspired by 1 Sam 1:11<sup>26</sup> and previous additions in 1:22.<sup>27</sup>

1S1:22 וישב לפני [יהוה] + Q<sup>a</sup> || M G (τῷ προσώπῳ κυρίου)

Since this is followed by the phrase וישב שָׁם עַד־עוֹלָם, one might argue, that the phrase present in Q<sup>a</sup> has been omitted because of a *homoearchon* in M and G. However, more likely the plus in Q<sup>a</sup> is clearly expansive and more likely an addition, perhaps inspired by the subsequent phrase וישב שָׁם and 1 Sam 1:11.<sup>28</sup>

25. DJD XVII, 33. Note that, in 1 Sam 1:11, the word נזיר is reconstructed in Q<sup>a</sup>, while the Septuagint has the rare word δοτόν, which may be a translation for נזיר (see Aejmelaeus 2012, 15–16; McCarter 1980, 53–54). However, Rofé (1989, 251) suggests a different *Vorlage* for δοτόν—viz., נְתוּר.

26. The phrase כָּל־יְמֵי חַיָּי in 1 Sam 1:11 is present only in M, while G omits it.

27. DJD XVII, 33.

28. DJD XVII, 33.

1S2:16 *fin* M G] Q<sup>a</sup> has a lengthy addition:

כבשלת] ה[בשר יקח את מזלג שלוש השנים] בידו והכה  
בסיר או בפרור [כו] ל אשר יעלה המזלג יקח אם [רע הוא ואם]  
טוב לבד מח[זה התנופה ושו] ק הימין

This addition resembles the story in vv. 13–14:

כבשל הבשר והמזלג שלש השנים בידו: והכה  
בכזר או בדוד או בקלחת או בפרור כל אשר יעלה המזלג יקח  
הכהן בו

The texts are not completely identical but are clearly related. The biggest difference is the end of the plus, *אם רע הוא ואם טוב לבד מחזה התנופה ושוק הימין*, ‘(he took), whether it was bad or good, only breast, wave offering and right thigh’, which has no counterpart in other witnesses. In the fragment that contains this addition, the right and upper margins (Column III) are clearly visible, and there is no doubt whether this text indeed follows 1 Sam 2:16. The editors of DJD admit that this plus ‘may have arisen from a simple dittography’, but ‘it may reflect an original reading which dropped out in M and G in v 16, but it is retained here in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in corrupted form.’<sup>29</sup> Unfortunately, the end of the previous column (Col. II) is so poorly preserved that one cannot say whether 4QSam<sup>a</sup> contained an identical or nearly identical text also in vv. 13–14. If the text originally had been part of v. 16, as suggested by DJD, there is no obvious reason for why it would have been omitted. However, in vv. 13–14, one can imagine that the passage *כבשל ... הכהן בו* might have suffered from a *homoearchon* error, from *כבשל* to *הכהן בו* in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. Therefore, the lengthy addition in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in v. 16 could well have been an attempt, albeit misguided, to include missing phrases. If this is the case, the end of the plus *אם רע ... הימין* might be a further expansion to harmonize the passage with the laws of the Pentateuch (Ex 29:27; Lev 7:34, 10:14–15).

1S2:22 זקן מאד M G (πρεσβύτης σφόδρα)] + [ – – ] בן תשעים שנה Q<sup>a</sup>

The reading in Q<sup>a</sup> specifies the age of Eli. The number may continue in the following gap and it is probably taken from verse 4:15.<sup>30</sup> I cannot find any evident reason to omit this information and thus it is best regarded as secondary addition.

1S10:27 *fin* M]] + [י] בש גלעד ... חש מלך Q<sup>a</sup>

This three-and-a-half-lines plus is discussed in detail in ch. 4. In short, my judgement is that this plus is secondary.

1S11:9 *fin* M G]] + [ויאמרו] לכם פתחו הש[ער]

The scroll contains an entire line not present in M and G, and one can only guess as to its content. DJD suggests that the end of line 5 should be reconstructed as *ויאמרו*. Thus, the reading in M and G could be explained as *parablepsis*, from *ויאמרו* at the end of line 5 to

29. DJD XVII, 42.

30. DJD XVII, 43, 45.

וַיֹּאמְרוּ at the beginning of v. 11:10.<sup>31</sup> Evidently, the existing words פתחו לכם require a verb of ‘saying’ and, therefore, the reconstruction וַיֹּאמְרוּ at the end of line 5 is reliable. In my opinion, *parablepsis* is the best way to explain the plus in Q.

2S5:4–5 M G *habet* || > Q<sup>a</sup>

Q<sup>a</sup> omits these two verses, which contain chronological details about David’s reign. It has been argued that this passage, like some other similar verses (viz., 1 Sam 13:1; 2:10a, 11), were later additions in the Masoretic tradition.<sup>32</sup> Interestingly, Q<sup>a</sup> most probably omits also 2 Sam 2:10a (not enough space is available to reconstruct the words). Barthélemy argues for the priority of 2 Sam 4–5, explaining the omission as an attempt to harmonize inconsistencies between the different numbers in vv. 4–5.<sup>33</sup> However, this view fails to explain why both verses are omitted or why the numbers are not revised to be consistent. More probably, vv. 4–5 in M and G are simply secondary additions.<sup>34</sup>

In 8 cases, there is *an interchange of a word*,

1S1:11 יַעֲלֶה M G (ἀναβήσεται) || יַעֲבֹר Q<sup>a</sup>

The words יַעֲלֶה and יַעֲבֹר have two common letters at the beginning of the word, and, thus, the difference in the readings may originate from a graphical error. The verb is related to the description of the naziriteness of Samuel: ‘the razor shall not raise upon / pass over his head (וְמוֹרָה לֹא יַעֲלֶה/יַעֲבֹר עַל רֹאשׁוֹ)’. Judg 13:5 and 16:17 also describe this feature of naziriteness, both using the expression מוֹרָה עַל רֹאשׁ. The phrase עָבַר עַל רֹאשׁ is never used with the noun מוֹרָה, ‘razor’. However, the synonymous phrase תַּעֲרַר עַל רֹאשׁ with the noun תַּעֲרַר ‘blade’, is found in Num 6:5 and Ezek 5:1. Thus, it seems reasonable to conclude that the verb יַעֲלֶה is original in 1 Sam 1:11, since the noun מוֹרָה does appear in this context. The Qumran reading יַעֲבֹר is secondary, probably due to a misreading by a copyist, who possibly had Num 6:5 or Ezek 5:1 in mind.

1S2:18 חָגַר M G (περιεζωσμένον) || חוּגַר Q<sup>a</sup>

This context requires passive participle, as in the Masoretic text (‘a boy was girded with a linen ephod’), so the transposition in the Qumran reading חוּגַר must have resulted from a scribal mistake.<sup>35</sup>

1S14:32 אֶל-שָׂלַל M G (εἰς τὰ σκυλα) || עַל] הַשָּׁלַל Q<sup>a</sup>

The prepositional phrase is governed by the rare verb עִיט, ‘swoop’. The preposition עַל, ‘(swoop) upon’, is better suited to its meaning.<sup>36</sup> Thus, the preposition אֶל is more likely

31. DJD XVII, 68.

32. McCarter 1984, 88.

33. Barthélemy 1980, 17–18.

34. Pace DJD XVII, 120–121.

35. Pace DJD XVII, 42.

36. The verb occurs in 1 Sam 25:14 with אָ meaning ‘shout at’, in 1 Sam 14:32; 15:19 with אֶל, ‘swoop upon’, in Sir 14:10 with עַל, ‘look rapaciously’ and in Sir 34:16 without any preposition, ‘be rapacious’.

original (the prepositions אֶל and עַל are commonly confused)<sup>37</sup>. The Septuagint reading εἰς more likely reflects the reading of M than the reading of Q<sup>a</sup>.<sup>38</sup> The Lucianic text reads the preposition ἐπί, but this is a feature of recension: In *L*, the verb is also changed to ὀρμάω, ‘rush’, which employs the preposition ἐπί. Thus, the Lucianic text seem to have no connection with the Hebrew text of Q<sup>a</sup>.<sup>39</sup>

1S14:49 וַיִּשְׂוּ מִג (καὶ Ἰεσσαίου) ]א[ישבשת Q<sup>a</sup>

In this verse, the sons of Saul are given as Jonathan, Ishvi and Malchishua, though the name Ishvi is not mentioned elsewhere. In 1 Chr 10:2, his sons are listed as Jonathan, Abinadab and Malchishua, while, in 1 Chr 8:33; 9:39, his sons are given as Jonathan, Malchishua, Abinadab and Esh-baal. In the Books of Samuel, the name Ishbosheth is consistently used instead of Esh-baal.<sup>40</sup> Both Abinadab and Ishbosheth begin with the letter *aleph*, so the Qumran reading in 1 Sam 14:49 could be וַאֲ[ישבשת or וַאֲ[בינדב. In either case, the name is different from Ishvi, attested by the MT and the Septuagint.

1S15:32 אַגַּג M G (Αγαγ)]ג[אג Q<sup>a</sup>

The editors of DJD regard the letter before final *gimel* as *waw*, not *gimel*. Since no other tradition attests a variation that resembles the reading in the Qumran scroll for the name Agag, the reading in Q<sup>a</sup> must have been made in error.<sup>41</sup>

1S24:15 אַחַר־יָרֵעַ אֶחָד M G (ὀπίσω ψύλλου ἑνός) ] [אח[רי]הפּרעש [האחד] Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran manuscript has an article before פּרעש, while the Masoretic text and the Septuagint do not. Since the preceding parallel (אַחַר־יָרֵעַ אֶחָד) is likewise anarthrous, one would expect the expression to be anarthrous here as well. Similarly, the indefinite meaning of the anarthrous form fits the context better: ‘after *a* flea’, not ‘after *the* flea’.<sup>42</sup> Probably the article ה in Q<sup>a</sup> resulted from an error by a scribe.

1S28:2 וַיֹּאמֶר אֶל־דָּוִד M G (καὶ εἶπεν Αγαγος πρὸς Δαυιδ) ]א[אמר]ל[דויד] Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran scroll apparently has the preposition ל, while the Masoretic text has the nearly synonymous אל.<sup>43</sup> The Septuagint has the preposition πρὸς, which could translate either אל or ל. However, the phrase ל + אִמַר is translated highly consistently with λέγω + dative in the Books of Samuel. In these cases, translation with the dative case appears 72 times,<sup>44</sup> while

However, the Septuagint reading with ἐπί in 1 Sam 15:19 suggests that its *Vorlage* read על.

37. DJD XVII, 74; Kauhanen 2012, 180.

38. Kauhanen 2012, 180; Ulrich 1978, 96, 115.

39. Kauhanen 2012, 180.

40. Cf. 2 Sam 2:8, 10, 12, 15; 3:14; 4:1, 8.

41. DJD XVII, 78.

42. If the noun פּרעש has the article, the following numeral אֶחָד can either have the article or not; cf. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, § 142m.

43. According to DJD XVII, 95, there is no space before *lamed* to read the preposition אל instead of ל.

44. 1 Sam 1:22; 2:15; 9:5, 27; 11:9 (*ter*); 14:34; 15:13; 16:2; 17:8; 18:25; 20:21, 22, 30, 40, 46; 21:2; 24:7; 25:19 (*bis*); 2 Sam 2:26; 5:6; 7:8 (*bis*); 15:34; 18:5; 24:16, 18.

translation with *πρός* appears only 8 times.<sup>45</sup> In the case of the phrase *אל + אמר*, the translations are almost as consistent: the preposition *πρός* appears 244 times<sup>46</sup> and the dative 12 times.<sup>47</sup> Thus, it is probable that the source text of the Septuagint had the preposition *אל*, as the Masoretic text does. It is impossible, however, to determine whether *אל* and *ל* is primary.

2S3:29 בית יואב M G (τὸν οἶκον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ) || בית יואב Q<sup>a</sup>

The expressions *בית אביו* and *בית יואב* resemble each other graphically. Thus, it is probable that one of them is a corruption of the other. Since the expression *בית יואב* follows later in the same verse, it is plausible that *בית אביו* was the original reading and was changed accidentally to *בית יואב*.<sup>48</sup>

In 13 cases, there is a change in morphology.

1S2:16 ולק[חתי] M G (λήμψομαι) || ולק[חתי] Q<sup>a</sup>

The perfect *לקחתי* in the Masoretic text is not expected after the expression *ואם-לא*, ‘and if not’. Normal usage would employ either the consecutive perfect or imperfect. Thus, the form *ולק[חתי]* in the Qumran scroll is probably primary. The expression *ואם-לא* is missing from the Qumran scroll, but that is probably due to a secondary omission.<sup>49</sup>

1S2:16 יקטרו M G (θυμαθήτω) || יקטר Q<sup>a</sup>

The passive verb *θυμαθήτω* in the Septuagint clearly translates the third person plural imperfect (jussive) *יקטרו*, used in a passive sense, ‘let them burn’—i.e., ‘let (the fat) be burned’.<sup>50</sup> The Qumran scroll contains the explicit subject *הבוהן*, so the verb must be in the third person singular form. The third person plural *יקטרו* could have emerged from the influence of the beginning of v. 15, as stated in DJD.<sup>51</sup> However, it is more likely that the explicit subject *הבוהן* is secondary in the Qumran scroll, so the verb form was changed from plural to singular.

45. 1 Sam 24:7; 2 Sam 14:5.

46. 1 Sam 2:27 (*bis*); 8:7; 10:18; 11:2, 3; 12:5; 14:9, 40; 15:28; 16:3; 19:4 (*bis*); 22:3; 23:9, 17; 24:18; 26:6 (*ter*); 28:8, 21 (*bis*); 29:6, 9; 30:15; 2 Sam 1:3, 9, 16; 2:5, 22; 3:7 (*bis*), 16; 4:8; 7:5 (*bis*); 9:9; 11:25 (*ter*); 12:5, 18 (*bis*); 13:5, 20, 28; 14:2, 18, 30, 31 (*bis*); 15:3; 17:21; 18:4, 22, 28; 19:20, 42; 21:2, 5. In addition, in 2 Sam 14:30, the Septuagint reads *πρὸς αὐτόν* which is probably a translation for *אליו*, found in 4QSam<sup>c</sup>.

47. 1 Sam 9:27; 19:17 (*bis*); 29:6; 2 Sam 2:22; 4:8.

48. DJD XVII, 115.

49. DJD XVII, 42.

50. *Contra* DJD XVII, 41, where it is assumed that *θυμαθήτω* translates *יקטר*. In addition, the source text of the Septuagint has not suffered a haplography but did in fact include the infinitive *קטר*, translated by *ὁ θύων* in the Septuagint.

51. DJD XVII, 41.

1S2:29 מְנַחַת M G (θυσίας) || מְנַחֹת Q<sup>a</sup>

The Masoretic text and the Septuagint have the word ‘offering’ in singular number, while the Qumran manuscript has the word in plural. Both forms fit the context, albeit with a slightly difference in the meaning: either ‘to fatten on (G: to bless with) the first part of *every offering*’ or ‘to fatten on the first part of *all offerings*’. In addition, the Vulgate and the Targum have the singular and the Peshitta and the Old Latin (La<sup>M</sup>) the plural form. Since none of the Septuagint manuscripts witness the plural number, the plural in the Old Latin must be a secondary reading and probably emerged as a result of the translation process from Greek to Latin or even from an intra-Latin development. Furthermore, the plural form in the Old Latin hardly has any connection to the plural form in the Peshitta, but, more likely, the plural in the Peshitta emerged in the Syriac tradition. Thus, neither the Old Latin nor the Peshitta necessarily agree with the plural form of the Hebrew text. Since all other words denoting sacrifice in the verse are used in singular (בְּזִבְחֵי וּבְמִנְחָתֵי), the singular form מְנַחַת fits the context better than does the plural number. One could argue that singular מְנַחַת would then be the result of harmonization, but I do not regard such harmonization to be likely, because other words related to sacrifice are not in its immediate proximity. This speculation is confirmed by the observation that the word מְנַחַת very seldom occurs in plural, only four times (Num 29:39; Amos 5:22; Ps 20:4; Ezra 7:17) out of a total of 211 occurrences in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>52</sup> Furthermore, in all four cases, the plural form of מְנַחַת is paralleled by other words related to sacrifice in plural (e.g., עֹלָה). To conclude, the plural form מְנַחֹת in Q<sup>a</sup> is secondary and perhaps the result of a scribal mistake.

1S5:8 יִסְבוּ M G (μετελθέτω) || יִסְבוּ [י] Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran text has a unique reading here, the plural verb יִסְבוּ. All other witnesses have singular here, including also the Targum, the Peshitta and the Vulgate. Since the Qumran reading continues אֶת אַרְוֹן, it stands in contrast to אַרְוֹן of the Masoretic text. The phrase יִסְבוּ אֶת אַרְוֹן in Q<sup>a</sup> is probably an anticipation of the phrase אֶת אַרְוֹן יִסְבוּ, employed later in the same verse.<sup>53</sup>

1S6:5 עֵכָבְרִים M G (τῶν μῦθων ὑμῶν) || עֵכָבְרִים Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran manuscript has the same word עֵכָבְרִים (‘mouse/rat’) as the Masoretic text and the Septuagint but without the suffix. The addition of the suffix is in harmony with the parallel word עֵפְלִיכֶם in M and עֵפְלִי [י] in Q<sup>a</sup> (see p. 61 and the longer discussion in pp. 20–30). Most likely, the suffixed forms are secondary additions to make the story more detailed, since this kind of editing is more probable than dropping suffixes by error from two different words.

1S6:5 אוּלִי M G (ὄπωξ) || אוּלִי [ו] Q<sup>a</sup>

The particle אוּלִי, ‘perhaps’, appears 43 times in the Hebrew Bible but never directly follows

52. The figure 211 comes from DCH, s.v. מְנַחַת.

53. Pace DJD XVII, 50.

the conjunction ו. Thus, the combination וְאוֹלִי is dubious and more probably secondary to simply אוֹלִי. In addition, according to DJD, this is ‘a typical example of the secondary intrusion of conjunctions’.<sup>54</sup>

1S15:30 וְשׁוּב M G (καὶ ἀνάστρεψον) || שׁוּב] Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran Scroll lacks the conjunction before the imperative שׁוּב, ‘return’. Since the verb is connected with the preceding imperative (כַּבְּדֵנִי), the conjunction is indeed expected here (i.e., ‘honor me ... and return’).<sup>55</sup> It could be argued that the more difficult reading in Q<sup>a</sup> should be original, but, more likely, the lack of the conjunction is the result of a scribal mistake, since no other witnesses have the conjunction. Also, the Vulgate, the Targum and the Peshitta agree with M and G.

1S24:4 וְיִבְאֵ M G (καὶ ἦλθεν) || וְיִבְאֵ] Q<sup>a</sup>

Besides the Qumran scroll, few Hebrew Medieval manuscripts and three Septuagint manuscripts (74-120-134) have the plural form of the verb. Indeed, the development from singular to plural is easy to understand from the preceding context. In the previous verse, Saul is reported to take three thousand men to accompany him. Thus, it is reasonable for the subject in v. 4 to be plural. However, the following predicate verb in the same verse is singular (וְיִבְאֵ), with also the explicit subject וְשָׂאוֹל, suggesting that the first verb וְיִבְאֵ had also been originally singular. Since the change from *epsilon* to *omicron* can easily have emerged from within the Greek tradition, the Greek reading ἦλθεν (in Mss 74-120-134) may not necessarily be dependent on any Hebrew manuscript but may be because the reading is polygenetic.

1S24:14 מְשַׁלְּהֵם [שֶׁל הַקְּדָמִיִּים] M G (ἡ παραβολὴ ἢ ἀρχαία) || מְשַׁלְּהֵם] Q<sup>a</sup>

The word מְשַׁלְּהֵם, ‘former’, and its plural forms, מְשַׁלְּהֵם and מְשַׁלְּהֵם, are used in the sense of ‘former ones’ or ‘former things’. The context supports the plural form witnessed by Q<sup>a</sup> as the original reading, since the phrase ‘the parable of the former ones’—i.e., ‘the parable of the forefathers’—makes good sense, while ‘the parable of the former one’ seems odd (who is the former one?).<sup>56</sup> Evidently, the Masoretic text has suffered a haplography, since the following word begins with mem (this change most likely emerged before the change of the final letters).<sup>57</sup> DJD suggests that the Vorlage of the Septuagint read מְשַׁלְּהֵם, the exact reverse translation of the Greek expression ἡ παραβολὴ ἢ ἀρχαία. More likely, the phrase ἡ παραβολὴ ἢ ἀρχαία is simply an attempt to translate the odd expression מְשַׁלְּהֵם. The translator would have chosen singular ἡ ἀρχαία to correspond with singular מְשַׁלְּהֵם.<sup>58</sup>

54. DJD XVII, 53.

55. The imperative without conjunction is also possible, albeit rare; see, e.g., Prov 20:13 (Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §116i).

56. Cf. McCarter 1980, 382.

57. DJD XVII, 85.

58. Cf. Is 43:18 where plural מְשַׁלְּהֵם is rendered by plural τὰ ἀρχαία.

and ἡ παραβολή to correspond with מִשַׁל, employing an attributive construction rather than preserving the original genitive construction.<sup>59</sup>

1S26:11 חֲנִיתוֹ M G (τὸ δόρυ) || חֲנִיתוֹ Q<sup>a</sup>

The Qumran manuscript has the singular third-person suffix attached to the noun חֲנִית, ‘spear’, while the Masoretic text and the Septuagint do not have the suffix. The text continues in the Masoretic text as אֲשֶׁר מִרֶאֶשְׁתּוֹ and ἀπὸ πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ in the Septuagint, which likely reflects מִמְרֵאשְׁתּוֹ as the *Vorlage*. In the Qumran manuscript, the text that follows has not survived until a few words later, but the editors of the DJD volume reconstruct it according to the Septuagint as [מִמְרֵאשְׁתּוֹ].<sup>60</sup> Furthermore, DJD suggests that Josephus, *Ant.* 6.313, has ‘his spear’, in agreement with the Qumran manuscript. Indeed, Josephus’s text has a personal pronoun connected to the word ‘spear’ (αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ) but leaves out the following phrase ‘from / which is at his head’. Clearly, Josephus simplifies the expression by leaving out the mention of ‘head’. Thus, Josephus’ is not a solid witness for the personal pronoun suffix attached to the word ‘spear’, since the personal pronoun can simply be a remnant of the abridged expression ‘from / which is at his head’. The Hebrew word מִרֶאֶשְׁתּוֹ is *plurale tantum* and occurs in the Hebrew Bible always either in *status pronominalis* (i.e., followed by a suffix) or *status constructus*. In that sense, the reconstruction חֲנִיתוֹ [מִמְרֵאשְׁתּוֹ] is reasonable. However, the expression as a whole seems redundant in so far as the referent third person singular suffixes. Thus, I regard the first suffix in reading חֲנִיתוֹ as a secondary addition which might have emerged from the influence of the second suffix.

2S3:2 וַיִּלְדוּ M G (καὶ ἐτέχθησαν) || וַיִּלְדוּ Q<sup>a</sup>

The Masoretic text and the Qumran manuscript have the verb in different stems, likely pual and niph'al, respectively, both with a passive meaning.<sup>62</sup> Since one cannot trace which stem, pual or niph'al, the Greek translation represents, I consider this case only with respect to the number, singular (Q<sup>a</sup>) or plural (M G). Although the subject is plural, the predicate verb can sometimes be in singular. However, in similar genealogies, the verb יָלַד seems always to be in plural (see, e.g., 2 Sam 3:5, 21:22, 5:13, 14:27).<sup>63</sup> Thus, plural is more probably primary and singular perhaps the result of a scribal mistake. A metathesis (*waw-dalet-lamed*) made by a scribe could also explain the different stem evidenced in the Qumran scroll.

59. If the Septuagint *Vorlage* indeed read הַמִּשַׁל הַקְּדָמִי, it would not change the situation, since that Hebrew reading would be dependent on the reading מִשַׁל הַקְּדָמִי rather than on the Qumran reading.

60. DJD XVII, 91

61. *Qere* וַיִּלְדוּ; the vocalisation of the *ketiv* reading is reconstructed as וַיִּלְדוּ.

62. The *qere* reading here is also niph'al.

63. DJD XVII, 109.

2S3:35 אוכל M G (ἢ ... παντός) Q<sup>a</sup>

The phrase in the Masoretic text reads *בִּי אִם־לִפְנֵי בּוֹאֵה־שֶׁמֶשׁ אֶטְעַם־לֶחֶם או כָּל־מְאֻמָּה*, ‘if I, before the sun sets, taste bread or anything else’. The context (טעם, ‘to taste’) seems to have influenced the erroneous writing of words *או כל* as *אוכל* in the Qumran scroll: The scribe evidently had the verb *אכל* in mind; however, the form *אוכל* does not suit the syntax of the sentence.<sup>64</sup>

2S7:28 ודברך M G (καὶ οἱ λόγοι σου) Q

The Masoretic text and the Septuagint have in plural ‘words’, while the Qumran scroll has a singular form. Since the predicate *אמת*, ‘truth’, is in singular, the singular form *ודברך* is probably a secondary assimilation. Note that, in the Hebrew Bible, the word *אמת* does not appear in plural. It is singular even when it is the predicate of a plural subject—e.g., Ps 19:10: *מִשְׁפָּטֵי־יְהוָה אֱמֶת*, ‘the ordinances of the Lord are true.’

In 2 cases, there is a *different word order*.

2S5:8 ואת העורים ואת הפסחים M G (καὶ τοὺς χωλοὺς καὶ τοὺς τυφλοὺς) Q<sup>a</sup> [ואת] ה[פסחים]

The Masoretic text and the Septuagint read ‘the lame and the blind’, while the Qumran scroll has a different word order. Since, in v. 6 and later in v. 8, the order is reversed, I regard the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> as a secondary harmonizing reading.<sup>65</sup>

2S5:19 על פ[לשת] [יי]ם M G (Εἰ ἀναβῶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλοφύλους) Q<sup>a</sup> [האע] [לה]

Since the interrogative adverb *ה* should appear at the beginning of the sentence,<sup>66</sup> the word order in the Masoretic text and in the Septuagint must be primary.<sup>67</sup>

In 5 cases, there is a *more complicated change*.

1S2:21 ויגדל שם M G (καὶ ἐμεγαλύνθη τὸ παιδάριον Σαμουηλ) Q<sup>a</sup> [שמואל]

The Qumran manuscript reads *שם* instead of *הנער* in the Masoretic text and the source text of the Septuagint. The reading *שם* is certain and cannot be reconstructed as *שמ[ואל]*, since *mem* is in the final position, which can be clearly observed in a photograph of the fragment.<sup>68</sup> In DJD XVII, the end of the line is reconstructed as *[שמואל]*, but other reconstructions are also possible—e.g., *[הנער]*. In any case, the particle *שם* seems to be secondary. The expression *ויגדל הנער שמואל* would be redundant, and the original reading was probably

64. Cf. DJD XVII, 116.

65. See also Ulrich 1978, 128–29.

66. Jouon & Muraoka 2006, § 155bp

67. Pace DJD XVII, 122.

68. PAM 43.122. Pace DJD XVII, 42.

simply **ויגדל שמואל** or **ויגדל הנער**. The reading **שם** suggests that the reading **שמואל** was expanded to **ויגדל שם שמואל** by dittography.<sup>69</sup> Therefore, it seems reasonable to conclude that the original wording was **ויגדל שמואל**, which was then expanded in separate textual traditions, as **הנער** in M G and as **שם** in Q.

2S2:15 **איש] לאיש בשת** M G (τῶν Ιεβοσθε)]]

The Qumran manuscript clearly differs from the Masoretic text and the Septuagint, but one cannot be sure what follows **איש]**. According to DJD, the reconstruction **לאיש בשת** fulfills the estimated line-length,<sup>70</sup> but, since the rest of the line (ca. 32 letters) is missing, many other reconstructions could be possible as well. Therefore, I cannot make a decision as to the primacy of the readings.

2Sam 3:28–9 **יחלו ... יחלו] אבנר** M G (ἀπὸ τῶν αἱμάτων Αβεννηρ ... καταντησάτωσαν)]]

In the Masoretic text, the phrase **מְדַמֵּי אַבְנֵר** belongs to the preceding clause: ‘My kingdom and I are guiltless ... for the bloods of Abner’. In the Qumran scroll, the corresponding reading belongs to the following clause: ‘The blood of Abner, may it fall ...’. The number of the verb **יחלו/יחלו]** is clearly connected with the number of the subject **דם אבנר / דְּמֵי אַבְנֵר**. The Septuagint clearly had a source text similar to the Masoretic text here, which can be observed from the rendering **ἀπό** (<מן) and the plural forms **αἱμάτων** and **καταντησάτωσαν**.

The letter *mem* preceding **דְּמֵי** in the Masoretic text could be the result of dittography, since, as DJD suggests, the preceding word ends in *mem*.<sup>71</sup> However, dittography does not explain the change of number from singular to plural. If one considers the word **ודם** as original, the plural ending **י** could be explained as a misreading of an initial **י** attached to the following word. The evolution of the text would thus be **ודם** (Q<sup>a</sup>) → **עולם דמי** → **עולם מדמי** (M). This explanation is not, however, complete, since the development could go in either direction and, without any further arguments, the development by haplography of *mem* is equally possible—i.e., **עולם מדמי** (M) → **עולם דמי** → **ודם** (Q<sup>a</sup>). As for the noun **דם**, either singular or plural are equally possible in this context.<sup>72</sup> Because the construction **נְקִי** (guiltless) + **מן** + **דם** does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, the dittography is a more probable solution, in which case the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> is more original.<sup>73</sup>

2S4:11 **אתם הרג איש** M G (ἀπεκτάκασιν ἄνδρα)]]

The readings in the Masoretic text and the Qumran scroll have three differences: 1) M has *nota accusativi* **את** instead of pronoun **אתם** in Q, 2) the word **אתם/את** is placed either before the verb (Q) or after it (M) and 3) the verb is either 3rd person plural perfect (M) or

69. Cf. DJD XVII, 42.

70. DJD XVII, 105–6.

71. DJD XVII, 114–115.

72. Cf., e.g., singular in Josh 2:19; 2 Sam 4:11 and plural in Gen 4:10; 2 Sam 21:1; see also HALOT, 225.

73. Cf. Josh 2:19–20, where the preposition **מן** with **נְקִי** is used to denote ‘free from an oath’, while **דם** is used without any preposition.

infinitive absolute (Q). The differences are clearly connected to one another. The larger context in Qumran reads *אֲנִישִׁים רָשָׁעִים [עִי] אֲתֵם הֲרַגְתֶּם אִישׁ צַדִּיק* [צ] ‘wicked men, you killed a righteous man’, a *casus pendens* construction. Naturally, the pronoun *אתם* cannot be used with a 3rd person plural verb; furthermore, the *casus pendens* construction fixes its position to before the verb. Both the *casus pendens* construction and the use of *infinitivus absolutus* suit Hebrew syntax and also fit the context.<sup>74</sup> The Masoretic text has the same clause but without *casus pendens*: *אֲנִישִׁים רָשָׁעִים הָרְגוּ אֶת־אִישׁ־צַדִּיק*, ‘wicked men killed a righteous man.’ Although the Greek text does not reveal whether a *nota accusativi* was used in its source text, the construction of the clause does reveal that it follows the reading of the Masoretic text, not that of the Qumran text. The development from a more complex (and also more acceptable) reading to a simpler one is more probable than vice versa. Thus, the Qumran reading should be regarded as the primary. The accusative marker *את* may well be a remnant of *אתם*, as noted by Cross.<sup>75</sup>

2S6:13 *שָׁבַע [עָה] פְּרִים וְשָׁבַע [הָ אֵילִים]* M G (μύσχος και ἄρνα)

The Septuagint clearly shares the same reading as M. Although not all the letters are visible in the Qumran scroll, it evidently has the same reading as in 1 Chr 15:26, *שָׁבַע־פְּרִים וְשָׁבַע־אֵילִים*. The question, then, is whether the text of Samuel is corrected toward Chronicles in Q<sup>a</sup> or whether the reading in Chronicles is indeed original. The Qumran scroll does not just have the number seven but also a different noun, *פרים* for *שור* (and probably also *אילים* for *מריא* in the reconstruction).

### Excursus: Mice and Boils in 1 Sam 5–6

The story in 1 Sam 5–6 recount an episode surrounding the ark of God in the hands of the Philistines and its aftermath. Having captured the ark of God, the Philistines are struck by a plague in each city to which they bring the ark. To lift the disease from their cities, the Philistines finally return the ark to Israel, giving golden gifts to the Israelites as ‘a guilt offering’.

There are many readings which relate to the plagues, whether mice and/or boils. One cannot avoid the impression that there are editorial processes behind the description of the disease of the Philistines in 1 Sam 5–6. It is thus necessary to take a closer look at the differences to study each reading.

#### 1 Sam 5:6

In the Masoretic text, the disease is described for the first time in 1 Sam 5:6:

74. See Waltke & O’Connor 1990, §35, 580–97 (inf); Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §156.

75. DJD XVII, 120.

וַתִּכְבֵּד יְדֵי־יְהוָה אֶל־הָאֲשְׁדּוּדִים וַיִּשְׂמֵם וַיַּד אֶתֶם בְּעַפְלִים<sup>76</sup> אֶת־אֲשְׁדּוּד וְאֶת־גְּבוּלֶיהָ  
 And the hand of the Lord was heavy upon the people of Ashdod, and he terrified and struck them with boils, both in Ashdod and in its territory.

The Septuagint version differs substantially:

καὶ ἐβαρύνθη χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἄζωτον, καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέξεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἀνεφύησαν μύες, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει.

The hand of the Lord was heavy upon Ashdod, and he set (a disease) against them and it broke out upon the ships. And in the midst of its territory, mice sprang up, and there was a great confusion of death in the city.

The two most evident differences are 1) the mention of ships instead of boils and 2) the plus at the end of the verse which describes the spawning of mice and the deathly panic in the city. From where do these differences originate and which version should be considered original?

I shall first concentrate on the reading **בְּעַפְלִים** – εἰς τὰς ναῦς. The basic meaning of the word **עַפְלָ** appears to be ‘a swelling (on the surface of the earth)’. The word is used here as a proper noun denoting certain hills or a part of them (cf., e.g., Neh 3:26; Mic 4:8).<sup>77</sup> In the present context in chapters 1 Sam 5–6, the word **עַפְלָ** is understood as ‘thickening of tissue’ or ‘a boil’—i.e., ‘a swelling on the surface of the skin’.<sup>78</sup> Besides the 5 occurrences in 1 Sam 5–6, the word **עַפְלָ** denotes a disease only once elsewhere in the Hebrew bible—viz., Deut 28:27. The *qere* for this word always appears as **טְחֹרִים** (*plurale tantum*), ‘hemorrhoids’, in each of the 6 occurrences. The Targum of Samuel and several Targums of the Torah likewise consistently translate the word **עַפְלָ**, ‘boil’, with the *qere* reading (**טְחֹרִין** in aramaic). This indicates that the word **טְחֹרִים** was probably considered more appropriate than **עַפְלָ**.<sup>79</sup> This may seem surprising to the modern reader, since the more general word ‘boil’ sounds politer an expression than does ‘hemorrhoids’, which refers to a swelling in the area of the anus. However, in Hebrew, the situation seems to be reversed. Thus, it is possible and even probable that **עַפְלָ** had connoted the genital area and was therefore replaced by the more neutral **טְחֹרִים**. This conclusion is supported by Arabic, where the cognate words ‘*afī* and ‘*afal* denote ‘the layer of subcutaneous fat around the testicles, perinaeum, wild growth of tissue in the vulva, thickening of flesh in the anus’.<sup>80</sup>

76. *Qere* **בְּטְחֹרִים**

77. Wilkinson 1977, 138; HALOT, s.v. **עַפְלָ** II.

78. Lexica usually distinguish the homonyms **עַפְלָ** ‘boil’ and **עַפְלָ** ‘hill’ by listing them as **עַפְלָ** I and **עַפְלָ** II. See, e.g., HALOT and DCH, s.v. **עַפְלָ** I/II.

79. Cf. The Talmud, which lists impolite words that were substituted by a more polite expression: ‘our Rabbis taught: Wherever an indelicate expression is written in the text, we substitute a more polite one in reading. [Thus for] ba‘apolim [we read] ba-tehorim (בְּטְחֹרִים)’ (t.Meg. 25b), transl. Epstein 1961; cf. Van Staaldoune-Sulman 2002, 243.

80. HALOT, s.v. **עַפְלָ**. Cf. also the Vulgate, which translates the words **בְּעַפְלִים** with the expression *in secretiori parte* in 5:6, 12

With the exception of 1 Sam 5:6, the Septuagint equivalent for עִפּוֹל is ἔδρα, literally ‘a sitting place’ or ‘a seat’ but used as a euphemism for the ‘buttocks’. Most commentators consider that the translator has read his *Vorlage* along the same lines as the *qere* reading, because ἔδρα is closely related to hemorrhoids. However, if one accepts the idea that indeed the word עִפּוֹל itself had connotations to the area of the anus, it may as well have been the word chosen for the *Vorlage* of ἔδρα. How, then, should one understand the translation of εἰς τὰς ναῦς for the expression בְּעִפּוֹלִים in the Masoretic text? Clearly, the ships are not a euphemism for עִפּוֹל. If the translator actually translated a Hebrew equivalent for ναῦς, candidates could include אֲנִיָּה, ‘a ship’, or the collective אֲנִי, ‘a fleet (of ships)’. Thus, the reverse translation of εἰς τὰς ναῦς could be either באניות or באני. However, both words, אֲנִיָּה and אֲנִי, can be vocalized differently in Hebrew, denoting ‘distress’ or ‘mourning’.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, I suggest that the translator of the Septuagint had a version of the text that read ויך אתם באני/באניות, meaning something like ‘he struck them with distress/-es’. Since the expected translation for the plural אֲנִיָּה in the Septuagint would have been a plural form of πλοῖον,<sup>82</sup> I consider the alternative באני more probable for the *Vorlage*. The reading באני in the Hebrew text could have arisen from a similar reason to the *qere* form—i.e., to replace a shameful expression with a polite one. The expression באני does not correspond with the semantic field of בעפלים but fits fully into the context when understood as ‘(struck) with distress’. The biggest problem of this solution is that no remnants of the reading באני have survived outside of the Septuagint, but it would at least sufficiently explain the origin of the odd translation εἰς τὰς ναῦς.

Let us then concentrate on the rest of the verse and its translation in the Septuagint. The following synoptic table presents the Masoretic and the Septuagint text along with a proposed *Vorlage* for the Septuagint:

81. Hebrew אֲנִיָּה = אֲנִי = אֲנִיָּה, ‘distress, mourning, weariness’, occurs in the Hebrew Bible 3 times (Gen 35:18; Deut 26:14; Hos 9:4; twice in conjectural emendation: Ezek 24:17, 22); אֲנִיָּה occurs twice (Is 29:2, Lam 2:5); cf. אָנָּה, ‘to mourn’.

82. The plural אֲנִיָּה is translated as πλοῖον 20 times and ναῦς 5 times, while the collective אֲנִי is translated as ναῦς 6 times and πλοῖον once.

MT	LXX	LXX <i>Vorlage</i> (proposed)
וַתִּכְבַּד יְדֵי־יְהוָה אֶל־הָאֲשֻׁדֵי־דָיִם וַיִּשְׁמַם וַיַּךְ אֶת־ם בְּעַפְלָיִם [בְּטַחְרִים] אֶת־אֲשֻׁדֹד וְאֶת־גְּבוּלֶיהָ	καὶ ἐβαρύνθη χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἄζωτον, καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐξέζεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἀνεφύησαν μύες, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει	ותכבד יד יהוה על אשדוד וישמם ויך אתם באני ובתוך גבוליה עלו עכברים ותהי מהומת מות גדולה בעיר

**Table 1.** Comparison of 1 Sam 5:6 in LXX, Its *Vorlage* and MT.

Instead of אֶל־הָאֲשֻׁדֵי־דָיִם, the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint possibly read על אשדוד (cf. several Masoretic manuscripts which also read the preposition על instead of אֶל). The translation καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς, ‘he set against them’, is explained by the possibility to read the unpunctuated letter ש as *sin*—not *šin*, as the Masoretic tradition does. The Septuagint translator did not read the word וישמם as a form of the root שׁמם, ‘to desolate’, but as a hiphil consecutive imperfect form of the root שׁים, ‘to set’, with an additional third person plural suffix—this would explain the extra pronoun αὐτοῖς in the Septuagint. The verb ἐκζέω, ‘to boil; to break out (in disease)’, does not correspond accurately to its Hebrew counterpart נכה, hiphil ‘to strike’. However, I do not see any reason to assume a different Hebrew source text but regard this an adaptive free translation to make the context (even slightly) sensible. The phrase καὶ μέσον is a Hebraistic expression and necessarily assumes the existence of ובתוך in the Hebrew *Vorlage*. The end of the verse (ἀνεφύησαν μύες, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει) constitutes a plus in comparison with the Masoretic text. The latter part of the plus is identical to v. 11 of both the Septuagint and the Masoretic text: ὅτι ἐγενήθη σύγχυσις θανάτου ἐν ὅλη τῇ πόλει – כִּי־הִיְתָה מְהוּמַת־מָוֶת בְּכָל־הָעִיר. The former part of the plus (ἀνεφύησαν μύες) introduces mice into the story. The Masoretic text does not mention mice until 1 Sam 6:4–5, where the guilt offering of the Philistines is described:

And they said, ‘What is the guilt offering that we shall return to him?’ They answered, ‘Five gold boils and *five gold mice*, according to the number of the lords of the Philistines; for the same plague was upon all of you and upon your lords. So you must make images of your tumors and *images of your mice* that ravage the land, and give glory to the God of Israel.’

Evidently, the nature of the guilt offering is inspired by the plague that troubled the Philistines. However, even the Masoretic text seems to assume that mice were part of the plague that encountered the Philistines, since they must make golden ‘images of mice that ravaged the land’. The problem is that, in the Masoretic text, the mice are not mentioned earlier in the description of the plague. In the Septuagint, on the other hand, the spawning of the mice is mentioned before the description of the guilt offering. Not only verse 5:6 has a plus concerning the mice; at the end of 1 Sam 6:1, too, there is a plus: καὶ ἐξέζεσεν ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν μύας, ‘and the land broke out with mice’. The possible explanations are 1) either one or both of the statements concerning the mice in 1 Sam 5:6; 6:1 are original parts of the story, since 1 Sam 6:4–5 assumes the existence of such mice, or 2) the Septuagint has expansions evidencing attempts to harmonize the earlier story with 1 Sam 6:4–5. In favour of the second alternative, it has been argued that mice are, even in antiquity, often associated with pestilence, so any earlier reference to mice before 6:4–5 is not needed.<sup>83</sup> However, the mice seem to form an essential part of the guilt offering, so it would be odd for them not to have been mentioned explicitly earlier.<sup>84</sup> The most compelling explanation for this is that the story was composed from two different stories, one with a plague of mice and the other with one of boils. Although that might be the case, such editorial work must have taken place earlier than our textual evidence, since all the witnesses include both mice and disease in the story. All in all, I am inclined to think that at least one of the earlier references to mice must be a primary reading.

Returning to 1 Sam 5:6, we have observed so far that 1) the first part of the verse is translated in the Septuagint, though the translation and source text of the Septuagint differ in some details from the Masoretic text, 2) the last part of the verse has a doublet in 1 Sam 5:11 and 3) the reference to mice might be an original part of the story.

P. Kyle McCarter has argued that the most original text in this verse is best represented by the Lucianic recension.<sup>85</sup> Compared with the critical text of the Septuagint (presented above), the Lucianic recension contains an even more detailed description:

καὶ ἐβαρύνθη ἡ χεὶρ Κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰαζωτον καὶ ἐβασάνιζε τοὺς ἀζωτίους καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἔδρας αὐτῶν τὴν Ἰαζωτον καὶ τὸ ὄριον αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μύας καὶ ἐξέβρασαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς μέσον τῆς χῶρας αὐτῶν ἀνεφύησαν μύες καὶ ἐγένετο σύγχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει

Part of this seems to correspond with the Masoretic text and part of it with the Septuagint. This becomes more apparent when the texts are compared synoptically:

83. Smith 1977, 41. Cf. McCarter 1980, 119; Wilkinson 1977, 139.

84. Cf. McCarter 1980, 119.

85. McCarter 1980, 119–20.

MT	LXX	LXX <i>Vorlage</i> (CS) <sup>86</sup>	LXX <sup>L</sup>	LXX <sup>L</sup> <i>Vorlage</i> (McCarter)
<p>וַתִּכְבַּד יְד־יְהוָה אֶל־הָאֲשֻׁדּוּדִים וַיִּשְׁמַם וַיַּךְ אֶת־ם בְּעַפְלִים אֶת־אֲשֻׁדּוּד וְאֶת־גְּבוּלֶיהָ</p>	<p>καὶ ἐβαρύνθη χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰαζωτον,  καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς  καὶ ἐξέξεσεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὰς ναῦς, καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς ἀνεφύησαν μύες, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει</p>	<p>וַתִּכְבַּד יְד־יְהוָה עַל אֲשֻׁדּוּד  וַיִּשְׁמַם  וַיַּךְ אֶת־ם בְּאֲנִי וּבַתּוֹךְ גְּבוּלֶיהָ עַל עַכְבְּרִים וַתְּהִי מֵהוּמַת מוֹת גְּדוּלָה בְּעִיר</p>	<p>καὶ ἐβαρύνθη ἡ χεὶρ Κυρίου ἐπὶ Ἰαζωτον καὶ ἐβασάνιζε τοὺς ἰαζωτίους καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἔδρας αὐτῶν τὴν Ἰαζωτον καὶ τὸ ὄριον αὐτῆς καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς μύας καὶ ἐξέβρασαν εἰς τὰς ναῦς αὐτῶν καὶ εἰς μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀνεφύησαν μύες καὶ ἐγένετο σύγχυσις θανάτου μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει</p>	<p>וַתִּכְבַּד יְד־יְהוָה עַל אֲשֻׁדּוּד וַיִּשְׁמַם אֶת הָאֲשֻׁדּוּדִים וַיַּךְ אֶת־ם בְּעַפְלִי(ה)ם אֶת אֲשֻׁדּוּד וְאֶת גְּבוּלֶיהָ וְעָלוּ עֲלֵיהֶם עַכְבְּרִים וַיִּשְׁרָצוּ בְּאֲנִיּוֹתָם וּבַתּוֹךְ אֶרְצָם עַל עַכְבְּרִים וַתְּהִי מֵהוּמַת מוֹת גְּדוּלָה בְּעִיר</p>

**Table 2.** Comparison of 1 Sam 5:6 in LXX, LXX<sup>L</sup>, Their *Vorlagen* and MT.

In my opinion, the Lucianic recension is more probably a conflation of the different readings than simply a more original one. After the opening phrase ‘and the hand of the Lord was heavy’, the first part of the Lucianic text (καὶ ἐβασάνιζε – καὶ τὸ ὄριον αὐτῆς) is evidently a more literal counterpart to the Masoretic text than the text that corresponds to the Masoretic text in the Septuagint (καὶ ἐπήγαγεν – καὶ μέσον τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς). It is a more literal translation, e.g., in that it employs

- the verbs βασανίζω and πατάσσω instead of ἐπαγω and ἐκζέω.
- the phrase εἰς τὰς ἔδρας αὐτῶν instead of εἰς τὰς ναῦς.
- the words τὴν Ἰαζωτον instead of καὶ μέσον.

As argued above, these differences result in part from the use of a different source text than that behind the Septuagint and in part from an adaptive approach to translation. Therefore, it is not surprising that this kind of Hebraizing tendency emerges.

86. McCarter’s (1980, 119) reverse translation of the Septuagint: ותכבד יד יהוה על אשדוד ויעל עליהם וישרץ להם באניות ובתוך ארץ עלו עכברים ותהי מהומת מות גדולה בעיר.

The last part of the Lucianic text (καὶ ἐπήγαγεν – μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει) is virtually the same text as the end of the verse in the Septuagint. I see no reason to assume a different source text behind the phrases ἐπ’ αὐτούς, μύας, καὶ ἐξέβρασσαν and αὐτῶν (after εἰς τὰς ναῦς). Rather, these emerge from Greek stylistic choices to make the story read more fluently. In particular, the phrase καὶ ἐπήγαγεν ἐπ’ αὐτούς evidently presupposes the Greek text καὶ ἐπήγαγεν αὐτοῖς (< וישם instead of וישם in MT) rather than a different Hebrew consonantal text (e.g., ועלו עליהם, as McCarter proposes). Furthermore, μύας is more probably an addition to make the missing object explicit than an indication of עכברים having been in the *Vorlage*.<sup>87</sup>

The most plausible explanation is, therefore, that the Lucianic recension represents a doublet, including the original Greek translation (καὶ ἐπήγαγεν – μεγάλη ἐν τῇ πόλει) and the translation which is corrected towards Masoretic type of the text (καὶ ἐβασάνιζε – καὶ τὸ ὄριον αὐτῆς). Interestingly, the other Septuagint manuscripts have included the first part of this doublet, the correction toward the Masoretic text, but misplaced it as a plus in 1 Sam 5:3: καὶ ἐβαρύνθη χεὶρ κυρίου ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀζωτίους καὶ ἐβασάνισεν αὐτούς καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτούς εἰς τὰς ἕδρας αὐτῶν, τὴν Ἀζωτον καὶ τὰ ὄρια αὐτῆς. McCarter considers the plus in verse v. 3 evidence for the primacy of the corresponding text in v. 6, but, in my opinion, the misplacement supports more the view that it is a later addition.

Having now addressed the wording of the original Greek and presented a possible Hebrew source text for it (see Table 1), there is still the matter of whether the plus in the Septuagint text of 1 Sam 5:6 is primary or secondary. As noted before, the Septuagint could be expansive here. Thus, the plus could be explained as a harmonization of the story with the additional reference to mice and as constituting a doublet in its anticipation of the statement on panic in v. 11. The possibility of omission should also be considered. Haplography does not completely explain the development from the source text of the Septuagint to the Masoretic text, but the words גדולה (> τῆς χώρας αὐτῆς) and גדולה (> μεγάλη) are similar enough to have caused a scribal error. After that kind of haplography, one need only to assume that the following word בעיר was omitted.<sup>88</sup> Furthermore, Josephus clearly mentions mice in when describing the plague that encountered Ashdod,<sup>89</sup> supporting the primacy of the reference to mice in verse 5:6.<sup>90</sup>

87. McCarter considers the omission of עכברים the result of haplography after עליהם, but this conclusion is valid only if one accepts that the *Vorlage* actually had עליהם (which I doubt).

88. Alternatively, one can assume that there was a different word order—e.g., עלו עכברים ותהי בעיר מהומת, גבולה מות גדולה (cf. the word order in 1 Sam 5:9: בְּעִיר מְהוּמָה גְדוֹלָה). Note also the resemblance of the words עכברים and בעיר, the similarity of which may have caused a misreading.

89. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.3.1–4.1: καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀζωτίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν φθορὰν τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόσον . . . τὰ δ’ ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μυῶν πλῆθος ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς κατέβλαψε μήτε φυτῶν μήτε καρπῶν ἀποσχόμενον, ‘At length God sent a very destructive disease upon the city and country of Ashdod . . . And as to the fruits of their country, a great multitude of mice arose out of the earth and hurt them, and spared neither the plants nor the fruits’ (trans. Whiston 1988).

90. Cf. McCarter 1980, 119.



translation καὶ ἐποίησαν in the Septuagint does not correspond semantically with the word רשת, it may well have been an attempt to translate the rarely attested root.<sup>92</sup> If this is the case, the pronoun ἑαυτοῖς would be an understandable translation for the Hebrew expression להם, and ἔδρας represents the systematic way to translate the word עפלים in the Septuagint. It is possible that the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint may have read extra גת/יגת, but, more likely, the phrase οἱ Γεθθαῖοι is just an addition by the translator to define the subject. This is useful, since, in the Septuagint way of understanding the text, the subject of the verb ἐποίησαν/וַיַּשְׂתֵּרוּ is different from that in the Masoretic text.

Whether the plus καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἔδρας αὐτῶν actually had a Hebrew counterpart or not, the phrase along with the phrase that follows it seem to be redundant. At least in the Hebrew, the phrase וַיַּךְ אֶתְכֶם בְּעַפְלֵיהֶם, which corresponds with the Septuagint plus, does not seem to fit the context. In the Septuagint, the plus could be understood as an attempt to make the story more sensible, since the phrase καὶ ἐποίησαν ἑαυτοῖς οἱ Γεθθαῖοι ἔδρας itself sounds a bit odd in the context—are the Gittites making backsides or seats, and why are they doing this?<sup>93</sup> Perhaps a scribe or editor of the text thought that, instead of the Gittites making ἔδρας, the text should be similar to many other passages in the story, thus the phrase καὶ ἐπάταξεν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰς ἔδρας αὐτῶν was added without deleting the peculiar phrase that followed it. The weakness of this solution is that no Greek manuscripts exists with a reading that leaves out the entire phrase.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, since this solution explains the different readings in a sensible way, I regard this as a better solution than to assume a Hebrew *Vorlage* of וַיַּךְ אֶתְכֶם בְּעַפְלֵיהֶם for the plus. There seems to be no other satisfying reason behind such a redundant phrase, since the following phrase and the whole context makes sense without it.

## 1 Sam 6:1

The beginning of the chapter 6 sums up the events described in the previous chapter; v. 1 in the Masoretic text reads as follows:

וַיְהִי אַרְבָּעֵי אֶשְׁרֵי הַיָּהוָה בְּשָׂדֵה פְּלִשְׁתִּים שִׁבְעָה חֳדָשִׁים׃

The ark of the Lord was in the country of the Philistines seven months.

The Septuagint has a plus at the end of the verse: καὶ ἐξέξεσεν ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν μύας. Besides 1 Sam 5:6, this is the only other case where the Septuagint refers to mice before the mention of

92. Cf. also the Vulgate, which uses another kind of semantically free equivalent—viz., *computresco*, ‘to putrefy, rot, become disgusting’.

93. Evidently, because of this ambiguity, some Greek manuscripts have added χρυσᾶς, ‘golden’, after the final ἔδρας to denote unambiguously that these gifts were physical things, though this word is not added until 1 Sam 6:4.

94. The Lucianic recension reads καὶ ἐπάταξεν τοὺς ἄνδρας τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ μικροῦ ἕως μεγάλου εἰς τὰς ἔδρας, but this seems to be an attempt to make the fuller Septuagint text more fluent (or toward the Masoretic text) by omitting redundant words.

their golden images (6:4–5). Although there is no need here for another such reference to make the story fluent, the plus is probably original, and the Masoretic text would then have resulted here, too, from the haplography עכברים – חדשים (see also p. 55)

### 1 Sam 6:4–5

As noted earlier, the Qumran manuscript has the same word (viz., ‘boil’) as the Masoretic text, albeit without the suffix, while the Septuagint does not have any corresponding word— i.e., עֲפְלִיכֶם M] [ל[י]ם Q; G *aliter* (this reading is listed on p. 61). In fact, the Septuagint formulates the description of the gifts in a notably different way:

MT	LXX
<p>וַיֹּאמְרוּ<sup>6:4</sup>  מִה הָאֲשָׁם  אֲשֶׁר נָשִׁיב לוֹ  וַיֹּאמְרוּ מִסְפַּר  סַרְנֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים  חֲמִשָּׁה עֲפְלֵי זָהָב  וְחֲמִשָּׁה עֲכָבְרֵי זָהָב  כִּי־מִגַּפָּה אֶחָת לְכֻלָּם  וּלְסַרְנֵיכֶם:  וַעֲשִׂיתֶם<sup>5</sup>  צַלְמֵי עֲפְלִיכֶם  וְצַלְמֵי עֲכָבְרֵיכֶם  הַמְשַׁחִיתִם אֶת־הָאָרֶץ</p>	<p><sup>6:4</sup>καὶ λέγουσιν  τί τὸ τῆς βασάνου  ἀποδώσομεν αὐτῇ;  καὶ εἶπαν Κατ’ ἀριθμὸν  τῶν σατραπῶν τῶν ἀλλοφύλων  πέντε ἔδρας χρυσᾶς,  ὅτι παῖσιμα ἐν ὑμῖν  καὶ τοῖς ἄρχουσιν ὑμῶν  καὶ τῷ λαῷ,  <sup>5</sup>καὶ μῦς χρυσοῦς  ὁμοίωμα τῶν μυῶν ὑμῶν  τῶν διαφθειρόντων τὴν γῆν·</p>
<p><sup>6:4</sup>And they said,  ‘What is the guilt offering  that we shall return to him?’  They answered, ‘According to the number  of the lords of the Philistines:  Five golden boils  and five golden mice,  for the same plague was upon all of you  and upon your lords.  <sup>5</sup>So you must make  images of your boils  and images of your mice,  which ravaged the land.</p>	<p><sup>6:4</sup>And they said,  ‘What is that something of the torment  that we shall return to him?’  They answered, ‘According to the number  of the lords of the Philistines:  Five golden seats  —for the same plague was upon you  and upon your lords  and upon the people—  <sup>5</sup>and a golden mouse,  an image of your mice,  which ravaged the land.</p>

**Table 4.** Comparison of 1 Sam 6:4–5 in LXX and MT. Highlighted text indicates that the reading is unique to either MT or LXX

The Masoretic text arranges the content as follows:

- answer to the question
  - five golden boils and five golden mice
- reason #1 for the gifts
  - the plague was brought upon all Philistine—i.e., the five Philistine cities
- exhortation to make gifts as guilt offerings
  - images of the boils and mice
- reason #2 for the gifts
  - they ravaged the land

The Septuagint arrangement is different:

- answer #1 to the question
  - five golden boils
- reason #2 for the gift
  - the disease was brought upon all the Philistine—i.e. the five Philistine cities
- answer #2 to the question
  - one golden mouse, an image of the mice
- reason #2 for the gift
  - they ravaged the land

The flow of the Septuagint seems to be more fluent, as it is symmetrical: the first reason (i.e., the number of the Philistine cities) is more naturally linked with the disease and the second reason (i.e., ravaging the land) with the mice. Furthermore, the Masoretic version repeats both the golden boils and the mice. The number of the golden mice (i.e., either one or five) depends on when they are first mentioned. If earlier in the story, as in Masoretic text, the number can be none other than five. If later, as in the Septuagint version, the number does not play a critical role. Thus, the development from the Septuagint version to that of the Masoretic text is perhaps easier to imagine—that is, if the Masoretic text version were more original, there is no evident reason why the number of golden mice would be changed when placing it earlier in the text. If, however, a golden mouse is introduced just after five golden boils are mentioned, the number is more likely to have been changed. This inclines me to consider the Septuagint version primary with regard to the reading עֲפֻלִיָּם M] העפ[ל'י]ם Q; G *aliter*.

## 2.1.2 M≠GQ<sup>a</sup> (124)

The Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agree against the Masoretic text in **124** cases.

In **39** cases, there is a *short quantitative change*; in **25** cases, there is a plus in Q<sup>a</sup> G, while, in **14** cases, there is a minus.

### *Pluses in Q<sup>a</sup> G*

1S1:24 מְאִיפָה M] pr ולחם Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἄρτοις)<sup>95</sup>

The passage describes the offerings which Hannah brings with her. Besides the mention of bull(s),<sup>96</sup> flour and wine, the Qumran manuscript and the Septuagint also include bread. At first glance, there is no evident reason behind either the addition or omission of ולחם, though its inclusion is surprising, since the term would fall into same category as flours. In any case, the bread is exceptional compared to the other presents, since, in each other case, the amount is also defined: *one* bull (M: *three* bulls), an *ephah* of flour and a *skin* of wine. These details point to the secondary nature of the plus ולחם. Indeed, the plus ולחם must be a nomistic addition, as suggested by Rofé to match this passage with Priestly law (Lev 23:15–21).<sup>97</sup>

1S2:2 מְאִיזְקָדוּשׁ M] pr כִּי Q<sup>a</sup> G (ὅτι)

According to Cross, it is not infrequent to add the conjunction כִּי before cola,<sup>98</sup> and, thus, the reading in Q<sup>a</sup> and G is probably secondary.

1S2:20 לְמָקוֹמוֹ M] pr הָאִישׁ Q<sup>a</sup> G (ὁ ἄνθρωπος)

The Masoretic text reads awkwardly, with a singular suffix attached to the indirect object, though the predicate verb is in plural: לְמָקוֹמוֹ, 'they went to *his* place'. The Qumran manuscript and the Septuagint read more coherently, with the verb in singular (וַיֵּלֶךְ), as is the case also at the beginning of the verse ('Eli blessed ... and went...'). Although the singular form of the verb seems to be primary, the defined subject הָאִישׁ is probably secondary.<sup>99</sup>

1S2:25 יְחַטָּא M] יחטא [חטוא Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἀμαρτάνων ἀμαρτη)

Although the word חטוא is visible in the Qumran scroll, it is highly probable that another verb form followed this infinitive absolute. Therefore, one can indeed consider [חטוא] as a plus, not an alternative reading for יְחַטָּא. Most probably, Q<sup>a</sup> had exactly the same reading as the source text of the Septuagint. In this case, the longer reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is original and was later shortened in M by haplography.<sup>100</sup>

95. Q<sup>a</sup> indeed reads {○○○○} ולחם, but the letters initially written after ולחם most probably resulted from ditto-graphy, which were then later erased by the scribe; see DJD XVII, 32.

96. 'Three-year-old bull' in Q<sup>a</sup> and G is the primary reading. M has 'three bulls'. See p. 6.

97. Rofé 1989, 253.

98. DJD XVII, 34.

99. Pace DJD XVII, 42.

100. DJD XVII, 43.

1S2:25 וּפְלִלוּ M] ל[ו] וּפְלִלוּ Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ προσεύξονται ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ)

In this case, either the plus לו could be the result of dittography, or the shorter reading the result of haplography. The verb פלל (piel/hithpael) usually takes the preposition ל to indicate ‘on whose behalf’ someone is arbitrator.<sup>101</sup> The object suffix used with the verb in the reading of M does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>102</sup> This leads to the conclusion that the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is original and was later shortened by haplography.<sup>103</sup> After the indirect object לו was omitted, the final letter was vocalised as an object suffix to make some sense of the incomplete clause (apparently needed to indicate on whose behalf someone is arbitrator).

1S2:27 בְּמִצְרַיִם M] רִים עֲבָדִים Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐν γῆ Αἰγύπτῳ δούλων)

The word עבדים is omitted in the Masoretic text by homoeoteleuton due to the similar endings דים- and רים-.<sup>104</sup> The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is primary.

1S2:32 זָקֵן M] לך זָקֵן Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἔσται σου)

The Septuagint and Qumran have the plus לך (σου) here. This may well be an addition for syntactic clarification, since there is no evident reason for it to have been omitted.

1S2:33 אֲנָשִׁים M] בַּחֶרֶב אֲנָשִׁים Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ ἀνδρῶν)

This text is hard to understand without בחרב, ‘by the sword (of men)’ (on differences in the preceding verb, יפולו or ימותו, see pp. 46). The best explanation for its omission is that the Masoretic text is defective and, thus, secondary, as argued in DJD.<sup>105</sup>

1S5:8 *fin* M] + תה]ג Q<sup>a</sup> G (εἰς Γεθθα)

This plus in the Septuagint and Qumran manuscript logically repeats the place to which the ark of God is brought, fitting the context. Although the sentence is understandable also without this plus, it seems more likely to be defective than intentionally elliptic. Thus, there is a slight preference for the primacy of the reading in Q<sup>a</sup> and G.

1S5:10 לָאֵמַר M] לָמָּה [מֹרֶ] Q<sup>a</sup> G (λέγοντες τί)

It is more probable that the interrogative למה was dropped out than for it to have been added to the story. This may well have happened by accident between לאמר and the word that begins with *he*.<sup>106</sup>

101. Cf. DJD XVII, 43.

102. A suffix is attached only in Job 42:10, but that indicates the subject of an *infinitivus constructus*.

103. Thus also in McCarter 1980, 82.

104. *Pace* DJD XVII, 43.

105. DJD XVII, 45.

106. DJD XVII, 52.

1S6:2 Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὸς ἱερεῖς καὶ τοὺς μάντεις καὶ τοὺς ἔπαιδοὺς) [לְכֹהֲנִים וְלִקְסָמִים M] וְלַמְעוֹנֵי [ני]ם

The Masoretic text lists only two groups: כְּהֵנִים, ‘the priests’, and קְסָמִים, ‘the diviners’. The Septuagint lists both of these (τὸς ἱερεῖς . . . τοὺς μάντεις), adding also τοὺς ἔπαιδοὺς, ‘the enchanters’. Since ἔπαιδος renders חֲרָטִים, more often than יִדְעָנִי, DJD reconstructs also וְלַחֲרָטִים in the *lacuna* before וְלַמְעוֹנֵי [ני]ם. However, equally well or even more likely is that ἔπαιδος simply translates וְלַמְעוֹנֵי [ני]ם, the root of both of indicates a verb of knowing (עִיד/וִידָע). In any case, it is evident that both the Septuagint and the Qumran text mention more groups than just ‘priests and diviners’.<sup>107</sup> Furthermore, it is likely that the short reading in the Masoretic text is primary and underwent expansion(s), and, thus, the extra detail about the groups in the Septuagint and Qumran scroll must be secondary.<sup>108</sup>

1S6:3 Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὴν κιβωτὸν διαθήκης κυρίου) [אֶת-אָרוֹן יְהוָה M]

The Septuagint and Qumran text have the plus ‘(of) covenant of the Lord’ following ‘the ark’. This was probably an addition to make the text richer and more vivid.

1S7:1 Q<sup>a</sup> G (Αμιναδαβ τὸν) [א] שֶׁר [א] אֲבִינְדָב M

The Qumran scroll has the plus שֶׁר [א]. The construction τὸν ἐν τῷ βουνῷ in the Septuagint, suggests that the source text used the relative pronoun (otherwise, the translation εἰς οἶκον Αμιναδαβ ἐν τῷ βουνῷ would be expected). There is no evident reason to add the pronoun, so the omission of the relative pronoun was probably the result of a scribal mistake. This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that, indeed, several Masoretic manuscripts and the Peshitta have the relative pronoun here. Thus, I regard the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G primary.

1S10:4 M [לְחֶם] [ת] נֹפֶת Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων)

The Masoretic text has שְׁתֵּי-לֶחֶם, ‘two loaves of bread’, while the Septuagint has the plus ἀπαρχὰς, ‘presents’ (δύο ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων). Evidently, ἀπαρχὰς can translate נֹפֶת [ת], found in the Qumran scroll.<sup>109</sup> However, one cannot be sure whether or not the Qumran text had the numeral שְׁתֵּי before that.<sup>110</sup> The phrase לֶחֶם / תִּנּוּפֹת / ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων does not appear elsewhere, but, in Lev 23:17, the noun לֶחֶם is associated with the word תִּנּוּפֹת. Thus, the primary reading is probably simply שְׁתֵּי-לֶחֶם and תִּנּוּפֹת an addition inspired by Lev 23:17.<sup>111</sup>

107. The Qumran scroll may have even more groups than does the Septuagint, but I do not include reconstructed variants in my analysis here.

108. Pace DJD XVII, 53.

109. Although the word ἀπαρχὰς, ‘first fruits’, usually translates Hebrew תְּרוּמָה, ‘offering’ (82 times; e.g. Ex 25:3; 2 Sam 1:21) or ראשית, ‘first(fruit)’ (38 times; e.g., Ex 23:19; 1 Sam 2:29 [Q<sup>a</sup> reads מראש]), it is probable that ἀπαρχὰς here translates תִּנּוּפֹת, since the semantic fields of תְּרוּמָה and תִּנּוּפֹת are similar. In addition, the noun לֶחֶם is associated with the word תִּנּוּפֹת once (Lev 23:17) but never with the word תְּרוּמָה. Thus, the simplest and most probable solution is that source text of the Septuagint is similar to Q<sup>a</sup>.

110. The Lucianic text has ἀπαρχὰς ἄρτων without the numeral, but it is too bold to state that the Qumran scroll here has a proto-Lucianic minus, as such an interpretation would depend on how the text is reconstructed. Cf. DJD XVII, 64.

111. Van Staaldoune-Sulman 2002, 277.

1S10:25 וַיִּלְכוּ אִישׁ M] אִישׁ Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἀπῆλθεν ἕκαστος)

The omission of וַיִּלְכוּ is best explained as the result of a scribal mistake. The graphically similar word כּוֹל/כּוֹל earlier in the verse may have influenced the omission.

1S10:26 בְּנֵי הַחַיִל M] בְּנֵי הַחַיִל Q<sup>a</sup> G (υἱοὶ δυνάμεων)

The expression בְּנֵי הַחַיִל is a Hebrew idiom literally meaning ‘brave men’,<sup>112</sup> while M has the collective noun הַחַיִל, ‘the army’. Either fits the context well. The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G should perhaps be considered primary, with the omission having resulted from a scribal mistake.<sup>113</sup>

1S15:27 וַיִּחַזַק מִי M] וַיִּחַזַק שְׂאוּל Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐκράτησεν Σαουλ)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint define the subject explicitly and thus remove the ambiguity as to whether Saul or Samuel was the one who laid hold of the garment.<sup>114</sup> The shorter reading of M is, thus, primary.

1S24:15 מִי אַתָּה] מִי אַתָּה M] יוֹצֵא Q<sup>a</sup> G (τίνος σὺ ἐκπορεύῃ)

In this verse, there are two questions which begin with מִי אַתָּה, ‘after whom’. In the latter question, all witnesses have אַתָּה as the subject, while, in the former question, M has the third person singular יוֹצֵא (the subject is then מִלְּךָ יִשְׂרָאֵל). The DJD considers the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G primary, since it is ‘stylistically desiderated’.<sup>115</sup> Although a deliberate change could have been made to improve the style, in this case, it is reasonable that the verbs in both questions were originally inflected in the same person. It is also noteworthy that the interrogative מִי ends and the verb יוֹצֵא begins with the same letter (sc., *yod*), which could have caused resulted in the accidental omission of an intervening word—though, in a typical parablepsis, one would have expected the letter *yod* to have been written only once.

1S25:11 לְגֹזְזֵי M] לְגֹזְזֵי צֹאֵן Q<sup>a</sup> G (τοῖς κείρουσίν μου, τὰ πρόβατα)

The DJD reconstructs the reading in agreement with the Masoretic text as לְגֹזְזֵי, since the ‘shorter reading of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> best fits the requirements of space and vertical alignment’.<sup>116</sup> However, the first visible letter after the *lacuna* is more likely *nun* than *zayin*. The letter clearly has a left vertical stroke visible at the bottom as *nun* regularly has in this hand, while *zayin* is more or less written with a vertical stroke (cf., e.g., the letters *nun* and *zayin* in the words נָזִיר and הַקְנִזִי in 1 Sam 1:22 and 30:29, respectively). Thus, the reconstruction לְגֹזְזֵי צֹאֵן would seem to be more plausible.<sup>117</sup> If the vertical alignment requires less text, there are two possibilities for haplography in the *lacuna*—namely, וַאֲתַּ מִימִי וַאֲתַּ → וַאֲתַּ or וַאֲתַּ מִימִי וַאֲתַּ → וַאֲתַּ. The expression גֹּזְזֵי צֹאֵן, ‘sheepshearers’, appears in Gen

112. Appears in Deut 3:18; Judg 18:2; 1 Sam 14:52; 18:17; 2 Sam 2:7; 13:28; 17:10; 1 Kgs 1:52; 2 Kgs 2:16; 1 Chr 5:18; 26:7, 9, 30, 32; 2 Chr 17:7; 26:17; 28:6; with an article (sc., בֶּן הַחַיִל) only in Judg 21:10.

113. According to McCarter (1980, 191), M omits בְּנֵי ‘after the somewhat similar sequence’ עַמִּי.

114. DJD XVII, 77.

115. DJD XVII, 85.

116. DJD XVII, 87.

117. Thus reconstructs also McCarter 1980, 393.

38:12, and the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> may well be primary. The reading of M would then have come into existence by a homoeoteleuton error.<sup>118</sup> The Septuagint translator interpreted the final *yod* in the word לַגֹּזִי as a first-person suffix, not as a marker of *status constructus*. It is also possible that the pronoun μου after τὰ πρόβατα is not included in the translation because of that misunderstanding. Another possibility is that the source text of the Septuagint already read simply צֹאן instead of צֹאנִי. In any case, I regard the omission of צֹאנִי a secondary reading.

1S27:10 אֶל M || מִי Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ἐπὶ τίνα)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint has the plus מִי (τίνα) in comparison with the Masoretic text. The original reading in this case is unquestionably מִי עַל, ‘against whom’, as can be observed from the answers that follows the verse. The reading in the Masoretic text emerged from several interrelated errors: first, the interchange of the prepositions אֶל and עַל, which is not infrequent (see, e.g., the answers in latter part of the verse). Then, when the interrogative מִי was dropped out, the preposition אֶל was interpreted as a negation אַל to make sense of the clause.<sup>119</sup>

2S2:15 לְבָנֵי בְנִימִן M || לְבָנֵי בְנִימִן Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῶν παίδων Βενιαμιν)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint represent the primary reading, shortened in the Masoretic text by a haplography of the letters בְּנִי.<sup>120</sup>

2S3:8 וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ M || וַיֹּאמֶר לוֹ Q<sup>a</sup> G (πρὸς αὐτόν)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint define the indirect object, so the shorter reading in the Masoretic text is to be preferred.<sup>121</sup>

2S4:1 בֶּן־שָׂאוּל M || בֶּן־שָׂאוּל Q<sup>a</sup> G (Μεμφιβοσθε υἱὸς Σαουλ)

According to the DJD, the name מְפִיבֶשֶׁת is a mistake for אִישׁ בֶּשֶׁת.<sup>122</sup> The Septuagint several times translates Μεμφιβοσθε for אִישׁ־בֶּשֶׁת in the Masoretic text.<sup>123</sup> The form מְפִיבֶשֶׁת in this verse and 2 Sam 4:12 suggests that the erroneous form already existed in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. The DJD suggests that the Masoretic text omits the name to avoid the erroneous form.<sup>124</sup> However, since the Masoretic text represents the proper form of the name elsewhere, there is no reason to assume that the Masoretic text would have had the form מְפִיבֶשֶׁת in this verse. מְפִיבֶשֶׁת could be interpreted as a secondary addition in Q<sup>a</sup> and G, specifying the expression בֶּן־שָׂאוּל. The verse does indeed seem to need such a specification (otherwise, the subject of the sentence is left unclear; cf. also v. 4, where the

118. McCarter 1980, 393.

119. Cf. DJD XVII, 94.

120. DJD XVII, 105

121. DJD XVII, 110.

122. DJD XVII, 116.

123. 2 Sam 3:8, 14, 15; 4:8, 12. For the translation Ιεβοσθε in the Septuagint, see 2 Sam 2:8, 10, 12, 15.

124. DJD XVII, 116. See also Driver 1913, 252; Cross 1995, 140n3; Ulrich 1978, 42–45.

subject of the sentence is defined as Saul's son Jonathan). The primary reading is probably **לְאִישׁ בִּשְׁת בֶּן שָׂאוּל**, away from which both M and Q<sup>a</sup> and G developed separately.

2S4:2 **בֶּן־שָׂאוּל** M || **בֶּן שָׂאוּל** Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῶ Μεμφιβοσθε σὶῶ Σαουλ)

The syntax of the clause requires the preposition **לְ**. The best explanation for its absence is that the preposition dropped out when the name **מִפִּיבֶשֶׁת** was omitted. Thus, the primary reading is probably **לְאִישׁ בִּשְׁת בֶּן שָׂאוּל** (see also, the previous case 1 Sam 4:1).<sup>125</sup>

2S6:6 **יָדוֹ** M || **יָדוֹ [אֵת] עֲזָא** Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ὀζα τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ)

In the Qumran scroll and in the Septuagint, Uzzah is said to stretch his hand out towards the ark. In fact, the Vulgate, the Peshitta and the Targum also agree with this reading. Only the Masoretic text leaves out the object 'his hand'. Considering the evidence of the other witnesses along with the obscurity of the Masoretic text, the longer reading should be considered primary. The reading of M was probably caused by a haplography, a scribe having skipped from one *aleph* to another (**אֵת יָדוֹ אֵל** → **אֵל**).<sup>126</sup>

#### *Minuses in Q<sup>a</sup> G*

1S1:13 **וְחִנָּה הִיא** M || **וְהִיא** Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ αὐτή).

The Masoretic text is probably secondary, defining the subject.<sup>127</sup>

1S2:17 **נְאֻצוּ הַיְּאֻנָּשִׁים** M || **נְאֻצוּ** Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἠθέτουσ).

The Masoretic text defines the subject of the verb **נְאֻצוּ** as 'the men', **הַיְּאֻנָּשִׁים**, but this does not clarify the meaning of the passage. Evidently, the subject should be the same as 'the young men', **הַנְּעָרִים** (i.e., the sons of Eli), mentioned at the beginning of the verse. Concerning the primary reading, either the word **הַיְּאֻנָּשִׁים** is original and omitted to make the verse more fluent, or—more likely—the shorter version is indeed original and, for some reason, the word **הַיְּאֻנָּשִׁים** was added erroneously.<sup>128</sup>

1S2:22 **אֵת כָּל־אֲשֶׁר** M || **[אֵת] אֲשֶׁר** Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἄ).

The word **כָּל** could have been omitted accidentally, though there is no evident reason for haplography. More likely, in this case, it was added to the text to make the story more vivid.

1S2:30 **אָמַר אֶמְרָתִי** M || **אָמַרְתִּי** Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ἐῖπα).

The reading in the Qumran and in the Septuagint is shortened by haplography.<sup>129</sup>

125. DJD XVII, 116.

126. Cf. DJD XVII, 127.

127. DJD XVII, 29.

128. Cf. DJD 42.

129. DJD XVII, 44.

1S6:20 יהוה יהוה האלהים M || יהוה Q<sup>a</sup> G (κυρίου).

The Greek evidence is divided here: the majority of the manuscripts have κυρίου, mss A O 127 d t z 554 read κυρίου (τοῦ) θεοῦ, while manuscripts B 121 do not have either of these epithets. The DJD considers the reading in the Qumran scroll to be a proto-Lucianic plus compared to the original *lectio brevior*, attested by B in the Septuagint.<sup>130</sup> More likely, the Old Greek reading was the same as the majority reading κυρίου, and the shorter reading in B and 121 was perhaps caused by haplography (κυρίου του αγίου → του αγίου).<sup>131</sup> The *Vorlage* of the Septuagint would then agree with the Qumran scroll. Considering the Hebrew readings, the shorter one is more probably the original reading.

1S15:31 וישתחו וישתחו וישתחו ליהוה M || וישתחו ליהוה Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ προσεκύνησεν τῷ κυρίῳ).

The Masoretic text defines the subject, thus probably making it secondary.<sup>132</sup>

1S24:20 עשיתה לי M || עשיתה Q<sup>a</sup> G (πεποίηκας).

In this verse, there are also differences in word order (see p. 52). Furthermore, the Masoretic text defines the indirect object. Thus, the shorter reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is likely primary.<sup>133</sup>

1S26:12 כלם בי כלם M || כלם Q<sup>a</sup> G (πάντες).

In this case, M has the conjunction **בִּי**, while G and Q<sup>a</sup> do not have a corresponding word. According to DJD XVII, the conjunction **בִּי** here anticipates the following **בִּי** in the next clause.<sup>134</sup> This is reasonable, since the text is more fluent with only one **בִּי** clause.

2S3:3 אשת נבל הכרמלי M || אשת נבל הכרמלית Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῆς Καρμηλίας).

The plus **אֵשֶׁת נָבַל**, ‘the wife of Nabal’, is probably an explicating gloss (cf. 1 Sam 27:3, 30:5; 2 Sam 2:2) and, thus, secondary.<sup>135</sup>

2S3:36 העם טוב M || העם Q<sup>a</sup> G (τοῦ λαοῦ).

The plus **טוֹב** is probably an addition inspired by the expression **וַיֵּיטֵב**, at beginning of the verse, as pointed out in DJD.<sup>136</sup>

2S4:2 גודים היו M || גודים Q<sup>a</sup> G (συστρεμμάτων).

The Masoretic text has the verb ‘to be’ instead of the nominal clauses of the Qumran text and the Septuagint. Syntactically, both options are equally possible, so it is impossible to decide which of the readings is primary.

130. DJD XVII, 56.

131. The reading κυρίου is also considered to be the Old Greek reading in the Septuagint editions of Rahfls and Aejmelaeus.

132. DJD XVII, 78.

133. DJD XVII, 85.

134. DJD XVII, 91.

135. DJD XVII, 109.

136. DJD XVII, 116.

2S5:8 יגע M|| יגע Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἀπτέσθω)

The only difference here is whether to read the conjunction ו or not. This difference can be explained as either haplography or dittography, since the letters *waw* and *yod* are often indistinguishable in the manuscripts.

2S5:10 ויהוה צבאות M|| ויהוה צבאות Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ κύριος παντοκράτωρ)

Since the expression יהוה צבאות tends to replace the more primitive form יהוה צבאות,<sup>137</sup> the shorter reading is more likely to be primary in this case.

2S7:23 ולעשות להם M|| ולעשות להם Q<sup>a</sup> G (τοῦ ποιῆσαι)

Before this, the Masoretic text has ולעשות להם הגדולות והנוראות לארצך לפני עמך, ‘doing for them great and terrible things for your land before your people’. The phrase seems odd, with two indirect objects governed by the preposition ל (‘for them’; ‘for your land’). Most likely, the word לארצך is corrupted from לגרשך (cf. τοῦ ἐκβαλεῖν σε in G and לגרש in 1 Chr 17:21). In any case, להם is probably an explicating addition to indicate for whom God does great and terrible things.

*A long quantitative change* is found in 6 cases, of which Q<sup>a</sup> and G have a plus in 4 cases and a minus in 2 cases.

#### *Long pluses in Q<sup>a</sup> G*

1S1:24 – M|| את הזבח אשר Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὴν θυσίαν, ἦν)

The few recognisable words את הזבח אשר suggest that the Qumran scroll had a plus of similar length to the Septuagint. The expression והנער נער, ‘the young man was a young man’, in the Masoretic text is peculiar.<sup>138</sup> The simplest solution for this peculiar reading is that it is the remnant of a longer original text;<sup>139</sup> the scribe would have skipped from the one נער to another נער. The longer text of the Septuagint has τὸ παιδάριον μετ’ αὐτῶν. 25 καὶ προσήγαγον ἐνώπιον κυρίου, καὶ ἔσφαξεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας τῷ κυρίῳ, καὶ προσήγαγεν τὸ παιδάριον. The DJD does not reconstruct an equivalent for the last clause of the plus (καὶ προσήγαγεν τὸ παιδάριον), but instead notes *vacat*.<sup>140</sup> In any case, Q<sup>a</sup> and G had a longer text that is primary with respect to M.

1S2:9 מִי־לֹא M|| pr ויברך שנות צדיק Q<sup>a</sup> G (διδουὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου)

Both the Q<sup>a</sup> and G share the text which is a plus compared to the M. What precedes מִי־לֹא in M (2:8b–9a: בְּחֻשֶׁךָ – מִי) is lacking in G. Interestingly, Q<sup>a</sup> has both readings. It is argued that the combination in Q<sup>a</sup> would have been the original, from which the readings in M and G

137. DJD XVII, 122.

138. On this puzzling reading, see further Aejmelaeus 2012, 6–7.

139. Thus in Aejmelaeus 2012, 6–7; McCarter 1980, 56–57; DJD XVII, 35.

140. DJD XVII, 35.

emerged.<sup>141</sup> However, this solution is improbable, since there are no evident reasons behind these omissions.<sup>142</sup> Instead, M seems to supply an alternative to the original reading of G; for some reason, Q<sup>a</sup> conflates these two readings.<sup>143</sup>

1S2:10 מְעוֹ M] pr מְשׁוֹ]טַט ... ולעשו[תּוֹל[ה]ל[ל] Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ... καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα)

In this verse, the Septuagint has a lengthy plus that resembles Jer 9:22–23. The few visible letters confirm that the Qumran scroll also had a similar text. Whether or not the plus is directly dependent on Jer 9, it is clear that the plus is an addition that summarises Hannah’s Song. Its placement in the middle of the final stanza in the song also supports its secondary nature.<sup>144</sup>

2S8:7 גַּם] אֹתָם ל[קח – ב]עֲלוֹתוֹ אֶל יְרוּשָׁלַיִם] בִּימֵי רַחֲבֵעַם בֶּן + מ] יְרוּשָׁלַם Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἔλαβεν αὐτὰ – ἐν τῷ ἀναβῆναι αὐτὸν εἰς Ἱερουσαλημ ἐν ἡμέραις Ροβοαμ υἱοῦ Σολομῶντος)

This plus is missing in M and its affiliates, the Targum, the Peshitta and the Vulgate. In addition to Q<sup>a</sup> and G, Josephus (Ant 7.105) clearly knew of the passage. The Masoretic text could have been the result of haplography *ירושלם – שלומה*, which resemble each other enough to have caused the error. However, the mention of the King of Egypt taking away the golden shields in the context of David’s victories in 2 Sam 8 seems disjointed. A plausible explanation is thus that the plus in Q<sup>a</sup> and G is the result of a gloss based on 1 Kgs 14:25–26.<sup>145</sup>

#### *Long minus in Q<sup>a</sup> G*

1S6:4 מְשָׁה עֲפָלִי זֶהב M] וְחַמְשָׁה עֲפָלִי זֶהב וְחַמְשָׁה עֲכָבְרִי זֶהב Q<sup>a</sup> G (πέντε ἔδρας χρυσᾶς)

Above (p. 30), I have argued that the reading of G and Q<sup>a</sup> here is more original.

2S6:3–4 מ] אֶת־הָעֲגָלָה הַדְּשָׁה: וַיִּשְׂאֶהוּ מִבֵּית אַבְיָנָדָב אֲשֶׁר בַּגְּבָעָה Q<sup>a</sup> G [ת]אֵ [העגלה] (τὴν ἄμαξαν).

This case could be the result of a homoeoteleuton error in Q<sup>a</sup> and G, but, because exactly the same wording of the plus from *עגלה* to *בגבעה* is found earlier in the verse, it is more likely that there was a dittography of several words in M (i.e., it is unnecessary to repeat that the wheels were new or that the house was built on the hill).<sup>146</sup>

141. Thus suggests McCarter 1980, 69–70.

142. It is unlikely that ‘both M and G would have dropped out part of the text’, as Aejmelaeus (2008) argues.

143. Aejmelaeus 2008. *Contra* Lewis (1994, 38–39) and Stobe (1973, 101–2), who consider the reading in G to be a secondary addition after the text in M was dropped out. However, their views do not sufficiently explain the reading of Q<sup>a</sup>.

144. Aejmelaeus 2008.

145. See McCarter, 1984, 244; Ulrich 1978, 45–49.

146. *Pace* DJD XVII, 126.

In 27 cases, there is a change in the morphology.

1S1:24 מְשַׁלֵּשׁ M || משלש Q<sup>a</sup> G (τριερίζοντι)

The Septuagint correctly translates the rare pual מְשַׁלֵּשׁ<sup>147</sup> with τριερίζοντι, while in the Masoretic text the original reading is replaced by a more common derivation of the same root, שְׁלֹשָׁה, ‘three’.<sup>148</sup>

1S1:25 וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ M || וישחט[וי] Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἔσφαξεν)

The Greek text has the lengthy plus at the beginning of the verse καὶ προσήγαγον ἐνώπιον κυρίου, καὶ ἔσφαξεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας τῷ κυρίῳ καὶ προσήγαγεν τὸ παιδάριον. In this context, it is natural that the story would continue with the third person singular ἔσφαξεν (Eli as the subject). The Masoretic text has suffered a long haplography, which resulted in the peculiar reading וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ (see p. 38). Furthermore, the haplography probably influenced the change from third person singular to third person plural and thus included also Eli into the story (the previous predicate verb in the Masoretic text is feminine וַתִּבְרָאָהּ). Indeed, the Lucianic text (καὶ ἔσφαξαν) agrees with the Masoretic text, but the resemblance is probably superfluous. The verb ἔσφαξαν is probably changed to plural (also Mss 245 554), because the previous verb in the Lucianic text, προσήγαγον, is also in plural (also Mss A CI d<sup>68\*</sup> (125) s<sup>-64\*</sup>). In any case, the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is primary.

1S2:4 חַתִּים M || חתה Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἠσθένησεν)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint have the word in singular, while the Masoretic text has it in plural. The feminine singular חתה would be in agreement with the subject of the clause, if that were vocalised קֶשֶׁת as in the Masoretic text. However, the plural חַתִּים may well have been the original reading. It is probable, then, that קֶשֶׁת was originally intended to read as the rare plural form קֶשֶׁת, ‘bows’, but was confused later with the more common (singular) קֶשֶׁת, ‘bow’.<sup>149</sup> Thus, changing the original plural חַתִּים into singular חתה was a later attempt to harmonize the text.

1S2:10 יַחַתּוּ M || יחת<sup>ו</sup> Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἀσθενῆ ποιήσει)

The Qumran scroll and the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had the verb in singular (hiphil) as well as the phrase יהוה יחת מריבו, ‘The Lord shatters his adversary’. In the Masoretic text, the verb is in plural (niphil), and the phrase is interpreted differently יהוה יחתו מריבו,<sup>150</sup> ‘as for the Lord, his adversaries are shattered’. The reading of M is *lectio difficilior* but probably still secondary. That is, the context suggests that the personal suffix in מריבו refers to the subject

147. The parallel case for this kind of usage of pu שלש, is Gen 15:9.

148. Note that the letter *mem* in the original reading משלש is combined with the preceding word forming the plural בכפרים in M (vs. singular בפר in G).

149. See Dahood 1965; McCarter 1980, 69. Cf. DJD XVII, 34.

150. The *qere* reading has the adversaries in plural, מריבו, while *ketiv* has the word in singular מריבו. The number of the word seems to be dependent on whether the verb is understood as niphil plural (requires the subject מריבו in plural) or hiphil singular (either singular מריבו or plural מריבו acceptable).

of the previous stanza (‘for not by strength shall anyone [אִישׁ] prevail’)<sup>151</sup> rather than to Yahweh’s enemies—thus according to the Masoretic text. The song as a whole is about how God protects the humble and the faithful.

1S2:10 יִרְעַם M || וִירְעַם Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐβρόντησεν)

McCarter suggests that the surrounding text was originally *עלי בשמים ירעם*, ‘the Most High will thunder in the Heavens.’ In the Masoretic text, the proper noun *עלי* was corrupted to *עלו* and interpreted as a suffixed preposition *עליו*, ‘against it’. The text of the Septuagint, κύριος ἀνέβη εἰς οὐρανούς καὶ ἐβρόντησεν, suggests that, in its source text, *עלי* was misread as the verb *עלה*, which caused a conjunction to be attached to the following verb, forming the consecutive imperfect *וירעם* (perhaps the subject ‘Yahweh’ was also added). The reading in the Qumran scroll shows that Q<sup>a</sup> G share the same secondary reading.<sup>152</sup>

1S2:20 וְאָמַר M || לֵאמֹר Q<sup>a</sup> G (λέγων)

The Qumran text and the Septuagint understood the verb as an infinitive construct, while the Masoretic text has it in the third person singular perfect (with a conjunction attached). In this case, it is impossible to determine which of the readings is primary.

1S2:20 וְהֵלְכוּ M || וַיֵּלֶךְ Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἀπῆλθεν)

The original text was probably something like *וילך למקמו*, ‘he went to his place’. The person was then changed to plural, as witnessed by some Hebrew manuscripts, the Peshitta and the Targum: *וילכו למקמם*, ‘they went to their place’. This change was evidently made because of the context (i.e., both Elkanah and Hannah went). Finally, the reading *והֵלְכוּ לְמִקְמוֹ*, ‘they went to his places’, in the Masoretic text is a combination of these readings. Also, the plus *האיש* (ὁ ἄνθρωπος) after the verb *וילך* in Q<sup>a</sup> and in G was a secondary addition.<sup>153</sup>

1S2:29 תִּבְעֵטוּ M || תִּבִּיט Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐπέβλεψας)

The Masoretic text is corrupted here. The original text had the idiomatic expression *ולמה עין צרת עין ... תביט*, ‘why do you look upon ... with a selfish eye’, as Cross argues.<sup>154</sup> In addition, the corruption in the predicate verb triggered several other corruptions in the Masoretic text: *צרת* → *צויתי* (*resh* read as *waw*), *עין* → *מעון* (*yod* read as *waw*).

1S2:32 בְּבֵיתִי M || בְּבֵיתִי Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐν οἴκῳ μου)

The Masoretic text has *בְּבֵיתִי זֶקֶן בְּבֵיתִי*, ‘and there shall not be an old man in *your* house [i.e., Eli’s family]’, while, in the Qumran text and in the Septuagint, ‘the house’ must be understood as the temple: *ולוא יהיה לך זקן בביתי*, ‘there shall not be *for you* an old man in *my* house [i.e., in Yahweh’s temple]’. Probably, the original reading was *בביתי*; the passage was intended to mean that no old man among Eli’s descendants would serve in the temple, a

151. Aejmelaeus 2008; McCarter 1980, 73.

152. McCarter 1980, 70–71.

153. DJD XVII, 42; McCarter 1980, 80.

154. See DJD XVII, 43; McCarter 1980, 87.

sentiment also in harmony with the following verse (‘one man I shall not cut from *my altar* [מִזְבֵּחַי]). The emergence of the secondary reading בביתך was influenced by similar wording in the surrounding verses, where the word indeed denotes the ‘family of Eli’ (vv. 30, 33).<sup>155</sup>

1S2:33 עֵינָיו M|| עֵינִי Q<sup>a</sup> G (τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς αὐτοῦ)

The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is probably primary, referring to the priest that will be spared (viz., Abiathar). Then, context influenced the modification of the verb to have the second-person suffix (viz., Eli).<sup>156</sup>

1S2:36 וְאָמַר M|| לְאָמֹר Q<sup>a</sup> G (λέγων)

Both readings are acceptable, so either could be primary.

1S5:10 הִסְבּוּ M|| הִסְבוֹתָם Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἀπεστρέψατε)

The reading הִסְבּוּ in the Masoretic text is probably derived from v. 9 and is thus secondary. Note that the Masoretic text has also omitted the interrogative לְמָה before the verb, probably due to a *homoearchon* error.<sup>157</sup>

1S8:17 וְצִאֲנַכֶּם M|| וְצִאֲנַכֶּם Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ τὰ ποίμνια)

The conjunction ו is expected here, since the term צִאֲנַכֶּם continues the list that began in the previous verse.<sup>158</sup> Apparently, in the Masoretic text, the letter *waw* dropped out because of haplography (the previous word לְמַלְאכְתּוֹ ends with the letter *waw*).

1S10:5 וְיִהִי M|| וְיִהִי Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἔσται)

The jussive form וְיִהִי does not fit the context and evidently resulted from a mistake.<sup>159</sup>

1S14:29 מִעַט דְּבַשׁ הִזָּה M|| מִעַט דְּבַשׁ הִזָּה Q<sup>a</sup> G (βραχὺ τοῦ μέλιτος τούτου)

The word דְּבַשׁ, ‘honey’, requires an article in this context, since it is followed by the pronoun הִזָּה. The omission of the article in the Masoretic text is evidently a scribal error.<sup>160</sup>

1S14:30 רַבָּתָהּ מִכָּה M|| רַבָּהּ הַמִּכָּה Q<sup>a</sup> G (μείζων ἤν ἢ πλεονέχεια)

The form הַמִּכָּה, ‘the slaughter’, is grammatically correct (referring to a certain event, not as a general phenomenon). The reading of M was apparently caused by mistaken word division (*he* was attached to word רַבָּה) and a confusion of the letters *he* and *taw*.<sup>161</sup>

155. *Contra* McCarter (1980, 88–89), who considers בביתך primary in 2:32.

156. McCarter 1980, 88–89.

157. DJD XVII, 52.

158. It is possible to interpret that וְצִאֲנַכֶּם as beginning a new sentence, but, as McCarter (1980, 155) points out, it ‘stands in awkward isolation’. Note that also the Peshitta also reads the conjunction: ܘܘܨܝܢܝܗܘܢ.

159. DJD XVII, 65; Driver 1913, 80–81.

160. Cf. DJD XVII, 74.

161. DJD XVII, 74.

1S14:31 ויִכּוּ M] ויך Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐπάταξεν)

The third-person singular subject (referring either to the people or to Saul) is perhaps more difficult to understand, and the plural (referring Israelites generally) might just be a correction to make the text more readable. An alternative explanation is that the singular number resulted from an assimilation with the surrounding context, whereby ‘the people’ constitutes the subject.<sup>162</sup>

1S14:47 ובמלך צובה M] ובמלכי צובה Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ εἰς βασιλέα Σουβα)

The curious plural expression מַלְכֵי צוּבָה, ‘kings of Susa’, does not appear elsewhere. The singular form in Q<sup>a</sup> and G is apparently the correct and primary reading (cf. 2 Sam 8:3, 5, 12; 1 Kgs 11:23; 1 Chr 18:3, 5, 9).

1S14:48 שׂסִיּוֹ M] שׂסִיּוֹ Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῶν καταπατούντων αὐτόν)

M has the word ‘plunderer’ in singular, while Q<sup>a</sup> and G employ the plural form. The primary reading is probably plural but was later shortened to singular or misspelled then interpreted as singular.<sup>163</sup>

1S25:27 וְנָתַתָּה M] וְנָתַתָּה Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ δώσεις)

In this verse, the Septuagint uses imperfects λαβὲ ... καὶ δώσεις, ‘take ... and give’. In the Masoretic text, the first verb is missing, and the second one has a passive sense (niphāl) וְנָתַתָּה, ‘let it be given’. Although the first verb is not preserved in the Qumran, it probably agreed with the Septuagint וְנָתַתָּה ... קח]. The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is more straightforward than the reading of M. It is possible that the use of direct imperatives in reference to the king was considered inappropriate, and the second-person consecutive perfect verb form (with an imperative meaning) was thus changed to the more neutral niphāl third-person form. The imperfect קח was perhaps omitted together with the change of the verb נָתַן or even independently by a scribal error (the previous word also ends in ה). However, since the first verb form in Q<sup>a</sup> is not preserved, it is difficult to prove this claim.

1S26:22 הַנֶּה חַנְיָה הַמֶּלֶךְ M] הַנֶּה חַנְיָה הַמֶּלֶךְ Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ἴδου τὸ δόρυ τοῦ βασιλέως)

The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G, ‘Behold, the spear of the king’, is probably original. The reading of M, ‘Behold, the spear, O king’, is artificial and probably caused by a dittography of the letter *he*. It is notable that the *qere* tradition also agrees with the Qumran scroll and the Septuagint.<sup>164</sup>

1S27:11 גַּת M] גַּתָּה Q<sup>a</sup> G (εἰς Γεθ)

The reading גַּתָּה with locative *he* is appropriate to the context and probably original.<sup>165</sup>

162. E.g., in 14:30, אָכַל הָעָם; later, also in verse 14:31, וַיַּעַף הָעָם.

163. Cf. DJD XVII, 75; McCarter, 254.

164. DJD XVII, 92.

165. DJD XVII, 95.

2S2:29 מְחַנְּמִים M] [מח]נימה Q<sup>a</sup> G (εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν)  
Also in this case, the reading with locative *he* is probably primary.

2S3:1 הַלְּכִים וְדָלִים M] [ל]הולך וְדָלִים Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐπορεύετο καὶ ἡσθένει)  
The DJD argues that הַלְּכִים וְדָלִים cannot be plural *ad sensum*, since the singular is used earlier in the verse.<sup>166</sup> However, in that case, the subject would simply be דוד, so singular is expected. Here, at any rate, the subject is בֵּית שָׁאוּל which can easily be understood as denoting Saul's (numerous) offspring. The question of the primacy of the readings is more complex. On the one hand, the change from singular to plural could have been motivated by the context, understanding בֵּית שָׁאוּל as plural *ad sensum*. On the other hand, the change from plural to singular may have been an adaptation to the surrounding singular forms (הַלְּךְ וְחָזַק).

2S3:27 חֲבֵרוֹן M] [חבר]ונה Q<sup>a</sup> G (εἰς Χεβρων)  
The reading of the Septuagint possibly reflects the original locative *he*, omitted in the Masoretic text (cf. discussion of 1 Sam 27:11; 2 Sam 2:29, above).

2S6:9 וַיֹּאמֶר M] [לא]מור Q<sup>a</sup> G (λέγων)  
Both readings are grammatically feasible. In this case, it is hard to argue which reading is primary.

2S6:16 וְהָיָה M] [ויהי] Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐγένετο)  
The consecutive imperfect is to be preferred in this context (past tense, not future). The reading וְהָיָה is a simple error (cf. also 1 Chr 15:29).

In 46 cases, there is *an interchange of a word*.

1S2:16 כָּאֲשֶׁר M] [מכול] אשר Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐκ πάντων, ὧν)  
The expression כָּאֲשֶׁר + אוה (piel/hithpael) does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible, making the reading of M suspicious. Rather, the construction כָּל אֲשֶׁר + אוה (piel/hithpael) appears several times.<sup>167</sup> This leads to the conclusion that the prefix כ- is just a remnant of the original expression מכול.

1S2:16 לוֹ M] [לא] Q<sup>a</sup> G (οὐχί)  
Besides Q<sup>a</sup> and G, several Hebrew manuscripts and the *qere* tradition also have the negative particle לֹא. Apparently, this is also the primary reading.<sup>168</sup>

166. DJD XVII, 109.

167. Deut. 14:26; 2 Sam 3:21; 1 Kgs 11:37; Eccl 6:2. Moreover, כָּל אֲשֶׁר + אוה (piel/hithpael) appears in Deut. 12:15, 20, 21; 18:6.

168. Driver 1913, 31–32. Thus also in DJD XVII, 42; McCarter 1980, 79.

1S2:20 ישׁם M|| ישלם Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ἀποτείσαι)

The original reading was most likely ישלם.<sup>169</sup> In the Masoretic text, the letter *lamed* dropped out, which caused a misinterpretation of ש as שׁ.

1S2:21 כִּי־פָקַד M|| ויפקד Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐπεσκέψατο)

The unvocalized readings are similar except for the first letter, either a *kaph* or a *waw*. Considering the context and the progression of the story, the use here of consecutive imperfect is natural and expected. It is the particle כִּי that is odd here.<sup>170</sup> Thus, most likely *waw* was corrupted to *kaph*, resulting in the secondary reading of M.

1S2:21 עִם־יְהוָה M|| לפני י]הוה Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐνώπιον κυρίου)

According to DJD, the secondary reading of M anticipates עִם־יְהוָה in v. 26.<sup>171</sup>

1S2:22 לְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל M|| לבני ישראל Q<sup>a</sup> G (τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραηλ)

The expression לְכָל must be a corruption from לבני—indeed, the sons of Eli did not do evil to *all* of Israel but to the Israelites generally. Furthermore, the letters *beth* and *kaph* could have been confused, and the wording כָּל־אֲשֶׁר in the same verse could have contributed to the corruption.

1S2:25 אֱלֹהִים M|| אל יהוה Q<sup>a</sup> G (πρὸς κύριον)

These readings are connected with the readings וּפְלָלוּ (M) and [ו]ל [ופללו] (Q<sup>a</sup> G) in the same clause, of which the latter is the more original, as argued in p. 32. Also, in this case, the reading of M must be secondary: after omitting לו and, therefore, interpreting *waw* as a suffix in the word וּפְלָלוּ, a subject is needed in the clause, so the original אל יהוה was misread as אלוהים. The reading אלוהים cannot be original, because it does not fit the original sentence לו ופללו (the preposition אל is also needed, to indicate to whom one prays).

1S2:29 לְהַבְרִיֶּךְ M|| להבריך Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐνευλογεῖσθαι)

Since the following word begins with the letter *mem*, the readings can partly have resulted from either haplography or dittography of that letter. Haplography is more likely here, since a second-person plural subject is given at the beginning of the verse. The omission of one *mem* caused also an omission of *aleph* in the same word to read the word as a verb, though this interpretation does not fit the context very well.<sup>172</sup>

169. DJD XVII, 42.

170. It could be understood as emphatic, but the construction would still be awkward.

171. DJD XVII, 42–43.

172. Likewise, the reading of M is considered primary in DJD XVII, 43. There is no need to conjecture that לְהַבְרִיֶּךְ was original, McCarter (1980, 87–88) does.

1S2:33 ימותו M || יפולו Q<sup>a</sup> G (πεσοῦνται)

The end of the verse, ימותו אנשים, in M is defective (see p. 32). It is probably a corrupted form of the end of the following verse, ימותו שניהם, which accidentally replaced the original יפולו בחרב אנשים (note the resemblance of אנשים and שניהם).<sup>173</sup>

1S3:4 יהוה אלהי-שמואל M || [יהוה] שמאל [שמואל] Q<sup>a</sup> G (κύριος Σαμουηλ Σαμουηλ)

In principle, the textual history could have proceeded from the reading אל שמואל to the reading שמואל שמואל or vice versa. However, it is more likely that the letters שמו were (accidentally) dropped out, resulting in the preposition אל rather than the opposite development. That is, if the scribe would have misread the text of M, אל שמואל, '(called) to Samuel', he would probably have ended up writing the name only once, not twice.

1S5:9 אתו M || גתה Q<sup>a</sup> G (πρὸς Γεθ / τοὺς Γεθθλαιους)<sup>174</sup>

This case has been understood as a proto-Lucianic reading.<sup>175</sup> However, πρὸς Γεθ / τοὺς Γεθθλαιους may well be the Old Greek reading, afterwards corrected toward M by omitting the phrase. After the omission, the preceding word αὐτήν coincidentally corresponded with the reading אתו, though τὸ μετελθεῖν αὐτήν was probably originally meant as a literal translation for סבו (cf. Q<sup>a</sup>), interpreted as an infinitive construct followed by a suffix. The reading of M אתו, for its part, is simply a corruption from גתה.<sup>176</sup>

1S6:3 ונודע M || נכפר Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐξιλασθήσεται)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint both have ונכפר here, a rare hithpael ('to be forgiven'), which makes perfect sense in context: 'you will be healed and forgiven'.<sup>177</sup> The Masoretic text has the clause as תִּרְפָּאוּ וְנִודַע לְכֶם, 'you will be healed, and it will be made known to you.' Interestingly, the Targum seems to support the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G: תַּתְּסוֹן וְיִתְרֹחַ לְכוֹן, 'you will be healed, and it will be relieved for you.' It is reasonable to conclude, then, that, since later redactions did not seem to understand the root, the rare נכפר in Q<sup>a</sup> and G had indeed been the original reading and was later replaced by another verb.

1S8:18 ביום ההוא M || [בימים] ההם Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐν ταῖς ἡμέραις ἐκείναις)

Singular ההוא may well be derived from the beginning of the verse, as argued in DJD.<sup>178</sup> Naturally, this reading is connected with the previous word, either ביום or בימים, which did not survive in the Qumran scroll.

1S9:18 את-שמואל M || [שמואל] ל[א] Q<sup>a</sup> G (πρὸς Σαμουηλ)

The verb נגד (qal) does not usually use the particle את to indicate whom someone

173. DJD XVII, 45.

174. The reading πρὸς Γεθ / τοὺς Γεθθλαιους is found in L 318 460 with minor variants: πρὸς τοὺς Γεθθλαιους L<sup>-19</sup> 318; πρὸς Γεθ 19; εἰς Γεθ 460.

175. For a discussion, see Kauhanen 2012, 172–73.

176. Aejmelaeus 2007a, 126n20.

177. The form appears elsewhere only in Deut 21:8.

178. DJD XVII, 59.

approaches.<sup>179</sup> There is only one similar construction, in 1 Sam 30:21, making this use of אָת with נגד (qal) suspicious. In addition, the Septuagint translates the word in 30:21 as ἔως while the Vulgate uses the preposition *ad* in both verses. Most likely, the original reading was אָל in both verses.<sup>180</sup>

1S9:18 אָתְּ הַשָּׂעָר M|| אֵר[הע Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῆς πόλεως)

The word אֵר might have derived from v. 14, where the expression בְּתוֹךְ הָעִיר also appears. The reading of M is more likely original.<sup>181</sup>

1S9:19 אָנֹכִי הָרְאָה M|| אָנֹכִי ה[וֹא Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ἐγώ εἰμι αὐτός)

The different readings possibly came into existence by a graphical mistake around the similar letters *waw* and *resh*. If this is the case, the development would have proceeded more likely from a more specific form (sc., הָרְאָה) to a more common and general one (sc., הוֹא). Another solution is that הָרְאָה is a reminiscence of the previous verse.

1S9:24 שִׁים M|| לְךָ שְׂמֹר־לְךָ Q<sup>a</sup> G (τέθειταί σοι)

The word שִׁים is probably derived from the previous verse and is thus secondary.<sup>182</sup>

1S10:25 לְבִיתוֹ M|| לְמַקְוֹמוֹ Q<sup>a</sup> G (εἰς τὸν τόπον αὐτοῦ)

The reading לְבִיתוֹ is probably contaminated by the following verse and is thus secondary.<sup>183</sup>

1S10:26 אֱלֹהִים M|| יְהוָה[ו] Q<sup>a</sup> G (κύριος)

The change between יְהוָה and אֱלֹהִים could have gone in either direction. In this case, it is not possible to decide on which represents the primary reading.

1S11:8 אֶלֶף M|| שְׁלֹשִׁים אֶלֶף Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἑβδομήκοντα)

The original number שְׁלֹשִׁים was changed to אֶלֶף, perhaps influenced by the number אֶלֶף earlier in the verse.

1S15:29 יִשְׁקֶר M|| יָשׁוּב Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἀποστρέψει)

The Masoretic text reads לֹא יִשְׁקֶר וְלֹא יִנָּחַם, ‘he (i.e., God) will not lie and will not change his mind’, while the first verb in the Qumran scroll and in the Septuagint is יָשׁוּב, ‘he will (not) turn’.<sup>184</sup> The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is probably primary, since it parallels the expression with the verb נָחַם (niphāl). The reading יִשְׁקֶר is probably a corrupted form of the original יָשׁוּב (*waw* misread as *resh*).

179. In the hiphil stem, the object indicates who is brought near someone.

180. Cf. HALOT, sv. נגשׁ.

181. Cf. DJD XVII, 62.

182. DJD XVII, 62.

183. DJD XVII, 67.

184. Vulgata: *non parceret et paenitudine non flectetur*, ‘will not act sparingly and will not be turned by repentance’.

1S17:4 שֵׁשׁ־מֵאוֹת M] מוֹת [א] אַרְבַּע Q<sup>a</sup> G (τεσσαράρων πήχεων)

The reading in the Masoretic text was possibly influenced by the expression שֵׁשׁ־מֵאוֹת in v. 7. In any case, it is improbable that anyone would have lowered the height of Goliath on purpose and thus diminished the glory of David. Thus, most likely the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is primary (see also, ch. 3).

1S22:10 בְּיְהוָה M] בְּאֱלֹהֵי Q<sup>a</sup> G (διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ)

The words יְהוָה and אֱלֹהֵי are commonly interchanged, so it is impossible to determine which represents the primary reading.

1S25:3 וְהוּא M] וְהָאִישׁ Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος)

The readings have two common letters, and, additionally, *waw* and *yod* can easily be confused. On one hand, the reading וְהָאִישׁ could be original, since it is more specific (a more general word would then have replaced it) and longer (one letter could easily have dropped out). On the other hand, the reading וְהוּא might equally well be derived from the beginning of the verse.

1S25:9 וַיִּגְוָחוּ M] וַיִּפְחֻ Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν)

The verb פָּחַח, ‘to be reckless’, is a rare word that appears in the Masoretic text only twice (Judg 9:4; Zeph 3:4; the noun פָּחַח is used in Gen 49:4). The equivalent ἀναπηδάω, ‘to leap up’, in the Septuagint is a feasible translation for Hebrew פָּחַח. In addition, the verb פָּחַח is clearly the original reading in 1 Sam 20:34, witnessed by Q<sup>b</sup> (וַיִּפְחֻ) and the Septuagint (καὶ ἀνεπήδησεν) but was replaced by the more common verb קוּם in M. Similarly here, the rare word is replaced by the more common verb גּוּחַ.<sup>185</sup>

1S27:10 אֶל M] עַל Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐπὶ)

The original text reads here מִי עַל, ‘against whom’. Interchange of the prepositions עַל and אֶל is frequent, so, after the interrogative מִי dropped out, the preposition אֶל was misread as אֶל.<sup>186</sup>

1S28:1 בְּמַחֲנֵה M] לְמַחֲנֵה Q<sup>a</sup> G (εἰς πόλεμον)

The basic meaning of the word מַחֲנֵה is ‘camp’, but, according to HALOT, it may have the meaning ‘army (outside of the camp)’ or ‘(battle) front’.<sup>187</sup> However, in some of these cases, the original reading could be מְלַחְמָה instead of מַחֲנֵה—e.g., in 1 Kgs 22:34 and 2 Chr 18:33, the Septuagint reads πόλεμος, an equivalent of מַחֲנֵה. In fact, the words מַחֲנֵה and מְלַחְמָה resemble each other enough that the change could have happened accidentally. The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> here shows that the interchange of ‘camp’ and ‘battle’ did not come about merely as the result of the translator. In addition to the Septuagint and Q<sup>a</sup>, Josephus (Ant 6.325) also agrees

185. McCarter 1980, 393. The reading וַיִּגְוָחוּ does not fit the context very well but slightly resembles the original word וַיִּפְחֻ graphically (*zayin-waw*; *pe-nun*). Cf. DJD XVII, 87.

186. Cf. DJD XVII, 94.

187. HALOT, s.v. מַחֲנֵה.

here with the reading למלחמה. Thus, there is a slight preference for למלחמה as the original reading.

1S28:25 הלילה Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὴν νύκτα) M || בַּלַּיְלָהּ

Since the Septuagint uses the accusative without any preposition, it most probably had a source text similar to the Qumran scroll. Differences between the unvocalized texts are minimal. The reading הלילה is perhaps primary, since it reflects the old use of the accusative to denote ‘in that night’. In the Masoretic text, this is replaced by the more usual expression with the preposition.

1S30:29 הקנזי Q<sup>a</sup> G (τοῦ Κενεζι) M || הַקִּנְיִי

The Septuagint clearly agrees with the Qumran scroll, but it is impossible to determine which is the primary reading.

1S31:3 על שאול Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐπὶ Σαουλ) M || אֶל-שָׂאוּל

The prepositions אֶל and עַל are frequently interchanged. In this case, the original preposition is probably עַל, meaning here ‘against’.

1S31:4 נושא Q<sup>a</sup> G (Σαουλ πρὸς τὸν αἶροντα) M || שָׂאוּל לְנוֹשֵׂא

The preposition πρὸς in the Septuagint most likely indicates a Hebrew source text of אֶל rather than לְ. However, either of these could equally well be original (the verb אָמַר can take either preposition).

2S1:12 נפלו Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐπλήγησαν) M || נִפְּלוּ

Both expressions נפל + בַּחֲרָב and נכה + בַּחֲרָב appear frequently in the Hebrew Bible. However, the passive of נכה, especially in pual, does not appear very often.<sup>188</sup> Difficulty understanding the rare pual may have influenced the replacement of the original reading נכו בחרב with the more usual expression נפלו בחרב.

2S2:31 מאנשי Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῶν ἀνδρῶν) M || וּבְאֲנָשֵׁי

The preposition בְּ probably emerged from a mistake; the word should probably have had partitive מִן, as the noun before it does (מִן מְבַנִּים MT, מִן מְבַנִּי Q<sup>a</sup> G).

2S3:3 דליה Q<sup>a</sup> G (Δαλουια) M || כָּלְאָב

The original form of the name is probably דליה. It has been corrupted by the influence of the next word. The last three letters of the word דליה was replaced by the first three letters of the next word (לאביגל). Furthermore, *dalet* is misread as *kaph*.<sup>189</sup>

188. Pual only in Ex 9:31, 32; the hophal stem appears 16 times.

189. McCarter 1984, 101. The interchange *daleth-kaph* is, however, not very common.

2S3:4    לְאֵלֵינוּ M || לְאֵלֵינוּ Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῆς Αβιταλ)

In the immediate context, both לְ and לְ indicate whose son is whose (v. 4 בְּיָמָיו, v. 5 לְעֵלְיָהוּ). Thus, it seems impossible to determine which is the primary reading.<sup>190</sup>

2S3:23    אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ M || אֶל דָּוִד Q<sup>a</sup> G (πρὸς Δαυιδ)

The more general expression אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ is probably original, later replaced by the proper name.<sup>191</sup>

2S3:29    וְאֵל כָּל־בֵּית [וְ] Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐπὶ πάντα τὸν οἶκον).

Most likely, the original preposition here is עַל, as in the expression עַל־רֹאשׁ earlier in the same verse.

2S3:33    אֶל־אֲבִיָּהּ M || עַל אֲבִיָּהּ Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐπὶ Αβεννηρ)

Although the predicate verb of the clause, קִיַּן, does not occur frequently, it does employ the preposition עַל elsewhere (Ezek 27:32; 32:16; 2 Chr 35:25). That the same preposition is used also in the Targum supports the conclusion that the preposition should read עַל in this verse.

2S3:34    לְנַחֲשֵׁתַיִם M || בְּנַחֲשֵׁתַיִם Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐν πέδαϊς)

The Septuagint more likely translates the preposition בְּ than לְ. Nevertheless, either reading could equally well be primary.

2S4:12    אִישׁ־בְּשֵׁת M || מִפִּיבֶשֶׁת Q<sup>a</sup> G (Μεμφιβοσθε)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint have the wrong form of the name (see p. 35 above).

2S5:6    הִסְרִיף M || הִסִּיתָ Q<sup>a</sup>; G (ἀντίστησαν)

The verb ἀντίστημι, ‘stand against’, most likely translates the verb סוֹת, ‘to incite against’, rather than סוֹר (hiphil), ‘to remove’. Either readings fits the context, albeit with slightly different meanings: ‘the blind and lame will resist (you)’ or ‘the blind and lame will turn you back.’ In any case, a graphical error must be behind the secondary reading. Since סוֹת is relatively rare (16 appearances in the Hebrew Bible), it may well have been replaced by the more common verb סוֹר (321 appearances).

2S5:9    וַיִּבְנֶן דָּוִד M || וַיִּבְנֶה עִיר Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ὠκοδόμησεν τὴν πόλιν)

The Masoretic text leaves out the object of the clause (viz., what was built). Evidently, the more original reading עִיר was replaced by דָּוִד because of a graphical confusion—i.e., the similar-looking letters in the words עִיר and דָּוִד may have influenced the erroneous reading.<sup>192</sup>

190. Cf. McCarter 1984, 101.

191. I disagree with DJD XVII, in which the reading of M is claimed to be secondary, because it anticipates אֶל־הַמֶּלֶךְ, used in v. 24. Similarly, one could argue that דָּוִד draws on vv. 20–21.

192. Perhaps the original text should be reconstructed in fact according to 1 Chr 11:8, with an article before ‘city’: וַיִּבְנֶה הָעִיר (see DJD XVII, 121). In any case, the Masoretic text is secondary compared with the Qumran scroll and the Septuagint.

2S6:3 אֶל-עֲגָלָהּ M || עַל עֲגָלָהּ Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐφ' ἄμαξαν)

The prepositions אֶל and עַל are confused frequently, as has been observed many times above. The context favours the preposition עַל, meaning that ‘the ark was *on* the cart.’ In addition, the predicate verb רָכַב, ‘ride’, consistently takes the preposition עַל (e.g., Gen 24:61; Ex 4:20; Num 22:30; Judg 10:4; 1 Sam 25:20), while the preposition אֶל appears in this verse only. Thus, Q<sup>a</sup> and G must provide the primary reading here.

2S6:5 בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל M || בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Q<sup>a</sup> G (οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ)

Both בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל and בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל are common expressions in the Books of Samuel. In the story, David gathered the chosen men to bring back the ark of God (6:1–2). Thus, the general expression ‘children of Israel’ is preferable here; David is accompanied with Israelites, not with the (whole)<sup>193</sup> tribe of Israel.

2S6:5 בְּרוּשִׁים M || בְּשִׁירִים Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς)

The original reading is unambiguously ובשירים, ‘and with songs’, which fits perfectly with the list in the verse. In the Masoretic text, this is corrupted to בְּרוּשִׁים because of a *shin–resh* metathesis and a misreading of *yod* as *waw*.<sup>194</sup> Furthermore, the conjunction ו was perhaps misread as *yod* and attached to the previous word (עֲצִי עֲצִי instead of עֲצִי/עֲצִי).

2S7:23 וְאֱלֹהֵיוּ M || וְאֱלֹהִים Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ σκηνώματα)

The Qumran scroll and the Septuagint undoubtedly give the secondary reading, caused by a metathesis of *he* and *lamed*. The original text could be either

וְאֱלֹהֵיוּ גֹי [Israel was redeemed from Egypt, from] a nation and its gods<sup>195</sup> or  
וְאֱלֹהִים גֹּיִם [Israel was redeemed from Egypt, from] nations and gods<sup>196</sup>.

In any case, the Masoretic text retains the root of the word correctly, though the attached suffix may be a secondary element.

In 6 cases, there is a *change of several words or a different word order*.

1S1:23 אֶת-דְּבָרוֹ M || הַיּוֹצֵא מִפִּיךָ Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὸ ἐξελεθὼν ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου)

In this case, the readings are so different that changes could not have happened by a simple copying error. It has been suggested that the original reading אֶת דְּבָרוֹ was changed to הַיּוֹצֵא מִפִּיךָ to bring the text into accord with the law (cf. Num 30:11–15, which discusses vows made by a woman).<sup>197</sup> More likely, M represents the secondary reading, as A. Aejmelaeus has

193. The Masoretic text adds also the word בְּלִי before בֵּית, which also indicates the secondary nature of M.

194. DJD XVII, 126.

195. Wellhausen 1871, 173–74; Driver 1913, 278.

196. DJD XVII, 130–131.

197. Rofé 1989, 252.

convincingly argued:<sup>198</sup> the reading of M belongs to a series of editorial corrections that changed the whole picture of Hannah in 1 Sam 19–28. According to the Masoretic text, Hannah did not stand before the Lord, she was indeed drunk and did not make any legitimate vow before the Lord.<sup>199</sup>

1S1:24 M] ותַעֲלֶהָ עִמָּה Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ ἀνέβη μετ’ αὐτοῦ εἰς Σηλωμ)  
 The readings of Q<sup>a</sup> and G share virtually the same unvocalized text; the older orthography of **אֶתּוֹ** should be understood as **אֶתּוֹ**, which could be interpreted either as the preposition ‘with’ or as a *nota accusative*, depending on whether the verb **וּתַעֲלֶהָ** is understood as qal, ‘to go’, or hiphil, ‘to take’. The word **עִמָּה** in the Masoretic text could be a corruption of **שִׁלָּה**, and the suffix **-הוּ** an alternate expression for *nota accusativi* **אֶתּוֹ**. However, the opposite development in textual history is also possible. In that case, the proper noun **שִׁלָּה** could have been added by the influence of the name’s appearance later in the same verse.

1S14:24 M] וְאִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל נִגַּשׁ Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ Σαουλ ἠγνόησεν ἄγνοιαν μεγάλην)

Although only a few strokes of letters are visible in the Qumran scroll, they clearly share the reading of the Septuagint rather than the reading of the Masoretic text. Although there is a resemblance between **אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל** and **שְׂאוּל**, this may well be a case where the Masoretic text deliberately slanders Saul: Israel was ignorant, not Saul; thus, it was not an unintentional error for Saul to give the oath. In any case, the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G should be considered primary.<sup>200</sup>

1S24:20 Q<sup>a</sup> G [אֲ[ת]ה הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה] M] תַּחַת הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ לִּי (καθὼς πεποίηκας σήμερον)

The question is here whether the phrase ‘today’, **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה**, comes before the expression **(לִּי) אֲשֶׁר עָשִׂיתָ** (M) or after it (Q<sup>a</sup> G). Since the placement of **הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה** after **תַּחַת** is awkward,<sup>201</sup> the word order in Q<sup>a</sup> and G should be preferred.<sup>202</sup> **תַּחַת** could be a corruption of the pronoun **אֶתָּה**, which best fits the reconstruction of Q<sup>a</sup>. In any case, the Septuagint does not require a different *Vorlage* that omits the second-person singular pronoun, since it is included in the predicate verb. The pronoun **σύ** is present in the Lucianic text, but that is probably the result of an intra-Greek development rather than the Old Greek and Lucianic recension reflecting different Hebrew texts.<sup>203</sup>

198. Aejmelaeus 2012.

199. See Aejmelaeus 2012, esp. 8–10, 15. The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is also considered to be primary, though no explanation is provided, in DJD XVII, 32.

200. Wellhausen 1871 90; McCarter 1980, 245; DJD XVII, 72.

201. DJD XVII, 85; Driver 1913, 195.

202. The different positions of the phrase may hint that it did not originally belong to the verse. In any case, the word order of M is later than that of G Q<sup>a</sup>.

203. Note also that some other Mss place the pronoun **σύ** before the verb, in contrast with the Lucianic text, which places it after the verb, hinting at its secondary nature.

2S2:7 מְלִיחָה לְמֶלֶךְ M || לְעֲלִיהֶם Q<sup>a</sup> G (ἐφ' ἑαυτοὺς εἰς βασιλέα)

Either word order is possible. The preposition לְ with a suffix can either precede the expression מְלִיחָה (2 Chr 9:8) or follow it (Judg 9:15; 2 Sam 3:17).<sup>204</sup> However, if a noun was attached to the preposition לְ, only the latter word order is found in the Masoretic text (e.g., 1 Sam 15:17; 2 Sam 2:4), perhaps suggesting that the word order in M is more usual than that of Q<sup>a</sup> and G. The probable development in this case is from a more uncommon to a more common one, so the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is to be slightly preferred.

2S5:13 עוֹד לְדוֹד M || לְדוֹד עוֹד Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῶ Δαυιδ ἔτι)

Either word order is feasible, making it impossible to judge which reading is primary.

### 2.1.3 MQ<sup>a</sup>≠G (35)

The Masoretic text and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> agree against the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint in **35** cases.

In **15** cases, there is a *short quantitative change*; in **12** cases, there is a plus in G, while, in **3** cases, there is a minus.

#### *Pluses in G*

1S1:12 מְלִיחָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (וְעַלֵּי) || + הַכֹּהֵן G (ὁ ἱερεὺς)

The Septuagint has the plus 'the priest' after Eli. This addition probably serves a specifying function and is thus secondary.

1S9:7 וְהָיָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (וְהָיָה) || pr אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ G (τῶ μετ' αὐτοῦ)

The plus in the Septuagint (viz., 'who was with him [i.e., Saul]') is clearly added for explication.<sup>205</sup>

1S10:26 *fin* M Q<sup>a</sup> || + עִם שָׂאוּל G (μετὰ Σαουλ)

The Masoretic text reads עִמּוֹ, 'with him', referring to Saul earlier in the verse instead of בְּנִי (υἱοί) in the Septuagint and the Qumran scroll (see p. 34).<sup>206</sup> The reading 'with Saul' in the Septuagint comes rather late in the sentence and may well be misplaced. The original reading was probably עִמּוֹ בְּנִי. This would then have been corrupted to עִמּוֹ in M and בְּנִי in G. Furthermore, the expression 'with him' was restored in G, where it is added to the end of the verse, but, since it was so removed from the predicate verb, the proper name had to be written instead of just the personal suffix. Thus, the phrase 'with Saul' at the end of the verse must be secondary.

204. DJD XVII, 105.

205. DJD XVII, 60.

206. It is impossible to say whether the Qumran scroll had עִמּוֹ, since the text that precedes בְּנִי is not preserved.

1S15:28 מִמְּלִכּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל M Q<sup>a</sup> (לְ) מְלִכּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל G (τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ)

Since the majority of the Septuagint manuscripts have ἀπὸ Ἰσραηλ instead of ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ, many commentators reconstruct its source text as מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל. Furthermore, this leads to the conclusion that the reading מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל is secondary (anticipating the preposition מִן, which follows).<sup>207</sup> However, Aejmelaeus gives the critical text as ἐπὶ Ἰσραηλ, which corresponds with the Hebrew text, עַל יִשְׂרָאֵל. Indeed, the noun מְלִכּוֹת<sup>208</sup> consistently takes the preposition עַל to indicate over whom one reigns and the genitive to indicate who reigns (cf. 1 Chr 22:10; 28:5). Furthermore, the phrase מִמְּלִכּוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Thus, the reading of G, with the suffix ך- and the preposition עַל, is more probably primary.

1S17:5 נְחֹשֶׁת M Q<sup>a</sup> (נְחֹשֶׁת) || + וּבְרִזָּל G (καὶ σιδήρου)

The addition ‘and iron’ is probably a mistake, possibly contaminated by v. 7 (see, p. 120).

1S17:8 מִלְחָמָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (מִלְחָמָה) || + לְקִרְאָתָנוּ G (ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν)

The Septuagint has the plus ‘against us’, which resembles v. 2: לְקִרְאָתָהּ (וַיַּעֲרְכוּ מִלְחָמָה) פְּלִשְׁתִּים, ‘(they formed ranks of battle) against the Philistines’. The expression לְקִרְאָתָנוּ in this verse may be derived from v. 2 or may equally well be the primary reading.

1S24:20 אֵיבוּ בְצָרָה וְשָׁלְחוּ M Q<sup>a</sup> (אוּ) אֵיבוּ [וְשָׁלְחוּ] G (τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ ἐν θλίψει καὶ ἐκπέμψαι αὐτὸν)

The Septuagint has the plus ἐν θλίψει, ‘in distress’, which corresponds with the Hebrew source text, בְּצָרָה (cf. 1 Sam 26:24, where מְכַל־צָרָה is translated as ἐκ πάσης θλίψεως). The plus בְּצָרָה is probably a corruption of צָרוּ, ‘his enemy’, which seems to be a variant of the synonymous word אֵיבוּ.<sup>209</sup> Thus, the plus in G must be secondary, possibly a gloss.

1S25:7 וְעָתָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (וְעָתָה) || + הִנֵּה G (ἰδοὺ)

The phrase וְעָתָה הִנֵּה is not uncommon in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>210</sup> The omission of הִנֵּה probably resulted from a *homoeoteleuton* error.

1S27:10 אֵל דָּוִד M Q<sup>a</sup> (אֵל דָּוִד) || + אֵל דָּוִד G (πρὸς Δαυὶδ)

The plus אֵל דָּוִד is best considered as serving an explicating function.<sup>211</sup>

207. Cf. McCarter 1980, 264; DJD XVII, 77.

208. The word מְלִכּוֹת in the Masoretic text is a confused form of מְלִכּוֹת and מְלִכָּה, see HALOT, s.v. מְלִכּוֹת.

209. McCarter 1980, 383.

210. Appearing 17 times: Gen 12:19; Ex 3:9; Num 24:14; Deut 26:10; Josh 9:12, 25; 14:10; 1 Sam 12:2, 13; 24:21; 1 Kgs 1:18; 22:23; 2 Kgs 18:21; Jer 47:4; Job 16:19; 2 Chr 18:22; 20:10. Generally, it is translated as καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ in the Septuagint, especially by the translator of Samuel. In 2 Sam 14:32, καὶ νῦν ἰδοὺ translates אֵל דָּוִד in M.

211. DJD XVII, 94.

2S3:8 וַיֹּאמֶר M Q<sup>a</sup> (וַיֹּאמֶר) || + אֲבָנָר G (Αβεννηρ)

The Septuagint defines the subject of the clause and is thus a secondary clarification.<sup>212</sup>

2S3:13 וַיֹּאמֶר M Q<sup>a</sup> (וַיֹּאמֶר) || + דָּוִד G (Δαυιδ)

The plus in the Septuagint is a secondary addition defining the subject.<sup>213</sup>

2S5:1 הִנְנּוּ M Q<sup>a</sup> (הִנְנּוּ) || pr אֵלֶי or לוֹ G (αὐτῷ)

The shorter reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup>, without the indirect object, is probably primary. The indirect object is added in G to make it explicit.<sup>214</sup>

### *Minuses in G*

1S25:5 וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד M Q<sup>a</sup> (וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד) || וַיֹּאמֶר G (καὶ εἶπεν)

Both M and Q<sup>a</sup> define the subject of the clause, so the shorter reading of G is probably primary.<sup>215</sup>

2S3:28 מֵעַם יְהוָה וְעַד עוֹלָם M Q<sup>a</sup> (מֵעַם יְהוָה עַד עוֹלָם) || מֵעַם יְהוָה וְעַד עוֹלָם G (ἀπὸ κυρίου ἀπὸ τοῦ νυν καὶ ἕως αἰῶνος, Rahlfs: ἀπὸ κυρίου ἕως αἰῶνος)

Rahlfs reconstructs the Old Greek as ἀπὸ κυρίου ἕως αἰῶνος according to the *O*-group (mss A B b 68' 245 707 are similar but add καὶ before ἕως). However, there is notable textual support for a longer reading, with either ἀπὸ τοῦ νυν καὶ (V L 731 328-530 a 44 f 314<sup>c</sup> 64' 488<sup>c</sup> 489 244 342 460 554) or ἀπὸ νυν καὶ (rel) before ἕως. The reading of the Hexaplaric group is probably a correction toward the Masoretic text, as is partly also the reading of A, B and their companions. The primary reading should include ἀπὸ τοῦ νυν καὶ (or ἀπὸ νυν καὶ), reflecting the Hebrew source text *ו-מעתה* and was probably shortened in M and Q<sup>a</sup> due to haplography (*מעתה* and *מעם* have two initial letters in common; *מעתה* and *יהוה* both end in *he*).<sup>216</sup>

2S4:11 וְעַתָּה הֲלוֹא M Q<sup>a</sup> (וְעַתָּה [ה] הֲלוֹא) || וְעַתָּה G (καὶ νῦν)

There is no apparent reason why *הֲלוֹא* should have been added. Thus, I consider the inclusion of the word in M and Q<sup>a</sup> as probably primary.

*A long quantitative change* is found in **1** case.

1S6:1 וַתִּשְׁרַץ אֶרֶץ עַבְרָיִם + וַתִּשְׁרַץ אֶרֶץ עַבְרָיִם M Q<sup>a</sup> (תֹּדְשִׁים) || + וַתִּשְׁרַץ אֶרֶץ עַבְרָיִם G (καὶ ἐξέξυσεν ἡ γῆ αὐτῶν μύαξ)

The Septuagint has the lengthy plus 'their land broke out in mice.' These mice are mentioned

212. DJD XVII, 110.

213. DJD XVII, 110.

214. DJD XVII, 120.

215. DJD XVII, 87.

216. DJD XVII, 114; McCarter 1984, 110.

earlier in the Septuagint, 1 Sam 5:6, while the Masoretic text omits this references in both verses (Q<sup>a</sup> is not preserved at 1 Sam 5:6). I have argued that the mice are an essential part of the story and thus cannot be introduced in 1 Sam 6:4 for the first time, as the Masoretic text has it. Furthermore, I have shown that the reference to mice in 1 Sam 5:6 is, in fact, primary (see p. 20–30). As a whole, this verse gives a summary of the events of chapter 5, so the reference to mice here is appropriate. It is likely that the plus in G is original, whereas the reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup> may have originated from a *homoeoteleuton* error עכברים – חדשים (see p. 29).

In 7 cases, there is a change in morphology.

1S10:12 אַבְיָהֶם M Q<sup>a</sup> (אַבְיָהֶם) || אביו G (πατήρ αὐτοῦ)

The plural reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup> is probably primary. The previous verse already states that Saul is the son of Kish, and the question in 10:12 makes sense only when understood as a more general inquiry—viz., ‘whose son are these others?’, not ‘whose son is Saul?’ The expression was changed from plural to singular probably by a confusion with the previous verse.

1S12:8 אַבְתֵּיכֶם M Q<sup>a</sup> (אַבְתֵּיכֶם) || אבתינו G (οἱ πατέρες ἡμῶν)

The Septuagint reads ‘our fathers’ instead of ‘your fathers’, as it is in M and Q<sup>a</sup>. Reference to fathers is made several times in the immediate context. The Masoretic text and the Qumran scroll<sup>217</sup> consistently have ‘your fathers’, whereas the Septuagint has ‘our fathers’ in vv. 6 and 8 (*bis*) and ‘your fathers’ in v. 7 (however, the Greek Mss evidence is not uniform). It is possible that there had originally been more variation which was then standardised with respect to the personal pronoun. It is also possible that the variation between ἡμῶν and ὑμῶν is merely an intra-Greek phenomenon.

1S12:12 מְלֻכָּם M Q<sup>a</sup> (מְלֻכָּם) || מלכנו G (βασιλεὺς ἡμῶν)

This is another case of different personal pronouns (suffixes). In the same verse, Samuel quotes those who said to him, ‘a king shall reign over us’, so ‘your kind’, used in indirect speech, seems to be a logical choice. I thus regard the reading ‘our king’ as a contamination from the direct quote and thus secondary.

1S17:5 הַשְּׂרִיזִין M Q<sup>a</sup> (הַשְּׂרִיזִין) || שרינו G (τοῦ θώρακος αὐτοῦ)

The variation of between the determined form and the suffixal pronominal form is not uncommon. Thus, it is impossible to determine which is the primary reading.

2S3:34 וְרָגַלְךָ M Q<sup>a</sup> (וְרָגַלְךָ) || רגליך G (οἱ πόδες σου)

The Septuagint reading does not have a conjunction. According to Cross and Freedman, the

217. The readings ‘your fathers’ in Q<sup>a</sup> are preserved in v. 7 and in the first instance of אב v. 8.

use of the conjunction *waw* is uncommon in old Hebrew poetry.<sup>218</sup> Thus, the reading of G is probably original.<sup>219</sup>

2S4:12 הַנְּעָרִים M Q<sup>a</sup> (הַנְּעָרִים) || נְעָרָיו G (παἰδαρίοις αὐτοῦ)

As above, it is impossible to determine whether the determined form or suffixal form is primary.

2S7:23 אֱלֹהִים M Q<sup>a</sup> (אֱלֹהִים) || הָאֱלֹהִים G (ὁ θεός)

The reading of G has an article, as does also the Masoretic text in the parallel passage 1 Chr 17:21.

In **10** cases, there is *an interchange of a word*.

1S2:1 בִּיהוּה M Q<sup>a</sup> (בִּיהוּה) || בְּאֱלֹהֵי G (ἐν θεῶ μου)

The reading ἐν θεῶ μου in the Septuagint is not a free translation for בִּיהוּה but more likely reflects the original reading בְּאֱלֹהֵי, attested also by several Masoretic manuscripts and rabbinic citations (see BHS). The reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup> is probably derived from בִּיהוּה, which occurs earlier in the same verse.<sup>220</sup>

1S2:24 מִמְּעַבְרִים M Q<sup>a</sup> (מִמְּעַבְרִים) || מִמְּעַבְדִּים G (τοῦ μὴ δουλεύειν)

The source text of the Septuagint evidently had *dalet* instead of *resh*. Either expression would be slightly awkward in the context ('spreading' M; 'from serving' G), and it is possible that both readings are secondary. The error between *dalet* and *resh* could have happened in either direction.

1S5:10 עֶקְרוֹן M Q<sup>a</sup> (עֶקְרוֹן) || אֲשַׁקְלוֹן G (εἰς Ἀσκαλῶνα)

In the Septuagint, the proper name Ekron is replaced with Askelon twice later in this same verse and also in 1 Sam 6:16; 7:14; 17:52, whereas the translation Ekron is found in 1 Sam 6:17; 17:52. Thus, the difference is probably not the translator's mistake but indicative of a different Hebrew text. Both Ekron and Askelon are Philistine cities and, in Hebrew script, resemble one another graphically, which could explain the different readings. However, it is difficult to argue for the priority of either reading by purely internal evidence. The Targum, the Vulgate and the Peshitta all agree with the Masoretic text, but they do not generally support the reading, since they consistently follow the Masoretic text anyway. In the story, Ekron is the third city after Ashdod and Gat to which the Philistines move the ark. Interestingly, in Josephus's version of the story,<sup>221</sup> the ark is first carried to Ashdod then to Askelon (neither Gat nor Ekron is explicitly mentioned), which slightly supports the reading of the Septuagint. In any case, no decisive conclusion can be made.

218. Cross & Freedman 1997, 18–21, 107–13; cf. DJD XVII, 115.

219. DJD XVII, 115.

220. Thus also in McCarter 1980, 68; cf. DJD XVII, 34.

221. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.1

1S10:14 דוד שָׂאוֹל M Q<sup>a</sup> ([שאוֹל] | דוד) || דודו G (ὁ οἰκεῖος αὐτοῦ)

The visible margin and line break after the דוד in the Qumran scroll confirm that it did not have a suffix but was followed probably by a proper noun, as in the Masoretic text. The reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup> defines the person explicitly and is thus probably secondary.

2S3:1 דוד וְדָוִד M Q<sup>a</sup> (ודויד) || ובית דוד G (καὶ ὁ οἶκος Δαυιδ)

It is possible that בית was added (either accidentally or on purpose) before דוד, since the expression בית דוד appears just before it in the text. However, more likely, the longer expression דוד ובית דוד is original, since the whole verse indeed describes the events between the ‘houses of’ David and Saul (cf. also verse 3:6).<sup>222</sup> The word בית may well have dropped out accidentally from the context בית דוד ובית דויד → בית דויד ודויד.

2S3:34 כנפול M Q<sup>a</sup> (]כנפול) || כנבל G (ὡς Ναβαλ)

The Hebrew readings resemble one another, with the secondary reading having emerged from a mistake. The direction כנפל → כנבל is perhaps more likely<sup>223</sup> and could be explained as a contamination from the previous verse (הַכְּמוֹת נָבַל).

2S3:34 ויספו M Q<sup>a</sup> (ו[יספו) || ויאספו G (καὶ συνήχθη)

The source text of the Septuagint has the verb אסף, ‘to gather’, instead of יסף, ‘to do more’. This must be a mistake, since the people are already weeping (cf. 3:32), and, after hearing the words of the king, they weep more, not ‘gather’ together.<sup>224</sup>

2S6:5 ככל M Q<sup>a</sup> (ב[כול) || בכלי G (ἐν ὀργάνοις)

The readings are dependent on the immediate context, which differs in the text as follows:

M: ככל עצי ברֹּשִׁים, ‘with all (instruments of) fir wood’

Q: ככל עז [ו]בשירים, ‘with all might and with songs’

G: בכלי עז ובשירים, ‘with all mighty instruments and with songs’

(ἐν ὀργάνοις ἡρμουςμένοις ἐν ἰσχύι καὶ ἐν ᾠδαῖς)

Above, I have argued that the odd word ברֹּשִׁים, ‘fir’, is a corrupted form of בשירים (p. 51). Evidently, this change also induced the misreading of עז, ‘might’, as עץ, ‘tree’ (also, the conjunction ו is read as י and attached to עץ, giving the plural form of *status constructus*). The Greek word ὀργανον, ‘instrument’, is a regular rendering of כלי when referring to a musical instrument (e.g., 1 Chr 15:16; 16:5, 42). The word ἡρμουςμένος, ‘well tuned’, may be an attempt to translate the Hebrew word עז (cf. 2 Sam 6:14). If that is the case, the expression ἐν ἰσχύι would be a doublet in the Greek manuscript tradition.<sup>225</sup> In the Hebrew Bible, both בכלי עז and עז ככל appear (see Table 5), though there seems to have been a confusion in the read-

222. DJD XVII, 109.

223. The reading of G is considered ‘possible, if less likely’ in DJD XVII, 115.

224. DJD XVII, 115.

225. All Greek mss have ἐν ἰσχύι. On doublets in Samuel, see Aejmelaeus 2015.

ings somewhere else. In 1 Sam 6:5, the original reading was perhaps **בכל עז**, since it parallels **בשירים**. The musical instruments are then described later in the same verse. The text of 1 Chr 13:8, ‘with all might’ (both in the MT and LXX), also supports this view.

	MT	LXX <i>Vorlage</i>	LXX
2 Sam 6:14	<b>בְּכָל־עֹז</b>	<b>בכלי עז</b>	ἐν ὀργάνοις ἠρμوسμένοις
1 Chr 13:8	<b>בְּכָל־עֹז</b>	<b>בכל עז</b>	ἐν πάσῃ δυνάμει
2 Chr 30:21	<b>בְּכָל־עֹז</b>	<b>בכלי עז</b>	ἐν ὀργάνοις

**Table 5.** The Expressions **בכלי עז** and **בכל עז** in LXX, Its *Vorlage* and MT.

2S6:5 **וּבְמִנְעֻנְעִים** M Q<sup>a</sup> (ובמ[נענ]עִים) || **ובמצלתיים** G (καὶ ἐν κυμβάλοις)

A trace of the letter *ayin* in the Qumran scroll suggests that its reading agrees with the Masoretic text. The reading of G agrees with the parallel passage 1 Chr 13:8 and may be original, but no certain conclusion can be made.

2S8:1 **מִתְּגַתְּ אַמָּה** M Q<sup>a</sup> (מ[תג]תג האמה) || **המגרש** G (ἀφωρισμένην)

There is wide variation as to what David took out of the hands of the Philistines. The reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup> could be interpreted as the proper name ‘Metheg-ammah’ or, figuratively, ‘a large bridle (of power)’<sup>226</sup>. The Greek translation ἀφωρισμένην, ‘what have been separated’, suggests a different Hebrew text, perhaps **המגרש** (pual participle < **גרש**, ‘to cast out’) which bears some resemblance to the reading of M and Q<sup>a</sup>. The other texts offer several variants: Targum **תְּקוּן אַמָּתָא**, ‘a base of Ammah (?)’; Vulgata *frenum tributi*, ‘a bridle of a tribute’; Peshitta **רַמַּת גַּמָּא**, ‘Ramath-gama’. In addition, the parallel passage, 1 Chr 18:1, has **גַּת וּבָנֹתֶיהָ**, ‘Gath and its daughters’. It thus seems impossible to determine the original reading.<sup>227</sup>

In **1** case, there is a *different word order*.

1S27:12 **אָכִישׁ בְּדוֹד** M Q<sup>a</sup> (אכיש בדוי[ד]) || **דוד באכיש** G (Δαυιδ ἐν τῷ Αγγους)

The reverse word order in the Septuagint must be the result of an error. It is Achish who trusts David, not the other way around, as is made clear in the context.<sup>228</sup>

A *more complicated change* is found in **1** cases.

1S2:8 **עֲלִיהֶם תִּבְּל** M Q<sup>a</sup> ( [ ] עליהם תב[ל] ) || **> G**

Only a few words are visible in the Qumran scroll, but they clearly show that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> most

226. For this meaning, see HALOT, s.v. **אַמָּה**.

227. See further McCarter 1980, 243; Ulrich 1978, 183.

228. Cf. DJD XVII, 95.

likely shares the same plus in verse 2:8b as the Masoretic text: **כִּי לַיהוָה מְצֻקֵי אָרֶץ וַיִּשֶׁת עֲלֵיהֶם תְּבִל**, ‘for the pillars of the earth are Yahweh’s, and he set the world on them’. Furthermore, in verse 2:9a, the Masoretic text and the Septuagint have entirely different readings:

**רַגְלֵי חֲסִידוֹ יִשְׁמֵר וְרִשְׁעִים בַּחֲשֵׁךְ יִדְמוּ**

The feet of his faithful ones he shall keep, but the wicked shall be cut off in darkness.

**διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου**

He grants the prayer to the prayer and he blesses the years of the righteous.

Interestingly, the Qumran scroll seems to have both readings of 2:9a, with the minor variant **וּדְרַךְ** (cf. Prov 2:8) instead of **רַגְלֵי**, as in the Masoretic text. Thus, vv. 8b–9a in M and v. 9a G are indeed different readings, while Q<sup>a</sup> conflates the two (see Table 6).<sup>229</sup> It has been proposed that the reading of the Masoretic text could be original, in which case the Septuagint variant would be a later addition after the *homoearchon* error **כִּי לַיהוָה** (2:8) – **כִּי לֹא** (2:9).<sup>230</sup> However, it is more likely that the Septuagint version of 2:9a was indeed the original reading. It fluently continues verse 2:8a both stylistically (i.e., with a praising tone) and syntactically (i.e., in its use of participles). Furthermore, the reading of the Masoretic text shows a tendency to diminish the role of Hannah by removing references to Yahweh’s favourable attitude toward Hannah’s vows (cf. 1:23).<sup>231</sup>

MT	4QSam <sup>a</sup>	LXX <i>Vorlage</i>	LXX
<b>כִּי לַיהוָה מְצֻקֵי אָרֶץ</b> <sup>8b</sup>	<b>כִּי לַיהוָה מְצֻקֵי אָרֶץ</b>		–
<b>וַיִּשֶׁת עֲלֵיהֶם תְּבִל:</b>	<b>וַיִּשֶׁת [עֲלֵיהֶם תְּבִל] ל</b>		–
<b>רַגְלֵי חֲסִידוֹ יִשְׁמֵר</b> <sup>9a</sup>	<b>וּדְרַךְ חֲסִידוֹ יִשְׁמֵר</b>		–
<b>וְרִשְׁעִים בַּחֲשֵׁךְ יִדְמוּ</b>	<b>וְרִשְׁעִים בַּחֲשֵׁךְ יִדְמוּ</b>		–
–	<b>נָתַן נֹדָר [לְ]נֹדָר</b>	<b>נָתַן נֹדָר לְנֹדָר</b>	<b>διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ</b>
–	<b>וַיְבָרֵךְ שָׁנֹת צְדִיק</b>	<b>וַיְבָרֵךְ שָׁנֹת צְדִיק</b>	<b>καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου.</b>
<p>For the pillars of the earth are Yahweh’s, and he set the world on them’ The feet (MT) / road (4QSam<sup>a</sup>) of his faithful ones he shall keep, but the wicked shall be cut off in darkness’ He grants the vow to the vower, and he blesses the years of the righteous.</p>			

**Table 6.** Comparison of 1 Sam 2:8b–2:9a in LXX, Its *Vorlage*, M and Q<sup>a</sup>.

229. McCarter (1980, 69–70) considers the longest text, Q<sup>a</sup>, to be original and for both M and G to have emerged from it by different instances of haplography and their partial restoration. However, McCarter wrongly reconstructs line 31 in Q<sup>a</sup> as **וַיִּשֶׁת רַגְלֵי ח**; the correct reconstruction is provided in DJD: **וַיִּשֶׁת עֲלֵיהֶם תְּבִל** (I have checked the picture, and the first letter cannot be a *resh*). Thus, his complex theory is unsustainable.

230. Lewis 1994, 29; cf. Stoebe 1973, 101–2.

231. Aejmelaeus 2008.

### 2.1.4 M≠G≠Q<sup>a</sup>≠M (21)

In 21 cases, M, G and Q<sup>a</sup> all disagree with one another.

In 2 cases, there is a *short quantitative change*, a plus compared to M.

1S2:10 מְרִיבוּ M || + קָדוֹשׁ מִי קָדוֹשׁ כִּיהוּהוּ + G (κύριος ἅγιος)

The Septuagint and the Qumran scroll both have longer readings than the Masoretic text but are still not identical to one another.

1S11:1 מְנַחֵשׁ M || נַחֵשׁ בְּנֵי עֲמוֹן Q<sup>a</sup>; נַחֵשׁ הָעֲמוֹנִי G (Νααζ τὸν Αμμανίτην)

According to Cross, the word that follows נַחֵשׁ is more likely מְנַחֵשׁ than הָעֲמוֹנִי.<sup>232</sup> Earlier in the verse, the expression הָעֲמוֹנִי is used in M, Q<sup>a</sup> and G. In the long plus between 1 Sam 10:27 and 11:1, Q<sup>a</sup> employs the expression מְנַחֵשׁ בְּנֵי עֲמוֹן twice, and the reading in question may well be derived from the plus.<sup>233</sup> Perhaps the most likely solution is that the shortest reading, M, is primary. In this case, the reading of G can be explained as a contamination from the earlier expression in the same verse.

In 5 cases, there is a *change in morphology*.

1S6:5 מְפַלְיָכֶם M || לִי[הֵפֵךְ] Q<sup>a</sup>; G *aliter*

The Septuagint offers the primary reading; see the longer discussion in pp. 20–30.

1S18:5 מְשַׂאוֹל יִשְׁכְּבִיל M || שַׂאוֹל וְיִשְׁכְּבִיל Q<sup>a</sup>; > G

The passage belongs to a section missing in the Septuagint and its source text. Furthermore, I argue that the Septuagint represents the earlier phase of the text (see ch. 3, esp. pp. 150–153). Thus, the readings of M and Q<sup>a</sup> are both secondary.

2S4:12 מְלַקְחוּ M || לָקַח Q<sup>a</sup>; > G

The Masoretic text has מְלַקְחוּ, ‘they took’, before another verb וַיִּקְבְּרוּ, ‘and they buried’. The Qumran scroll has also the verb לָקַח but in singular instead (the next word is not entirely preserved [וַיִּקְבְּרוּ]). There is no equivalent in the Septuagint.

2S5:8 מְשַׂנְאוֹ M || שִׂנְאוֹ Q<sup>a</sup>; וְהִשְׂנְאוֹ G (καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας)

Ulrich argues for the priority of the reading שִׂנְאוֹ, ‘(whom the soul of David) hated’, preserved in the Qumran scroll.<sup>234</sup> The Targum and the Peshitta also support this reading.<sup>235</sup>

232. DJD XVII, 66–67.

233. The plus is argued to be a secondary explanative addition, see ch. 4, esp. pp. 168.

234. Ulrich 1978, 128–29. Cf. McCarter 1984, 136; DJD XVII, 121.

235. Targum וְיָת הַיְיָבִיא רַחֲמֵי דָּוִד וְנִפְשָׁא דְּדָוִד וְנִפְשָׁא דְּדָוִד וְנִפְשָׁא דְּדָוִד, ‘and the sinners and the guilty whom the soul of David has rejected’ (the soul of David is the subject); Peshitta וְנִפְשָׁא דְּדָוִד וְנִפְשָׁא דְּדָוִד וְנִפְשָׁא דְּדָוִד, ‘the soul of David hates (fem. ptc.)’.

The reading of M ('they hated the soul of David') and that of G (cf. *qere* of M שְׂנְאִי) ('those who hate the soul of David') are later corruptions.

2S6:13 וְהָיָה M] וְהָיָה Q<sup>a</sup>; וְהָיָה G (καὶ ἦσαν)

All three witnesses have the same verb in different forms. The Masoretic text continues כִּי אָרְוִן יְהוָה צָעָדוֹ נְשֵׂאֵי אָרְוִן יְהוָה, '(and it happened) when those who carried the ark had stepped', while the Septuagint has differently μετ' αὐτῶν ἄροντες τὴν κιβωτὸν, '(and there was) with him those who bore the ark'. The original reading is probably וְהָיָה (cf. 6:16) and had been changed to consecutive imperfect by the influence of the preceding verb forms in v. 12. The reading of G would then have emerged from the simple corruption וְהָיָה → וְהָיָה.

In 3 cases, there is an interchange of a word.

1S24:15 אחרי כלב Q<sup>a</sup>; אחרי כלב M] אחרי כלב [רי] הפֹּרַעַשׁ G (ὀπίσω κυνὸς τεθνηκότος καὶ ὀπίσω ψύλλου)

The question is here whether to read או or ו or nothing between מֵת כָּלֵב, 'dead dog', and פֹּרַעַשׁ, 'flea'. The reading of Q<sup>a</sup> may well be primary, as this would explain the other readings—that is, one can easily imagine the errors א או → א (M) and א וא → או (G).<sup>236</sup> The Greek reading η, attested by C' -<sup>242</sup> s, does not necessarily require any connection with Hebrew או but is more likely an intra-Greek variation induced by the context.

2S3:30 מֵהָרְגוּ M] עוֹנֵג Q<sup>a</sup>; אַרְבוֹ? G (διεπαρετηροῦντο)

Since the reconstruction of *ayin* is certain, the Qumran scroll cannot possibly share the reading of M, and the reconstruction עוֹנֵג is reliable. The Septuagint here employs the *hapax legomenon* διεπαρετηρέω, 'to lie in wait'. It is unlikely that it could be a translation of either הרג, 'kill', or נגע, 'smite'. McCarter suggest a *Vorlage* of אַרְבוֹ for the Septuagint, which has the same meaning as διεπαρετηροῦντο.<sup>237</sup> Although אַרְב is most commonly rendered as ἐνεδρεύω, it is a rather uncommon verb, and the renderings in the Septuagint varies, so אַרְבוֹ is feasible as its *Vorlage*.<sup>238</sup> Cross simply remarks that the preposition ל following the verb used with הרג in late passages of the Hebrew Bible but is also idiomatic with נגע, 'smite'.<sup>239</sup> The preposition ל is also commonly used with אַרְב.<sup>240</sup> This may hint toward the secondary nature of the reading of M but does not help determine whether נגע or אַרְב should be considered primary.

2S4:4 וְהָיָה M] וְהָיָה Q<sup>a</sup>; וְהָיָה G (καὶ οὗτος)

There seems to have been a confusion between the Hebrew consonants, which resulted in the

236. Cf. DJD XVII, 85.

237. McCarter 1984, 110.

238. The verb אַרְב appears 22 times in the Hebrew Bible, translated as ἐνεδρεύω 13 times (thus also in 1 Sam 15:5).

239. DJD XVII, 115.

240. HALOT, s.v. אַרְב.

reading והוא. Each reading fits the context, albeit with slightly different nuances: ‘five years old *he was*, when the news came’ (M); ‘five years old, (*and it happened*) when the news came...’ (Q<sup>a</sup>); ‘...five years old. *As for him*, when the news came...’ (G). The Qumran scroll probably offers the most original reading here, given the context.<sup>241</sup>

In **1** case, there is a *different word order*.

2S3:34 לא בנחשתים לא הגש G (οὐκ ἐν πέδαις οὐ προσήγαγεν). M || לא־לְנַחֲשֵׁתִים הַגֶּשׁוּ Q<sup>a</sup>; שׁ[ֹ]גִּי־לֹא בנחש[תי]ם לא הגשׁ Q<sup>a</sup>;

The word order with the negative particle לא is different in the Masoretic text and the Qumran scroll. The word order of Q<sup>a</sup> is more usual, but that of M is also acceptable.<sup>242</sup> The Septuagint seems to combine both readings. Furthermore, there are differences concerning the preposition, ל (M) or ב (Q<sup>a</sup>, G), before נחשת and the use of plural (M) or singular (Q<sup>a</sup>, G) for הגשׁ.

A more complicated change is found in **10** cases.

1S1:22 עד אשר [יעלה הנער עד גמלתיהו] M || עד אשר גמלתיהו Q<sup>a</sup>; עד עלות הנער כאשר גמלתיהו G (Ἔως τοῦ ἀναβῆναι τὸ παιδάριον, ἐὰν ἀπογαλακτίσω αὐτό).

Whatever should be reconstructed in the *lacuna* of the Qumran Scroll, the text itself includes the expression עד אשר, not found in either M or G. Although M and G share the reading עד, the rest of the clause is different. Thus, there are, in fact, three variant readings.

1S2:9 M || ודרך חסידיו Q<sup>a</sup>; > G

The Septuagint does not have a counterpart to the expression of M, and the beginning of the verse also reads differently: διδουὺς εὐχῆν τῷ εὐχομένῳ. Q<sup>a</sup> seems to echo the reading of G, with גתן נד[ר] [ל]נוד[ר] ויברך ש[נות צדיק]. The reading ודרך instead of רגלי may have derived from Prov 2:8.<sup>243</sup>

1S2:16 M || ויאמר אלו האיש Q<sup>a</sup>; ואמר האיש G (καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ ἀνήρ)

The shortest reading, G, is probably primary. Those of M and Q<sup>a</sup> would then be later expansions.

1S8:16 M || ועשו Q<sup>a</sup>; ועשר G (καὶ ἀποδεκατώσει)

The primary reading is probably ועשו, ‘and he put (them) to his work’, or ועשו, ‘they do his works’. The reading ועשר does not fit the clause and is likely a a

241. Cf. McCarter 1984, 124.

242. Jouon & Muraoka 2006, §160.

243. DJD XVII, 34.

corruption from ועשו (a confusion between *waw* and *resh*)<sup>244</sup> anticipating the verb עשר in the following verse.

1S10:3 שלשת כלובי לחם] Q<sup>a</sup>; + שלוש]ת כ}ובי} ככרות [לחם M] שלשת ככרות לחם G (τρία ἄγγεῖα ἄρτων)

According to DJD XVII, in the Qumran scroll, the letters כ ת and ובי are certainly erased, while there is a clear remnant of ל. It seems that Q<sup>a</sup> is a conflation of the readings of both M and G, but the first one has been erased. Alternatively, Cross suggests that the reading of M could have emerged from a *homoearchon*, since both כלובי and ככרות begin with *kaf* and the gender of שלשת does not match with that of ככרות.<sup>245</sup> However, this would not sufficiently explain the reading of G. It is more likely that the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> conflates M and G than that both M and G suffered different kinds of omission here.

2S3:27 על החמש G (ἐπὶ τῆν ψόαν) Q<sup>a</sup>; עד החמש M] החמש

The main verb of the phrase, נכה (hiphil), requires a preposition. Usually, the preposition אל is used.<sup>246</sup> This suggests that על could be the primary reading, which itself was a result of the common confusion between אל and על. The reading עד in Q<sup>a</sup> would then be a corruption of על and the reading of M the result of a scribal mistake.

2S5:1 ויאמרו G (καὶ εἶπαν) Q<sup>a</sup>; לאמור M] ויאמרו לאמר

In this case, the Masoretic text conflates the readings of Q<sup>a</sup> and G. Either Q<sup>a</sup> or G could represent the primary reading.

2S6:2 מבעלי יהודה בעלה Q<sup>a</sup>; בעלה היא קרי'ת יערים אשר] ליהו'ה M] מבעלי יהודה? G (ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ιουδα [ἐν ἀναβάσει])

The reading of the Qumran scroll, 'to Baalah that is Kiriath-Jearim, which is in Judah', serves an expanding function and is probably derived from 1 Chron 13:6 (cf. also Josh. 15:9). The original reading could simply be בעלה, 'to Baalah', or בעלה יהודה, 'to Baalah of Judah'.<sup>247</sup> The reading of M, '(the people) of the lords of Judah', must be a corruption, since it is unlikely that only the men of Judah took part in the campaign,<sup>248</sup> nor is the expression 'the lords of Judah' found elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>249</sup> The Greek expression ἀπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων Ιουδα could be a translation for the same unvocalized text as M, מבעלי יהודה. The problem here is that ἐν ἀναβάσει seems to be a rendering of בעלה, the first letter interpreted as a preposition and the following letters as a form of the verb עלה. This rendering seems to be a double translation of מבעלי, but, since ἐν ἀναβάσει is found in all the Greek manuscript tradition, it may reflect a Hebrew original.

244. Cf. DJD XVII, 59.

245. DJD XVII, 64.

246. DJD XVII, 114; HALOT, s.v. נכה.

247. DJD XVII, 126; McCarter 1984, 162–63; Ulrich 1978, 198–99.

248. Cf. Klein 1983, 101.

249. McCarter 1984, 162–63.

2S6:5 עַי M || עַז Q<sup>a</sup>; עַז בַּעַז? G (ἡρμοσμένοις ἐν ἰσχύι)

Above, I have argued that the original reading is עַז (see p. 58, see also 51) and that the Septuagint probably contains a doublet (both ἡρμοσμένοις and ἐν ἰσχύι correspond to עַז or the like).

2S6:7 עַם אַרְוֹן יְהוָה לְפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים G (παρὰ τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ κυρίου ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ) || עַם אַרְוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים M || לְפָנֵי הָאֱלֹהִים Q<sup>a</sup>;

The reading of M עַם אַרְוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים is probably derived from the previous verse or v. 4, so the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> should be primary (cf. 1 Chron 13:10).<sup>250</sup> The Septuagint conflates the readings of Q<sup>a</sup> and M.

### 2.1.5 MQ<sup>a</sup>L≠G (15)

In **15** cases, the Masoretic text agrees with 4QSam<sup>a</sup> against the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint, and the Lucianic text differs from that of the Old Greek, reflecting a Hebrew text similar to those of M and Q<sup>a</sup>.

In **9** cases, there is a *short quantitative change*; in **5** cases, there is a plus in G and, in **4** cases, a minus.

#### *Pluses in G*

1S5:8 אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 2° M Q<sup>a</sup> (א[לוהי ישראל] L (θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ) || האלהים G (τοῦ θεοῦ).

1S5:8 אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל 3° M Q<sup>a</sup> (אלוהי ישראל] L (θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ) || האלהים G (τοῦ θεοῦ).

The phrase אֱלֹהֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל, defining the word אַרְוֹן, appears three times here. In the first case, all witnesses have ‘the ark of the God of Israel’, while the Old Greek does not have ‘Israel’ in the second or third case. The Lucianic recension is not the only Greek witness to have θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ in the latter cases: the second Ἰσραηλ is witnessed by the majority of the Manuscripts, excluding B 19’ a<sup>-527</sup> b 68’ 488 158; the third Ἰσραηλ is witnessed by V L<sup>-82</sup> CII<sup>-242</sup> 799 68’-74-106-120-134 64’-130 55 71 244 318. While the reading θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ may well reflect a different Hebrew reading (from the *Vorlage* of OG), it is not a purely ‘Lucianic reading’ but rather one shared by many other manuscripts. It is also possible that, in the Greek manuscript tradition, the word Ἰσραηλ was later added to harmonize with the first occurrence of κιβωτός + θεοῦ Ἰσραηλ. As far as the primary Hebrew reading, there are two possible explanations: either the two instances of ‘Israel’ were omitted to avoid repetition, or ‘Israel’ was added twice to harmonize with the first occurrence.<sup>251</sup>

250. DJD XVII, 127; McCarter 1984, 165.

251. According to Kauhanen’s (2012, 173–76) analysis, the longer epithet, ‘ark of God of Israel’, is expected here in both cases. However, one cannot be sure whether these epithets came about as the result of harmonization or are a feature of the original text.



*Minuses in G*

1S2:36 כּוֹל הַנּוֹתָר וְהָיָה כָּל־הַנּוֹתָר M Q<sup>a</sup> (והי[ה] [כול] הַנּוֹתָר) L (καὶ ἔσται πᾶς ὁ ὑπολελειμμένος) ||  
והיה הַנּוֹתָר G (καὶ ἔσται ὁ ὑπολελειμμένος)

Although not all letters have survived, the Qumran scroll undoubtedly has כּוֹל. The word πᾶς in the Lucianic text also reflects the same Hebrew reading. In addition to the Lucianic manuscripts, the reading πᾶς is attested by manuscripts A O d<sup>-68'</sup> 554. Thus, it is not only 'a Lucianic' reading. The fact that the reading is shared with A and O hints at the possible Hexaplaric origin of the reading. In this context, the word כּוֹל is expected, since the meaning of the clause is clearly 'everyone (who is left in Eli's family)'. There is no evident reason for כּוֹל to have been omitted. Although it would not be a simple haplography, I consider the omission of כּוֹל a scribal mistake (note that והיה ends and הַנּוֹתָר begins with *he*).

1S6:8 אָרוֹן יְהוָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (אָרוֹן י[ה]וה) L (τὴν κιβωτὸν Κυρίου) || האָרוֹן G (τὴν κιβωτὸν)  
Besides the Lucianic recension, manuscripts A O d t 318 554 also contain the word Κυρίου. Thus, it may well be a Hexaplaric addition. The shorter title of the ark is probably preferred here.<sup>255</sup>

1S30:26 הִנֵּה לָכֶם בְּרָכָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (הנה לכם) [בְּרָכָה] L (Ἰδοὺ εὐλογία ὑμῖν) || הנה G (Ἰδοὺ)  
The Lucianic recension resembles the Hebrew text of M and Q<sup>a</sup> but with a different word order. The reading is shared also with Greek Mss 64' 342 460. Furthermore, the Greek reading with the word order of M and Q<sup>a</sup> (i.e., Ἰδοὺ ὑμῖν εὐλογία) is attested by Mss A M O CII<sup>-242</sup> a 44-120' s<sup>-64'</sup> 488 245 554. The Lucianic recension is probably dependent on the reading of A M O, etc., which, for its part, is of Hexaplaric origin. In the Hebrew text, לָכֶם בְּרָכָה, 'present for you (from the spoil of the enemies)', fits the context and the syntax of the clause well.<sup>256</sup> The phrase לכם ברכה is omitted by *homoeoteleuton* הנה → ברכה.<sup>257</sup>

2S4:12 בְּחֶבְרוֹן 2<sup>o</sup> M Q<sup>a</sup> (בח[ברון]) L (ἐν Χεβρων) || > G  
Besides the Lucianic recension, the Greek reading ἐν Χεβρων is also attested by manuscripts M V a<sup>-527</sup> 64' 29 244 245 318 342 372<sup>vid</sup> 460<sup>(mg)</sup> 707. The reading בְּחֶבְרוֹן is best explained as having been derived from 2 Sam 2:32 and thus secondary.<sup>258</sup>

In 3 cases, there is a long quantitative change, with a long minus in G.

1S10:16 אֲשֶׁר אָמַר [שְׁמוּאֵל] M Q<sup>a</sup> (אֲשֶׁר אמר [שְׁמוּאֵל]) L (ὁ εἶπε Σαμουελ) || > G  
The Old Greek does not include the plus 'of which Samuel had spoken', while the Lucianic

255. Cf. DJD XVII, 53.

256. The construction הנה + ל + suffix + object appears a few times elsewhere (1 Sam 25:36; 30:26; 2 Sam 16:4; 2 Chr 13:14). The word בְּרָכָה in the sense of 'present, gift (with blessing)' appears, e.g., in 1 Sam 25:27.

257. McCarter 1980, 433.

258. DJD XVII, 120.

recension does. The plus is also found in Manuscripts A O CI<sup>-731txt</sup> d<sup>-107</sup> s<sup>-64</sup> 55 554. In addition, the plus is marked with an asterisk in Mss 127 and 731\*. This leads to the conclusion that it has a Hexaplaric origin. The Hebrew phrase is best understood as serving an explicating function, so the shorter reading of G is to be preferred.<sup>259</sup>

1S17:41 הַצֵּנָה לְפָנָיו M Q<sup>a</sup> (הַצֵּנָה לְפָנָיו) L (τὸν θυρεὸν αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ) || > G. Although the Qumran scroll has only the letters הַ לְפָנָיו, the placement of the fragment is secure, since two other lines above this one are preserved (see p. 121). Thus, the reconstruction is reliable. This passage was not in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint but was later supplied in many manuscripts, including the Lucianic recension,<sup>260</sup> nor was it included in the original Hebrew text, as argued in ch. 3 (esp. p. 150–153).

1S18:5 יִשְׁלַחנּוּ שְׂאוּל M Q<sup>a</sup> (יִשְׁלַחנּוּ שְׂאוּל) L (ἀπέστειλεν Σαουλ) || < G

The whole passage, 1 Sam 17:55–18:5, is missing from the Old Greek but is later supplied in many manuscripts (see section 3.6). The verse in question, 1 Sam 18:5, is found not only in the Lucianic recension but also in Mss A O CI CII d f s<sup>-762</sup> 55 158 554.<sup>261</sup> In ch. 3 (esp. section 3.7), I argue that 1 Sam 17:55–18:5 is secondary also in Hebrew.

The other cases include *a change in the morphology of a word, a change of a word and a different word order*.

2S3:38 שֶׁר וְגָדוֹל M Q<sup>a</sup> (שֶׁר וְגָדוֹל) L (ἡγούμενος καὶ μέγας) || שֶׁר גָּדוֹל G (ἡγούμενος μέγας)

The different Hebrew readings can be explained as a confusion between *waw* and *resh* followed by either dittography or haplography. Since the juxtaposition of a noun and an adjective, שֶׁר וְגָדוֹל, is an odd expression, as well as the use of an adjective as the subject of the clause, dittography seems to be the more plausible explanation and the reading of G superior.<sup>262</sup> It is also noteworthy that one medieval Hebrew manuscript and the Peshitta agree with G. In the Greek manuscripts, καὶ is added by M V L CI a 29 55 71 158 342 372, but this is most likely a secondary reading, probably an old Hebraizing correction toward the Masoretic text.

2S6:6 אֶל-אַרְוֹן M Q<sup>a</sup> (אל ארון) L (πρὸς τὴν κιβωτὸν) || עַל אַרְוֹן G (ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν)

The prepositions אֶל and עַל are frequently confused in the Books of Samuel. In this context, either preposition is possible, so it is difficult to determine the primary reading.

259. Cf. McCarter 1980, 172.

260. The O group, along with the majority of Mss, has τὸν θυρεὸν ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ; the personal pronoun αὐτοῦ in L may simply be a recensional addition.

261. However, there is some variation between the manuscripts—e.g., the verb ἀπέστειλεν in L is given as ἀπέστειλεν in A and O.

262. *Contra* DJD XVII, 116, where the reading of G is considered an interpretation of ‘*hendiadys* found in the Hebrew text’.

1S15:30 נגד זקני ישראל ונגד זקני עמי נגד זקני עמי ונגד ישראל M Q<sup>a</sup> (נ[ג] זקני עמי[י] ונגד יש[ר]אֵל) L (ένώπιον πρεσβυτέρων λαοῦ μου καὶ ένώπιον Ισραηλ) || נגד זקני ישראל ונגד עמי G (ένώπιον πρεσβυτέρων Ισραηλ καὶ ένώπιον λαοῦ μου)

The Septuagint has ‘Israel’ and ‘my nation’ in a different order from that of M and Q<sup>a</sup>, the latter of which is also attested by Septuagint manuscripts A O L d t z 554—best understood as a Hexaplaric influence. The primary Hebrew reading is probably that of M and Q<sup>a</sup>, which was then mixed up in the source text of the Septuagint.

### 2.1.6 ML≠GQ<sup>a</sup> (8)

In 8 cases the Masoretic text agrees with the Lucianic text against the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.

In 3 cases, there is a *short quantitative change*, a minus in G and Q<sup>a</sup>.

1S2:27 ויאמר אליו M L (καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ) || ויאמר[ו] Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ εἶπεν)

Greek manuscripts V CI<sup>-731<sup>txt</sup></sup> add πρὸς αὐτόν, an exact equivalent to אֵלָיו and clearly a Hexaplaric reading.<sup>263</sup> Besides L, manuscripts 74 318 554 also have αὐτῷ. This reading may have appeared independently, but the existence of the reading πρὸς αὐτόν suggests that it is related and was later revised to αὐτῷ in the Greek manuscript tradition. As for the originality of the Hebrew readings, I prefer the shorter reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G. To whom the man of God speaks is clear without the indirect object אֵלָיו.

1S2:28 לשאת אפוד לפני M L (καὶ αἴρειν εφουδ ένώπιόν μου) || לשאת אפוד[ו] Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ αἴρειν εφουδ)

The reading ένώπιόν μου is shared by manuscripts A O L CI d<sup>-68</sup> 318 554 and seems to be of Hexaplaric origin. In the Hebrew text, there is no evident reason to have omitted לפני. It may well have been an addition to emphasize service *before* God (cf. 1 Sam 2:28; 2 Sam 6:14).

2S3:7 ושמה רצה M L (καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῆ Ρεσφα) || ושמה Q<sup>a</sup> G (Ρεσφα).

The Lucianic text and Mss CI<sup>243</sup> add καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῆ, an exact rendering of ושמה, in the Masoretic text.<sup>264</sup> The expression ושמה can either be an explicating addition or an omission by haplography (ending in the same letter as the following word; furthermore, the first letters, *waw* and *resh*, can be confused).<sup>265</sup>

263. Furthermore, this reading has an asterisk in 731<sup>mg</sup>.

264. In addition, ὄνομα αὐτῆ is found in 318, ἦν ὄνομα in 246 71, ἡ ὄνομα in V 56 244 and ὄνομα in 245.

265. Cf. DJD XVII, 110.

In 1 case, there is a long quantitative change, a long minus in G and Q<sup>a</sup>.

1S2:22 אֶתְּ־אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכְּבוּן אֶת־הַנְּשִׁים הַצְּבֹאוֹת פְּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: M L (καὶ ὅτι συνεκοιμῶντο οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τῶν παρεστηκυῶν παρὰ τὰς θύρας τῆς σκηנῆς τοῦ μαρτυριοῦ) || > Q<sup>a</sup> G

Several Greek manuscripts (A V O L 731<sup>mg</sup> 236<sup>mg</sup>-313<sup>mg</sup> d<sup>-68'</sup> f s<sup>-64'</sup> 130 55 158 554) supply the plus found in the Masoretic text, though there is some degree of variation and the readings are evidently Hexaplaric.<sup>266</sup> Although there is a small *lacuna* in the Qumran manuscript, it is impossible for it to have contained the plus.<sup>267</sup> It is generally accepted that the plus is an interpolation added by a scribe influenced by priestly language, so the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G must be primary.<sup>268</sup>

In 2 cases, there is a change in the morphology of a word.

1S9:24 אֶתְּ־הַשׁוֹק וְהָעֲלִיָּה M L (τὴν κωλέαν καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῆς) || אֶתְּ־הַשׁוֹק הָעֲלִיָּה Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὴν κωλέαν)

The Old Greek does not have an equivalent for וְהָעֲלִיָּה, but a translation for the word is added in several manuscripts (A O L 731<sup>mg</sup> d f 318 554). Evidently, the reading is Hexaplaric.<sup>269</sup> The Qumran manuscript does not have וְהָעֲלִיָּה, 'and its upper part', but הָעֲלִיָּה, 'upper', attributed to הַשׁוֹק, 'thigh'. The word κωλέα does not appear elsewhere in the Septuagint and may well be a technical translation for הַשׁוֹק הָעֲלִיָּה, 'upper thigh' (the normal rendering for הַשׁוֹק is βραχίον).<sup>270</sup> No further conclusions can be made securely.

1S14:50 שֶׁר־צָבָאוֹ M L (τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου αὐτοῦ) || שֶׁר הַצְּבֹא Q<sup>a</sup> G (τῷ ἀρχιστρατήγῳ).

The pronoun αὐτοῦ is added to the Greek text in multiple manuscripts (L C' a 509 s 29 55<sup>c</sup> 158 244 318 460 554). The manuscript evidence suggests that this is not a trait of a Lucianic recension but rather Hexaplaric. As for the Hebrew readings, it is more likely that the third-person suffix was added and the expression made more specific than vice versa.

In 2 cases, there is a change of a word.

2S3:17 וְדִבְרֵי־אֲבִנָּר הִיא M L (καὶ λόγος τοῦ Αβεννηρ ἐγένετο) || אֲבִנָּר ]וְאִמְרָו Q<sup>a</sup> G (καὶ εἶπεν Αβεννηρ)

Although only four letters are preserved in the Qumran scroll, one can safely accept that it agrees with the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint. The reading of the Lucianic text is an

266. Mss 127 731 236-313 134 56 92, with an asterisk.

267. The surrounding text in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is תְּעִשׂוּן | תְּעִשׂוּן לְמָהּ | יִשְׂרָאֵל וְיִאמְרוּ לְהֵם לְמָהּ. Compare this to the Masoretic text (shared letters highlighted in grey): וְאֶתְּ־אֲשֶׁר־יִשְׁכְּבוּן אֶת־הַנְּשִׁים הַצְּבֹאוֹת פְּתַח אֹהֶל מוֹעֵד: יִאמְרוּ לְהֵם לְמָהּ תְּעִשׂוּן. It is unlikely that ו after יִשְׂרָאֵל would have been a part of וְאֶתְּ. The letters יִאמְרוּ לְמָהּ fit perfectly into the end of the missing line.

268. DJD XVII, 45; Ulrich 1978, 57–58, 185.

269. Mss 127 731<sup>mg</sup>, with an asterisk.

270. Cf. DJD XVII, 62.

271. Cross does not reconstruct אֲבִנָּר but leaves the reconstruction open (DJD XVII, 111).

exact translation of the Masoretic text and likely of Hexaplaric origin, despite it being found only in *L*. As for the Hebrew reading, the more straightforward expression of *Q<sup>a</sup>* and *G* may be secondary, influenced by the previous verse (וַיֹּאמֶר אֱלֹהִים אֲבָנִים).<sup>272</sup>

2S6:3 אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים M L (τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ) || אֶת אֲרוֹן יְהוָה [Q<sup>a</sup> G (τὴν κιβωτὸν κυρίου)].

In the Qumran scroll, only the letter *he* indicates that it more likely agrees with the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint rather than with the Masoretic text. Still, it is fairly safe to surmise that the Hebrew text had יהוה instead of האלהים, since, in addition to the Septuagint, the Targum and the Vulgate also reflect a Hebrew text with יהוה.<sup>273</sup> The expressions אֲרוֹן יְהוָה and אֶת־אֲרוֹן הָאֱלֹהִים vary widely: in 1–2 Sam, the former appears 19 times and the latter 20 times. Thus, it is hard to determine which of the Hebrew readings is primary here. In any case, the Greek reading of the Lucianic text (shared by Mss 55 245) is probably Hexaplaric.

In this group, the most likely explanation for the phenomenon *L*≠*G* is that *L* tends to correct toward the text of *M*.

### 2.1.7 ML ≠ G ≠ Q<sup>a</sup> ≠ ML (2)

In 2 cases, the Lucianic text reflects a Hebrew text similar to the Masoretic text against the Septuagint and the Qumran scroll, which both also disagree each other. Both cases belong to the category *a more complicated change*.

1S11:9 לָכֵם [Q<sup>a</sup>; לָכֵם מִיְהוָה הַתֵּשׁ] וְעַתָּה M L (ὅμῃν ἔσται ἡ σωτηρία) || לָכֵם הַתֵּשׁ וְעַתָּה G (ὅμῃν ἡ σωτηρία)

The shortest reading, *G*, is probably original. The addition of מִיְהוָה in the Qumran scroll is then an anticipation of v. 13 (הַיּוֹם עָשָׂה־יְהוָה תְּשׁוּעָה בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל).<sup>274</sup> The reading לָכֵם הַתֵּשׁ in *M* could be a graphical mistake from מִיְהוָה → תִּהְיֶה, which has been moved to the beginning of the clause. Greek Mss *A O d* 554 add the verb ἔσται in front of the clause, and *L*<sup>19</sup> *La*<sup>115</sup> add the verb after ὅμῃν. Thus, it is safe to consider these readings Hexaplaric.<sup>275</sup> The difference in the word order could just be an intra-Greek variation or may indeed reflect the Hebrew text תִּהְיֶה לָכֵם.

2S6:7 אֶשׁ [עַל] אֶשׁ [רְשָׁלַח יְדוֹ] עַל [ה] אֲרוֹן [עַל־הַשָּׁל] M L (ἐπὶ τῆ προπετεία) || אֶשׁ [עַל] > G

The Masoretic text with *hapax legomenon* אֶשׁ is without a doubt *lectio difficilior* but should not be regarded as primary; it is rather a corruption from a longer reading present in the

272. Cf. McCarter, 1984, 108

273. Targum אֲרוֹנָא דִּי יְהוָה; Vulgate *arcam Domini*.

274. DJD XVII, 68.

275. Furthermore, 127 marks this reading with an asterisk.

Qumran scroll and 1 Chron 13:10 (עַל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יְדוֹ עַל־הָאָרוֹן).<sup>276</sup> Although the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> is superior to that of M, it still could be a secondary addition. In the Greek manuscripts, the plus ἐπὶ τῆ προπετεία is found in *O L* 243mg 98' 731\* *CII f* 92-314-489 158 318.<sup>277</sup> Thus, one can safely conclude that either of the pluses of M and Q<sup>a</sup> was missing in the source text of the Septuagint, and the plus was later added in *O L* and others through the Hexapla. In the Hebrew text, there is no evident reason for a haplographic error, and, furthermore, I cannot see any reason to omit the plus. On the contrary, if the shortest text, G, is original, the addition עַל אֲשֶׁר־שָׁלַח יְדוֹ עַל־הָאָרוֹן is a reasonable interpolation explaining why God smote Uzziah (i.e., because he put laid his hand upon the ark).

### 2.1.8 Q<sup>a</sup>L ≠ M ≠ G ≠ Q<sup>a</sup>L (3)

In 3 cases, the Lucianic text reflects a Hebrew text similar to 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, against the Masoretic text and the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint, which both also disagree each other. All cases belong to the category *a more complicated change*.

1S9:6    מ] גַּלְכָּה שָׁם אוֹלִי Q<sup>a</sup> L (πορευθῶμεν δὴ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὄπως);  
           G (πορευθῶμεν, ὄπως)<sup>278</sup>

Since, in the Qumran text, the first letter after the lacuna is certainly *waw*, the Scroll must have had a different text from both M and G. However, it is too haphazard to conclude from this that Q<sup>a</sup> and L shared the same reading, since it depends too much on the reconstruction of the missing part.<sup>279</sup> In any case, the reading שָׁם as well as πρὸς αὐτὸν and אוֹלִי are best explained as explicating pluses. Furthermore, πρὸς αὐτὸν does not necessarily show a connection to אוֹלִי, since such explicating pluses may emerge independently. The reading of G could have emerged as the result of haplography (viz., אוֹלִי אוֹלִי → אוֹלִי), but, more likely, the shortest reading, G, represents the original reading, and the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> may have emerged partially as the result of dittography.<sup>280</sup>

1S24:20    Q<sup>a</sup> G כאשר עשיתה [ת]ה ה' היום הזה אשר עשיתה לי M] תחת היום הזה אשר עשיתה לי  
           G (καθὼς πεποίηκας σὺ σήμερον);    G (καθὼς πεποίηκας  
           σήμερον)

The Qumran scroll without a doubt has a text differently from M. However, the identification of the letter *aleph* in [ת]ה[ is uncertain. Having looked at the picture, PAM 43.111, I argue that it is possible for א to be identified as ש as well, which leads to another reconstruction that resembles the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek: כאשר עשיתה [ת]ה ה' היום הזה. This reconstruction does not, however, fulfil the vertical alignment of the text as well. On the other

276. DJD XVII, 127.

277. Furthermore, in 488, the plus is found before ὁ θεός 731 has ἀπονοια instead of προπετεια.

278. The word ὄπως is not an unexpected translation for אוֹלִי, see e.g. 1 Sam 6:5, 13:9.

279. Cf. Kauhanen 2012, 183, which does not discuss this connection, since the reconstruction is too uncertain.

280. Cross leaves open the question concerning the originality (DJD XVII, 60).

hand, the pronoun *σύ* in the Greek text may have been added without any connection to the Hebrew text.<sup>281</sup> Concerning the original Hebrew text, *לִי* in the Masoretic text must be an explicating addition.<sup>282</sup> Furthermore, the expression *תַּחַת הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* is awkward and does not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. One explanation for the odd word *תַּחַת* is that it is a corrupted form of *אֵתָהּ*. In any case, either G or Q<sup>a</sup> represent the original reading. If the reconstruction *הַתְּחִלָּה עָשִׂיתָהּ* is correct, the reading *עָשִׂיתָהּ* may have originated from a *homoeoteleuton* error.

2S5:11 *וְחָרְשֵׁי אֲבָן קִיר* M || *וְחָרְשֵׁי קִיר* Q<sup>a</sup> L (*καὶ τέκτονας τοίχου*); *וְחָרְשֵׁי אֲבָן* G (*καὶ τέκτονας λίθων*)

The Masoretic text is clearly a conflation of the readings of Q<sup>a</sup> and G. The expression *חָרַשׁ אֲבָן*, ‘a worker of stone’, is known from Ex 28:11 and 1 Chr 22:15, while the expression *חָרַשׁ קִיר*, ‘a worker of wall’, does not appear anywhere else in the Hebrew Bible. The reading *חָרַשׁ קִיר*, as the more uncommon expression, may well be original, with *קִיר* later replaced by the more common *אֲבָן*. The conflation of readings in M also fits into this scheme (note that *אֲבָן* precedes *קִיר*). As for the Greek witnesses, the manuscript evidence is the following: *λίθων*] *πρὸς τοίχου* 19’; *τοίχου* L<sup>-19’</sup>; + *τειχου* 376; + *τοιχου* A 247 *CI*<sup>-243</sup> (sub \* 243<sup>mg</sup>). On these grounds, the reading *τοίχου* does not require a direct connection with Q<sup>a</sup> but is more likely an instance of the Hexaplaric reading, also in the case of most Lucianic manuscripts, replacing the Old Greek reading (note, however, that Mss 19’ have both readings but in a different order than in A, etc.).

### 2.1.9 Q<sup>a</sup>G ≠ M ≠ L ≠ Q<sup>a</sup>G (4)

In 4 cases, the Lucianic text reflects a Hebrew text different from any other witnesses, M, Q<sup>a</sup> or G; in addition, Q<sup>a</sup> and G agree against M.

1S2:21 *וְתָהָרָה וְתֵלֵד* M || *וְתֵלֵד עוֹד* Q<sup>a</sup> G (*καὶ ἔτεκεν ἔτι*); *וְתָהָרָה עוֹד וְתֵלֵד* L (*καὶ συνέλαβεν ἔτι καὶ ἔτεκε*)

The original reading is probably simply *וְתֵלֵד*, ‘she bore’, expanded in M (‘conceived and bore’) and Q<sup>a</sup> and G (‘bore further’).<sup>283</sup> In the Greek manuscripts *καὶ συνέλαβεν* is added in A V O L 731<sup>mg</sup> d<sup>-68’</sup> 488 554, and one can safely conclude that it is a Hexaplaric reading added to the text, not replacing the Old Greek reading.<sup>284</sup>

281. The reading *πεποιήκας σύ* is attested by L<sup>-108\*</sup> and *σύ πεποιήκας* by V 846<sup>c</sup> *C’ a d f s* 29 55 71 158 244 245 318 342 460 554 707.

282. *Pace* DJD XVII, 85.

283. McCarter 1980, 80.

284. The addition of *ἔτι* before *καὶ ἔτεκε* is without a doubt a trait of Lucianic recension.

1S2:24 ] אל בני כי לוא טובה הש[מועה M] אל בני כי לוא טובה השמעה אשר אנכי שמע Q<sup>a</sup> G (מִן אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שׁוֹמֵעַ אֶל תַּעֲשׂוֹן כֵּן כִּי לֹא טוֹב [וְתַּשְׁמוּעוֹת] אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי שׁוֹמֵעַ (μή, τέκνα, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἡ ἀκοή, ἢ ἐγὼ ἀκούω μὴ ποιεῖτε οὕτως, ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθαὶ αἱ ἀκοαί, ἅς ἐγὼ ἀκούω); *aliter* L (μή τέκνα μὴ ποιεῖτε οὕτως ὅτι οὐκ ἀγαθὴ ἡ ἀκοή ἢ ἐγὼ ἀκούω)

The Masoretic text emerged as a result of the haplography שומע ן שומע, so the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is superior in that sense.<sup>285</sup> The Lucianic text conflates the reading of G(/Q<sup>a</sup>) and M.

1S2:31–2 M] > Q<sup>a</sup> G; L (καὶ מְהִיּוֹת זָקֵן בְּבֵיתָדָּ: וְהַבְּטָחָה צָר מְעוֹן בְּכָל אֲשֶׁר־יִיטִיב אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל) > Q<sup>a</sup> G; L (καὶ ἐπιβλέπει κραταίωμα μαῶν ἐν πᾶσιν οἷς ἀγαθύνει τὸν Ἰσραηλ)

It seems that the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> G could have emerged as a result of the haplography זקן בביתד ן בביתד. However, more likely, M emerged as a result of an expansion and corruption of the text.<sup>286</sup>

1S10:27 M] ךו חדש Q<sup>a</sup> G (Καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς μετὰ μῆνα); L (καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς κωφεύων καὶ ἐγενήθη μετὰ μῆνα)

The Masoretic text emerged as the result of a corruption (see ch. 4, esp. p. 161). The primary reading is found in Q<sup>a</sup> and G. The Lucianic recension conflates both readings. The addition καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς κωφεύων is probably Hexaplaric.

## 2.1.10 MQ<sup>a</sup> ≠ G ≠ L ≠ MQ<sup>a</sup> (2)

In 2 cases, the Lucianic text reflects a Hebrew text different from any other witness, M, Q<sup>a</sup> or G; in addition, Q<sup>a</sup> and M agree against G. The first case belongs to the category *a complicated change*, the second to *interchange of a word*.

1S8:12 M Q<sup>a</sup> ( [ולחר] ש חר[ישו ולקצר קצירו] ) ךו קצירו Q<sup>a</sup> (καὶ θερίζειν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν αὐτοῦ); G (καὶ θερίζειν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν αὐτοῦ); L (καὶ ἀποτριᾶν τὴν ἀποτρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ θερίζειν θερισμὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ τρυγᾶν τρυγητὸν αὐτοῦ)

The Masoretic text and the Qumran scroll have ‘to plough his ground and to reap his harvest’. In the Septuagint, the first half of the expression is missing, supplying a separate parallel expression: ‘to reap his harvest and to harvest his harvest’. McCarter suggest that the Lucianic text containing all three parts of the list should be considered primary, from which the others developed through haplographic error.<sup>287</sup> More likely, the plus καὶ ἀποτριᾶν τὴν

285. Although the reading of Q<sup>a</sup> and G is superior, it possibly arose from dittography. See McCarter 1980, 81–82; DJD XVII, 43.

286. See further Cross’s argumentation in DJD XVII, 44; McCarter 1980, 88. In short, the argumentation is as follows: M is clearly corrupted and cannot represent the primary reading. Furthermore, the readings of M, מהיות זקן בביתד and זקן בביתד, are, indeed, conflated variants.

287. McCarter 1980, 154–55.

ἀποτρῖαν αὐτοῦ in the Lucianic manuscripts<sup>288</sup> is a Hexaplaric reading added in front of the text. As for the Hebrew text, the original reading could be simply **ולקצר קצירו**, which was later expanded into two different parallel expressions.

1S12:14 אַחַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵיכֶם M Q<sup>a</sup> (אחר יהוה אל[והיכ]ם) || אחר יהוה הלכים G (ὀπίσω κυρίου πορευόμενοι); אחר יהוה אלהיכם L (πορευόμενοι ὀπίσω κυρίου θεοῦ ὑμῶν)

The Masoretic text and the Qumran scroll have the primary reading. The reading πορευόμενοι in the Septuagint reflects הלכים in its source text, evidently corrupted from the original אלהיכם (almost the same letters but in a slightly different order).<sup>289</sup> The reading πορευόμενοι ὀπίσω κυρίου θεοῦ ὑμῶν is attested by L 554<sup>me</sup>. The plus θεοῦ ὑμῶν is best explained as a Hexaplaric reading.

### 2.1.11 MQ<sup>a</sup>G ≠ L (1)

In 1 case, the Lucianic text may reflect a different Hebrew text against the readings of M, Q<sup>a</sup> and G.

1S3:19 אֶרְצָה M Q<sup>a</sup> (ארצה) G (ἐπι τὴν γῆν) || לא דבר אחד L (οὐδὲ ἓν ῥῆμα)

The phrase οὐδὲ ἓν ῥῆμα, ‘not a single word’, is a Hebraistic expression and may well reflect a Hebrew text not present in any of the other witnesses. The element of ‘one’ is present also in the Targum, though it is syntactically attached to the sentence in a different way: **וְלֹא בְטִיל מְכַל פְּתִגְמוּהִי חַד**, ‘and he did not nullify *one* of his words’. In any case, the plus **לא דבר אחד** must be a secondary addition, perhaps influenced by other passages, such as Josh 23:14 and 1 Kgs 8:56.<sup>290</sup>

## 2.2. Variant Readings in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>

While many studies have been written on the textual character of manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup>,<sup>291</sup> not much has been written on 4QSam<sup>b</sup>.<sup>292</sup> This manuscript is one of the oldest found at Qumran, dated paleographically to the latter half of the third century BCE. Initially, a date of c. 225 was preferred but more recent research prefers ‘the earlier end of the bracket, c. 250 BCE’.<sup>293</sup> As for orthography, the manuscript has many ‘archaic’ features—e.g., a tendency to use defective spellings or final *he* as the *mater lectionis* for long vowel *ō*. The text of 4QSam<sup>b</sup> be-

288. Not attested by the other Mss.

289. DJD XVII, 71; Wellhausen 1871, 79.

290. Cf. DJD XVII, 47.

291. Besides DJD XVII, see Herbert 1997a, 1997b; Rofé 1998; Parry 2007; Cross & Saley 2006; Ulrich 2007; Saley 2007; Venturini 2008; Dziadosz 2009; Rofé 2010.

292. Besides DJD: Cross & Parry 1997; Cross 1955; Andersen & Freedman 1989.

293. DJD XVII, 220.

trays an affinity with that of the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. Furthermore, it is claimed to have a high proportion of original readings, regardless of whether or not it agrees with other textual witnesses.<sup>294</sup>

In investigating the kinds of changes evident here, I employ the same categorisation according to type of change as used above to study 4QSam<sup>a</sup>; namely,

- a) Short quantitative change (plus/minus of one or two words)
- b) Long quantitative change (plus/minus of at least three words)
- c) Change in the morphology of a word (e.g., change of gender, tense, number, person or suffix)
- d) Interchange of a word (including prepositions and conjunctions, regardless of whether or not they are attached to a word)
- e) Interchange of several words (including changes in word order)
- f) More complicated change or a combination of the above categories

In the following analysis, I have tried to arrange all variant readings according to pattern of agreement and nature of change. Furthermore, I comment briefly on each variant reading, elaborating on which reading I consider to be original.

### 2.2.1 M ≠ GQ<sup>b</sup> (26)

In 9 cases, there is a *short quantitative change*, of which G and Q<sup>b</sup> have a plus in 4 cases and a minus in 5 cases:

#### *Pluses*

1S16:4 בּוֹאֵךְ M]] + הִרְאָה Q<sup>b</sup> G (ὁ βλέπων)

G and Q<sup>b</sup> use the term ‘the seer’ here to denote the prophet Samuel. This epithet is used earlier for Samuel also in 1 Sam 9:9, 11, 18, 19, but nowhere else in 1–2 Sam. The explanation given in 1 Sam 9:9 indicates that the term ‘seer’ is old fashioned and, for that reason, could have been omitted here in the Masoretic text.

1S20:28 אָת־שָׂאוֹל M]] + וַיֹּאמֶר Q<sup>b</sup> G (καὶ εἶπεν)

If a sentence has the predicate ענה, ‘to react, answer’, it is common to have also the verb אמר before the direct speech is cited (see, e.g., 1 Sam. 1:17; 4:17; 9:19, 21; 10:12). In the Books of Samuel, ויען without the verb אמר is found only in 2 Sam 19:43, where the conjunction כי is used to indicate direct speech. Thus, ויאמר here is probably an addition to harmonize the syntax with regular usage.<sup>295</sup>

294. DJD XVII, 222–24.

295. Cf. DJD XVII, 238.

1S20:30 בִּיהוֹנָתָן M || + מאד Q<sup>b</sup> G (σφόδρα)

The word מאד in G and Q<sup>b</sup> is an addition to make the story more vivid and dramatic.<sup>296</sup>

1S21:1 וַיִּקָּם M || + דוד Q<sup>b</sup> G (Δαυιδ)

The editors of DJD consider the longer reading of G and Q<sup>b</sup> more original but do not supply an explanation.<sup>297</sup> On the contrary, I regard the word ‘David’ as an addition serving to define the subject explicitly.

*Minuses*

1S20:32 וַיִּשְׁאֹל אָבִיו M || אביו Q<sup>b</sup> G (τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ)<sup>298</sup>

In this case, the Masoretic text clearly has a secondary reading. The reading אביו seems to be the most original, while the addition וַיִּשְׁאֹל is secondary, defining the indirect object explicitly. The reading of M conflates those of G and Q<sup>b</sup>.

1S20:32 וַיִּאמֶר אֵלָיו M || ויאמר Q<sup>b</sup> G (καὶ εἶπεν)<sup>299</sup>

The explication of the indirect object in the Masoretic text is most probably an addition.<sup>300</sup>

1S21:5 אֶל־תַּחַת M || תחת Q<sup>b</sup> G (ὑπὸ)

There is a slight tendency in the Septuagint to translate אֶל־תַּחַת other than just with ὑπό, the normal rendering for תַּחַת.<sup>301</sup> Considering the context of the passage, the preposition אֶל־תַּחַת does not seem to fit. Thus, אֶל may well have emerged from dittography, preceding הוּל, as suggested in DJD.<sup>302</sup>

1S21:5 וַיִּשְׁאֵל מֵאִשָּׁה M || [ ] א[ ] Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἀπὸ γυναικός)

The particle וַיִּשְׁאֵל is missing in G and Q<sup>b</sup>, though it has been corrected in the scroll above the line. The correction was not made by the same scribe who copied the manuscript. DJD suggests that the word may be a remnant of the word that originally followed מאשה but was omitted in the Masoretic text (sc., either ואכלתם or ואכלו; see p. 89).<sup>303</sup>

296. Cf. DJD XVII, 234.

297. DJD XVII, 237.

298. Kauhanen (2012, 185–86) argues convincingly that the reading τῷ πατρὶ αὐτοῦ (A V O L C I 242 a<sup>799</sup> 68’-74-134’-370 56 29 55 158 245 318 342 554 707) is, indeed, the Old Greek reading, while the reading τῷ Σαουλ (B O C I I<sup>242</sup> b 246 68’-74’s 244 460 554 = Ra) is a Hebraizing correction.

299. καὶ εἶπεν is omitted in B b 106-107’ 71 = Ra. This is simply an error, the Old Greek definitely contained καὶ εἶπεν. Thus, also in Kauhanen 2012, 185–86.

300. Thus, also in Kauhanen 2012, 185–86.

301. Rendered 5 times as ὑποκάτω (Jer 3:6; Ezek 10:2; Zech 3:10 [bis]; 2 Chr 5:7), once as ὑπόγειον (Jer 38:11) and once as ἀντί Lev 14:42. In Judg 6:19; 1 Kgs 8:6, אֶל־תַּחַת is rendered as ὑπό, but אֶל can be understood as having been rendered in the other preposition used earlier in either verse: Judg 6:19 אֵלָיו אֶל־תַּחַת הָאֵלֶּה – πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τὴν δρῦν; 1 Kgs 8:6 אֶל־תַּחַת כַּנְפֵי הַכְּרוּבִים – εἰς τὰ ἄγια τῶν ἁγίων ὑπὸ τὰς πτέρυγας τῶν χερσῶν.

302. DJD XVII, 237.

303. DJD XVII, 237.

1S23:11 אֲנִי הַגִּידָהּ M]|| הַגִּידָהּ Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἀπάγγειλον)

As stated in the DJD edition, it is difficult to determine whether or not the particle אֲנִי is original. Q<sup>b</sup> has a longer variant form for the masculine singular imperative. This is purely a morphological variant, practically the same in meaning.<sup>304</sup> In addition, both forms of the verb נָגַד (hiphil) are equally common in the Masoretic text (13 occurrences for each form).<sup>305</sup> It is impossible to determine whether the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had הַגִּידָהּ or הַגִּדָהּ, but there is a strong tendency in the Septuagint to translate the particle אֲנִי as δη (or οὖν).<sup>306</sup> In my view, there is no reason to omit the emphasizing particle אֲנִי, and, thus, it seems more probable for it to be an expansion.<sup>307</sup> It is possible that the addition אֲנִי originated from a misreading of *he* (perhaps written *defectively* הַגִּדָהּ → הַגִּדָנָהּ → נָהּ הַגִּדָהּ), but it can equally have been a conscious addition to emphasize the imperative.

In one case, there is a *long quantitative change*: 4QSam<sup>b</sup> indicates a notably longer text, reflected also by the Septuagint:

1S14:41 הַבָּהּ יִשְׂרָאֵל M]|| אוּ בִּי Q<sup>b</sup> G (*see below*)

Between the words הַבָּהּ and יִשְׂרָאֵל in the Masoretic text, the Septuagint has the following long plus:

τί ὅτι οὐκ ἀπεκρίθης τῷ δούλῳ σου σήμερον; εἰ ἐν ἐμοὶ ἢ ἐν Ἰωνᾶθαν τῷ υἱῷ μου ἡ ἀδικία, κύριε ὁ θεὸς Ἰσραηλ, δὸς δῆλους; καὶ ἐὰν τάδε εἴπῃς Ἐν τῷ λαῷ σου Ἰσραηλ.

Evidently, this reflects a Hebrew original, from which the Masoretic text emerged by the haplography יִשְׂרָאֵל – יִשְׂרָאֵל.<sup>308</sup> The longer text must be original, since the text is not sensible in the shorter form. In the Masoretic text, Saul only asks God to give *thummim* (הַבָּהּ תְּמִים), but it is not stated for which question. The translation ‘give a true decision’ for הַבָּהּ תְּמִים<sup>309</sup> is just a poor attempt to make sense of the corrupted text. In Q<sup>b</sup>, only two letters are readable for certain, and one letter can be read with some certainty (DJD: ‘reasonably secure’). Nevertheless, there is no reason to suppose that the scroll did not have the entire plus—or at least most of it. The plus fits well with the vertical alignment of וַיֹּאמֶר] אֹ in the next line. One could suppose that the fragment should be identified with a different verse, but, in the Books of Samuel, there are no other instances where a consecutive וַיֹּאמֶר is immediately preceded by the letter *waw* and takes the particle אוּ within a reasonable distance of one line-length.

304. See, e.g., Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §48b

305. The longer form occurs 13 times, in 8 times of which אֲנִי follows (Gen 32:30; 37:16; Judg 16:6, 10; 1 Sam 9:18; 10:15; Jer 38:25; Jonah 1:8), 5 times not (Gen 29:15; Judg 16:13; 1 Sam 14:43; Ruth 4:4; Song 1:7). The shorter imperative is followed by 5 אֲנִי times (Josh 7:19; 1 Sam 23:11; 2 Sam 1:4; 2 Kgs 9:12; Jer 36:17), 8 times not (2 Sam 18:21; Is 58:1; Jer 42:20; Ezek 23:36; 40:4; 43:10; Job 38:4, 18).

306. DJD XVII, 247.

307. *Pace* DJD XVII, 247.

308. DJD XVII, 225; McCarter 1980, 247–48. *Contra* Pisano (1984, 186–87, 189–91), who considers M primary.

309. Thus, e.g. in Lindblom 1962, 176; NIV; KJV.

Thus, Q<sup>b</sup> must have had a longer text than in the Masoretic text, most probably the same as that of the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint.<sup>310</sup>

In 8 cases, there is a change in the morphology of a word.

1S16:2 תִּקַח M|| ק]ח Q<sup>b</sup> G (λαβέ)

The Septuagint has the aorist imperative λαβέ, which may be a contextual interpretation for the imperfect (or jussive) תִּקַח but, more probably, is a translation of the Hebrew imperative, as found in Q<sup>b</sup>. Although the Hebrew imperfect (or jussive) can be used instead of imperative, this is rare.<sup>311</sup> It is more probable that the more infrequently used imperfect is replaced by the more common imperative than vice versa.

1S20:26 טָהוֹר M|| טָהַר Q<sup>b</sup> G (κεκαθάρισται)

The Masoretic text has the word as a noun, meaning ‘clean’. Evidently, the Septuagint κεκαθάρισται presumes in its *Vorlage* טָהַר, read as pual perf. sg. 3rd masc. The original text probably read טָהַר, which was then changed to טָהוֹר by the influence of the preceding טָהוֹר.<sup>312</sup>

1S20:29 צָוָה M|| צוּ Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἐνετείλαντο)

M has the verb in singular, while G and Q<sup>b</sup> have it in plural. The subject of the verb is אָחִי, the unvocalized text of which can be read as either singular, ‘my brother’, or plural, ‘my brothers’. The plural seems to fit the context better, since David had several brothers. Nevertheless, the change in number is connected with the first word of the clause: וְהוּא (M) or וְאֲנִי (Q<sup>b</sup>). If the word is read as וְהוּא, as in the Masoretic text, the word אָחִי must be read as singular. If the clause begins with *casus pendens* וְאֲנִי, either the singular or plural of אָחִי is possible. DJD correctly points out that the words אָנִי and הָא (the older orthography for the pronoun) can easily be confused after metathesis.<sup>313</sup> The most probable direction for textual development is thus וְאֲנִי צוּ לִי אָחִי → וְהוּא צוּ לִי אָחִי → וְהוּא צוּה לִי אָחִי, since, if הוּא had been changed to אָנִי, there would have been no reason to change the singular predicate verb צוּה to plural צוּ.

1S20:30 הַמְרִדוֹת M|| הַמְרִדָּת Q<sup>b</sup> G (αὐτομολούντων)

The word הַמְרִדוֹת in the Masoretic text is a singular noun, ‘rebellious’, while the word הַמְרִדָּת in Q<sup>b</sup> is best understood as plural participle feminine from the root מִרַד. Because the preceding word (נְעִרוֹת) in Q<sup>b</sup> is evidently plural, the word הַמְרִדָּת cannot be vocalized as a singular noun, as the Masoretic text does. The Septuagint uses the word αὐτομολούντων, most probably taking the Hebrew word as a plural participle. The reading הַמְרִדוֹת is secondary, originating from the confusion נְעִרוֹת – נְעוֹת in the preceding word (see p. 81).

310. DJD XVII, 225.

311. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §1131–n.

312. DJD XVII, 247; Driver 1913, 169.

313. DJD XVII, 234.

1S20:36 לְנַעַר M || לְנַעַר Q<sup>b</sup> G (τῶ παιδαρίῳ)

The suffix in the Masoretic text is probably an explicating addition, as suggested by DJD.<sup>314</sup>

1S20:38 (הַנְּעָר) M || ה(עַלְמ) Q<sup>b</sup> G (αὐτοῦ)

In this case, the explicating suffix is added in Q<sup>b</sup> and in the source text of the Septuagint (on נַעַר/עַלְמ, see p. 88).

1S21:6 הָיָה M || הָיָה Q<sup>b</sup> G (γέγονε)

In this case, it is hard to determine which reading is more original.

1S23:20 יָרַד M || יָרַד Q<sup>b</sup> G (καταβαίνετω)

The difference is reflected throughout the whole verse. In the Masoretic text, the king is addressed in the second person, while G and evidently Q<sup>b</sup> also has this in the third person.

In 8 cases there is *an interchange of a word*.

1S20:27 אֶל M || עַל Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἐπί)

See commentary in next reading.

1S20:27 הַלְּחָם M || הַשְּׁלַחַן Q<sup>b</sup> G (τὴν τράπεζαν)

To determine which of the four alternatives, אֶל/עַל הַלְּחָם/הַשְּׁלַחַן, is primary, one must first take into account the following observations: 1) in verse 20:24 M has עַל-הַלְּחָם ... וַיֵּשֶׁב, the *qere* reading has the preposition אֶל instead of עַל and G has עַל הַשְּׁלַחַן ... וַיֵּשֶׁב; 2) in v. 29, M has בָּא אֶל-שְׁלַחַן, the Septuagint has ἐπί and, thus, the *Vorlage* probably had עַל instead of אֶל; 3) in v. 20:34 M has מֵעַם הַשְּׁלַחַן ... וַיִּקֶּם, while Q<sup>b</sup> and G both had the same text except for the predicate of the clause וַיִּפְחֹז ... מֵעַם הַשְּׁלַחַן (see Table 7). In addition, the construction יֵשֶׁב/יָשָׁב + אֶל/עַל + לְחָם does not occur anywhere else than in vv. 24 and 27. One could argue that the word לְחָם is primary in vv. 24 and 27, in which case the word would have been changed to שְׁלַחַן to replace a rare construction with a more common one. However, since the construction does not occur *anywhere* else and there is a remarkable resemblance between the words שְׁלַחַן and לְחָם,<sup>315</sup> this hypothesis becomes shaky. Thus, it seems more probable that the original reading was עַל הַשְּׁלַחַן in both vv. 24 and 27.<sup>316</sup> In either verse, there could have emerged the corruption עַל הַשְּׁלַחַן → עַל הַלְּחָם, and the other verse would have picked up the corrupted reading afterward. The preposition עַל with the noun לְחָם seems odd, which may be the origin for the *qere* reading in v. 24 and may have motivated the change of the preposition from עַל into אֶל in v. 27.

314. DJD XVII, 236.

315. According to DJD (XVII, 234), *mem* and *nun* are easily confused 'especially in the seventh-century cursive script'.

316. Thus, also in DJD XVII, 234.

	MT	LXX Vorlage	Q <sup>b</sup>
20:24	וַיֵּשֶׁב ... עַל-הַלְחָם (אָל: qere)	וישב ... על השלחן	–
20:27	בָּא ... אֶל-הַלְחָם	בא ... על השלחן	בא ...[... על השלחן
20:29	בָּא ... אֶל-שֻׁלְחָן	בא ... על שלחן	–
20:34	וַיִּקָּם ... מֵעַם הַשֻּׁלְחָן	ויפחז ... מעם/מעל השלחן	ויפחז ... מעל השלחן

**Table 7.** The Readings אֶל/עַל הַלְחָם/הַשֻׁלְחָן in 1 Samuel.

1S20:30 נַעֲרוֹת M || נַעֲרוֹת Q<sup>b</sup> G (κορασίων)

The reading of the Masoretic text is usually explained as *niphal* participle feminine singular construct from the root עוה (niphal, ‘to be bent/irritated’), but the construct state does not fit well with the syntax of the phrase. One could try to translate בֶּן-נַעֲרוֹת הַמְרִדוֹת as ‘son of a crooked, rebellious (woman)’ (the last genitive perhaps qualitative). However, the syntax of Q<sup>b</sup> (and G) is logical, the word הַמְרִדוֹת (participle feminine plural: see p. 79) being an attribute of the previous genitive. Thus, בֶּן-נַעֲרוֹת הַמְרִדוֹת means ‘son of rebelling women’. There seems to have been a confusion between the letters *waw* and *resh* in the words /נַעֲרוֹת נַעֲרוֹת. Since the reading of G and Q<sup>b</sup> fits the syntax better, the corruption נַעֲרָת (*defective* spelling) → נַעֲרוֹת is more probable than vice versa.

1S20:34 וַיִּפְחֹז M || וַיִּפְחֹז Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἀνεπήδησεν)

The verb פָּחַז is rather rare in the Hebrew Bible, occurring only in Gen 49:4, Judg 9:4 and Zeph 3:4, where it means either ‘to gush (over)’ or ‘to be reckless’. In the context of 1 Sam 20:34, it could be translated as ‘to be excited’. Likewise, the Septuagint uses the rare verb ἀναπήδαω, ‘to jump up’. Besides this verse and a few occurrences in deuterocanonical books,<sup>317</sup> the verb occurs only in 1 Sam 25:9. There, the Masoretic text reads וַיִּנְוָחוּ, but the text in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed as וַיִּפְחֹז, with the same verb as 4QSam<sup>b</sup> has at the beginning of 1 Sam 20:34. The rendering expected for קוּם would be (ἀν)ίστημι or some other verb with the same root but a different prefix. Thus, one can securely regard ἀναπήδησεν in the Septuagint as a translation for וַיִּפְחֹז. As for primacy of the readings, it is more probably for a rare word to be replaced by a more common one than vice versa. This conclusion is strengthened by the observation that the root פָּחַז is, in later Hebrew usage, understood in the sense of ‘to be concupiscent, lewd, lascivious’,<sup>318</sup> which seems to be an ill fit for the context.

1S20:40 אֶל M || עַל Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἐπί)

The prepositions עַל and אֶל are frequently confused, making it difficult to determine which reading is primary.

317. Esth 15:8 (51ε); Tob 2:4; 6:2; 7:6 (an Aramaic text 4Q197 Frag 4 III,8 has here the verb שׁוּר, ‘to jump’).

318. Greenfield 1978, 35–40; cf. DJD XVII, 235.

1S21:6 כְּלִי M || כֹּל Q<sup>b</sup> G (πάντα)

The word כְּלִי may well be a contamination from the end of the verse.<sup>319</sup> The Septuagint has πάντα (τὰ παιδάρια), but the Lucianic recension does not have any counterpart for the word ‘all’ (nor for ‘vessels’). However, I think that there is no reason to assume that some other Hebrew text underlies the Lucianic recension, rather that the omission of the word πάντα is accidental, almost haplographic (παντα τα παιδαρια > τα παιδαρια).

1S23:14 אֱלֹהִים M || יהוה Q<sup>b</sup> G (κύριος)

I cannot determine which reading is primary.

1S23:16 בְּאֱלֹהִים M || ביהוה Q<sup>b</sup> G (ἐν κυρίῳ)

According to DJD, the letter *he* is certain.<sup>320</sup>

## 2.2.2 ML ≠ GQ<sup>b</sup> (2)

In these cases, agreements between witnesses are the same except that the Lucianic text has a reading which agrees with the Masoretic text. The readings in L are approximations—i.e., corrections toward the Masoretic text.

1S21:3 לְאַחִימֶלֶךְ הַכְּהֵן M L (τῷ ἱερεῖ Ἀχιμέλεχ) || לכהן Q<sup>b</sup> G (τῷ ἱερεῖ)

The plus ‘Ahimelech’ in the Masoretic text and in the Lucianic recension is simply an addition identifying the indirect object more precisely.

1S23:22 עָרוֹם יְעָרָם M L (πανουργευσάμενος ... πανουργεύσεται) || ]עָרָם Q<sup>b</sup> G  
(πανουργεύσεται)

The development of the text could be explained either as haplography or dittography (עָרוֹם יְעָרָם ←→ יְעָרָם). It is also possible that the addition עָרוֹם was made to intensify the story.

## 2.2.3 MQ<sup>b</sup> ≠ G (10)

In 8 cases, there is a *short quantitative difference*, a plus in each case.

1S20:27 מִמַּחֲרַת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי M Q<sup>b</sup> (מִמַּחֲרַת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי) || מִמַּחֲרַת הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי G  
(καὶ ἐγενήθη τῆ ἑπαύριον)

The Septuagint has τῆ ἑπαύριον τοῦ μηνὸς τῆ ἡμέρα τῆ δευτέρᾳ, meaning that G had the plus בְּיוֹם compared to M and Q<sup>b</sup>. Probably, בְּיוֹם is an explicating addition or contamination from v. 34 (M: בְּיוֹם-הַחֹדֶשׁ הַשְּׁנִי; LXX: ἐν τῆ δευτέρᾳ τοῦ μηνός).<sup>321</sup>

319. DJD XVII, 238.

320. DJD XVII, 248.

321. DJD XVII, 234

1S20:33 על יהונתן ׀ (עליו) M Q<sup>b</sup> ׀ על יהונתן G (ἐπὶ Ἰωνάθαν)

The Septuagint has an explicating plus.<sup>322</sup>

1S20:35 (למועד דוד) M Q<sup>b</sup> ׀ pr כאשר יעד G (καθὼς ἐτάξατο)

The Septuagint has the plus καθὼς ἐτάξατο. This may well be an addition influenced by parallel passages (1 Sam 13:8; 2 Sam 20:5), as DJD suggests.<sup>323</sup> The Lucianic text has a different word order and a different case for ‘David’ (εἰς τὸ μαρτύριον καθὼς ἐτάξατο τῷ Δαυίδ), but I consider this change an intra-Greek development.

1S20:38 למארה M Q<sup>b</sup> ׀ pr למאר G (λέγων)

The plus למאר is probably an explicating addition.<sup>324</sup>

1S20:38 ואל M Q<sup>b</sup> ([ל]א) ׀ pr ואל G (καὶ μή)

The conjunction may also have been added by the translator.

1S20:41 (וישתחו) M Q<sup>b</sup> ׀ וישתחו לו G (καὶ προσεκύνησεν αὐτῷ)

Although this can be haplography (*homoeoteleuton*), more probably, לו was added to define the indirect object.<sup>325</sup>

1S20:42 יהיה M Q<sup>b</sup> ׀ + עד G (μάρτυς)

The Masoretic text reads in accordance with Q<sup>b</sup> יהיה ביני ובינך, ‘Yahweh shall be between me and you’, but the Septuagint has the plus ‘witness’: Κύριος ἔσται μάρτυς ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ (< יהיה עד ביני ובינך), ‘Yahwe shall be *witness* between me and you’. Interestingly, a similar expression is found few verses prior, in v. 23. Again, the Septuagint has the plus ‘witness’ against the Masoretic text (no Qumran fragment survives here): יהיה ביני ובינך – κύριος μάρτυς ἀνὰ μέσον ἐμοῦ καὶ σοῦ. One could perhaps propose that the word ‘witness’ was added by the Septuagint translator, except that the Targum also has the same plus in both verses: 20:23 מימרא דיי סהיד בינא ובינך, ‘the Word of the Lord is *witness* between me and you’; 20:42 מימרא דיי יהי סהיד בינא ובינך, ‘the Word of the Lord shall be *witness* between me and you’.<sup>326</sup> Perhaps the word עד is original in vv. 23 and 42 and was later omitted by a careless scribe who read it as the preposition *ad*, considering that unfitting. Alternatively, a copyist might have thought it unorthodox to call Yahweh a witness and omitted עד for that reason. Note that the word ‘witness’ is missing from the Masoretic text also in 1 Sam 12:6: יהיה אֲשֶׁר עָשָׂה, ‘Yahweh is the one who made’. The Septuagint has Μάρτυς κύριος ὁ ποιήσας, ‘The Lord who made ... is witness.’

322. DJD XVII, 235.

323. DJD XVII, 236

324. DJD XVII, 237.

325. DJD XVII, 237.

326. The Targum adds the word מימר, which should not be translated back to Hebrew. This is simply the Targumist’s attempt to avoid anthropomorphisms; see Van Staaldune Sulman 2002, 166–67.

1S21:3 דְּבַר M Q<sup>b</sup> (דבר) || דבר היום G (ῥῆμα σήμερον)

The word ‘today’ is probably an addition to make the story fuller and more vivid.<sup>327</sup>

In 2 cases, there is an interchange of a word:

1S20:33 לְהַכִּיטוּ M Q<sup>b</sup> (להכיתו) || להמיתו G (τοῦ θανατῶσαι αὐτόν)

The graphical similarity is evident. Since the verb לְהַמִּית appears at the end of the verse, it is more probable that the textual development is להכיתו → להמיתו than vice versa.<sup>328</sup>

1S23:15 לְבַקֵּשׁ אֶת־נַפְשׁוֹ M Q<sup>b</sup> (לבקש את נפשו) || לבקש את דוד G (τοῦ ζητεῖν τὸν Δαυὶδ)

The reading דוד is secondary and influenced by the immediate context (the next word is דָּוִד). Although the Lucianic recension reads αὐτόν, I consider this to be a correction made in the Greek textual history to avoid repetition of the name David.

#### 2.2.4 MLQ<sup>b</sup> ≠ G (5)

In 2 cases, there is a short quantitative difference, 1 plus, 1 minus:

1S23:13 וְאֲנָשִׁי M Q<sup>b</sup> (ואנשיו) L (καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ) || וְאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אֵתוּ G (καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ)

The DJD suggests a longer reading for the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint than the Masoretic text and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. One could argue that the Septuagint translator is responsible for the longer reading, but the correspondence of the translation of וְאֲנָשִׁי as καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ and that of וְאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אֵתוּ/אֵתוּ עִמּוֹ as καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ’ αὐτοῦ is notable. The exceptions are 1 Sam 23:5, 13; 2 Sam 2:32; 5:21 (see Table 8), in which the *Vorlage* may well have been longer.<sup>329</sup> Since the readings with וְאֲנָשִׁי are more numerous, it is more probable that, in this passage, וְאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אֵתוּ is shortened to harmonize with parallel passages than for the shorter reading to have been expanded.

327. According to DJD (XVII, 237), ‘The shorter reading is to be preferred.’

328. Pace DJD XVII, 235.

329. In 2 Sam 2:32, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> has וְאֲנָשִׁי. However, in the same verse, the Vulgate has the longer reading: *et viri qui erant cum eo* (in 1 Sam 23:5, 13; 2 Sam 5:21, the reading is *et viri eius*). In 1 Sam 23:13, the Peshitta reads  $\text{וְאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ}$  which corresponds with either וְאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אֵתוּ or וְאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ in Hebrew.

MT	LXX	References
וְאֲנָשִׁיו	καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ (or the same phrase in accusative or genitive case)	1 Sam 18:27; 23:24–26; 24:3–4, 23; 25:20; 27:3, 8; 29:2, 11, 30:1; 30:3, 31, 2:29; 5:6; 16:13
וְאֲנָשִׁיו	καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ	1 Sam 23:5, 13; 2 Sam 2:32; 5:21
וְאֲנָשִׁיו אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ	καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ	1 Sam 22:6 (cf. also 2 Sam 1:11; 3:20; 17:12)
וְאֲנָשִׁיו אֲשֶׁר עִמּוֹ	καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ	2 Sam 2:3

**Table 8.** The Phrase וְאֲנָשִׁיו and וְאֲנָשִׁיו אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ/עִמּוֹ in the Books of Samuel and Its Renderings in the Septuagint

1S20:41 אֲרָצָה M Q<sup>b</sup> (ארצה) L (ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν) || > G

The adverb אֲרָצָה is frequently used with the verb נפל regardless of whether the meaning is ‘to bow down’ or just ‘to fall’ (see, e.g., 1 Sam 5:5; 14:45; 17:49; 26:20; 28:20). Since there is no evident reason to have omitted the word ‘to the ground’ or any trace of a haplography either in Greek or Hebrew, I consider the shorter reading to be the more original.

In **2** cases, there is a *long quantitative change* (both are pluses):

1S20:39 יִדְעוּ אֶת־הַדָּבָר M Q<sup>b</sup> (ידעו [את הדבר]) L (ἔγνωσαν τὸ ῥῆμα) || > G

The phrase is missing in the Greek Manuscripts B 121-509 (and Aeth). Rahlfs included the phrase ἔγνωσαν τὸ ῥῆμα in his critical text, as witnessed by the majority of manuscripts, but the editors of DJD suggest that the minus is the Old Greek reading and also primary in the Hebrew. They consider the possibility of the haplography דבר – דוד but end up conjecturing that the plus consisted of two additions, ידעו and את דבר.<sup>330</sup>

1S23:11–12 וַיֹּאמֶר [יהוה ירד ...] וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יֵרֵד ... וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יִסְגְּרוּ M Q<sup>b</sup> (ויאמר) ... [ויאמר יהוה ירד] וַיֹּאמֶר יְהוָה יִסְגְּרוּ G (καὶ εἶπεν κύριος Ἀποκλεισθήσεται)

This is a clear instance of haplography in G. The scribe’s eye skipped from the first וַיֹּאמֶר יהוה to the second.<sup>331</sup>

In **1** case, there is a change in word order:

1S23:14 בְּמַדְבַּר בְּהַר M Q<sup>b</sup> (בהר בערב) || במדבר בהר G (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει)

The following word in either textual traditions is Ziph (זִיף > Ζιφ). In other occurrences, the

330. DJD XVII, 237.

331. DJD XVII, 249.

place is described as a wilderness, not a mountain (1 Sam 23:15; 26:2). Here, the two words ending *resh* were perhaps copied by accident in the wrong order. The word order of G must be secondary.

### 2.2.5 MGQ<sup>b</sup> ≠ L (2)

In 2 cases, the Lucianic text has a reading that disagrees with the others. In both of these cases, L has a plus:

1S19:16 מְרַאֲשֵׁתוֹ M Q<sup>b</sup> (מראש[תיו]) G (πρὸς κεφαλῆς αὐτοῦ.) || + לְשָׂאוֹל L (καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Σαούλ)

The Lucianic recension has the plus καὶ ἀνήγγειλαν τῷ Σαούλ, which corresponds with the reading found in the Peshitta, ܡܪܫܐ ܠܫܘܐܝܠ. These readings probably reflect the Hebrew original לְשָׂאוֹל וַיִּגִּדּוּ. Although the editors of DJD suggest that this is a proto-Lucianic plus,<sup>332</sup> the plus more likely originates from translation other than the Septuagint—namely, Aquila, Symmachus or Theodotion.<sup>333</sup>

1S20:30 הַמְרִדּוֹת M Q<sup>b</sup> (המרדות) G (αὐτομολούντων) || + נַעֲרֵ(ו) ת מַרְבֵּ(ו) ת L (γυναικοτραφή)

The Septuagint has κορασίων αὐτομολούντων, which corresponds with נַעֲרֵ(ו) ת הַמְרִדּוֹת in the Masoretic text and נַעֲרֵ(ו) ת מַרְבֵּ(ו) ת in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. After these, the Lucianic recension has the plus γυναικοτραφή. DJD suggests that this should be translated back into Hebrew as נַעֲרֵ(ו) ת מַרְבֵּ(ו) ת, with the latter word understood as *piel* plural participle from the root רבה (*piel*, ‘to rear [children]’).<sup>334</sup> This is plausible, since it is difficult to explain the Greek word in any other way. If this is the case, the phrase נַעֲרֵ(ו) ת מַרְבֵּ(ו) ת is simply a corrupted form of the original reading נַעֲרֵ(ו) ת הַמְרִדּוֹת.

### 2.2.6 MQ<sup>b</sup> ≠ G ≠ L ≠ MQ<sup>b</sup> (3)

1S23:9 כִּי לֹא מַחְרִישׁ || (כִּי [עָלְיוֹ {{○○}} שְׂאוֹל־מַחְרִישׁ] M Q<sup>b</sup> (כִּי [עָלְיוֹ {{○○}} שְׂאוֹל־מַחְרִישׁ]) G (ὅτι οὐ παρασιωπᾷ Σαουλ περὶ αὐτοῦ); L conflate

The textual development is sufficiently explained in DJD.<sup>335</sup> The particle לֹא was introduced into the passage, since the verb מַחְרִישׁ was misunderstood as meaning ‘to be silent’ (*חרש* I *hiphil*), not as ‘to plough’ (*חרש* II *hiphil*). The editors also suggest that the negation לֹא was perhaps written in the manuscript 4QSam<sup>b</sup> but was later erased. The reading of the Lucianic text ὅτι Σαούλ περὶ αὐτὸν γίνεται καὶ οὐ παρεσιώπα ὁ Σαούλ περὶ αὐτοῦ τὴν κακίαν tries to embody both the reading of the Old Greek (in the latter part of the sentence), and that of the Masoretic text (in the former part).

332. DJD XVII, 229–30.

333. See also Kauhanen 2012, 185.

334. DJD XVII, 235.

335. DJD XVII, 247.

1S23:22 אָמַר M Q<sup>b</sup> (א[מֶר]) || אמרתם G (εἶπατε); L conflate

The Septuagint has οὗ εἶπατε, which probably corresponds with אשר אמרתם in its *Vorlage*. Only the last two letters, *mem* and *resh*, in the word אמר are visible in Q<sup>b</sup>, but the scroll probably had the preceding word כי, as M does. The Lucianic recension has οὗ εἶπατε ὅτι εἶπε, a conflation of אשר אמרתם and אמר.

1S23:15 בְּמַדְבָּר M Q<sup>b</sup> (במד[בר]) || בהר בערב G (ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀρχμῶδει)

The whole clause in M is וַיָּדוּד בְּמַדְבָּר־זִיף בַּחֲרָשָׁה, only partially readable in Q<sup>b</sup>: [וד]וד בחרשה במד[בר זיף בחרשה]. The Septuagint has the peculiar translation καὶ Δαυὶδ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀρχμῶδει ἐν τῇ Καινῇ Ζιφ, indicating that the translator read *dalet* instead of *resh* in the last word of the sentence and that the preposition ב was possibly not attached to that word but to the previous word, זיף. Since these last two words are not visible in Q<sup>b</sup>, I am not focusing on these but rather on במדבר, which can be reconstructed securely enough in the scroll. The words ἐν τῷ ὄρει clearly translate בהר, but the following τῷ ἀρχμῶδει is more problematic. DJD suggests that ἀρχμῶδει is a doublet for Ζιφ, the former being a translation and the latter a transliteration.<sup>336</sup> However, I argue that ἀρχμῶδει is an attempt to translate another word—namely, ערב (*“rāb*, ‘desert’). In 1 Sam 23:14, Q<sup>b</sup> has the same lexical variant for the word מדבר, ‘wilderness’, in the Masoretic text. The form ἀρχμῶδει is neuter dative singular of the adjective ἀρχμῶδης, ‘dry, draught’<sup>337</sup> and may well have been an attempt to translate the rather rare עָרַב in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>338</sup>

20:14	בְּהָר בְּמַדְבָּר־זִיף	ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει Ζιφ ἐν τῇ γῆ τῇ ἀρχμῶδει	בהר בערב זיף
20:15	בְּמַדְבָּר־זִיף בַּחֲרָשָׁה	ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ἀρχμῶδει ἐν τῇ Καινῇ Ζιφ	במד[בר זיף בחרשה]

**Table 9.** Phrases Involving *Ziph* in 1 Sam 20:14–15.

## 2.2.7 MG ≠ Q<sup>b</sup> (7)

In 2 cases, there is a *short quantitative difference* in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>:

1S20:29 אָם M G (εἰ) || אם נא Q<sup>b</sup>

The particle נא was probably added to emphasize volition.

1S23:19 לְאָמַר M G (λέγοντες Οὐκ ἰδοὺ) || ל[אמר] Q<sup>b</sup>

DJD explains the textual development as follows: לאמר לו → לאמר לוא → לאמר → לאמר. First, לו was added to explicate the indirect object, then it was corrupted to לוא, which

336. DJD XVII, 248.

337. The verb from which the adjective ἀρχμῶδης is derived is probably ἄσω = ξηραίνω.

338. Occuring only twice in Is 21:13.

caused the clause to be changed to interrogative to make sense in the passage.<sup>339</sup> I agree with this assessment as well as with the conclusion of Q<sup>b</sup> as primary here.

In 3 cases, there is a *lexical difference*

1S20:36 מְצָא M G (εὗρε) || קָה Q<sup>b</sup>

The editors of DJD consider the reading קָה to be primary,<sup>340</sup> but I suggest it to be a contamination from v. 21b and the reading of M and G to be primary.

1S20:38 הַנְעָר M G (παιδαρίου) || עלמ(ה) Q<sup>b</sup>

The reading הַנְעָר is probably a modernization of a rare word, as DJD suggests.<sup>341</sup> On the suffix, see p. 80.

1S23:14 בְּמִדְבָּר M G (ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ) || בערב Q<sup>b</sup>

The rarer word, ערב, is the more original, replaced by a more common one in M and G. However, the words ἐν τῇ γῆ τῆ ἀχμῶδει in the Septuagint may translate the original ערב, in which case the Septuagint has a doublet. See p. 87 and Table 9.

In 2 cases, one cannot be sure about the reading of 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, but it is certainly different than that of the Masoretic text and the Septuagint:

1S20:36 לְהַעְבִּירוֹ M G (καὶ παρήγαγεν αὐτήν) || העירה [להעבירו] Q<sup>b</sup>

Only העירה is visible in 4QSam<sup>b</sup> and should be understood in a locative sense, ‘toward the city’. The editors of DJD argue that the original reading would have been להעבירו העירה, which was shortened to להעבירו by haplography in all other textual traditions.<sup>342</sup> This is certainly one possible solution, but one cannot know for sure what came before העירה in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. As possible is that העירה is a variant reading for להעבירו, from which the former became corrupted.

1S23:13 וְלִשְׂאוֹל הַגִּד M G (καὶ τῷ Σαουλ ἀπηγγέλη)<sup>343</sup> || ויגד לשאול ל Q<sup>b</sup>

Possibly, the word order is different, but since only the *lamed* is certain Q<sup>b</sup>, one cannot determine which reading is primary.<sup>344</sup>

## 2.2.8 G ≠ M ≠ Q<sup>b</sup> ≠ G (4)

1S20:36 נָא M || > Q<sup>b</sup>; לי G (μοι)

I consider the shorter reading, in Q<sup>b</sup>, to be primary.

339. DJD XVII, 248.

340. DJD XVII, 236.

341. DJD XVII, 236–37.

342. DJD XVII, 236.

343. The Lucianic recension has καὶ ἀπηγγέλη τῷ Σαουλ and thus has probably the same word order as 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, though this is probably a coincidence. See Kauhanen 2012, 185.

344. See also the discussion in Kauhanen 2012, 185.

1S21:3 יְדַעְתִּי M || יְעַדְתִּי Q<sup>b</sup>; הַעִידְתִּי G (διαμεμαρτύρημαι)

The Septuagint has διαμεμαρτύρημαι. The translator probably understood the word הַעִידְתִּי in the *Vorlage* as a *hiphil* stem from the root עוּד II, ‘to call as witness’.<sup>345</sup> All three alternatives, יְעַדְתִּי, יְדַעְתִּי and הַעִידְתִּי, resemble one another graphically, so the secondary readings can be understood as a misreading of the consonants. But which of the three is primary? The form יְדַעְתִּי is explained as *pōel*, but the occurrence of this rare stem seems suspicious in this context. Clearly, יְעַדְתִּי, ‘I appointed’, fits best in the context. Since corruptions usually do not generate ‘better’ readings, יְעַדְתִּי in Q<sup>b</sup> should be considered primary.<sup>346</sup>

1S21:5 מֵאִשָּׁה M || וְאָכַלְתֶּם מִמֶּנּוּ Q<sup>b</sup>; וְאָכַלוּ G (καὶ φάγεται)<sup>347</sup>

According to DJD, the conditional clause in the Masoretic text is awkward without an apodosis and suggests a *parablepsis* from the preceding word מֵאִשָּׁה to מִמֶּנּוּ, the reading of Q<sup>b</sup> being the original.<sup>348</sup> The weakness of this solution is that such a *homoearchon* error would usually produce a reading that would omit the words וְאָכַלְתֶּם מֵאִשָּׁה. I propose rather that a *homoearchon* error was made from וְאָכַלְתֶּם or וְאָכַלוּ to the very first word in the next verse וַיֵּעַן. If this is the case, then either וְאָכַלוּ or וְאָכַלְתֶּם מִמֶּנּוּ can be primary. One possibility is that the original reading is neither of these but rather וְאָכַלוּ מִמֶּנּוּ, from which 1) M suffered a *homoearchon*, 2) in G, there is a *homoeoteleuton* error from מִמֶּנּוּ to וְאָכַלוּ; 3) in Q<sup>b</sup> the inflection is harmonized from third to second person plural. This solution sufficiently explains all three readings. However, the following scenario is equally likely: וְאָכַלוּ is the original reading, and the Masoretic text has suffered the same haplography as described above (וַיֵּעַן – וְאָכַלוּ); Q<sup>b</sup> has the addition מִמֶּנּוּ, which frequently appears with the verb אָכַל but not necessarily (see, e.g., Gen. 2:17; 3:6); in addition, one must suppose the same change in verb form as described above.

1S23:20 וְלָנוּ M || עָלֵינוּ Q<sup>b</sup>; אֵלֵינוּ G (καταβαivέτω)

The reading עָלֵינוּ in Q<sup>b</sup> may well be primary. The variant reading אֵלֵינוּ comes as no surprise, since these two prepositions are easily confused. The reading וְלָנוּ is best understood as having emerged from a *ayin–waw* corruption and an omission of the letter *yod* or a *lamed–yod* metathesis and an omission of *ayin*.

## 2.2.9 ML ≠ G ≠ Q<sup>b</sup> ≠ ML (1)

1S20:36 אַחֲרַי הָאֵפוֹד M L (ὀπίσω τῆς ἐπωμίδος) || אַחֲרֵי אֵפֹד [Q<sup>b</sup>; > G

The whole phrase is missing in the Septuagint text. The Lucianic text has the reading ὀπίσω τῆς ἐπωμίδος, indicating that its Hebrew counterpart probably had the article as well. The phrase found in the Lucianic text is clearly an approximation of the Hebrew text.

345. διαμαρτυρέω consistently renders עוּד II (Gen 43:3; Ex 19:23; 21:29/36).

346. *Pace* DJD XVII, 237.

347. The singular form φάγεται translates the plural אָכַלוּ since the predicate is neuter τὰ παιδάριά in Greek.

348. DJD XVII, 273.

## 2.3. Statistical Analysis

### 2.3.1 Introduction

Since the first publications of manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, scholars have considered it to be a text closely related to the Hebrew text from which the Septuagint was translated.<sup>349</sup> In the DJD edition, Frank Moore Cross and Richard J. Saley, the editors of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, are generally of the same opinion, stating that

the study of the full manuscript has reinforced our early conclusion that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> stands in the same general tradition as the Hebrew text upon which the Old Greek translation was based.<sup>350</sup>

Furthermore, the editors consider the similarity between the scroll and the Septuagint to be so convincing that any deviation seems to them to be sufficiently explained as having emerged from the copying process, which took place over roughly one century.<sup>351</sup> In their more recent article, Cross and Saley maintain their view: 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is closely related to the Old Greek (represented mainly by LXX<sup>B</sup> and also occasionally by LXX<sup>L</sup>). Furthermore, they state that cross-contamination between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the textual tradition that developed into the Masoretic text was fairly minimal,<sup>352</sup> in other words,

the characteristic readings of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> bear only distant relation to the Masoretic Text, save in shared sound (or original) readings.<sup>353</sup>

In addition, Cross and Saley maintain the hypothesis of a ‘proto-Lucianic recension’ explaining that the readings (or at least some of them) where LXX<sup>L</sup> agrees with 4QSam<sup>a</sup> against the MT and the LXX emerged because the text of LXX<sup>L</sup> had been revised according to a Hebrew text that resembled 4QSam<sup>a</sup>.<sup>354</sup>

Edward D. Herbert<sup>355</sup> and Frank Polak<sup>356</sup> also share the view that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> are closely related. According to Polak, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the LXX ‘represent one common manuscript tradition’.<sup>357</sup> Herbert, on the other hand, conjectures that the

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349. Cross 1953.

350. DJD XVII, 25.

351. The Septuagint translation of 1 Samuel is assumed to have been made in the middle of the second century BCE, while 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is dated ca. 50–25 BCE (DJD XVII, 5).

352. Cross & Saley 2006, esp. 54.

353. Cross & Saley 2006, 46.

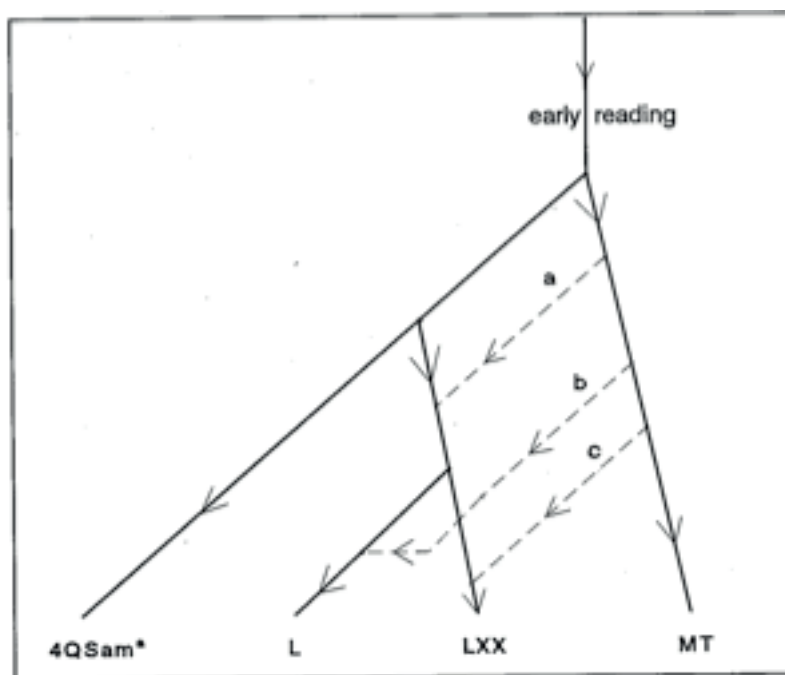
354. See, e.g., classes (3) and (4) in Cross & Saley 2006, 49.

355. Herbert 1997b.

356. Polak 1992.

357. More precisely, they are similar in their equal parts. Polak takes into consideration also the Chronicles,

Septuagint is ‘substantially dependent’ on the 4QSam<sup>a</sup> tradition, though their common ancestor may be ‘relatively distant’.<sup>358</sup> In addition, Herbert expresses doubts about the ‘proto-Lucianic connection’ between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and the LXX<sup>L</sup> hypothesized by Cross and Saley. Indeed, no single clearly secondary reading of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> that agrees with the Lucianic text against the MT and the Septuagint has been demonstrated.<sup>359</sup> However, Herbert establishes a link between the LXX<sup>L</sup> and the MT, which can be explained by Hexaplaric influence.<sup>360</sup> Herbert’s stemma is presented in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** The Stemma of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, including the Lucianic text (L), the LXX and the MT. Dashed lines (a–c) indicate contamination. Figure from Herbert 1997b, 42.

Although 4QSam<sup>b</sup> is one of the oldest manuscripts found in Qumran,<sup>361</sup> its textual character has garnered less interest than 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. The affinity of 4QSam<sup>b</sup> with the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint is, however, recognized, and furthermore, 4QSam<sup>b</sup> is claimed to have a high proportion of original readings regardless of whether or not it agrees with the other textual witnesses.<sup>362</sup> Thus, it is considered an ‘archaic text’ (also concerning the orthography) related to the Septuagint, but, as far as I know, scholarly claims have not gone beyond this in describing its textual character.

while he does not address the Lucianic problem, as Herbert does.

358. Herbert 1997b, 48–49.

359. See Kauhanen 2012, esp. 169–184, 189–191.

360. Herbert 1997b, 47–49.

361. 4QSam<sup>b</sup> has been dated paleographically to the last half of the third century BCE. Initially a date c. 225 was preferred, but later research is willing to prefer ‘the earlier end of the bracket, c. 250 BCE’ (DJD XVII, 220).

362. DJD XVII, 222–24; similarly in earlier studies: Cross & Parry 1997; Cross 1955.

I will analyse the variant readings of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> statistically to investigate just *how closely* either Qumran scroll is, indeed, related to the Septuagint or to the Masoretic text. Unfortunately, the scrolls do not have parallel texts, except for a few letters (shared text underlined):

4QSam<sup>a</sup> frags. 18–19

1 [ ויקרא יהונתן אחר הנער מהרה חוש] הַ אַ [ל] 2 [תעמוד וי] לְקַט [ט] נַעֲרָ [ יהונתן את החץ ויביא אל אדוניו ]

4QSam<sup>b</sup> frags. 6–7

10 אחר עלמה מהרה חושה אַל תעמד וילקט נַעֲר יהונתן אַ [ת החץ ויבא אל אדניו ]

(1 Sam 20:38)

4QSam<sup>a</sup> frags. 18–19

3 [ ויתן יהונתן את כ] לִי [ו]

4QSam<sup>b</sup> frags. 6–7

11 ויתן יהונתן את כִּלְיוֹ על הנער אשר לו וי[אמר לו לכה בא העירה ]

(1 Sam 20:40)

In addition, I will present quantitative analyses with the help of other textual witnesses to measure how closely related 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> are to each other.

### 2.3.2 Multidimensional Scaling (MDS)

First, I analyze 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> separately, using a statistical method called *Multidimensional scaling (MDS)*.<sup>363</sup> The data, separated according to agreement, are taken from the previous sections (2.1–2.2). The data according to agreements is presented in Tables 10 and 11.

M=G	M=L	M=Q <sup>a</sup>	G=L	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	Total
55	79	53	234	137	142	269

**Table 10.** Agreements between M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>.

M=G	M=L	M=Q <sup>b</sup>	G=L	G=Q <sup>b</sup>	L=Q <sup>b</sup>	Total
9	15	20	47	30	31	60

**Table 11.** Agreements between M, G, L and Q<sup>b</sup>.

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) describes the ‘distances’ (= dissimilarities) between a certain set of objects and tries to scale these ‘distances’ onto a lower dimensional map, typically a 2D or 3D map. The input data for this method comprise distance (or dissimilarity) matrix

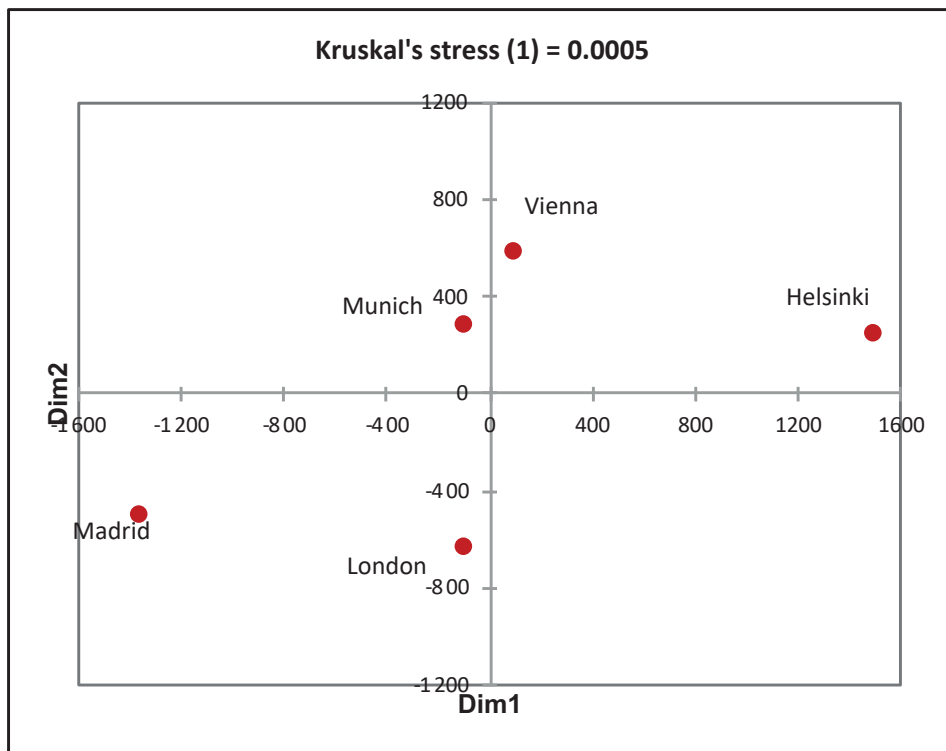
363. About MDS, see e.g. Thorpe 2002; Finney 2010.

**D**, whose every element  $d_{ij}$  has the value of the distance between corresponding objects. One could illustrate how these data work by a geographical example. Let **D** be the distance matrix for certain European cities, as follows (distance given as the crow flies, in km):

	Helsinki	Munich	London	Vienna	Madrid
Helsinki	0	1590	1823	1439	2949
Munich	1590	0	920	356	1486
London	1823	920	0	1237	1261
Vienna	1439	356	1237	0	1812
Madrid	2949	1486	1261	1812	0

**Table 12.** The distances for certain European cities

The multidimensional scaling to 2D for these distances is plotted in Figure 2.<sup>364</sup>



**Figure 2.** 2D Plot of Distance between some European cities with Multidimensional Scaling.

Note that the distance matrix contains no information regarding the orientation of the objects, nor does the placing correspond with a geographic map. The value that tells us how well the mapping has succeeded is called the stress value (Kruskal's stress [1]) and describes the difference between the scaled distances and the actual distances—the lower the difference the

364. To calculate multidimensional scaling, I have used Excel add-on XLSTAT (<http://www.xlstat.com>).

better, with values  $\approx 5\%$  indicating successful mapping. In this case, stress value is extremely low, 0.05%, since the configuration is practically two-dimensional.

Let us apply this to textual witnesses. The affinity of two texts can be defined as the relative number of agreements—i.e.,  $[\# \text{ of readings in agreement}] / [\# \text{ of all readings}]$ . These values can vary from 1 (i.e., identical texts) to 0 (i.e., texts with no common readings). Thus, the distances between two texts can now be defined as

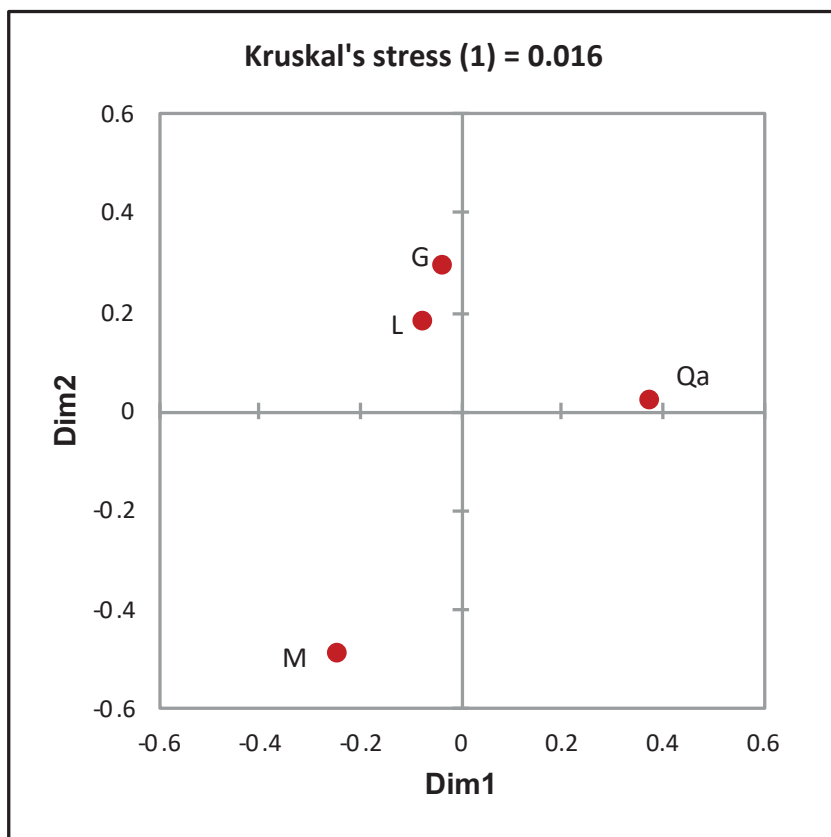
$$1 - \frac{\# \text{ of readings in agreement}}{\# \text{ of all readings}}$$

The distance defined thus behaves in opposition to affinity: when the distance is 0, the texts are identical; when the distance is 1, the texts have no common readings. It is worth noting that distances/affinities defined in this way do not directly describe textual dependency. What they do show is only how distant/close two texts are in terms of the number of readings in agreement. However, the closer two texts are the more probable it is that they are also closely related in the terms of textual dependency.

In the case of  $Q^a$ , M agrees with G 55 times, M with L 79 times, M with  $Q^a$  53 times, G with L 234 times, G with  $Q^a$  137 times and L with  $Q^a$  142 times; the total number of variant readings is 269 (see Table 10). The distance matrix is thus as follows:

	M	G	L	$Q^a$
M	0	0.80	0.71	0.80
G	0.80	0	0.13	0.49
L	0.71	0.13	0	0.47
$Q^a$	0.80	0.49	0.47	0

A two-dimensional MDS-plot for this matrix is given in Figure 3.



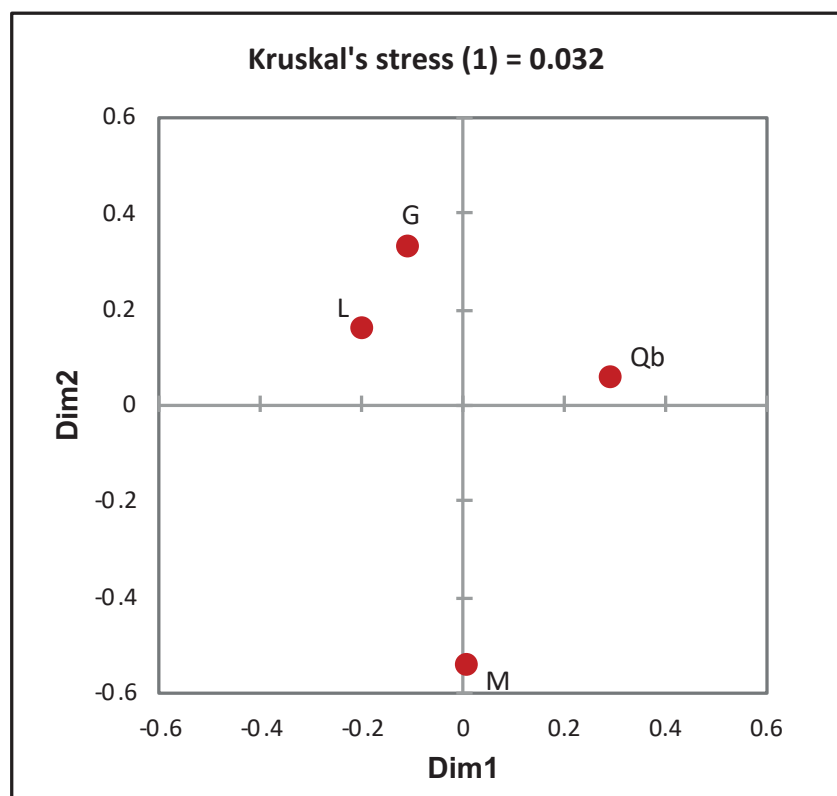
**Figure 3.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of The Books of Samuel in a 2D Plot with Multidimensional Scaling ( $Q^a$ ; 269 variant readings).

Kruskal's stress value (1) is 1.6%, meaning that the map is quite reliable. While this plotting does not do more than visualize the values already presented in the distance matrix, it does give a fairly intuitively portrait of the distances. For  $[N]$  objects,  $[N - 1]$  dimensions are usually expected to represent the exact distance plot, so that, in this case, I might have used a more exact 3D plot, but I find the 2D plot to be more illustrative on flat paper.

From Figure 3, one can draw some conclusions. The distance between G and L is the shortest, as is to be expected (i.e., G and L mainly have the same Hebrew text behind them, with L only occasionally having a different Hebrew text). G is nearer to  $Q^a$  than to M, and  $Q^a$  is nearer to G than to M. This verifies the assumption that G and  $Q^a$  are more closely related to each other than they are to M. As for the Masoretic text, it seems to be as far from  $Q^a$  as it is from L. Interestingly, the Lucianic text deviates from G toward M. This can be easily explained as L having embodied readings of M, probably through the Hexapla ( $\alpha'$ ,  $\beta'$ ,  $\gamma'$  columns). In the figure, one cannot find much support for the Proto-Lucianic hypothesis. L is only slightly close to  $Q^a$  than G is, but this seems to be mainly a consequence of the corrections towards M (see, subsections 2.1.6 and 2.1.7).

Similar calculations can be made for  $Q^b$ . The distance matrix is as follows:

	M	G	L	$Q^b$
M	0	0.85	0.75	0.67
G	0.85	0	0.22	0.50
L	0.75	0.22	0	0.48
$Q^b$	0.67	0.50	0.48	0



**Figure 4.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling ( $Q^b$ ; 61 variant readings).

The positions of the textual witnesses in Figure 4 are, in general, similar to those in Figure 3. While the Kruskal's stress value (1), 3.2%, is higher than in the MDS plot of  $Q^a$ , the value still describes a reliable map. The most distant pair shown is M–G, while G and  $Q^b$  are more closely related to each other than they are to M. However, the distance M– $Q^b$  (0.67) is now shorter than the distance M–G (0.85). In the case of  $Q^a$ , distances M– $Q^a$  and M–G were approximately equal ( $\approx 0.80$ ). Here, again, the distance L–M (0.75) is shorter than G–M (0.85), which may be a hint of Hexaplaric readings in L.

### *Categorization 1: Accidental vs. Deliberate Changes*

In the statistical approach presented above, individual cases were treated equally. It would be nice to somehow take into account the actual differences between each case. This can be done by dividing the data into different types of cases. Unfortunately, the sum sample number of variation units in  $Q^b$  is only 61, so it is not reasonable to split it up further into different categories. As for  $Q^a$ , I have divided the cases up according to the possibility that the variant readings emerged as the consequence of a scribal error:

- 1) The variant reading *can* be explained as a simple error (graphical confusion of letters, metathesis, haplography, dittography, etc);
- 2) The variant reading *can partly* be explained as a scribal error;
- 3) The variant reading *cannot* be explained as a typical scribal error.

One weakness of this classification is that it only describes the presence of scribal errors in the variant reading, not the motivation behind them, and assumes that all scribal errors are accidental (and, inversely, non-scribal errors and intentional). For instance, in category 1), there are certainly cases that involve deliberate changes, and some cases in category 3) might have resulted from errors (scribes can sometimes make complex errors). However, the classification is agnostic regarding varying motivations within these categories of change (what can be disputed is how to define typical/simple errors). Without a doubt, category 1) contains more scribal errors than category 3), or, in other words, category 3) has more deliberate changes than category 1).

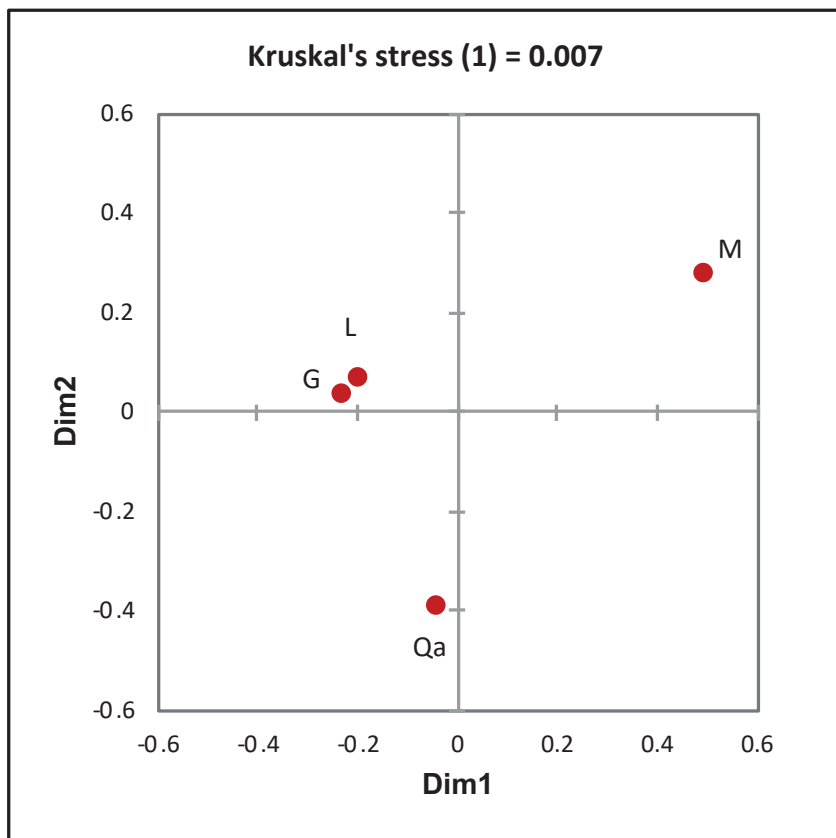
Let us see, then, if the relationships between M, G, L and  $Q^a$  are different in each category described above. The agreements between the texts in classes 1)–3) are as follows:

Class	M=G	M=L	M= $Q^a$	G=L	G= $Q^a$	L= $Q^a$	Total
1)	34	38	20	132	74	72	139
2)	5	7	8	23	9	11	31
3)	16	34	25	79	54	59	99
Total	55	79	53	234	137	142	269

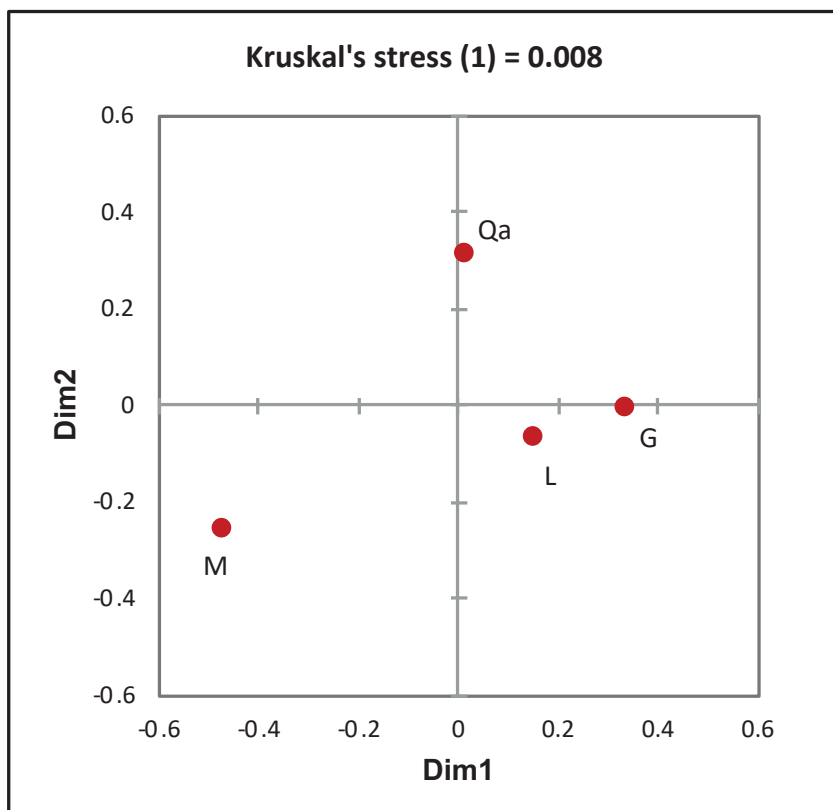
**Table 13.** The agreements between M, G, L and  $Q^a$  in classes 1)–3).

From this table, one can draw distance matrices and MDS into 2D plots for each class. In each matrix, Kruskal's stress value (1) was less than 5%. In category 1) (see Figure 5), G and L are more closely related than when the data are considered as a whole (Figure 3). Moreover, in Figure 6, one can see that G and L are remarkably more distant from each other than they are in category 1) or when all data are considered as a whole. This means that L has

more corrections toward a different Hebrew text when Hebrew readings are not simple errors (= accidental) but more complex (= deliberate). As for G, Q<sup>a</sup> and M, the distances are generally similar across each category. In category 1), Q<sup>a</sup> and M are a slightly more distant (0.86) and, in category 3), slightly less distant (0.75) than when all data are considered as a whole (0.80). In both 1) and 3), G and Q<sup>a</sup> are more closely related to each other than they are to M, as was the case when all data were considered as a whole.



**Figure 5.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings Explainable as Resulting from a Simple Scribal Error (Category 1), 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 139 variant readings.



**Figure 6.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings Not Explainable as Resulting from a Simple Scribal Error (category 3), 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 99 variant readings.

*Categorization 2: Type of Change*

Secondly, to investigate what kinds of changes are typical for each textual line, the following categorization organizes the data according to type of change:

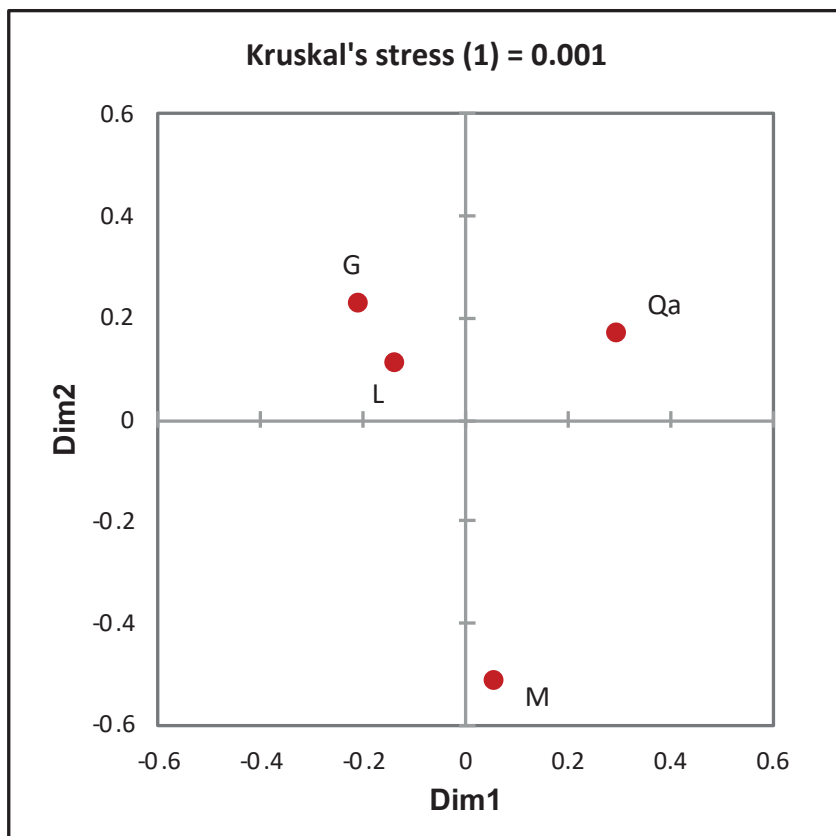
- a) Short quantitative change (plus/minus of one or two words)
- b) Long quantitative change (plus/minus of at least three words)
- c) Change in the morphology of a word (e.g., change of gender, time, number, person or suffix)
- d) Interchange of a word (including prepositions and conjunctions, regardless of whether or not they are attached to a word)
- e) Interchange of several words (including changes in word order)
- f) More complicated change or a combination of the above categories

The distribution is presented in the table below:

Category	M=G	M=L	M=Q <sup>a</sup>	G=L	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	Total
a)	18	30	24	74	42	48	86
b)	9	12	5	15	10	9	22
c)	13	16	8	52	29	28	55
d)	8	11	12	67	49	47	72
e)	2	3	2	10	6	7	11
f)	5	7	2	16	1	3	23
Total	55	79	53	234	137	142	269

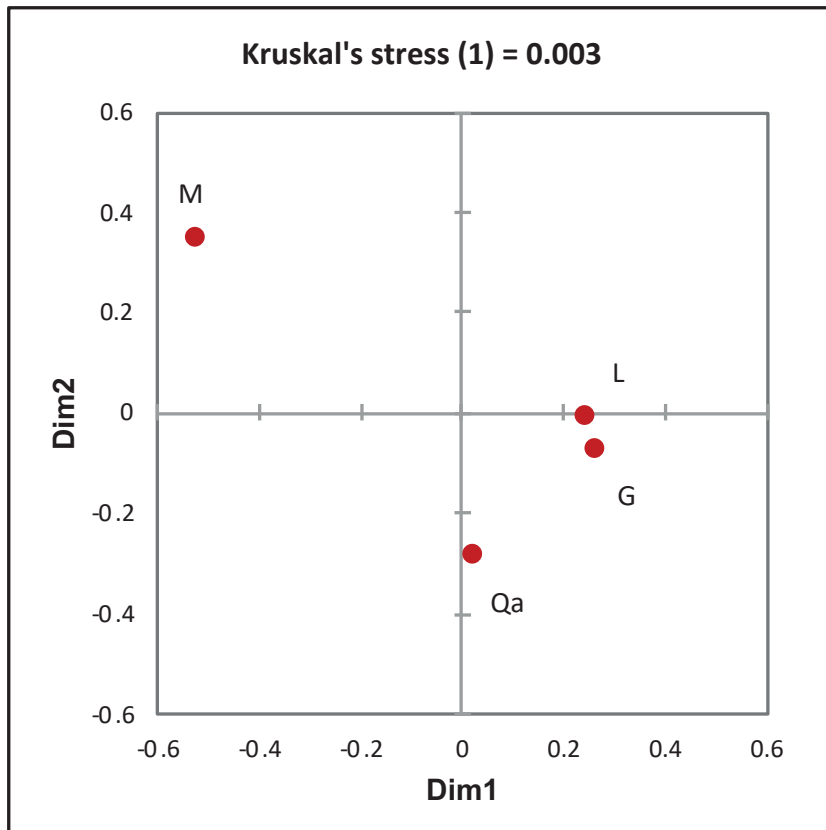
**Table 14.** The distribution of the agreements according to type of change a)–f).

MDS charts can be used again here to illustrate the distances between these texts and to investigate whether the distribution according to type of change differs from the distribution of the data set as a whole. Here as well, Kruskal's stress value (1) was lower than 5% for all plots, indicating their reliability. From Figure 7, one can observe that the distances in category a) (short pluses/minuses) seem to be practically the same as those in the material as a whole (Figure 3). This can be interpreted as showing that, in general, short pluses and minuses are not typical of any textual tradition.



**Figure 7.** Distances between textual witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings with a Short Plus/Minus (Category a), 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 86 variant readings.

In most of the categories, similar results are observed. However, in category d) (interchange of a word), Q<sup>a</sup> is notably closer to G (0.32) than when all data are considered as a whole (0.49). At the same time, M is a bit further from Q<sup>a</sup> here (0.83) than when all data are considered as a whole (0.80). These differences indicate that Q<sup>a</sup> and G are more closely related with respect to vocabulary than otherwise (see Figure 8).

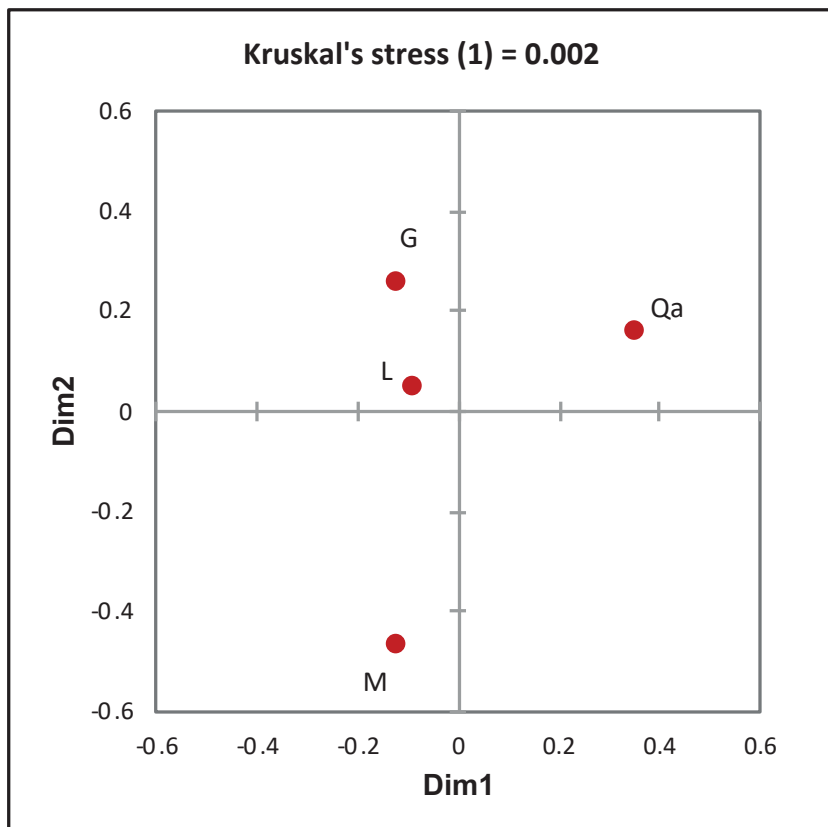


**Figure 8.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel in a 2D Plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings with an Interchange of a Word (Category d), 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 72 variant readings.

Although the distribution in category a) turned out to be similar to the distribution in the material as a whole, the situation changes if pluses and minuses are studied separately. Let us consider only the variants that have a short minus compared to M. The distribution is now as follows:

	M=G	M=L	M=Q	G=L	G=Q	L=Q	Total
Short minus compared to M	9	16	7	26	17	18	33

This distribution is illustrated with MDS in Figure 9. Interestingly, M is closer to G (0.73) than when all data are considered as a whole (0.80). Furthermore, M is nearer to G (0.73) than it is to Q<sup>a</sup> (0.79). In any case, the triangle M–Q<sup>a</sup>–G is more equilateral than in previous plots. These observations suggest that M and G have more common readings (than when the data are considered as a whole), when Q<sup>a</sup> has a minus. Furthermore, in these cases, L seems to have proportionally more corrections toward M than when the data are considered as a whole. This is expected, since minuses are often added to in Hexaplaric material, which, for its part, influences the readings of the Lucianic text.



**Figure 9.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D Plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, Where Texts Have a Minus Compared to M, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 33 variant readings.

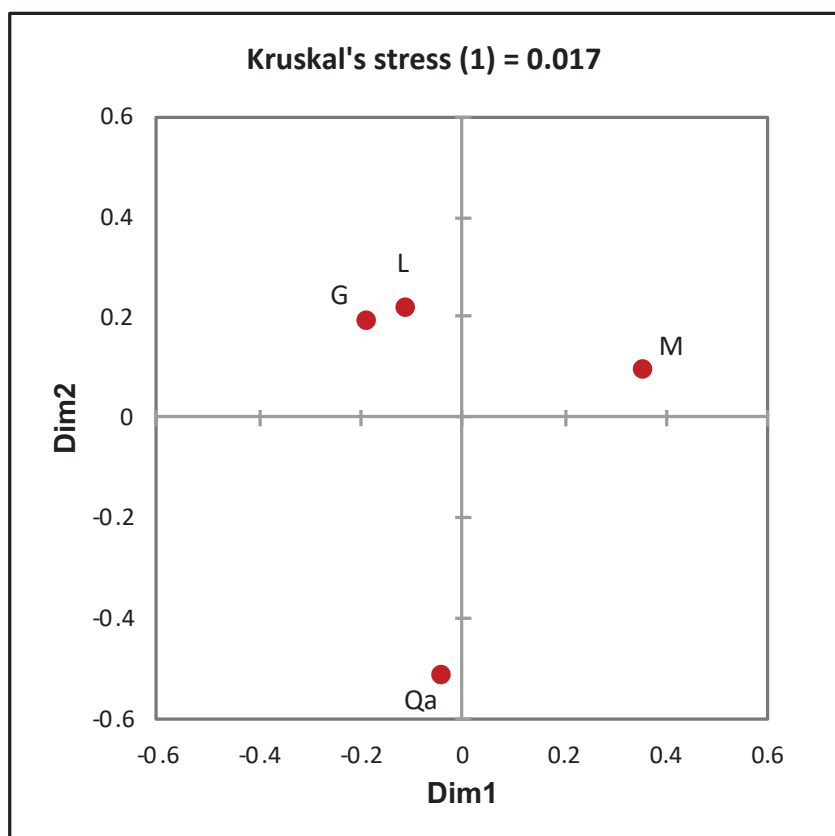
*Categorization 3: Primary vs. Secondary Readings*

The next question concerns the distances that emerge, when the data are categorized according to primary and secondary readings. The distribution of the readings when either M, G or Q<sup>a</sup> has a primary reading is presented in the following table:

Category	M=G	M=L	M=Q <sup>a</sup>	G=L	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	Total
M primary	36	39	21	71	21	21	78
G primary	36	50	20	134	93	96	153
Q <sup>a</sup> primary	11	17	21	118	93	90	130
All readings	55	79	53	234	137	142	269

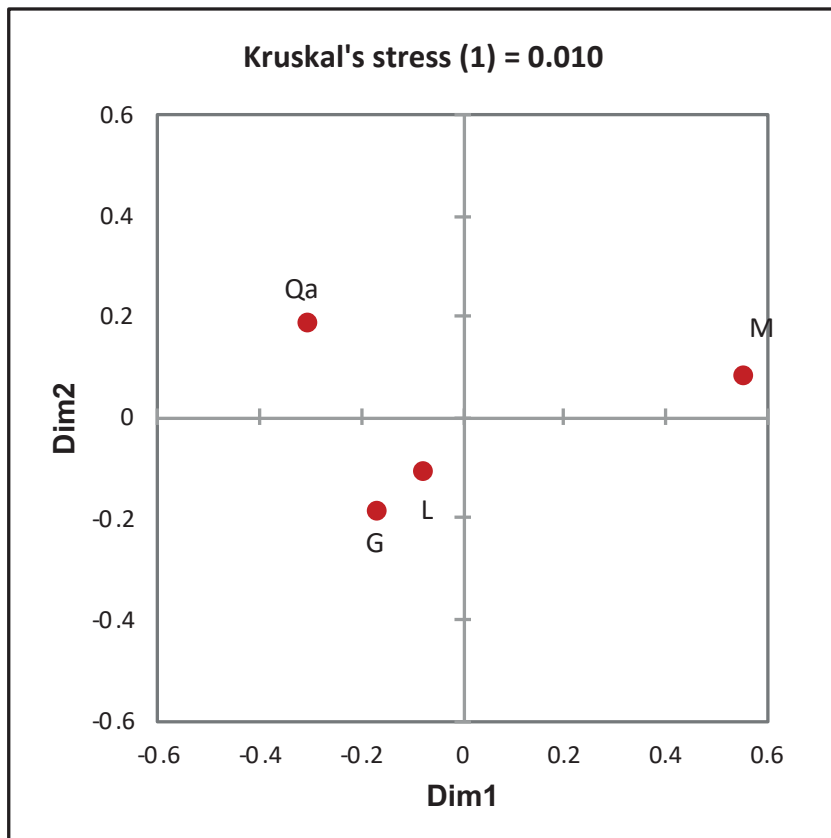
**Table 15.** The agreements organized according to primary readings.

As above, one can illustrate the distances with MDS graphs. In these cases, Kruskal's stress value (1) was less than 5%, indicating reliability. In Figure 10, one can observe that, when M has a primary reading, it is closer to G and Q<sup>a</sup> compared to when the data are considered as a whole.

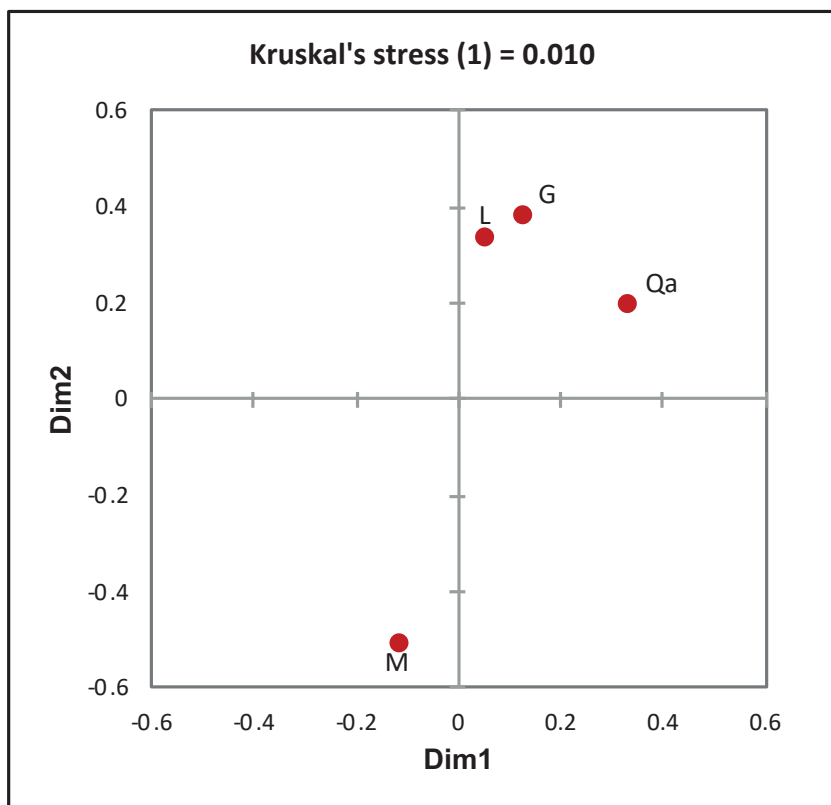


**Figure 10.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, Where M Has a Primary Reading, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 78 variant readings.

This is reasonable, since primary readings can be shared also with distant witnesses. In cases where the reading of M is primary, M is expected to be closer to G and Q<sup>a</sup>, as is in fact observed. The situation is analogous when considering cases where the readings of G and Q<sup>a</sup> are primary (Figures 11, 12). Witnesses with the primary reading shifts toward all other witnesses, while the rest of the distances remain nearly the same as when all data are considered as a whole.



**Figure 11.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, Where G Has a Primary Reading, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 153 variant readings.



**Figure 12.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, Where Q<sup>a</sup> Has a Primary Reading, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 130 variant readings.

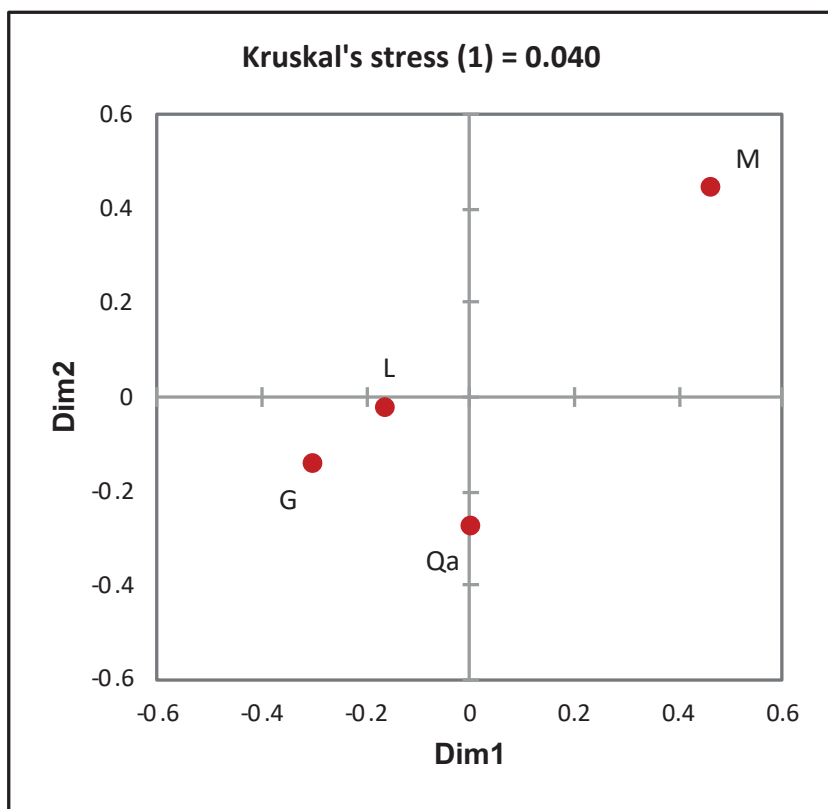
More revealing, with respect to textual dependencies, are the cases where the text share common secondary reading.<sup>365</sup> The data organized according to common secondary readings are represented in the following table:

Category	M=G	M=L	M=Q <sup>a</sup>	G=L	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	Total
M secondary	10	25	19	106	90	95	136
G secondary	10	14	19	54	22	23	61
Q <sup>a</sup> secondary	35	45	19	65	22	30	84
All readings	55	79	53	234	137	142	269

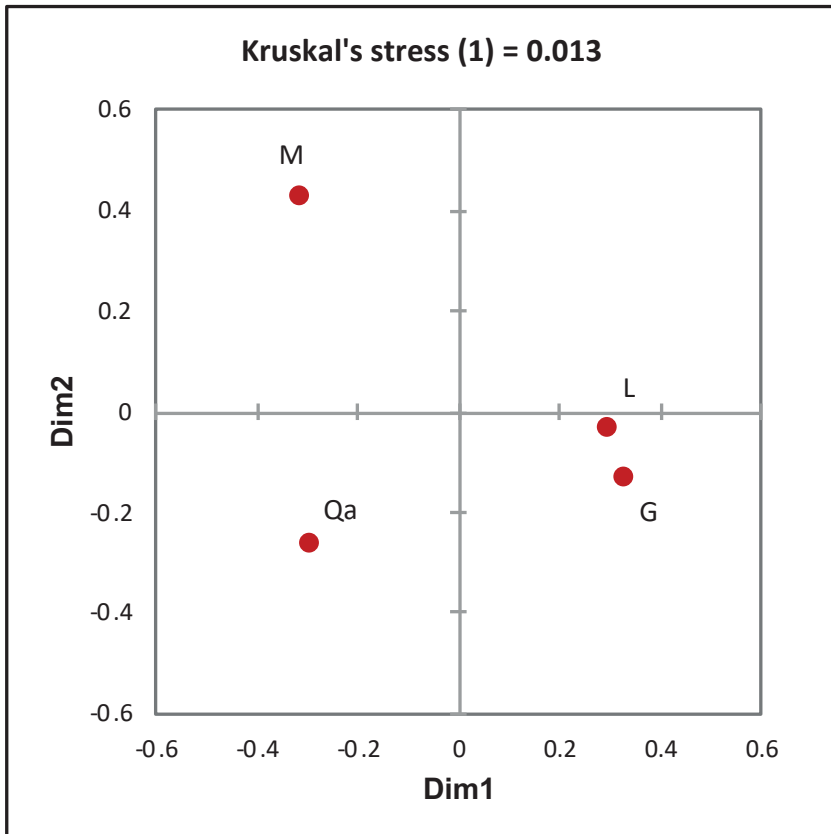
**Table 16.** The agreements organized according to common secondary readings.

365. Secondary readings are like 'bad genes' inherited from parents, while even the most distant manuscript traditions may share original readings; cf. Cross 1992; Tov 1992.

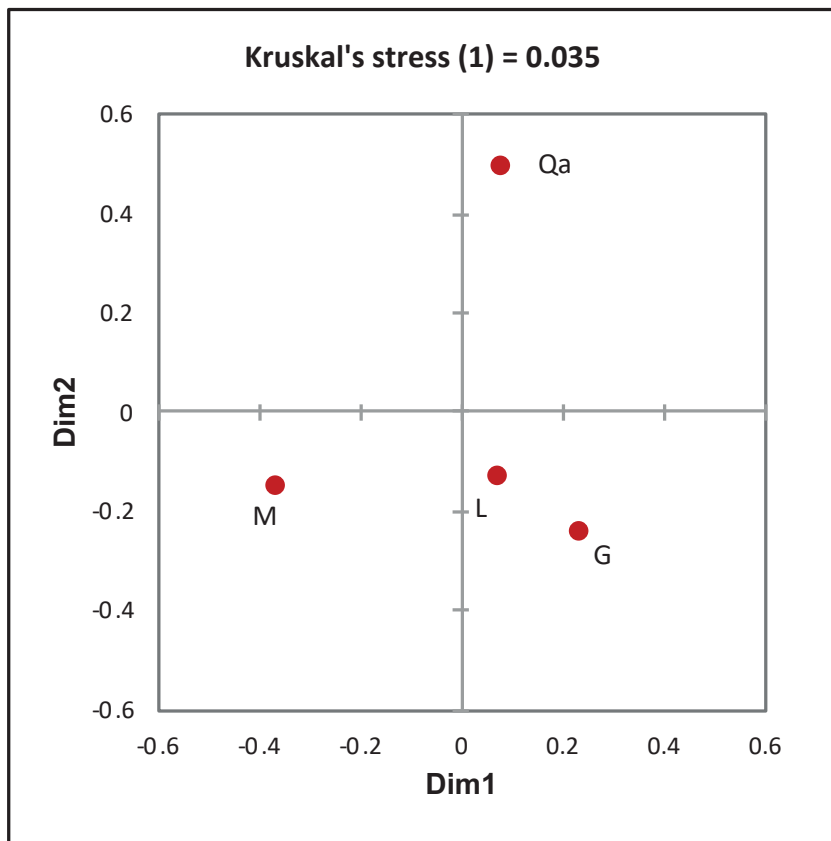
From Figure 13, one can observe that, when M has a secondary reading, it is notably more distant from both G and Q<sup>a</sup> than when all data are considered as a whole. At the same time, G and Q<sup>a</sup> are much closer to each other than they are when all data are considered as a whole, suggesting that M is not more closely related either to G or Q<sup>a</sup> but, rather, far from both. In that sense, G and Q<sup>a</sup> seem close, but their proximity is a result of sharing primary readings, which does not yet indicate close textual dependence. The situation turns out to be even more interesting when considering cases where either G or Q<sup>a</sup> has a secondary reading (Figures 14, 15). The distances here appear to be quite similar than when all data are considered as a whole. How should this observation be interpreted? First, M seems to be the most distinct witness compared to G and Q<sup>a</sup>. On the other hand, G and Q<sup>a</sup> do not seem to be very closely dependent on each other, since their secondary readings do not show increasing proximity compared to when all data are considered as a whole. It is also noteworthy that M clearly has the largest number of secondary readings (136) and the smallest number of primary readings (78). G and Q<sup>a</sup>, for their part, have many more primary readings (153 and 130, respectively) than they do secondary readings (61 and 84, respectively), but the numbers are fairly equal between G and Q<sup>a</sup>. This strengthens the individual character of M.



**Figure 13.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D Plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, Where M Has a Secondary Reading, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 121 variant readings.



**Figure 14.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D Plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, Where G Has a Secondary Reading, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 59 variant readings.



**Figure 15.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L and Q<sup>a</sup>) in a 2D Plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, When Q<sup>a</sup> Has a Secondary Reading, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9; 77 variant readings.

### 2.3.3 The Relationship between 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>

Above, I have analysed Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> separately. Next, I investigate how closely related all five texts, M, G, L, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>, are with one another in terms of distance as defined earlier. Again, the first task is to tally the agreements between all five texts. Except for the number of agreements between Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>, all other elements can be derived from Tables 10 and 11 (see, p. 92). These tables can be combined into the following table:

	M=G	M=L	G=L	M=Q <sup>a</sup>	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	M=Q <sup>b</sup>	G=Q <sup>b</sup>	L=Q <sup>b</sup>	Q <sup>a</sup> =Q <sup>b</sup>
Number of agreements	55+9 = 64	79+15 = 94	234+47 = 281	53	137	142	20	30	31	?
Total number of variants	269+60 = 329	269+60 = 329	269+60 = 329	269	269	269	60	60	60	?
Agreements (%)	64/ 329	94/ 329	281/ 329	53/ 269	137/ 269	142/ 269	20/60	30/60	31/60	

**Table 17.** Agreements between M, G, L, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>.

The relationship between M, G and L is described in both Tables 10 and 11, so the elements in the combined table (Table 17) for them are the sums of the elements in Tables 10 and 11 (marked with a green background). Elements for Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> are taken directly from Tables 10 and 11 (marked with blue and yellow background).

Since Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> do not have any overlapping textual variants, the actual number of agreements is 0 out of 0. Thus, one cannot say for certain how closely they are related to each other. However, it is possible to estimate the number of agreements *if* the manuscripts overlapped.

Let us first find out the number of cases where Q<sup>a</sup> would agree with Q<sup>b</sup>, when at least one of the other texts (M, G or L) agrees, too. Let us then assume that,

- (A1) if 4QSam<sup>b</sup> were preserved in every case where 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is actually preserved, the agreements of 4QSam<sup>b</sup> would be distributed in the same way as the cases now observable in 4QSam<sup>b</sup>.

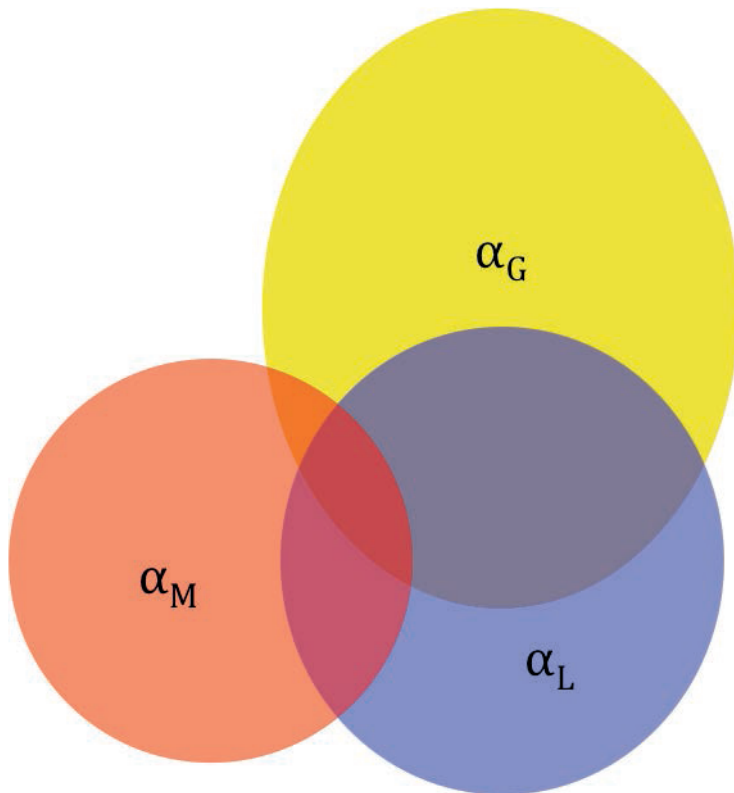
This means that, in the 53 cases where Q<sup>a</sup> agrees with M, Q<sup>b</sup> would agree with M  $20/60 \cdot 53$  times  $\approx 17$  times. Let us denote this value as  $\alpha_M$ . Similarly, in the cases where Q<sup>a</sup> agrees with G, Q<sup>b</sup> would also agree with G  $\alpha_G$  times =  $30/60 \cdot 137$  times  $\approx 69$  times; in the cases where Q<sup>a</sup> agrees with L, Q<sup>b</sup> would also agree with L  $\alpha_L$  times =  $31/60 \cdot 142$  times  $\approx 73$  times. These val-

ues, 17, 69 and 73, express the number of cases where both  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  would agree with M, G and L, respectively (Table 18).

$\alpha_M$	$\alpha_G$	$\alpha_L$
$20/60 \cdot 53 \approx 17$	$30/60 \cdot 137 \approx 69$	$31/60 \cdot 142 \approx 73$

**Table 18.** Hypothetical Agreement ( $\alpha_M, \alpha_G, \alpha_L$ ) between both  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  and M, G and L (Given Assumption A1).

This gives the maximum number of cases where  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  could agree with each other—namely,  $\alpha_M + \alpha_G + \alpha_L \approx 17+69+73 \approx 159$ . Since M, G and L do overlap, the actual number where  $Q^a$  would agree with  $Q^b$  should be lower. The situation can be illustrated graphically thus:



**Figure 16.** Venn Diagram of Agreement ( $\alpha_M, \alpha_G, \alpha_L$ ) between both  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  and M, G or L.

If the area of each ellipse represents the number of cases where  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  agree with a third text, the total area of the figure should represent the number of cases where  $Q^a$  agrees with  $Q^b$ . Let  $x$  be the total area of Figure 16. The total area  $x$  can be calculated as follows:

$$(1) \quad \begin{aligned} x &= (\alpha_M + \alpha_G + \alpha_L) - (\alpha_{MG} - \alpha_{MGL}) - (\alpha_{GL} - \alpha_{MGL}) - (\alpha_{ML} - \alpha_{MGL}) - 2\alpha_{MGL} \Leftrightarrow \\ x &= \alpha_M + \alpha_G + \alpha_L - \alpha_{MG} - \alpha_{GL} - \alpha_{ML} + \alpha_{MGL} \end{aligned}$$

where  $\alpha_i$  is the area of circle  $i$ ;  $\alpha_{ij}$  is the common area of circles  $i$  and  $j$ ;  $\alpha_{ijk}$  is the common area of circles  $i, j$  and  $k$ . Furthermore, based on the values presented in Table 17, one can solve how each  $\alpha_{ij}$  is dependent on  $x$

$$(2) \quad \alpha_{MG} / x = 64/329 \Rightarrow \alpha_{MG} = R_{MG} \cdot x, \text{ where } R_{MG} = 64/329$$

$$(3) \quad \alpha_{GL} / x = 281/329 \Rightarrow \alpha_{GL} = R_{GL} \cdot x, \text{ where } R_{GL} = 281/329$$

$$(4) \quad \alpha_{ML} / x = 94/329 \Rightarrow \alpha_{ML} = R_{ML} \cdot x, \text{ where } R_{ML} = 94/329$$

The number of cases where M, G and L agree with each other is 54 (see subsection. 2.1.1) out of 329; thus,

$$(5) \quad \alpha_{MGL} / x = 54/329 \Rightarrow \alpha_{MGL} = R_{MGL} \cdot x, \text{ where } R_{MGL} = 54/329$$

Since  $\alpha_M$ ,  $\alpha_G$  and  $\alpha_L$  are already known from Table 18, let us substitute (2–5) into equation (1). We obtain

$$(6) \quad \begin{aligned} x &= \alpha_M + \alpha_G + \alpha_L - R_{MG} \cdot x - R_{GL} \cdot x - R_{ML} \cdot x + R_{MGL} \cdot x \Leftrightarrow \\ x + R_{MG} \cdot x + R_{GL} \cdot x + R_{ML} \cdot x - R_{MGL} \cdot x &= \alpha_M + \alpha_G + \alpha_L \Leftrightarrow \\ x &= (\alpha_M + \alpha_G + \alpha_L) / (1 + R_{MG} + R_{GL} + R_{ML} - R_{MGL}) \end{aligned}$$

Finally, by substituting the values of  $\alpha_M$ ,  $\alpha_G$ ,  $\alpha_L$ ,  $R_{MG}$ ,  $R_{GL}$ ,  $R_{ML}$  and  $R_{MGL}$ , we can calculate the value of  $x$ .

Assuming that the number of cases where  $Q^a$  would agree with  $Q^b$  can be calculated, when at least one of the other texts (M, G, L) agrees also with  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$ , we arrive at

$$(7) \quad \begin{aligned} x &= (20/60 \cdot 53 + 30/60 \cdot 137 + 31/60 \cdot 142) / (1 + 64/329 + 281/329 + 94/329 - 54/329) \\ &\approx 73 \end{aligned}$$

This value represents the number of cases where  $Q^a$  would agree with  $Q^b$ , when at least one of the other texts (M, G, L) agrees also with  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$ , given assumption A1.

It is impossible to find out the exact number of cases where  $Q^a$  would agree with  $Q^b$  against all other texts. However, this value cannot be larger than the unique readings found in  $Q^a$ .<sup>366</sup> From sections 2.1.1, 2.1.4 and 2.1.7 one can calculate that there are 77 such readings for  $Q^a$ . Thus, the readings shared by  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  are between the limits 73 and  $73+77=150$ , out of a total of 269. Thus, Table 17 can be completed as follows:

366. By a unique reading of  $Q^a$ , I mean a reading where  $Q^a$  has a different reading than either M, G or L.

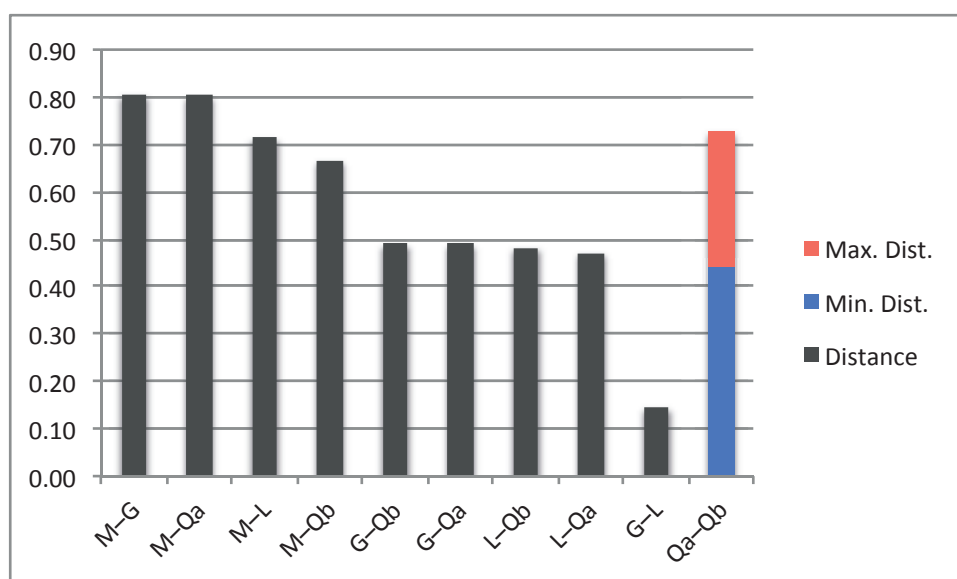
	M=G	M=L	G=L	M=Q <sup>a</sup>	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	M=Q <sup>b</sup>	G=Q <sup>a</sup>	L=Q <sup>a</sup>	Q <sup>a</sup> =Q <sup>b</sup>
Number of the agreements	55+9 = 64	79+15 = 94	234+47 = 281	53	137	142	20	30	31	[73,150]
Total number of the variants	269+60 = 329	269+60 = 329	269+60 = 329	269	269	269	60	60	60	269
Relative number of the agreements	64/329	94/329	281/329	53/272	137/272	142/272	20/60	30/60	31/60	[73/269, 150/269]

**Table 19.** Agreements between M, G, L, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>.

From this table, one can calculate the distances (defined as 1 – the relative number of the agreements) between the texts. The distances (i.e., dissimilarities) between the texts, arranged from the most to least distant, are as follows:

Texts	Distance
M–G	0.81
M–Q <sup>a</sup>	0.80
M–L	0.71
M–Q <sup>b</sup>	0.67
G–Q <sup>b</sup>	0.50
G–Q <sup>a</sup>	0.49
L–Q <sup>b</sup>	0.48
L–Q <sup>a</sup>	0.47
G–L	0.15

The distance of Q<sup>a</sup>–Q<sup>b</sup> is within the inclusive range [0.44, 0.73]. This situation can be illustrated graphically (Figure 17).



**Figure 17.** Distances between M, G, L, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>.

The possible values for the distance between Q<sup>a</sup>-Q<sup>b</sup>, represented by the interval [0.44, 0.73], is rather big, as this can make the distance the second closest or the third farthest, or anything in between, compared to the other distances measured here. Is it possible to estimate whether the distance Q<sup>a</sup>-Q<sup>b</sup> would be more likely in the beginning, middle or end of [0.44, 0.73]? Let us look at the unique readings more closely. Since L reflects a different Hebrew text than G only occasionally, let us look at the unique readings for only M, G, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>.<sup>367</sup> M has 180 unique readings out of 329; G has 102 out of 329; Q<sup>a</sup> has 77 out of 269; and Q<sup>b</sup> has 12 out of 60; thus,

	Unique readings	Total number of readings	Relative number of unique readings
M	180	329	0.55
G	102	329	0.31
Q <sup>a</sup>	77	269	0.29
Q <sup>b</sup>	12	60	0.20

**Table 20.** Unique Readings of M, G, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>.

It is noteworthy that Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> both have proportionally fewer unique readings than does M or G. Thus, heuristically, the distance of Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> is more likely to be around the lower end of [0.44, 0.73], since they tend to share readings with other witnesses—i.e., they have relatively few unique readings.<sup>368</sup>

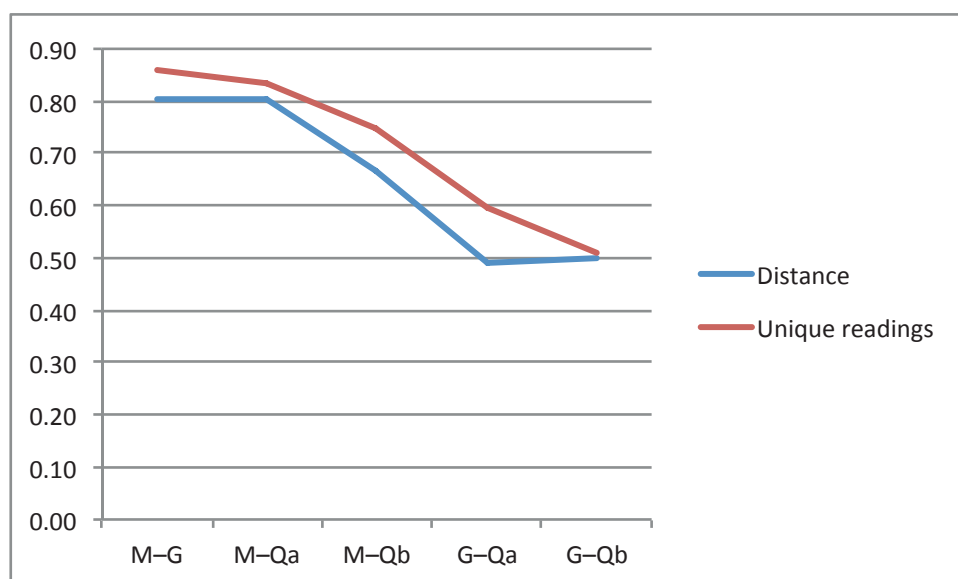
367. By unique readings of M, G, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>, I mean unique readings with respect to these four texts—e.g., the unique readings of M are those not shared by G or Q<sup>a</sup> when Q<sup>a</sup> is preserved and the readings that are not shared by G or Q<sup>b</sup> when Q<sup>b</sup> is preserved.

368. If the distance between Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> were the shortest possible distance, 0.44, that would imply that Q<sup>a</sup> and

Furthermore, these unique readings seem to have a nice correlation in terms of distances. The sum of the relative numbers of unique readings of the two texts is nearly the same as their distance (Table 21; Figure 18). Indeed, the sum of the relative numbers of unique readings is, in every case, a bit higher than the actual distance. This is intuitively understandable: the more unique readings two texts have, the more probable it is that they are also distant, since each unique reading ‘shifts’ the witness away from the other witnesses.

	Distance	Sum of the relative number of the unique readings
M–G	0.81	0.86
M–Q <sup>a</sup>	0.80	0.83
M–Q <sup>b</sup>	0.67	0.75
G–Q <sup>a</sup>	0.49	0.60
G–Q <sup>b</sup>	0.50	0.51

**Table 21.** Distance vs. Sum of Relative Number of Unique Readings.



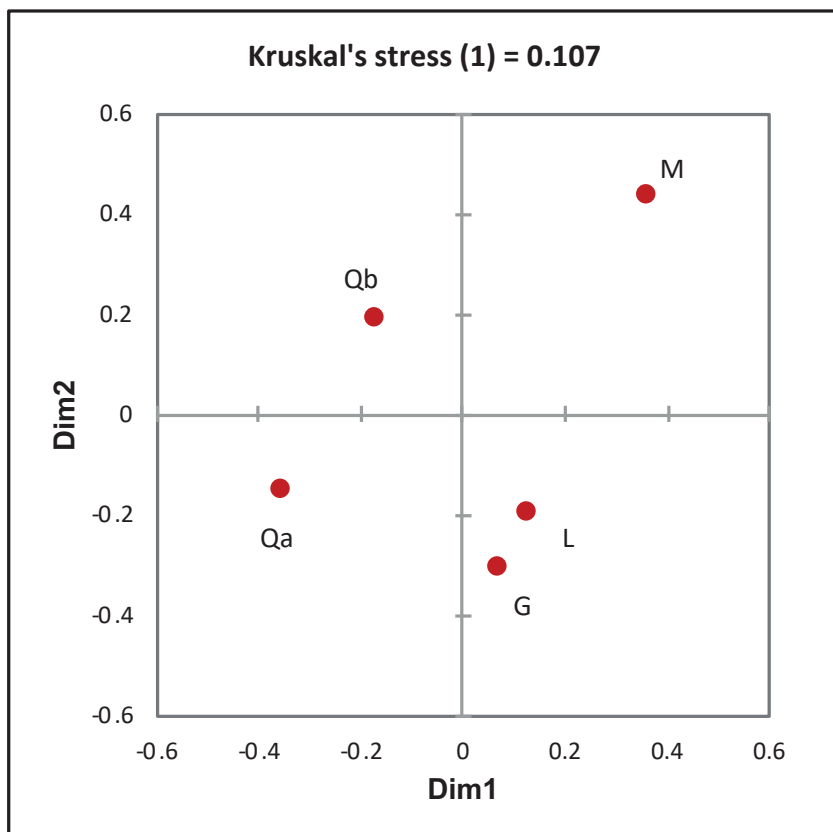
**Figure 18.** Distance vs. Sum of Relative Number of Unique Readings.

Thus, it is important to calculate the sum of the relative number of unique readings between Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>. This sum is  $0.29 + 0.20 = 0.49$ . If manuscripts Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> behave as other witnesses, this implies that their distance is somewhere around 0.49, but not lower than 0.44. Thus, the estimation of the distance between Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> would be nearly the same distance as that between L–Q<sup>a</sup>/Q<sup>b</sup> (0.47–0.48) or G–Q<sup>a</sup>/Q<sup>b</sup> (0.49–0.50).

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Q<sup>b</sup> agreed at every unique reading (if they were preserved). The farthest distance, on the other hand, would imply that Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> disagreed at every unique reading.

Let us now take this estimation of the distance between  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  and study how close or distant the witnesses seem to be from one another. The MDS of all 5 witnesses can now be drawn given the estimation of the distance of  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  as 0.49 (Figure 19). Kruskal's stress factor (1) is not as high as before, since a 4-dimensional presentation is reduced to a 2-dimensional surface, but the figure is still very illustrative. First,  $G-Q^a-Q^b$  form a triangle where these three have roughly equal distance. Secondly, M is clearly separate from these three, with the largest distance to  $Q^a$ . Furthermore, L is near G but 'shifted' towards M, which reflects Hexaplaric readings in L.



**Figure 19.** Distances between Textual Witnesses of the Books of Samuel (M, G, L,  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$ ) in a 2D plot with Multidimensional Scaling for Variant Readings, with the Estimation for  $Q^a-Q^b$  as 0.49, 1 Sam 1–2 Sam 9.

### 2.3.4 Conclusions

In the analysis presented above, I have studied the distances (i.e., dissimilarities) between textual traditions M, G, L,  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$ . I have used multidimensional scaling (MDS) to illustrate these distances. Furthermore, I have calculated an estimation of the hypothetical distance between  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$ , which do not actually have parallel texts.

My analysis verifies the observation made by earlier studies that both  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  are more closely related to G than they are to M. G,  $Q^a$  and  $Q^b$  seem to be about equally close to one

another. M, for its part, turned out to be rather distant to all three. This is in harmony with the observation that M has the largest relative number of readings where M disagrees with G, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup> ('unique readings'). As for G, L, Q<sup>a</sup> and Q<sup>b</sup>, the Qumran texts seem to be closest to M, while G is the farthest.

In the case of Q<sup>a</sup>, it was possible to study the variants according to their different types. I observed that Q<sup>a</sup> and G are most closely related with respect to vocabulary. Q<sup>a</sup> and M, for their part, turned out to be less distant from each other in cases where there was a deliberate change in the reading. In cases where M has a plus, M and G were observed to be more closely related to each than in other respects. Organizing the data by secondary readings showed that G and Q<sup>a</sup> do not closely depend on each other. Instead, M turned out to have a rather individual character, as it was distant from both G and Q<sup>a</sup>.

In general, M is nearer to L than it is to G. This is sufficiently explained as approximations in L toward M. L and M turned out to be more closely related, at least in cases where the variant reading originates from a deliberate change and where L and M have pluses against Q<sup>a</sup> and/or G.

### 3. The Story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17–19)

The most striking difference between the different texts of the Books of Samuel probably occurs around the story of David and Goliath and its aftermath, 1 Sam 17–18. Comparing the Masoretic text with the Septuagint, the Septuagint is notably shorter.<sup>369</sup> On a closer look, the pluses in the Masoretic text, or at least some of them, are clearly connected with each other. Thus, these differences merit discussion in a separate chapter.

#### 3.1. Two Different Stories: The Septuagint and the Masoretic text

In 1 Sam 17–18, entire sections are missing from the Septuagint; in other words, the Masoretic text has large pluses—viz., 1 Sam 17:12–31, 38b, 41–42a, 48b, 50, 55–58; 18:1–6a, 10–11, 12b, 17–19, 21b, 29b–30. It should be noted, however, that the verses originally missing from the Septuagint were added to in the majority of the Septuagint manuscripts.<sup>370</sup> This shows the recensional tendency to revise the Septuagint text according to the Hebrew text. It is clear that the verses mentioned above are not part of the Old Greek, since the translation technique and vocabulary used differ from those in the rest of 1 Samuel.<sup>371</sup> Furthermore, it is hard to assume that the Septuagint translator shortened the text so radically, since the translator is generally faithful to the *Vorlage*.<sup>372</sup> Thus, one can safely assume that the Septuagint reflects a notably shorter Hebrew text than the Masoretic text.

In addition to the pluses in the Masoretic text, there are other notable differences as well. The Septuagint also has a quantitatively longer text in some places. Most of them are short, mainly 1–2 word pluses, but, in 1 Sam 17:36, 43, the Septuagint has clauses absent from the Masoretic text. In addition to these quantitative differences, the texts also differ qualitatively in several cases—e.g., in 1 Sam 17:4 (MT: ‘six’; LXX: ‘four’), 8 (MT: ‘servants’; LXX: Hebrews), 32 (MT: ‘no one’s hearth’; LXX: ‘hearth of my Lord’). An illustrative picture of the pluses, minuses and most notable differences between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint around the story of David and Goliath is presented in Appendix 2.

The most interesting question is naturally whether the Masoretic text or the Septuagint represents the more original text: either the longer text was abridged or the shorter text

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369. Emanuel Tov (1999, 333) has calculated that 44% of verses of the Masoretic text are absent from the Septuagint.

370. E.g., the first and the longest plus has been added to in Mss A O L C' 509 d f s -762 55 158 318 554, while it is lacking from Mss B V a 121 29 71 244 245 460 707. Evidently, scribes paid attention most to this section, since other smaller pluses have been added to in fewer Mss; Cf. also Tov 1999, 333; Wellhausen 1871, 104. See also section 3.6.

371. Driver 1913, 108.

372. See Tov 1986, 33–38; 1999, 341–48; cf. Soisalon-Soininen 1965, 169–70; Sollamo 1979, 280–89; Aejmelaes 2007a, esp. 140–41; Wirth 2016.

expanded.<sup>373</sup> When studying the original text, one should also take into account witnesses other than the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. The Targum, the Peshitta and the Vulgate generally support the longer reading, as do the readings of Theodotion, Aquila and Symmachus (although these might not be identical with the Masoretic text; see pp. 143–150). Josephus (*Ant.* 6.170–204) mainly follows the text of the Septuagint, omitting the Masoretic pluses other than the longest one 17:12–31. However, Josephus’s version of the text does not prove anything more than his familiarity with both the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. The evidence from Qumran requires a more detailed study, which I shall present next.

## 3.2. The Evidence from Qumran

Unfortunately, only small portions of these chapters are preserved in the Qumran manuscripts. To investigate which version the Qumran scrolls support, I will analyse the Qumran variants in 1 Sam 17–18.

### 3.2.1 The Manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup>

Of the fragments of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, 5 include 1 Sam 17–18: Frags. 12, 13, 14, 16 and 17. Fragment 12 is the largest of these, containing parts of 1 Sam 17:3–6. In this fragment, five line-endings and the left margin of the column are visible (see PAM 43.111).

Cross’s reconstruction of the text is as follows:

] 17:3 וּפְלִשְׁתִּים עוֹמְדִים אֶל־  
 [הַהָר מִזֶּה וְיִשְׂרָאֵל עֹמְדִים אֶל־הַהָר מִזֶּה וְהִגִּיא בִּינֵיהֶם [וַיֵּצֵא אִישׁ  
 [הַבָּנִים מִמַּעֲרֹכּוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים גְּלִית שְׁמוֹ מִגַּת גְּבָהּ [אֲרַבְעָה מוֹת וּזְרַת  
 [5] וְכֹבֵעַ נַחֲשֵׁת עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וְשָׂרִיץ קִשְׁקִשִׁים הוּא לְבוּשׁוֹ [מִשְׁקַל הַשָּׂרִיץ  
 [חֲמֵשֶׁת אֲלָפִים שְׁקָלִים נַחֲשֵׁת 6 וּמִצַּחַת נַחֲשֵׁת עַל־רַגְלָיו וְכִידָן [בֵּין כְּתָפָיו

Only traces of the letters of the first and last line of the fragment are visible, but the medial three lines are preserved well enough to determine that the fragment contained the text of 1 Sam 17:3–6. With this reconstruction, the line-lengths for lines 2–5 are 54, 54, 52 and 57 characters, respectively.<sup>374</sup> Compared with the Masoretic text, the only quantitative difference in the reconstructed portion is the omission of נחשת after וכידן, making the line-length closer to that of the previous three and thus fulfilling the vertical alignment.

373. The longer text is preferred, e.g., in Barthélemy 1986; Gooding 1986; Gordon 1986; Rofé 1987; Van der Kooij 1992; Dietrich 1996; Tsumura 2007. The shorter text is preferred, e.g., in McCarter 1980; Klein 1983; Lust 1986; Tov 1986; Trebelle 1990; Nelson 1991; Auld & Ho 1992; Tov 1999; Campbell 2003.

374. The line-lengths in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> varies widely. The shortest average line-length is 45.4 characters (Column II), while the longest is 69.3 characters (Frag. 29–33).

## Variants

17:4 שש אמות M || ] א[ ארבע Q<sup>a</sup> G (τεσσάρων πήχεων).

In the Masoretic text, the height of Goliath is six cubits and a span, while the Septuagint and the Qumran scroll give the number as ‘four’ instead of ‘six’. Two opposing explanations for these readings have been posited: either the editor of the text intentionally increased Goliath’s height or lowered it. The reason for increasing the height would be to make David’s challenge seem harder, thus increasing David’s glory after the victory.<sup>375</sup> The opposite arguments claim that the height of the Goliath was intentionally lowered to make it more moderate, increasing the verisimilitude of the story.<sup>376</sup> That is, lowering Goliath’s height would make him an extremely big man—not an impossible figure. Thus, the rationalization of the height of Goliath would be a critique of Saul, ‘the tall Israelite’ (1 Sam 9:2) who did not have courage enough to enter the duel with an equal fighter.<sup>377</sup> This argument is weak, however, since Saul’s situation in the story is already extremely poor already; lowering or increasing Goliath’s height does not change the situation. In addition, it is hard to believe that someone has intentionally decreased the height of Goliath to make the story more believable. Rather, it is more likely to decrease the verisimilitude of the story and to increase David’s glorious victory. At the same time, this increases the power and ability of God, since David wins only with the help of God. Moreover, the Hebrew Bible brims with stories with little verisimilitude, from which no similar such desire to increase the verisimilitude of these stories has been observed.

One further possibility must be taken into account. Namely, the reading שש אמות, ‘six cubits’, in the Masoretic text have emerged from an unintentional error. Three verses later, it is said that Goliath’s spear’s head weighted six hundred shekels. Graphically, ‘six cubits’ and ‘six hundred’ are extremely similar in the unvocalized text, שש אמות and שש מאות. Although there is a considerable amount of text between these two expressions, the confusion might have happened in a manuscript with line-length such that the expressions שש אמות and שש מאות happened to be vertically aligned.<sup>378</sup> Against such a background, an unintentional error seems very plausible.<sup>379</sup> All in all, the evidence suggests that the reading of the Masoretic text is secondary, whether intentional or not.

17:5 ומשקל השריון M Q<sup>a</sup> (ו[משקל השריון]) || (ומשקל שרינו?) G (καὶ ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ θώρακος αὐτοῦ).

375. Hays 2005, 707; Conybeare & Stock 1980, 252; Cross 1979, 54n2. Cf. McCarter 1980, 286; DJD XVII, 79.

376. Gehman 1950, 295; Stoebe 1973, 317; Tsumura 2007, 441; cf. Klein 1983, 175; Smith 1977, 155.

377. Johnson 2012, 540.

378. In the Masoretic text, the number of characters between the expressions is 163. With a line-length of c. 80 characters, the expressions would be vertically aligned with only one line intervening. With a line-length of c. 55 characters, there would be two lines intervening.

379. Cf. DJD XVII, 79

The Greek text has the pronoun αὐτοῦ, which may reflect the personal suffix ו- in its source text, though it may well be the translator's style to supply the pronoun. Even if the personal suffix is derived back to Hebrew, it is probably secondary and may have derived from the context (cf. ראשו, earlier in the same verse). All in all, I regard the variants as independent, not belonging to the editorial layer of short/long texts.

Fragment 13 (PAM 43.113 4.2) has traces of a few letters from three consecutive lines. Despite the small size of the fragment, it fits nicely into the reconstruction made with the help of fragment 12, totalling the same line-lengths (Frag. 12, l. 4 = Frag. 13, l. 1; Frag. 12, l. 5 = Frag. 13, l. 2).

The reconstruction is as follows.<sup>380</sup>

[17:5] וכובע נחשת על ראשו ושר[י]ן[ׁ] קשקשים הוא לבוש ומשקל השריין  
 [חמשת אלפים שקלים נחש]תׁ ם ן [מצחת נחשת על רגליו וכידן בין כתפיו]  
 [7 ועץ חניתו כמנור ארגים ול]הב[תו שש מאות שקלים ברזל ונשא צנתו]

*Variant*

17:5 נחשת וברזל G (χαλκοῦ καὶ σιδήρου) || (נחש]תׁ) M Q<sup>a</sup> נחשת

At the end of 1 Sam 17:5, the Septuagint has, against the Masoretic text and the Qumran scroll, the plus καὶ σιδήρου ‘and iron’, which indicates וברזל in its source text. This is clearly an addition anticipating the similar expression in v. 7. An unintentional scribal mistake, this variant is not dependent on the variants that belong to the short/long edition of the story.

Fragment 14 (PAM 43.124 8.2) has letters on two consecutive lines. In DJD XVII, this is placed just one line after fragment 13. With such an alignment, it fits well into the column, making the reconstructed line-lengths 57 characters (frag. 13, l. 2) and 55 characters (frag. 14, l. 1).

The reconstruction is as follows.<sup>381</sup>

[הלך לפניו 17:8 ו]יעמד ו[יקרא אל מערכת ישראל ויאמר להם למה תצאו]  
 [לערוך מלחמ]ה הל[וא אנכי]

380. DJD XVII, 78.

381. DJD XVII, 78.

*Variant*

17:8 מְלַחְמָה הָלוֹא M Q<sup>a</sup> (מלחמ) ה[לו]א || G (πολέμω ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν; οὐκ)

The Septuagint has the plus ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν in comparison with the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. The expression is Hebraistic, indicating לְקִרְאָתְנוּ in the source text. Cross considers לְקִרְאָתְנוּ to have been omitted from the text due to a graphical error, since מְלַחְמָה ends in the same letter, *he*, as הָלוֹא begins.<sup>382</sup> This is possible, though, in that case, more usual would be then to continue the text without the letter *he*, with the following word לוֹא (i.e., מְלַחְמָה לוֹא), unless one assumes also a dittography for the letter *he*. Another explanation is that the idea of the phrase לְקִרְאָתְנוּ was picked up from v. 2, where a similar expression (sc., לְקִרְאָת פְּלִשְׁתִּים) occurs. In either case, the variant readings are not dependent on the significant pluses found in the Masoretic text.

Fragment 16 (PAM 43.113 5.2) has letters on three consecutive lines. In the DJD edition, these are positioned as parts of 1 Sam 17:40–41. One cannot know whether the fragment belongs to the same column as fragments 12–14 or if it is from the following column, but the reconstruction, which follows mainly the Masoretic text, gives corresponding line-lengths: the first line has 52 characters and the second 51.

The reconstruction is as follows:

[<sup>40</sup> בידו ויבחר לו חמשה חלקי אבנים מן הנחל וישי]ם [אתם בכלי]  
[הרועים אשר לו בילקוט וקלעו בידו ויגש אל]הפלש[תי <sup>41</sup> וילך]  
[הפלשתי הולך וקרב אל דויד והאיש נושא הצנ]ה לפ[ניו ]

*Variant*

1S17:41 הַצֵּנָה לְפָנָיו M Q<sup>a</sup> (הצנ) ה לפ[ניו] L (τὸν θυρεὸν αὐτοῦ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ) || > G.  
The Qumran scroll contains this plus, which is not present in the Septuagint.

Fragment 17 (PAM 43.113 6.5) contains letters from two consecutive lines. Again, one cannot be sure to which column the text belongs, but it fits well into 1 Sam 18:4–5, as reconstructed in DJD. With such an alignment, the reconstructed line-length, 55 characters, is similar to those of previous fragments.

The reconstruction is as follows:

[עליו ויתנהו לדוד ומדיו ו]עד ח[רבו ועד קשתו ועד חגרו <sup>5</sup> ויצא]  
[דוד בכל אשר ישלחנו שא]ול וישכ[יל וישמהו שאול על אנשי]

382. DJD XVII, 79

Although containing only a few letters, this fragment turns out to be extremely interesting. That is, while 1 Sam 17:55–18:5 is missing from the original Septuagint (Old Greek),<sup>383</sup> if fragment 17 has been placed correctly, as it seems it is, this would indicate that manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup> contained 1 Sam 18:4–5 and most likely the whole plus 1 Sam 17:55–18:5.

### 3.2.2 The Manuscript 1QSam

1QSam was not dated in the DJD series, but recently it is paleographically dated approximately the first half of the first century BCE.<sup>384</sup> The manuscript comprises eight fragments, of which fragments 2–8 are from 2 Samuel and fragment 1 from 1 Samuel. Fragments 2–8 clearly belong together, since, at the time of their discovery, they were attached to one another, forming one segment of a rolled-up scroll. Thus, fragments 2–8 have more or less similar shapes, while fragment 1 has a different one.

Since fragment 1 is separate from other fragments and contains only few letters, its placement is more uncertain than those of fragments 2–8. It is reconstructed as a part of 1 Sam 18:17–18:

[לך לאשה אך היה לי לבן חיל והל] חם מלחמ[ות יהוה ושאל אמר אל תהי ידי בו ותהי]  
[בו יד פלשתים 18:18 ויאמר דוד אל שְׂאֹל] מי אנכי ומי חיי משפחת אבי בישראל כי אהיה]

With such a placement, the line-length would be c. 62 characters, if the scroll had contained approximately the same amount of text as the Masoretic text in these verses. In comparison, the medial three lines in the best-preserved fragment (8) contained 68, 62 and 64 characters per line. Thus, the placement in 1 Sam 18:17–18 seems to be reasonable. Assuming the identification of 1 Sam 18:17–18 is correct, the case is interesting, since 1 Sam 18:17–19 does not belong to the original Septuagint.<sup>385</sup> Thus, it seems that manuscript 1QSam contains the same plus as the Masoretic text.

On the identification of the text, according to DJD XVII, the fragment 1 was found apart from other fragments, in spite of which, it is claimed as belonging to the same scroll and that the identification given is certain.<sup>386</sup> I have tried to find other possible placements for the reconstruction. Exactly the same letters, [שְׂאֹל] [ ...1 line missing... ] חם מלחמ] does not appear elsewhere in the Books of Samuel, but some similar cases do appear. In the following, the Masoretic text is divided into two lines and a possible placement of the fragment marked with a grey background:

383. According to Lust (1986, 7–9, 14) verses 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4 have been part of the Original Septuagint. The key point of his argumentation is that references to these verses are found in 2nd Century CE writer, Hippolytus' text *De Davidi et Goliath* 16. In subsection 4.3.4 I will show that it is more likely, that the allusions in Hippolytus' text originate from other Greek translations (e.g. οἱ γ')

384. Ulrich 2016, section 5.1.1.

385. The passage 1 Sam 18:17–19 is parallel to vv. 20–26 (Saul gives his daughter to David as a wife).

386. DJD I, 64: 'Le f. I a été trouvé à part, mais son appartenance et son identification semblent certaines.'

Position 1°: 1 Sam 8:20–21.

הגוים ושפטנו מלכנו ויצא לפנינו ונלחם את מלחמתנו <sup>21</sup> וישמע שמואל את כל דברי העם וידברם באזני יהוה ויאמר יהוה אל שמואל שמע בקולם והמלכת

Line-length of c. 65 characters. The Masoretic text has +את and שמואל instead of שאול.

Position 2°: 1 Sam 14:22–23

פלשתים וידבקו גם המה אחריהם במלחמה <sup>23</sup> ויושע יהוה ביום ההוא את ישראל והמלחמה עברה את בית און ואיש ישראל נגש ביום ההוא ויאול שאול את העם לאמר ארור האיש

Line-length of c. 75 characters. The Masoretic text has +ב. The first letter in 1QSam frag. 1, l. 1, could be also *he* instead of *het*.

Position 3°: 1 Sam 17:1

ויאספו פלשתים את מחניהם למלחמה ויאספו שכה אשר ליהודה ויחנו בין שוכה ובין עזקה באפס דמים ושאוול ואיש ישראל נאספו ויחנו בעמק האלה ויערכו

Line-length of c. 62 characters. The Masoretic text has +ל. The first letter in 1QSam frag. 1, l. 1, could be also *he* instead of *het*.

All in all, the placement of fragment 1 in 1 Sam 18:17–18 seems still to be the best possible option, albeit not the only one.

### 3.2.3 Conclusion

It seems that manuscripts 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 1QSam share at least some of the pluses found in the Masoretic text. However, the evidence for the pluses is slight and dependent on only a few letters. Furthermore, these observations indicate only that the pluses existed at the time of the copying of the scrolls. The question of their originality must be determined by other arguments (see sections 3.3–3.6). Interestingly, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> not only agrees with one plus of a Masoretic text; it also agrees with the Septuagint against the Masoretic text ('four' *pro* 'six' regarding Goliath's height in cubits).

## 3.3. Arguments for the Priority of the Short/Long Story

At this point, the following conclusions can be made: 1) The Septuagint reflects a notably shorter Hebrew text than the Masoretic text; 2) the manuscripts 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 1QSam possibly had at least some of the pluses found in the Masoretic text. From these observations, one cannot conclude which Hebrew version, the shorter or the longer, is more original. Much has been written on the topic, but there is no consensus yet on the originality of either text.<sup>387</sup>

387. The longer text is considered primary, e.g., in Barthélemy 1986; Gooding 1986; Gordon 1986; Rofé 1987; Van der Kooij 1992; Dietrich 1996; Tsumura 2007. The shorter text is considered primary, e.g., in McCarter 1980; Klein 1983; Lust 1986; Tov 1986; Treballe 1990; Nelson 1991; Auld & Ho 1992; Tov 1999; Campbell 2003; Aejmelaeus 2016.

### 3.3.1 The Longer Story as Original?

Next, I present the most common arguments given in favour of the primacy of the longer story.<sup>388</sup> The arguments can be classified into three groups:

- (A1) General arguments related to the nature and emergence of the biblical texts;
- (A2) Specific arguments about textual details;
- (A3) Specific arguments about the text assuming that the longer text is original.

The arguments in the first group are as follows:

- (A1.1) There is no analogy for such a remarkable growth in any other biblical text in the Hellenistic period, had the Masoretic text developed from the shorter Septuagint text.<sup>389</sup>
- (A1.2) If the pluses in the Masoretic had been added to the story, one cannot explain why these pluses are not attached to the story in a more elaborate way to make the story fluent.<sup>390</sup>
- (A1.3) The pluses in the Masoretic text are not theologically motivated but folkloristic. Therefore, they cannot be additions, but belong to an old stratum of the text.<sup>391</sup>
- (A1.4) Manuscript 1QSam does not prove the originality of the shorter text but rather indicates that the longer text existed already at the time that 1QSam was copied.<sup>392</sup>

The arguments in the second group address the textual level and are as follows:

- (A2.1) The story in the Masoretic text is harmonious and fluent. In addition, it develops the storyline in an elegant way.<sup>393</sup>
- (A2.2) The longer story is not the result of several sources having been combined, since the motif of David as a shepherd appears not only in Masoretic pluses but also in the Septuagint.<sup>394</sup>

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388. Cf. Dietrich & Naumann (1995, 89), who list some of these arguments, mainly on the basis of Barthelémy et al. 1986; Rofé 1987.

389. Dietrich 1996, 177.

390. Gooding 1986, 62–63; cf. Dietrich 1996, 177.

391. Rofé 1987, 119.

392. Pisano 1986, 85–86. Note that 1QSam is not dated in the DJD series.

393. Gooding (1986, 63–74) states in favor of this argument the following arguments: a) 1 Sam 17:12–31 fits well into the context, because, e.g., the motif of Eliab's envy suits the story; b) the Masoretic text corresponds better to other accounts of duels in Antiquity; c) 1 Sam 17:50 is an essential part of the story, because it gives the climax of story and is theologically important; d) the shorter version in the Septuagint is not plausible, because, after Goliath has been killed, one would expect some sort of recognition by David; e) because 1 Sam 18:10–11 is missing from the shorter version, it is difficult to understand why Saul would be afraid of David in 1 Sam 18:12. Cf. also Dietrich (1996, 178), who considers the shorter version of the Septuagint 'poorer' ('ärmer').

394. Rofé 1987, 120.

- (A2.3) The Masoretic version is the result of a combination of sources (as usual in the Hebrew Bible) but not in such a way that the Septuagint version would represent an earlier phase of the editorial process—i.e., the pluses of the Masoretic text does not represent a separate source.<sup>395</sup>
- (A2.4) 1 Sam 17:32–54 is a natural continuation of vv. 12–31. Furthermore, vv. 1–11 constitute an introduction to vv. 12–54.<sup>396</sup>
- (A2.5) The Masoretic text of 1 Sam 17:1–18:5 is compiled from several sources but itself forms a coherent story. Contradictions emerge only after it is attached to chapter 16 and the story continues after 18:6.<sup>397</sup>
- (A2.6) The Septuagint is not shorter in every respect, but it also has several pluses. In 1 Sam 17:43, the Septuagint addition ‘and with stones’ spoils the plot, while the plus ‘no, but worse than a dog’ is jocular and, therefore, unsuitable to the storyline.<sup>398</sup>
- (A2.7) 1 Sam 20:8 presumes an earlier covenant. The only possible section to which this verse can refer is 1 Sam 18:3–4. Since verses 1 Sam 18:3–4 are missing from the Septuagint, the Septuagint version of the story must be secondary.<sup>399</sup>
- (A2.8) 1 Sam 18:17–19 are omitted from the Septuagint since they contradict 2 Sam 21:8.<sup>400</sup>

These are more effective arguments than those in group. I shall consider them more thoroughly after introducing the arguments in favour of the shorter text.

Arguments in the third group are such that they are usually presented after the scholar has decided his or her attitude on the originality of the longer version. These arguments explain the details observed in the text *with the assumption that the longer text is original*. The line of thought is thus ‘why does a certain characteristic feature of the text exist, given that the longer text is original?’ Above all, characteristics that require further explanation include contradictions, inconsistencies, tensions and repetitions present in the longer text but not in the shorter version. The general explanation for these is that the editor of the shorter version made the text more consistent by omitting these problematic sections. The contradictions, inconsistencies and tensions present in the longer text (and which are later harmonized in the shorter text) are the following:<sup>401</sup>

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395. Van der Kooij 1992, 126–29. According to him, 1 Sam 17:12 begins a new section, but there is no combination of sources in vv. 31–32. Cf. also Dietrich & Naumann 1995, 87–103.

396. Barthélemy 1986, 50.

397. Pisano 1984, 84.

398. Gooding 1986, 68; cf. Dietrich 1996, 177.

399. Lust 1986, 9; Pisano 1984, 84.

400. Barthélemy 1986, 52.

401. Cf. Dietrich 1996, 178; Gooding 1986, 75–82; Van der Kooij 1992, 130; Pisano 1984, 86; Rofé 1987, 120–121.

- (A3.1) David and his family is introduced twice (16:6–12 // 17:12–14, 28).
- (A3.2) David is taken into Saul’s court twice (16:14–23 // 17:55–58; 18:2).
- (A3.3) David moves toward Goliath twice (17:40 // 17:48b).
- (A3.4) Goliath draws nearer to David twice (17:41 // 17:48a).
- (A3.5) David kills Goliath twice (17:50 // 17:51).
- (A3.6) Saul tries twice to kill David with a spear (18:10–11 // 19:10).
- (A3.7) The Lord is said to be with David twice (18:12b // 18:14).
- (A3.8) Saul offers his daughter twice to David as a wife (18:17–19 // 18:20–26).
- (A3.9) Jonathan makes a covenant twice with David (18:1,3–4 // 20:16–17).
- (A3.10) David is appointed twice as chief of the army (18:5 // 18:13)
- (A3.11) Twice, Saul becomes an enemy to David, and David is successful (18:9, 13–15 // 18:29b–30).
- (A3.12) The chronology of the story does not tally. Both 17:57 and 18:6 concern the moment immediately after David returns from killing Goliath.
- (A3.13) Eliab behaves in an unexpected way in 1 Sam 17:28–29, since he was in fact present when David was anointed as heir to the throne in 1 Sam 16:1–13.
- (A3.14) David was taken into Saul’s court as a warrior in 1 Sam 16:18. Hence, he cannot anymore be the shepherd of his father’s flock, who happens to bring food to his brothers in 1 Sam 17:17–18. Even less probable is for David to be entirely unknown for Saul in 1 Sam 17:55–58.

It is noteworthy that the scholars who tend to consider the longer text original do not present these inconsistencies as indications of various sources or of textual growth in the longer story. Instead, they present these as reasons why an ancient editor would have had a compulsion to alter the text. The argumentation generally proceeds thus: ‘since the text has discrepancies, the text needs to be harmonized by omitting the problematic sections. The result is the shorter version of the story.’

### **3.3.2 The Shorter Story as Original?**

Next, I introduce the arguments presented in favour of the primacy of the shorter text.<sup>402</sup> The arguments can be divided into three groups, similar to those given above for the primacy of the longer text:

- (B1) General arguments related to the nature and the emergence of the biblical texts;
- (B2) Specific arguments about textual details;
- (B3) Specific arguments about the text assuming the shorter text is original.

The arguments in the first group are as follows:

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402. Cf. the list in Dietrich & Naumann 1995, 89, given on the basis of Barthelémy et al. 1986; Rofé 1987.

- (B1.1) In general, the books of the Hebrew Bible are developed by expansion, not by abridgement.<sup>403</sup>
- (B1.2) The Book of Jeremiah is a particularly excellent example of textual growth and, in that sense, provides a good analogy to the textual development of the story of David and Goliath.<sup>404</sup>
- (B1.3) If the text of the Septuagint in 1 Sam 17–18 is abridged, there is no parallel for such a phenomenon (at the same scale) in the Book of Samuel.<sup>405</sup>
- (B1.4) If the shorter text of the Septuagint emerged as the result of harmonization, one cannot explain why the evident discrepancies have not been eliminated in other sections than 1 Sam 17–18 in the same book.<sup>406</sup>
- (B1.5) If the shorter text of the Septuagint emerged as the results of harmonization, there is no feasible reason why all the contradictions in the story have not been removed.<sup>407</sup>

The arguments in the second group deal with textual details in 1 Sam 17–18:

- (B2.1) The pluses in the Masoretic text constitute an independent story, indicating its secondary nature.<sup>408</sup>
- (B2.2) A technical study of the translation made by the Septuagint translator of Samuel reveals that he is faithful to his source text and thus cannot have been responsible for shortening the text by omitting large sections in 1 Sam 17–18.<sup>409</sup>
- (B2.3) The shorter version of the story in chapter 17 has a well balanced and partially chiasmic structure; the Masoretic pluses break this structure.<sup>410</sup>
- (B2.4) 1 Sam 17:12–14 clearly begins a new story (cf. Judg 13:2; 1 Sam 1:1–2; 9:1–2).<sup>411</sup>
- (B2.5) The Masoretic pluses have been added to the story in a rewriting process. This rewriting could have been motivated either by an effort to add parallels to the

403. Tov 1986, 134.

404. Tov 1986, 40, 130–31, 134; Treballe 1990, 30. In the Book of Jeremiah, the short text of the Septuagint and 4QJer<sup>b</sup> is more original, against the Masoretic text and 4QJer<sup>a</sup>. On the textual history of Jeremiah, see Tov 2003, 135, 138–41.

405. McCarter 1980, 307; Lust 1986, 9.

406. Tov 1986, 40.

407. McCarter 1980, 307; Lust 1986, 9.

408. McCarter 1980, 307. Similar thoughts also Lust (1986, 9) and Treballe (1990, 29).

409. Cf. Tov 1986, 37.

410. According to Lust (1986, 11–12), the chiasmic structure is as follows:

- C Goliath steps forward (v. 4)
- B Goliath's equipment described (v. 5–7)
- A Goliath's taunt (v. 8–11)
- A' David's answer (v. 32–37)
- B' David's equipment describe (v. 38–42a)
- C' David steps forward (v. 40b)

411. Lust 1986, 90–91.

story of Saul becoming king (1 Sam 9–10)<sup>412</sup> or to explain odd details in the shorter story and filling its gaps.<sup>413</sup>

- (B2.6) If the reason to produce a shorter version of the text had been to remove inconsistencies, 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4 (the covenant of David and Goliath) would have been preserved. By omitting these verses, one creates an inconsistency with 1 Sam 20:8, which presumes an earlier covenant.<sup>414</sup>

The arguments in the third group assume that textual material has been added to the earlier shorter version. These arguments try to show what kinds of contradictions and inconsistencies result if the Masoretic pluses are, in fact, additions.<sup>415</sup>

- (B3.1) In 1 Sam 16:21, David is presented as Saul's armour bearer, but, in 1 Sam 17:12–31, he is a shepherd boy unknown to Saul and who just happens to appear on the battlefield.
- (B3.2) Saul does not know David in 1 Sam 17:55–58, even though David had been introduced to Saul earlier and even played an instrument for Saul in 1 Sam 16:17–23 (see esp. vv. 21–22).
- (B3.3) Saul twice offers his daughter to David as a wife (18:17–19 // 18:20–26).
- (B3.4) David and Jesse are introduced in 1 Sam 17:12–15, even though they had already been introduced in chapter 16.
- (B3.5) Goliath leaves the challenge for a duel open for forty days in verse 17:16, though, in vv. 1–11, one does not get the impression that the challenge remained open for such a long time.
- (B3.6) Although the daughter of the king is promised to the one who slays Goliath in 1 Sam 17:25–27, this reward seems to be unknown to David in 1 Sam 18:20–26, since he has to be persuaded to take the king's daughter.
- (B3.7) If Eliab was present when David was anointed king (1 Sam 16:6–13), it is hard to understand his behavior in 1 Sam 17:28.
- (B3.8) David is twice appointed chief of Saul's army (18:13 // 18:5) †
- (B3.9) According to 1 Sam 17:15, David is an incidental visitor of the military camp, while, according to v. 54, David had a tent of his own.
- (B3.10) If the ranks of Israel are in a flight of panic, as related in 1 Sam 17:11, it is improbable that they would draw up for battle in v. 21.
- (B3.11) In 1 Sam 17:23 Goliath comes *up* (עלה), though, according to the description of the scenery in vv. 1–3 one would have expected Goliath to come *down* from the camp of the Philistines to the battlefield.
- (B3.12) The Israelites are terrified by Goliath's speech (17:11), on the one hand, and due to his appearance (17:24), on the other.

412. Auld & Ho 1992, 24–25, 37–38.

413. Aejmelaeus 2016.

414. Tov 1986, 39.

415. Cf. Lust 1986, 12–13; Tov 1986, 42–43.

These arguments are surprisingly similar to those of group A3. Indeed, several arguments are exactly the same. In fact, any of the A3 arguments could be used in the group B3 as well, or vice versa. These arguments clearly rely on the assumed primacy of either the shorter or the longer text. Which text is given priority has to be decided by the other types of arguments.

### 3.3.3 Evaluation of the Arguments

The most common arguments now surveyed, it seems that the arguments are not of equal value—e.g., the arguments in groups A3 and B3 are insufficient for deciding whether the longer or shorter story is primary. Likewise, the arguments in groups A1 and B1 are fairly weak, making general claims about the story or the nature of the biblical text. On a general level, the following example counter-arguments (C) can be expressed against each of the arguments presented above (X<sup>C</sup> denotes a counter argument for argument X):

- (A1.1<sup>C</sup>) The case of 1 Sam 17–18 indeed falsifies the assumption that the biblical text cannot grow so remarkably in the Hellenistic period.
- (A1.2<sup>C</sup>) This case proves that the editors were, indeed, not always entirely consistent.
- (A1.3<sup>C</sup>) Folkloristic elements can also have been added to the existing text.
- (A1.4<sup>C</sup>) The existence of 1QSam does not prove the originality of either text. Rather, both short/long texts must simply have existed when the Septuagint was translated.
- (B1.1<sup>C</sup>) The premise is false, as the books in the Hebrew Bible have not only been expanded; they were also abbreviated.<sup>416</sup>
- (B1.2<sup>C</sup>) The textual history of the Books of Samuel need not be understood as similar to that of Jeremiah.
- (B1.3<sup>C</sup>) Although there is no parallel to a similar phenomenon in the Books of Samuel, this can be a special case.
- (B1.4<sup>C</sup>) The argument claiming that an ancient scribe should have done his work more coherently is not sound; evidently, editors are not entirely systematic.
- (B1.5<sup>C</sup>) The editors are evidently not entirely systematic.

Thus, it seems impossible to decide which text has the priority if one relies solely on arguments in groups A1 or B1. Instead, they make fundamental arguments, formulating their arguments about the development of the text around these fundamental assumptions. In that sense, arguments A1 or B1 can be useful indicators of whether the premises of the arguments A3 or B3 are reasonable or not. Evidently both positions, whether for the priority of the longer text or for the shorter text, *are* possible.

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416. On omissions in the Hebrew Bible, see Pakkala 2013.

Similarly, the arguments in groups A2 and B2 can also be refuted:

- (A2.1<sup>c</sup>) The fluency or elegance of a story is not a guarantee of its originality.
- (A2.2<sup>c</sup>) The same motif (viz., David as a shepherd) can have existed in several sources. Clearly, the Masoretic text emphasizes the shepherd character of David more than the Septuagint does.
- (A2.3<sup>c</sup>) The evidence of the Septuagint version must be taken seriously. It clearly shows that the shorter Hebrew text already existed at the time of its translation. It would be unfair not to accept this as a witness equal to the Masoretic text.
- (A2.4<sup>c</sup>) The fact that one section (17:32–54) forms a natural continuation to another (17:12–31) does not prove that the preceding section (17:12–31) was original. Indeed, the argument lends itself a counter-example, since 17:1–11 is argued to be an introduction for 17:12–54.<sup>417</sup>
- (A2.5<sup>c</sup>) The coherence of a story is not a guarantee of its originality.
- (A2.6<sup>c</sup>) Some secondary features in the Septuagint do not indicate that the base text of the Septuagint is secondary—e.g., the pluses in 17:43 may well be secondary, while the shorter story may well be original.<sup>418</sup>
- (B2.1<sup>c</sup>) If one reads only the Masoretic pluses, they do not constitute an independent story on their own.<sup>419</sup>
- (B2.2<sup>c</sup>) The abridgement can have taken place before or after translation.
- (B2.3<sup>c</sup>) The elegant structure can have resulted from the editing process (cf. arguments A2.1 and counter-argument A2.1<sup>c</sup>).
- (B2.4<sup>c</sup>) 1 Sam 17:12–14 may well begin a new source, but this does not necessarily mean that the Septuagint represents the more original version of the story. The Septuagint can still have emerged as a result of abridgement (cf. argument A2.3 and counter-argument A2.3<sup>c</sup>).
- (B2.5<sup>c</sup>) Can one really explain all Masoretic pluses as element of a rewriting process? For instance, if the editor considered the Story of Saul as a model, how should the pluses describing David and Goliath approaching each other in 17:41 and 17:48 fit that model?

The arguments concerning the covenant of David and Jonathan (A2.7, B2.6) and the daughters of Saul (A2.8) turn out to be more complicated than they first seem at first glance. Thus, I will return to them later for a more thorough discussion. The question of abridgement before or after translation (B2.2<sup>c</sup>) is similarly interesting and merits further consideration. However, the arguments concentrating on the style and form of a story (A2.1, A2.5, B2.3 and their counter arguments) can be used in either camp, for or against the longer text. Thus, I

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417. Barthélemy 1986, 50.

418. See however Aejmelaeus 2016, who considers these pluses original.

419. Cf. Gooding 1986, esp. 59–63.

would not place emphasis on this sort of argumentation. It is always a matter of taste whether one version of the story is more elegant or fluent. The remaining arguments (A2.2, A2.3, A2.4, A2.6, B2.1, B2.4, B2.5 and their counter arguments) deal with questions as to whether the text is compiled from various sources or emerged as a result of a rewriting process.

The question of compilation from multiple sources leads us to the arguments in groups A3 and B3, since these most of all are concerned with the contradictions and inconsistencies of the story. Indeed, the crucial observation is that the longer story contains more contradictions and inconsistencies than does the shorter story. On this, all scholars agree. The difference is how they explain this observation. Generally, there are two competing arguments about textual development:

- (A4) The longer text is primary—the Masoretic pluses are omitted in the shorter text to harmonize the story by removing contradictions and inconsistencies.
- (B4) The shorter text is primary—contradictions and inconsistencies in the longer text emerged as the result of expanding the text.

These statements can be also seen as ‘umbrella arguments’, embodying basically all other arguments dealing with question about multiple sources and inconsistencies (A2.2, A2.3, A2.4, A2.6, B2.1, B2.4, B2.5; A3, B3). Basically, A4 and B4 are opposite explanations for the textual development of 1 Sam 17–18. On the general level, both explanations *are* possible (cf. arguments and counter-arguments of A1 and B1). The task of the text critic, then, is to investigate which alternative is more probable than the other. Before proceeding to evaluate which direction of change is more probable, I shall discuss more thoroughly the arguments related to the covenant of David and Jonathan (3.4) and the Daughters of Saul (3.5). Afterwards, I address how the Masoretic pluses are reflected in some Greek witnesses (3.6) which in turns impacts the question of abridgement before or after the translation process.

### **3.4. The Case of the Covenant of David and Jonathan**

According to A2.7 (see, p. 125), 1 Sam 20:8 presumes an earlier covenant, which can only refer to 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4. Those who support the primacy of the longer text of 1 Sam 17–18 claim that, since 20:8 assumes the existence of 18:1, 3–4, the latter must be part of the original text. In fact, Johan Lust, who elsewhere gives primacy to the longer text, admits that verses 18:1, 3–4 should, indeed, be part of the original Septuagint text. In support of his argument, Lust refers to early Christian writer Hippolytus, whose sermon *De Davidi et Goliath* (dated as the 2nd century CE) apparently cited 1 Sam 17:1–18:8 and includes also some references to 18:1, 3–4.

In addition, A3.9 (see, p. 126), related to the question of the covenant of David and Jonathan, makes the claim that 18:1, 3–4 was omitted to avoid stating twice that David and Jonathan made a covenant. Possible references to covenant-making are 20:16 and 23:18.

### 3.4.1 The Relationship between 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4 and 20:8

Let us first study the relationship between 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4 and 20:8. Indeed, in 20:8, both the Septuagint and the Masoretic text refer to some covenant that had been made earlier:

וְעָשִׂיתָ חֶסֶד עַל־עַבְדְּךָ כִּי בְּבְרִית יְהוָה הִבֵּאתָ אֶת־עַבְדְּךָ עִמָּךְ  
καὶ ποιήσεις ἔλεος μετὰ τοῦ δούλου σου ὅτι εἰσήγαγες εἰς διαθήκην κυρίου τὸν δούλόν σου μετὰ σεαυτοῦ

The covenant between David and Jonathan is said to be ‘a covenant of the Lord’. Apparently, this covenant had been made earlier, but it is not explicitly stated when this was, nor is anything said about the content of that covenant, except that, according to it, Jonathan should ‘deal kindly with David’. Before 20:8, 19:1 and 20:3 also concern the relationship between David and Jonathan, but these only state that Jonathan was ‘delighted’ in David (19:1) and that he had ‘found favour in David’s eyes’ (20:3). These passages do not describe covenant-making but simply the affection between the two. Indeed, the only section to which 20:8 can possibly refer are 18:1, 3–4 in the Masoretic text:

וַיְהִי כְּכַלְתּוֹ לְדַבֵּר אֶל־שָׂאוּל וַנִּפֶשׂ יְהוֹנָתָן נְקֻשָּׁרָה בְּנִפְשׁ דָּוִד וַיֵּאָהֲבוּ יְהוֹנָתָן בְּנִפְשׁוֹ ... וַיְכַרֵּת יְהוֹנָתָן וְדָוִד בְּרִית בְּאֵהָבָתוֹ אֹתוֹ בְּנִפְשׁוֹ וַיִּתְּפֹשֶׁט יְהוֹנָתָן אֶת־הַמַּעִיל אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְדָוִד וּמַדְיֹו וְעַד־חַרְבּוֹ וְעַד־קִשְׁתּוֹ וְעַד־חֲגָרֹו

When he had finished speaking to Saul, the soul of Jonathan *was knit* to the soul of David, and Jonathan *loved him* as his own soul ... *Then Jonathan made a covenant with David*, because he *loved him* as his own soul. And Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that was upon him, and gave it to David, and his armour, and even his sword and his bow and his girdle.

This verse not only describes association and affection (קשר, אהב) but also, centrally, covenant-making (ברית כרת) and its symbolic acts (stripping off of some clothes and armour and giving them over to David). If 20:8 indeed refers to 18:1, 3–4, why, then, would 18:1, 3–4 have been omitted? The immediate context does not seem to lend itself to any reason. The umbrella argument of the camp supporting the primacy of the longer text of the David and Goliath story argues that the shorter version emerged as a result of harmonizing the text by removing inconsistencies, particularly all kinds of doublets. Indeed, 1 Sam 20:15–16 constitute a parallel to 18:1, 3–4, since both sections describe the covenant made by David and Jonathan (cf. argument A3.9 on p. 126). However, the case is not so simple. This covenant is

mentioned only in the Masoretic text of 20:15–16, not in the Septuagint. Before addressing the arguments that concern the covenant made by David and Jonathan, I will first survey the textual development of 20:15–16.

### 3.4.2 The Covenant in 1 Sam 20:16

The passage 1 Sam 20:14–15, in many ways problematic and most likely corrupted, reads as follows:

וְלֹא אֶסְעוּדְנִי חַי וְלֹא תַעֲשֶׂה עִמָּדִי חֶסֶד יְהוָה וְלֹא אָמוֹת וְלֹא תִכְרַת אֶת־חֶסֶדְךָ  
מֵעַם בֵּיתִי עַד־עוֹלָם וְלֹא בְהִכָּרַת יְהוָה אֶת־אִבִּי דָוִד אִישׁ מֵעַל פְּנֵי הָאָדָמָה

The text makes hardly any sense, but an attempted translation could run as follows:

And not<sup>420</sup>—if I am alive, and you do not show me the loyal love of the Lord, I will not die; and do not cut off your loyalty from my house forever, even if the Lord cuts off every one of the enemies of David from the face of the earth.

The following verse continues

וַיִּכְרַת יְהוֹנָתָן עִם־בֵּית דָּוִד וּבִקֵּשׁ יְהוָה מִיַּד אִבִּי דָוִד:

This is translated in many English versions as something like ‘Jonathan made a covenant with the house of David.’ However, the verb כרת without the object ברית does not denote ‘to make a covenant’. At least, this kind of elliptical expression is suspicious. More likely, this verse continues the oath of vv. 14–15. Originally, it probably stated that Jonathan should not cut off something from the house of David, but the precise meaning of the passage has been obscured because of the corruption of the text. Indeed, the Septuagint does not say anything about a covenant but rather about removal (ἐξάιρω):

ἐξαρθῆναι τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Ἰωναθαν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἴκου Δαυὶδ, καὶ ἐκζητήσαι κύριος  
ἐχθρούς τοῦ Δαυὶδ.

Secondly, if we read vv. 14–15 in the Masoretic text, the text becomes even more peculiar when moving to v. 16 of the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint, כרת שם יהונתן מעם בית דוד, the translation of which would be run thus:

15 and do not cut off your loyalty from my (i.e., Jonathan’s) house forever, even if the

420. Interpreting אָל as an ‘asservative’ אָל (cf., e.g., HALOT 510–11, 521) seems dubious.

Lord cuts off every one of the enemies of David from the face of the earth. 16 (Then) let the name of Jonathan be cut off from the house of David.”

Will the name of Jonathan be cut off from the house of David or not?

It is thus reasonable that the 1 Sam 20:14–16 did not originally describe a covenant between David and Jonathan but rather an oath, the content of that oath being that Jonathan should report the evil plan of his father to David, and David should deal kindly with Jonathan and Jonathan’s house. It is easy to imagine that the context which relates to an oath conjures also the idea of a covenant, especially because the covenant is mentioned earlier in 20:8. Thus, 20:16 cannot be said to be related to 18:1, 3–4.

### 3.4.3 The Covenant in 1 Sam 23:18

One pericope that clearly describes the act of covenant-making in both the Masoretic text and the Septuagint is 1 Sam 23:18:

וַיִּכְרְתוּ שְׁנֵיהֶם בְּרִית לִפְנֵי יְהוָה  
καὶ διέθεντο ἀμφοτέρω διαθήκην ἐνώπιον κυρίου  
And the two of them made a covenant before the Lord

The mention of the covenant is laconic, simply stating that David and Jonathan made a covenant, though nothing further about the covenant is explicated. In addition, none of the symbolic acts of covenant-making mentioned in 18:4 is given here. After making the covenant, David and Jonathan simply depart from each other.

In principle, 23:18 could form a doublet with the account in 18:1, 3–4, and A3.9 could be reformulated as

(A3.9’) Jonathan twice makes a covenant with David (18:1, 3–4 // **23:18**).

The problem, however, is that, if an editor had difficulties with doublets and wanted to remove them to harmonize the story, why would he have removed the richer description in 18:1, 3–4? It would be far more natural to omit the covenant of 23:18. That solution would also be more suitable for harmonization, because it would not have generated the tension with 20:8, which refers to a covenant made *earlier*. Thus, the ‘harmonization theory’ fails to explain the omission of 18:1, 3–4 over against that of the covenant presented 23:18. Still, this does not prove that 18:1, 3–4 was part of original story. As Lust claimed, the passage could even have been a part of the original Septuagint. I examine that possibility next and consider whether the Sermons of Hippolytus bear witness to the primacy of 18:1, 3–4 in the Septuagint.

### 3.4.4 The Evidence from Hippolytus

As already stated, the crucial argument for the primacy of 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4 in the Septuagint was Hippolytus's sermon *De Davidi et Goliath*. Indeed, the text of the sermon is very close to Codex Vaticanus: in addition to omitting the same sections as B (with the exception of 18:1b.4), it shares some characteristic Old Greek readings, in contrast to the Masoretic text, such as 'four' *pro* 'six' (17:4), 'Hebrews' *pro* 'servants' (17:8), 'my lord's' *pro* 'man's' (17:32), 'stick and stones' *pro* 'stones' (17:43). The text is also early enough (2nd c. CE) to be free from Hexaplaric influences. Nevertheless, it is claimed that the sermon refers to 18:1, 3–4, which could indicate that these verses were part of the original Septuagint, even if all other pluses in the Masoretic text would be later.

The sermon itself has a complex textual history but was most likely originally written in Greek, then translated to Armenian and, later, from Armenian to Georgian. Besides some Armenian catena fragments, the text has been preserved in Georgian (a translation of a translation). Although the original Greek *Vorlage* might be impossible to reconstruct, some valuable observations can be made. The crucial section which refers to 1 Sam 18:1, 4b is *De Davidi* 16.1. The Georgian and Armenian text has been edited by Gérard Garritte.<sup>421</sup> Besides the Georgian and Armenian text, the editor gives his Latin translations. For the sake of convenience, I will use these modern Latin translations to compare the text.

16.1 (Georg.)

Illo tempore, ut vidit Davidem Ionathan, filius Saulis, quia ferebat manu sua caput alienigenae, dilexit eum in corde suo, et exiit Ionathan ornatum suum et imposuit Davidi et cingulum et instrumentum suum et gladium et arcus pharetram suam.

16.1 (Arm.)

Et anima Ionathanae alligata est cum David, et dilexit eum corde suo; sustulit vestem et cingulum et loricam et ensem et arcum, et dedit Davidi.

In the Georgian version, the phrase 'ferebat manu sua caput alienigenae' seems to combine 17:54 with the beginning of chapter 18. However, it is impossible to decide if the following phrase 'dilexit eum in corde suo' refers to the end of 18:1 or 18:3. The final part of *De Davidi* 16.1 corresponds quite literally to 18:4.

The Armenian version is a bit shorter. It does not have the same connecting phrase 'ferebat manu sua caput alienigenae' but instead quotes the last part of 18:1 ('Et anima Ionathanae alligata est cum David'). In this case, it is more natural to interpret the phrase 'dilexit eum corde suo' as representing 18:1b rather than 18:3b. The remaining part of the section is a paraphrase of 1 Sam 18:4, not as much a verbatim translation as the Georgian version.<sup>422</sup>

421. Garritte 1963; 1965.

422. Lust 1986, 8–9: 'However, it is perfectly possible that the *Vorlage* of our scribe did not have all the

This evidence leads Lust to consider 18:1b, 4—and possibly 18:3 as well—as having been part of the Old Greek text. Lust observes traces of *homoeoteleuton* in 17:54 and 18:6 in several codices of Vetus Latina, which—in his opinion—suggest that a *parablepsis* had taken place in the Septuagint.<sup>423</sup> Lust does not state explicitly whether or not he regards 18:3 as part of the original Greek text. At the end of his article, Lust does tend to be more and more confident of its originality,<sup>424</sup> and he does perhaps end up with this conclusion, because it would solve the problem in the Septuagint that 1 Sam 20:8 refers to a covenant that had been made earlier.

Are there other alternatives to this interpretation of the role of Hippolytus’s sermon in the textual history of the Setuagint? The text in Hippolytus is rather early, so it should be reasonable to surmise that it is free from Hexaplaric readings.<sup>425</sup> However, it is possible, and even likely, that attempts to supply the missing sections in the Old Greek had been made before Origen (cf. other Greek traditions such as Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion). Even in the Septuagint manuscript evidence, more than one tradition adding 18:1, 3–4 can be found.<sup>426</sup>

1° codex A + Mss	2° Hexaplaric Mss (247 376)	3° L + 55 56 125 246 (554)
<p>1 και εγενετο ως</p> <p>συνετελεσεν λαλων προς σαουλ και η ψυχη ιωναθαν συνεδεθη τη ψυχη δαυιδ και ηγαπησεν αυτον ιωναθαν κατα την ψυχην αυτου 3 και διεθετο ιωναθαν και δαυιδ (διαθηκη) εν τω αγαπαν αυτον κατα την ψυχην αυτου 4 και εξεδυσατο ιωναθαν τον επενδυτην τον επ αυτω (A: τον επανω) και εδωκεν αυτον τω δαυιδ και τον μανδυαν αυτου και εως της ρομφαιας αυτου και εως του τοξου αυτου και εως της ζωνης αυτου</p>	<p>1 και εγενετο ως</p> <p>εστη δαδ ενωπιον σαουλ και η ψυχη ιωναθαν του υιου σαουλ συνεδεθη τη ψυχη δαυιδ και ηγαπησεν αυτον ιωναθαν κατα την ψυχην αυτου 3 και διεθετο δαυιδ και ιωναθαν διαθηκη εν τω αγαπαν αυτον κατα την ψυχην αυτου 4 και εξεδυσατο ιωναθαν τον επενδυτην αυτου και εδωκεν αυτον τω δαυιδ και τον μανδυαν αυτου και εως της ρομφαιας αυτου και εως του τοξου αυτου και εως της ζωνης αυτου</p>	<p>1 και εγενετο ως</p> <p>εισηλθε δαυιδ προς σαουλ και συνετελεσεν λαλων αυτω ειδεν αυτον ιωναθαν και συνεδεθη η ψυχη αυτου τη ψυχη δαυιδ και ηγαπησεν αυτον ιωναθαν κατα την ψυχην αυτου 3 και διεθετο ιωναθαν και δαυιδ ο βασιλευς (διαθηκη) οτι ηγαπησεν αυτον ψυχην αγαπωντος αυτου 4 και εξεδυσατο ιωναθαν τον επενδυτην τον επ αυτον και εδωκεν τω δαυιδ και τον μανδυαν αυτου και εως της ρομφαιας αυτου και του τοξου και της ζωνης αυτου</p>

verses which we find in the MT. It is more likely that it had a couple of verses only, namely the ones referred to by Hippolytus in his homily. If this is correct, the original Greek text must have omitted 17,55–58, but not 18,1b.(3).4. The latter verses were omitted later on, through *parablepsis*.<sup>7</sup>

423. Lust 1986, 8: ‘Several VL codices and ancient editions of the Latin text have . . . at the beginning of 18,6: ‘When David returned from slaying the Philistine, bringing his head to Jerusalem.’ This has to be compared to verse 17:54: ‘And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem.’ In my opinion, the additions in 18:6 in the Latin texts are just harmonizations, not traces of *parablepsis*.
424. On p. 9, Lust still encloses v. 3 in parentheses, while on, p. 14, he omits the parentheses.
425. Hippolytus lived ca. 170–236 and Origen ca. 185–254. It is possible that Origen attended one of Hippolytus’s sermons in 212. However, the Hexapla was not made by that time but only after Origen had fled to Caesarea in 231.
426. Pluses are marked in red, differences in blue.

The first observation is that version 1° is an almost verbatim translation of the Masoretic text (the most evident divergence is the omission of ‘covenant’ in some Mss). Secondly, it is likely that versions 1° and 2° are dependent on each other and are probably Hexaplaric in origin. Version 3° may just be a Lucianic stylization but may also reflect a different Greek tradition (possibly Symmachus?).

Comparing these Greek texts to the Latin translations of the Georgian and Armenian versions of *De Davidi*, one can observe that the Georgian version resembles the Lucianic recension, adding ‘Jonathan seeing David’ (εἶδεν αὐτὸν Ἰωναθάν – ut vidit Davidem Ionathan) and omitting a few cases of ἕως and one of αὐτοῦ in v. 4. The Georgian version also has the addition ‘the son of Saul’, as do the Hexaplaric manuscripts, albeit in different places somehow. All in all, these similarities do not prove dependence between *De Davidi* and the Greek material marked with asterisk in the manuscript: the additions above can be, in either case, independently made (harmonizing/explaining) extrapolations, and the few omissions could have derived from the translation process (Greek → Armenian → Georgian). It is also possible that the Georgian and/or the Armenian version of Hippolytus’s text was modified according to the Georgian and Armenian translation of the Bible, respectively.

In conclusion, *De Davidi* 16.1 certainly refers to verse 18:4. With the evidence from the Armenian version, it also refers to verse 18:1b more likely than it does to verse 18:3b. A reference to these verses does not, however, imply that the Old Greek also had the same verses. It is more likely that Hippolytus knew about the story detailed in 18:1b, 4 from some other Greek source (οὐ γ’).<sup>427</sup> However, considering its value in so far as covenant-making, it is interesting that *De Davidi* makes no reference to 18:3a and thus no reference to explicit covenant-making. Nevertheless, the symbolic act in which Jonathan gives his armours over to David can be interpreted as a sure sign of a covenant.

### 3.4.5 Conclusions

I have now studied the passages related to the covenant of David and Jonathan. A summary of the results is presented in Table 22. The main difference is that, in the Masoretic text, the covenant is presented three times but only once in the Septuagint—why this difference, and why is the covenant in the Septuagint made later than the first reference to it (20:8)?

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427. Cf. Josephus, who seems to know the Masoretic plus 17:12–31, whether from Hebrew or some Greek tradition other than the Septuagint.

Section	MT	LXX	Conclusion
1 Sam 18:1,3–4	Covenant 1	Omitted	Omitted in LXX and its <i>Vorlage</i>
1 Sam 20:8	Refers to an earlier covenant	Refers to an earlier covenant	
1 Sam 20:12–17	Covenant 2 + an oath about offspring	No covenant but an oath about offspring	Originally no covenant; MT corrupted
1 Sam 23:17–18	Covenant 3	Covenant	

**Table 22.** Passages on the Covenant of David and Jonathan in 1–2 Samuel.

On 1 Sam 20:12–17, I arrived at the conclusion that the Septuagint represents the more original reading. The Masoretic text is here corrupt; originally, there was no covenant. What about covenant 1? Hippolytus’s *De Davidi* does not indicate that 18:1–4 would have been part of the original Septuagint. Furthermore, no indication of an unintentional shortening, such as a *parablepsis*, can be found. The proposition according to which the Septuagint omitted 18:1–4 to harmonize the text by removing the doublet concerning the covenant of David and Jonathan in 18:3 // 20:16 or rather 18:3 // 23:17 (A3.9, A3.9’) I have already shown above to be untenable, because this ‘harmonization’ would generate tension with 20:8 (reference to an earlier covenant). Thus, it is highly probable that the Old Greek and its *Vorlage* did not contain 1 Sam 18:1–4.

As for A2.7—which claims that 18:3–4 must be part of the original text because, without the verses, the reference in 20:8 to an earlier covenant does not make sense—this argument would only be acceptable, if the ancient editor had had a motive to omit 18:3–4 other than that of harmonization. However, almost all other arguments for the primacy of the longer text somehow rely on the general view that an editor aimed at harmonizing the text (cf. ‘umbrella argument’ A4). One must decide first whether or not an editor aimed at harmonizing the text. If the objective of the editor was to harmonize the story, one can explain some other cases but not the omission of 18:3–4; if the objective of the editor was not to harmonize the story, the omission of 18:3–4 is still possible, but one fails then to explain the other omissions. At the first glance, this might seem to be trivial detail, but, in fact, this constitutes a serious flaw in the abridgement theory. Indeed, another way to verbalize this flaw is B2.6.

How, then, is it possible to explain the origin of verses 18:1, 3–4 and the tension concerning the earlier covenant alluded to in 20:8? One reasonable solution would be that the reference to a covenant in 20:8 induced a more detailed description of the covenant in another suitable place. For the editor, the beginning of chapter 18 was a sensible place to add the richer account of the covenant for several reasons: it is natural that Jonathan met David after the great victory over Goliath; the act of stripping of Jonathan’s clothes and armours and giving them over to David constitutes a nice pair with a similar act by Saul in 17:38; finally, it removes

the tension that remains if no covenant had been made before verse 20:8 (not after it as claimed in 23:18).

In the Septuagint, the tension concerning the reference to the covenant in 20:8 remains. On the other hand, this is not really a problem. Biblical texts, including the Books of Samuel, are full of inconsistencies. The *Vorlage* of the Septuagint has not been homogenous in itself but clearly emerged as the result of a long process of development. The idea of a covenant between David and Jonathan had not arisen all at once. There probably were first mere mentions or references to it (23:18; 20:8), and only later on did the tradition become more and more detailed (18:1, 3–4).

### 3.5. The Case of Saul's Daughters

A2.8 makes the claim that 1 Sam 18:17–19 were omitted in the Septuagint, since they contradict with 2 Sam 21:8. These passages are considered contradictory, since, in the former passage, Saul's daughter Merab is given as a wife to Adriel Meholathite, while, in the latter, Adriel's wife is claimed to be Saul's younger daughter Michal, not Merab.

Let us first look at 2 Sam 21:8. The Masoretic text indeed presents Michal as the wife of Adriel:

וְאֶת־חַמְשַׁת בְּנֵי מִיכַל בַּת־שָׁאוּל אֲשֶׁר יָלְדָה לְעַדְרִיאֵל בֶּן־בַּרְזַיִל הַמְּחִלְתִּי

and the five sons of Michal the daughter of Saul, whom she bore to Adriel the son of Barzillai the Meholathite.

However, the reading of the Septuagint is more complicated. Codex Vaticanus, which Rahlfs's edition also follows, has Μιχαλ, but this is suspicious for two reasons: 1) the reading Μιχαλ is found only in Codex Vaticanus; 2) elsewhere in the Septuagint, the name Michal is written as Μελχολ.<sup>428</sup> Indeed, many manuscripts have Μελχολ in this verse. It is interesting that a considerable number of manuscripts also support the reading Μεροβ. Before proceeding to investigate whether or not 2 Sam 21:8 contradicts with the account given in 1 Sam 18, I first discuss the Old Greek reading for the name of Saul's daughter in 2 Sam 21:8.

The most probable reading for the original Septuagint in 2 Sam 21:8 is Μεροβ, since it best explains the existence of the other readings.<sup>429</sup> Μελχολ or Μιχαλ cannot be primary in 2 Sam 21:8, since, if they had been, it would have been odd for the Septuagint manuscripts that did not contain 18:17–19 to have changed Μελχολ/Μιχαλ to Μεροβ. Furthermore, the manuscript distribution suggests that the reading Μελχολ (e.g., Mss *O CII 799 b*) is Hexaplaric, while the

428. Apparently, the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint had the name in the form מלכל or the like; cf. Peshitta, حللح  
429. Seppänen 2014.

reading Μιχαλ could be a *kaige*-type correction in B. The reading Μεροβ is witnessed, e.g., by manuscripts M V L C I a<sup>799</sup>, a combination that supports its primacy.

Since the Septuagint translator of the Books of Samuel is faithful to his source text, one can safely conclude that the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Septuagint also had the name as מֵרָב (or the like; e.g., מֵרוֹב).<sup>430</sup> The Peshitta also supports this reading,<sup>431</sup> while the Vulgate text is in agreement with the Masoretic text.<sup>432</sup> Next, I discuss whether the reading Michal or Merab is more original in Hebrew.

Since the reading is clearly somehow connected with the readings in 1 Sam 18, there are generally three types of text and, thus, the following three readings are possible for the original Hebrew text:

Readings	1 Sam 18:17–19	1 Sam 18:20–27	2 Sam 21:8	Textual witnesses
1)	–	Saul promises his daughter <b>Michal</b> to David—this happens	<b>Merab</b> is Adriel’s wife	OG and its <i>Vorlage</i>
2)	Saul promises his daughter <b>Merab</b> to David—but she is finally given to Adriel	Saul promises his daughter <b>Michal</b> to David—this happens	<b>Merab</b> is Adriel’s wife	Peshitta LXX <sup>Mss.</sup> : L <sup>-19 108</sup> C I d <sup>68</sup> 74 120 122 134 554 <sup>txt</sup>
3)	Saul promises his daughter <b>Merab</b> to David, but she is finally given to Adriel	Saul promises his daughter <b>Michal</b> to David—this happens	<b>Michal</b> is Adriel’s wife	MT Vulgata LXX <sup>Mss.</sup> : O C II 68-74-120-122-134 554 <sup>mg</sup>

**Table 23.** Merab and Michal in 1 Sam 18:17–19, 1 Sam 18:20–27 and 2 Sam 21:8 and their textual witnesses.

Although 1 Sam 18:17–19 is lacking in the Old Greek and its *Vorlage*, many Septuagint manuscripts have later added the verses, as can be seen in Table 23. These additions in the Septuagint are clearly of Hexaplaric origin, so they can be listed as witnesses for the Hebrew text.

430. Two Medieval Hebrew manuscripts also read מֵרָב (י)רָב, though they are probably not connected to the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint but rather independent harmonizations with 1 Sam 18:17–19. Such a harmonization is likely to have transpired in this case, since these manuscripts do contain these verses, unlike the Septuagint and its *Vorlage*.

431. Peshitta, מֵרָב. Despite the Peshitta having *nun* as its first letter, it still clearly supports the Hebrew reading מֵרָב, not מֵכָל.

432. Vulgata, *Michol*.

To solve which of the three represents the primary reading, one has to find out which textual development is the most probable. One could first test what follows *if* reading 3) is the most original. The development from reading 3) to reading 2) can easily be explained as a harmonization. However, the development from reading 2) to reading 1) is hard to explain. That development at least cannot be explained as having been influenced by 2 Sam 21:8, since, in that reading, 1 Sam 18:17–19 does not contain any contradictions with 2 Sam 21:8. The development from reading 1) to reading 3) is even more difficult to explain. While, in reading 3), 1 Sam 18:17–19 and 2 Sam 21:8 are contradictory, it would be unlikely for the editor to have removed 1 Sam 18:17–19 entirely to eliminate inconsistencies. Furthermore, this direction of development fails to explain the change of name from Michal to Merab. After 1 Sam 18:17–19 is removed, there is no longer any reason to make such a change. Unless one assumes that the name in 2 Sam 21:8 was changed from Michal to Merab, because the name contradicted 1 Sam 20:20–27, where Michal is said to be David’s wife. While this is possible, it is not very likely, since the theory would assume an overly complicated editorial process (*first* removal *then* change Michal → Merab). If an editor was unhappy with the inconsistencies between 1 Sam 18 and 2 Sam 21:8, the most natural way to harmonize the text would have been just to change the name from Michal to Merab in 2 Sam 21:8. Perhaps even more significant is that, if reading 3) is considered primary to readings 1) and 2), why is reading 3) contradictory? What earlier phase of the text is behind reading 3) if not in reading 1) or 2)? The simplest conclusion is that reading 3) cannot be primary.

As already noted, the development from reading 2) to 1) is difficult to explain. Thus, reading 2) is not likely the original reading. As for the primacy of reading 1), what kind of textual development could be possible *if* we considered it to be primary? If reading 1) is the most original, 1 Sam 18:17–19 must then be an addition. If 18:17–19 is an addition and constitutes a repetition with 18:20–27, we must consider them in the framework of 1 Sam 17–18, which contains many similar doublets/repetitions, of which one of the two is absent from the Septuagint text. One reasonable explanation at this point would be that the emergence of these kinds of repetition came about in similar ways. In the case of the covenant of David and Jonathan, I arrived at the conclusion that the Masoretic plus 1 Sam 18:1, 3–4 is best explained as an addition. I suggested that the reason for such an addition would have been to enrich the originally short references to covenant-making with a fuller description of how that covenant had been made. If my conclusion is right, it is reasonable to surmise that other repetitions in the Books of Samuel could have emerged in similar ways: the ancient editor desired, for one reason or another, to enrich the story by incorporating repetitive elements into the existing story of 1 Sam 17–18. Either the editor had ‘an independent source’ which he wove into the existing story<sup>433</sup> or the parallel elements were invented by the editor in a process of rewriting the story.<sup>434</sup> The former explanation is attractive but leaves some questions open: where and why did these parallel accounts/traditions circulate? Were they

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433. This view has been popular since Wellhausen 1871: e.g., Lust 1986; McCarter 1984.

434. Thus in Aejmelaeus 2016; cf. Auld & Ho 1992.

written or oral? Although these theories have great explanatory power, they remain speculative. The latter view (i.e., rewriting) explains the development equally well; it is reasonable to think that the episode of Merab in 1 Sam 18:17–19 was created to address the concern of why the king’s eldest daughter was not offered to the one who slew Goliath.<sup>435</sup> In any case, reading 1) seem most likely to be original, and its primacy would explain the emergence of reading 2).

How is it possible, then, to explain reading 3) and the change of Merab to Michal in 2 Sam 21:8? One possible solution is that a more common name was simply substituted for the uncommon one. Excluding 2 Sam 21:8, Saul’s daughter’s name Merab is mentioned only three times in two passages: 1 Sam 14:49 and 18:17–19. On the other hand, the name Michal is familiar from several verses: 1 Sam 14:49; 18:20, 27, 28; 19:11, 12, 13, 17 (*bis*); 25:44; 2 Sam 3:13, 14; 6:16 (// 2 Chr 15:29), 20, 21, 23. In addition, in 10 cases, it is explicitly mentioned that she was Saul’s daughter: 1 Sam 14:49; 18:20, 27, 28; 25:44; 2 Sam 3:13, 6:16 (// 2 Chr 15:29), 20, 23. This kind of phenomenon—a more common name substituted for an uncommon one—is not unusual. Parallel examples can be found in the Bible.<sup>436</sup> It is still true that 1 Sam 18:17–19 and 2 Sam 21:8 in their Masoretic text form contradict each other. However, the name Michal not as David’s but as someone else’s wife is not as problematic as it seems, when 1 Sam 18:17–19 and 2 Sam 21:8 are read side by side. In 1 Sam 25:44, Michal is given to another man. Although the man is not named Adriel, and, furthermore, Michal had later been brought back to David (2 Sam 3:12–16), it is possible that the copyist or editor who changed Merab to Michal in 2 Sam 21:8 did not remember these details. He could simply have remembered that Michal was another man’s wife.

### 3.5.1 Conclusions

I have argued that 1 Sam 18:17–19 are secondary. These verses could have been added into the story to account for the eldest daughter, when the king was marrying his daughters. In addition, I have argued that the contradiction with 2 Sam 21:8 came about as a later development and, thus, cannot be used as an argument for the omission of 1 Sam 18:17–19 in the text when the Septuagint was being translated (the original Hebrew and Greek reading was Merab).

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435. Cf. the story of Leah and Rachel in Gen 29; Aejmelaeus 2016.

436. E.g., in Dan 5:2–18, Nebuchadnezzar has probably replaced Nabonidus as the father of Belshazzar; in Gen. 9:20–27, Canaan has possibly substituted Ham in the account where Noah curses his (grand)son; in Mark 2:26, the better-known Abiatar has replaced the lesser-known Ahimelech. Marcus 2000, 241; cf. Hartman & Di Lella 1978, 186; Vawter 1977, 138–39.

### 3.6. Different Hebrew Texts behind the Greek Variants

Although it is clear that the Old Greek did not contain the Masoretic pluses found in 1 Sam 17–18, these sections are indeed found in many Greek manuscripts.<sup>437</sup> The simplest conclusion is that the ‘missing parts’ in the Septuagint are supplied to harmonize the text with the longer Hebrew text.<sup>438</sup> In the following, I will focus on the Greek material that have been added in some of the manuscripts and study whether the Greek variants reflect a Hebrew text other than the Masoretic text. Indeed, in the previous sections, I have already observed that the Greek witnesses do not only reflect the Masoretic text. What does this tell about the Hebrew textual history of 1 Sam 17–18? I will not list every Greek variant but instead concentrate on those which probably indicate a Hebrew text different from the Masoretic text.

#### 3.6.1 Variants in 1 Sam 17:12

The beginning of the first large plus is divided into two main lines of text, *O*-group and the others:

<i>A L C' 509 d f s 55 158 318 554</i>	<i>O</i>
καὶ <sup>439</sup> Δαυιδ υἱος ἀνθρώπου <sup>440</sup> Εφραθαίου οὗτος ἐκ Βεεθλεεμ Ἰουδα καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰεσσαί καὶ αὐτῷ ὀκτὼ υἱοὶ	καὶ ἦν ἀνθρώπος  ἐκ Βεεθλεεμ Ἰουδα καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ἰεσσαί καὶ αὐτῷ ὀκτὼ υἱοὶ
And David was a son of an Ephrathite man who was from Bethlehem of Judah, and his name was named Jesse and he had eight sons.	And there was a man  from Bethlehem of Judah, and his name was Jesse, and he had eight sons.

Most of these manuscripts (*A L C'*, etc.) seem to have a very literal rendering of a text similar to the Masoretic text. Comparing the Greek translation with the Masoretic text, every word has an equivalent in the Hebrew text:

437. E.g., the first long plus, 1 Sam 17:12–31, is absent from manuscripts *B V a 121 29 71 244 245 460 707* but are later supplied in manuscripts *A O L C' 509 d f s 55 158 318 554*.

438. However, the harmonization is not made consistently in the manuscripts—e.g., 1 Sam 17:12–31 is present in manuscript 509, but all other pluses in chapters 17–18 are absent from the same manuscript.

439. Manuscripts *CII s* add the verb ἦν, which might be Hexaplaric influence. *A* adds εἶπεν which is probably from the next verse of the shorter story.

440. Manuscripts *L 158 318 509* have ἀνδρὸς instead of ἀνθρώπου.

A L C' 509 d f s 55 158 318 554	MT
και Δαυιδ υιος ανθρωπου Εφραθαιου ουτος εκ Βεεθλεεμ Ιουδα και ονομα αυτω Ιεσσαι και αυτω οκτω υιοι	וְיָוֹד בֶּן־אִישׁ אֶפְרַתִּי הַזֶּה מִבֵּית לָחֶם יְהוּדָה וְשָׁמוֹ יֵשׁי וְלֹא שָׁמְנָה בָּנָיִם

The most significant differences between this (A L C', etc.) and the O-group are 1) the verb ην instead of Δαυιδ υιος and 2) the omission of Εφραθαιου ουτος. It is hard to explain these differences as having originated purely from an intra-Greek textual development. The verb 'to be' (ην) could easily have been added to the text, but there seems to be no reason to omit Δαυιδ υιος and Εφραθαιου ουτος. As for the term 'Ephrathite' (אֶפְרַתִּי, Εφραθαιος), it is easier to consider this word as an addition for other reasons as well. First, texts tend to develop toward more precise and accurate biographical data than vice versa. Secondly, the term itself is dubious, since, besides this passage, it occurs only in Ruth 1:2, both in Hebrew and in Greek. In any case, the construction και ην ανθρωπος is Hebraistic in nature. Therefore, it is likely that the reading of the O-group reflects a different Hebrew text—namely,

ויהי איש מבית לחם יהודה

In fact, this is the usual way to introduce a new person in the Books of Samuel. For example, in 1 Sam 9:1–2, the introduction to Kish is as follows:

וַיְהִי־אִישׁ מִבְּנֵי־יָמִין וְשָׁמוֹ קִישׁ בֶּן־אֲבִיאל בֶּן־צֹרֹר בֶּן־בְּכוֹרֶת בֶּן־אֶפְיַח בֶּן־אִישׁ יְמִינִי גִבּוֹר  
קָיִל: וְלֹא־הָיָה בֶן וְשָׁמוֹ שָׁאוּל  
Καὶ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἐξ υἱῶν Βενιαμιν, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Κις υἱὸς Αβιηλ υἱοῦ Σαρεδ υἱοῦ Βαχιρ  
υἱοῦ Αφεκ υἱοῦ ἀνδρὸς Ιεμιναίου, ἀνὴρ δυνατός. 2 καὶ τούτῳ υἱός, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ  
Σαουλ

This introductory formula resembles the reading of the O-group in 1 Sam 17:12. The elements of this formula can be enumerated as

- 1) 'There was a man',
- 2) 'from \_\_\_\_\_',
- 3) 'his name was \_\_\_\_\_',
- 4) 'his forefathers were \_\_\_\_\_',
- 5) 'his son(s) was/were \_\_\_\_\_'.

Only the fourth element is missing from 1 Sam 17:12. A similar construction is found also at the very beginning of the whole book, 1 Sam 1:1–2, where Elkanah's two wives are intro-

duced instead of his sons.<sup>441</sup> Besides these parallels in 1 Sam, the formulation also resembles the introduction of Jeroboam found in 3 Reigns (1 Kgs) 12:24b:

LXX	Translation
καὶ ἦν ἄνθρωπος ἐξ ὄρους Εφραιμ δοῦλος τῷ Σαλωμων, καὶ ὄνομα αὐτῷ Ιεροβοαμ, καὶ ὄνομα τῆς μητρὸς αὐτοῦ Σαριρα γυνὴ πόρνη· καὶ ἔδωκεν αὐτὸν Σαλωμων εἰς ἄρχοντα	And there was a man from Mount Ephraim, a servant to Solomon, and his name was Jeroboam; and the name of his mother was Sarira, a harlot; and Solomon made him chief

There is no Hebrew text for this verse—in the book of 3 Reigns, several passages exist only in the Septuagint.<sup>442</sup> Furthermore, these passages more or less parallel other verses in the book. As for 3 Reigns 12:24b, a parallel account is found in 3 Reigns (1 Kgs) 11:26–28, both in Greek and in Hebrew:

MT	LXX	Translation
וַיִּרְבְּעַם בֶּן־נֶבֶט אֶפְרַתִּי מִזֶּרֶדָה וְשֵׁם אִמּוֹ צְרוּעָה אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה עֶבֶד לְשִׁלְמָה וַיִּפְקֹד אֹתוֹ ... לְכָל־סִבְלָ בֵּית יוֹסֵף:	Καὶ Ιεροβοαμ υἱὸς Ναβατ ὁ Εφραθι ἐκ τῆς Σαριρα υἱὸς γυναικὸς χήρας δοῦλος Σαλωμων, ... καὶ κατέστησεν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ...	Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, an Ephraimite of Zeredah, the name of his mother was Zeruah, a widow, servant of Solomon, ... and he gave him charge over...

The origin of the Septuagint pluses in 3 Reigns is unknown, but they probably derived from a Hebrew original.<sup>443</sup> The resemblance between 3 Reigns 12:24b and the *O*-group in 1 Sam 17:12 suggests that they could have originated from the same Hebrew layer. This could well be the oldest form of the text, which disappeared from the Hebrew textual witnesses. In the case of 1 Sam 17:12, it seems reasonable to conclude that the reconstructed *Vorlage* of *O*-group of the Septuagint represents the more original wording than does the reading of manuscripts *A L C'*, etc. (still secondary, however, since the passage is not present in the Old Greek text).

The introduction formula in the Masoretic text (and as reflected by Mss *A L C'*, etc.) is problematic in other respects as well. The text has an odd construction, the determined pronoun

441. Cf. Nelson (1991, 51), who reconstructs the original form of the beginning of verse 17:12 as **וַיְהִי אִישׁ** **יְהוּדִי** **מִבֵּית יְהוּדָה** **וְשֵׁמוֹ יִשִׁי** **וְלוֹ שְׁמֹנֶה בָּנִים** with the help of examples of the introductory formula given in 1 Sam 1:1–2; 9:1; Judg 17:1.

442. The pluses in 3 Reigns are the following: 2:35a–n, 46a–l; 5:14a,b; 6:1a–d, 36a; 9.9a; 10.22a–c; 12.24a–z; 16.28a–h.

443. Cf. Bernard A. Taylor's introduction to the Old Greek text in NETS (2014, 248): 'The additions constitute a distinct recension and give at once evidence of an underlying Hebrew original, but an agenda different from that of the MT.'

הַזֶּה with the undetermined antecedent אִישׁ אֶפְרָתִי. If not ungrammatical, this at least violates the usual rules of grammar.<sup>444</sup> The attempt to read the pronoun הַזֶּה in connection with the following phrase (‘this man was from...’) does not help, since, in that case, one would expect the pronoun to be without an article as well (i.e., the subject of the nominal clause).<sup>445</sup> The apparatus of BHS suggests one possible solution to this peculiar construction. The word הזה has the variant reading היה, as witnessed by some medieval Rabbinic citations and the Peshitta.<sup>446</sup> It is not exceptional for *zayin* to be corrupted from *yod*, though the opposite textual development is also possible. In any case, simply replacing הזה with היה does not remove the awkwardness from the introductory formula as a whole. The form היה could, however, suggest that the original text was וְדוּד, which was first corrupted to וְהִיהַ.<sup>447</sup> This could also explain the reading καὶ ἦν (<וִיהִי) in the *O*-group.

At the end of 17:12, another unusual expression, בָּא בְּאֲנָשִׁים, occurs in the MT. It is clear from the context that this must mean ‘to be old’. Although the idiom בּוֹא בְּיָמִים occurs frequently,<sup>448</sup> the expression בָּא בְּאֲנָשִׁים is not found anywhere else except 1 Sam 17:12. Greek manuscripts *A CII s* have the translation εληλυθως εν ανδρασιν, a literal rendering of the Masoretic text. The reading εληλυθως εν ετεσιν, in manuscripts *L CI b d 55 158 318 554*, suggests that another Hebrew text could have existed. The word ἔτος, ‘year’, could reflect either יוֹם, as used in 1 Sam 1:3, or simply שָׁנָה. The former would mean that the idiom matched its usual appearance, but the latter is more suitable as the original reading for two reasons. First, the phrase ‘come into years’ is found also in the Peshitta (ܒܘܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ). Secondly, בְּאֲנָשִׁים and בְּשָׁנִים resemble each other graphically, which could explain the emergence of the odd expression בָּא בְּאֲנָשִׁים as a copying error (a metathesis and the addition of *aleph*). The expression בָּא בְּשָׁנִים does not have parallels either, but the construction is easier to accept, since ‘days’ and ‘years’ belong to the same category. In addition, in some instances, the semantic fields of יוֹם and שָׁנָה even overlap, as already seen in the case of 1 Sam 1:3.<sup>449</sup>

### 3.6.2 Variants in 1 Sam 17:13–16

In 1 Sam 17:13, the Masoretic text is

וַיֵּלְכוּ שְׁלֹשֶׁת בְּנֵי-יִשָׁי הַגְּדֹלִים הָלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי-שָׂאוּל לְמַלְחָמָה

And the three eldest sons of Jesse went—they went after Saul—to the battle

444. Cf. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §36c.

445. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §154.

446. The Peshitta has ܒܘܥܝܢ ܕܥܝܢܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ. The word ܥܝܢܐ, most probably the 3rd person singular form of the verb ‘to be’ rather than the 3rd person singular personal pronoun (usually ܐܘܢ).

447. Aejmelaeus 2016.

448. I am aware of 7 occurrences: Gen 18:11; 24:1; Josh 13:1 (*bis*); 23:1, 2; 1 Kgs 1:1.

449. There is also another possible solution (cf. Stoebe 1973, 322): the sentence בָּא בְּאֲנָשִׁים זָקֵן originally read simply זָקֵן בְּאֲנָשִׁים, ‘old among men’ (cf. 1 Sam 2:31 זָקֵן בְּבֵיתֶךָ), from which the Masoretic form first developed by dittography. The reading בָּא בְּשָׁנִים would then be either a corruption or a deliberate change from the Masoretic reading בָּא בְּאֲנָשִׁים. However, I regard my explanation as simpler and thus more probable.

The phrase הלכו אחרי־שׂאול, ‘they went after Saul’, does not fit the context and seems to be misplaced. Furthermore, the translation of this phrase is missing from all Greek manuscripts other than manuscript A. In addition, the same phrase is found at the end of the 17:14, where it fits well into the syntax. Thus, the phrase הלכו אחרי־שׂאול in 17:13 seems to be a secondary addition, probably a contamination from the next verse. This assumption is strengthened by the observation that, in both cases, the word preceding the phrase each time is הגדלים, ‘eldest’.

In 17:16, the Masoretic text is

וַיִּתְּיַב אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם

and he (i.e., the Philistine) took his stand for forty days

The majority of Greek manuscripts that have 17:12–31 have a plus before ‘forty days’: either ενωπιον Ισραηλ (*CI d* 554), εναντιον Ισραηλ (*L* 55 158 318 509) or εναντι Ισραηλ (*f*).<sup>450</sup> The expression is clearly Hebraistic. All these variants seem to reflect the Hebrew phrase לפני ישראל (cf. 1 Sam 7:10; 14:18).

### 3.6.3 Variants in 1 Sam 17:18

In 1 Sam 17:18, the Masoretic text has the rare word עֲרֵבְתֶם, which is found elsewhere only in Prov 17:18. The meaning of this word is understood as ‘pledge’ or ‘token’ and has evidently caused some problems for translators, since, in the Greek manuscripts, one can find several translations for the Hebrew phrase וְאַתֶּם־עֲרֵבְתֶם תִּקַּח, ‘you shall take a token from them’. The most literal translations are as follows:

και το ερσουβα (*transliteration*) αυτων ληψη *Lf* 55 158 318 509 554

και το συμμικξιν (‘commixture’) αυτων ληψη α’

και το μισθοφοριαν (‘service for wages’) αυτων ληψη σ’, commentary of Mss 243 731

Several Septuagint manuscripts interpret the unvocalized ערבתם as a verb and, thus, have a freer translation of the sentence:

και οσα αν χρηζωσιν γνωση *A O C' d s* 318 (cf. also θ': και ο εαν χρηζωσιν γνωση)

You shall find out what they need.

Besides the textual plurality, this case is valuable in that the readings show us the origin of the Greek readings in passages that were originally absent from the Septuagint. That is, the ‘missing parts’ of the Septuagint are supplied with the help of Hexapla and evidently also the columns of Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotion. It is worth noting that Theodoretus is also aware of several translations and the difficulty to understand the transliteration ερσουβα:

450. The Old Latin translation also has the phrase *in conspectus Israel* (*La<sup>M</sup>*).

Theodoretus <sup>451</sup>	Comparanda
<p>Τί ἐστὶ τὸ,  “Ἐρσουβὰ αὐτῶν λήψη;”  Ὁ Σύμμαχος ἠρμήνευσεν·  “Ὅσα χρήζουσι γνώση·  τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶν μάθης</p>	<p><i>Lf</i> 55 158 318 509 554  <i>A O C' d s</i> 318; θ'</p>
<p><i>Translation:</i>  What does it mean,  ‘You shall take their ersouba’?  Symmachus translates thus:  ‘You shall find out what they need;  you shall come to know a sign from them.’</p>	

Interestingly, Theodoretus knows both translations, ερσουβα αυτων ληψη (cf. *Lf*, etc.) and οσα χρηζωσι γνωση (cf. *A O*, etc.). Moreover, the third option, τὸν σκοπὸν αὐτῶν μάθης, could just be his own explanation for the phrase ερσουβα αυτων ληψη, but it could as well be a third otherwise unattested translation.

The manuscripts with the reading και το ερσουβα αυτων ληψη (*Lf*, etc.) have, in fact, a plus after the word ληψη—namely, και εισοισεις μοι την αγγελιαν αυτων, ‘and you shall bring back for me their news.’ This could be a free interpretation for the Hebrew phrase **וְתִשָּׂא עִתְּךָ לִי** (making a doublet together with το ερσουβα αυτων ληψη), but another solution is also possible. In the manuscripts *CII s*, a different addition appears at the end of the verse (after και οσα αν χρηζωσιν γνωση): και το σαββατον ποιησεις μετ’ εμου *CII s*. This reference to the Sabbath seems rather odd. Furthermore, it is unclear whether the phrase means ‘to prepare the sabbath’ or ‘to spend the sabbath’. In the Septuagint, there are no parallels for ποιεω with the word σαββατον as an object, but the latter translation is probably to be preferred. It is difficult to explain how this phrase has emerged. One possibility is that it is translated from Hebrew. A retroversion of the phrase, e.g., could be

ושבת תשבת עמי

If one translates the other plus at the end of the verse dealing with news (και εισοισεις μοι την αγγελιαν αυτων) back into Hebrew, the result could be

ותשיב לי שמעתם

Comparing these Hebrew phrases, they have almost the same letters, albeit in different order. Thus, I propose the following development in the textual history. The phrase **ותשיב לי**

451. *Quaestiones in libros Regnorum et Paralipomenon* 8.565.8.

שמעתם, ‘and you shall bring back to me their news’, was originally an explanatory addition in Hebrew (i.e., a gloss) clarifying the meaning of the preceding phrase, which included the rare word עֲרֵבָה. The phrase ותשיב לי שמעתם, ‘and you shall bring back for me their news’, emerged from a confusion of several letters, which was further corrupted into the phrase ושבת תשבת עמי, ‘you shall spend the Sabbath with me.’

### 3.6.4 Variants in 1 Sam 18:1

The beginning of 1 Sam 18:1 is given the following three translations:

A C' 509 d s 158 318	O	L 125 f 55 (554)
και εγενετο ως συνετελεσεν λαλων προς σαουλ	και εγενετο ως εστη δαυιδ ενωπιον σαουλ	και εγενετο ως εισηλθεν δαυιδ προς σαουλ και συνετελεσεν λαλων αυτω ειδεν αυτον Ιωναθαν
And it happened when he finished speaking with Saul	And it happened when David stood before Saul	And it happened when David had come to Saul, and he had finished speaking with him, Jonathan saw him

The first translation (A C', etc.) is a literal rendering of a text that similar to the Masoretic text:

וַיְהִי כִּבְלֹתָיו לְדַבֵּר אֶל־שָׁאוּל

The second translation probably reflects a different Hebrew text, something like

וַיְהִי כַעֲמַד דָּוִד לְפָנַי שָׁאוּל

Because the version represented by the O-group makes minimal references to previous discussions between Saul and David in 1 Sam 17:55–58, I consider it to be the most original. It does not place the scene in any specific situation, or, in other words, it could be an introduction to different occasions. That is, it is possible that 1 Sam 17:55–58 and 18:1–6a did not originally belong together. Only after these passages were combined is the editorial joint ‘having finished speaking’ needed as a segue instead of the more general ‘standing before Saul’ needed. This observation suggests that these passages were indeed inserted into a shorter ‘frame story’. In this respect, the variant reading attested by L, etc., seems to be the most developed reading, since it has several elements work to unify the story: ‘when David

had come to Saul' (possibly a counterpart to 'David standing before Saul' in O) and 'having finished speaking'.

### **3.6.5 Conclusion**

All in all, it is clear that several Greek variants reflect a Hebrew text different from the Masoretic text. This study of variants reveals that these variants have a Hexaplaric origin. Furthermore, the references to Aquila, Symmachus and Theodotian cited above suggest that the Hebrew text was not stable even after the translation of the Septuagint. In addition, I have argued that many of the Greek variants represent a primary reading compared to the Masoretic text. Putting these observations together, one cannot avoid the conclusion that the text has rather expanded than diminished. The editorial process of the inclusion of the Masoretic pluses probably did not happen all at once. This may be reflected also in the manuscripts where the first and the longest plus, 1 Sam 17:12–31, is supplied in the majority of the manuscripts, but not all of these manuscripts contain all subsequent pluses. The addition of new material into the existing story compromised the logic of the story, which, in turn, created a need to edit and revise the text further (cf. the introductory formula in 17:12 and the segue in 18:1).

The observations on Greek variant readings do not exclude the possibility that an original longer text could have been shortened, but it makes this explanation more complicated. For example, how could the readings *καὶ ἦν ἀνθρώπος* and *καὶ Δαυὶδ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου* be explained, if not that the latter developed from the former. Clearly, 1 Sam 17:12 was originally an introduction of Jesse, but the context (i.e., 17:1–11) required that it actually be the introduction of David, which explains the addition *καὶ Δαυίδ*. In sum, all observations on the Greek variants fit well with the view that the Masoretic pluses were added to the text, while the opposite view would generate more problems than it would solve. A natural conclusion, then, is that the shorter text is primary.

## **3.7. The Textual Development**

Having now studied the cases of the covenant of David and Jonathan and that of the daughters of Saul and the Greek variants readings, I return to the matter of the general explanations for the textual development. On p. 131, I presented the competing views on the textual development of the Story of David and Goliath as reducible to the following statements:

- (A4) The longer text is primary—the Masoretic pluses are omitted in the shorter text to harmonize the story by removing contradictions and inconsistencies.
- (B4) The shorter text is primary—the contradictions and inconsistencies emerged as the result of expending the text.

As argued above, the harmonization theory turns out to be problematic. While it can explain some of the minuses in the Septuagint, it creates other problems. This holds true both in the case of the covenant of David and Jonathan and that of the daughters of Saul (see pp. 131–142). In addition, the abridgement theory fails to explain the nature of many doublets/repetitions in the story. If they did not emerge as the result of combining several sources or as the result of a rewriting process, how else could they have emerged? If they are additions, why should the text of the Septuagint not be considered an earlier phase of the text? Few scholars would deny that the Deuteronomistic history is compiled from several sources. Many of the texts in the Books of Samuel seem likewise to have been compiled from several sources. For example, 1 Sam 8–12 presents three different versions of the ascension of Saul to kingship, each of which has its own source:

- 1) 1 Sam 8 + 10:17–27 + 1 Sam 12
- 2) 1 Sam 9:1–10:16
- 3) 1 Sam 11.<sup>452</sup>

In the case of 1 Sam 17–18, the earlier stages of the text/development (i.e., the Septuagint) has fortunately survived, unlike in many other cases.

The harmonization theory fails also, because the omission of so many verses seems a harsh solution, if an editor had intended to make the story read more fluently. The biggest tension in the story comes perhaps from the competing accounts of how David came into the Saul's court: on the one hand, as a harpist and armour bearer (16:14–23), and, on the other, as a shepherd-boy by coincidence (17:12–31, 55–58). If one wanted to harmonize the story, one could more easily omit 16:14–23 than both 17:12–31 and 17:55–58. In addition, with the harmonization theory, it is hard to explain the pluses that cause fairly little tension in the story—e.g., the cases where Goliath or David are said to 'draw nearer to each other' (17:40, 48). Another example is the case of Saul's daughters: the account of Saul's elder daughter in 18:17–19 does not merit omission of these verses. In addition, Saul's anomalous unfamiliarity with David after the latter slays Goliath (17:55) is not a problem for which the solution would be to shorten the story. Rather, all these examples are more reasonable if the textual development was one of growth.

One could, of course, argue that the shorter version is secondary for some other reason than the objective to harmonize or even to abridge the text. Leaving aside the lengths of the Mas-

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452. See Veijola 1977.

oretic text and the Septuagint, it is interesting to note the differing image of David in each text, especially if read side by side. Following the Masoretic text of 1 Sam 17:4, the Philistine champion defeated by David is not just an exceptionally huge man (4 cubits and a span = ca. 2 m), as in the Septuagint, but a giant (6 cubits and a span = ca 3 m).<sup>453</sup> Goliath does not challenge the Israelites only once (17:4–10), but for forty days, in the mornings and in the evenings (17:16). David is not in the battlefield on purpose (cf. 16:21–22) but happens to hear Goliath’s challenge by coincidence (17:12–23). In addition, David does not need an assistant to relieve him of the ill-fitting armours, as in the Septuagint, but undresses himself alone (17:39). In the Masoretic text, David does not stand still, when Goliath draws near, but bravely rushes on (רץ) to meet the Philistine. Furthermore, the Masoretic text underlines the fact that David slew Goliath with only a sling and a stone, without a sword (17:50). David does not only pay the full price for the bride set by Saul but pays for it before the appointed time and with twice the amount (18:26–27). In sum, the image of David in this story is more miraculous and extraordinary in the Masoretic text than it is in the Septuagint. Although all the details listed above do not necessarily add glory to David’s deeds and his victory, one could ask whether the opposite direction would be likely. Would it be likely that the text would have been edited so that David’s feat of valour—and, at the same time, the deed of God—would have intentionally been diminished? It is hard to imagine that an editor could have made such a disservice to the text if the only purpose was to abbreviate (or otherwise edit) the text and not notice how the resulting image of David changes.

Furthermore, not only is the image of David more glorified, but the image of Saul is also much darker in the Masoretic text than in the Septuagint. While Saul is not redeemed in the Septuagint either, the picture seems generally worse in the Masoretic text. Saul seems to be unaware that his harpist and armour-bearer, the son of Jesse, who enjoyed his favour (16:21–22), is engaged in battle (17:55–58). Saul also promises to the one who kills Goliath great riches, his daughter’s hand in marriage and tax exemption for the whole family (17:25) but leaves two of the promises unfulfilled. Even in regard to the promise of his daughter’s hand, he initially gives his elder daughter to someone else (18:17–19), and, when relinquishing his daughter to David, he is motivated by conspiracy (18:20–26). In the Masoretic text, one attempt to kill David does not satisfy Saul (19:11); earlier, he twice hurls a spear at David (18:11). At the same time, this makes David seem more skilful, since he is able to dodge the spear three times. The evilness of Saul is, in fact, a common theme in the present form of 1 Samuel (cf. 1 Sam 13:8–15; 14:24, 39, 44–45; 15:11, 35). Indeed, it is possible that, in earlier forms of the book, the image of Saul was not as dark as it became in its final form but was rather neutral. However, the general development in the text seems to proceed in the direction that Saul became more and more evil. In that sense, the thematic development from the Septuagint type of text to the Masoretic text also seems more probable than vice versa.

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453. On Goliath’s height, see Hays 2005.

After studying the arguments around the primacy of the short/long text of the Story of David and Goliath, it seems that most observations in the text are better explained if the shorter text is primary. Although none of the arguments can alone prove the primacy of the shorter text, the cumulative evidence altogether points strongly to the secondary nature of the longer text. The hypothesis that the text was shortened before or after the translation of the Septuagint does not rescue the argument privileging the primacy of the longer text either, since most of the arguments I have presented for the priority of the shorter text are made in reference to Hebrew text behind the Septuagint. Evidently, the editorial changes happened already in the Hebrew text. The Septuagint is simply our best witness to an older Hebrew text.

## 4. The Ammonite Oppression (1 Sam 10:27–11:1)

### 4.1. The Text

In 1 Sam 10:27–11:1 in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is a lengthy plus compared to the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. The only witness for the plus outside of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is to be found in Josephus.<sup>454</sup> Many scholars have argued for the primacy of the passage.<sup>455</sup> Thus, the section is included even in some translations of the Bible.<sup>456</sup> In this chapter, I will study the passage in detail.

Before the DJD edition, Cross had published a preliminary reconstruction of the text already in 1980 and 1983.<sup>457</sup> The text in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is reconstructed in DJD as follows (Col X, Frg. a, ll. 5–10):

[ ]	<i>vacat</i>	זה וי' בזהו ולוא הביאו לו מנחה	5
[ול]		[ונ] חש מלך בני עמון הוא לחץ את בני גד ואת בני ראובן בחזקה ונקר להם כ' [ול]	6
[ע] ו' ימין ונתן אין [מושי] ע' ל' [י] שראל ולוא נשאר איש בבני ישראל אשר בע' [בר הירדן]			7
[אש] ר' ל' [וא נ] ק' לו נח' [ש מלך] בני [ע] מ' זון כול עין ימין ו' [ה] שבעת אלפים איש			8
		ויהי כמו חדש ויעל נחש העמוני ויחן על יביש	
[נצלו מיד] ב' עמון ויבאו אל [י] בש ג' לעד ויאמרו כול אנשי יביש אל נחש מ' [לך]			9
[בני עמון כרת] ל' [נו ברית ונעבדך ויאמר א] ל' [יה] ה' נחש' [העמוני בזאת אכרת לכם]			10

The plus begins after *vacat*, in line 6, continuing until halfway through line 9 (ending in ג' לעד). Most of the text is readable and does not require further commentary. However, some details merit further discussion than that provided in DJD. My own observations on the text are based on photographs<sup>458</sup> as well as an opportunity to survey the original fragment autographically in the Israel Antiquities Authority in October 2009.

#### Line 7: אין [מושי] ע' ל' [י] שראל:

The first case to study is the reconstruction אין [מושי] ע' ל' [י] שראל. Previously, this was reconstructed as על [י] שראל [מה ופחד].<sup>459</sup> In both reconstructions, the second letter is considered certainly to be *yod*. Although *yod* is clearly the best candidate, *waw* is also possible, since the bottom part of the letter seems to be worn out. After that letter, there is a small

454. Josephus, *Ant.* 6.68–69.

455. E.g., Ulrich 1978, 166–69; Cross 1983, 150–58.

456. E.g., NRSV

457. Cross 1980, 107; 1983, 149. These reconstructions are almost identical which each other.

458. The older PAM photographs 43.114, 40.610, 41.177, 41.764 and the most recent photographs B-368588 and B-368589 in The Leon Levy Dead Sea Scrolls Digital Library (<http://www.deadseascrolls.org.il/>, viewed 9.3.2015).

459. Cross 1980, 107; 1983, 149.

trace of ink,<sup>460</sup> reconstructed in the DJD edition as final *nun*. So little of the ink remains that it is hard to determine absolutely which letter the traces represent. The best candidates are (final) *nun*, *waw* and *yod*, but it could evidently be some other letter as well. The first *lamed* is clear after the first *lacuna*, but the preceding letter is uncertain, since only the upper-left part of the letter has survived. It can be *ayin*, as reconstructed both in DJD and in Cross's earlier reconstruction, but the upper-left part of *ayin* usually leans more to the right (i.e., has bigger angle on the vertical axis) in the manuscript. In my opinion, *waw* and *yod* are equally good candidates for this letter.

Another difficulty in the reconstruction is that, on the one hand, the space between the letter reconstructed as  $\text{y}^{\circ}$  and the following *lamed* does not seem to be enough to constitute a regular word-space, though, on the other hand, it seems a bit larger than the usual space between letters of the same word. Since there is also a *lacuna* after *lamed*, one cannot be sure whether *lamed* belongs to the following word or the preceding one—i.e., whether one should reconstruct  $\text{ל}^{\circ}[\text{י}]\text{שׂראל}$  or  $\text{ל}^{\circ}[\text{י}]\text{שׂראל}$ . To determine which reconstruction is more probable, I have used Herbert's study of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, where he provides the measurement of average letter-widths.<sup>461</sup> Since the reconstruction after *lamed* is certain [י], I will take that *lacuna* as a starting point for whether or not one should reconstruct a word-space before *yod*.<sup>462</sup> I measured the space from the right edge of *lamed* to the left side of *sin*<sup>463</sup> to be approximately 7.5 mm.<sup>464</sup> According to Herbert's data on average letter-widths, the expected span<sup>465</sup> for the letters *lamed*, *yod*, *sin*, and a word-space is 8.01 mm; without the word-space, the expected span is 6.69 mm. The result with the word-space deviates from the measured space by 6.8%, while the result without the word-space deviates by 10.8%. According to Herbert's significance levels,<sup>466</sup> both of these relative deviations are within acceptable limits, the limit for 'substantial suspicion' (i.e., 5% significance level) for a section of 7.5-mm width being 13%, meaning that substantial suspicion of the reconstruction would be raised only if the reconstruction deviated from the known width by 13% or more. Both deviations, 6.8% and 10.8%, are thus acceptable, but the reconstruction with the word-space is definitely more probable. This conclusion is confirmed by the space observed between  $\text{y}^{\circ}$  and  $\text{ל}^{\circ}$ , which seems to measure 0.5mm or less,<sup>467</sup> which would be a great deviation from the average word-space (1.32mm) in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. In sum, the reconstruction  $\text{ל}^{\circ}[\text{י}]\text{שׂראל}$  is to be preferred over  $\text{ל}^{\circ}[\text{י}]\text{שׂראל}$ .

460. The trace of ink is not properly visible in PAM pictures but is clearly observable autoptically with the aid of an optical microscope.

461. Herbert 1997, 80.

462. In contrast to the *lacuna* before  $\text{y}^{\circ}$ , which evidently more possible alternatives to reconstruct.

463. Distance beyond *lamed* and *sin* are not measurable, since the left part of *lamed* and the right side of *sin* are not entirely visible.

464. I have done the measurings digitally using the pictures in the Leon Levy digital library. I estimate my accuracy to be  $\pm 0,1$  mm.

465. By 'expected space', I mean the space that one should expect if all the letters were in their average width.

466. Herbert 1997, 82, Table 42: 'Minimum acceptable % deviation from the unadjusted reconstructed width average at specified significance levels—"smoothed" and extrapolated data.'

467. A definite value for the measure cannot be given, since the bottom part of the letter  $\text{y}^{\circ}$  is lost, but it cannot be more than 0.5 mm.

Using the average letter-widths, one can also find out whether the reconstruction אִין [מושי]ע or ע [מה ופחד] אי is more suitable. I measured the space י-ע to span approximately 15.5 mm. The reconstruction אִין [מושי]ע provides an expected space of 14.64 mm, which amount to a 5.5% deviation from the measured space. The reconstruction ע [מה ופחד] אי, for its part, gives an expected space of 18.53 mm, which amounts to a 19.5% deviation from the measured space. Herbert's levels for 'substantial suspicion' (5% significance level) and 'reasonable confidence of the inappropriateness of the reconstruction' (1% significance level) are 11% and 16%, respectively, for a section-width of 15.5 mm. Thus, one can reliably say that אִין [מושי]ע fits well into the *lacuna*, while ע [מה ופחד] אי is definitely too long.

While the first part of the reconstruction אִין [מושי]ע ל[י]שראל fits well into the *lacuna*, it does not seem to be the best option when accounting for word-space before or after *lamed*. The reconstruction also faces more severe problems related to syntax. The negative adverb אִין usually appears in nominal clauses.<sup>468</sup> How, then, should the preceding word, ונתן, be interpreted? It would be sufficient to state simply ואתן מושיע לישראל or ולא נתן מושיע לישראל. In support of the reconstruction אִין [מושי]ע ל[י]שראל, the editors of DJD refer to the following two biblical verses:

וְאִם-אִין מוֹשִׁיעַ אֲתָנוּ	1 Sam 11:3
וַיִּתֵּן יְהוָה לְיִשְׂרָאֵל מוֹשִׁיעַ	2 Kgs 13:5

Unlike the reconstruction of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, however, the former clause is a regularly negated nominal clause without any verb and the second a normal verbal clause without any negative particle. In Biblical Hebrew, it is unusual for the particle אִין to belong to the same clause as a finite verb.<sup>469</sup> Besides qal perfect, the verb form נתן could be interpreted as either a participle or an infinitive absolute.

The only case where the infinitive absolute in the same clause precedes the particle אִין is Jer 10:5

אֲל־תִּירָאוּ מֵהֶם	Do not be afraid of them,
כִּי-לֹא יַרְעוּ	for they cannot do evil,
וְגַם-הֵיטִיב אִין אֲוֹתָם	nor is it in them to do good. (NRSV)

Extrapolating from this example, one could interpret the clause ונתן אִין מושיע לישראל as 'there is not (anyone) to give a deliverer to Israel'. However, use of the infinitive absolute is

468. Cf. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §160a: 'The usual negatives are: I לֹא in a verbal clause (sometimes also in a nominal clause, and with an isolated noun); II עַל in a negative imperative, i.e. prohibition; III אִין, אִין in a nominal clause.'

469. Using the search function in Accordance Bible Software, I have not found a single example where this would be possible.

rare in the Hebrew Bible; the usual way would be to employ the infinitive construct.<sup>470</sup> Thus, taking נתן as an infinitive would require a rare construction in two ways: an infinite absolute in the place of an infinitive construct and the particle אין with an infinitive.

If נתן is taken as a participle, it must be either qal active, passive stem<sup>471</sup> or niph'al. If the participle is taken in connection with the subsequent particle אין, it is evidently used in a predicative sense. Indeed, the particle אין is used in the Hebrew Bible in connection with a predicative participle, but, as far as I have observed, the particle אין always precedes the predicative participle.<sup>472</sup> The particle does not have to be the first element in the sentence, but the element that precedes it is usually the subject of the clause, as in Ex 5:16:

תָּבוּן אֵין נָתַן לְעַבְדֶּיךָ  
straw is not given to your slaves

The word at the beginning of the sentence also happens to be indefinite and obtains some degree of emphasis.<sup>473</sup> Besides the subject, the *casus pendens* construction could also be placed at the beginning of the sentence, as in 2 Kgs 4:14:

אָבֵל בֶּן אֵין-לָהּ  
but as for a son—he has none

In the phrase ונתן אין מושיע לישראל, the subject of the nominal clause is evidently מושיע, 'deliverer' (participle as well but used substantively). It is quite far-fetched for the preceding participle to be interpreted as *casus pendens*. This attempt to rescue ונתן אין מושיע לישראל would be unreasonable. What, then, is the reason for emphasizing ונתן, by putting it before the particle אין?

The reconstruction [מושי]ע ל[י]שראל thus might not be the best possible option. Accounting for the length of the *lacuna* and the options for the partially preserved letter, the possible alternatives for reconstruction are as follows:

470. Cf. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §123b.

471. By passive stem, I mean the rare qal passive stem (*quṭṭal*), which also has a participle *quṭṭal*; see Joüon & Muraoka 2006, § 58b.

472. In all the examples of Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §160, the negative particle אין precedes the predicative. Furthermore, I have searched in Accordance all the cases where the particle אין occurs with a participle within 5 words and found out that if the participle is not the subject or *casus pendens*, it is always after the particle אין.

473. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §160i.

		י/י-ל span	Deviation from actual length
1)	אִימָם [יִם בְּכָל] וְלֹא [יִשְׂרָאֵל]	14.53mm	6.3%
2)	אִימָתָה [יִתְהַבְּכָה] וְלֹא [יִשְׂרָאֵל]	14.89mm	3.9%
3)	אִימָה [יִתְהַבְּכָה] וְלֹא [יִשְׂרָאֵל]	15.28mm	1.4%

All of these options fit well into the lacuna and deviate from the actual measured length by less than 7% (the 5% significance level for this distance is 11%, as noted above). Furthermore, all of these options include a word-space before *lamed*, as argued above to be more probable. The first and the second reconstructions develop Cross's original reconstruction על [יִתְהַבְּכָה] וְלֹא, which turned out to be too long. The word אִימָה, '(feeling of) terror; dread', does appear in plural in the Hebrew Bible (Jer 50:38; Ps 55:5; 88:16; Job 20:25). The emphatic form אִימָתָה, 'terror', proposed in the option 2) is, however, attested in the Hebrew Bible (Ex 15:16). The reconstruction י instead of י is equally reasonable and possible. The letter *mem* might not be the best possible option for the reconstructed letter before the *lacuna*, since, in that case, one would expect larger spread of ink. Because of the damage to the surface around the ink, however, it is possible that some of the ink has simply been worn out.

The third option fits best with the *lacuna*. There is no problem reconstructing final *nun* before the *lacuna* and *ayin* afterwards. As already noted, the second letter is more probably *yod*, but *waw* is also possible. The word אִימָה should be understood as אִימָה, 'disaster, trouble, misfortune; injustice' (cf., e.g., Num 23:21, Jer 4:15, Amos 5:5; Hab 3:7). Furthermore, all three options for reconstruction make sense in context. The first two could be translated as 'he (i.e., Nahash) caused dread all over Israel.' Although Nahash had attacked only Gadites and Reubenites (line 6), he invoked danger in other parts of Israel as well (cf. 1 Sam 11:4–5, where the people wept). The third option could be translated simply as 'he (i.e., Nahash) gave great trouble to Israel', equally sensible in the context. Josephus does not have an exact parallel to the phrase in question, but he writes that 'Nahash had done a great deal of mischief (πολλὰ κακὰ ... διατίθησι)' to the trans-Jordan tribes. This may perhaps lend some support for the third option over against the first two.

### Line 8: ר[אש]

The beginning of line 7 is reconstructed as ר[אש]. The curve of *resh* is clearly visible, and reconstruction of the letter is sufficiently secure. According to DJD XVII, the correct vertical alignment of this fragment 'is achieved with בני on line 8 and שב[י] on line 9.' This alignment is certainly correct, but it requires the first partially preserved letter, *resh*, in the line be aligned with נתן in line 7. This allows for the possibility that there might have been more

text at the beginning of the line than just two letters, *aleph* and *sin*. Indeed, Cross first reconstructed the word הִירְדֵן at the beginning of line 8 instead of at the end of line 7, as in DJD.<sup>474</sup> Since the right margin is not preserved, one way to estimate its span is to take line 6 as the starting point and calculate the average letter-width for *het*, *nun* and *waw*; this comes to 4.78 mm. Furthermore, the horizontal distance from the left edge of *het* to the (estimated) right part<sup>475</sup> of *resh* is roughly 11.5 mm. The total space from the right margin to *resh* is thus approximately 16.28 mm. The expected space for the reconstruction [הִירְדֵן אֵשׁ] can be calculated with the aid of average letter-widths, as done above. The result is 16.45 mm, which is very close to the estimation of 16.28 mm, thus confirming that הִירְדֵן should be reconstructed at the beginning of line 8.

### Line 8: וְ[ה]ֵן

The DJD edition reconstructs וְ[ה]ֵן in line 8 while Cross' earlier reconstructions had either רֵק<sup>476</sup> or רֵק<sup>477</sup>. In my opinion, either of the earlier reconstructions is to be preferred over וְ[ה]ֵן. First of all, the upper horizontal line of the first letter is longer than usually *waw* has. Although not all of the letter is preserved, *resh* fits into it perfectly (cf. *resh* in the word אֵשׁ in line 7). In addition, the letter *he* definitely does not fit after the first letter and before the assumed final *nun*. If there were such a letter the bottom parts of its vertical legs should be visible in the fragment. It is true that the letter *qof* does not usually have a stroke that extends so low (cf. however photo 1098 Frag 1 line 2) and is even a bit curved. On the other hand, one must say that usually final *nun* is more curved than the stroke in question. In addition, there is clearly a trace of ink at the halfway of the stroke nearby it, which perfectly fits to the bottom part of *qof*'s upper right arc. In my opinion the last letter is clearly nothing but *qof* while the first letter as such could be a bit unusual *waw*. Thus, the best reconstruction in this case is רֵק as Cross earlier presented.

The DJD edition reconstructs וְ[ה]ֵן in line 8 where Cross's earlier reconstructions had either רֵק<sup>478</sup> or רֵק<sup>479</sup>. In my opinion, either of the earlier reconstructions is to be preferred over וְ[ה]ֵן. The upper horizontal line of the first letter is longer than with which *waw* is usually written. Although only traces remain of the next letter, *resh* seems to be fit here (cf. *resh* in אֵשׁ on line 7). In addition, the letter *he* definitely does not fit after the first letter and before a final *nun*. If there were such a letter, the bottom parts of its vertical legs should be visible on the fragment. It is true that the letter *qof* does not usually have a stroke that extends so low (cf., however, photo 1098, Frag. 1, l. 2) and is even a bit curved. On the other hand, a final *nun* would be even more curved *qof*. In addition, there is clearly a trace of ink at the halfway

474. Cross 1980, 107; 1983, 149.

475. The letter *resh* is not preserved entirely as already told, but the right edge of the letter can be imagined with reasonable accuracy.

476. Cross 1980.

477. Cross 1983.

478. Cross 1980.

479. Cross 1983.

point of the stroke nearby it, which fits at the bottom part of *qof*'s upper-right arc. In my opinion, the last letter can only be *qof*, while the first letter as such could be an unusually written *waw*. Thus, the best reconstruction in this case would be *רִק*, as Cross had earlier presented.

## The Reconstruction

As a conclusion, I present a slightly modified reconstruction of the passage:

5	[זה וי]בִּזְהוּ וְלֹא הִבִּיאוּ לוֹ מִנְחָה	<i>vacat</i>	[ ]
6	[ונ]חֹשׁ מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן הוּא לְחַץ אֶת בְּנֵי גַד וְאֶת בְּנֵי רְאוּבֵן בְּחִזְקָה וְנִקְרָה לָהֶם כְּ[ול]		
7	[ע]יָן יָמִין וְנִתְּן אֹזֶן מְאֹד [על]יִשְׂרָאֵל וְלֹא נִשְׂאָר אִישׁ בְּבְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר בְּעַ[בר]		
8	[הירדן אש]ר ל[וא נ]קָרָה לוֹ נַח[ש מלך] בני [ע]מּוֹן כּוֹל עֵין יָמִין רֶק שִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים אִישׁ		
9	[נצלו מיד] בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן וַיִּבְאוּ אֵל [י]בֶשׁ גִּלְעָד וַיֹּאמְרוּ כּוֹל אַנְשֵׁי יַבִּישׁ אֵל נַחֵשׁ מְ[לך]	<small>ויהי כמו חדש ויעל נחש העמוני ויחן על יביש</small>	
10	[בני עמון כרת] ל[נו ברית ונעבדך ויאמר א]ל[יה]ם נַחֵשׁ [העמוני בזאת אכרת לכם]		

Using Cross's translation as a basis,<sup>480</sup> the passage translates as follows:

- 6 [And Na]hash, king of the Ammonites, sorely oppressed the children of Gad and the children of Reuben, and he gouged out a[ll] their
- 7 right eyes and caused [great] trouble for Israel. There was not left one among the children of Israel bey[ond]
- 8 [Jordan who]se right eye was no[t go]uged out by [Nahash king] of the children of [A]mmon; except seven thousand men
- 9 fled from the children of Ammon and entered [J]abesh-Gilead / About a month later, Nahash the Ammonite went up and besieged Jabesh, / and all the men of Jabesh said to Nahash
- 10 [the Ammonite, 'Make] with [us a covenant, and we shall become your subjects.'] Nahash [the Ammonite said t]o [th]em, ['After this fashion will] I make [a covenant with you]

## 4.2. Comparison with the MT, LXX and Josephus

Let us take a look at how the text of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is related with the other main witnesses of the Old Testament text, the Masoretic text and the Septuagint. First of all, it is clear that the supralinear line is a correction of a *parablepsis* (depending on whether one reads [גלעד] *יביש* or *יביש* at the end of that line) made by the same scribe who copied the text.<sup>481</sup> The material common (in quantitative meaning) in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> with the Masoretic text and the Septuagint is marked with a grey background in the following pericope:

480. Cross 1980, 107

481. Cross 1983, 150.

	[ ]	<i>vacat</i>	זֶה וַיְבִיאוּ לֹא מִנְחָה	5
	[ונ]	חש מלך בני עמון הוא לחץ את בני גד ואת בני ראובן בחזקה ונקר להם כ[ול]		6
	[ע]	יז ימין ונתן איז [מושי]ע ל[י]שראל ולוא נשאר איש בבני ישראל אשר בע[בר הירדן]		7
	[אש]	ר ל[וא נ]קר לו נח[ש מלך] בני[ע] מון כול עין ימין ו[ה]ן שבעת אלפים איש		8
		ויהי כמו חדש ויעל נחש העמוני ויחז על יביש		
	[נצל]	מיד [בני עמון ויבאו אל [י]בש גלעד ויאמרו כול אנשי יביש אל נחש מ[לך]		9
	[בני עמון כרת]	ל[נו ברית ונעבדך ויאמר א]ל[יה]ם נחש[ה] העמוני בזאת אכרת לכם		10

The parallel material is as follows:

4QSam <sup>a</sup>	MT	LXX
[plus] <i>vacat</i> ולוא הביאו לו מנחה... ויהי כמו חדש ... ויעל	וְלֹא־הֵבִיאוּ לוֹ מִנְחָה ... <sup>10:27</sup> וַיְהִי כְּמַחְרֵישׁ: פ ... וַיַּעַל <sup>11:1</sup>	<sup>10:27</sup> οὐκ ἤνεγκαν αὐτῷ δῶρα. <sup>11:1</sup> Καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς μετὰ μῆνα καὶ ἀνέβη...

It is clear that the Masoretic text divides the paragraphs differently from the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, which have the paragraph divider after מנחה (> δῶρα). Furthermore, the Septuagint translator likely read his source text as וַיְהִי כְּמַחְרֵישׁ (= חדש + מן + כ) in translating Καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς μετὰ μῆνα. The reading כמו חדש in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is most likely original, while the odd reading כְּמַחְרֵישׁ of the Masoretic text must be simply a *dalet-resh* corruption, in which the *hiphil* form was later written *plene*.

The text of Josephus cannot be compared directly, since it is more or less a paraphrase (see Table 24). Nevertheless, some observations can be drawn from it. First, the end of Josephus's *Ant.* 6.67 clearly reflects the end of 1 Sam 10. Josephus writes that the worthless men brought no presents, as all other witnesses do. The beginning of 6.68 Μηνὶ δ' ὕστερον, 'after one month', corresponds evidently to the similar expressions ויהי כמו חדש in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and Καὶ ἐγενήθη ὡς μετὰ μῆνα in the Septuagint. It is unclear how one should interpret οὗτ' ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐτίθεντο, but it may reflect an attempt to interpret the peculiar expression כְּמַחְרֵישׁ in the Masoretic text—i.e., 'being silent' refers to the worthless men, meaning that they did not give honour (τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι ... ἐτίθεντο) to Saul verbally (ἐν ... λόγῳ). This conclusion is uncertain, however, since the whole phrase could simply be Josephus's interpretation.

In addition to the reference to one month, Josephus's synopsis has some other affinities with the plus in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. It tells that, before Nahash besieged Jabesh (6.71), he had already 'done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan', subduing them and gouging out their right eyes. Evidently, Josephus reflects a story similar to the one present in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. However, Josephus's text is not identical with that of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>—e.g., Josephus writes about 'the Jews beyond the Jordan', without explicitly mentioning the tribes of Gad and Reuben or the 7000 refugees.

Text	Translation (Whiston 1988)
<p>...καὶ οὐτε δῶρα προσέφερον οὔτ' ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐτίθεντο. 68Μηνὶ δ' ὕστερον ἄρχει τῆς παρὰ πάντων αὐτῶ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσην πόλεμος τὸν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλέα· οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κατοικημένους τῶν Ἰουδαίων διατίθησι μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ μαχίμου στρατεύματος διαβάς ἐπ' αὐτοῦς· 69καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγεται ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτοὺς χειρῳσάμενος, σοφίᾳ δὲ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ μηδ' αὐθις ἀποστάντας δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῶ δουλείαν διαφυγεῖν ἀσθενεῖς ποιῶν· τῶν γὰρ ἢ κατὰ πίστιν ὡς αὐτὸν ἀφικνουμένων ἢ λαμβανομένων πολέμου νόμῳ τοὺς δεξιοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξέκοπτεν. 70ἐποίει δὲ τοῦθ', ὅπως τῆς ἀριστερᾶς αὐτοῖς ὄψεως ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν καλυπτομένης ἄχρηστοι παντελῶς εἶεν. 71καὶ ὁ μὲν τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ' ἐργασάμενος τοὺς πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλαθινοὺς λεγομένους ἐπεστράτευσεν καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν πολεμίων, Ἰαβὶς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις ...</p>	<p>... who neither did bring him presents, nor did they in affection, or even in words, regard to please him. 68After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash, the king of the Ammonites, obtained him respect from all the people; for this Nahash had done a great deal of mischief to the Jews that lived beyond Jordan by the expedition he had made against them with a great and warlike army. 69He also reduced their cities into slavery, and that not only by subduing them for the present, which he did by force and violence, but by weakening them by subtlety and cunning, that they might not be able afterward to get clear of the slavery they were under to him; for he put out the right eyes of those that either delivered themselves to him upon terms, or were taken by him in war; 70and this he did, that when their left eyes were covered by their shields, they might be wholly useless in war. 71Now when the king of the Ammonites had served those beyond Jordan in this manner, he led his army against those that were called Gileadites, and having pitched his camp at the metropolis of his enemies, which was the city of Jabesh, he sent ambassadors to them ...</p>

**Table 24.** Josephus, *Ant.* 6.67–71.

### 4.3. Part of the Original Story?

Shortly after the fragment was identified, it was suggested that the passage was original.<sup>482</sup> It is clear that the passage cannot have been derived from the Masoretic or Septuagint type of text or from elsewhere in the Bible (i.e., it is not dependent on any parallel story). As previously stated, Josephus reflects a similar account, albeit not one identical with 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. According to Cross and Ulrich, the phrase ‘after a month’ (μηνὶ δ’ ὕστερον) in Josephus does not describe the period intervening the two invasions of the Ammonites but that preceding the whole episode. They consider this as a hint as to why the text has been later omitted—i.e., in

482. Ulrich 1978, 166–69; Cross 1983, 150–58.

the textual history, there was a manuscript which had the expression ‘after a month’ (וַיְהִי כִּמּוֹן) in two places, both in the beginning (as in Josephus) and between the two invasion (4QSam<sup>a</sup>); then, the omission happened by *parablepsis* (*homoeoteleuton*).<sup>483</sup> Such a long omission is rare but by no means impossible. As Cross pointed out, there are many haplographic omissions in the Masoretic text of 1–2 Samuel.<sup>484</sup>

In addition to the evidence of Josephus and the *parablepsis* theory, features of the *content* of passage could also indicate its originality. The most convincing argument concerns the epithet of Nahash given in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> (מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן) but is absent from the Masoretic text and the Septuagint in 1 Sam 11. When introducing the king of a foreign nation for the first time, the usual formula is ‘X, king of Y’. Excluding the 1 Sam 11, this is true in every case from the Genesis to the 2 Samuel.<sup>485</sup> The correct title of Nahash appears only later in 1 Samuel (12:12).<sup>486</sup>

One more argument for the primacy of the passage is that the story fits the context and the Deuteronomistic history equally well. As Cross has noted, the expression (לְחָץ בַּחֲזָקָה) (cf. Judg 4:3; 2 Kgs 3:22) is a Deuteronomistic *topos* and may either point to the authenticity of the passage or may just be an imitation of the style. More important is that the paragraph makes more understandable the accounts given in 1 Sam 11. Without a first Ammonite strike against the Trans-Jordan tribes, the eye-gouging of the men of Jabesh-Gilead in 11:2 seems unexpected. According to Cross, this kind of mutilation was the usual treatment doled out to rebels, old foes and violators of treaty, not to the residents of a newly conquered city (which did not lie within the conqueror’s region).<sup>487</sup> Given the passage found in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, the eye-gouging is sensible, since Jabesh-Gilead was protecting the old foes of the Ammonite region.<sup>488</sup>

Finally, the passage has been described as having no ‘theological bias’—or no ‘haggadic element’ in general. It presents merely historical (not in the sense of modern history but of Deuteronomistic history) facts. This would also support the view that the passage is original, not an addition made by an editor.<sup>489</sup>

483. Cross 1983, 153; Ulrich 1978, 169; DJD XVII, 27, 66. Furthermore Ulrich (1978, 169) suggests that even the Septuagint originally had the passage.

484. Cross (1983, 156) gives the familiar cases 1 Sam 10:1; 14:24.

485. Eves 1982, 318–319. He obtained the following count: Gen (14); Exod (1); Num (3); Josh (8); Judg (4); 1 Sam (4); 2 Sam (4); altogether, 38. Cf. Cross (1983, 153), who gives twenty examples in Samuel–Kings: 1 Sam (3); 2 Sam (3); 1 Kgs (3); 2 Kgs (11). In a few cases, the name of the king is not mentioned: Josh 8:14, 29; Judg 11:12, 14, 28; in addition, the peculiar אֲדָנִי בְּזֶקֶת בְּבִזְקָה in Judg 1:5 is problematic but best explained as a corruption (Cross 1983, 154).

486. Ulrich (1978, 168) explains that the epithet מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי עַמּוֹן in 12:12 emerged as the result of Deuteronomistic redaction: ‘The entire chapter 1 S 12 is a Deuteronomistic summary whose terminology is heavily derivative from 1 S 7–11.’ In support of this view, Ulrich refers to Veijola 1975.

487. Cross 1983, 157. The regions of Gad and Reuben intersected with the Ammonite domain, but the Benjaminite Jabesh-Gilead did not.

488. Cross 1983, 157.

489. Cross 1983, 156.

## 4.4. A Later Addition?

In the previous section, I gave arguments for the primacy of the story of the first Ammonite oppression. Here, I provide some counter-arguments to them. Firstly, the evidence found in Josephus does not indicate anything more than the similarity of the source text to 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. That proves nothing about the authenticity of the story. Secondly, the *parablepsis* theory is speculative. In 4QSam<sup>a</sup>, MT, LXX and Josephus, there is no instance of *homoeoteleuton*<sup>490</sup> without assuming a more complex textual history (e.g., **ויהי כמו חדש** appearing twice).<sup>491</sup> Of course, an omission can happen in other ways as well, but such a long omission is improbable.<sup>492</sup> Thirdly, since the passage makes the whole of 1 Sam 11:1 more understandable, it can be interpreted as an explanatory addition.<sup>493</sup> Finally, as A. Rofé has pointed out, the passage does indeed have a haggadic element: a single act of one hero is duplicated in such a way that the essential point his character is emphasized.<sup>494</sup> Only the argument concerning the general introductory formula of a foreign king seem tenable. However, on this basis, it cannot be determined that the whole three-and-a-half lines of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> should be original. Rather, this would indicate only that the epithet was original and was later omitted in other textual traditions.

### 4.4.1 Verbal Forms

Besides these, there are three other arguments which, in my opinion, convincingly point to the secondary nature of the plus in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. The first argument for the secondary nature of the plus concerns the verbal forms in the passage, the sequence of which is **...לחץ...ונקר...ונתן...נשאר...נקר...ויבאו...ויהי...** From **ויבאו** onward, the story continues with consecutive imperfects as expected. The preceding verbal forms could be vocalized as perfects (with conjunctive *waw*, not constituting consecutive forms). This sequence of perfects would not be impossible but at least unusual in early Hebrew.<sup>495</sup> For this reason, Cross suggests that the verbs be interpreted as perfect (לָחַץ) followed by infinitive absolutes which have been written defectively.<sup>496</sup> According to him, ‘this usage is well known and is especially frequent in the seventh–sixth centuries B.C.E. in the Bible and in Hebrew inscriptions.’<sup>497</sup> However, I am not convinced that the evidence given really attests to this kind of us-

490. Cf. McCarter 1980, 199: ‘the omission apparently was not haplographic—there seems to be nothing in the text to have triggered it.’

491. Cf. Herbert 1995, 50–51.

492. Cf. McCarter 1980 199: ‘A scribe simply skipped an entire paragraph of his text.’

493. Cf. Herbert 1995, 51.

494. Rofé 1982, 129–133; 1998, 66 (against Cross 1983, 156). Rofé (1998) even considers the feature (i.e. the haggadic elements) to be such characteristic of the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup> that he labels it 4QMidrash Samuel.

495. Cross 1983, 151; Rubinstein 1963, 62. The construction becomes more usual in later biblical books due to the Aramaic influence. Occasionally it is found even in earlier books.

496. Cross 1983, 150.

497. Cross (1983, 150) gives an example from Jer (32:44) as well as two examples from Yabneh-Yam

age of infinitives as an early phenomenon in Biblical Hebrew. In Gesenius's *Grammar* the phenomenon is simply ascribed as late:

In the later books especially, it often happens that in a succession of several acts only the first (or sometimes more) of the verbs is inflected, while the second (or third, etc.) is added simply in the infinitive absolute.<sup>498</sup>

Joüon and Muraoka's *Grammar* likewise considers this usage characteristic of later books:

The inf. abs. quite often (especially in the later books) continues a preceding form. The Waw, which usually precedes the inf. abs, sometimes has the value of a simple and, and sometimes that of and (then), indicating succession. The reasons which have motivated the choice of the inf. abs. are not clearly understood: sometimes there is probably a desire for variety or a stylistic affectation; sometimes the author wished to use a form with a vague subject like one or they (cf. § 155i). The inf. abs. virtually has the same temporal or modal value as the preceding verb.<sup>499</sup>

The occurrences of this feature (finite verb continued by infinitive absolute) in biblical books is indeed more common in later books (e.g., Chronicles or Esther) than in earlier books (e.g., Pentateuch or the Deuteronomistic History).<sup>500</sup> Besides this distinction (earlier vs. later), Rendsburg has claimed that the distribution in the earlier books is, furthermore, not uniform. According to him, in early Biblical Hebrew, the phenomenon is more common in the passages that occurs in 'northern settings'. From this—and the fact that the phenomenon is common in some extra-biblical northern sources (e.g., Ugaritic, Phoenician and Amarna Letters)—Rendsburg has concludes that the phenomenon is 'in origin a northern feature'.<sup>501</sup> The proliferation of this phenomenon in later books he then explained as a 'northernism'—due to 'the wake of the reunification of northern and southern exiles in Mesopotamia'.<sup>502</sup>

On this ground, the unusual sequential usage of either perfect or infinitive in the passage is a feature of its lateness and/or northern origin or influence. In either case, the usage is uncommon and distinguishes the passage from the surrounding narrative, indicating strongly that the passage derives from a different source than does the rest of the story.

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inscriptions.

498. Gesenius & Kautzsch 1982, §113z.

499. Joüon & Muraoka 2006, §123x. Cf. also Brettler (1997, 609) which considers usage as a sign of lateness.

500. Cf. the lists in Rubinstein 1952, 363; Rendsburg 1991, 353–55; 2002, 37–38.

501. Rendsburg 1991, 351.

502. Rendsburg 1991, 355. He refers also to Gordon 1955, 85–88.

#### 4.4.2 Word Order

The second indication of the secondary nature of the passage is the word order at its beginning. The word order subject (S) + הוא + verb (V) is not the most usual in Biblical Hebrew, but it is possible. Usually the structure is related to the *casus pendens* construction—e.g.,<sup>503</sup>

יהוה אלהיך הוא עבר לפניך

Yahweh, your God—he passes before you (Deut 31:1)

אשר יצא ממעיך הוא יירשך

he that will come out of you—he shall be your heir (Gen 15:4)

האשה אשר נתתה עמדי הוא נתנה-לי

the woman whom you gave to be with me—she gave me... (Gen 3:12)

יהוה הוא הטוב בעיניו יעשה

Yahweh—let him do what seems good to him<sup>504</sup> (1 Sam 3:18)

Thus, the word order S + הוא + V is possible, but it does suit the account in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> well. That is, such a word order does not usually begin a story, the reason being that the dislocated first element, the subject, gains an emphasis and, at same time, announces the topic of the following sentence. Such topicalization assumes that the topic is already known. Thus, this kind of word order does not usually suit the beginning of a story. In this particular case, the word order is unsuitable, since Nahash has not been introduced before. Literally, the beginning of the plus in the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup> would be translated as ‘As for Nahash, king of Ammonites—he oppressed...’. If the story began in such a way, the reader would be perplexed: which Nahash? No such Nahash was mentioned earlier. Thus, I regard this peculiar word order in this context as a sign that the episode of the first invasion of Nahash was added to the story from another source.

#### 4.4.3 Chronology

The third argument for the secondary nature of the passage is its chronology. If one reads the text as it stands in the Septuagint, one gets the impression that Nahash began the attack against the Israelites about a month after Saul was appointed king (1 Sam 10). Evidently, the earlier form of the text behind the Masoretic text read similarly before the corruption **בְּמַחֲדָשׁ** → **בְּמַחֲרִישׁ**. This chronology does not, however, cohere with 1 Sam 12:12, which indicates that Nahash had already threatened Israelites before Saul’s coronation:

503. These examples are taken from Waltke & O’Connor, §8.4.1 (b.9); Muraoka 1985, 98–99.

504. Or as separate clauses: ‘it is Yahweh—let him do what seems good to him’; cf. LXX.

וַתֵּרֶאוּ בְּיַגְחֹשׁ מֶלֶךְ בְּנֵי־עַמּוֹן בָּא עֲלֵיכֶם וַתֹּאמְרוּ לִי לֹא בִי־מֶלֶךְ יִמְלֹךְ עָלֵינוּ  
 But when you saw that King Nahash of the Ammonites came against you, you said to me, ‘No, but a king shall reign over us.’

Indeed, 12:12 claims that Nahash’s attack against Israelites was the reason why the people insisted on having a king. Now, if the beginning of chapter 11 describes the Ammonite invasion about a month after Saul’s coronation, a natural conclusion from 12:12 is that Nahash must have launched campaigns against the Israelites before laying siege to Jabesh-Gilead. This may well be the reason behind the composition of a short account about Ammonite oppression before the siege of Jabesh-Gilead or, if such a story had existed elsewhere (as 12:12 might suggest), the inclusion of the story into the biblical narrative. In any case, the story of the first Ammonite oppression as it stands in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> seems to be a flashback episode, telling an account of what transpired a month before the siege of Jabesh-Gilead. The appointment of Saul, then, takes place between these two accounts. The hiccough in the chronology may also suggest the corruption  $\text{בְּמַחֲרֵי־שׁוֹשׁ} \rightarrow \text{בְּמַחֲרֵי־שׁוֹשׁ}$ . Although this could have simply been a graphical mistake, the interpretation of the word as indicating a month’s lapse and that this could not have been correct may have catalysed such an error.

As noted before, according to Cross and Ulrich, Josephus places the phrase ‘after a month’ before the first account. A close reading of the passage reveals that, indeed, Josephus’s chronology is bit different from but still close to that of the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. Josephus begins the episode on Nahash with  $\text{Μηνὶ δ' ὕστερον ἄρχει τῆς παρὰ πάντων αὐτῶ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσῃν πόλεμος}$ , ‘After one month, the war which Saul had with Nahash . . . obtained him respect from all the people.’ This war evidently refers to the second, not the first, invasion of Nahash. Afterwards, Josephus begins to describe Nahash’s first invasion:  $\text{οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ . . . διατίθησι}$ , ‘for this Nahash *had done* a great deal of mischief.’ Thus, Josephus actually places the phrase ‘after a month’ before the first invasion, but this does not indicate that the first invasion took place a month after Saul’s coronation, but that the second did. Still, the first invasion is understood as having happened before Saul’s coronation, though Josephus does not specify how much earlier Nahash’s first invasion took place than the second one. In sum, the time gap in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> between the two invasions is one month, and the exact time of Saul’s appointment is left unspecified, while the time gap in Josephus between Saul’s appointment and the second invasion is one month, and the exact time of first invasion is left unspecified. I do not consider it likely that there had been a manuscript that would have specified both time gaps as one month. Instead, the slightly different timing in Josephus and Qumran for Nahash’s first invasion indicates that the placement of the account perhaps had not yet been entirely stabilized by the time of either writing. It seems that there was genuine difficulty placing such a flashback episode into the story, since it should chronologically belong to the beginning of 1 Sam 10.

## 4.5. Conclusion

I have now presented and discussed the major arguments for the primary or secondary nature of the three-and-a-half lines found in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. In my point of view, the secondary nature of the pericope is more plausible. I see no reason why the first account of Nahash should have been intentionally removed from the story. The only explanation could be an unintentional shortening, a *parablepsis*, but evidence for this is too weak. The opposite development is easier to understand, since there are many reasons why the passage could have been added. Without the story of an earlier invasion by Nahash, the narrative is incomplete, leaving many questions unanswered: why is Nahash laying siege to Jabesh-Gilead? Why does he threaten to gouge out their right eyes? Why is Nahash not mentioned as the king of the Ammonites? How could Nahash wage campaigns against the Israelites before Saul became king (1 Sam 12:12)? These questions may well have compelled additions to the narrative either by inventing a new story or by adding the story from another source. In either case, the unusual sequence of perfect or infinitive together with the peculiar word order at the beginning of the episode indicates the late origin of the passage.

In chapter 2.3, I concluded that the Septuagint and the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup> are more closely related to each other than either of them to the Masoretic text. If the long plus in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> were original, it would be more difficult to explain why 4QSam<sup>a</sup> alone witnesses the primary reading against the secondary reading of the Septuagint and the Masoretic text. Since primary readings can certainly appear in distant branches of textual witnesses, it is easier to think that the secondary plus in the manuscript 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is long than that there were omissions in the more distant witnesses, the Septuagint and the Masoretic text. It should be noted that, also in some other cases, it has turned out that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> does occasionally have an expansive character.<sup>505</sup>

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505. E.g., in 1 Sam 17–18 the manuscript seems to have the secondary longer text as well (see subsection 2.3.1). In the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam 2, it clearly expands the Hebrew text; see Aejmelaeus 2010. See also sections 2.1 and 2.3.

## 5. Conclusions

In this dissertation, I have studied the variant readings of the Masoretic text, the source text of the Septuagint and Qumran manuscripts 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. In sections 2.1–2.2, I presented a brief analysis of all variant readings in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, sorting them by categories and tried to determine the primary reading where possible. These results were used, in turn, for the statistical analysis presented in section 2.3, where I calculated the distances between the different texts, employing multidimensional scaling (MDS) to illustrate the distances. Furthermore, although the 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> do not overlap, I presented a range of possible distances and calculated an estimation for the distance.

Overall, the results of my statistical analysis were in agreement with earlier studies. The analysis showed that the character of the Masoretic text is distinct in many respects. It has the largest number of unique readings, which undoubtedly contributes to the remoteness of the Masoretic text compared to the other witnesses. The remoteness of the Masoretic text become especially evident when studying its secondary readings. It seems that the Masoretic text shows only a very distant dependence on the other texts.

The other three main witness, the Septuagint, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, turned out to be statistically equal in distance. This was observed both in separate analyses of 4QSam<sup>a</sup>/4QSam<sup>b</sup> and in an extrapolated analysis of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. Furthermore, the triad, Septuagint, 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>, are clearly more related to one another than any of them is to the Masoretic text. However, they do not clearly show strong dependence on one another. This was observed best when studying the secondary readings of the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. The analysis showed that the secondary readings of the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> do not offer different distances compared to all other readings.

When studying different types of changes, some specific adjustments were made to this general view. In the category of *an interchange of a word*, the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> turned out to be closer than when all variants were studied equally. This relation suggested that they might be more closely related in terms of vocabulary. In the cases where there was a minus compared to the Masoretic text, the MT-LXX pair turned out to be less distant than when all variants were studied equally. This could suggest that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> offers many pluses not shared by the Masoretic text or the Septuagint. This expansive character of 4QSam<sup>a</sup> was observed already in other studies. In addition, in cases where the variant reading originated more likely from complex (= deliberate) change, the Masoretic text and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> turned out to be a bit closer than when all variants were studied equally. This indicates that their textual lines have more (shared) deliberate changes than does the Septuagint—or, conversely, if there is a variant reading in the Septuagint, it is more likely to be a scribal error than in the Masoretic text or 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. This conclusion is in harmony with the observation that the Septuagint has

also the largest number of primary readings. However, the amount of primary readings in the Septuagint and that in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> are not very far from each other. The conclusion, then, could be that, while the Septuagint and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> have approximately the same number of primary readings, the mechanisms behind their secondary readings could operate differently—i.e., the secondary readings in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> are more likely to be deliberate than in the Septuagint.

The position of the Lucianic text was nearer to the Septuagint than was expected (it was counted as an individual witness only where it reflected a different Hebrew text than the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek). It diverged from the Septuagint mainly toward the Masoretic text. The latter observation was expected, since it is well known that the Lucianic text contains many approximations of the Masoretic text, which are largely Hexaplaric readings—i.e., the readings of some columns of the Hexapla are picked up into the Lucianic text.

In the story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17–18), the preserved Qumran manuscript was shown to contain the pluses of the Masoretic text. As for 1QSam, the evidence is more problematic, because the identification of a few surviving letters are attributed to 1 Sam 17–18. However, the best interpretation still holds that 1QSam also contained some of the pluses. On the other hand, the Septuagint clearly reflects a shorter Hebrew story, because the large differences cannot be attributed solely to the translator. From these observations, one can safely conclude that both shorter and longer versions of the story circulated before the onset of the Common Era.

I then reviewed many arguments favouring either the longer or the shorter story as primary. After a careful analysis of these arguments, I showed that the shorter version represents the earlier phase of the story. Abridgement theories usually rely on the assumption that the original longer story was shortened to harmonize the story by removing apparent inconsistencies in the story. The evidence does not, however, support this theory. While abridgement/harmonizing theories can explain some of the different readings in the shorter story, they generate more difficulties when it comes to other readings. This is true in both the case of the covenant of David and Jonathan and that of the daughters of Saul. Moreover, harmonizing theories fail to explain how the longer story could have emerged. They take the longer story as a starting point without problematizing the possible sources or the editorial process of the longer story. These theories especially fail to explain the nature of several doublets/repetitions in the story. The natural conclusion from the evidence is that the story was expanded. In my analysis, I have pointed to a motive of glorifying the incredible victory of David while, at the same time, blackening the character of Saul. Such features indicate that the text was subject to reinterpretation, which, in turn, gave reason to re-write the story. The ancient editors may have had independent sources when rewriting the text, but evidence for this scenario is meagre. On the contrary, it seems that the editorial work probably did not happen all at once, since 4QSam<sup>a</sup> seem to contain some of the pluses but still reads ‘four’ cubits (in its description of Goliath’s height), in agreement with the Septuagint and against the Masoretic text.

These conclusions are also in agreement with the observations made in the statistical analysis beforehand. It came as no surprise that 4QSam<sup>a</sup> shared the pluses of the Masoretic text, since it has shown that tendency with pluses/expansions in general. Furthermore, the Masoretic text and 4QSam<sup>a</sup> showed, in general, a tendency to make more deliberate changes than the Septuagint. This characterization fits well in the case of 1 Sam 17–18.

As for the account of Nahash the Ammonite (1 Sam 10:27–11:1), I have argued for the priority of the shorter text as well. The evidence for an unintentional shortening was found to be too weak and intentional shortening even more implausible. However, the opposite development turned out to be sensible. The addition in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> provides essential background information for some unanswered questions that remain in the shorter story. This, again, is an excellent illustration of textual growth by editing. The secondary nature of the plus is also confirmed by the peculiarities in the language of the plus. Once again, the conclusions fit well with the statistical analysis. It would be improbable for such distant witnesses as the Masoretic text and the Septuagint to have shared such a significant secondary reading that is, at the same time, preserved in 4QSam<sup>a</sup>. On the other hand, the secondary nature of the plus in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> is in keeping with the expansive character of the manuscript.

Although I have tried to give general characterizations for different witnesses, I would like to point out that, despite general lines, each individual variant must be studied in its own right. I thus began my analysis with individual cases, proceeded to statistical analyses and finally discussed two special cases that required further attention. In this study, I have shown that the Books of Samuel, as they existed during the Late Second Temple period, exhibited great fluidity and plurality. Moreover, I have surveyed a variety of mechanics that were subject to change. Not only were there unintentional scribal errors (present in every written text) but also deliberate changes and even editorial rewriting processes. After this survey, it should be more apparent that the Masoretic text only cannot be the starting point for the Hebrew text of Samuel—or of the Hebrew Bible in general.

## Abbreviations

DCH	<i>The Dictionary of Classical Hebrew</i> . Clines 1993–2007.
DJD I	<i>Qumran Cave 1</i> . Barthélemy & Milik 1955.
DJD XVII	<i>Qumran Cave 4</i> , Vol. 12. Cross, Parry, Saley, Ulrich 2005
HALOT	<i>Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Koehler, Baumgartner & Stamm 1994–2000
LSJ	<i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . Liddell & Scott 1973
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i> . Taylor 2014; Taylor & McLean 2014.
NRSV	<i>The Holy Bible: Containing the Old and New Testament</i> . New Revised Standard Version. New York, NY: Oxford University Press 1989.

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# Appendix 1: Agreements and Dissimilarity Matrices

## Q<sup>a</sup>: All Readings

### Agreements

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	269	55	79	53
G	55	269	234	137
L	79	234	269	142
Q <sup>a</sup>	53	137	142	269

### Dissimilarities

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.80	0.71	0.80
G	0.80	0.00	0.13	0.49
L	0.71	0.13	0.00	0.47
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.80	0.49	0.47	0.00

## Q<sup>b</sup>: All Readings

### Agreements

	M	G	L	Q <sup>b</sup>
M	60	9	15	20
G	9	60	47	30
L	15	47	60	31
Q <sup>b</sup>	20	30	31	60

### Dissimilarities

	M	G	L	Q <sup>b</sup>
M	0.00	0.85	0.75	0.67
G	0.85	0.00	0.22	0.50
L	0.75	0.22	0.00	0.48
Q <sup>b</sup>	0.67	0.50	0.48	0.00

## Q<sup>a</sup>: Category 1), The Variant Reading Can Be Explained as a Simple Error:

### Agreements

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	139	34	38	20
G	34	139	132	74
L	38	132	139	72
Q <sup>a</sup>	20	74	72	139

### Dissimilarities

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.76	0.73	0.86
G	0.76	0.00	0.05	0.47
L	0.73	0.05	0.00	0.48
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.86	0.47	0.48	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category 3), The Variant Reading Cannot Be Explained as a Typical Scribal Error:**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	99	16	34	25
G	16	99	79	54
L	34	79	99	59
Q <sup>a</sup>	25	54	59	99

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.84	0.66	0.75
G	0.84	0.00	0.20	0.45
L	0.66	0.20	0.00	0.40
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.75	0.45	0.40	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category a), Short Quantitative Change**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	86	18	30	24
G	18	86	74	42
L	30	74	86	48
Q <sup>a</sup>	24	42	48	86

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.79	0.65	0.72
G	0.79	0.00	0.14	0.51
L	0.65	0.14	0.00	0.44
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.72	0.51	0.44	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category b), Long Quantitative Change**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	22	9	12	5
G	9	22	15	10
L	12	15	22	9
Q <sup>a</sup>	5	10	9	22

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.59	0.45	0.77
G	0.59	0.00	0.32	0.55
L	0.45	0.32	0.00	0.59
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.77	0.55	0.59	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category c), Change in the Morphology of a Word**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	55	13	16	8
G	13	55	52	29
L	16	52	55	28
Q <sup>a</sup>	8	29	28	55

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.76	0.71	0.85
G	0.76	0.00	0.05	0.47
L	0.71	0.05	0.00	0.49
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.85	0.47	0.49	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category d), Interchange of a Word**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	72	8	11	12
G	8	72	67	49
L	11	67	72	47
Q <sup>a</sup>	12	49	47	72

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.89	0.85	0.83
G	0.89	0.00	0.07	0.32
L	0.85	0.07	0.00	0.35
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.83	0.32	0.35	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category e), Interchange of several words**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	11	2	3	2
G	2	11	10	6
L	3	10	11	7
Q <sup>a</sup>	2	6	7	11

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.82	0.73	0.82
G	0.82	0.00	0.09	0.45
L	0.73	0.09	0.00	0.36
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.82	0.45	0.36	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Category f), More Complicated Change or a Combination of the above categories**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	23	5	7	2
G	5	23	16	1
L	7	16	23	3
Q <sup>a</sup>	2	1	3	23

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.78	0.70	0.91
G	0.78	0.00	0.30	0.96
L	0.70	0.30	0.00	0.87
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.91	0.96	0.87	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Short minus compared to M**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	33	9	16	7
G	9	33	26	17
L	16	26	33	18
Q <sup>a</sup>	7	17	18	33

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.73	0.52	0.79
G	0.73	0.00	0.21	0.48
L	0.52	0.21	0.00	0.45
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.79	0.48	0.45	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: M Has a Primary Reading**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	78	36	39	21
G	36	78	71	21
L	39	71	78	21
Q <sup>a</sup>	21	21	21	78

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.54	0.50	0.73
G	0.54	0.00	0.09	0.73
L	0.50	0.09	0.00	0.73
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.73	0.73	0.73	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: G Has a Primary Reading**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	153	36	50	20
G	36	153	134	93
L	50	134	153	96
Q <sup>a</sup>	20	93	96	153

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.76	0.67	0.87
G	0.76	0.00	0.12	0.39
L	0.67	0.12	0.00	0.37
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.87	0.39	0.37	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Q<sup>a</sup> Has a Primary Reading**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	130	11	17	21
G	11	130	118	93
L	17	118	130	90
Q <sup>a</sup>	21	93	90	130

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.92	0.87	0.84
G	0.92	0.00	0.09	0.28
L	0.87	0.09	0.00	0.31
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.84	0.28	0.31	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: M Has a Secondary Reading**

*Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	136	10	25	19
G	10	136	106	90
L	25	106	136	95
Q <sup>a</sup>	19	90	95	136

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.93	0.82	0.86
G	0.93	0.00	0.22	0.34
L	0.82	0.22	0.00	0.30
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.86	0.34	0.30	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: G Has a Secondary Reading***Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	61	10	14	19
G	10	61	54	22
L	14	54	61	23
Q <sup>a</sup>	19	22	23	61

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.84	0.77	0.69
G	0.84	0.00	0.11	0.64
L	0.77	0.11	0.00	0.62
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.69	0.64	0.62	0.00

**Q<sup>a</sup>: Q<sup>a</sup> Has a Secondary Reading***Agreements*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	84	35	45	19
G	35	84	65	22
L	45	65	84	30
Q <sup>a</sup>	19	22	30	84

*Dissimilarities*

	M	G	L	Q <sup>a</sup>
M	0.00	0.58	0.46	0.77
G	0.58	0.00	0.23	0.74
L	0.46	0.23	0.00	0.64
Q <sup>a</sup>	0.77	0.74	0.64	0.00

## Appendix 2: The Story of David and Goliath

1 Sam 17–18

MT only

LXX only

A Qualitative Difference: MT/LXX

<sup>17:1</sup>Now the Philistines gathered their armies for battle; they were gathered at Socoh, which belongs to Judah, and encamped between Socoh and Azekah, in Ephes-dammim. <sup>2</sup>Saul and the Israelites gathered and encamped in the valley of Elah, and formed ranks against the Philistines. <sup>3</sup>The Philistines stood on the mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on the mountain on the other side, with a valley between them. <sup>4</sup>And there came out from the camp of the Philistines a champion / a mighty man named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was six cubits and a span. <sup>5</sup>He had a helmet of bronze on his head, and he was armed with a coat of mail; the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of bronze **and iron**. <sup>6</sup>He had greaves of bronze on his legs and a javelin/shield of bronze slung between his shoulders. <sup>7</sup>The shaft of his spear was like a weaver's beam, and his spear's head weighed six hundred shekels of iron; and his shield-bearer went before him. <sup>8</sup>He stood and shouted to the ranks of Israel, 'Why have you come out to draw up for battle **opposite us**? Am I not a Philistine, and are you not servants/Hebrews of Saul? Choose a man for yourselves, and let him come down to me. <sup>9</sup>If he is able to fight with me and kill me, then we will be your servants; but if I prevail against him and kill him, then you shall be our servants and serve us.' <sup>10</sup>And the Philistine said, 'Today I defy the ranks of Israel! Give me a man, that we may fight together.' <sup>11</sup>When Saul and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they were dismayed and greatly afraid.

<sup>12</sup>Now David was the son of an Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah, named Jesse, who had eight sons. In the days of Saul the man was already old and advanced in years. <sup>13</sup>The three eldest sons of Jesse had followed Saul to the battle; the names of his three sons who went to the battle were Eliab the firstborn, and next to him Abinadab, and the third Shammah. <sup>14</sup>David was the youngest; the three eldest followed Saul, <sup>15</sup>but David went back and forth from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem. <sup>16</sup>For forty days the Philistine came forward and took his stand, morning and evening.

<sup>17</sup>Jesse said to his son David, 'Take for your brothers an ephah of this parched grain and these ten loaves, and carry them quickly to the camp to your brothers; <sup>18</sup>also take these ten cheeses to the commander of their thousand. See how your brothers fare, and bring some token from them.'

<sup>19</sup>Now Saul, and they, and all the men of Israel, were in the valley of Elah, fighting with the Philistines. <sup>20</sup>David rose early in the morning, left the sheep with a keeper, took the provisions, and went as Jesse had commanded him. He came to the encampment as the army was going forth to the battle line, shouting the war cry. <sup>21</sup>Israel and the Philistines drew up for battle, army against army. <sup>22</sup>David left the things in charge of the keeper of the baggage, ran to the ranks, and went and greeted his brothers. <sup>23</sup>As he talked with them, the champion, the Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, came up out of the ranks of the Philistines, and spoke the same words as before. And David heard him.

<sup>24</sup>All the Israelites, when they saw the man, fled from him and were very much afraid. <sup>25</sup>The Israelites said, 'Have you seen this man who has come up? Surely he has come up to defy Israel. The king will greatly enrich the man who kills him, and will give him his daughter and make his family free in Israel.' <sup>26</sup>David said to the men who stood by him, 'What shall be done for the man who kills this Philistine, and takes away the reproach from Israel? For who is this uncircumcised Philistine that he should defy the armies of the living God?' <sup>27</sup>The people answered him in the same way, 'So shall it be done for the man who kills him.'

<sup>28</sup>His eldest brother Eliab heard him talking to the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David. He said, 'Why have you come down? With whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your presumption and the evil of your heart; for you have come down just to see

the battle.’ 29 David said, ‘What have I done now? It was only a question.’ 30 He turned away from him toward another and spoke in the same way; and the people answered him again as before. 31 When the words that David spoke were heard, they repeated them before Saul; and he sent for him.

32 David said to Saul, ‘Let **no one’s heart / the heart of my lord** fail because of him; your servant will go and fight with **this** Philistine.’ 33 Saul said to David, ‘You are not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him; for you are just a boy, and he has been a warrior from his youth.’ 34 But David said to Saul, ‘Your servant used to keep sheep for his father; and whenever a lion or a bear came, and took a lamb from the flock, <sup>35</sup>I went after it and struck it down, rescuing the lamb from its mouth; and if it turned against me, I would catch it by its **jaw/throat**, strike it down, and kill it. <sup>36</sup>Your servant has killed both **lion and bear / bear and lion**; and **this** uncircumcised Philistine shall be like one of them. **Shall I not go and smite him and take away today a reproach from Israel? Since he / For who is this uncircumcised one who has defied the armies of the living God.**’ <sup>37</sup>David said, ‘The LORD, who saved me from the paw of the lion and from the paw of the bear, will save me from the hand of this **uncircumcised** Philistine.’ So Saul said to David, ‘Go, and may the LORD be with you!’

<sup>38</sup>Saul clothed David with his armor; **he put** a bronze helmet on his head and **clothed him with a coat of mail**. <sup>39</sup>David strapped Saul’s sword over the armor, and he tried in vain to walk, **for he was not used to them / once and twice**. Then David said to Saul, ‘I cannot walk with these; for I am not used to them.’ **So David removed them / And they removed them from him**. <sup>40</sup>Then he took his staff in his hand, and chose five smooth stones from the wadi, and put them in his shepherd’s bag, which he had with him **as a pouch / for collecting**; his sling was in his hand, and he drew near to the Philistine **man**.

<sup>41</sup>The Philistine came on and drew near to David, with his shield-bearer in front of him. <sup>42</sup>When **the Philistine** looked and / Goliath saw David, he disdained him, for he was only a youth, **he was** ruddy and handsome **in appearance / of eyes**. <sup>43</sup>The Philistine said to David, ‘Am I **like** a dog, that you come to me with **sticks/stick and stones?**’ **And David said, ‘No, but worse than a dog.’** And the Philistine cursed David by his gods. <sup>44</sup>The Philistine said to David, ‘Come to me, and I will give your flesh to the birds of the air and to the wild animals of the field.’ <sup>45</sup>But David said to the Philistine, ‘You come to me with sword and spear and javelin; but I come to you in the name of the LORD of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom you have defied **today**. 46 **Today** the LORD will deliver you into my hand **today**, and I will strike you down and cut off your head; and I will give **your dead body and** the dead bodies of the Philistine army this very day to the birds of the air and to the wild animals of the earth, so that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel, <sup>47</sup>and that all this assembly may know that the LORD does not save by sword and spear; for the battle is the LORD’S and **the LORD** will give you into our hand.’

<sup>48</sup>And it happened, when the Philistine came **nearer** to meet David, **David ran quickly toward the battle line to meet the Philistine**. <sup>49</sup>David put his hand in his bag, took out **one** stone, slung it, and struck the Philistine on his forehead; the stone sank **through the helmet** into his forehead, and he fell face down on the ground.

<sup>50</sup>So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and a stone, striking down the Philistine and **killing him; there was no sword in David’s hand**.

<sup>51</sup>Then David ran and stood over the Philistine; he grasped his sword, **drew it out of its sheath**, and killed him; then he cut off his head **with it**. When the Philistines saw that their champion was dead, they fled. <sup>52</sup>The troops of Israel and Judah rose up with a shout and pursued the Philistines as far as Gath and the gates of Ekron, so that the wounded Philistines fell on the way from Shaaraim as far as Gath and Ekron. <sup>53</sup>The Israelites came back from chasing the Philistines, and they plundered their camp. <sup>54</sup>David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armor in his tent.

<sup>55</sup>When Saul saw David go out against the Philistine, he said to Abner, the commander of the army, ‘Abner, whose son is this young man?’ Abner said, ‘As your soul lives, O king, I do not know.’ <sup>56</sup>The king said, ‘Inquire whose son the stripling is.’ <sup>57</sup>On David’s return from killing the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand. <sup>58</sup>Saul said to him, ‘Whose son are you, young man?’ And David answered, ‘I am the son of your servant Jesse the Bethlehemite.’

<sup>18:1</sup>When David had finished speaking to Saul, the soul of Jonathan was bound to the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul. <sup>2</sup>Saul took him that day and would not let him return to his father's house. <sup>3</sup>Then Jonathan made a covenant with David, because he loved him as his own soul. <sup>4</sup>Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that he was wearing, and gave it to David, and his armor, and even his sword and his bow and his belt. <sup>5</sup>David went out and was successful wherever Saul sent him; as a result, Saul set him over the army. And all the people, even the servants of Saul, approved.

<sup>6</sup>As they were coming home, when David returned from killing the Philistine, the women / the dancers came out to meet David of all the towns of Israel, singing and dancing, to meet King Saul, with tambourines, with songs of joy, and with musical instruments. <sup>7</sup>And the women sang/began as they made merry and said, 'Saul has killed his thousands, and David his ten thousands.' <sup>8</sup>Saul was very angry, for this saying displeased him/Saul. He said, 'They have ascribed to David ten thousands, and to me they have ascribed thousands; what more can he have but the kingdom?' <sup>9</sup>So Saul eyed David from that day on.

<sup>10</sup>The next day an evil spirit from God rushed upon Saul, and he raved within his house, while David was playing the lyre, as he did day by day. Saul had his spear in his hand; 11 and Saul threw the spear, for he thought, 'I will pin David to the wall.' But David eluded him twice.

<sup>12</sup>Saul was afraid of David, because the LORD was with him but had departed from Saul. <sup>13</sup>So Saul removed him from his presence, and made him a commander of a thousand; and David marched out and came in, leading the army. <sup>14</sup>David had success in all his undertakings; for the LORD was with him. <sup>15</sup>When Saul saw that he had great success, he stood in awe of him. <sup>16</sup>But all Israel and Judah loved David; for it was he who marched out and came in leading them / the people.

<sup>17</sup>Then Saul said to David, 'Here is my elder daughter Merab; I will give her to you as a wife; only be valiant for me and fight the LORD'S battles.' For Saul thought, 'I will not raise a hand against him; let the Philistines deal with him.' <sup>18</sup>David said to Saul, 'Who am I and who are my kinsfolk, my father's family in Israel, that I should be son-in-law to the king?' <sup>19</sup>But at the time when Saul's daughter Merab should have been given to David, she was given to Adriel the Meholathite as a wife.

<sup>20</sup>Now Saul's daughter Michal loved David. Saul was told, and the thing pleased him. <sup>21</sup>Saul thought, 'Let me give her to him that she may be a snare for him and that the hand of the Philistines may be against him / Saul.' <sup>22</sup>Therefore Saul said to David a second time, 'You shall now be my son-in-law.' <sup>23</sup>Saul commanded his servants, 'Speak to David in private and say, "See, the king is delighted with you, and all his servants love you; now then, become the king's son-in-law."' <sup>24</sup>So Saul's servants reported these words to David in private. And David said, 'Does it seem to you a little thing to become the king's son-in-law, seeing that I am a poor man and of no repute?' <sup>25</sup>The servants of Saul told him, 'This is what David said.' <sup>26</sup>Then Saul said, 'Thus shall you say to David, "The king desires no marriage present except a hundred foreskins of the Philistines, that he may be avenged on the king's enemies."' Now Saul planned to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines. <sup>27</sup>When his servants told David these words, David was well pleased to be the king's son-in-law. <sup>28</sup>Before the time had expired, David rose and went, along with his men, and killed two/one hundred of the Philistines; and David brought their foreskins, which were given in full number to the king, that he might become the king's son-in-law. Saul gave him his daughter Michal as a wife. <sup>29</sup>But when Saul realized that the LORD was with David, and that Saul's daughter Michal / whole Israel loved him, <sup>30</sup>Saul was still more afraid of David. So Saul was David's enemy from that time forward.

<sup>31</sup>Then the commanders of the Philistines came out to battle; and as often as they came out, David had more success than all the servants of Saul, so that his fame became very great.

# Abstract

This dissertation is a text-critical study of the Hebrew text of 1 Sam 1 – 2 Sam 9 in the Hebrew Bible. The entire Hebrew text of Samuel is known today only in its Masoretic text form, which is itself the result of a standardization process that began around the onset of the Common Era. Before this standardization process, the Hebrew text was evidently fluid, and several different textual editions of the Book of Samuel would have existed. This is evidenced by the manuscripts of Samuel found at Qumran (2nd – 1st c. BCE) and the Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, the Septuagint (translated 2nd c. BCE).

The purpose of this dissertation is to study how these three main witnesses—the Masoretic text, the Qumran manuscripts and the Hebrew source text of the Septuagint—differ from and are related to one another. Such a study entails an investigation of what kinds of changes took place in each textual tradition and what were the possible motivations behind the changes. These results are used to evaluate the reliability of each text when attempting to reconstruct the most original text.

The method of this study is that of textual criticism. The main task of the text critic is to make sense of what happened in the textual history of a given work with the help of existing textual witnesses: what kinds of developments are most probable? Which reading is primary and which are secondary? With the Septuagint as a textual witness, there are certain challenges. To use the Septuagint for comparison with the Masoretic text, one has to find out first the original wording of the Septuagint itself and its translation technique. Only then can one produce a reverse translation from Greek to Hebrew and compare this so-called retroversion to the Masoretic text.

In this dissertation, I have studied the variant readings of the Masoretic text, the source text of the Septuagint and Qumran manuscripts 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup>. An analysis of all variant readings in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> and 4QSam<sup>b</sup> is presented and the primary reading is determined where possible. These results were used, for the statistical analysis, where the distances between the different texts are calculated, employing multidimensional scaling (MDS) to illustrate the distances.

In addition to the variant readings, the two major text critical problem in 1 Sam are discussed—namely, the story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam 17–18 and the large plus of Nahash the Ammonite in 4QSam<sup>a</sup> in 1 Sam 10:27–11:1. In this study, I have shown that the Books of Samuel, as they existed during the Late Second Temple period, exhibited great fluidity and plurality. Moreover, I have surveyed a variety of mechanics that were subject to change. Not only were there unintentional scribal errors but also deliberate changes and even editorial rewriting processes.

## Tiivistelmä (Abstract in Finnish)

Tässä väitöskirjatutkimuksessa tarkastellaan Samuelin kirjojen lukujen 1 Sam 1 – 2 Sam 9 heprealaisen tekstin kehitystä ja muutoksia ajanlaskun taitteen tienoilla. Kokonaisuudessaan 1. Samuelin kirjan heprealainen teksti tunnetaan nykyään ainoastaan masoreettisen tekstin muodossa, joka kuitenkin on syntynyt tietoisien harmonisointityön tuloksena. Ennen masoreettisen tekstin muotoutumista Samuelin kirjasta on esiintynyt erilaisia tekstitraditioita. Tästä todistavat Qumranista löytyneet käsikirjoitukset (ajoitettu 2.–1. vs. eKr.) sekä kreikankielinen Septuaginta-käännös (2. vs. eKr.). Tässä tutkimuksessa näitä kolmea eri tekstilähdettä – Masoreettista tekstiä, Septuagintan pohjatekstiä sekä Qumranin käsikirjoituksia – on verrattu toisiinsa. Työssä on tutkittu millaisia muutoksia tekstitraditioissa on tapahtunut ja punnittu lukutapojen alkuperäisyyttä.

Tutkimuksen metodina on käytetty tekstikriittistä metodologiaa. Se tarkoittaa, että olemassa olevien tekstilähteiden avulla on päätelty, miten eri tekstit suhtautuvat toisiinsa: mitä tekstihistoriassa on tapahtunut, millainen kehitys on todennäköisin ja mikä on alkuperäinen lukutapa. Lisäksi Septuagintan käyttö heprealaisen tekstin tekstikritiikissä on tuonut omat erityishaasteensa. Jotta Septuagintaa on voitu käyttää vertailukohtana masoreettiselle tekstille, on kreikkalaisesta tekstistä ensin jouduttu tekemään käännös takaisin hepreaan kuvaamaan oletettua Septuagintan pohjatekstiä. Tässä prosessissa on tarvittu tietoa sekä Septuagintan käännöstekniikasta sekä sen käsikirjoituksista. Tutkimuksessa on myös tarkasteltu tekstikriittisiä varianteja tilastollisesti käyttäen apuna multidimensionaalista skaalausta (MDS). Tämän menetelmän avulla tekstien läheisyyttä/kaukaisuutta on voitu verrata toisiinsa visuaalisesti.

Yksittäisten lukutapaerojen lisäksi tutkimuksessa on keskitytty kahteen laajempaan erityistapaukseen. Niistä ensimmäinen on kertomus Daavidista ja Goljatista (luvut 17–18), jossa Septuagintan edustama teksti on yli kolmanneksen pidempi kuin masoreettinen teksti. Toinen tapaus on Qumranin käsikirjoituksessa 4QSam<sup>a</sup> jakeiden 10:27–11:1 välillä esiintyvät neljä riviä, jotka käsittelevät Ammonin kuninkaan Nahasin sotatoimia Israelia vastaan. Vastinetta näille ei löydy mistään muusta heprealaisesta tekstilähteestä eikä yhdestäkään Septuagintan käsikirjoituksesta.

Tutkimuksessa on osoitettu, miten Samuelin kirjojen heprealaisessa tekstissä on tapahtunut merkittäviäkin muutoksia vielä ajanlaskun taitteen tienoilla. Tekstissä ei havaittavissa ole ainoastaan kirjureiden tekemiä kirjoitusvirheitä, vaan tekstiä on myös pyritty tietoisesti muokkaamaan. Molemmissa laajemmissa erityistapauksessa (Daavid ja Goljat / Nahas) alkuperäistä tekstiä edustaa lyhyempi tekstimuoto, jota on myöhemmin haluttu laajentaa.