

Textual Criticism and
Dead Sea Scrolls Studies
in Honour of
Julio Trebolle Barrera

Florilegium Complutense

Edited by

ANDRÉS PIQUER OTERO &

PABLO A. TORIJANO MORALES

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Textual Criticism and Dead Sea Scrolls Studies in
Honour of Julio Trebolle Barrera

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PREFACE

It is not an easy task to start typing a preface for this collection of articles to honor Prof. Julio C. Treballe Barrera. It is no light enterprise to render in a handful of pages the impact he has had in our lives as teacher, mentor, and friend throughout the years. Knowing of that hardship, we have actually asked one of Julio's long-time colleagues and friends, Prof. Florentino García Martínez, to write some lines further ahead in this volume to offer a more complete, time-spanning, and rounded-up vision of Julio the scholar, but also of Julio the friend and Julio the intellectual. That last word should be underscored, as it is perhaps the most accurate term to define him without having to produce a long-winded narrative. Being an intellectual in this world of ours transcends the mere trade of the academic, understood as the specialization of excellence in a single field or discipline, which runs parallel with our contemporary models of scientific production: a society of scholars who exhibit mastership in their respective areas, which grow narrower and narrower as the accumulated bulk of human knowledge accumulates exponentially. Against this typical scenario in the academia of today, Julio Treballe has managed not only to acquire such a mastership in Biblical Studies, finding a place among the international community of specialists in the history of the biblical text, but also to meld the worldview of the specialized researcher and professor with the paradigm of the intellectual, whose model stays closer to the classical ideal of the humanist. Julio's closeness to the spirit of the Renaissance Man, or the 18th-19th century polymath is reflected in his amazing talent for interdisciplinary approaches, which one notices first in his research on the Bible: Together with ultra-specialized articles on demanding topics, like textual criticism of the Septuagint and its secondary versions or editing of Qumran fragments, a large number of his contributions to the discipline combine methodologies and areas of research which have traditionally stayed apart, such as textual criticism and biblical historiography; explanations of problems of Hebrew grammar connected to problems in the transmission of the text; or, saliently, his defense of the joint application of textual, literary, and redaction criticism not only as an

ideal but also as a necessity when trying to shed some light on the history of the Hebrew Bible and its versions.

In our days, that alone would set Julio apart from the average academic. But his interdisciplinary approach transcends the usual trades of the biblical scholar, as he is incredibly well versed in a series of topics which progressively grow, from a traditional point of view, quite 'alien' to the traditional expert in the history of the biblical text. We are thinking of related disciplines, such as iconography or theology, Near Eastern and Classical literature; but also of Western literature, from the Middle Ages to contemporary poets, narrators, and playwrights; of philosophy and political studies well into the post-industrial and postmodern writers; of art and music in their widest expression. And, most remarkably, he manages to make sense of it all in his writings and in his classes. Julio has been teaching both *Bible and Ancient Near East* and *Bible and Western Literature* for over a decade at Universidad Complutense and it is still quite amazing to witness how he manages to produce effortless connections between Mary Shelley and Genesis, Gilgamesh and Job. The freshness of attending his classes as students does not diminish when sitting at one of his lectures as teachers ourselves and, all in all, maybe this snapshot is the best definition of Julio's activity: he understands texts (biblical and otherwise) in the realm of human history within a sphere which includes but does not limit itself to variants, versions, and redactions. Rather, it is a large chain of relationships and mirrors which move from the dawn of the written word to the last book we may find at a bookstore. This, in turn, leads to the second salient feature in Julio's career and, probably, also in his persona: a comparative spirit. For many of us, our first contact with Julio came in the form of columns of text, some precise clockwork of synoptic Masoretic text, a couple Septuagint types, Old Latin, and perhaps some Qumran fragments; that could be in a paper (starting with his dissertation) or in a class on Bible and Qumran; for others, their first contact came when Julio Trebolle was taking a key role in the founding and growth of the Instituto Universitario de Ciencias de las Religiones at Universidad Complutense de Madrid, which he directed for a good number of years. In this sense, he was a pioneer in the fledging discipline of religious studies in Spain. Both as an academic in the field and in his period as administrator he did exhibit these comparative qualities in the widest sense of the word:

comparative studies of religion and also the creation of a medium, and ultimately of a graduate program, which introduced an array of methodologies and cultures under the common umbrella of religious studies and let scholars from different universities and fields of expertise collaborate in a so-far unknown model in our country. Julio has directed and still directs quite a few dissertations in religious studies and also here we may feel the width of his interests, tutoring capacity, and penchant for the scholarly and humanistic connection between topics and ideas. The same can be said of his translation-commentator activity in the last decade or so. The volumes on Psalms and Job he has produced with Susana Pottecher are to be praised both for the definition of a new genre of commentary, which spans the gap between divulgation and scholarly work, from specialized text and multidisciplinary essay; and for the amazing capacity for translation and the literary and musical awareness in the Spanish rendering of Hebrew poetry.

The brief sketch we have presented above cannot be complete without saving for last, as perhaps the main feature in the definition of intellectual, that Julio Trebolle is a great person, because all those aspects of the humanist lead to and come from the humane, without any kind of divorce. He is the teacher and researcher, but also the mentor and friend, and no matter how rich and loaded his agenda may become, he always has room for a short chat or trying to give some answers (or pose acute questions) to colleagues, disciples and friends. Therefore we present this volume to Julio Trebolle Barrera under the spell of gratitude of former students, but also of the non-measurable bond of friendship

Andrés Piquer Otero
Pablo Torijano Morales

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This volume has been made possible thanks to the collaboration of many people who have assisted us in our editorial endeavor. Editing a book with contributions in English, French, and German is no easy task, but it has been enormously facilitated by colleagues and friends who have proofread papers in their original languages, especially Tamara Browne for English texts and our fellow contributor Phillippe Hugo for the articles in French. Also, dealing with a book which includes texts in so many scripts is arduous work which nowadays requires expertise or at least a knack for computers. In this our colleague, Juan José Alarcón Sainz has been instrumental in several occasions. Other practical issues, like printing, photocopying, and even hiding work in process from Julio Trebolle have been enormously facilitated by other colleagues and friends at the Departamento de Estudios Hebreos y Arameos at Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Of course, thanks are due to the editing staff at E.J. Brill for dealing skillfully and gently with our many issues in the draft.

We save for last our very special gratitude for Florentino García Martínez, who has given all levels of aid and much wisdom in every phase of this enterprise, from collection of papers to the production of the book, besides his incredible support and encouragement as a friend and companion in sharing of Julio Trebolle's presence in the world.

RECOLLECTIONS: A SCHOLARLY PROFILE OF JULIO C. TREBOLLE BARRERA

Florentino García Martínez

The scholarly profile of Professor Julio C. Trebolle Barrera should be evident to everyone who takes a cursory look at his bibliography printed in this volume. When the editors of the volume asked me to write such a profile, on the basis of my acquaintance with Julio that goes back almost fifty years, I understood that they wanted something different from what everybody can read there, and they expected that I would be able to add something which is not easy to find there, particularly for the colleagues who are not familiar with the Spanish situation or the Spanish University. For this reason I have called this scholarly profile “recollections” because it is based in memories as much as in facts.

My first recollection of Julio is not that of a Biblical Scholar, but that of a musician (and music has been a constant in Julio’s life). It was back in the sixties at the Pontifical University of Comillas in Santander. We were not in the same class. I arrived to Comillas for the study of Theology, and, although a few months older than Julio, I was in a lower class, because Julio had already been in Comillas for years, studying Humanities and Philosophy. He was the organist of the Schola Cantorum of the University, working under the direction of the famous Father Prieto, and touring in Europe accompanying the singers at the piano. Thus the first element of Julio’s personality, for me, with which I did get acquainted, was his love of music, although only once, in a performance of the *Carmina Burana*, adapted to the possibilities available at the University, we did play together.

But in order to understand Julio and his academic life we need to go further back in time, to his origins and family in Galicia, where he was born the 24.04.1943. It is not by accident that Julio has dedicated

his first book to his father and mother (José y Marina),¹ and his second one to his brother (José Luis) and his sisters (María Luisa, Marina and Margarita).² I suspect that it was in this familiar context that Julio acquired his love for literature, a second constant in my recollections of Julio's life. In fact, I learned about his love of literature only when he told me of the poetry contests organized for many years by the printing house of his father, and was able to read some of the booklets that received prizes and were then printed. If the love of music has remained within the private sphere of Julio's life, his love of literature has become more and more public with the years, perhaps under the influence of Susana Pottecher. The fact is that both in his latest teaching, like the very successful course at the Universidad Complutense on "The Bible and its reception in the literature of Occident," and in his latest writings, his love for literature is clearly evident. Already in the companion volume³ to his translation of the Psalms with Susana Pottecher,⁴ a whole chapter is dedicated to a comparison of the biblical Psalter with Canaanite and Mesopotamian literature, with Egyptian prayers, prayers in the Graeco-Roman world, and imitations of biblical poetry in late Jewish or early Christian literature, and, most remarkably, it traces the echoes of the biblical Psalms in classical Spanish literature (Jorge de Montemayor or Fray Luis de León), within modern literature of South America (Jorge de Lima, Murillo Mendes, or Ernest Cardenal), and on a whole array of writers, from William Blake, Paul Verlaine or Rainer Maria Rilke, to Herman Melville, Gerard M. Hopkins, Patrice de la Tour or Paul Celan. Furthermore, his latest published book,⁵ dedicated to Susana, opens with a quote from George Steiner and

¹ His dissertation in Semitic Philology, directed by A. Díez Macho, defended at the Universidad Complutense de Madrid in 1980 and published under the title *Salomón y Jeroboán. Historia de la recensión y redacción de 1 Reyes 2-12; 14* (Institución San Jerónimo 10; Valencia, 1980).

² His second dissertation in Theology, directed by M. García Cordero and defended at Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca in 1984 and published under the title: *Jehú y Joás. Texto y composición literaria de 2 Reyes 9-11* (Institución San Jerónimo 17; Valencia 1984).

³ Julio Treballe Barrera, *El Libro de los Salmos: Religión, poder y saber* (Estructuras y Procesos, Serie Religión; Madrid: Trotta, 2001).

⁴ *Libro de los Salmos, Himnos y Lamentaciones*, Traducción de Julio Treballe Barrera, versión poética de Susana Pottecher (Estructuras y Procesos, Serie Religión; Madrid: Trotta, 2001).

⁵ Julio Treballe Barrera, *Imagen y palabra de un Silencio: La Biblia en su mundo* (La dicha de enmudecer; Madrid: Trotta, 2008).

another from Dante. The first chapter of this book *Imagen y Palabra* (pp. 17-111), reads as much as work of a poet as work of a biblical scholar.

Music and literature are important in Julio's life, but they do not explain the brilliant biblical scholar Julio has become. Much more is need: a strong philosophical formation, hermeneutic feeling and solid philology in Hebrew, Greek and Latin. The main steps of the academic formation of Julio Trebolle Barrera can be summarized as follows: graduation in Philosophy and in Theology at the Universidad de Comillas in 1962 and 1966, graduation in Biblical Studies at the Pontifical Biblical Institute of Rome in 1971, graduation in Philosophy at the Universidad Complutense in 1974, graduation in Semitic Philology at the Universidad de Barcelona in 1976, a Ph.D. in Semitic Philology at the Universidad Complutense in 1980, and a second Ph.D. in Biblical Theology at the Universidad Pontificia de Salamanca in 1983. This array of degrees is only understandable in the Spanish situation of the epoch, where the State Universities and the Church Institutions were two completely separated and independent worlds, and in order to be able to make an academic career in either of them you needed to have the right degrees. To this listing one should add the international dimension of his academic formation. Roma was certainly important, but even more important was Jerusalem. He arrived there on 1971 and remained until 1974, working at the Ecole Biblique et Archéologique Française, of which he is an "élève diplômé." From 1975 until 1977 he was alternating semesters in Jerusalem and Münster, working with E. Zenger in the "Seminar für biblische Zeitgeschichte." From 1978 until the present he has been returning to Jerusalem almost every year. First, for whole semesters between 1978 and 1983, as Director of the Spanish Biblical and Archaeological Institute (*Casa de Santiago*), and, later, for shorter periods, working at the Rockefeller Museum on the edition of the biblical scrolls from Cave 4 for which he took responsibility, or at the library of the Ecole Biblique.

It was in Jerusalem, in the seventies, when we were living together at the Spanish *Casa de Santiago*, that we become close friends. It was in this particular context that our friendship was born, and the memories of these years color without any doubt all my recollections. I recall with pride the piano concerts we attended together in the Jewish sector of Jerusalem, or the concert of Spanish music he gave

in the Arabic section of the city (where I was introducing to the public the works he was playing), or our weekly swimming at the YMCA, or the animated conversations on all sort of biblical or political topics, or our desperate search for an Arab dentist on the streets of Old Jerusalem. And particularly, I recall the days when he was working feverishly, day and night without interruption, because, as in a sudden illumination, he found the key to the dissertation he was preparing and wanted to put everything on paper before forgetting the details. He was working there with the lamented Father F. Langlamet on what later turned into his first Doctoral dissertation on the textual types in the books of Kings, and in these days he discovered the central intuition which would govern much of his scholarly production later on, forcing him to broke open the boundaries between textual and literary criticism (as, for example, in his article “Redaction, Recension, and Midrash in the Books of Kings” of 1982, reprinted on 1999), and to deal with equal regard with all forms of the biblical text (as, for example, in his article “From the Old Latin Through the Old Greek to the Old Hebrew” of 1984). His stay in Jerusalem was also fundamental for the development of his interest in the Biblical Qumran texts, of which Julio later would become one of the editors. It is revealing that in the prologue to his first dissertation he thanks F.M. Cross for his support, whereas on the second he thanks J. Strugnell.

Julio has developed all his academic career at the Department of Hebrew and Aramaic Studies of the Faculty of Philology of the Universidad Complutense de Madrid to which he was incorporated in 1981, and where on 2004 reached the position of “Catedrático de Universidad,” the Spanish equivalent of a full Professor. He was “Visiting Professor” in Cambrige (at the Faculties of Oriental Studies and of Divinity) for three months in 1997, and Senior Fellow (at the Faculty of Theology of the KULeuven) also for three months in 2002.

Although Julio’s first published article (in 1974) deals with philosophical hermeneutics (Dilthey, Heidegger, Gadamer), a field which he would continue exploring later in his career,⁶ he is best known for his work on the Septuagint, on the Old Latin version, on

⁶ Manuel Maceiras Fafián and Julio C. Treballe Barrera, *La hermenéutica contemporánea* (Serie Historia de la Filosofía 51, Madrid: Editorial Doncel, 1990, 2nd ed. 1993) for example.

the Hebrew biblical texts from Qumran, and on the historical books of the Bible in general, as a cursory look at his bibliography clearly shows. All these works make Julio a many sided and very well known Biblical scholar with a strong international profile, accentuated by his membership of the Board of the Periodical *Vetus Testamentum* and its Supplement Series. Julio as scholar is best known as a practitioner of the discipline of textual criticism and for this reason he has been entrusted with the critical edition of the books of Kings both in Greek (by the Septuaginta-Unternehmen of Göttingen) and in Hebrew (as a member of the Editorial Board of the Oxford Hebrew Bible Project).

Less known outside of Spain is the work he has done to introduce in the University the academic study of Religion in all its manifestations, a field that as an expert in Judaism,⁷ he has developed in Spain almost single handedly. In Spain, even to this day, there are no Faculties of Theology in the State Universities, and though at the Universidad de Madrid (which late will become the Universidad Complutense) a chair of History of Religions was created in 1954, after the unexpected death of its first titular in 1956 nobody was appointed to the position.⁸ The study of the Bible as such is thus relegated to the Pontifical Universities, private Universities, or other Church institutions, which implies a confessional approach to the subject matter. It is true that within the State Universities or other institutions supported by the State, like de Council for Scientific Research, certain specialties like the Aramaic or the Greek versions of the Old Testament did find a home and could be developed (like the Targumic studies developed at the Universities of Barcelona and Madrid by A. Díez Macho, or the Septuagint or Masoretic studies developed at the CSIC), but there was no place at the University where the Old Testament or the Religion of Israel could be academically studied in the context of the Oriental literatures and Religions.

I recall the passionate discussions and all the administrative and political obstacles he was forced to deal with in order to create the

⁷ As shown by his books: *El Judaísmo moderno* (Madrid: Ediciones SM, 1997), *El Judaísmo* (Madrid: Ediciones del Orto, 2002), *Los Judíos hoy* (Córdoba: El Almendro, 2005), *Understanding Jews Today* (Córdoba: El Almendro, 2005).

⁸ See F. Díez de Velasco, "La historia de las religiones en España: Avatares de una disciplina," *'Ilu* 0 (1995): 51-61 and "Angel Alvarez de Moranda y la cátedra de historia de las Religiones de la Universidad de Madrdr: un proyecto truncado," *Bandue* 1 (2007):83-133.

“Instituto Universitario de Ciencias de las Religiones” at the Universidad Complutense (which he directed from 1991 until 2000, and whose doctoral program he coordinated from 1998 until 2003). At this Institute, the first of its kind in any Spanish University, he brought together scholars of the Hebrew and Aramaic, Arabic, and Greek Departments of the Faculty of Philology, but also from other Departments of the Faculty of Philosophy and from other Faculties. He designed what later became a special degree of the Universidad Complutense on Languages and Cultures of Middle East in Antiquity. In this Institute he was able to teach classes on the Religions of the Ancient Orient and the Religion of Israel, Cannanite Literature and the like. He also created the publishing organ of the Institute: *‘Ilu. Revista de Ciencias de las Religiones*, on whose number 0 he edited the *Actas del 1^{er} Simposio de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones* in 1995, and where he has contributed regularly. He has also infused a new life to the “Sociedad española de Ciencias de las Religiones” of which he has been vice-president from 1993 until 2000, and has been determinant in the creation of its yearbook *Bandue: Revista de la Sociedad Española de Ciencias de las Religiones* on 2007. But perhaps his greatest achievement on this field was the creation of the *Enciclopedia Iberoamericana de Religiones*, a big international enterprise of which 6 volumes have already been published, with Julio as the general coordinator, and which has a great influence on the development of the discipline in Spain.

Nothing of this would have been possible if Julio would not have been an excellent manager at the same time as a first rate scholar. My recollections of his managerial qualities also go back to our years in Jerusalem, when he was forced to stop his research for a while in order to bring order into the family business. Later on, he applied his managerial qualities in order to bring to fruition a good number of scholarly projects and congresses for which he got financial support from public and private institutions. As vice-president of the “Fundación Bíblica Española” he was instrumental in producing the facsimile edition of *Biblia Polígota Complutensis* that he presented in the Bibliotheca Ambrosiana of Milan, at the National Library in Madrid, and which first copy he offered to the Spanish King Juan Carlos on 1984. He worked on the project *Biblia Polyglota Matritensis*, directed by Natalio Fernández Marcos, from 1985 until

1997, and from 1998 until the present day he has directed his own research projects. He has directed several “cursos de verano,” another typical creation of the Spanish Universities dedicated to bring to the attention of a larger public during the summer months hot topics of research (*Las religiones como factor de conflicto y de paz*, Universidad Complutense, El Escorial 1997; *Los Manuscritos del Mar Muerto: Paganos, judíos y cristianos*, Universidad Menéndez y Pelayo, Santander 1997; *El Cristianismo: 2000 años después*, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Ronda 2000; *Religiones y culturas*, Universidad Rey Juan Carlos, Ronda 2001; *Religiones y culturas en Iberoamérica*, Universidad Complutense, El Escorial 2003). I have participated myself in several of the congresses and summer courses organized by Julio, and I have wonderful memories of each one of them. I recall the problems he has organizing an international seminary to celebrate 50 years of the Qumran discoveries at the University of Madrid on 1997, which were solved when the Spanish Queen Sofia called the Offices of the University asking for a copy of the papers being read, and where we had a memorable TV interview together with Harmut Stegemann; or the trip to our University of Comillas to let Émile Puech admire it during the summer course in Santander in 1997. But my fondest recollections are without any doubt those of the international congress of El Escorial of 1991, the Madrid Qumran Congress as it is known, a congress celebrated at the right time (when free access to the manuscripts was granted), which opened new lines of investigation, marked deeply the development of the discipline, brought together established and young scholars, and created a new way of doing research, more collegial and friendly, in a field marred by brother twists. The congress was, of course perfectly organized, with highlights such as the presentation of the research at the Biblioteca Nacional in Madrid, the awarding of the Honour Medal of the Universidad Complutense to F.M. Cross in the Real Coliseo Carlos III of El Escorial and to J.T. Milik (who could not attend the congress) later on in the Spanish Embassy in Paris, and the visit of Queen Sofia to converse with some of the participants. But I think that the most impressive feature, the one that all the participants will never forget, was the “Queimada” performed by Julio in the lobby of the congress hotel: it was a real Galician event, even if the “conjuros” were recited in Hebrew and Aramaic!

The dearest recollection I have from Julio, is perhaps the most difficult to express because it concerns the most precious moments of our friendship, conversations on which the deepest intuitions were formulated without worrying too much whether they were solidly grounded. Julio as a conversationalist is somebody who, in a characteristic way and with a few well-chosen words that go directly to the core, is able to sketch completely new visions, new approaches and new syntheses. These intuitions, that perhaps cannot be convincingly proved and for that reason Julio has been reluctant to put in paper and has reserved for conversations and discussions among friends, contain more insights and more wisdom than the most polished analysis we are used to. This element, which I consider essential in Julio's scholarly profile, begins to transpire little by little in his latest publications; it is now as if he has finally overcome his natural reserve and feels free from all restraint. I sincerely hope that Julio, the conversationalist, become even with Julio the scholar for the intellectual benefit of all of us.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Anchor Bible
ABD	<i>Anchor Bible Dictionary</i> . Edited by D. N. Freedman. 6 vols. New York, 1992
<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOCT	Abingdon Old Testament Commentary
APAT	<i>Die Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments</i>
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch
ATS	Arbeiten zu Text und Sprache im Alten Testament
BAR	<i>Biblical Archaeology Review</i>
BASOR	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i>
BASORSup	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research Supplements
BEATAJ	Bieträge zur Erforschung des Alten Testaments und des antiken Judentum
BETL	Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium
BHQ	Biblia Hebraica Quinta
BibOr	Biblica et Orientalia
BJS	Brown Judaic Studies
BKAT	Biblische Kommentar Altes Testament
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> . Chicago 1956-
<i>CBQ</i>	<i>Catholic Biblical Quarterly</i>
CCSL	Corpus christianorum: Series latina. Turnhout, 1953–
CSCO	Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium
DJD	Discoveries in the Judean Desert
<i>DSD</i>	<i>Dead Sea Discoveries</i>
DSSR	Dead Sea Scrolls Reader

EAJS	European Association of Jewish Studies
<i>EBib</i>	<i>Études Bibliques</i>
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments
<i>HALOT</i>	Koehler, L., W. Baumgartner, and J.J. Stamm. <i>The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament</i> . Translated and Edited under the supervision of M. E. J. Richardson. 4 vols. Leiden 1994-1999
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HSS	Harvard Semitic Studies HSS
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
ICC	International Critical Commentary
<i>IEJ</i>	<i>Israel Exploration Journal</i>
<i>JANES</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JDT</i>	<i>Jahrbuch für deutsche Theologie</i>
<i>JETS</i>	<i>Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JPS</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>JSHRZ</i>	<i>Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit</i>
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism</i>
<i>JSOT</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Old Testament</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of Pseudepigrapha: Supplement Series
JSPSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism: Supplement Series
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LSJ	Liddell, H. G., R. Scott, H. S. Jones, <i>A Greek-English Lexicon</i> . 9th ed. with revised supplement. Oxford, 1996
MPIL	Monographs of the Peshitta Institute Leiden
MSU	Mitteilungen des Septuaginta Unternehmen

NCB	New Century Bible
NETS	New English Translation of the Septuagint
NIBCOT	New International Biblical Commentary on the Old Testament
NICOT	New International Commentary of the Old Testament
<i>NJBC</i>	<i>The New Jerome Biblical Commentary</i> . Edited by R. E. Brown et al. Englewood Cliffs, 1990
OBO	Orbis biblicus et orientalis
OTL	Old Testament Library
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York 1983
OTS	Old Testament Studies
PVTG	Pseudepigrapha Veteris Testamenti Graece
<i>RB</i>	<i>Révue Biblique</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>RBL</i>	<i>Review of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Révue de Qumran</i>
<i>RHR</i>	<i>Révue de l'histoire des religions</i>
SB	Sources Bibliques
SBLDS	Society of Biblical Literature Dissertation Series
SBLMS	Society of Biblical Literature Monographs Series
SBLSCS	Society of Biblical Literature. Septuagint and Cognate Studies
SBLSS	Society of Biblical Literature Supplement Series
SBLSymS	Society of Biblical Literature Symposium Series
SBLTT	Society of Biblical Literature Texts and Translations
SC	Sources Chrétiennes
SDSSRL	Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature
SJSJ	Supplements to the Journal for the Study of Judaism
SOTSMS	Society for Old Testament Studies Monograph Series
SPIB	Scripta Pontificii Instituti Biblici
<i>SR</i>	<i>Studies in Religion</i>
SSN	Studia Semitica Neerlandica
<i>STDJ</i>	<i>Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah</i>
<i>TAPA</i>	<i>Transactions of the American Philological Association</i>
TBN	Themes in Biblical Narrative
TECC	Textos y Estudios Cardenal Cisneros

UBS	United Bible Society
<i>UF</i>	<i>Ugarit-Forschungen</i>
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
VTSup	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum
WBC	Word Biblical Commentary
WUNT	Wissenschaftliche Untersuchungen zum Neuen Testament
<i>ZAH</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Althebraistik</i>
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
ZBK	Zürcher Bibelkommentare

CORRUPTION OR CORRECTION?
TEXTUAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE MT OF 1 SAMUEL 1

Anneli Aejmelaeus

Textual Criticism vs. Textual History

Textual criticism generally aims at determining the original wording of a given passage in an ancient text, in our case the Hebrew Bible. Text-critical decisions mostly concern variants, alternative readings found in the various textual witnesses of the piece of literature in question, but at times reconstruction of the original reading is also necessary, although some scholars perhaps find it disputable. Textual criticism thus concentrates on small details of the text, mostly one detail at a time.

On the other hand, textual history, which is akin to textual criticism, is more concerned with the overall view of the development of the text at hand and the character of its various witnesses and textual traditions. In order to reach reliable decisions on the details, textual criticism needs all the information there is on the textual history of the text in question, but all text-historical information and the information on the character of the witnesses is based on the evidence of the small details of the text. The two ways of looking at textual evidence are clearly interdependent, which means that caution is needed. A certain overall view tends to turn the decisions on the details toward a direction that further corroborates that very same overall view. For instance, the notion of the MT representing a reliable and very old textual tradition tends to create text-critical decisions that support this notion. It is like the domino effect: dominoes all falling in one direction, one way or the other. How can we make them fall in the right direction?

Of all the rules that have been formulated to assist decision-making in textual criticism, the most worthwhile is the one according to which “the reading that is capable of explaining the emergence of

the alternative readings should be regarded as the original.”¹ I would like to go further on this line and maintain that the first and foremost question in textual criticism is not “which one of the readings is the most original?” or “which reading best of all suits the context?”, but instead, “what happened to the text?” or “how did the various readings come about?”. Even when making decisions on small details of the text, the primary criterion is not the suitability of the readings in the context. Suitability is of course a necessary requirement for the reading determined to be the original, but it does not help to distinguish between several suitable alternatives, and it could also be a criterion for secondary features.

Instead, the primary criterion for text-critical decisions is the probability of what happened, the probability of the development of the alternative readings from the supposed original. For instance, if *a* and *b* are alternative readings in a certain case, the emergence of *b* out of *a*, if *a* is the original, and the emergence of *a* out of *b*, if *b* is the original, are often two completely different stories, and the actual decision to be made concerns which one of these stories more probably represents what really happened. In order to be able to evaluate the alternative explanations, we need to know which explanations are available, that is, what were the kinds of phenomena that took place in the various branches of the textual tradition. This is what textual history is about, and it is an essential prerequisite of textual criticism.

What Happened to the Text?

Methodological textbooks provide information on text-historical phenomena, in that they inform the student on the copying process and the kinds of unintentional changes involving confusion of certain letters and omission of words and phrases through homoioteleuton error and the like. Less attention seems to be paid to intentional changes that would go beyond such relatively harmless phenomena as harmonization with parallel passages. The traditional overall view on

¹ For criticism of this rule, see E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992/ ²2001), 309. According to Tov, “to some extent textual evaluation cannot be bound by any rules. It is an art in the full sense of the word...” (p. 309). The emphasis on “transcriptional probability” by Karen H. Jobes and Moisés Silva, *Invitation to the Septuagint* (Grand Rapids, MI/Carlisle, UK: Baker Academic/Paternoster, 2000), 128–130, comes very close to my thinking.

the textual history of the Hebrew Bible did not reckon with intentional editing of the Hebrew text in a phase that is part of the textual history. On the contrary, intentional editing was *per definitionem* considered to belong to a different area of study, the compositional history of the text. This overall view is still reflected in much of the text-critical argument that can be observed in exegetical literature. Meanwhile, it has become clear at least to the avant-garde of textual criticism—Julio Treballe, no doubt, among the first ones—that the borderline between textual criticism and literary criticism cannot be drawn that sharply, and in fact needs to be defined anew.²

When speaking of unintentional changes during the copying process, the sources of error are very similar in all kinds of texts regardless of time, location and even language, each writing system naturally having its typical ways of confusing letters. The basic mechanisms behind the errors and, accordingly, the principles followed in textual criticism when trying to restore the original text are the same everywhere. The rules of *lectio difficilior* and *lectio brevior* give expression to very elementary tendencies that can be observed in textual transmission: a rare expression is liable to be changed to an everyday expression, and texts tend to grow in length rather than get shorter. There are however so many exceptions to these rules—errors producing difficult wordings and *parablepsis* shortening the text—that they really are not of much use.

Beyond the common features just mentioned, the textual history of any given text also includes features that are characteristic to this text only and not applicable to other texts. For instance, the textual history of the Septuagint is complicated by repeated approximation of its Greek text to the Hebrew text, and this is a major factor to be taken into account in textual criticism of the Septuagint. On the other hand, the textual history of the Hebrew Bible is complicated by the measures taken to establish one textual line, that is, the proto-Masoretic consonantal text, as the one and only standard text and the prevalence of this one textual line since the 1st – 2nd cent. CE. As a consequence,

² Julio Treballe emphasizes the necessity to differentiate in the history of the formation of the text between textual composition, edition, and transmission: “Textual Criticism and the Composition History of Samuel: Connections between Pericopes in 1 Samuel 1 – 4,” in: *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel* (ed. Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker; VTSup 132; Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010), 261–285 (esp. 284). For this discussion, see also *idem*, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1998), 382–387.

the documentation of the textual history of the Hebrew text is fragmentary and one-sided, which naturally affects the practice of textual criticism.

Characteristic Features of Textual Witnesses

The characteristic features of textual witnesses and textual families ought to be looked for among their secondary readings, either intentional or unintentional changes of the text. While it is indeed possible to describe a textual witness as either well preserved or corrupted by the probability of unintentional errors,³ it is the kinds of intentional changes discovered in a textual witness that reveal the most characteristic features typical of this particular witness and not shared by others, unless proved otherwise.⁴ Such intentional features, wherever encountered, are particularly valuable for textual criticism, as they give us a clue of what can be expected of this textual witness and which explanations are available in individual cases.

In case of repeated intentional changes toward a certain direction it is justified to speak of conscious editing of the text. In such cases, it may be even possible to discern the motive behind the changes. This is where the text-critical method shows similarities with the method of Sherlock Holmes: crucial for the solution of what happened to the text is the motive behind the change.⁵

Now, the more practical question is where to begin. For the overall characterization, it is necessary to have evidence from the individual cases, and for the interpretation of the individual cases, an overall

³ I agree with Emanuel Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible*, 298–299, that such statistical probabilities should not influence the text-critical decisions in individual cases, “because exceptions... are not predictable” (299).

⁴ This condition is often overlooked. For instance, Jürg Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel: Textkritische und literarische Analyse von 1. Samuel 1–2 unter Berücksichtigung des Kontextes* (ATANT 89; Zürich: TVZ, 2007), 145, seems to take it for granted that all textual witnesses show signs of similar editorial measures. See also S. D. Walters, “Hannah and Anna: The Greek and Hebrew Texts of 1 Samuel 1,” *JBL* 107 (1988): 385–412, who regards both the Septuagint and the MT as “discrete narratives, each with its own *Tendenz*.” Logically, *Tendenz* should be attributed to secondary developments only.

⁵ For the evidential paradigm that best describes the text-critical methodology, as it does the method of Sherlock Holmes, see C. Ginzburg, “Clues: Roots of an Evidential Paradigm,” in: C. Ginzburg *Clues, Myths, and the Historical Method* (trans. J. and A. C. Tedeschi; Baltimore/London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 96–125.

characterization is needed. The solution to the dilemma is to be sought in individual cases that are complex enough to serve as key cases. The accumulation of similar cases corroborates the characterization.

In this paper, I would like to illustrate what I have said so far by examples from the story of Hannah in 1 Samuel, and through these examples, to discuss the textual character of the MT in this part of the Hebrew Bible.⁶ The point of comparison is mainly the Septuagint, but in several cases there are also fragments of 4QSam^a available. The Septuagint was translated several centuries before the emergence of the MT as the standard text, and this means that the manuscripts of the Hebrew source text used for the translation were 200–300 years older than the starting point of the Masoretic tradition. This difference in age is significant, suggesting that readings more original than the MT will be found through the Septuagint.⁷ As for 4QSam^a, it also clearly predates the MT, giving an authentic picture of the textual situation during the last centuries BCE. The interpretation of the evidence of the Septuagint is complicated by the fact that it is a translation, whereas the use of 4QSam^a suffers from its fragmentariness. The special characteristics of these two witnesses, however, are not at the center of my discussion here.

Textual Corruption in the MT

As is well known, there are numerous smaller and larger differences between the MT, on the one hand, and the Septuagint and 4QSam^a, on the other, in the Books of Samuel. Theoretically speaking, it may be a question of unintentional corruption of the text in one or the other direction or it is also possible that some of these differences have their origin in deliberate editing of one or the other textual tradition. In what follows, the focus is on the textual character of the MT, and through my examples I would like to demonstrate that both corruption and deliberate editing, involving theological or ideological ten-

⁶ Since it is impossible to acknowledge here all who have written on 1 Sam 1–2, I shall confine my references mainly to the more recent discussion.

⁷ Emanuel Tov has estimated that the most important source of significant readings to be compared with the MT is the Septuagint; see E. Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research* (Jerusalem Biblical Studies 3; Jerusalem: Simor, 1981), 272.

dency, have taken place in the Masoretic textual tradition. How to tell the difference between intentional and unintentional changes is not always easy. Since simpler explanations should have preference, and unintentional change is a more simple explanation, this should be tried out first. But just how far can we get with this explanation?

There seems to be a fairly widespread consensus among researchers that the MT in 1 Samuel is based on a textual line that contains numerous grave errors and defects.⁸ Comparison with 4QSam^a and the Septuagint easily produces examples for corrupted readings in the MT:

1 Sam 1:24(–25)

וְהַנֶּעֶר נְעָר: 25 וַיִּשְׁחָטוּ אֶת-הַפֶּה

καὶ τὸ παιδάριον μετ' αὐτῶν καὶ προσήγαγον ἐνώπιον Κυρίου, καὶ ἔσφαξεν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν ἐποίησεν εἰς ἡμέρας τῶ Κυρίῳ, καὶ προσήγαγεν **τὸ παιδάριον,**²⁵ **καὶ ἔσφαξεν τὸν μόσχον.**
(cf. 4QSam^a וַיִּשְׁחָט --- הַזֶּבֶחַ [ב] אֲשֶׁר --- וְהַנֶּעֶר ending three consecutive lines 8–10)⁹

The famous וְהַנֶּעֶר נְעָר “the boy was a boy” in the MT has received many a clever explanation as to why it should be considered as the original text.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the shorter text really does not make much sense, whereas the Septuagint contains a longer description of the pilgrimage of the family, of the boy Samuel being brought to Shiloh, and of the sacrifices offered by Elkanah on this occasion, and 4QSam^a has space enough for this. The omission cannot be explained through homoioteleuton, but it could have been a parablepsis of one long line, for instance, at the end of the first column of the book. This would presuppose a parent manuscript with fairly long lines (ca. 70 letters and spaces). At this point, 4QSam^a shows details of the long reading at a distance of eight lines from the top of the second column,

⁸ See, e.g., J. Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1871), 1, or P. K. McCarter, *1 Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 8; New York/London/Toronto/Sydney/Auckland: Doubleday, 1980), 5, 8.

⁹ 4QSam^a is quoted according to *Qumran Cave 4 · XII · 1–2 Samuel*, by Frank Moore Cross, Donald W. Parry, Richard Saley and Eugene Ulrich (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2005).

¹⁰ Recently, for instance, Jürg Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel*, 83–85, considered the longer text to be secondary expansion, motivated by the desire to give Elkanah a more active role in the story.

but the average line length is also clearly shorter.¹¹ The two witnesses, the Septuagint and 4QSam^a, also agreed earlier in the same verse:

1 Sam 1:24
 ἐν μόνῳ τριετίζοντι (cf. 4QSam^a משלש) בְּפָרִים שְׁלֹשָׁה

Both the Septuagint and 4QSam^a mention a three-year-old bull as the sacrificial animal, whereas the MT is clearly exaggerated and erroneous with its three bulls.¹² The MT certainly makes a more difficult reading in 1 Sam 1:24–25, but the more simple solution is not to presuppose that both the Septuagint and 4QSam^a would represent secondary development.

Let us look at another, more complicated example of corruption in the MT. It is from the Song of Hannah and demonstrates that the witness of the Septuagint cannot always be interpreted straightforwardly.

1 Sam 2:3
 ὅτι θεὸς γνῶσεως Κύριος כִּי אֵל יְדַעוֹת יְהוָה
 καὶ θεὸς [ἐτοιμάζων] ἐπιτηδεύματα αὐτοῦ. אֵל [וְלֹי קֵן] [עֲלִילוֹת]

Vorlage: ואל תכן עלילות (cf. 4QSam^a)

NETS: "...for the Lord is a God of knowledge, and a God who prepares his own ways."¹³

What the MT says in the second line of this couplet is not clear: either according to the K. "deeds/works are *not* (ל) weighed/examined"—perhaps to be understood that God's works cannot be examined—or according to the Q. "*with him* (לו) works are weighed/examined"—referring to God as the judge who weighs human actions. In Greek both lines reveal the same pattern, describing "the Lord" as "a God" who does something: the Lord is a God who "knows" and a God who "prepares his works." It is not rare in the Hebrew Bible that the negation ל is confused with the preposition and suffix לו (K./Q.), but the

¹¹ According to Frank Moore Cross, DJD XVII, 16–17, the average width of Col. II is 45.4, and of Col. III 48.6. In addition, Col. I, which is preserved in a few tiny fragments only, seems not to have begun from the top margin (p. 28–29).

¹² The same expression (שָׁלֹשׁ־שָׁנָיִם 'three-year-old') is used in Gen 15:9 to describe sacrificial animals.

¹³ NETS = *A New English Translation of the Septuagint*, ed. A. Pietersma and B. G. Wright (New York/Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1 Reigns translated by B. A. Taylor.

Septuagint brings into the discussion another type of confusion, namely, between **לא** and **אל** (a metathesis). But if there was **אל** ‘God’ in the manuscript used by the translator, the verb **תכן** ‘to weigh, to examine’ could not have appeared in nif., as in the MT (since **עללות** now serves as the object), but it should have been qal and most probably a participle: **אל תכן עללות** “a God who weighs works,” which is a perfect match with the previous line.¹⁴ This is not what the Septuagint has, but it is possible to reconstruct the way the translator proceeded from this Hebrew to his translation. The verbal root **תכן** is fairly rare – this is the only occurrence in the Books of Samuel – and the translator may have erroneously taken it for another verb, most plausibly for the root **כון** (cf. 1 Sam 7:3, 13:13, 20:31, 23:22). Since the Hebrew does not explicitly say whose works are meant, the translator had the possibility of interpreting **עללות** as the works of the Lord. The possessive pronoun should definitely not be back-translated, which, however, has occurred in Cross’s reconstruction of the Qumran manuscript (DJD XVII, p. 31). The MT is no doubt corrupt. Both K. and Q. make poor sense in the context, Q. showing an attempt to relieve the difficulty. The initial error was perhaps the metathesis (from **אל** to **לא**), and the verb was then adjusted to it. It is not plausible that the change would have been altogether intentional. The recovery of the original presupposes an understanding of the character of the Septuagint and especially of the translator’s deficient knowledge of Hebrew.

A Puzzling Case – Corruption or Correction?

In several cases, however, it is not easy to decide whether the MT represents a corrupted reading or a deliberate correction of the text. A much discussed example is:

1 Sam 1:23

ἀλλὰ στήσαι Κύριος

τὸ ἐξελθὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματός σου

4QSam^a אֵד יְקַם יְהוָה הִיא הַיּוֹצֵא מִפִּיךָ

אֵד יְקַם יְהוָה

אֵת־דְּבָרֶיךָ

¹⁴ This solution was already offered by Julius Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*, 43. Cf. also Prov 16:2, 21:2, 24:12.—Cf. the reconstruction of 4QSam^a by Cross (DJD XVII, 31).

NETS : “Only, may the Lord establish that which goes out of your mouth.”

The alternative readings are quite disproportionate. It is impossible to think that one of the readings would have come about through confusion of letters or any other normal error. The reference to a vow (“what has come out of your mouth”), represented by the Septuagint and 4QSam^a, is the reading that makes the best sense in the context, whereas no mention has been made of a word of the Lord that could be fulfilled. Hannah has made a vow, and her husband, hearing about the vow for the first time, confirms that it should be fulfilled (“only may the Lord confirm your vow”).¹⁵ This is of course perfectly in accordance with the law concerning vows made by women (cf. Num 30:11–16). One of the solutions offered to this case is that the Septuagint or its *Vorlage*—together with 4QSam^a—would represent a deliberate, “nomistic” correction motivated by the desire to bring the text into accord with the Law (Num 30).¹⁶ This correction should have happened very early to end up in the Septuagint. Furthermore, one cannot help asking why then did this correction not use the exact terminology of the law in Num 30:13 (כָּל־מוֹצֵא שִׁפְתֶיהָ) “all that has passed her lips”). A still greater problem is that this solution would have severe consequences, because it creates a close affiliation between the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint and 4QSam^a, for which no clear evidence has otherwise been found.¹⁷

Quite the opposite, a change by corruption in the MT was suggested by Bo Johnson, who designed a theory to explain the numerous irregular textual differences in 1 Sam 1–2, differences that are unexplainable by the normal rules. He suggested that one parent manuscript of the MT had been badly damaged in the beginning of the scroll, for the simple reason that rolling a scroll back and forth

¹⁵ Cf. J. Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel*, 79; Hutzli’s interpretation that Elkanah did not confirm Hannah’s vow, but instead left it for Yahweh to confirm, is unnatural. In connection with vows (Num 30), קוּם occurs, not only in hif. (cf. Hutzli’s argument), but more often in qal in the meaning ‘stand,’ ‘be valid,’ and in relation to this hi. can be interpreted as ‘consider to be valid’ as well as ‘confirm.’ By saying that “Yahweh should consider her vow to be valid” (קוּם hif.), Elkanah in actual fact confirms (קוּם hif.) his wife’s vow.

¹⁶ A. Rofé, “The Nomistic Correction in Biblical Manuscripts and its Occurrence in 4QSam,” *RevQ* 14 (1989): 247–254.

¹⁷ See E. Tov, “The Contribution of the Qumran Scrolls to the Understanding of the LXX,” in: *Septuagint, Scrolls and Cognate Writings* (ed. G.J. Brooke and B. Lindars; SCS 33; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1992), 11–47, esp. 25.

while reading had a stronger wearing effect on the edge of the scroll. Bo Johnson thought that one parent manuscript of the MT must have been so badly damaged that it had holes in it and that the next scribe simply had to fill in the gaps out of his memory or imagination and thus happened to fill in details that did not belong there.¹⁸ This of course solves all the problems at once.

Presupposing that the expression “what has come out of your mouth” was erased from a parent manuscript of the MT, one could explain that a subsequent scribe tried to complement the text on the basis of the verb *קום* hif., which frequently occurs, with Yahweh as its subject, in reference to the fulfilment of the divine word (1 Kings 2:4, 6:12, 8:20, 12:15; 2 Kings 23:3, 24). I must confess that for a long time I was content with this explanation. I was not particularly eager to find ideological changes in the MT, but rather tried to look for natural reasons, which should of course, out of methodological considerations, be given priority before more complicated explanations.

That we are here dealing with a case almost beyond the capacity of a textual critic is shown by the solution offered to this very same problem by Emanuel Tov, who suggested that both readings “may be considered alternative and could be equally original”—that is, leaving the question open.¹⁹

Deliberate Changes of the Text in the MT

Of all the theoretical alternatives, the possibility of a deliberate, ideological change in the MT—to leave out a reference to the vow of a

¹⁸ B. Johnson, “On the Masoretic Text at the Beginning of the First Book of Samuel,” *Svensk Exegetisk Årsbok* 41–42 (1976–77): 130–137.

¹⁹ E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1992/2001), 176: “to all appearances, these readings may be considered alternative and could be equally original... According to a different train of thought, however, only one reading was original... Although it seems impossible to decide between these two readings, our inability to decide should not undermine the probability of the assumption that one of the two readings was contained in the original text... Alternatively, it is equally possible that another, third, reading (such as *דברך*, “your word,” probably presupposed by Pesh) was contained in the original text...”

woman—should also be considered.²⁰ After the development in textual studies during our post-Qumran era, I think we are better prepared than the previous generation was to accept solutions that presuppose deliberate change of the text, particularly in the MT.

Now, decisions in cases like the one at hand presuppose familiarity with the textual witness in question and a notion of what can be expected from this witness. In the recent discussion on the Hebrew text of the Books of Samuel, more and more cases of deliberate changes out of theological or ideological motives have been discovered, not only in my own work but even more so by others.²¹ This has induced me to look again at the textual problems in the story of Hannah. Finding indisputable examples of deliberate change would mean that the dominoes start falling in the other direction.

At a closer look, the following examples are fairly obvious. The first chapter of 1 Samuel reveals omissions of two sentences referring to Hannah's prayer: in v. 9 according to the Septuagint, Hannah "stood before the Lord" praying for a son, and in v. 14 Eli told her "to go away from before the Lord." Both sentences have no equivalent in the MT.

1 Sam 1:9

... וְתָלַם חַנָּה אֶת־רֵי אֶבְלָהּ בְּשֵׁלָה וְאַחֲרֵי שָׁתָהּ וְעַלִּי הַכֹּהֵן.

καὶ ἀνέστη Ἄννα μετὰ τὸ φαγεῖν αὐτοὺς ἐν Σηλῶμ καὶ κατέστη ἐνώπιον Κυρίου καὶ Ἠλὶ ὁ ἱερεὺς...

Vorlage: ותתיצב לפני יהוה

NETS: "And [Hannah rose] after they had eaten at Selo, and stood before the Lord and Eli the priest..."

²⁰ According to Jürg Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel*, 146, 271, the editor of the MT was motivated by the desire to emphasize God's sovereign action as opposite to human action (v. 23).

²¹ Of Julio Trebelle's many publications in this area of study I would just like to refer to *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum* (TECC 47; Madrid: CSIC, 1989). For variant literary editions, see E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI/Cambridge, UK: Eerdmans, 1999), 106–110, esp. on the Books of Samuel 65–68. See also my "Lost in Reconstruction? On Hebrew and Greek Reconstructions in 2 Sam 24," *BIOSCS* 40 (2007): 89–106, in which I discuss, among other things, the repeated omission in the MT of 2 Sam 24 of expressions for David choosing—in accordance with Yahweh's instructions—between the three different consequences of the census.

1 Sam 1:14

עַד־מָתַי תִּשְׁתַּכַּרְוּ הַקִּירִי אֶת־יַיִן מֵעַלֶיךָ

ἕως πότε μεθυσθήσῃ; περιελοῦ τὸν οἶνόν σου καὶ πορεύου ἐκ
προσώπου Κυρίου.

Vorlage: ולכי מלפני יהוה

NETS: “How long will you be drunk? Put away your wine and go out
from the presence of the Lord.”

If an omission like this were to happen only once, it could be regarded as an accident, even if an explanation through homoioteleuton does not work. Having the same accident occur twice requires some effort. It seems that the MT has deliberately removed Hannah from the presence of the Lord, as if a woman could not stand before the Lord to pray and to make a vow.²² This is, however, not the only difference between the witnesses in 1 Sam 1:9. There is also an addition in the MT in v. 9: “and after drinking” added to “after eating.” The Septuagint also presupposes a 3.m.pl. suffix, which is actually grammatically indispensable in Hebrew: אַחֲרֵי אֲכָלָם בְּשִׁילֹה “after they had eaten in Shiloh.” The addition betrays its secondary status by its peculiar construction with an infinitive absolute שָׁתָה, to which the other infinitive has been adjusted, and its location after “in Shiloh.” This is nothing else but a wicked suggestion that Eli was right after all in suspecting Hannah of being drunk (v. 14), and it shows that the two verses have been compared and harmonized with each other.

Looking more closely into the details of the story, more and more features come up, revealing the same pattern.²³ The following is a further case to be considered, one that cannot be found in our standard editions, but only in the apparatus of the major Cambridge edition by Brooke-McLean-Thackeray:

²² Similarly Jürg Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel*, 15, 145–146, who connects the two mentioned cases with two further cases also lacking “before the Lord” in the MT, namely 1 Sam 1:11 (Hannah’s vow) and 2:11 (Samuel being left in Shiloh); however, according to Hutzli, the motive behind these changes in the MT was cult-theological and thus gender-neutral.

²³ One such example may be “here am I” occurring in the Septuagint of 1 Sam 1:8. D. W. Parry, “Hannah in the Presence of the Lord,” in: *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel* (ed. Philippe Hugo and Adrian Schenker; VTSup 132; Leiden/Boston: Brill 2010), 53–73, pays attention to the fact that “here am I” is elsewhere never spoken by a woman; after discussing many of the cases discussed in the present paper, Parry concludes that they cannot be explained as scribal errors, but he is not explicit about where he finds the ideological and theological readings.

1 Sam 1:13

וְקוֹלָהּ אֵלַי וְשִׁמְעָה

καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠκούετο καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῆς Κύριος (> A B
O 121-509 56-246 55 245 707^{txt} Aeth Sa = MT Ra Compl)

Vorlage: וישמע אליה יהוה /²⁴ וישמע יהוה

“...and her voice was not heard, but the Lord heard her.”

The combination of Greek witnesses leaving out this sentence includes mss that have proved to contain sporadic approximations to the Hebrew text,²⁵ practically the Masoretic consonantal text, and thus it seems clear to me that the sentence did belong to the original wording of the Septuagint and should have its place in the main text of the critical Samuel edition. Furthermore, it was translated from the Hebrew source text used by the translator and not added in its Greek form.²⁶ However, whether this sentence can be regarded as part of the original Hebrew text is a question that must be dealt with separately. The first impression is that it is a pious addition, but on the other hand, where do we have an “original text” of the Hebrew Bible that would not have secondary additions? The Dtr History, in particular, is a composition that has brought together different traditions and sources and has been heavily edited. The crucial question in our case is whether this sentence was just a sporadic addition in one branch of the textual tradition or part of the text from early on, having been deliberately erased from the MT.²⁷ The argument for the longer text

²⁴ The Hebrew verb שמע can be construed with an object or with different prepositions, but in the majority of cases the translator of 1 Samuel employed the genitive. In reference to a person both an object and the preposition אל have been used, e.g. Ex 6:12 (both constructions parallel to each other).

²⁵ Sporadic early approximations to the Hebrew are found in the B text, i.e. B 121-509 Aeth, often accompanied by A and O (= 247-376) as well as some other mss; see my “A Kingdom at Stake,” in: *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honour of Raija Sollamo* (ed. A. Voitila and J. Jokiranta; SJSJ 126. Leiden: Brill, 2008), 353–366.

²⁶ A close parallel to our case is found in Gen 30:22 וישמע אליה אלהים, which relates how Rachel’s childlessness was ended and this may have inspired the remark in the case of Hannah. It is, however, not probable that the borrowing would have happened in Greek, since the verb used in Gen 30:22 is ἐπακούω.

²⁷ A further parallel that fits the pattern described above comes to my mind: in Hannah’s Psalm 1 Sam 2:9 the Septuagint and 4QSam^a have a couplet lacking in the MT: “He grants the prayer to the one who makes a vow and blesses the years of the righteous.” Instead the MT reads: “For the pillars of the earth are the Lord’s, and he set the world on them. He keeps the feet of his faithful ones, but the wicked are silenced in darkness.” See my article “Hannah’s Psalm: Text, Composition, and Redaction,” in *Houses Full of All Good Things: Essays in Memory of Timo Veijola*, ed. J. Pakkala and M. Nissinen (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society 95; Hel-

can only be based on a thorough acquaintance with the textual tradition in question and the probability of ideological omissions in it.

There is one more example concerning Hannah's actions within the sanctuary that reveals differences between the Septuagint and the MT.

1 Sam 1:18

וַתֵּלֶךְ הָאִשָּׁה לְדַרְבָּהּ וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּשְׂתֶּה לְאִי-הִי-יָרֵי עֵינַי
καὶ ἐπορεύθη ἡ γυνὴ εἰς τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῆς καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ
κατάλυμα αὐτῆς (וַתֹּאכַל וַתִּשְׂתֶּה) καὶ ἔφαγεν μετὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς
καὶ ἔπιεν

(< ותאכל עם אישה ותשתה >), καὶ τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτῆς οὐ συνέπεσεν (< לא נפל >) ἔτι.

NETS: "And the woman went on her way and entered her quarters and ate and drank with her husband, and her countenance was sad no longer."

After the prayer and the encounter with Eli, Hannah returns to the dinner table and continues the meal with her husband and obviously with the rest of the family. Again, there is one whole sentence and some further details in the Septuagint that are lacking in the MT. The Septuagint formulates the additional sentence in a curious way: καὶ εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸ κατάλυμα αὐτῆς "and she entered her guest room," but there is a further occurrence of the fairly rare word κατάλυμα in 1 Sam 9:22 where it renders הַשֵּׁבִיל, an equally rare Hebrew word meaning 'hall' (for a sacrificial meal)—as a matter of fact, in exactly the same phrase לְשֵׁבִיל עֵיς τὸ κατάλυμα.²⁸ Thus, the back-translation from Greek to Hebrew is evident and makes good sense in the context.²⁹ Hannah returns to that part of the sanctuary where the sacrificial meal takes place, and this time the Septuagint mentions drinking and merry-making along with eating. The MT probably reveals a case of corruption at the end of the verse where the original seems to have employed the idiom נפל + פנים + suffix 'to look sad/distressed' (cf.

sinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2008), 354–376.

²⁸ At 1 Sam 1:18 the translator seems to have interpreted the final ה (in fact, ה locale) as a suffix of the 3rd person f.sg., which should not be back-translated. Cf. 1 Sam 2:3 above.

²⁹ Nevertheless, J. Hutzli, *Die Erzählung von Hanna und Samuel*, 72, prefers another back-translation, which he then regards as a secondary feature of the Hebrew Vorlage of the Septuagint. As a matter of fact, the tendencies recognized by Hutzli in the MT (Hannah's actions being relativized) and in the LXX (emphasis on Elkanah's actions) are like two sides of one and the same coin.

Gen 4:5,6).

It looks as if we have here a few more pieces of the very same puzzle we have been sketching: the MT leaves out “drinking,” which had been moved to the beginning of the story (v. 9), as well as the reference to one part of the sanctuary, which may be connected with the removal of the two sentences mentioning “Hannah standing before the Lord” (vv. 9 and 14) or else be motivated by a general idea that women could not take part in sacrificial meals at the sanctuary. With the short expression “went her way” and the omission of “with her husband” as well as “drinking,” the MT seems to hint that Hannah did not return to the dining hall to eat and that the sacrificial meal was already over.

Motivation behind the Changes

To return to 1 Sam 1:23, if Hannah—according to the MT—was not standing before the Lord, and was in fact drunk, there is no reason to speak of a vow that she had made to the Lord. There seems to be a whole network of editorial corrections that change the picture of Hannah and her son.³⁰ Whatever became of the son, Samuel, his mother’s vows played no part in it. According to the MT, Hannah in fact made no legitimate vow before the Lord. This is the motivation behind the change in 1 Sam 1:23, the case we started from. Decisive for Samuel’s calling was the word of the Lord and not a vow by his mother.

This raises a further question about the references to Naziriteship. If the MT connects Samuel’s calling with the word of the Lord, and thus primarily with prophecy, and if Hannah did not speak a vow before the Lord, then there is no reason to connect the promises Hannah had made on behalf of her unborn son with Naziriteship. The MT again removes the word לַפְּנֵיךְ and with it the address to the Lord as well as one of the characteristic signs of a Nazirite, namely abstinence.

1 Sam 1:11

וַנִּתְּתֵנוּ לַיהוָה כְּלַיְמֵי תַיִוּ וּמוֹרָה לֹא־יֵעָלֶה עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ

³⁰ J. Hutzli, *Die Erzählungen von Hanna und Samuel*, 79–80, discusses the same cases but does not see the connection between them as I do; consequently, he also describes the theological motivations differently.

καὶ δώσω αὐτὸν ἐνώπιόν σου (<לפניך) δότον ἕως ἡμέρας θανάτου αὐτοῦ: καὶ οἶνον καὶ μέθυσμα οὐ πίεται, καὶ σίδηρος οὐκ ἀναβήσεται ἐπὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ.

NETS: “and I will give him as one devoted before you until the day of his death; and wine nor strong drink he shall not drink, and no iron shall come upon his head”

The word Nazirite is made explicit in 4QSam^a in v. 22 (ונת[תיהו נזיר]). It does not however appear in the Septuagint, but instead there is one small word in v. 11 that lacks a correspondence in the MT, δότον, a rare word that is difficult to back-translate with any certainty. Whatever the Hebrew word in the *Vorlage*, whether נזיר or some other word, it refers to the status of the unborn son as a consequence of the mother’s vow, and it is absent from the MT.³¹

Conclusion

Thus, the MT can be observed to contain both corruption and correction. In the story of Hannah, it reveals fairly massive, although not fully consistent, editorial measures, which aimed at polishing the text by removing details that may have been considered doubtful from a theological, religious-conservative or even sexist viewpoint.³²

The examples that I have given reveal just a small sample of this late editorial layer, which can be observed in other parts of the Books of Samuel as well. Most of the changes made in the MT seem to have a theological or ideological motivation, but the individual changes are often so small that the nature of this activity only becomes clear through the accumulation of a number of changes with a similar aim or changes showing a connection to one another.

Exact dating of this editorial activity is impossible, but in order to have left features of the older edition in the Septuagint and in 4QSam^a untouched, it must be fairly late. It must be a question of the time around the turn of the era, perhaps the 1st century BCE. This means

³¹ P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel*, 60–61, considers the features connected with Naziriteship to be original, although having a prehistory connected with Saul (p. 65).

³² Cf. E. Ulrich, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 67, rephrasing Stanley D. Walters’s statement (cf. n. 4 above): “... in 1 Samuel 1 the MT and the LXX (in basic fidelity to its Hebrew *Vorlage*) may well present two different editions of the text, one intentionally different from the other, each internally consistent.”

that the Books of Samuel—and probably the Dtr History in general—was not yet considered to be “canonical” in the sense of being sacred Scripture and being authoritative and unchangeable in its wording. My suggestion is that the editorial polishing of these books was felt to be necessary precisely for their preparation to be included in the collection of the Prophets and thus in the “canon” of sacred Scripture.

DAVID'S CENSUS: SOME TEXTUAL AND LITERARY LINKS

A. Graeme Auld

Introduction

Major recent commentators on Chronicles have concluded that the Chronicler's account of David's count of his people was based on a text substantially different from extant witnesses to the text of 2 Sam 24.¹ In that minimal sense at least, our witnesses to both 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 attest divergence from a shared source. In some recent studies, I have part argued for and part assumed a more radical common source theory, not just for the versions of this narrative but for Samuel-Kings and Chronicles as a whole.² It gives me great pleasure to offer these further remarks to a fellow ancien de l'École biblique et archéologique française, whose expert combining of textual and literary history has provided energetic stimulus to my own work.

The different sections of the synoptic narrative about David within 2 Samuel 5-24 and 1 Chronicles 11-21 have quite varied relationships to each other. 2 Sam 7-8 and 10 are very similar to 1 Chr 17-19; and this is particularly so when we compare the Chronicler's version of these chapters, not with 2 Sam 7-8; 10 (MT), but with the text of Samuel which underlies OG and is partially preserved in 4Q51. It is also true of 2 Sam 5:1-10, 11-25 and its immediate parallels in 1 Chr 11:1-9; 14:1-17. On the other hand, while the reports of the first

¹ In "Synoptic David: The View from Chronicles," in *Raising Up a Faithful Exegete. Essays in Honor of Richard D. Nelson* (ed. K.L. Noll and Brooks Schramm; Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010), 117-128, I have reviewed the contributions of Steven L. McKenzie, *1-2 Chronicles* (AOTC; Nashville, TN: Abingdon, 2004); Gary N. Knoppers, *1 Chronicles* (AB 12A [2 vols]; New York: Doubleday, 2004); Ralph W. Klein, *1 Chronicles* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2006).

² In addition to chapters 12 and 13 of *Samuel at the Threshold: Selected Works of Graeme Auld* (SOTSMS; Aldershot: Ashgate, 2004), and the study noted in n. 1 above, see also "Imag[in]ing Editions of Samuel: the Chronicler's Contribution," in P. Hugo and A. Schenker (eds.), *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel: The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 119-131.

stage in David bringing the ark towards Jerusalem in 2 Sam 6:1-11 and 1 Chr 13:1-14 are broadly similar, the second stage is very much more fully described in 1 Chr 15-16 than in 2 Sam 6:12-20. And the scale of the divergence in the other direction between 1 Chr 20:1-8 and 2 Sam 11-21 is many times greater.

The reports in 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 of David having his people counted, of the divine punishment which follows, and the construction of an altar for sacrifice on a Jebusite threshing-floor, are much the same length, are very closely related, and yet exhibit more significant differences from each other than any other portion of similar size in the synoptic story of David. Dispassionate comparison is all the more difficult, and all the more necessary. Rather than privilege any of the extant texts, this essay will describe most of the differences in terms of pluses over against the text they share. However, there are also important divergences over irreducible elements of this shared text; and it is not always easy to decide how much text is associated with these basic differences.

Medieval tradition in both chapters recognises the same broad divisions and sub-divisions, and hence provides a handy basis for comparing these two related texts:

2 Samuel 24		1 Chronicles 21	
ⲛ	ⲟ	ⲛ	ⲟ
1-11a	1-2	1-7	
	3-10a		
	10b-11a	8	
11b-17	11b-13	9-12	
	14-16	13-26	13-15
	17		16-17
18-25	18-23a		18-26
	23b-25		

This two-fold system of division does not always correspond clearly to the separations observable in the earlier text as presented in the 3-column pages of the Leningrad Codex. The scribes there may have intended a major break at 2 Sam 24:10b (cf 1 Chr 21:8) and also at 1 Chr 21:18 (cf 2 Sam 24:18). This paper will discuss the material in seven sections, corresponding to 2 Sam 24:1-4a, 4b-10a, 10b-11a, 11b-13, 14-17, 18-23a, and 23b-25. The Greek Codex Vaticanus (4th

Cent BCE) has marginal notations of quite different divisions: at 2 Sam 24:1, 10, and 15.

In the opening three portions there are no positive connections between Chronicles and non-masoretic texts of Samuel against MT Samuel. There are many differences in reading between MT and LXX of 2 Sam 24:1-4a, 4b-10a, 10b-11a; but these are all to be found within Samuel plus *vis-à-vis* the much shorter text shared with Chronicles. The textual situation becomes more complex later in the narrative, not least because significant fragments from Qumran cave 4 are also available.

David's Command and Joab's Protest (2 Sam 24:1-4a//1 Chr 21:1-4a)

The two versions state some main points quite differently.

In Samuel, the motivation for the count (1) comes from a repeated instance of divine wrath burning in Israel; but, in Chronicles, a 'satan' (whether human or divine) takes a stand against Israel. What the opening sentences share is "... Israel, and he incited David ... number Israel." Hostility 'against' Israel is more explicit in the Chronicler's preposition *ʾl* than the *b-* in Samuel; however, the subject of the opening verb in each case (divine wrath or a satan) sufficiently indicates that trouble is to be expected. Samuel adds "and Judah" at the end of v. 1, so making the instruction agree with the terms in which the result is presented (24:9//21:5).

David's instruction to Joab (2) is stated a little more fully in Samuel than Chronicles: instead of Chr's 'Israel', SamMT has "all the tribes of Israel" and SamLXX has "Israel and Judah." But there is also a crucial difference: Sam reads 'Dan to Beersheba' (that is, from north to south), but Chr "Beersheba to Dan."

Sam adds two or three details to the opening of Joab's response (3α), without changing its sense: "And Joab said [to the king], 'May Yahweh [your god] add to the people like so [and like so] a hundred times.'" But then the texts diverge widely.

Sam adds a comment and a question: "... and the eyes of my lord king seeing. And my lord king, why has he pleasure in this thing?" The closest parallel to Joab's comment is provided by words of David himself (1 Kgs 1:48), blessing Yahweh for allowing one of his family

to sit on his throne, “my eyes seeing.” Divine or royal ‘pleasure’ is mentioned in 1 Sam 15:22; 18:25.

Chr adds three questions to Joab’s protest, “Are they not, my lord king, all of them servants of my lord? Why should my lord seek this? Why should it be as guilt for Israel?” The Chronicler’s second question has the same sense as the question in Samuel (why has he pleasure in this thing?), but is stated differently, except for the reference to David as *’dny hmlk*. The concluding term *’šmh* (‘guilt’) is never used in the Former Prophets and is mostly found in Leviticus, 2 Chronicles and Ezra.³

Sam adds to the note about the king’s insistence (4a) that it was directed not just to Joab but also to the “leaders of the force.”

Count and David’s First Confession (2 Sam 24:4b-10a//1 Chr 21:4b-7)

The variations in this portion are more extensive than elsewhere in the narrative. The differences between Samuel and Chronicles are of three sorts: there are substantial pluses in each which are quite unrelated to the material which they share; there are elements in the story which they relate quite differently; and there are repetitions with the version in Samuel.

The report in Chr 4b of Joab carrying out his unwelcome task occupies as few words possible: “And Joab went out, moved about in all Israel, and came to Jerusalem.” The much fuller report in Samuel starts more formally (4b), specifies the route in some detail (5-7), notes that he roamed “in the whole land”, and adds the time taken before his return to Jerusalem: nine months and twenty days (8). The largest element of the Sam plus, describing the route followed by the census takers, includes the only occurrence of ‘Canaanite’ in the books of Samuel; and several of its points of reference are familiar from the book of Joshua. This plus does not appear at home in Samuel, but equally is not wholly out of place within the Former Prophets.

³ But it has to be noted that two cognates do make a rare appearance in Samuel: the noun *’šm* names the guilt offering the Philistines send back with the ark (1 Sam 6:4, 8, 17); and the adjective *’šm* suggests David’s guilt in not restoring Absalom from exile (2 Sam 14:13).

The reports of the totals differ only minimally in wording, but rather more largely in meaning: Chr 5 repeats after Judah the specification already provided after Israel, that the totals were of “men drawing the sword”; and by including ‘all’ before ‘Israel’ it suggests that Judah is mentioned as a subset of Israel rather than an independent body beside it (as in Sam 9).

Chr 6 notes that Benjamin and Levi were excluded from the count, and supplies a reason: the king’s instruction was ‘abhorrent’ to Joab. Special interest in both Benjamin and Levi is unsurprising in Chronicles; but the verbal form *nt‘b* is known only in Isa 14:19 and Job 15:16. Chr 7a adds that God took the matter of the census amiss. This locution too (*wyr‘ b‘yny*) is found nowhere else in Chronicles, but is well known in Samuel: 1 Sam 1:8; 8:6; 18:8; 2 Sam 11:25, 27.⁴

The terms in which the two versions of this section come to an end are almost certainly related:

Sam 10a: *wyk lb-dwd ‘tw ‘hry-kn spr ‘t-h‘m*
 Chr 7b: *wyk ‘t-yśr‘l*

They start the same way; and the concluding variation between ‘people’ and ‘Israel’ is typical of Samuel-Kings and Chronicles (compare 24:15//21:14 just below). The scale of the difference is also immediately reminiscent of the brief Chr 4b and much fuller Sam 4b-8; however, unlike Chr 4b which fits the shared context well, Chr 7b requires something like 7a to precede it, in order to supply the implied divine subject of *wyk*. The relationship between the two clauses in Sam 10a, as punctuated in MT, seems implausible: “And David’s heart struck him. Afterwards he counted the people.” LXX^B and LXX^L offer more logical but different readings: “And David’s heart struck him after counting the people” (B) and “And David’s heart struck him after this, because he counted the people” (L). The closest parallel is provided by 1 Sam 24:6, just after David had cut part of King Saul’s garment in the cave: *wyhy ‘hry-kn wyk lb-dwd ‘tw ‘l ‘śr krt ...*; but, unlike that earlier passage, none of the versions of 2 Sam 24:10a represents the regular Hebrew formulation.

Though they agree that it is against Israel, and not David, that the initial trouble is directed, they describe that trouble differently as mischief-making or divine wrath. They differ over whether Joab is to be

⁴ Cf also Gen 21:11, 12; 38:10; 48:17; Isa 59:15; Prov 24:18.

accompanied by the leaders of the ‘people’ (*m*, 1 Chr 21:2) or of the ‘force’ or ‘army’ (*hyl*, 2 Sam 24:2). We may observe that *hyl* is used quite as commonly in Chronicles as in Samuel-Kings, and hardly needed to be replaced by another term. They also differ over whether the full extent of the country is viewed from north to south (as always in Samuel-Kings⁵), or from south to north (as always in Chronicles⁶). This is the only occasion on which the expression is found in a synoptic context; and we may observe here that the Chronicler’s “Beersheba to Dan” corresponds to the northerly route through Transjordan taken by Joab and his men in the long plus in 2 Sam 24:4b-7.

We must also add to our reckoning a series of minor alterations. As elsewhere in the synoptic material, 1 Chr 21 prefers the king’s name ‘David’ in three contexts (2, 5, 21) where 2 Sam 24 uses his title “the king” (2, 9, 20). That Samuel prefers the title is demonstrated also in a series of pluses (24:3, 4b, 21, 23). On the other hand, the Chronicler had not been averse to using the title when he found it in his source: the plus in 1 Chr 21:6 relates back to 21:4, and repeats “the king” from that synoptic verse (shared with 2 Sam 24:4a). We might suppose that the contributor[s] of the several pluses including ‘the king’ to 2 Sam 24 also altered some original instances of ‘David’ to “the king”; however, there is contrary evidence at 2 Sam 24:20, 21 in 4Q51 (see below).

David’s First Confession (2 Sam 24:10b-11a//1 Chr 21:8)

David’s triple confession is presented in almost identical terms, with only minor differences:

Sam 10b:

wy'mr dwd 'l-yhwh h'ty m'd 'sr 'syty
w'th yhwh h'br-n' 't-'wn 'bdk ky nsklty m'd

Chr 8:

wy'mr dwyd 'l-h'lhym h'ty m'd 'sr 'syty 't-hdbr hzh
w'th h'br-n' 't-'wn 'bdk ky nsklty m'd

⁵ 1 Sam 3:20; 2 Sam 3:10; 17:11; 24:2, 15; 1 Kgs 5:5 (cf also Judg 20:1).

⁶ 1 Chr 21:2; 2 Chr 30:5 (cf also 2 Chr 19:4).

However, the following short plus in Samuel (“and David rose in the morning”, 11a) is surprising both in its wording and in its position. The stock verb regularly paired with ‘in the morning’ is *hškm* (rise early); and the combination here of *bbqr* (in the morning) and the common verb *qwm* (rise) has no parallel in Samuel, Kings, or Chronicles, and is found in the Hebrew Bible only in Num 22:13, 21 and Judg 19:27; 20:19. This plus appears no more at home in Samuel than the extended earlier plus detailing Joab’s route (4b-7); like that, it does have some links within the Former Prophets. The link with the Balaam story in Numbers seems particularly significant, given the threat to Israel and the role of a divine messenger. As for position, these words are followed by a paragraph break, whereas such a note about morning activity normally stands just before a fresh stage in a narrative. The placing of the break may have been intended to suggest that David’s words to Yahweh were communicated at night (and in a dream?).

Yahweh, Gad, and David (2 Sam 24:11b-13//1 Chr 21:9-12)

In this central portion of the narrative, the textual differences are much smaller in extent; and in fact the different placing of the medieval verse-divisions (11b//9; 12//10; 13//11-12) tends to mask the considerable similarity of the two versions. Yahweh’s response to David’s confession is introduced unremarkably in Chr 9—“And Yahweh spoke to Gad, David’s seer, saying ...”; and this may well have been the original text. The divine response has been delayed in Sam 11b by the introduction of the oddly worded and oddly placed note (11a) about David rising in the morning. Either because of this interruption, or for another reason, greater emphasis has been given in Samuel to the divine ‘word’: *wydbṛ yhwḥ ’l-gd* has become *wdbṛ yhwḥ hyḥ ’l-gd*. Perhaps Yahweh speaking to Gad was not felt to be a straightforward response to David rising in the morning, such as would be marked by the normal narrative *wyqtl* sequence. Had the prophetic formula “word of Yahweh” been original, it would hardly have been altered by the Chronicler. The rendering in NRSV (“When David rose in the morning, the word of the Lord came ...”) does violence to the syntax, in addition to setting aside the Masoretic paragraphing. CEV pays closer attention to the disjunctive syntax: “Be-

fore David even got up the next morning, the Lord had told ...”, but this freer rendering does not recognise *dbr yhwḥ* as a technical term. And in MT, though not in LXX, Gad has become “the prophet” as well as “David’s seer.”

The minor differences between Sam 12 and Chr 10 need not detain us. The three-fold choice of disaster is introduced by Gad in just two words: *htbw’-lk* (shall there come to you) in Sam 13 (MT) and *qbl-lk* (receive for yourself) in Chr 11. The Greek text in Sam is conflate: “choose for yourself whether there shall come to you.” Presumably a text originally more like that in Chr was ‘corrected’ towards MT by adding the introduction as delivered in that text. LXX uses the same verb (*eklexai*) in both 12 and 13, and so may attest an original *bḥr-lk* in 13 too; if so, then the Chronicler may have deliberately opted for stylistic variation by retaining *bḥr-lk* (12) and altering it (13) to *qbl-lk*.

The first option is briefly stated in Chr: “three years famine.” Sam adds “in your land”; and Sam MT reads ‘seven’ for ‘three.’ The third option is more briefly stated in Sam: “or there being three days plague in your (MT) / the (LXX) land.” Chr reads “or three days sword of Yahweh and plague in the land.” The differences are greater over the second option:

Sam: *’m-šlšh ḥdšym nsk lpny-šryk whw’ rdpk*
 Chr: *w’m-šlšh ḥdšym nsph mpny-šryk wḥrb ’wybk lmsgt*

SamLXX attests *mpny* with Chr, but agrees with MT over the core verb. I have noted elsewhere that the link between the conflicting readings may have “your fleeing” in the fuller spelling familiar at Qumran (*nskh*). Chr appears to have added “the sword of your enemy” to the second option and “the sword of Yahweh” to the third.

Punishment and David’s Second Confession (2 Sam 24:14-17//1 Chr 21:13-17)

The opening verse in each is almost identical. Chr is briefer in both halves of the next:

Chr 14a: *wytn yhwḥ dbr byśr’l*
 Sam 15a: *wytn yhwḥ dbr byśr’l mhbqr w’d ’t mw’d*
 Chr 14b: *wypl myśr’l* *šb ’ym ’lp ’yš*

Sam 15b: *wymt mn-h'm mdn w'd b'r-šb' šb'yim 'lp 'yš*

In earlier sections above, we noted 'Israel' in Chr 7b corresponding to 'the people' in Sam 10b; and David's instruction is given more briefly in Chr 2 as "number Israel from Beersheba to Dan" and more fully in Sam 2 as "roam in all Israel from Dan to Beersheba and count the people." Sam 15b now makes plain that the plague is affecting the whole territory which David had ordered to be counted. Both pluses in this verse exhibit the same form: "from ... and up to ..." (*m-... w'd ...*). In whichever direction the textual changes have been made, they have been made purposefully: Chr is briefer and its use of Israel is consistent in each of these three verses (2, 7, 10).

It is only at the end of this portion that the evidence from 4Q51 begins⁷; and it is very similar to the longer text in Chr 16-17—it includes wording almost identical to Chr 16, which is completely absent from 2 Sam 24 (MT and LXX), about the divine messenger in position between heaven and earth. And within Sam 17 it attests the Hebrew text corresponding to LXX^L: *w'nyky hr'h hr'ty*—"and I the shepherd, I acted wrongly." In place of *hr'h hr'ty*, Chr reads *hr' hr'ty* (with one *h* less) "I acted wholly wrongly."⁸ Though visually not too dissimilar in Hebrew, Sam 17 (MT) reads *h'wyty* ("I was guilty"): the hiphil of 'wh, not of *r'*. We should note also that there are two short pluses in Chr 17, not represented in 4Q51. David first asks, "Was it not I who said to tally in the people?" And the final words anticipate the linked use of *mgph* and '*m* in Sam 21//Chr 22.

Altar and Sacrifice and Divine Response (2 Sam 24:18-23a//1 Chr 21:18-23)

In 18, Chr has apparently prefaced to Gad's instruction to David about building an altar for sacrifice the note that it was communicated

⁷ F. M. Cross, D. W. Parry, R. J. Saley, and E. Ulrich (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4, XII. 1-2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Clarendon, 2005), 192-95.

⁸ Pancratius C. Beentjes remarks that the Chronicler usually tries to avoid the inf. absol. + finite verb, "even if it is found in his *Vorlage*" (*Tradition and Transformation in the Book of Chronicles* (SSN 52; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 52). The construction is certainly very rare in 1-2 Chronicles; but it is strange that Beentjes makes no mention of *qmw' qnh* close by in 1 Chr 21:24. And it may be that in 1 Chr 21:17, 24 the Chronicler is preserving the only two examples of this construction which he found in his synoptic *Vorlage*.

to him by the *ml'k yhw*. Then the report of David following Gad's instructions (19) is concluded differently in each book: instead of *k'sr sw* *yhw* ("as Yahweh commanded"), the Chronicler reports that they were spoken "in the name of Yahweh" (*'sr dbr bšm yhw*). This wording corresponds to a larger plus within the summary note on the reign of Manasseh ("and the words of the seers who spoke to him in the name of Yahweh, God of Israel", 2 Chr 33:18); and both will have drawn on the synoptic text in 1 Kgs 22:16//2 Chr 18:15 ("you should not speak to me other than truth in the name of Yahweh"). The only other use of *bšm-yhw* in BTH occurs in the context of David blessing the people (2 Sam 6:18).

The differences between Sam 20 and Chr 20-21 are much more extensive, and will be reviewed separately below.

The Samuel plus (21a) is a statement attributed to the Jebusite: "Why is my lord king coming to his servant?" The interrogative *mdw'* ('why?') which he uses is a familiar term in Samuel-Kings (x15), but does make one appearance in Chronicles in a synoptic passage (2 Kgs 12:8//2 Chr 24:6). This plus marks its only other appearance in a synoptic context. *'dny hmlk* ("my lord king") makes its second of only two synoptic appearances in the following verse (Sam 22//Chr 23), where it is also spoken by the Jebusite; and it was available there to be drawn into the plus in 21a. It may be significant that, in all the text shared by Samuel-Kings and Chronicles, only Joab (Sam 3//Chr 3) and this Jebusite use "my lord king", just as only the Jebusite within the same whole synoptic text practises prostration before a human king (20b//21b).

The narrative continues more briefly in Samuel:

Sam 21ba: *wy'mr dwd lqwt m'mk 't-hgrn lbnwt mzbh lyhw*
 Chr 22a: *wy'mr dwyd 'l-'rnn tnh-ly mqwm hgrn lbnh-bw mzbh*
lyhw
 Sam 21bβ: *wt'sr hmgph m'l h'm*
 Chr 22b: *bksp ml' tnhw ly wt'sr hmgph m'l h'm*

It is arguable that Chronicles here, like Samuel in the opening verse, has introduced direct speech while rewriting the verse expansively (*bksp ml'* will have been drawn from Gen 23:9; and the identification of the threshing-floor as a 'place' [*mqwm*] will be underlined in Chr 25).

Altar and Sacrifice and Divine Response (2 Sam 24:23b-25//1 Chr 21:24-26)

The plus in Sam 23b is also a statement by the Jebusite: he declares divine pleasure in David ('Yahweh, your god, will be pleased with you'). *ršh* ('be pleased') is used only once more in all of FP: when the Philistine leaders complain about David to Achish (1 Sam 29:4), they also link this verb with 'lord' ("by what means will this one become pleasing to his lord?")—they use a similar idiom to Samuel's Jebusite. Yet when, in the same complaint, they fear that David may become a 'satan' among them, they are reflecting what we know as the beginning of the Chronicler's version of the census. Yahweh's 'pleasure' is reported in 1 Chr 28:4; 29:17; and this could have been displaced from an original context at the end of the census narrative, if the Jebusite's words were primary.

Sam 24aα and Chr 24a start almost identically, but finish differently:

Sam 24aα: *wy'mr hmlk 'l-'rwnh l' ky-qnw 'qnh m'wtk bmhyr*
 Chr 24a: *wy'mr hmlk dwyd l'rnn l' ky-qnw 'qnh bksp ml'*

The continuation has overlaps:

Sam 24aβ: *wl' 'lh lyhwh 'lhy 'lwt hnm*
 Chr 24b: *ky l' 'š' 'šr-lk lyhwh wh 'lwt 'wlh hnm*

And the reports conclude with significant variation:

Sam 24b: *wyqn dwd 't-hgrn w't-hbqr bksp šqlym hmsym*
 Chr 25: *wytn dwyd l'rnn bmqwm šqly zhb mšql šš m'wt*

In Samuel, David acquires for a much lower price what has been a threshing floor together with oxen; in Chronicles, he gives Ornan a very much larger price for what will be a (holy) 'place.' In the re-writing of Chr 22b, *mqwm* was added to *hgrn*; here *mqwm* has replaced *hgrn* in the text.

Both Samuel and Chronicles offer their own conclusion to the shared report (24:25a//21:26a) of altar built and sacrifice offered. Sam 25 first repeats the formula which concludes 2 Sam 21:1-14 and then reports as fact what had been expressed as a wish in the shared text (21//22). Chr 26a adds to the report on sacrifice the specification that David "called on Yahweh" and reports the response as follows: "and he answered him with fire from heaven on the altar of burnt of-

fering. And Yahweh commanded the emissary, and he put his sword back in its sheath.” (21:26b-27).

What the Jebusite Saw (2 Sam 24:20//1 Chr 21:20-21)

The relationship between Sam 20 (MT and LXX) and Chr 20-21 is quite the most complex in this whole narrative; and it is rendered apparently still more complex when we compare the fragments of 4Q51 and the account in Josephus Antiquities with both.

	1 Chr 21:20-21	4Q51	2 Sam 24:20 (M+L)	Josephus Ant
1				w'r'n' dš ḥṭym
2	wyšb 'rnn	wyšqp ...	wyšqp 'rn'	
3	wyr' 't-hml'k		wyr' 't-hmlk	wyr' 't-hmlk
4	w'rb't bnyw		w't 'bdyw	w't kl 'bdyw
5	'mw mṭḥb'ym		'brym 'lyw	'brym 'lyw
6		...bšqym		
7	w'rnn dš ḥṭym	w'r'n' dš ḥṭym		
8	wyb' dwd 'd-			
9	'rnn			
10	wybṭ 'rnn	wyr' '[t ...		
11	wyr' 't-dwd			wyrš ...
12		...]sym bšqym b'[
13			wyš' 'rn'	
14	wyš' mn-hgrn	.... ldwy[d	wyštḥw lmlk	wyštḥw lw
15	wyštḥw ldwd 'pym 'rṣh		'pym 'rṣh	

Josephus (1) agrees with Chr and 4Q51 (7) against Sam that Orna was threshing wheat when he saw king David. L has “days of reaping wheat” between vv 14/15.

It can be argued that the unusual *wyšqp* (2) underlies both *wyšb* (Chr 2), which starts with the same three consonants, and *wybṭ* (Chr 9) with similar meaning.

hml'k (Chr 3) may be a simple corruption of *hmlk* (Sam and Jos). In 24:16, the *ml'k yhwḥ* was standing by the threshing floor; and in the Chr+4Q plus, Orna saw him between heaven and earth; and so any accidental shift in 21:20 to *hml'k* from *hmlk* would hardly be surprising.

The following two lines in Chr (4-5) are more readily construed following *hml'k*. Then the four sons are Ornan's; and they are with

him, hiding from the divine emissary. In the case of previously unknown Ornan, we do not expect to be told by the narrator any more about his family. If the four sons were David's, we should expect to read *w't 'rb't bnyw*, and also to know from the wider context which of his many more than four sons were with him.

hb' (hide, 5) is used in two synoptic contexts (niph'al in 1 Kgs 22:26//2 Chr 18:25; hitpael in 2 Kgs 11:3//2 Chr 22:12), as well as more widely in Sam-Kgs and Chr.

The only other collocation in HB of *'bdyw* and *'brym* (Sam and Jos, but not extant in 4Q51) is in 2 Sam 15:18, near the beginning of the Absalom story!

Only 4Q51 includes 'sacking' (twice: 6, also in 12) at this stage in the narrative: 4Q51 had also agreed with Chr in attesting 'sacking' in 16.

wybt (9, and unique here in Chr) shares 3 consonants with the preceding *wyb'* (8), and overlaps in meaning with the following *wyr'* (10), which also shares 3 consonants with *wyb'* (8). ('looking' and 'doing obeisance face to the ground' and 'going out from the X' are linked also in 1 Sam 24:9 – and we noted on 10b above a link with 1 Sam 24:5)

wyrš (Jos 11) also shares consonants with *wyr'* (10) and *wyš'* (12) — "he saw ... he ran ... he prostrated" is reported of Abraham in Gen 18:2.

4Q51 (14) supports Chr 21 against Sam 20 (MT/LXX) in reporting that the Jebusite prostrated himself before 'David', rather than 'the king.' And yet, in the immediately following Samuel plus (24:21), 4Q51 follows "and Orna said" with "to the king." We have already noted the preference in Samuel pluses for 'the king' rather than 'David.' Both had been used in an older form of the text; and it had been only gradually that instances of an original 'David' were altered to 'the king.'

The table above includes only the actual words preserved or at least partially attested in 4Q51. Their alignment in fragment 164 attests a complete text even longer than 1 Chr 21:20-21, and the latter has been made the basis for the reconstruction published in DJD. It is admitted in that volume that "hiding themselves" (Chr, 5) "in sacking" (4Q51, 6) is both without parallel, and surprising. But a further significant assumption is passed over in silence, namely that in 4Q51 the object following *wyr'* 't would have been *hmlk* (line 10), and not

dwyd as in Chr. However, given that Chr and 4Q51 agree against Sam in reading ‘David’ in line 14, this is precarious; and it weakens the resulting proposal that the shorter text in Sam was caused by the scribe’s eye jumping from one instance of *wyr’ t hmlk* (“and he saw the king”) to the next. Of course it cannot be wholly excluded that *’rb’t bnyw ‘mw mthb’ym bśqym* (“his four sons with him hiding in sacking”) and *w’bdyw ‘brym ‘lyw mtksym bśqym* (“and his servants crossing to him covered in sacking”) were ancient variants combined in 4Q51. But neither Sam (MT+LXX) nor Chr preserves the full text of even one of the supposed variants, and both lack ‘sacking.’ The double instance of *bśqym* is one of the clearest elements of the 4Q51 testimony, and at the same time is very unlikely to have been an early part of the text of Samuel. The use of sackcloth within publicly expressed grief appears only twice in this long narrative, and both (2 Sam 3:31; 21:10) in later portions of the book.

Concluding Remarks

Most of the pluses in both 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 can be readily explained as additions to an earlier, shorter text. The more difficult and also interesting questions relate not to the pluses in Samuel and Chronicles, but to the alternative versions which they of the shorter core narrative: Yahweh’s anger or a satan; Dan to Beersheba or Beersheba to Dan; David’s heart struck him or Yahweh struck Israel; your fleeing or being swept away before your enemies; I the shepherd have done wrong or I have done exceedingly wrong; Araunah saw the king and his servants coming or Ornan saw the messenger and his sons were hiding. In several cases the alternative in 1 Chr 21 is very similar to material elsewhere in 1-2 Samuel:

1. The Philistine lords identify David as a possible satan in their midst (1 Sam 29:4); and David levels the same charge against Joab and his brother (2 Sam 19:23). And David and Joab are the two principal human characters in the narrative which 1 Chr 21:1 states was launched by a satan. And these are the only satans in Samuel and 1 Chronicles.

2. Yahweh struck Israel because what had been done was bad in his eyes (1 Chr 21:7)—an expression never repeated in Chronicles,

but found several times in Samuel (1 Sam 1:8; 8:6; 18:8; 2 Sam 11:25, 27).

3. Fleeing (*nws*) is reported only once of David, when Saul first threw his spear at him (1 Sam 19:10). Being swept away is never repeated in Chronicles, but is used three times in Samuel (1 Sam 12:25; 26:10; 27:1).

4. Do wrong (*hr'*) is found in 1 Chr 16:22 as well as in 21:17; however, though attested in 2 Sam 24:17 only in LXX and 4Q51, it is used in 1 Sam 12:25; 25:34; 26:21—and in 1 Sam 12:25 it is reinforced by the infinitive absolute as in 1 Chr 21:17 (and only in these two verses in the Hebrew Bible).

The fact that 'do wrong' (4) and 'be swept away' (3) belong to exactly the same contexts in 1 Samuel is strong evidence that these correspondences result from deliberate writing or rewriting in Samuel or Chronicles. In another paper, I have cautioned against imagining or imaging editions of Samuel on the basis of shifts in wording or losses of text which may well have been accidental and unconnected. Several of the pluses in 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 may have been added piecemeal. However, several of the differences between the core versions of the census story belong together; and some of the wording of 1 Chr 21 has closer links than 2 Sam 24 with other portions of the books of Samuel—and that can hardly be accidental.

It may be that 1 Chr 21 has been rewritten from 2 Sam 24 with close and purposeful attention to a series of passages elsewhere in Samuel. It may be that the writing of some portions of Samuel was influenced by a version of the census story more like the Chronicler's than what we now read in 2 Sam 24. I have suggested elsewhere⁹ that David's vision of the *ml'k yhw* between heaven and earth, preserved only in 1 Chr 21:16 and 4Q51, may have influenced the depiction of Absalom, who also destroyed part of Israel in response to sin by David (2 Sam 18:9). And we may also observe that Joab, who here opposes the scheme of which David had become persuaded (whether by Yahweh or a satan), is blamed by David along with his brother as a pair of satans (2 Sam 19:22). The two depictions of Joab, as satan and as himself warning David against mischievous enticement, are no less opposed than Dan to Beersheba and Beersheba to Dan.

⁹ "Imag[in]ing Editions of Samuel," 127–28 (see n. 2 above).

These notes have suggested that both 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 include several expansions from shorter and earlier forms of these texts. Some of these expansions are repetitions of material already in an older form of the story; and some relate to the wider context of 2 Sam 24 as part of the book of Samuel and within the Former Prophets, and of 1 Chr 21 within the book of Chronicles. However, several of the key differences between 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21 result from rewriting, in one direction or the other—or in both directions. Despite the several important differences between the core elements of the census story as presented in 2 Sam 24 and 1 Chr 21, neither of these shorter versions would appear a stranger in the other book.

THE SEPTUAGINT'S RENDERING OF HEBREW TOPONYMS AS AN INDICATION OF THE TRANSLATION TECHNIQUE OF THE BOOK OF NUMBERS

Hans Ausloos¹

1. Introduction: Old Testament Textual Criticism Between Septuagint Studies and Literary Criticism

The attention given to the Septuagint (LXX)—the oldest translation of the ‘Old Testament’—as a textual witness has greatly increased in recent years. This is evident in the numerous translation projects either recently concluded or still underway that aim to translate the Greek LXX into modern languages.² Moreover, more than ever, research is being done into and being published about the LXX. Recently, B.G. Wright even spoke of a LXX “hype”: “The Septuagint has become cool—or at least a bit hip.”³ Nonetheless, the opposite can also be concluded. After all—especially since the rise of the so-called

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² See the completed English (A. Pietersma & B.G. Wright [eds.], *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (New York – Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007 [henceforth NETS]) and German (W. Kraus & M. Karrer [eds.], *Septuaginta Deutsch. Das Griechische Alte Testament in deutscher Übersetzung* [Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009 – hence LXX.D) translations of LXX. See also the still running French project *La Bible d’Alexandrie*, (Paris: Cerf, 1986). In the meantime, the first part of the Spanish Septuagint translation has appeared: N. Fernández-Marcos & M.V. Spottorno (eds.), *La Biblia griega – Septuaginta. I. Pentateuco* (Biblioteca de Estudios Bíblicos 125; Salamanca: Ediciones Sígueme, 2008). For an overview of the methods of and a confrontation between these various translation projects, worded by the respective project leaders and collaborators, see the proceedings of an expert symposium held in Leuven from 4–6 December 2006: H. Ausloos *et al.* (eds.), *Translating a Translation. The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (BETL 213; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008).

³ B.G. Wright, “The Septuagint and Its Modern Translators,” in M. Karrer & W. Kraus (eds.), *Die Septuaginta – Texte, Kontexte, Lebenswelten* (WUNT 219; Tübingen: Mohr, 2008), 103–114, esp. 103.

new methods of Biblical exegesis during the last decades of the twentieth century, in which people one-sidedly concentrate on the so-called ‘final text’—the Hebrew text, and even more specifically the way in which this text is represented in the Codex Petropolitanus (B19a), has often been uncritically accepted as the point of departure for numerous studies of the Old Testament.

In this context, it falls to Old Testament textual criticism to build a bridge between the two, namely between LXX studies and biblical scholarship. On the one hand, a thorough study of the LXX is obviously a valuable undertaking. Nevertheless, we cannot rid ourselves of the impression that all sorts of studies concerning the lexicography and the reception of the LXX sever the umbilical cord that connects it to the Hebrew *Vorlage*. In such cases, questions like the following take precedence: what role did the LXX play in Hellenistic culture, or how did the New Testament authors use the LXX? These are legitimate questions in themselves. However, in current research in the area of biblical studies, one finds that the great importance of the LXX for the textual criticism of the Old Testament apparently seems to be receding further and further into the background. Yet, it is precisely in this discipline of textual criticism that the bridge is built between LXX-studies and biblical scholarship. Every approach to the Bible that has a small or a large part of the Old Testament literature as the subject of its research should, after all, begin with a thorough text-critical analysis of the most important textual witnesses, of which the LXX is indisputably the most important non-Hebrew one. Within this process, the LXX does not present itself as a stand-alone document, but, above all, as the translation of a specific Hebrew-Aramaic *Vorlage*. The LXX is after all—first and foremost—a translation.⁴

The text-critical analysis of textual witnesses will not only ensure that one is aware of the fact that *the Bible text* does not *de facto* exist, but a meticulous text-critical analysis can moreover guard against dealing with the various textual witnesses in an unscientific manner and against manipulating them for the purpose of historical-critical analyses.⁵ Indeed, on this point too, the analysis of textual witnesses,

⁴ See the reflections by A. Aejmelaeus, “What We Talk About When We Talk About Translation Technique,” in B. Taylor (ed.), *Proceedings of the Xth Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies – Oslo 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 531–552, esp. 533.

⁵ Cf. H. Ausloos, “The Risks of Rash Textual Criticism Illustrated on the Basis of the Numeruswechsel in Exod 23:20-33,” *Biblische Notizen* 97 (1999): 5–12.

and in particular of the LXX, plays a prominent role. Or, as Professor Julio Treballe Barrera, to whom we dedicate this contribution with all our hearts, recently put it with regard to the books of Joshua and Judges: “The history of redaction and edition (...) cannot be studied in any case without a joint analysis of textual and literary criticism (...).”⁶

In order to be able to assess the usefulness of the textual witnesses within the text-critical—and *in extensu* historical-critical—analyses, one must, however, be able to form a clear assessment of the alternative readings of the textual witnesses. In making this assessment, which aims to retrieve the ‘more original’ variant⁷—the use of the term *Urtext* is intentionally avoided—, the issue of the so-called ‘translation technique’ plays an important role, at least with regard to the *versiones*—of which the LXX in its various forms is the oldest and most important textual witness. After all, in order to be able to make a well-founded judgement regarding the origin of various readings, one must have as accurate an insight as possible into the manner in which the different LXX translators dealt with their *Vorlage*.⁸ One hereby finds oneself in the territory of the so-called translation technique, which we, in line with A. Aejmelaeus, consider to be “an inseparable aspect of a translation.”⁹ The concept of ‘translation technique’ must, however, not be understood as “a system acquired or developed or resorted to by the translators”,¹⁰ it is, rather, “a neutral term to denote the activity of the translator or the process of translation which led from the *Vorlage* to the translation” of the LXX.¹¹ Moreover, one must bear clearly in mind that it is just as much a fiction to speak of *the*

⁶ See his contribution in “A Combined Textual and Literary Criticism Analysis. Editorial Traces in Joshua and Judges,” in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn & M. Vervenne (eds.), *Florilegium Lovaniense. Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, (BETL 224; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA, Peeters, 2008), 437–463, esp. 463.

⁷ For this terminology and the methodological background thereof, see B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called ‘Plagues Narrative’ in Exodus 7:14–11:10* (OTS 56; Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), 22–27.

⁸ Cf. A. Pietersma, “Septuagint Research. A Plea for a Return to Basic Issues,” *VT* 35 (1985): 296–311, esp. 299: “Analysis of translation technique might indeed be called the quest for the Archimedean point, because only from this vantage point can the text-critic sit in judgement over the fidelity with which the manuscripts have preserved the original text, and hence determine the general quality of individual texts”.

⁹ Aejmelaeus, “What we Talk About,” 533.

¹⁰ Aejmelaeus, “What we Talk About,” 532.

¹¹ Aejmelaeus, “What we Talk About,” 532.

Septuagint as it is to speak of *the* Old Testament or *the* Tanak. Just as for a few centuries now it has been incontrovertibly established that it was not Moses or other great personalities who wrote the Old Testament but that, on the contrary, this collection of books is the result of a very long process of coming to be to which countless authors and editors contributed, so too one should keep in mind that the Greek translation of the Old Testament was brought about through the contributions of various translators. This implies that in every Bible book of the LXX, the translation technique can display different characteristics.

Against this backdrop, the present contribution is not intended to give an overview of the various qualitatively and quantitatively oriented views regarding the characterisation of the translation technique of the LXX.¹² It is sufficient here to refer to the appeal made by Aejmelaeus: “What one needs in order to gain a more reliable and complete picture of this translator, as well as others of his kind, is new and other criteria for the characterization of translation technique.”¹³ Or: “For the task of describing one particular translator, this means that we must strive to provide as many-sided a documentation of his working habits and abilities as possible.”¹⁴

In this context, B. Lemmelijn and I have recently developed an approach that focuses on what we have called ‘content related’ criteria.¹⁵ Besides research into the manner in which the LXX-translators

¹² See especially B. Lemmelijn, “Two Methodological Trails in Recent Studies on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint,” in R. Sollamo & S. Sipilä (eds.), *Helsinki Perspectives on the Translation Technique of the Septuagint* (Publications of the Finnish Exegetical Society in Helsinki 82; Helsinki: The Finnish Exegetical Society in Helsinki – Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 43–63 and B. Lemmelijn, “A Plague of Texts?,” 108–125.

¹³ A. Aejmelaeus, “Characterizing Criteria for the Characterization of the Septuagint Translators. Experimenting on the Greek Psalter,” in R.J.V. Hiebert – C.E. Cox – P.J. Gentry (eds.), *The Old Greek Psalter. Studies in Honour of Albert Pietersma* (JSOTSup 332; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 54–73, esp. 55–56.

¹⁴ Aejmelaeus, “Characterizing Criteria,” p. 55. Cf. Pietersma, “Septuagint Research,” 299: “Translation technique must be studied as exhaustively as is humanly possible”.

¹⁵ For a description of the *content-related* criteria for the characterisation of translation technique, see H. Ausloos & B. Lemmelijn, “Content Related Criteria in Characterising the LXX Translation Technique,” in W. Kraus & M. Karrer (eds.), *Die Septuaginta: Texte, Theologien und Einflüsse* (WUNT 252; Tübingen: Mohr, 2010), 357–376. The study of *content-related* criteria with regard to the characterisation of the translation technique of the LXX is central to various research projects being led by H. Ausloos and B. Lemmelijn and being financed by the Research Fund of the K.U.Leuven and the Research Foundation – Flanders (FWO). Some of these projects

have dealt with Hebrew ‘jargon defined vocabulary’¹⁶ and with Hebrew *hapax legomena*,¹⁷ we are of the opinion that Hebrew wordplay can also be a good indicator in the characterisation of the translation technique in various books within the LXX. After all, each of the criteria mentioned confronts the translator with a choice: whichever direction his rendering may take, it concerns an answer to a specific problem for which he must find a solution. This setting can be compared to an artificially created laboratory situation in which a specific test is set up in order to elicit a reaction. In the case of the study of content-related criteria too, specific textual data are isolated in order to be able to describe and interpret the ‘reaction’ of the translator. Against this background, in this contribution I aim in particular at demonstrating that, as well as the way in which, research into a particular form of wordplay in the Hebrew Bible, namely the etiology of toponyms, especially from the perspective of the way that the LXX-translator deals with this, can be one of these criteria for the characterisation of the translation technique of the various books of the Bible.¹⁸

fall within the scope of the Leuven *Centre for Septuagint Studies and Textual Criticism*, which is under the leadership of Lemmelijn.

¹⁶ Cf. B. Lemmelijn, “Flora in Cantico Canticorum. Towards a More Precise Characterisation of Translation Technique in the LXX of Song of Songs,” in A. Voitila & J. Jokiranta (eds.), *Scripture in Transition: Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible and Dead Sea Scrolls*, FS R. Sollamo (SJSJ 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 27–51.

¹⁷ For a concrete elaboration, see H. Ausloos & B. Lemmelijn, “Rendering Love. Hapax Legomena and the Characterisation of the Translation Technique of Song of Songs,” in Ausloos *et al.* (eds.), *Translating a Translation*, 43–61; H. Ausloos, “The Septuagint’s Rendering of Hebrew Hapax Legomena and the Characterization of Its ‘Translation Technique’. The Case of Exodus,” *Acta Patristica et Byzantina* (2009): 360–376. In this regard, see also the study by a scientific collaborator on the research project into the Greek renderings of Hebrew *hapax legomena*: E. Verbeke, “The Use of Hebrew Hapax Legomena in Septuagint Studies. Preliminary Remarks on Methodology,” in Ausloos, Lemmelijn & Vervenne (eds.), *Florilegium Lovaniense*, 507–521.

¹⁸ See also H. Ausloos, “LXX’s Rendering of Hebrew Proper Names and the Characterization of the Translation Technique,” in Voitila & Jokiranta (eds.) *Essays on Septuagint*, 53–71.

2. *Etiologies as Content-Related Criteria*

It is in no way easy to give an accurate definition of wordplay in the Hebrew Bible.¹⁹ Nonetheless, proper names play a special role in this problematic. The so-called etiology, in particular, can be considered a typical form of wordplay.²⁰ This term is usually used to refer to short passages that, mostly in a narrative fashion, retrospectively ‘explain’ a person’s name or a toponym. It should be clear that it is very difficult for translators to convey such a wordplay in an adequate way in the target language. When the source text then also lays a causative link between the place name and what took place there (“The place was called ..., *because* ...”), then it demands a great deal of creativity from the translator to find a reliable equivalent for this. After all, this kind of wordplay presents every translator with an almost insurmountable problem. Indeed, the question poses itself as to how a translator can render this specificity of his source text. The answer is usually disappointing. The target language does not often lend itself to adequate expression of the Hebrew language- and wordplays. This then also leads to very obscure translations, which mostly leave the reader of the translation out in the cold. Unless light is thrown on the translation by an explanatory note, he can, after all, see no connection between the toponym and the ‘event’ that supposedly lies behind the origin of the place name.

It goes without saying that Hebrew etiologies confront the translators with an enormous challenge. Hence, one can say that an investigation into the way in which the LXX-translators dealt with this issue can, of course, be considered a test of their creativity. Just like in research into the way in which the various LXX-translators search for adequate equivalents for Hebrew *hapax legomena*, the way in which etiologies are ‘translated’ can also contribute to the characterisation of the translation strategy—the ‘translation technique’—of the various LXX-translators. In what follows, I want to illustrate this by

¹⁹ See G.A. Rendsburg, “Word Play in Biblical Hebrew. An Eclectic Collection,” in S.B. Noegel (ed.), *Puns and Pundits. Word Play in the Hebrew Bible and Ancient Near Eastern Literature* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2000), 137–162, esp. 140.

²⁰ In this regard, see F.W. Golka, “The Aetiologies in the Old Testament,” *VT* 26 (1976): 410–428 and *VT* 27 (1977): 36–47; B.O. Long, *The Problem of Etiological Narrative in the Old Testament* (BZAW 108; Berlin: Töpelmann, 1968); P.J. Van Dyk, “The Function of So-Called Etiological Elements in Narratives,” *ZAW* 102 (1990): 19–33.

means of an investigation into the Greek equivalents for the Hebrew etiologies that one encounters in the book of Numbers.²¹ All of them (Num 11:3,34; 13:23; 20:13; 21:3; 27:14) concern toponyms.

2.1 Num 11:1-3

At the beginning of Num 11, we are told that the Israelites—again—complain to YHWH. When YHWH hears the complaint of the people, his anger is kindled and the fire of YHWH burns against/under them (יהוה אש במ ותבער – Num 11:1). Thanks to Moses' intercession, the fire goes out. From this event, the place takes its name, Taberah.²² In order to get a good overview of the Hebrew and Greek versions, we put both in a synopsis:

MT	LXX
ויקרא	καὶ ἐκλήθη
שם	τὸ ὄνομα
המקום	τοῦ τόπου
ההוא	ἐκείνου
תבערה	Ἐμπυρισμός
כי	ὅτι
בערה	ἐξεκαύθη
בם	ἐν αὐτοῖς
אש	πῦρ
יהוה	παρὰ κυρίου

Apart from a few small variations—for the combination אש יהוה the LXX has a *plus* (παρὰ)—the LXX literally follows the Masoretic Text

²¹ For the Greek text, we use the edition of J.W. Wevers, *Numeri* (Septuaginta Vetus Testamentum Graecum Auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis editum 3/1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982).

²² For a literary analysis, see H. Seebass, *Numeri. 2. Teilband: Numeri 10,11–22,1* (BKAT 4/2; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 2003), 20–26

(MT).²³ Nevertheless, with regard to the toponym and the etiology, a few significant observations can be made. Whereas the LXX-translator of Numbers usually transliterates place names,²⁴ this is not the case in Num 11:3 for the toponym תבערה. This term is ‘translated’ in the LXX as Ἐμπυρισμός (NETS: “The name of that place was called Burning, because fire was kindled among them from the Lord”). As a noun, the term Ἐμπυρισμός also appears elsewhere—both in and out of the LXX. Unlike the MT, where the toponym is related to the verb בער (‘burn’—see also Num 11:1), the LXX connects the place name to the noun שא (πῦρ), which plays a central role in the whole of Num 11:1-3.

It can be decisively stated that the LXX-translator of Num 11:3 searches for a creative solution for the toponym. On the one hand, he translates the place name, but on the other hand, he succeeds wonderfully well in doing justice to the wordplay of the etiology. The way the Greek text reads, one notices immediately how the place name is connected to the incident that is recounted.

2.2 Num 11:34

Tired of eating manna, the Israelites call for meat. YHWH hears their wailing and makes a wind rise up from the direction of the sea. This carries quails with it that fall to ground over the Israelite camp. The Israelites greedily rush upon the meat, at which YHWH’s anger is kindled against them—“while the meat was still between their teeth, before it was consumed” (Num 11:33)—and many people are massacred. The place where this happened was called Kibroth-hattaavah, “because there they buried the people who had the craving.”

²³ The version of the Samaritan Pentateuch (SamP) is identical to MT (see A. Tal, *The Samaritan Pentateuch. Edited According to MS 6 (C) of the Shekhem Synagogue*. [Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1994]); in Qumran no version of Num 11:3 has been found (see E. Tov *et al.*, *The Texts from the Judaean Desert. Indices and an Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Studies* [DJD 39; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002], 188–189). Cf. also J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers* (SBLSCS 46; Atlanta, GA: Scholar Press, 1998), 161.

²⁴ This finding is based on a tentative survey of the way in which LXX-Numbers generally deals with proper nouns and with place names in particular.

MT	LXX
ויקרא	καὶ ἐκλήθη
את שם	τὸ ὄνομα
המקום	τοῦ τόπου
ההוא	ἐκείνου
קברות התאוה	Μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας
כי	ὅτι
שם	ἐκεῖ
קברו	ἔθαψαν
את העם	τὸν λαὸν
המתאווים	ἐπιθυμητήν

With regard to word order and quantitative representation, the LXX very closely follows the MT.²⁵ As in Num 11:3, the translator opts to translate the toponym קברות התאוה: Μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας (NETS: “Tombs of craving”). The first part of the place name is considered, in the LXX, as a *status constructus* plural of the noun קבר (‘grave’).²⁶ Elsewhere in Numbers, the Hebrew קבר also has the Greek μνήμα as equivalent.²⁷ For the second part of the place name, the LXX likewise gives a translation: ἐπιθυμία. This term, too, is common in the LXX as the translation equivalent of forms of the Hebrew verb אוה (‘to desire’).

With regard to the rendering in the LXX, two remarks can be made. On the one hand, the translator again chooses to translate the Hebrew place name into Greek, and not to transcribe it. On the other hand, in so doing he successfully makes clear the causal connection with the

²⁵ SamP is identical to MT; the textual witness of 4QNum^b has no significant variants for our research (see E. Ulrich *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4. VII: Genesis to Numbers* [DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], 216). Cf. also Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, 181.

²⁶ Cf. also the possibly original meaning of the Hebrew according to M. Noth, *Das vierte Buch Mose. Numeri übersetzt und erklärt* (ATD 7; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1966) 76: “die Gräber an der Landmarke” or “die Gräber des Ta’awa-Stammes.”

²⁷ Num 19:16,18.

incident related in Numbers 11. In the Hebrew, the first part of the place name (קברות) is connected to the fact that the Israelites buried their greedy countrymen there (קברו). Even though the two Greek words do not sound the same (Μνήματα – ἔθαψαν), the connection is nevertheless made clear in the translation on the level of meaning. The second part of the place name (τῆς ἐπιθυμίας) is, just as in the Hebrew (התאוה – המתאויים), related to the greediness (ἐπιθυμητής) of the Israelites.

2.3 Num 13:24

The story of the scouts who are sent out by Moses to the Promised Land, is situated at the time of the first ripe grapes (Num 13:20). Via Hebron, the spies reach the Eshcol ravine. In order to be able to substantiate the abundant wealth of the Promised Land, they cut off a branch of a vine with a bunch of grapes on it. This is so heavy that it has to be carried by two men.

MT	LXX
למקום	τὸν τόπον
ההוא	ἐκεῖνον
קרא	ἐπωνόμασαν
נחל	Φάραγξ
אשכול	βότρυος
על אדות	διὰ
האשכול	τὸν βότρυ
אשר	ὄν
כרתו	ἔκοψαν
משם	ἐκεῖθεν
בני ישראל	οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ

Again, one must state that the LXX-translator opts to translate the toponym אשכול in the etiology.²⁸ The place is called Φάραγξ βότρυος (NETS: “Cluster Ravine”), because the scouts cut off a cluster (βότρυς) (of grapes) there.

2.4 Num 20:13 and 27:14

Num 20:13; 27:14 can be treated simultaneously. In both passages, after all, the place name Meribah/Meribath is associated with the rebelliousness of the Israelites in the desert of Zin.

In the preceding passages of the book of Numbers, a causal connection is always made between the place name and the incident that took place there. This took place by means of particles על אדות or כי. Although this element is, strictly speaking, absent in the Hebrew version of Num 20:13, this verse can nevertheless still be considered an etiology. After all, Israel’s protests about a lack of water lie at the foundation of the place name Meribah.

MT	LXX
המה	τοῦτο
מי מריבה	ὑδωρ ἀντιλογίας
אשר	ὅτι
רבו	ἐλοιδορήθησαν
בני ישראל	οἱ υἱοὶ Ἰσραήλ
את יהוה	ἐναντι κυρίου

The Greek translator interprets the verse as an etiology, which is evident from the fact that the relative pronoun אשר has ὅτι as its equivalent in the LXX. Here again, the LXX translates the place name using the substantive (ἀντιλογία), which is a common equivalent for

²⁸ SamP is almost identical to MT (with the exception of the plural form קראו); in Qumran a version of Num 13:24 has been found in 4QNum^b (also reading קראו) and in 4Q365 (part of Reworked Pentateuch^c). Here, however, there are no variants that would be significant for our investigation (cf. H. Attridge *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4. VIII. Parabiblical Texts. Part 1* [DJD13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], 305). Cf. also Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, 203.

the substantive (ἀντιλογία), which is a common equivalent for the noun ריב (NETS: “This is a water of dispute, because the sons of Israel reviled before the Lord”). As an etiological background for the place name, the translator uses a form of the verb λοιδορέω. Although, in its meaning, this verb conveys the notion of Israel’s rebelliousness, it is nevertheless remarkable that the translator did not choose to use two words that sounded the same. In place of the verb λοιδορέω, he could have chosen the verb ἀντιλέγω. Or, instead of the noun ἀντιλογία, λοιδορία would have also been a good equivalent for מריבה. In this regard, note that the translator in Num 20:24 translates the Hebrew מִי מַרִיבָה as τοῦ ὕδατος τῆς λοιδορίας.²⁹

According to Num 20:12, Moses’ lack of trust in God in response to Israel’s rebelliousness at Meribah was the reason why Moses would not be allowed to lead the Israelites into the Promised Land. In Num 27:14, this incident is referred to within the pericope that tells of the succession of Moses by Joshua, who would lead the entry into the Promised Land: “you rebelled against my word in the wilderness of Zin when the congregation quarrelled with me. You did not show my holiness before their eyes at the waters. These are the waters of Meribath-kadesh in the wilderness of Zin.”

MT	LXX
כאשר	διότι
מריתם	παρέβητε
פי	τὸ ῥῆμά μου
במדבר צן	ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ Σιν
במריבת	ἐν τῷ ἀντιπίπτειν
העדה	τὴν συναγωγὴν
להקדישני	ἀγιάσαι με
---	οὐχ ἡγιάσατέ με
במים	ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι
לעיניהם	ἕναντι αὐτῶν

²⁹ However, various manuscripts read, in Num 20:24, ἀντιλογίας (cf. Wevers, *Numeri*, p. 250). Cf. also Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, 328.

הם	τοὔτο ἔστιν
מי מריבת	ὑδωρ ἀντιλογίας
קדש	Καδής
מדבר צן	ἐν τη ἐρήμῳ Σίν

The LXX-version deviates from the MT at various points;³⁰ these however do not directly concern the issue of the etiology. With regard to the etiology, in Num 27:14, one is indeed confronted by a striking fact. After all, within the word pair, only the first part of the place name is translated: ἀντιλογίας Καδής. Furthermore, the toponym Καδής can be used both as a nominative and as a genitive. This is all the more striking because Num 27:14 is also the first place in the Pentateuch where an etiological explanation of the toponym Kadesh is given: if the place is called Meribath-Kadesh, this is because the Israelite community was rebellious there (against Moses?³¹) (במריבת) (להקדישני) due to the fact that God was not sanctified there (העדה).

There are two possible explanations for the fact that Num 27:14 does not translate the place name Kadesh, but transcribes it. First, it is possible that the translator did not notice the etiology that appears in Num 27:14 with regard to the place name Kadesh. This is rather unlikely, bearing in mind the care with which he elsewhere deals with the translations of Numbers' etiologies. Second, it is also possible that he intentionally avoided the etiology in Num 27:14. After all, if he were to have followed his method of translating place names for which an etiological explanation is given instead of transcribing them, then he would have had to suddenly introduce a new place name here, namely a translation of the term קדש. This would have been problematic, however, since the toponym Kadesh had already been used on various occasions, independent of any etiology, in the book of Numbers (and also in Genesis) (Num 13:26; 20:1,14,16,22; see also 33,36,37).

³⁰ SamP has a few minor variations at the beginning of the verse: SamP reads אש instead of כאשר and את פי instead of פי. In Qumran, there is no manuscript of Num 27:14 available. Cf. also Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, 464–465.

³¹ See F. Brown, S. Driver & C. Briggs, *The Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English Lexicon With an Appendix Containing the Biblical Aramaic* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, ³1997 [= Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1906]), 937: “people’s strife with Moses at Kadesh.”

2.5 *Num 21:3*

When the king of Arad learns that the Israelites are advancing towards him, the Israelites are attacked by Canaanites. Some Israelites are then taken captive. Following this, the Israelites make the following promise to YHWH: “If you will indeed give this people into our hands, then we will utterly destroy their towns.” God hears Israel’s prayer and delivers the Canaanites to them. In accordance with their promise, Israel devotes them and their cities to destruction. That is why the place was called Hormah.

MT	LXX
ויחרם	καὶ ἀνεθημάτισεν
(את הכנעני =) אתהם	αὐτὸν
ואת עריהם	καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ
ויקרא	καὶ ἐπεκάλεσαν
שם	τὸ ὄνομα
המקום	τοῦ τόπου ἐκείνου
חרמה	Ἀνάθεμα

Besides a few differences in number (אתהם versus αὐτὸν; עריהם versus τὰς πόλεις αὐτοῦ) and a plus in the LXX (ἐκείνου), the translator again chooses to translate the place name Hormah (Ἀνάθεμα). The connection between the incident—the Israelites devoted the Canaanite cities to destruction (NETS: “he anathematized him and his cities”)—and the name of the place (NETS: “Anathema”) is thereby again made clear for the reader of the LXX.

3. *Conclusion*

The investigation of the way in which the LXX-translator of Numbers deals with the phenomenon of the etiology of place names in the Hebrew text leads to an important insight regarding the strategy of the LXX-translator of Numbers. Indeed, the LXX-translator of Numbers

specifically and deliberately chooses to consistently translate (and thus not to transliterate) every toponym that occurs within an etiology, in order to emphasise the connection between the place name and the incident related. That this is in no way a coincidental occurrence is apparent from two additional observations. First, it seems that ‘ordinary’ place names in LXX-Numbers are as a rule—this could be the subject of further detailed research—not translated, but transliterated.³² Second, it is apparent that the place names that function within an etiology in the rest of LXX-Numbers are indeed always consistently translated. I run through them in what follows.³³ The place name Kibroth-hattaavah also appears outside Num 11:34 in Num 11:35; 33:15,16 and is, on each of these occasions, translated as Μνήματα τῆς ἐπιθυμίας.³⁴ The same applies to the toponym Eshcol, which appears outside of Num 13:24, likewise translated, in Num 32:9.³⁵ The place name Meribah, which is translated within the etiologies of Num 20:13; 27:14 in the LXX, is also found translated in Num 20:14, the only other text where this place name is in evidence in Numbers. The place name Hormah does not appear in Numbers again after Num 21:3. One does however indeed already encounter this place name in Num 14:45. In light of the fact that this passage precedes the etiological name change, it is not surprising that the LXX transcribes the toponym here (ἔως Ἐρμᾶ).³⁶

On the basis of this relatively limited investigation, therefore, it can be concluded that the phenomenon of the wordplay, tested against the way in which the LXX-translator of Numbers deals with etiologies, gives clear indications as to the characterisation of the translation technique and thereby also demonstrates its methodological relevance as a *content-related* criterion.³⁷ Furthermore, the very well

³² See, for example, the summary of the stages of Israel’s journey in Numbers 33. Nevertheless, LXX-Numbers also ‘translates’ various place names; for examples, see Fernández Marcos & Spottorno Díaz-Caro, *La Biblia Griega*, 297.

³³ Taberah only appears in Numbers within the etiology in Num 11:3. Deut 9:22 follows the translation of Num 11:3 (ἐν τῷ Ἐμπουρισμῷ)

³⁴ *Idem* in Deut 9:22.

³⁵ In Deut 1:24 the term is also translated Φάραξι βότρυος.

³⁶ For the discussion surrounding Num 14:45, see Seebass, *Numeri* (n. 22), p. 307; according to G. Dorival, *Les Nombres* (La Bible d’Alexandrie; Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1994) p. 144; Num 14:45 and 21:3 form a diptych in the Hebrew text, which becomes disconnected in the LXX due to the differing toponyms. See also Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Numbers*, 339–340.

³⁷ See also H. Ausloos, “LXX’s Rendering of Hebrew Proper Names and the Characterization of the Translation Technique,” in A. Voitila & J. Jokiranta (eds.)

thought-out manner in which the translator renders topological etiologies implies that the characterisation of the LXX-translation of Numbers as the weakest of the Pentateuch needs to be nuanced somewhat.³⁸

Essays on Septuagint, Hebrew Bible, and Dead Sea Scrolls, FS R. Sollamo (SJSJ 126; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 53–71.

³⁸ See, for example, recently LXX.D, p. 132: “Festzuhalten ist aber, dass es eine Reihe von Fehlern gibt, etwa Auslassungen, Verlesungen oder grammatische Unsicherheiten, sodass Numeri als die schwächste Übersetzung des Pentateuchs gilt.” Our investigation also nuances A. Voitila’s characterization of the LXX translator of Numbers: “The writer of Greek Numbers worked on rather small segments at a time. And since he worked mainly on small segments, he was forced to work on the basis of the letter of his source text. Thus he did not pay enough attention to the larger context.” (A. Voitila, “The Translator of the Greek Numbers,” in B.A. Taylor [ed.], *IX Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies, Cambridge 1995* [SBLSCS 45; Atlanta, GA: Scholars Press, 1995], 109–121, spec. 120).

4QGENESIS^D RECONSIDERED

George J. Brooke

Introduction

The purpose of this short essay is to engage more extensively with 4QGenesis^d than has hitherto been the case. In particular I wish to pay attention to various features of the material remains and scribal evidence. On the basis of both those topics I will offer some remarks about the textual information in the scroll and make some brief comments about the history of the interpretation of Genesis, both in sectarian and non-sectarian compositions. Part of what I have to offer here is done under the encouragement that I have received from engaging with the reconstructions of biblical manuscripts undertaken by Julio Trebolle Barrera, especially his work on 4QKings.¹

1. Material Remains

Judgements about the material remains of fragmentary Dead Sea Scrolls are difficult to make, especially when all that remains is a single, relatively small fragment. 4QGen^d (4Q4) does indeed survive in only a single fragment. The fragment was first photographed, by itself, in June 1954 (PAM 41.158), then again in July 1956 (PAM 42.155) in combination with fragments 1–3, 5–7, and 9 from 4QGen^j, and again in August 1958 together with the principal fragment of

¹ Julio Trebolle Barrera, “54. 4QKgs,” in *Qumran Cave 4.IX: Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Kings* (ed. E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross et al.; DJD XIV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 171–83; note especially his attempt at reconstructing a complete twenty metre scroll that might have included Joshua, Judges, 1–2 Samuel and 1–2 Kings on the basis of his placing the seven fragments of 1 Kings 7–8 in columns of 30–32 lines near the middle of the reconstructed rolled-up scroll.

4QGen^c (PAM 42.725).² It has been photographed again more recently in colour, both for the catalogue of the Israel Antiquities Authority³ and for enlarged artistic reproduction, its almost square shape making it ideal for pictorial representation.⁴

The fragment measures 10.8 cm high by 10.7 cm wide. James Davila, the author of its principal edition, describes the leather as “reddish brown with lighter spots, thin and polished.”⁵ Davila goes on to describe briefly the damage to the fragment, both holes and surface loss, attributing both types of damage to worms. But he also notes that one area of damage near the middle of the fragment is long and vertical. There is stitching on the left hand edge of the fragment, showing that the extant column of writing was the last on the sheet. The stitching also accounts in large measure for the vertical break on the left hand edge. There is also vertical damage on the right hand side of the fragment.

These three vertical attestations of damage suggest that the fragment might be capable of yielding more information about the manuscript of which it was a part according to the method outlined most thoroughly by Hartmut Stegemann⁶ and given mathematical

² The dates of the photographs are based upon the photographer’s logbook which was used for the list provided by Stephen J. Pfann, “III. Chronological List of the Negatives of the PAM, IAA, and Shrine of the Book,” in *Companion Volume to the Dead Sea Scrolls Microfiche Edition* (ed. E. Tov with the collaboration of S. J. Pfann; Leiden: Brill and IDC, 1995), 73–95.

³ Donald T. Ariel, Hava Katz, Shelley Sadeh, and Michael Segal, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007), 32; see also my review in *RBL* 05/2009, esp. 2–3.

⁴ The same colour image has been used for the enlarged (30 x 30 cm) artistic reproduction distributed by ArtLink Inc., Tel Aviv.

⁵ James R. Davila, “4. 4QGen^d,” in *Qumran Cave 4.VII: Genesis to Numbers* (ed. E. Ulrich, F. M. Cross et al.; DJD XII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 43–45 (here 43). Tamar Rabbi-Salhov, “From the Scroll Caves,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls* (ed. D. T. Ariel, H. Katz, S. Sadeh, and M. Segal; Jerusalem: Israel Antiquities Authority, 2007), 30, also describes the manuscript as “a thin sheet of reddish-brown parchment.”

⁶ Hartmut Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” in *Archaeology and History in the Dead Sea Scrolls: The New York University Conference in Memory of Yigael Yadin* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; JSPSup 8; JSOT/ASOR Monographs 2; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), 189–220. Stegemann himself offered a popular version of his approach: Hartmut Stegemann, “How to Connect Dead Sea Scroll Fragments,” *Bible Review* 4 (1988): 24–29, 43; reprinted in *Understanding the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Reader from the Biblical Archaeology Review* (ed. H. Shanks; New York: Random House, 1992), 245–55. See also Annette Steudel, “Assembling and Reconstructing Manuscripts,” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years: A Comprehensive Assessment* (ed. P. W. Flint and J. C.

precision by Dirk Stoll.⁷ Rather than thinking that worms have been responsible for eating in a straight line, and a vertical one at that, it seems to me more likely that such damage is the result of how the scroll was rolled up in antiquity when it was left in Cave 4 and then subsequently flattened. If we suppose that what now survives in this sole fragment was in fact a single turn in the original scroll, then we can note two matters.

First, it is likely that the presence of the vertical stitching caused some vertical stress in the rolled up scroll to the leather on both sides of it. If what survives on 4QGen^d preceded the stitching as an outer turn, then stitching would have laid at the end of an inwards turn, putting some pressure on the inscribed side of the manuscript that preceded it. Stegemann noted that “often, also, a vertical break in a sheet is caused by a sewing seam in the layer before or after this seam.”⁸ This confirms the suggestion I am making here. As to what followed the stitching, what broke off after the stitching has not survived.

Second, if the scroll had been flattened at some point in antiquity, then the single turn of the scroll that might now survive, at least in part, could have had two possible folds, one where the left-hand edge with stitching lay inside the right-hand edge which was in effect on top of it, and one roughly half-way between the two extant edges of the fragment. This action of being squashed could well explain the vertical damage that is visible in the middle of the extant fragment of the scroll. In fact such regularity in the vertical damage patterns, the two edges and the central damage, supports the argument that what is now preserved did form a single turn of the original scroll.

VanderKam; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 516–34. A recent description of the application of Stegemann’s method is offered by Torleif Elgvin, “How to Reconstruct a Fragmented Scroll: The Puzzle of 4Q422,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006* (ed. A. Klostergaard Petersen, T. Elgvin, C. Wassen, H. von Weissenberg, M. Winninge and with M. Ehrensward; STDJ 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 223–36.

⁷ Dirk Stoll, “Die Schriftrollen vom Toten Meer—mathematisch oder Wie kann man einer Rekonstruktion Gestalt verleihen?” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 205–18.

⁸ Stegemann, “Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments,” 212 n. 44.

Although we cannot be sure that what survives of 4QGen^d represents a single turn of the scroll, there is some considerable plausibility in the suggestion. To my mind there is enough plausibility to encourage the further suggestion that by measuring the distance between the two edges that have survived it might be possible to calculate approximately how long the scroll could have been, given the thickness of the leather, and making the justifiable assumption that the start of Genesis was on the outermost turn of the scroll.

The extensive damage to the surviving fragment over the centuries makes it difficult to be sure of its thickness when first prepared. Nor can it be assumed that all the sheets that made up the complete scroll were of the same thickness. Stegemann noted that some manuscripts were prepared on thin skin, such as the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19), some on somewhat thicker leather, like the *Hodayot* (1QH^a), and some on even thicker leather, such as the *Psalms Scroll* (11QPs^a). From his years of experience working with scroll fragments, having described some of the characteristics of the major scrolls, he then described the features of a group of shorter scrolls:

There are shorter scrolls which had a length of only about 1.5 or 2 m divided into, for example, 12 or 13 broader columns or about 20 smaller columns. If they were rolled with the beginning of their text in the outer layer of the scroll, they were not as tightly wrapped as the larger scrolls. The result is that the distances between corresponding points of damage in the innermost layers of these scrolls are greater than in the larger scrolls. Usually they are about 5 cm. (This is the case, e.g., with 1QpHab or 5Q504, where we find measurements of about 5 cm, or with 4Q511, where this measurement is about 4.8 cm).⁹

To test Stegemann's theory for 4QGen^d, I made a model using double-layered 75 gsm paper to represent thin leather. Guided by the damage patterns, I set the width of the turn as 10.7 cm for the extant fragment I was able to recreate a scroll of a further 190 cm after the extant stitching, before the innermost turn became too difficult to roll. The innermost turn had a width of 5.1 cm and by projecting that the extant fragment is from the third column of text, it is possible to recreate the first sheet of leather as 45 cm in length. This results in a manuscript of about 2.35 m.

⁹ Stegemann, "Methods for the Reconstruction of Scrolls from Scattered Fragments," 196.

A further factor needs to be recalled at this stage. As can be seen from the lengthy quotation above, Stegemann considered it likely that in general smaller and shorter manuscripts tended not to be rolled up as tightly as taller, longer ones, the kind that might fall into the category of *de luxe* manuscripts as described by Emanuel Tov.¹⁰ It certainly seems to have been the case that the longest scroll to have survived, the *Temple Scroll* (11Q19), was rolled very tightly. If this observation is granted, then the relatively short length of the reconstructed 4QGen^d might be further reduced, bringing it very close to the approximate 2 m length that Stegemann supposed for this group of manuscripts. Yet another observation also lends some slight further support to this. The ends, that is the internal closing turns, of manuscripts that are not rolled up tightly are more likely to perish as the air with its varying humidity circulates more easily and insects can also find their way in more readily. If this short scroll of 4QGen^d was not very tightly rolled, then it is no major surprise that nothing has survived of its closing columns.

Overall the technical observations and general abstractions in Stegemann's theory are thoroughly vindicated by applying his method to 4QGen^d. It seems to have been a manuscript about 2 m in length with an innermost turn of about 5 cm. Of course, the reconstruction demands some flexible latitude in the proposed measurements. Since the first sheet was at least 45 cm in length, perhaps the whole manuscript was made up of either four or five sheets, each of approximately the same length, making for a scroll of between 1.8 and 2.25 m in length. If the first sheet was measured out with three columns, then the whole might have had between 12 and 15 columns of writing. Within this sort of range, we now seem to have a relatively firm idea about the approximate size of the original manuscript of 4QGen^d.

2. *Scribal Evidence*

Under this heading I wish in the first place to collect together various details that have been observed by Emanuel Tov but which are dispersed in various sections of his standard work on scribal

¹⁰ Emanuel Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 125–29.

practices.¹¹ Tov has made the following observations. First, that of the scrolls from Qumran and other Judean desert sites, fifty-one (5.5%) have their beginnings (or parts thereof) preserved, while only twenty-nine (3.1%) have endings preserved. In addition, Tov has noted that another twenty-eight scrolls, 4QGen^d among them, seem to preserve sections of text from near the beginning, rather than the end. For him “at one point the beginning, rather than the end, had a better chance of survival.”¹² For 4QGen^d this statistical data seems to corroborate the observation of Stegemann that the small scrolls that were loosely rolled would most likely deteriorate at their innermost turns.

Second, as pointed out by Davila,¹³ the writing block of 4QGen^d measures 8 cm in height and contains eleven lines of writing. Tov has set this information in perspective by showing that this clearly puts the manuscript amongst the group of scrolls with a small writing block. His classification is that scrolls with between four and fourteen lines belong in this category, those with fifteen to twenty-four lines are of medium size, those with twenty-five to thirty-four lines are large, and those with more lines than that, even up to sixty or more lines, are very large.¹⁴ His classification seems appropriate.

Third, Tov has further noted that of all the manuscripts of Genesis for which calculations can be made with some certainty, 4QGen^d has the least number of lines per column. 4QGen^g is the next closest with fourteen; 4QGen^f has seventeen lines per column. Some manuscripts of Genesis had fifty or more lines per column. Tov has drawn the following conclusion:

The average scroll of a single book of the Torah probably contained 20–30 lines per column. Scrolls of a smaller size would not have contained the complete books, and the longer ones (40–60 lines) could have contained two or more books. Thus in Genesis five long copies (4QGen^{b,e}, SdeirGen, MurGen-Num, 4QExod^b [=4Q[Gen-]Exod^b]) contain 40–50 lines, while the smaller ones, 4QGen^{d,g,f}, contain 11, 14 and 17 lines. Medium-length copies contain 24 and 25 lines. 4QGen^d,

¹¹ Tov, *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden: Brill, 2004).

¹² Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 111.

¹³ Davila, “4. 4QGen^d,” 43.

¹⁴ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 85–89.

with merely 11 lines and 4QExod^e with 8 lines definitely did not contain the complete books.¹⁵

As to the size of the margins, 4QGen^d reflects the majority of manuscripts for which there is evidence in having a top margin that is slightly narrower than the bottom margin.¹⁶

Overall it seems that the layout of the scroll, as that can be appreciated from the remains of this single column, show that 4QGen^d did not contain the whole of Genesis. The reconstruction of the scroll in the previous section has attempted to show the likelihood that the scroll was about 2 m long with between 12 and 15 columns of writing of roughly the same size as on the extant fragment. Let us turn to considering the text of Genesis that such a manuscript might have contained.

3. *Textual Data*

Linked closely to the study of the scribal evidence of the manuscript are the textual data that are produced by the actual scribal copyist. For some scholars, after a very few preliminary remarks on the state of the manuscript, it is the textual data that are most important. Davila's first published comments on 4QGen^d were largely limited to description of the character of the text that it contained: "4QGen^d preserves a damaged text of Gen 1:18-27. It is written in a late Hasmonean formal hand which shows some semiformal influence. It was probably copied ca. 50-25 BCE. Where its text is preserved or can be reconstructed it is identical to the MT, aside from four orthographic variants."¹⁷ But it has already become clear from the consideration of the possible reconstruction of the manuscript and the dimensions of the layout of its writing block, that 4QGen^d was a small manuscript, relatively short, that could not have contained the whole of the book of Genesis. It is thus necessary to integrate information about the text

¹⁵ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 98.

¹⁶ Tov, *Scribal Practices*, 100.

¹⁷ James R. Davila, "New Qumran Readings for Genesis 1," in *Of Scribes and Scrolls: Studies on the Hebrew Bible, Intertestamental Judaism, and Christian Origins* (ed. H. W. Attridge, J. J. Collins, and T. H. Tobin; College Theology Society Resources in Religion 5; Lanham: University Press of America, 1990), 5.

presented on the manuscript with data about the shape and size of the manuscript itself.

First there is a matter of the particular readings for the few verses of Genesis that survive. In his preliminary note on the manuscript Davila indicated that there are four variants from \mathfrak{M} , all of which can be characterized as orthographic. In his principal edition he actually notes five: for two of these 4QGen^d alone attests a full orthography (*hwšk* [Gen 1:18; line 1]; [^l]wtm [Gen 1:22; line 5]); in the other three instances 4QGen^d is in agreement with \mathfrak{M} , once by itself ([*lm*]ynyhm [Gen 1:21; line 4]), once also with 4QGen^e (*htnynym* [Gen 1:21; line 3]), and once also with \mathfrak{M} (*hbhmh* [Gen 1:25; line 8]) against \mathfrak{M}^{ap} . There is nothing unusual about this limited range of orthographic variety; it reflects different approaches to long vowels, especially whether accented or not. Though these minor features of full orthography reflect one aspect of the so-called Qumran scribal practice, the fragment also contains several words that lack the use of a vowel-letter, to represent *holem*, such as *lhym* (lines 1, 2, 3, 5, 11), *ky* (lines 1, 5, 9), *wy'mr* (line 2), and *l'mr* (line 5), preventing one from aligning it with such practice.

Second, Davila has commented on the paragraph divisions in 4QGen^d as follows:

In \mathfrak{M} there is a D division after 1:19. This division is marked by a blank space in the middle of line 2 of 4QGen^d. In addition, the end of line 9 of 4QGen^d (1:21) was left blank, apparently marking a paragraph division not found in \mathfrak{M} . In \mathfrak{M} there is a D division after 1:24. This part of 4QGen^d is not preserved, but the reconstructed length of the corresponding line (line 7; 54 spaces) is unusually short, and this indicates that a blank space was also left at the appropriate spot to mark the D division.¹⁸

Again, there is nothing particularly surprising in this information. Taken together, the orthographic variants and the data on paragraph divisions, it is clear that there is nothing so unusual as would indicate that the text of Genesis presented on the manuscript was something other than a representation of Genesis itself.

Yet, third, there is the question of the extent of the text. The consideration of the damage patterns on the manuscript remains and the size of the writing block have indicated that 4QGen^d did not

¹⁸ Davila, "4. 4QGen^d," 43–44.

contain the whole of Genesis. Can more be said in the light of the text that survives? Do we assume that the manuscript contained a continuous, though partial, text of Genesis or was its contents devoted to excerpts, even excerpts that were part of another composition altogether? We cannot answer these questions for sure, but the character of the textual data and the likely size of the first leather sheet of the manuscript as containing three columns indicate that it is most probable that the text on the manuscript began with Gen 1:1. Since the manuscript cannot have contained the whole of Genesis, given the possible extent of the manuscript as having 12–15 short columns, it is likely that it contained the text of Genesis either as far as the end of Chapter 4 or perhaps even the end of Chapter 5 or slightly more. That would make 4QGen^d a continuous, though partial copy of Genesis; it probably contained a continuous running portion of Genesis, rather than a collection of excerpts.¹⁹ Though many introductions to the scrolls tell the reader straightforwardly that there are exactly so many copies of each biblical book in the Qumran library, readers should be made aware that not every “copy” would have contained the complete text of the biblical book as it now exists in Christian and Jewish Bibles.²⁰

A fourth and last matter should also be made explicit. Though there are some minor variations in orthography and paragraph division and only part of the book of Genesis was contained on the

¹⁹ It is thus a different kind of text than the excerpted texts of various kinds discussed by Emanuel Tov, “Excerpted and Abbreviated Biblical Texts from Qumran,” *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 581–600: “Excerpted texts are recognized by the juxtaposition of different biblical texts, either from different books or from the same book” (p. 586). Tov writes about 4QTestimonia, the phylacteries, various excerpted copies of Exodus, Deuteronomy and the Psalms, as well as in particular the two copies of Canticles, 4QCant^a and 4QCant^b. The discussion is carried further by Lutz Doering, “Excerpted Texts in Second Temple Judaism: A Survey of the Evidence,” in *Selecta colligere, II: Beiträge zur Technik des Sammelns und Kompilierens griechischer Texte von der Antike bis zum Humanismus* (ed. R. M. Piccione and M. Perkams; Hellenica 18; Alessandria: Edizioni dell’Orso, 2005), 1–38. Like Tov, Doering does not consider manuscripts like 4QGen^d which seem to have contained continuous but partial texts of the biblical books they represent.

²⁰ See, e.g., the lists and tables in James C. VanderKam and Peter W. Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls: Their Significance for Understanding the Bible, Judaism, Jesus, and Christianity* (New York: Harper Collins, 2002), 148–50; on p. 147 they do indeed acknowledge that in certain respects the figures given in their tables are as accurate as possible, but “not assured since the status of some manuscripts is not assured,” and they mention that some “biblical scrolls” are abbreviated and excerpted compositions (but not 4QGen^d).

manuscript, 4QGen^d does not need to be considered as containing a sectarian version of Genesis.²¹ Rather, it simply discloses that not all of Genesis had to be included on every copy of the scriptural book. Some of the possible reasons for why this portion of Genesis might have been needed and how it might have been used are discussed briefly in the next two sections.

4. *The Interpretation of Genesis in the Sectarian Literature*

In several studies, not least by Julio Trebolle Barrera,²² there have been attempts at challenging the assumption that textual criticism and literary analysis are separate disciplines.²³ So in the next two sections of this study some features of the history of the interpretation of Genesis are set alongside the manuscript and textual data to help to explain why a small manuscript containing just Genesis 1–4 or 1–5 (or slightly more) might have been produced. I will consider sectarian interpretations of Genesis first as there are some helpful factors amongst them that might be significant for the better overall understanding of 4QGen^d.

Perhaps the most important sectarian composition for appreciating how 4QGen^d might fit into the history both of the transmission and also of the interpretation of Genesis in the late Second Temple period is *Commentary on Genesis A* (4Q252). It is a single sheet of leather and its opening column begins somewhat abruptly with a paraphrase of Gen 6:3. In six columns it covers various items from Gen 6:3–

²¹ There are no sectarian variants in the so-called “biblical” manuscripts found at Qumran: see Eugene C. Ulrich, “The Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants’ in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E. D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: British Library; New Castle: Oak Knoll Press; Grand Haven: The Scriptorium Center for Christian Antiquities, 2002), 179–95.

²² See, e.g., Julio Trebolle Barrera, “Samuel/Kings and Chronicles: Book Divisions and Textual Composition,” in *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich* (ed. P. W. Flint, E. Tov, and J. C. VanderKam; VTSup 101; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 96–108 (here 96): “An analysis that combines textual and literary criticism allows us to approach the complex editing process of the books of 2 Samuel/1 Kings and 1 Chronicles.”

²³ See, e.g., George J. Brooke, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction between Higher and Lower Criticism,” in *New Directions in Qumran Studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8–10 September 2003* (ed. J. G. Campbell, W. J. Lyons, and L. K. Pieteresen; Library of Second Temple Studies 52; London: T&T Clark International, 2005), 26–42.

49:21, in a variety of genres, from “rewritten Bible” to pesher. It is most likely that “the variety within 4Q252 also suggests that it is compiled from sources and that its compiler assumed that his audience would be familiar with the text of Genesis to some extent.”²⁴

Scholars have offered several different explanations for why particular passages from Genesis were chosen for comment in the *Commentary on Genesis A* rather than others. The principal proposals have been made by myself,²⁵ Moshe Bernstein,²⁶ Ida Fröhlich,²⁷ and Juhana Saukkonen.²⁸ Although different approaches have been taken and different answers given, all the modern interpreters have concurred with my original observations laid out most fully in the principal edition concerning the extent of the scroll. Whatever is thought about the reasons behind the composition, its contents almost certainly ran selectively from Genesis 6 to 50.

Something similar can be said about the arrangement of the periods of history in the sectarian 4Q180, the so-called *Pesher on the Periods*.²⁹ After the general introduction which briefly mentions the act of creation, an opening period of history is presented as beginning with Shem and ending with Abraham. According to Genesis, the birth of Shem (Gen 5:32) takes place before the narrative about the Nephilim and the sons of God. It seems that the concerns of the composition are arranged in a way that is not entirely dissimilar to

²⁴ George J. Brooke, “252. 4QCommentary on Genesis A,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XVII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 3* (ed. G. J. Brooke et al.; DJD XXII; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 187.

²⁵ George J. Brooke, “The Genre of 4Q252: From Poetry to Pesher,” *DSD* 1 (1994): 160–79; idem, “The Thematic Content of 4Q252,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 33–59.

²⁶ Moshe Bernstein, “4Q252: From Re-Written Bible to Biblical Commentary [4QpGen^a],” *JJS* 45 (1994): 1–27; idem, “4Q252: Method and Context, Genre and Sources,” *JQR* 85 (1994): 61–79.

²⁷ Ida Fröhlich, “The Biblical Narratives in Qumran Exegetical Works (4Q252; 4Q180; The Damascus Document),” in *Qumranstudien: Vorträge und Beiträge der Teilnehmer des Qumranseminars auf dem internationalen Treffen der Society of Biblical Literature, Münster, 25.–26. Juli 1993* (ed. H.-J. Fabry, A. Lange, and H. Lichtenberger; Schriften des Institutum Judaicum Delitzschianum 4; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1996), 111–24.

²⁸ Juhana Saukkonen, *The Story behind the Text: Scriptural Interpretation in 4Q252* (Ph.D. diss., The University of Helsinki, 2005); idem, “Selection, Election, and Rejection: Interpretation of Genesis in 4Q252,” in *Northern Lights on the Dead Sea Scrolls: Proceedings of the Nordic Qumran Network 2003–2006* (ed. A. Klostergaard Petersen, T. Elgvin, C. Wassen, H. von Weissenberg, M. Winnige and with M. Ehrensward; STDJ 80; Leiden: Brill, 2009), 63–81.

²⁹ See especially D. Dimant, “The ‘Pesher on the Periods’ (4Q180) and 4Q181,” *Israel Oriental Studies* 9 (1979): 77–102.

those behind the organisation of the compilation of sources in *Commentary on Genesis A*. For the *Commentary on Genesis A* the opening pericope begins with Gen 6:3; for the *Peshier on the Periods* the first period to be presented can begin with the very end of Genesis 5. Both compositions make no significant reference to the period from creation to Noah, that is, most of Genesis 1–5. For 4Q180 Dimant has asked the question directly: “it may be asked why the exposition starts with Shem and not with the first human being, Adam.”³⁰ Her answer is to point to several other instances in both sectarian and non-sectarian literature of a similar phenomenon. Her principal comparative example is the list of sinners rehearsed in CD II, 13–III, 12: the list runs from the fallen angels of Gen 6:1–4 onwards. Dimant also compares this with the approach in the *Apocalypse of Weeks* (*1 Enoch* 93:3) which begins with Enoch recalling his birth at the end of the first week.³¹ That birth is narrated in Gen 5:18. It thus appears that in several sectarian treatments of the narratives of Genesis, there was understood to be a caesura between Enoch or Shem or Noah’s five hundredth year and what had gone before.

The matter can be put the other way round. Although there are occasional passing references to Adam in the sectarian literature found in the Qumran caves, no systematic exegetical discussion of the topics of Genesis 1–5 are extant in any clearly sectarian composition. It should be noted, of course, that a description of Adam and Eve in relation to Eden is indeed contained in the sectarian 4Q265, but this is not so much an exegesis of Genesis 2–3 as an halakhic aetiology for Lev 12:1–6,³² a reference to Genesis “introduced into a document that

³⁰ D. Dimant, “The ‘Peshier on the Periods’ (4Q180) and 4Q181,” 97.

³¹ The *Animal Apocalypse* (*1 Enoch* 85–90) contains allusion to the characters of Genesis 2–5 (*1 Enoch* 85) but is disproportionately concerned with the fall of the watchers and its consequences: see the chart of identifications laid out in Daniel Assefa, *L’Apocalypse des animaux (1 Hen 85–90) une propagande militaire? Approches narrative, historico-critique, perspectives théologiques* (JSJSup 120; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 158–60, 250–51.

³² This is the only sectarian exegetical example from Genesis 1–5, duly labelled as “halakhic-aetiological,” that is considered by Esther Eshel, “Hermeneutical Approaches to Genesis in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: Collected Essays* (ed. J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay; *Traditio Exegetica Graeca* 5; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 9–11.

is fundamentally a legal text;”³³ it is concerned with providing the reason why the length of the period of impurity after the birth of a boy differs from that after the birth of a girl.³⁴

4QGen^d seems to have contained the text of those very chapters of Genesis that the sectarian interpretative tradition seems uninterested in or even somewhat reluctant to handle. On the one hand, in the light of other non-sectarian compositions in the Qumran library, both scriptural scrolls and interpretative compositions, there is no need to consider in this context the possibility that in a notional sectarian Torah scroll Genesis was presented in a truncated form, perhaps without its first chapters; by implication, if such had been the case, 4QGen^d might have been copied to complete such a scroll. Although it is possible to consider that terms such as the “Law” or the “Law of Moses” do not necessarily include any reference to Genesis³⁵ or indeed to all of it, the overwhelming likelihood for multiple reasons³⁶ is that in the late Second Temple period the book of Genesis was so included in very much the form as we now know it as the first constituent element in the Torah. Thus, on the other hand, we are left with the observation that in the sectarian compositions found in the caves at or near Qumran the non-legal interpretation of Genesis 1–5 is of virtually no concern. Nevertheless at least one manuscript, 4QGen^d, from the mid-first century B.C.E. contained only Genesis 1–4 or 1–5, probably the latter, since the end of chapter 5 is particularly prominent in forming a break between what is of interest to the

³³ As noted suitably by Moshe J. Bernstein, “Contours of Genesis Interpretation at Qumran: Contents, Context, and Nomenclature,” in *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (ed. J. L. Kugel; Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2001), 79.

³⁴ See the discussion by Joseph M. Baumgarten, “Purification after Childbirth and the Sacred Garden in 4Q265 and Jubilees,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris, 1992* (ed. G. J. Brooke with F. García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 3–10.

³⁵ As suggested and then dismissed by Katell Berthelot, “Les titres des livres bibliques: le témoignage de la bibliothèque de Qumrân,” in *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (ed. A. Hilhorst, É. Puech and E. Tigchelaar; JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 127–40 (136–40).

³⁶ Such as the existence of Genesis 1–5 in the LXX translation and in several other manuscripts found at Qumran; also the large number of copies of the book of *Jubilees*, a second century B.C.E. composition, attest the existence of Genesis largely in the form as it is known from the *Ṿ*. Because little can be learnt from *Jubilees* about any supposed differentiation between the interpretative treatment of Genesis 1–4 or 1–5 and later chapters, it is not considered in the remarks below.

sectarians and what not. Do other compositions from the Qumran caves illuminate why this might be so?

5. *The Interpretation of Genesis in the non-Sectarian Literature*

On the basis of the discussion so far it will be important for scholars to revisit all the supposed copies of Genesis found in the Qumran caves to see what might be learnt about their extent and possible function, especially if they seem to be copies of only a part of Genesis.³⁷ In particular the manuscripts of Genesis with smaller writing blocks, such as 4QGen^g and 4QGen^f, should be reconsidered; but it would be profitable to review all the copies of Genesis that have come from the Judaeian wilderness, both those from the Qumran caves and those from elsewhere, such as Sdeir.³⁸ There is not the space to undertake such a review here, but it is obvious that such a review might reveal further evidence for how Genesis was received both in the sectarian community responsible for depositing what has now been found in the caves at and near Qumran and in Judaism more widely.

Beyond the copies of Genesis itself, five non-sectarian compositions merit brief further consideration for the way that they treat the opening chapters of Genesis.³⁹ First, there is the single copy of the *Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus* (4Q422). For the interpretation of Genesis and Exodus in 4Q422 Elgvin has argued that each of the first three columns of the composition contained one episode of the biblical drama: “col I creation and the beginning of man’s disobedience, col II the flood story from sin to God’s promise,

³⁷ Consideration of the possible exegetical implications of the actual manuscript copies of Genesis is missing from Bernstein’s valuable survey article, “Contours of Genesis Interpretation at Qumran: Contents, Context, and Nomenclature.”

³⁸ See Yosi Baruchi and Hanan Eshel, “Another Fragment of SdeirGenesis,” *JJS* 57 (2006): 136–38.

³⁹ I have not included any consideration of the use of Genesis traditions in the *Books of Enoch*, though to some extent they mirror the concerns of this study. However, it needs to be remembered that the editor of the Book of Watchers seems to have known the details of Genesis 1–3: see James C. VanderKam, “The Interpretation of Genesis in *1 Enoch*,” in *The Bible at Qumran: Text, Shape, and Interpretation* (ed. P. W. Flint; Studies in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Related Literature; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 129–48, esp. 139.

and col III the Exodus story.”⁴⁰ If this were correct, then it would seem that the actual presentation of a composition on the manuscript has been done to reflect a particular tradition of interpretation. The scribe of 4Q422 seems to have been aware of the larger structure of the books of Genesis and Exodus and written out his commentary accordingly. Whatever the case, 4Q422 indicates that for didactic purposes⁴¹ a section on creation and disobedience could be set out distinctively and then juxtaposed with the flood narrative and the Exodus story. Whereas the sectarian interpretations of Genesis preferred to begin with Enoch and Noah, in non-sectarian interpretations the creation and disobedience of Adam play a full role.

Second, there is the liturgical composition *Words of the Luminaries* (4Q504; 4Q506),⁴² in which Adam plays a similarly negative role. This set of prayers, extant in two copies, is probably non-sectarian⁴³ and from the middle of the second century B.C.E., though it is also probable that the prayers were used in the Yaḥad in a non-exclusive way, since there is no reference to sectarian circumstances in the periodized history that is reflected in the prayers.⁴⁴ In the prayer for the first day of the week the very fragmentary historical summary includes allusions to the creation of Adam and the bestowal upon him of understanding and knowledge (Gen 2:7–3:19; 4Q504 8) as well as a description of God’s dealings

⁴⁰ Elgvin, “How to Reconstruct a Fragmented Scroll: The Puzzle of 4Q422,” 231.

⁴¹ So suggests Moshe J. Bernstein, “The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the History of Early Biblical Interpretation,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (ed. H. Najman and J. H. Newman; JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 229–30.

⁴² Esther G. Chazon, “The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in *The Book of Genesis in Jewish and Oriental Christian Interpretation: Collected Essays* (ed. J. Frishman and L. Van Rompay; Traditio Exegetica Graeca 5; Leuven: Peeters, 1997), 13–24, has considered whether there is a literary relationship between the *Paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus* and the *Words of the Luminaries*.

⁴³ See Esther G. Chazon, “Is *Divrei Ha-Me’orot* a Sectarian Prayer?” in *The Dead Sea Scrolls: Forty Years of Research* (ed. D. Dimant and U. Rappaport; STDJ 10; Leiden: Brill, 1992), 3–17; Chazon concludes that there are no clear marks of sectarian authorship, but that the text was entirely compatible with sectarian thinking and use. Daniel Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls* (STDJ 27; Leiden: Brill, 1998), 61, has supported Chazon’s conclusions: “There is no compelling evidence to indicate a sectarian provenance for *Words of the Luminaries*.”

⁴⁴ Falk, *Daily, Sabbath, and Festival Prayers in the Dead Sea Scrolls*, 88–89.

with his people during the Exodus wanderings (4Q504 6).⁴⁵ It is difficult to say whether much more of Genesis was alluded to in the prayer, but it is possible that within the context concerning disobedience there was reference to the punishment of the generation of the flood. Whatever the case, here is a non-sectarian liturgical composition that is certainly aware of Genesis 1–3 and which was probably in regular use by the Yahad. Could it even be the case that such regular liturgical use of the opening chapters of Genesis stimulated somebody to carry around a copy of those chapters for some particular purpose?

Third, there are some non-sectarian wisdom compositions in which the early chapters of Genesis play a significant part.⁴⁶ Most obviously there is reference to Genesis 1–3 in *Instruction* (4Q415–4Q418; 4Q423). These allusions have been most carefully identified and pulled together by Benjamin Wold. Building on the observations of others and through his own close reading of the fragments he has concluded that it is likely that “allusions to creation both introduce and conclude the document.” The cosmological allusions are framed in a context of teaching on eschatological judgment that “exhorts the addressee to understand the difference between good and evil.”⁴⁷ Together with several other motifs this item of content might be precisely why some members of the Yahad remained or rediscovered an interest in the opening chapters of Genesis—in recalling Adamic disobedience, they provided an alternative theory on the character of human responsibility than was to be found in the theology of those who had generally given priority to the dominant view in the writings associated with Enoch. In addition, it might be significant for our purposes that in four places in the composition the Hebrew *’ēnōš* occurs; in three of these (4Q418 8 12; 55 11 [parallel to *bn ’dm*]; 77 3) it most likely simply means “man,” but it is possible, though by no means certain, that in 4Q417 1 I, 16 this is a reference to Enosh, son

⁴⁵ Chazon, “The Creation and Fall of Adam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 15, has noted how there are echoes of the language of Gen 6:3 and 12 in the prayer, “foreshadowing the *antediluvian* sin and its punishment.”

⁴⁶ Amongst other compositions that might have been discussed briefly are the few small fragments of the *Meditations on Creation* (4Q303; 4Q304; 4Q305).

⁴⁷ Benjamin G. Wold, *Women, Men, and Angels: The Qumran Wisdom Document Musar leMevin and its Allusions to Genesis Creation Traditions* (WUNT 2/201; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2005), 121.

of Seth (Gen 4:26).⁴⁸ This would neatly place the vast majority of the allusions to Genesis material in *Instruction* within the framework of Genesis 1–4, the same chapters as might have possibly formed the contents of 4QGen^d. That in turn would indicate that 4QGen^d reflected an understanding of Genesis that respected the start of a new *toledot* section at Gen 5:1⁴⁹ and which saw a need for readers to consider those opening chapters of Genesis alongside those that described circumstances from Enoch onwards.

Fourth, it is noticeable that all that survives of the *Genesis Apocryphon* (1QapGen) covers from Noah to Abraham, from Genesis 5–15. Moshe Bernstein, for one, has wondered whether anything before Noah was covered in the original composition, supposing that in large measure what survives in the *Apocryphon* “coincides strikingly with the Genesis material that is prominent in the much less comprehensive texts,” both sectarian and non-sectarian that he surveys.⁵⁰ Until further careful work is undertaken on the likely extent of the composition it is difficult to say anything more.

Fifth, brief mention must be made of the Wisdom of Ben Sira which is preserved in the Qumran caves and at Masada. In the Greek, Ben Sira’s hymn in praise of the famous begins with Enoch (Sir

⁴⁸ For an exhaustive and inconclusive discussion of the possibilities see John Strugnell and Daniel J. Harrington, “A. Instruction,” in *Qumran Cave 4.XXIV: Sapiential Texts, Part 2, 4QInstruction (Mūsār L^eMēvīn): 4Q415 ff.* (ed. J. Strugnell et al.; DJD XXXIV; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 164–65.

⁴⁹ The most detailed study of Enosh traditions in Judaism is Steven D. Fraade, *Enosh and His Generation: Pre-Israelite Hero and History in Postbiblical Interpretation* (SBLMS 30; Chico: Scholars Press, 1984). Fraade points out (p. 165–66 n. 168) that later Jewish tradition from Rashi onwards sometimes associated Enosh with the time of the fall of the angels, implying that the mention of him could be understood as a link with Gen 6:1–4. For how the placing of Gen 4:26 might indicate an editor’s concern to deny Adam any priestly role, see Knud Jeppesen, “Then Began Men to Call upon the Name of Yahweh: An Idea,” in *In the Last Days: On Jewish and Christian Apocalyptic and its Period* (ed. K. Jeppesen, K. Nielsen, and B. Rosendal; Aarhus: Aarhus University Press, 1994), 158–63.

⁵⁰ Bernstein, “Contours of Genesis Interpretation at Qumran: Contents, Context, and Nomenclature,” 62. Bernstein is rightly very cautious about the proposal, based on the alphabetical designation of the sheets of leather, that 1QapGen might have contained up to seventy columns before what is extant: Matthew Morgenstern, “A New Clue to the Length of the Genesis Apocryphon,” *JJS* 47 (1996): 345–47. Morgenstern’s suggestion is accepted by Joseph A. Fitzmyer, *The Genesis Apocryphon of Qumran Cave 1 (1Q20)* (BibOr 18B; Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 2004), 38, but with the comment that compositions in addition to the *Genesis Apocryphon* could have been included on such a long scroll, so it is impossible to gauge how long the composition was.

44:16) and proceeds with Noah and others; the Masada text lacks 44:16. It is not until the very end of the paean of praise, 49:14–16, that Enoch is (re-)introduced, followed by Joseph, Shem, Seth, Enosh and Adam, as if to compensate for their absence in the proper scriptural sequence at or near the start of the hymn. Patrick Skehan and Alexander Di Lella have suggested that Sir 49:14–16 are the insertion of “a minipoem on the most famous of Israel’s forebears,”⁵¹ but such a statement hardly does justice to the range of opinions about these few verses, including the possibility, likely in my opinion, that they are in some way secondary.⁵² Ben Sira clearly knew all about Adam (cf. Sir 17:1–10), but in this poem he chose to begin with Enoch or Noah. Other historical sequences are known in the Psalms and elsewhere,⁵³ but little can be derived from such texts concerning specific trajectories of the interpretation of Genesis, especially Genesis 1–4 or 1–5 (or later).

Lastly, a few further comments are in order. Modern critical scholarship has long identified Genesis 1–11 as a distinct part of the book of Genesis, a primeval history,⁵⁴ “story of the nations,”⁵⁵ or “history of origins.”⁵⁶ Opinions have differed markedly concerning how those chapters in the final form of the text of Genesis might be subdivided into sections. Traditionally Genesis 1–11 is made up of

⁵¹ Patrick W. Skehan with Alexander A Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 545.

⁵² For the full range of possibilities and the various commentators who have supported them, see Thomas R. Lee, *Studies in the Form of Sirach 44–50* (SBLDS 75; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 10–12. Lee himself sees the verses as integral to the whole poem, but he does not consider how the history of the interpretation of Genesis in the late Second Temple period might have influenced the compilation of the poem.

⁵³ Psalm 78 starts with an allusion to the giving of the Law, and then traces events from the Exodus to the building of the temple in Jerusalem. Psalm 105 covers from Abraham to the Exodus; Psalm 106 runs from the Exodus to the period of the Judges. Psalm 136 goes from creation straight to the Exodus and ends with the conquest of Canaan, omitting all the patriarchs. Ezra’s speech (Neh 9:6–37) starts with creation, moves to Abram, then to the Exodus and down to Ezra’s time. Acts 7 begins with Abraham, moves to Joseph, then Moses, Joshua, David and Solomon. Heb 11:4–40 runs from Abel (Gen 4:3–10) to Enoch, Noah and Abraham, then lists or alludes to various figures up to the narratives represented by 2 Maccabees.

⁵⁴ Recently reiterated by Bill T. Arnold, *Genesis* (New Cambridge Bible Commentary; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 1.

⁵⁵ Richard J. Clifford and Roland E. Murphy, “Genesis,” in *NJBC*, 9–10.

⁵⁶ R. Norman Whybray, “Genesis,” in *The Oxford Bible Commentary* (ed. J. Barton and J. Muddiman; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 40.

two weekly Torah readings, Gen 1:1–6:8 and Gen 6:9–11:32.⁵⁷ This structuring of Genesis is echoed in some ways in some modern scholarly views.⁵⁸ For our purposes it is clear that there is no scholarly consensus whether the genealogy of Genesis 5 belongs with what precedes or what follows, is an independent unit,⁵⁹ or indeed acts as a bridge between Genesis 4 and 6.⁶⁰ With respect to the roles of various traditions in Genesis 1–11 the classic formulation of Claus Westermann also needs to be kept in mind: “It is imperative therefore to keep in view the primeval event as a whole when one is inquiring into the prehistory of a narrative or of a motif in Gen 1–11; ... Not only individual pieces in Gen 1–11, as for example the flood story of chs. 6–9, but the whole plan of the story of primeval events, go back to a complex of traditions within which there is many a crisscross pattern.”⁶¹

From this all too brief survey of the interpretations of Genesis in antiquity and the readings of modern commentators it can be clearly seen that there are several literary seams in

⁵⁷ These divisions provide the structure for the commentary by Nahum M. Sarna, *Genesis* (The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1989). Sarna labels Gen 5:1–6:8 “The Book of Genealogies.” He indicates (p. 45) how Gen 6:1–8 are linked to what precedes as well as to what follows.

⁵⁸ Clifford and Murphy, “Genesis,” 9, represent a minority opinion in presenting a unit of pre-flood generations (Gen 5:1–6:8), though they also argue (p. 14) together with many others that 5:1–32 “shows the procreative gift of Gen 1:26–28 being exercised,” thus showing how Genesis 5 refers back as well as forward.

⁵⁹ The division of the text by Clifford and Murphy is taken a step further by Gordon J. Wenham, “Genesis,” in *Eerdmans Commentary on the Bible* (ed. J. D. G. Dunn and J. W. Rogerson; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2003), 42–43; like several other scholars Wenham insists that the *toledot* formulae (2:4; 5:1; 6:9; 10:1; 11:10, 27; 25:12, 19; 36:1; 37:2) control the overall structure of Genesis, so that 5:1–6:8 form an independent unit. Arnold, *Genesis*, follows the same approach, thus largely dissociating Gen 5:1–6:8 from what precedes it.

⁶⁰ For Whybray, “Genesis,” 40, the stories of Genesis 1–11 “have been linked together only in a very artificial way by a series of genealogies (Gen 4:17–22; 5:1–32 ...).” Later on (p. 45) he notes that several features of the genealogy of Genesis 5 refer back to what precedes it, though he proposes that 5:29 looks both back to 3:17 and also forward to the story of the flood. Amongst many other examples mention can be made of Mark G. Brett, *Genesis: Procreation and the Politics of Identity* (London: Routledge, 2000), 39: “Cain’s descendants form a bridge to the flood narrative in that they illustrate the escalation of violence on the earth... The overture to the flood story is, therefore, to be found in the genealogies of 4.17–26 and 5.1–32.”

⁶¹ Claus Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1994 [original German, BKAT; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1974]), 5–6. Westermann understood the genealogies to provide the framework of the story of primeval events.

Genesis 4–6. Any one of them might be reflected in how the contents of 4QGen^d were determined. What is likely, however, is that the delimitation of the original contents of 4QGen^d was not arbitrary, but reflected some particular aspect of the transmission and interpretation of Genesis in the late Second Temple period.

Conclusion

4QGen^d survives in a single fragment. This analysis has attempted to make a contribution to the reconstruction of the original manuscript. Although several assumptions have to be made in undertaking such a reconstruction, one clear result is that 4QGen^d could not have been a complete copy of the book of Genesis. Within parameters outlined by Stegemann and others, the proposed measurements of the original scroll correspond well with what is known from actual exemplars. If, as is probable, this relatively short manuscript contained continuous running text of Genesis, it is likely to have extended from Gen 1:1 to the end of Genesis 4 or possibly Genesis 5 or a little further (Gen 6:8?). Other contents are entirely possible, but the contextualization of a reconstructed manuscript of the first few chapters of Genesis within the framework of traditions of the interpretation of those early chapters as now known from the compositions found in the Qumran caves is very suggestive. It seems that 4QGen^d contained those very chapters that were of little concern to sectarian interpreters of Genesis. However, in liturgical and didactic contexts even the sectarians would have come across the interpretation and use of the first few chapters of Genesis. Perhaps a manuscript such as 4QGen^d served, then, as a reintroduction and interpretative basis for audiences that knew about but had been averse to grappling with the early chapters of Genesis and the theological and other issues they posed. That this should be taking place at least in the second half of the first century B.C.E. possibly indicates a shift in the approach to Genesis amongst some sectarians at that time.

ABRAHAM THE ASTROLOGER AT QUMRAN?
OBSERVATIONS ON PSEUDO-JUBILEES (4Q225 2 I 3-8)

Devorah Dimant

The wealth of unknown Hebrew and Aramaic works found among the Dead Sea Scrolls has opened a vast new field of investigation for students of ancient Judaism. Yet research in this domain is taking its very first steps, groping for understanding the nature and meaning of the recent additions to the literature composed in the Land of Israel in the closing centuries of the Second Temple Period. Basic definitions are still missing and different interpretations are still debated. The following comments may illustrate the ongoing process of commenting on and clarifying details of specimens of this diverse literature.

The large body of the non-sectarian compositions, which rework the Hebrew Bible in various ways, emerged as a distinct corpus in the Qumran scrolls only in the last two decades. This is the result of the long awaited final publication of the entire library discovered in the caves around Qumran more than sixty years ago. Among the fragmentary manuscripts found there, three were identified as copies of a single work, 4Q225, 4Q226, 4Q227. Because some features of these fragments are similar to passages in the *Book of Jubilees* the first editors named it *Pseudo-Jubilees*.¹ However, subsequent discussions have stressed the inappropriateness of such a title, since the similarity of these fragments to *Jubilees* is of general character, whereas the differences between them are significant.² Moreover, 4Q227, of

¹ Cf. J. Vanderkam and J.T. Milik, "225. 4QPseudoJubilees^a," in H. Attridge et al. (eds.), *Qumran Cav 4.VIII: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 141–155, esp. 142

² Cf. M.J. Bernstein, "Contours of Genesis Interpretation at Qumran: Contents, Context, and Nomenclature," in J.L. Kugel (ed.), *Studies in Ancient Midrash* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2001), 57–85, esp. 66–67. Since Berner discusses each manuscript separately he apparently does not consider all three to be copies of the same work; cf. C. Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen un Jubiläen: Heptadische Geschichtskonzeptionen im Antiken Judentum* (BZAW 363; Berlin–New York: de Gruyter, 2006), 366–378. Cf. also n. 4 below.

which only two fragments have survived, appears to come from an altogether different work.³ The two manuscripts 4Q225 and 4Q226 are indeed copies of the same work since they show overlapping sections (4Q225 2 ii 8-14=4Q226 7 1-7⁴). Copied in the second half of the first century BCE,⁵ they yield a chain of biblical episodes, but their sequence cannot be established with certainty due to the fragmentary state of the manuscripts. The largest passage extant from this work is found in the second fragment of 4Q225.⁶ It contains most of two columns, recounting the sacrifice of Isaac and the preceding events (4Q225 2 i-ii). Most of the scholarly discussion has focused on the episode of the sacrifice of Isaac in the second column.⁷ Less attention has been paid to the peculiar way in which the promise of offspring made to Abraham is presented in the first column. The description of this promise in 4Q225 2 i 3-8 is built on the three biblical formulations of the promise in Genesis (13:16; 15:2-6; 22:17), but the particularities of their reworking imply the view that Abraham was versed in astrology. To grasp the particulars of this passage the following close analysis is proposed.

³ Bernstein, "Contours of Genesis Interpretation," *ibid.*

⁴ The texts of these overlapping passages vary slightly, so some have deduced that while the two manuscripts have literary links they are not copies of the same work. Cf. Berner, *Jahre, Jahrwochen und Jubiläen*, 371. However, textual variation is quite common in copies of non-biblical compositions found among the scrolls. A similar feature is found in the biblical texts. The scribes of the Qumran were apparently not consistently faithful to a single type of text, certainly not in non-biblical manuscripts.

⁵ See VanderKam and Milik, "225. 4QPseudoJubilees^a," 141, 157.

⁶ It was initially placed second in the sequence of the fragments assigned to this manuscript. But it was later pointed out that the end of fragment 2 ii 13-14 concerns the Exodus, which is the subject of fragment 1. So fragment 1 should follow rather than precede fragment 2. Cf. R.A. Kugler and J.C. Vanderkam, "A Note on 4Q225

(4QPseudo-Jubilees)," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 109-116, esp. 114.

⁷ Cf. e.g. J.C. Vanderkam, "The "Aqedah", "Jubilees", and Pseudo-Jubilees," in C.A. Evans and S. Talmon (eds.), *The Quest for Content and Meaning: Studies in Biblical Intertextuality in Honor of James A. Sanders* (Leiden: Brill, 1997), 241-261; M.J. Bernstein, "Angels at the Aqedah: A Study in Development of a Midrashic Motif," *DSD* 7 (2000): 263-291; R. A. Kugler, "Hearing 4Q225: A Case Study in Reconstructing the Religious Imagination of the Qumran Community," *DSD* 10 (2003): 81-103, esp. 89-96; J. Kugel, "Exegetical Notes on 4Q225 'Pseudo-Jubilees,'" *DSD* 13 (2006): 73-98.

4Q225 2 i⁸

[ויאמר א]ברהם אל אלוהים אדוני הנני בא עררי ואל[עזר]	3
<i>vacat</i> [בן ביתי] הואה וירשני	4
[ויאמר אד]ני אל א[ב]רהם שא צפא את הכוכבים וראה	5
[וספור את] הכ"ול אשר על שפת הים ואת עפר הארץ כי	6
	אם
[יהיו נמ]נים אלה וא[ף] אם לוא ככה יהיה זרעכה ויא[מין]	7
[אברהם ב]אלו[הי]ם ותחשב לו צדקה	8

*Translation*⁹

- 3 [And A]braham [said] to God: “My Lord, I go on being childless and Eli[ezer]
 4 is [the son of my household,] and he will be my heir.”
vacat
 5 [And the Lo]rd [said] to A[b]raham: “Lift up¹⁰ and observe the stars and see,
 6 [and count] the sand¹¹ which is on the seashore and the dust of the earth, for if
 7 there [can be num]bered, and al[so] if not, your seed will be like this.” And
 [Abraham] be[lieved]
 8 [in] G[o]d, and righteousness was accounted to him.

The passage builds mainly on Genesis 15:2-6. It thus fits with the biblical sequence underlying the two columns: the episode recounting the promise to Abraham (4Q225 2 i 5-8) comes after the information

⁸ The edition is that of J. Vanderkam and J.T. Milik (eds.), “4QpsJub^{a-c?}; 4Q225, *DJD*

XIII (corrected, 2004),” in D.W. Parry and E. Tov (eds.), *Parabiblical Texts* (DSSR 3; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2005), 108–116, esp. 108, 110. It was freshly compared with photograph no. PAM 43251.

⁹ The translation is taken from *ibid.*, 109, 111, with slight alterations.

¹⁰ The translators added here in parentheses (“your eyes”), assuming the restoration of the Hebrew expression *ענינך* *שא את עיניך* (cf. Deut 4:19); but the absence of these words from the Hebrew indicates something else. See below.

¹¹ In line 6 the scribe corrected his spelling mistake *הכול* (= “everything”), with *kaf*, by appending *heth* above the *kaf*, thus correcting it to *החול* (= “the dust”).

about his sojourn in Haran (4Q225 2 i 2), and is followed by Isaac's birth and his binding (4Q225 2 i 8-ii 10). It therefore reproduces, skipping several episodes, the sequence of Gen 11:31; 15:1-5; 21:1; 22. Genesis 15:2-6 describes the exchange between God and Abraham concerning an offspring. In the biblical account the dialogue precedes the Covenant between the Pieces (Gen 15:8-21), but the Qumranic text leaves out this detail and retains only the exchange and the promise of children. But even the exchange is curtailed, for 4Q225 takes up only Abraham's complaint that he is childless (15:2), and not the general circumstances surrounding this promise as described in the preceding verse (15:1). 4Q225 then does not mention the vision, in which, according to the biblical account, the entire exchange took place. Omitted is also the divine promise for protection and reward which, in the biblical story, prompted the exchange about offspring. The Qumranic work rewrites only Abraham's complaint, and places it directly following the statement that Abraham sojourned in Haran for twenty years. The omission of some biblical details, as well as the emphasis on the binding of Isaac, underscores the main concern of the text, namely Abraham's offspring and genealogy. Details deemed redundant or irrelevant to this theme are omitted. Perhaps the author also assumed that his readers were familiar with the full biblical story and considered it unnecessary to repeat it in every detail. Given this truncated context, and the tendency of this text to shorten and compress its biblical models, it is noteworthy that the promise of offspring is described in relative detail and length, altogether six lines. They highlight the importance of this topic for the author.

The contours of this theme, and the way the author develops it, emerge from a detailed analysis of the pertinent lines. As noted, the framework of the 4Q225 section is borrowed from Genesis 15:2-6. However, details and repetitions are eliminated. Thus verses 15:2-3 are compressed into one sentence, and verse 4 is omitted altogether. By contrast, verse 5 is reworked in detail, and is augmented by additions from parallel biblical texts, reflecting the special emphasis laid on this passage. The way in which this is done is shown by the comparison below.

Comparison of 4Q225 2 i 5-7 with Gen 13:16; 15:5; 22:17:

כוכבי השמים	והרבה ארבה את זרעך	Gen 22:17
הכוכבים	הבט נא השמימה וספר	Gen 15:5
את הכוכבים	[ויאמר אד]ני אל א[ב]רהם שא צפא	4Q225
		וראה
	וכחול אשר על שפת הים	Gen 22:17
כעפר הארץ	ושמתי את זרעך	Gen 13:16
	- - - - -	Gen 15:5
ואת עפר הארץ	[וספור את]הכ"ל אשר על שפת הים	4Q225
זרעך ימנה	אשר אם יוכל איש למנות את עפר הארץ גם	Gen 13:16
זרעך	לספר אתם ויאמר לו כה יהי זרעך	Gen 15:5
ככה יהיה זרעכה	וא[ף] אם לוא [יהיו נמ]נים אלה	4Q225

The above table highlights the rewriting technique of 4Q225. The main narrative sequence and phraseology are taken from the introductory section of the biblical story about the Covenant between the Pieces. Indicative in this sense is the phrase **שא צפא את הכוכבים וראה** (“lift up and observe the stars and see”), which is based on the biblical **הבט נא השמימה** (“look toward heaven”) of Genesis 15:5. The conclusion of the sentence too, **ככה יהיה זרעכה** (“your seed will be like this”), borrows the biblical **כה יהי זרעך** (“so shall your seed be”) from the same verse. But several elements in the Qumran pericope are taken from other biblical episodes. The promise of offspring is repeated to Abraham on three occasions: following the separation from Lot (13:16), before the Covenant between the Pieces (15:5) and following the binding of Isaac (22:17). But on each occasion a different formula is used. After the separation from Lot God promises Abraham the Land of Canaan and numerous descendants (Gen 13:16). On that occasion the analogy of dust of the earth is used to represent the huge number of the descendants. The promise is repeated in the context of the Covenant between the Pieces, where the numerous future children are likened to the innumerable stars (Gen 15:5). The topic is mentioned again at the conclusion of the binding of Isaac episode, where both the “stars of the sky” and the “sand of the seashore” are metaphors for the abundance of Abraham’s future

offspring (Gen 22:17). Thus, the three versions of the promise use similes of bodies made of countless items, accentuating the idea of the great number of Abraham's descendents. But only two of them, Genesis 13 with the dust and 15 with the stars, add statements on the impossibility to count these enormous aggregations. 4Q225 combines the three similes: the stars, the sand and the dust.¹² It also reproduces the assertion that they cannot be counted, but applies it just to the sand and the dust. Notably, the representation of the stars differs significantly from that of the sand and the dust.

In Genesis 15:5 the abundance of the offspring is likened to the numerous stars, and the impossibility of counting them is stated. Yet on this point the Qumranic text deviates from its main model in Genesis 15 and turns to Genesis 13:16, where the inability to count dust is mentioned, rather than the stars. The appropriation by 4Q225 of Gen 13:16 is not accidental. For while the motif of countless items is applied in the biblical passages to both the dust (Gen 13:16) and the stars (Gen 15:5), the Qumranic text retains for this purpose only the dust. It adds to the dust the sand of the seashore taken from a third biblical passage, Gen 22:17, where the idea of countless quantity is not mentioned. The biblical accounts that speak of dust and sand have nothing to do with seeing. Seeing does indeed belong with the stars, as emphasized by Gen 15:5. However, the same verse combines the instruction to see and to count the stars, and thus likens the stars to the dust of Gen 13:16. 4Q225 retains the similarity of the stars and the dust by including them in the same context but nevertheless subtly differentiates the two. For the Qumranic text retains seeing the stars but discards counting them. In 4Q225 Abraham is asked just to observe the stars, whereas he is requested to count the sand and the dust in order to recognize the impossibility of doing so. This is achieved by clever rewriting and manipulation of the biblical sources.¹³

¹² For a similar conflation of Gen 15:5 with 22:17 to describe the promise of children compare also the *Biblical Antiquities* 18:5 (see below).

¹³ From this argument and the following analysis, I clearly disagree with Kugler's idea that the particular formulation of 4Q225 2 i 5 is an example of the process whereby the scribe adjusts the original biblical text "to facilitate and reflect its oral presentation" (R.A. Kugler, "Hearing 4Q225: A Case Study in Reconstructing the Religious Imagination of the Qumran Community," *DSD* 10 (2003): 81–103, p. 87 n. 21). Although the Qumran texts may have been presented through reading on various occasions, their formulation and exegesis attest to their character as written compositions, and this is true of Qumran manuscripts in general. These written literary documents should not be confused with various traditions, oral or written, which they

The formulation of the phrase concerning the stars is further differentiated by its peculiar style. The sentence stands at the end of the line, and the two words at the beginning of the following line are missing. The editors plausibly restore [וספור את] (“[and count]”-4Q225 2 i 6), thus supplying the missing verb to govern the surviving following objects in this line, “sand” and “dust”. Yet this restoration leaves without object the verb וראה (‘and see’) at the end of the preceding line (4Q225 2 i 5). We are thus led to connect the verb וראה to the two previous verbs שא צפא (“lift up observe”). Such a connection creates a string of three singular masculine imperatives וראה...שא צפא (“lift up, observe ...and see”), addressed to Abraham. All three take “the stars” as object. In this manner the stars are underscored by the three verbs related to seeing: שא צפא את הכוכבים וראה (“lift up and observe the stars and see”).

The *qal* forms of ראה and צפה belong to the same semantic field of seeing, ראה denoting the “to see” in general, צפה signifying the more specific meaning “to look, to look out” (e.g. Gen 31:49; Ps 66:7; Prov 15).¹⁴ However, צפה/צפא has additional shades of meaning.¹⁵ In the Mishnaic Hebrew the *qal* sometimes carries the sense of “looking at distance”, i.e., distance of place or time. It thus may also mean looking over a great distance or into the future.¹⁶ Both meanings are

rework and readapt, nor should the distinction been original written compositions and their subsequent oral presentation be blurred.

¹⁴ Cf. F. Brown, S.R. Driver and C.A. Briggs, *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975[1953]), 859, 906–909; L. Koehler, W. Baumgartner and J.J. Stamm, *The Hebrew and Aramaic Lexicon of the Old Testament* (5 vols; Leiden-New York-Koln: E.J. Brill, 1994–2000), 3:1044, 1157–1160.

¹⁵ Written in 4Q225 with a final *alef* to mark an *e* vowel (or a vowel?), as in the *Copper Scroll* (e.g. 3Q15 11 5: ראש הסלע הצופא מערב [“the head of the rock looking to the west”]), or in 4Q522 9 i 4 בקעת מצפא (“the vally of Mizpa,” taking up Joshua 11:8 בקעת מצפה [literally: “the valley of observation”]). On the use of final *alef* to represent *a* or *e* in the orthography of the scrolls see E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1986), 23–24.

¹⁶ Cf. e.g. *Y Megila* 1, 4: צפה הקדוש ברוך הוא שהמן הרשע עתיד לגמר ניכסי אביו ואת ניכסי אמו. ניכסי אמו. צפה הקדוש ברוך הוא (“God foresaw that wicked Haman will do away with the possessions of his father and the possessions of his mother;” *Y Sanhedrin* 8, 5: צפה הקדוש ברוך הוא שסוף זה עתיד לגמר ניכסי אביו ואת ניכסי אמו will do away with the possessions of his father and the possessions of his mother”). Cf. M. Jastrow, *A Dictionary of the Targumim, the Talmud Babli and Yerushalmi, and the Midrashic Literature* (2 vols; New York: Shalom Publications, 1967[1903]), 2:1296–1297. Note also the similar meaning of צפי/צפי (*qal*) in Jewish Palestinian Aramaic

apparently intended in the activity of observing the stars in 4Q225. This additional meaning would explain the use of two verbs, **צפא** and **ראה**, in 4Q225, as if they express two distinct meanings. **צפא** would indicate “observe faraway objects, at a distance and in future times”, whereas **ראה** would signify simply “see”.

The author attaches a third verb, **שא** (“lift up”), to the pair **ראה...צפא**. **שא** is the imperative second person singular of the root **נשא**, here undoubtedly used in the sense of “lift up”.¹⁷ This is evident from both the context and the biblical source reworked by the Qumranic pericope. The context speaks of looking at the stars, so lifting up the gaze towards them is thereby indicated. Indeed, the lifting the gaze to the sky is found in the biblical account, which is the main source of the Qumranic text, Genesis 15. According to Gen 15:5 God takes Abraham outside and says to him: “Look to the sky and count the stars” (הבט נא השמימה וספר את הכוכבים). But this is precisely one of the details omitted by 4Q225. For the Qumran text does not mention the outdoors scene or the imperative to count the stars. Yet the verb **שא** refers to the instruction to look at the sky. So the pair **שא צפא** apparently replaces the biblical **הבט נא השמימה** of Gen 15:5. However, **שא** appears to be a shortened form of the fuller expression, since the verb **נשא** usually governs a direct object, absent from 4Q225. Two other biblical contexts employ the idiom **נשא עיניים** (“lift up the eyes”), Genesis 13:14 and Deuteronomy 4:19. In Gen 13:14 Abraham is instructed to lift up his eyes and see (**שא נא עיניך וראה**) the land promised to him. Because this verse occurs just before the promise of offspring, it may have influenced the insertion in 4Q225 of both **שא** and **ראה** in reference to the stars. However, in Gen 13:14 Abraham's gaze is to be directed not to the sky but to the land; nor is it related to offspring. It is rather the following verse (13:16) that deals with offspring, comparing Abraham's numerous descendents to the innumerable dust of the earth. So it seems that in connecting the verb **שא** with a gaze towards the sky, 4Q225 was influenced by another verse, namely Deuteronomy 4:19 **פן תשא עיניך השמימה** (“lest

(M. Sokoloff, *A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic* [Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1990], 468–469).

¹⁷ Cf. *HALOT*, 2:724.

you lift your eyes to the sky”).¹⁸ Even though the Deuteronomistic context, namely the ban on idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies, is different, the verse is the only biblical formulation that applies the expression “lift the eyes” to celestial phenomena.¹⁹ It therefore may well have influenced the author of 4Q225, especially since the word *השמימה* occurs in both Genesis 15:5 and Deuteronomy 4:19. Having borrowed the verb *שא*, 4Q225 omits the eyes because the two other verbs of seeing, *ראה*, *צפא*, together with the mention of the stars, supply the sense of lifting eyes towards the sky.

The manipulations effected by the Qumranic author in the biblical source regarding the stars, and the singular formulation of this detail, set the stars apart from the sand and the dust. For according to 4Q225 Abraham is instructed to count just the sand and the dust, whereas the stars he is directed to watch. It is my contention that this particular stress on observing the stars implies familiarity with the ancient tradition about Abraham as an expert astrologer/astronomer, a tradition widespread in both Jewish and pagan compositions of the Greco-Roman period.²⁰ In fact, by the changes he effects in his biblical model our author may suggest precisely this tradition.

That a Qumranic author would embrace this picture of Abraham is not surprising, for the Qumranites were themselves versed in astrology, as is evident from the astrological texts discovered among the scrolls.²¹ Moreover, the members of the Qumran community, who owned the library found in the adjoining caves, followed a 364-day calendar and were keen observers of the yearly cycle and the heav-

¹⁸ The editors' supplement to the translation, “your eyes” (cf. above note 10), appears to rely on either verse, or on both.

¹⁹ The locution “lift the eyes” occurs also in later prophecy (Zech 2:1; Daniel 10:5) as part of visionary scenes.

²⁰ A survey of the Jewish literary sources which present this portrait of Abraham is offered by J.L. Kugel, *Traditions of the Bible* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University

Press, 1998), 249–252. Abraham's fame as an astrologer in Greco-Roman pagan works is surveyed by J.S. Siker, “Abraham in Greco-Roman Paganism,” *JSJ* 18 (1987): 188–208, 194–197.

²¹ Cf. 4Q186 (horoscope); 4Q318 (zodiology and brontology); 4Q561 (physiognomy and horoscope). See the survey by M. Albani, “Horoscopes in the Qumran Scrolls,” in P.W. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (2 vols; Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1999), 2:279–330

only bodies that control it.²² This is also evident from the several Qumran copies of the third Enochic composition, the so-called *Astronomical Book* (1 Enoch 72-82), which elaborates this calendar, and the yearly courses of the sun and the moon.²³ They also kept in their library several copies of the *Book of Jubilees*,²⁴ which has an interesting passage on Abraham's proficiency in observing heavenly bodies.²⁵ *Jubilees* relates how Abraham, while still living at Haran, remained awake all night on a specific date²⁶ "to observe the stars... in order to see what would be the character of the year with respect to the rains" (12:16).²⁷ *Jubilees* links Abraham's observations of celestial bodies with his recognition of a single God, who controls and directs their movements and courses (12:17-19).²⁸ This is the earliest attestation of

²² Note the round object found at Qumran, probably used for astronomical observations. Cf. M. Albani and U. Gleßner, "Un instrument de mesures astronomiques à Qumrân," *RB* 104 (1997): 88-115.

²³ The calendar is attested in several other Qumran texts (among others the *Temple Scroll*; the *Mishmarot* texts; 11QPs^a, 4Q319). Cf. the survey of U. Gleßner, "Calendars in the Qumran Scrolls," in P.W. Flint and J.C. Vanderkam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls after Fifty Years* (2 vols; Leiden-Boston-Köln: Brill, 1999), 2: 213-278. For an extended recent discussion on the 364-day calendar in the Qumran texts and the Enochic *Astronomical Book* see J. Ben-Dov, *Head of All Years: Astronomy and Calendars at Qumran in their Ancient Context* (STDJ 78; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2008).

²⁴ Altogether fifteen copies of this book were recovered from the caves of Qumran: 1Q17-1Q18; 2Q19-2Q20; 3Q5; 4Q176 19-21; 4Q216; 4Q218-4Q224; 11Q12. Doubt attaches to 4Q217 and 4Q484.

²⁵ See the discussions of L.H. Feldman, "Abraham," *Josephus's Interpretation of the Bible* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 223-289, esp. 232-234; Kugel, *Traditions*, 249-251; A. Yoshiko Reed, "Abraham as Chaldean Scientist and Father of the Jews: Josephus, *Ant.* 1.154-168, and the Greco-Roman Discourse about Astronomy/Astrology," *JSJ* 35 (2004): 119-158, esp. 125-127.

²⁶ *Jubilees* mentions the beginning of the seventh month of the year, which corresponds to the month of Tishri. In the Land of Israel this month marks the approach of the rainy season.

²⁷ The translation is that of J.C. Vanderkam, *The Book of Jubilees* (CSCO 511; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 71.

²⁸ B. Ego, "Abraham's Faith in the One God – A Motif of the Image of Abraham in Early Jewish Literature," in H. Lichtenberger and U. Mittmann-Richert (eds.), *Biblical Figures in Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature* (*Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature – Yearbook 2008*; Berlin-New York: de Gruyter, 2009), 337-354, esp. 339 sees here "a distinctive dissociation towards astrology." If there is one in *Jubilees* it is less obvious than in later Jewish authors, such as Philo and Josephus, or, for that matter, the *Apocalypse of Abraham*, which is the main focus of Ego's discussion.

such a link, elaborated by later writers.²⁹ Two contemporaries of *Jubilees* attribute to Abraham astrological expertise. The Samaritan author of *Pseudo-Eupolemus* states that Abraham “discovered astrology and Chaldean Science” and taught the Phoenicians “the movements of the sun and the moon”.³⁰ Artapanus wrote that it was in Egypt that Abraham taught astrology.³¹ Philo explains Abraham's proficiency in astronomy/astrology by his upbringing among the Chaldeans (cf. Gen 11:11; Deut 26:5; Joshua 24:2).³² Philo builds on the fact that the Babylonians were so famous in antiquity for their astronomical and astrological sciences that their gentilic name 'Chaldeans' came to mean “diviners, astrologers” (cf. e.g. Daniel 2: 2,4-5). Josephus takes up the motif in his book the *Jewish Antiquities*, where he connects Abraham's astronomical observations with his realization that God is the sole creator of the heavenly bodies and the entire universe (i, 155-156).³³

The first-century CE Jewish work the *Biblical Antiquities* relates that Abraham acquired his knowledge about the firmament through a divine vision (18:5). This vision is said to have taken place after the binding of Isaac, when God promises that Abraham's offspring will be like the stars of heaven. The verse cited therein is in fact a confla-

²⁹ The *Book of Jubilees* was composed sometime during the second century BCE. In my judgment the composition should be placed in the first half of this century, before the outbreak of the Maccabean revolt (168 BCE).

³⁰ Quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.17.3. The translation is that of C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors, volume 1: Historians* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 1:171, 173. *Pseudo-Eupolemus* composed his work around the middle of the second century BCE. See B.Z. Wacholder, “Pseudo-Eupolemus's Two Greek Fragments on the Life of Abraham,” *Essays on Jewish Chronology and Chronography* (New York: Ktav, 1976), 75–105, p. 79; Holladay, *Fragments*, 159–160. Of his work only two fragments survived, cited by Eusebius from the lost compilation of Alexander Polyhistor (80–35 BCE). See the comments of Feldman, “Abraham,” 232–233.

³¹ He is too cited by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelica* 9.18.1 from the work by Alexander Polyhistor.

³² *De Abrahamo* 69–71. According to his allegorical method Philo explains Abraham's leaving his homeland as abandoning the material cosmological understanding of the Chaldean astrology for the spiritual recognition in a single supreme God. Cf. S. Sandmel, *Philo's Place in Judaism: A Study of Conceptions of Abraham in Jewish Literature* (New York, Ktav Publishing House, 1971), 104 n. 9, 114–115, 204–205.

³³ Cf. the analysis of L.H. Feldman, “Abraham the Greek Philosopher in Josephus,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the APA* 99 (1968): 143–156, pp. 148–150; idem, “Abraham,” 231–234; Yoshiko Reed, “Abraham as Chaldean Scientist.”

tion of Gen 15:5 and 22:17.³⁴ Here the connection of the motif to the divine promises to Abraham is made explicit, but the conflation of verses displays an exegetical tradition similar to the one underlying the reworking of the biblical sources in 4Q225 2 i.

The exegetical link between the promise of offspring and Abraham's astrology is made explicitly in a Talmudic passage (*b Shabbat* 156a). The commentary on Gen 15:5 notes the outdoor scene and the divine order to Abraham to observe the stars. The comment concerns Abraham's complaint that he is still childless. In a saying attributed to Rav, Abraham states that he learnt through his astrological knowledge that he was not worthy of begetting a son. God answers by commanding him: "Cease your astrology, for Israel is free of planetary influences" (צא מאיצטגנינות שלך שאין מזל לישראל).³⁵

So both the *Biblical Antiquities* and the rabbinic literature are familiar with the tradition of Abraham the astrologer/astronomer, and both connect it with the biblical promises of offspring involving the stars. Indeed, modern commentators have suggested that the motif of Abraham's proficiency in these sciences grew out of associating stargazing, mentioned in Gen 15:5, with the biblical tradition on his Aramean origin.³⁶

This exegetical nexus seems also to underlie the passage from 4Q225 2 i. This would account for the unusual formulation of the detail regarding the observation of the stars. If so, this detail illustrates one aspect of the "rewriting the Bible" technique, whereby small changes of the biblical formulations are used to instill new ideas and motifs into the ancient scriptural story.

³⁴ As shown by H. Jacobson, *A Commentary on Pseudo-Philo's Liber Antiquitatum Biblicarum* (Leiden-New York-Köln: E.J. Brill, 1996), vol. 1, p. 582.

³⁵ Similarly *GenRabba* 44, 12, explaining the same verse: נביא את ואין את אסטרוולוגוס ("you are a prophet and not an astrologer"). For other rabbinic sources dealing with this motif see L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society 1968 (1953), 5:227.

³⁶ Cf. e.g. Feldman "Abraham", 232; Kugel, *Traditions*, 251; Yoshiko Reed, "Abraham as Chaldean Scientist," 124–125.

ANCIENT INTERPRETATIONS OF JEWISH SCRIPTURES IN LIGHT OF DEAD SEA SCROLLS

Florentino García Martínez and Marc Vervenne¹

During the international meeting of the SBL held in Rome in the Summer of 2009, a whole session was dedicated to “Ancient Interpretations of Jewish Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls.”² This title sounds straightforward, but is not unambiguous and can even be interpreted in different ways. In fact, the first words have been read in two rather different ways by the lecturers at the meeting. Michael Segal³ and Sariana Metso⁴ apparently understood the “ancient interpretations of Jewish scriptures” as referring to compositions which are part and parcel of the collection we label as “the Dead Sea Scrolls,” as both scholars explore the way some Dead Sea Scrolls interpret some of the Jewish Scriptures. The abstract of Segal promised that he was going to deal with compositions that rewrite or retell Jewish Scriptures and, more particularly, the Book of Genesis, in “an attempt at describing the wide spectrum of approaches to the biblical book”;⁵ Sariana Metso has indicated in her abstract that she aimed at clarifying the way one of the Jewish Scriptures, the book of Leviticus in particular, has “shaped the life and self-understanding of the

¹ In 2003, the two authors extended an invitation to Professor Julio Trebolle to spend several months as a Senior Fellow at the KULeuven with the support of the Special Research Fund (BOF). They wish to pay jointly homage to Julio in order to express their common admiration for the work he has done in his long and very fruitful academic career.

² Professor Trebolle was scheduled to speak at the SBL meeting, but in the end he was not able to attend the conference. It is for this reason that we decided to present to him here a jointly revised version of the reflections delivered at this meeting by Florentino García Martínez. The program and the abstracts of the meeting are available on the web pages of the SBL:

http://www.sblsite.org/meetings/Congresses_ProgramBook.aspx?MeetingId=14
and

http://www.sbl-site.org/meetings/Congresses_Abstracts.aspx?MeetingId=14 respectively.

³ Michael Segal, “Rewriting the Story of Dinah at Sechem.”

⁴ Sarianna Metso, “The Reception of Leviticus in the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

priestly community at Qumran and contributed towards creating its unique culture of elitist ritual purity with clearly defined boundaries toward the outside world.” Matthias Weigold⁵ and Sarah Pearce⁶, on the other hand, understood “ancient interpretations of Jewish scriptures” in the title of the session as referring to Jewish interpretations in general. Their contributions were intended to compare the approach to Jewish Scriptures as found in some of the Dead Sea Scrolls with the approach present in other Jewish writings of different periods. Weigold compared three quite different exegetical compositions from Qumran (pesher, commentary, and midrash) with other ancient Jewish interpretations of the Jewish Scripture as found in Aristobulus and Philo of Alexandria as well as in the early Midrashim; Pierce, on the other hand, examined Philo's *De Decalogo* and *De Specialibus Legibus* in the light of the Dead Sea Scrolls. This second, comparative approach assumes, at least implicitly, that we somehow already know how the Dead Sea Scrolls interpret Jewish Scriptures and that we can, therefore, use this knowledge to better understand other ancient interpretations.

Both approaches are logical, and certainly both can be fruitful. Both assume that we really know what “Jewish Scriptures in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls” are, and that the only ambiguity of the title resides on the sort of “Ancient Interpretations,” the expression being understood as referring to Jewish interpretations known as part of the corpus we call “Dead Sea Scrolls”, or as referring to other Jewish interpretations known from elsewhere. However, this shared assumption seems to us over-optimistic and confronts us with the basic questions: What do we in fact know about the “Jewish Scriptures” when seen from the perspective provided by the collection of writings called the “Dead Sea Scrolls”? And what can be considered, from the same perspective, to be not “Scripture” but “Interpretation of Scripture”?

⁵ Matthias Weigold, “Jewish Commentaries in Light of the Dead Sea Scrolls.”

⁶ Sarah Pearce, “The Interpretation of Jewish Scriptures in Philo and the Dead Sea Scrolls: A Comparative Perspective.”

I

In a series of four propositions, we will try to express what nowadays is undisputed and accepted by the majority, not to say all scholars dealing with the Dead Sea Scrolls, when talking about Jewish Scriptures and their Interpretation (“what we know”).

1. If we consider the collection as a whole, “Jewish Scriptures” means something different in the historical context of the collection than the expression means in a comparative perspective, because, at Qumran, we are clearly in the period before the “Great Divide” of which Talmon speaks.⁷ We are not sure about Aristobulus, but for Philo, and most certainly for the early Midrashim, Jewish Scriptures simply refer to the present Jewish Bible. In the context of the collection of the Dead Sea Scrolls, we may not be certain of what “Jewish Scriptures” really mean, but there is no doubt at all that it cannot designate the present Jewish Bible, with its implication of an accepted (fixed) number of books and an accepted (fixed) form of the text of each book. Eugene Ulrich succinctly worded the situation: “The first statement to make about the Bible at Qumran is that we should probably not think of a “Bible” in the first century B.C.E. or in the first century C.E. at Qumran or elsewhere.”⁸ Our idea of “the Bible” supposes an accepted (fixed) number of books and an accepted (fixed) form of the text of each book, whose collection forms “the Bible.” In fact, our idea of “the Bible” assumes that the canonization process was completed and accepted as authoritative by a certain religious group.⁹ This concept of “the Bible” is clearly anachronistic

⁷ Shemaryahu Talmon, “The Crystallization of the ‘Canon of Hebrew Scriptures’ in the Light of Biblical Scrolls from Qumran,” in E.D. Herbert and E. Tov (eds.), *The Bible as Book. The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (London-New Castle: The British Library-Oak Knoll, 2000), 5–20, p.14.

⁸ Eugene Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran,” in E. Ulrich and J. VanderKam (eds.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity Series 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994) 77, reprinted in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 17–33.

⁹ For this reason, Julio Trebolle Barrera could call his best-known book *La Biblia judía y la Biblia cristiana: Introducción a la historia de la Biblia* (Trotta: Madrid, 1993), translated as *The Jewish and the Christian Bible* (Leiden: Brill, 1998).

in the historical context of the Dead Sea Scrolls collection.¹⁰ In this collection we do find scrolls, even many scrolls, which later will become “Biblical books” (Scripture or Bible) and in many different forms, be it in clearly different textual forms (short, long, revised, reworked, abstracted, versions) or in different editions, or rewritten in the form of new compositions, and all of them were used indiscriminately, but not yet as Jewish Scriptures or Hebrew Bible.¹¹

2. In the Dead Sea Scrolls we do find some religious books that are considered as authoritative.¹² Moreover, there are some indications that two groups of books, designated as “Moses (or the Torah)”¹³ and the Prophets” were already considered as different and more authoritative than the others,¹⁴ although we do not know for sure what books exactly were included in these two groups, particularly in the

¹⁰ This is nowadays a well known truism. See most recently, Florentino García Martínez, “Rethinking the Bible: Sixty Years of Dead Sea Scrolls Research and Beyond,” in M. Popovic (ed.), *Authoritative Scriptures in Ancient Judaism* (JSJS 141; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 19–36.

¹¹ See the detailed presentation of the evidence in Julio Trebolle-Barrera, “Qumran Evidence for a Biblical Standard Text and for Non-standard and Parabiblical Texts,” in T. Lim (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls in Their Historical Context* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2000), 89–106, and the different studies by Eugene Ulrich, particularly those included in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible*, 3–120.

¹² Scholars greatly agree about the criteria to recognize this authoritativeness, see James C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402 and Armin Lange, “The Status of the Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process,” in *The Bible as Book*, 21–30. See most recently Florentino García Martínez, “I testi qumranici testimoni di scritture autorevoli,” in G. Prato (ed.), *Ricerche Storico Bibliche: Scritti qumranici e scritture autorevoli; la gestazione del testo biblico a Qumran* (Bologna: Dehoniane, 2011), 17–32.

¹³ According to the various formulations of the texts. 1QS 1:2-3 and 8:15, for example, talk of the authority of “Moses and the Prophets,” since God “orders” and “reveals” through them (בִּיד). Even more interesting are CD 5:2, 4Q267 5 iii 5; 4Q273 2,1; 6Q9 21,3; 11Q19 56:4 and 56:21, where we find the mention of the ספר התורה, התורה, ספרי התורה, (התורה), and 2Q25 1,3; 4Q249 [on the title of the composition], 4Q397 14-21 10. 15; and 4Q398 14-17 i 2, where we find the reference to the השמו, since in these cases there is question of the authority of the “book” or “books.”

¹⁴ On the authoritative status of the Law and the Prophets in the collection, see, among others, the articles of VanderKam and Lange, and more recently Katell Berthelot, “Les titres des livres bibliques: le témoignage de la bibliothèque de Qumrân,” in A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, E. Tigchelaar (eds.), *Flores Florentino: Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007), 127–140.

group of the “Prophets.”¹⁵ If for “Jewish Scriptures” we understand these authoritative writings, we may thus conclude that in the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls the Jewish Scriptures were in a formation process, one that has already been advanced, to be sure, but was not yet crystallized.¹⁶

3. Among the group of authoritative writings of the Dead Sea Scrolls collection we do find several compositions which, at a later time, and outside that collection, will be considered *not* as Jewish Scriptures but as Ancient Interpretations of Jewish Scriptures. The *Book of Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* are a case in point (but *I Enoch* or the *Aramaic Levi Document* could also serve as examples.) Within the collection of the Dead Sea Scrolls as a whole, however, there are good reasons to consider them as much as “Jewish Scriptures” as “Moses and the Prophets.”¹⁷

4. Within the collection there are many other compositions that re-write a reference text recognized as authoritative.¹⁸ It is obvious

¹⁵ Since we do not find any text which allows us to determine exactly what are the books referred to as such. To specify which compositions form part of “the Prophets” we need to look at the explicit quotations where the name of the Prophet in question is mentioned. However, not all the Prophets are mentioned in this way. For a summary of the evidence, see the lists of VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature,” 391–395.

¹⁶ See Emanuel Tov, “The Many Forms of Hebrew Scripture,” in A. Lange, M. Weigold, J. Zsengellér (eds.), *From Qumran to Aleppo* (FRLANT 230; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2009), 11–28.

¹⁷ And have been so considered by different scholars. For example, Wacholder concludes in the case of *Jubilees*, “If the traditional Pentateuch was canonical, *Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll* were super-canonical.” Cf. Ben Zion Wacholder, “Jubilees as the Super Canon,” in M. Bernstein, F. García Martínez, J. Kampen (eds.), *Legal Texts and Legal Issues* (STDJ 23; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 195–211, p. 211, and VanderKam-Flint also conclude: “If our classification is correct, *Reworked Pentateuch*, *Jubilees*, and the *Temple Scroll* were viewed as other books of Moses by the Qumranites.” Cf. James VanderKam – Peter Flint, *The Meaning of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: HarperSanFrancisco, 2002), 179.

¹⁸ On the phenomenon of “rewriting,” see the sensible remarks of M. Bernstein, “The Contribution of the Qumran Discoveries to the History of Early Biblical Interpretation,” in H. Najman and J.H. Newman (eds.), *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation: Essays in Honor of James L. Kugel* (JSJSup 83; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 215–238. See also M. Segal, “Between Bible and Rewritten Bible,” in M. Henze (ed.), *Biblical Interpretation at Qumran* (SDDSR; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2005), 20–28, and, particularly, G.J. Brooke, “The Rewriting Law, Prophets and Psalms: Issues for Understanding the Text of the Bible,” in *The Bible as Book*, 31–40. For a summary of the main positions on the debate on the category of “rewritten Bible,” see M.

that all re-writing implies the recognition of the authority of the reference text but it is equally obvious that at the same time it adds something to its authority.¹⁹ In the words of George Brooke “any text worth its salt would naturally be accompanied by a tradition of re-workings.”²⁰ It is also obvious that all rewriting implies a peculiar interpretation of the reference text in order to adapt it to a new situation or to new ideas (otherwise the rewriting would not be necessary), and therefore is intended more to correct the reference text and to be accepted as its authoritative interpretation than to supplant it. In addition, it is equally obvious that not all rewritings have acquired equally authoritative status.²¹

We do think that these four propositions are undisputed and generally accepted. The example of *4QTestimonia*²² provides a very solid starting point for reflection. This single sheet contains a collection of four quotations without further commentary or explanation, though each quotation is clearly marked, both by three blank spaces and marginal marks after each quote.²³ We can logically conclude that these quotations, which are all set at the same level and with the same introductory formulae, were considered as providing proof, from authoritative writings, of the ideas of the collector and can thus tell us

Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Category Which Has Outlived its Usefulness?,” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–196, and A. Klostergaard Petersen, “Rewritten Bible as a Borderline Phenomenon – Genre, Textual Strategy, or Canonical Anachronism?,” in *Flores Florentino*, 285–306.

¹⁹ G.J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon: The Significance of Reworking the Bible for Understanding the Canonical Process,” in E.G. Chazon, D. Dimant and R.A. Clements (eds.), *Reworking the Bible: Apocryphal and Related Texts at Qumran* (STDJ 58; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 85–104.

²⁰ G.J. Brooke, “Between Authority and Canon,” 98.

²¹ For recent summaries of the issues, see Daniel K. Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts: Strategies for Extending the Scriptures among the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Library of Second Temple Studies 63; London-New York: T & T Clark, 2007) and S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008).

²² Edited by J.M. Allegro, *Qumrân Cave 4 I (4Q158–4186)* (DJD 5; Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 57–60, pl XXI.

²³ The manuscript has been very intensively studied. For a select bibliography, see A. Steudel, “Testimonia,” in L.H. Schiffman and J. VanderKam (eds.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (New York: Oxford, 2000), 936–938, to which should be added the new edition by F.M. Cross in *Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek Texts with English Translations. Volume 6B* (The Princeton Theological Seminary Dead Sea Scrolls Project 6B; Tübingen-Louisville: Mohr-Westminster John Knox, 2002), 308–327.

something about the shape of the authoritative writings at that time. The authoritative sources quoted are (in this order): - an expanded and harmonised version of Exodus,²⁴ attested at Qumran in several scrolls,²⁵ which at some point became the sacred writing of the Samaritans and is considered by Tov as closely related to other “rewritten Bible compositions”²⁶; - two slightly modified versions of the books of Numbers²⁷ and Deuteronomy respectively,²⁸ two books which are part of the “Jewish Scripture”; - and a composition completely unknown until it had been discovered in two Qumran manuscripts (4Q378–379), published under the name of *4QApocryphon of Joshua*,²⁹ which is very similar to other compositions found at Qumran that are usually classified as “Rewritten Bible” or as “parabiblical compositions,”³⁰ but which is considered in *4QTestimonia* as authoritative as the other three writings.³¹ Thus, within the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls, compositions which are clearly interpretative (like the expanded and harmonized version of Exodus in the Samaritan Pentateuch or the *Apocryphon of Joshua*) can be considered authoritative Jewish Scripture.

²⁴ For a complete study of this quote and its relationship to the Samaritan expectations, see Marc Vervenne, “Le Taheb samaritain: un mediateur de salut comme Moïse,” in M.L. Sánchez León (ed.), *Congreso Internacional de Historia de las Religiones, Palma 2005* (forthcoming).

²⁵ For example, 4QpaleoExod^m, edited by Skehan, Ulrich, Sanderson in *DJD* 9:53–130, pls. VII–XXXII, and 4QExod–Lev^f, edited by Cross in *DJD* 12: 133–144, pl. XXII.

²⁶ E. Tov, “Rewritten Bible Composition and Biblical Manuscripts, with Special Attention to the Samaritan Pentateuch,” *DSD* 5 (1998): 334–354.

²⁷ For a summary of the studies of this quote, see F. García Martínez, “Balaam in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in G.H. van Kooten and J. van Ruiten (eds.), *The Prestige of the Pagan Prophet Balaam in Judaism, Early Christianity and Islam* (TBN 11; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 71–82.

²⁸ For a study of this quote and a comparison with 4QDeut^h, see J.A. Duncan, “New Readings for the ‘Blessing of Moses’ from Qumran,” *JBL* 114 (1995): 273–290.

²⁹ By C.A. Newsom in *DJD* 22:237–288, pl. XVII–XXV. As she notes, other manuscripts have been suggested as possibly being examples of the same composition, but there is no conclusive proof.

³⁰ In the *DJD* edition and in the list by A. Lange – U. Mittelman-Richert, “Annotated List of the Texts from the Judaean Desert Classified by Content and Genre,” in *DJD* 39:143–144, p. 126.

³¹ The latest studies of the quote known to us are D.C. Mitchell, “The Fourth Deliverer: A Josephite Messiah in *4QTestimonia*,” *Biblica* 86 (2005): 545–553 and the chapter “The Succession of High Priests: John Hyrcanus and his Sons in Peshet to Joshua 6:26,” by Hanan Eshel, *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hasmonean State* (SDSSRL; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2008), 63–89.

II

As it appears to us, part of the problem is that with the Dead Sea Scrolls we are dealing with a deposit of manuscripts which represent a growing process that is historically bounded. Because of the purely accidental character of the discovery and our ignorance of the original shape of the collection, we lack many data which would have allowed us to interpret them correctly. We think that we can define most of the Dead Sea Scrolls as interpretative literature of the authoritative religious writings called “Jewish Scriptures.” But because of the fragmentary character of the data we possess, it is no longer possible to define precisely, within the “spectrum of texts” of Sidnie White³² or within the “sliding scale” of George Brooke’s terminology,³³ where exactly had ended “Jewish Scripture” (the recognized authoritative religious texts) and where its “Ancient Interpretations” (of the same religious texts) had started. That is to say, within the collection considered as a whole, where shall we put the division line between what was *then* considered “Scripture” and what was *then* seen as “Interpretation”?

None of us will doubt that within the Dead Sea Scrolls, taken as a whole, a book like Deuteronomy was considered as “Jewish Scripture,” independent of its clear origin as interpretative rewriting of previous authoritative writings.³⁴ This means that at the historical moment of the formation of the collection at Qumran, this particular writing – Deuteronomy – had already attained the authority needed in order to be considered as “Jewish Scripture,” independent of the interpretative character it may have had in an early historical period when the composition was put together (whatever this historical period may have been). Moreover, nobody will doubt that among the Dead Sea Scrolls the so-called “Proto-Samaritan” text of the Pentateuch was regarded as “Jewish Scripture,”³⁵ independent of its origin as a interpretative reworking of a previous authoritative texts, although this sort of reworking had still taken place during the period

³² S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, 13.

³³ G.J. Brooke, “The Rewriting Law, Prophets and Psalms,” 36.

³⁴ The criteria usually applied in order to recognize the authority attained by a writing within the collection (number of copies, quotations, introductory formulae, rewritings, etc.) apply eminently to this book.

³⁵ S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, 22–36.

covered by the Dead Sea Scrolls collection and was still continuing until late in the first century BCE.³⁶ Nobody should doubt that *4QApocryphon of Joshua*, independent of its origin as a reworking of the Book of Joshua and of the label “Apocryphon” we put today on it, was also considered as “Jewish Scripture” by the collector of *4QTestimonia* at the beginning of the first century BCE (the same copyist who penned 1QS and 4QSamuel^c).³⁷ We think that in these, we can all agree. The rest is less certain and is more disputed.

As far as we can conclude from the literature on this topic, some Dead Sea Scrolls scholars hesitate to classify as “Jewish Scripture” compositions like the so-called “Reworked Pentateuch,”³⁸ in spite of the fact that the interpretative activity, the reworking or re-writing, did not produce an independent new composition.³⁹ Many more scholars will draw the line where we can ascertain that the interpretation has produced a new independent composition, and consequently

³⁶ As attested by 4QNum^b, edited by Nathan Jastran in DJD 12:205–267, pl. XXXVIII–XLIX, and dated by the editor in “the latter half of the first century BCE”, 205.

³⁷ On this scribe, see E. Tigchelaar, “In Search of the Scribe of 1QS,” in Sh.M. Paul, R.A. Kraft, L.H. Schiffman and W.W. Fields (eds.), *Emanuel: Studies in Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of Emanuel Tov* (VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 439–452.

³⁸ The name given by the editors to the manuscripts from Cave 4: 4Q364, 4Q365, 4Q366 and 4Q367, and also used for 4Q158, originally published as “Biblical Paraphrase.” 4Q364–367 have been edited by Emanuel Tov and Sidnie White in DJD 13, 187–351, pl. XIII–XXXVI. 4Q158 was published by John Allegro in DJD 5, 1–6, Pl. I. These texts have been intensively studied. See most recently, Molly M. Zahn’s Dissertation: “The Forms and Methods of Early Jewish Reworkings of the Pentateuch in Light of 4Q158” (Notre Dame, Indiana, 2009).

³⁹ Among those who classify the “Reworked Pentateuch” manuscripts as “Jewish Scripture,” we can list Eugene Ulrich, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Biblical Texts,” and Michael Segal, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch,” in L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, J.C. VanderKam (eds.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 51–59 and 392–399, Armin Lange, “The Status of the Biblical Texts in the Qumran Corpus and the Canonical Process,” in *The Bible as Book*, 21–30, and most recently Emanuel Tov, “Reflections on the Many Forms of Hebrew Scripture,” 27–28. Moseh J. Bernstein, “What has Happened to the Laws? The Treatment of Legal Material in 4QReworked Pentateuch,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 24–49, on page 48 gives a for the greater part negative answer, since he concludes that 4Q364 “might very well be” a biblical manuscript, “but regarding the others I suggest ‘probably not’.” Both Falk, *The Parabiblical Texts*, 119, and White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture*, 57, conclude that “[w]e will probably never be certain of the status of these Reworked Pentateuch texts as Torah.” And the same, frustrating, conclusion is reached by Molly M. Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 315–339.

will deny the character of “Jewish Scripture” to compositions like the *Book of Jubilees*, in spite of the fact that, independently of its interpretative character, everything indicates that this writing has already attained within the collection of Dead Sea Scrolls the authority needed in order to be recognized as “Jewish Scripture.”⁴⁰ Some other scholars will use the language of the composition as divider: in order to be “Jewish Scripture,” the composition should be written in Hebrew, the “sacred language,” whereas Aramaic compositions are “Interpretation.” However, we think the example of *1 Enoch*, or the *Aramaic Levi Document*, prove that this is not the case.⁴¹ The great majority of scholars, we believe, is inclined to draw the line between what is a prolongation of the process of inner biblical interpretation (and can therefore be included within the “Jewish Scriptures” concept, even if they are independent compositions like *Jubilees* or the *Temple Scroll*) and what are “Ancient Interpretations” on their own, between the compositions that are *implicitly* exegetical and those whose exegetical or interpretative character is *explicit*. In other words, the dividing line will be between “rewriting” and “interpretation.” Accordingly, all compositions which are explicitly exegetical, like “Commentaries,” “Pesharim,” “Midrashim,” “Catenae,” etc. will be considered witnesses of “Ancient Interpretations” provided by the Dead Sea Scrolls, as has been claimed by Mathias Weigold and Sarah Pierce in their lectures.

Putting the dividing line between the implicit or explicit exegetical or interpretative character of the compositions seems fairly logical and straightforward, but is not without problems, of which we will mention only two.

⁴⁰ See the arguments put forward by James C. VanderKam, “Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” 399–400, who concludes: “The kinds of data summarized in the preceding paragraphs make it rather likely that some Jewish people such as the Qumran community accepted *1 Enoch* and *Jubilees* as divine, authoritative revelations, just as they did the other books that they described as coming from the mouth of God or cited with introductory words denoting authority.”

⁴¹ For the current discussion on the status of the Aramaic compositions, see most recently Florentino García Martínez, “Scribal Practices in the Aramaic Literary Texts from Qumran,” in *Myths, Martyrs, and Modernity: Studies in the History of Religions in Honour of Jan N. Bremmer* (ed. J. Dijkstra, J. Kroesen, Y. Kuiper; Numen Book Series 127; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 329–341 and “Aramaica Qumranica Apocalyptica?” in *Aramaica Qumranica: Proceedings of the Conference on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran at Aix en Provence, 30 June-2 July 2008* (ed. Katell Berthelot and Daniel Stöckel Ben Ezra; STDJ ; Leiden: Brill, 2010), 435–448.

The first is that the difference in the interpretative character of the implicit (rewriting) and of the explicit exegetical compositions is only a *question of degree*. This may be useful as taxonomic principle, but does not fundamentally change the interpretative approach to the basic text of the two kinds of compositions. After all, within the “Jewish Scriptures” themselves, both the implicit and explicit interpretation is part of the process of inner biblical exegesis which leads to the production of new “Jewish Scriptures.”⁴² Besides several examples of interpretative rewritings which have created new compositions that at their turn have become authoritative Jewish Scripture (like Deuteronomy or Chronicles), we do find examples of explicit exegesis of previous authoritative writings (like the use of Jeremiah by Daniel, among others) which are also accepted as authoritative Jewish Scripture.

The second, and more serious, problem is that putting the division in the explicitly stated exegetical character leaves out too many fragmentary compositions, which clearly interpret or re-write previous authoritative texts, but of which we do not know for sure which status they have within the collection. In other words, if we put the dividing line in the implicit or explicit exegetical character, how should we consider the many compositions termed as “para-biblical” in DJD (using a terminology that in the context of the Dead Sea Scrolls is as anachronistic as the usage of the term “biblical”) and which form a great part of the collection? *4QTestimonia* shows us that one of these compositions was considered as authoritative, although the fragmentary character of the remains do not allow to discern which strategies its author has used to reach this status. How do we know the status of the others?

We have already said that, apparently, not all rewritings acquired equally authoritative status. This implies that other additional authoritative strategies besides the reference to the basic authoritative text were needed to achieve this status. Perhaps a way to solve the problem (or to contour it), is to pay more attention to the authoritative strategies used by each composition to affirm its authority, something which, obviously, is only possible with the best preserved compositions, the only with enough material to ascertain the strategies used.

⁴² See the classical study by M. Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985).

A look at the two best examples of rewritings in the collection from Qumran from which we can ascertain that these were accepted as authoritative by certain groups (the *Book of Jubilees* and the *Temple Scroll*) prove our point. *Jubilees* rewrites Genesis as a mosaic discourse in which the Angel of the presence reveals the contents to Moses in a process that Hindy Najman has named “interpretation as primordial writing.” She describes the four authority-conferring strategies used by *Jubilees* in recourse to the Heavenly Tables (a corpus of teachings kept in heaven), to the angel of the presence who dictates the content to Moses, to Moses as the recipient of the revelation, and to the presentation of the new teachings as an interpretation of the Torah.⁴³ *Jubilees*, of course, is itself the subject of rewriting in the series of *Pseudo-Jubilees* compositions (4Q225–228).⁴⁴ The authority-conferring strategies of the *Temple Scroll*, which rewrites part of Deuteronomy, are different. Although the missing beginning of the scroll has deprived us of essential elements, we can conclude that the main strategy for conferring authority to the composition is the transformation of the reference text into a direct divine speech (in the *Temple Scrolls* God gives direct orders, in the first person, without the mediation of Moses), thus making a direct claim on the source of all authority, the divine voice.⁴⁵

As far as their fragmentary character allows us to ascertain, most of the para-biblical compositions present themselves as interpretations of prophetic writings, using a procedure which we may call “revelatory exegesis,” relying on the terminology of Alex Jassen.⁴⁶ After analyzing the biblical precedents of the concept of “revelatory exegesis,” Jassen concludes that in Chronicles and in Ezra “revelation

⁴³ H. Najman, “Interpretation as Primordial Writing: Jubilees and Its Authority Conferring Strategies,” *JSJ* 30 (1999): 379–410. For a more detailed analysis of the significance of writing in the process of conferring authority, see Najman’s book, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism* (JSJSup 77; Leiden: Brill, 2003) and her contribution “The Symbolic Significance of Writing in Ancient Judaism,” in *The Idea of Biblical Interpretation*, 139–173.

⁴⁴ Edited by J.C. VanderKam in *DJD* 13:141–185, pls. X–XII.

⁴⁵ See L.H. Schiffman, “The Temple Scroll and the Halakhic Pseudepigrapha of the Second Temple Period,” in E.G. Chazon and M.E. Stone (eds.), *Pseudepigraphic Perspectives* (STDJ 34; Leiden: Brill, 1999), 121–131, reprint in *The Courtyards of the House of the Lord: Studies on the Temple Scroll* (STDJ 75; Leiden: Brill, 2008), 163–174.

⁴⁶ Alex P. Jassen, *Mediating the Divine: Prophecy and Revelation in the Dead Sea Scrolls and Second Temple Judaism* (STDJ 68; Leiden: Brill, 2007).

is reconfigured as a process of reading, interpreting, and rewriting ancient prophetic Scripture.”⁴⁷ This process, clearly started within what we call “Jewish Scripture,” is amply developed in later periods. As Collins has indicated: “It is a commonplace that the interpretation of older Scriptures is a major factor in the composition of Jewish writings of the Hellenistic and Roman periods.”⁴⁸ Collins proves his point by an analysis of the interpretation of Jeremiah’s prophecy of the seventy years in Daniel 9,⁴⁹ and concludes: “The fact that that duration is interpreted allegorically, however, and, at least by modern reckoning, corresponds only loosely and schematically to the period identified in the interpretation, suggests that the prediction is not really derived from the prophecy but that the prophecy is invoked *to lend authority to a prediction that is made for other reasons.*”⁵⁰ Daniel’s recourse to Jeremiah’s prophecy and its interpretation through revelatory exegesis is thus used as an authority-conferring strategy. The same authority-conferring strategy seems to be employed in many of the compositions found at Qumran which interpret prophetic writings, attesting in this way to their authority. The Pseudo-Daniel corpus of writings (4Q243–246),⁵¹ the Pseudo-Jeremiah and/or Pseudo-Ezekiel compositions (4Q383–391)⁵² are good examples of this “revelatory exegesis” of prophetic texts, since these compositions interpret the extant prophetic books and use them to introduce new theological ideas and adapt them to a new context.⁵³

In many (or most) of the cases, and due to the fragmentary nature of our evidence, we will never be able to know if the so-called “parabiblical compositions” should be considered as “Ancient Interpretations of Jewish Scriptures” (which they certainly are) or if they have already achieved the status of “Jewish Scriptures” within the

⁴⁷ Jassen, *Mediating the Divine*, 211.

⁴⁸ John J. Collins, “Prophecy and Fulfillment in the Qumran Scrolls,” in *Seers, Sybils and Sages in Hellenistic Judaism* (JSJSup 54; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 301. The article was originally published in *JTAS* 30 (1987): 267–78.

⁴⁹ See John J. Collins, *Daniel* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1993), 344–360.

⁵⁰ Collins, “Prophecy and Fulfillment,” 307 (our emphasis)

⁵¹ Edited by Collins, Flint and Puech in DJD 22:95–184, pls. IX–XI.

⁵² 4Q384 and 4Q391 were edited by Smith in DJD 19:137–193, pl. XVI–XXV, the rest by Dimant in DJD 30.

⁵³ See, for example, F. García Martínez, “The Apocalyptic Interpretation of Ezekiel in the Dead Sea Scrolls,” in F. García Martínez – M. Vervenne (eds.), *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (BETL 192; Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 163–176.

collection of manuscripts we call the Dead Sea Scrolls. We think, however, that one should not leave them out of consideration. Sidnie White (mentioning *1 Enoch* and the pseudo-Ezekiel texts as examples) makes a clear distinction between the two categories “rewritten Scripture”⁵⁴ and “parabiblical texts”⁵⁵ and only considers the possibility of being Jewish Scripture with regard to the former. Of the latter she says:

These parabiblical texts seem to have had a variety of purposes, some with a definite theological agenda. While in some cases they may have made a claim to authority, their collective status in Second Temple Judaism is extremely murky.⁵⁶

However, the distinction between these two categories (“rewritten” and “parabiblical”) seems to us more a question of degree than of fundamental difference. The variations in the classification in one or another category of certain works written by different authors prove our point. We thus consider this distinction to be artificial and the result of the incapacity to make abstraction of our own categories when looking at the historical reality that the collection of manuscripts offers us, and, consequently, we consider this distinction irrelevant. As a matter of fact, the whole collection of manuscripts found at Qumran, with the exception of a few documentary texts, is formed by religious texts in Hebrew, Aramaic, or Greek, whose formation has been influenced by other precedent religious texts that were considered as more or less authoritative. And this applies to the whole “spectrum of texts” of Sidnie White Crawford or the larger “sliding scale” of George Brooke.

The conclusion of our reflections is rather simple: now that we have full access to the totality of the fragmentary remains of what once was the collection we call “Dead Sea Scrolls”, we are fully aware (or we should be fully aware) that before the “great divide” the

⁵⁴ Which she defines as follows: “These Rewritten Scriptures constitute a category or group of texts which are characterized by a close adherence to a recognizable and already authoritative base texts (narrative or legal) and a recognizable degree of scribal intervention into that base text for the purpose of exegesis. Further, the rewritten scriptural text will often (although not always) make a claim to the authority of revealed Scripture, the same authority as its base text. The receiving community will not necessarily accept such a claim.” *Rewriting Scripture*, 12–13.

⁵⁵ Which she defines as follows: “These texts use a passage, event, or character from a scriptural work as a ‘jumping off’ point to create a new narrative work.” *Rewriting Scripture*, 14.

⁵⁶ *Rewriting Scripture*, 15.

production of Jewish religious authoritative texts was still an ongoing process, and a very active process for that matter, and that the only correct way to look at the evidence is to try to understand it from the perspective and with the categories of the people who put together the collection, rather than with our categories and from our perspectives. Within the collection, there is certainly awareness of the distinction between “text” and “interpretation.” But the largest majority of the compositions simply develop the old revered texts in order to modify them, introduce new ideas, defend particular points of view, answer to new problems, etc., continuing on this way to enrich the patrimony of Jewish Sacred Writings.

THE TWO EDITIONS OF THE ROYAL CHRONOLOGY IN KINGS

Ronald S. Hendel

In the books of Kings, as Julio Trebolle writes, “The most serious and irritating problem when comparing MT and LXX is probably the different chronological data in both texts.”¹ Scholars have long examined this problem, but there remains significant difference of opinion. The major complicating issue is, as Trebolle has established, the “two textual traditions formed through a considerable time span, both incorporated their own elements at one or another time, but also crossed and overlapped with each other.”² I propose to reexamine the relationship between the two editions of the chronology, with an eye to clarifying the stemmatic relationships and cross-fertilizations between the proto-M and proto-G textual traditions. Building on and refining the work of others, I will argue that this “most serious and irritating problem” can be resolved satisfactorily according to purely text-critical criteria. This requires that we leave aside the problem of the historical reconstruction of the actual chronology (which may be beyond our means to ascertain).

The double edition of this chronology, I will argue, derives from divergent understandings of the chronological implications of a single verse: 1 Kgs 16:23. This verse, a notorious crux, is arguably the textual irritant that generated the systematic revision of the chronology from Omri’s rule to Jehu’s rebellion (1 Kings 16 – 2 Kings 9), where most of the textual variants cluster. I will argue that the construal of the chronological implications of this verse in the proto-G tradition is secondary, and that the variants in the proto-G chronology are, for the most part, due to a (hyper)correction of the

¹ Julio Trebolle, “Textual Criticism and the Literary Structure and Composition of 1-2 Kings / 3-4 Reigns: The Different Sequence of Literary Units in MT and LXX,” in *Internationale Fachtagung Die Septuaginta: Entstehung, Sprache, Geschichte*, Wuppertal, 22. – 25. July 2010 (forthcoming), 18.

² Ibid.

proto-M chronological scheme from 1 Kings 16 – 2 Kings 9. My conclusion, that the proto-M chronology is the earlier edition, is made somewhat wistfully, since I must disagree with the conclusions of a fine monograph by James Shenkel and with some individual arguments by Trebolle. Such is the burden of philology—the results don't necessarily conform to one's initial expectations. Text-critical analysis, much to its credit, has a logic that ignores our private desires.

Previous treatments of this chronological problem are divided on their view of the stemmatic relationship between the two editions, some opting for the proto-M edition as prior and some opting for the proto-G edition.³ Such treatments, however, tend not to base their conclusions on explicitly text-critical judgments. The two most erudite studies, by James Shenkel and Gershon Galil, base their judgments on a comparison of the two editions of the chronology with their reconstructions of the history and redaction of a single narrative text, the military campaign against Moab in 2 Kings 3.⁴ Not surprisingly, these two scholars come to opposite conclusions: Shenkel concludes that the proto-G chronology is the earlier edition, because it is compatible with his reconstruction of the redactional history of 2 Kings 3. Conversely, Galil concludes that the proto-M chronology is the earlier edition, because it is compatible with his reconstruction of the historical events related in 2 Kings 3. In my

³ See James D. Shenkel, *Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1968), who argues that proto-G is the earlier edition of the chronology; Gershon Galil, *The Chronology of the Kings of Israel and Judah* (Leiden: Brill, 1996), who argues that proto-M is the earlier edition; M. Christine Tetley, *The Reconstructed Chronology of the Divided Kingdom* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2005), who largely follows Shenkel; Gerhard Larsson, *The Chronological System of the Old Testament* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2008), who follows MT and the mathematical scheme of Knut Stenring; Jeremy Hughes, *Secrets of the Times: Myth and History in Biblical Chronology* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1990), who proposes a schematic system with details from both editions; and Edwin R. Thiele, *The Mysterious Numbers of the Hebrew Kings* (3rd ed., Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan, 1983), who follows MT and reconstructs elaborate practices to harmonize MT's discrepancies. See also the valuable remarks of D. W. Gooding, review of Shenkel, *JTS* 21 (1970): 118–31.

⁴ Shenkel, *Chronology*, 92–108; Galil, *Chronology*, 140–43. Shenkel (101–2) further presumes the “verisimilitude” of the letter from Elijah to Jehoram b. Ahab in 2 Chr 21:12–15; but see the cogent analysis of Sara Japhet, *I & II Chronicles* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1993), 812–14, and her comments: “it is in fact difficult to date with any precision any of the traditions of Elijah and Elisha as presented in II Kings 2 ... Elijah's letter is a characteristic Chronistic rhetorical piece.”

view, both arguments are dubious, for they are based on inconclusive criteria—redactional and historical analysis being quite speculative for this chapter and its represented events.⁵ Moreover, their judgments are only indirectly related to the variant readings that constitute the text-critical problem. I maintain that if the problem of the two chronologies is susceptible to a text-critical solution, which I submit is the case, then issues of redaction and history must be bracketed, to await separate treatment. Text-critical inquiry is, in my view, both necessary and sufficient to adjudicate this text-critical problem.

I will begin by discussing the crux of 1 Kgs 16:23 and its consequences in its scribal reception during the Second Temple period. I will argue that a scribe understood, quite logically, that the literal meaning of the chronological formula of this verse conflicted with the subsequent chronological data. This pious scribe found such an implicit conflict to be problematic, and so resolved to revise the chronology to make the sacred text internally consistent. This impulse to “perfect” the text by revising a perceived chronological inconcinnity is attested elsewhere, in the variant editions of the chronologies in Genesis 5 and 11, which I have previously addressed.⁶ Here, as there, the rectification of a perceived blemish in Scripture is spurred by the imperatives of scribal hermeneutics during the Second Temple period⁷.

⁵ See Nadav Na’aman, “Royal Inscription Versus Prophetic Story: Meshah’s Rebellion in Historical Writing” [in Hebrew], *Zion* 66 (2001) 5–40, esp. 21–30. See also his general cautions about using prophetic stories as historical sources for the ninth century: “Prophetic Stories as Sources for the Histories of Jehoshaphat and the Omrides,” in idem, *Ancient Israel’s History and Historiography: The First Temple Period. Collected Essays, Vol. 3* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 2006), 147–65.

⁶ Ronald Hendel, *The Text of Genesis 1-11: Textual Studies and Critical Edition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 61–80.

⁷ On the systematizing and harmonistic hermeneutics of some Second Temple scribes, see Emanuel Tov, “The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical MSS,” *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29.

The Accession of Omri and Its Consequences

The accession formula for Omri in 1 Kgs 16:23 states that he became king in the thirty-first year of King Asa of Judah. This synchronism is the same in MT and the Old Greek:⁸

בשנת שלשים ואחת שנה לאסא מלך יהודה מלך עמרי על ישראל שנים עשרה
שנה
ἐν τῷ ἔτει τῷ τριακοστῷ καὶ πρώτῳ τοῦ βασιλέως Ἀσα βασιλεύει
Ἀμβρι ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ δώδεκα ἔτη.

The archetype of this verse, by which I mean the earliest inferable textual form,⁹ is most likely the reading preserved in MT.¹⁰ (The only variant the word “Judah” is not material to the chronological problem although). Hence: “In the thirty-first year of Asa, king of Judah, Omri ruled over Israel for twelve years.”

This verse is a regnal formula, which elsewhere consistently refers to the beginning of the reign of a king. In this formula, the verb מלך is usually taken in an inceptive sense as “began to rule.” So we may translate more precisely: “In the thirty-first year of Asa, king of Judah, Omri began to reign for twelve years.” The formula and the syntax are—taken as a single sentence—unambiguous.

However, as scholars have often noted, the meaning of this formula differs in MT and OG chronological systems. As Shenkel observes:

In both chronologies the regnal formula of Omri comes at the same place in the text (1 Kings 16:23); there is the same synchronism for his reign, the thirty-first of Asa; and the same number of years duration to his reign, twelve. But underlying this seeming conformity is a radical

⁸ Shenkel (*Chronology*) clearly established the OG chronological system, which is best preserved in the pre-Lucianic stratum of manuscripts *b*, *o*, and *e*₂. In 1 Kings G^B also generally preserves the OG chronology, but in 2 Kings G^B is based on the (later) *kaige* recension. See the useful charts of the Greek data in Galil, *Chronology*, 159–62.

⁹ See Ronald Hendel, “The Oxford Hebrew Bible: Prologue to a New Critical Edition”, *VT* 58 (2008): 329–35.

¹⁰ The only textual variant is the longer title of Asa in MT: מלך יהודה vs. βασιλέως (מלך) in OG. The shorter reading is arguably a result of homoioteleuton from מלך to מלך, accidentally omitting יהודה. The longer reading, “king of Judah,” is found in a Hexaplaric text (A247) and an Old Latin text, which suggests that this is a Hexaplaric reading derived from MT. My thanks to Pablo Torijano for clarifying the textual situation of the LXX and OL in this verse (personal communication).

divergence in the understanding of the number for the regnal years of Omri in the two chronologies.¹¹

The difference is as follows: in OG, Omri's reign is dated from this verse (the thirty-first year of Asa), but in MT Omri's reign is dated from rise his rise to kingship over part of Israel five years earlier (the twenty-seventh year of Asa), which is related in the previous two verses:

אז יחלק העם ישראל לחצי חצי העם היה אחרי תבני בן גינת להמליכו והחצי
אחרי עמרי: ויחזק העם אשר אחרי עמרי את העם אשר אחרי תבני בן גינת
וימת תבני וימלך עמרי:

Then the people of Israel divided into two: half of the people followed Tibni, son of Ginat, to make him king, and half followed Omri. The people who followed Omri grew stronger than the people who followed Tibni, son of Ginat. And Tibni died, and Omri ruled. (1 Kgs 16:21-22)

The only significant difference between MT and OG in these verses is the plus in the latter at the end of v. 22: μετὰ Θαμνι (= אחרי תבני), "after Tibni." By this plus, the OG makes it clear that Omri's accession is after Tibni's death, providing a clear transition to the accession formula in the following verse (16:23). That is to say, the OG follows the literal sense of v. 23, in which Omri's kingship commences in the thirty-first year of Asa, immediately after the death of Tibni. Only now is Omri king of all Israel.

But it becomes clear later, with the accession of Omri's son, Ahab in v. 29, that the MT chronology counts Omri's twelve-year rule from the time related in v. 21, when "half of the people followed Tibni, son of Ginat, to make him king, and half followed Omri." In the MT context, therefore, the accession formula in v. 23 is strange, since Omri's rule doesn't begin in the thirty-first year of Asa, but is only consolidated then. The count for his reign begins several years earlier, which he is only king of half of the people.

As Shenkel observes, the OG understanding of the semantics of 1 Kgs 16:23 is grammatically correct, based on the other instances of the accession formula:

The Old Greek chronology has taken the number twelve in the figure for the regnal years literally as meaning that Omri reigned for twelve years as king of Israel, beginning in the thirty-first year of Asa. This is

¹¹ Shenkel, *Chronology*, 37.

the obvious meaning of the data and the way in which the other numbers for regnal years are understood elsewhere in the Book of Kings.¹²

However, in the context of the previous verses, this literal construal is problematic, because Omri has been ruling half of Israel for several years, ever since the division of the people after the death of Zimri. That is to say, the OG construal is correct with respect to the semantics of the accession formula elsewhere in Kings, but the MT construal is correct with respect to the semantics of the immediate narrative context, in which the formula takes on an idiosyncratic sense.

The text-critical problem surfaces explicitly with the accession of Omri's son, Ahab, in 1 Kgs 16:29, where the MT states that Ahab's accession year is the thirty-eighth year of Asa, and the OG states that his accession year is the second year of Asa's son Jehoshaphat. This is a difference of ca. five years. The MT clearly dates Omri's twelve year rule from the beginning of his partial rule, which commenced at Zimri's death in the twenty-seventh year of Asa (16:15, MT).¹³ The OG clearly dates Omri's twelve-year rule from its literal construal of the accession formula in 16:23, that is, the thirty-first year of Asa. One of these is a revision.

The text-critical question is: which of the variant texts is more liable to have been changed into the other? (*Utrum in alterum abiturum erat?*¹⁴) I submit that there is a cogent answer. The unusual but contextually plausible sense of 1 Kgs 16:23 in MT could easily have been (mis)construed in its normal, literal sense by a Second Temple period scribe, who would have been bound by his hermeneutical practice to (hyper)correct the year of Ahab's succession by adding five years to it. This is a simple and obvious motivation, which fits our understanding of scribal practice in the Second Temple period.

To perhaps oversimplify, we may say that the MT has the more difficult text, the *lectio difficilior*, which a scribe may easily have been motivated to simplify. However, as we will see, the simplification of a local problem can cause other problems further

¹² Ibid., 39.

¹³ The OG has a different synchronism here (22nd year), which does not affect the subsequent chronology.

¹⁴ See Hendel, *Text of Genesis*, 7, and references.

down the road. This conclusion develops a brief but accurate comment by Julius Wellhausen from 1875:

In the LXX [chronological system], the correction of 31 for 27, which remained in the Hebrew [system], generated further consequences, of which, and only this is interesting, they show how thoroughly every correction contradicts the rest of the connections.¹⁵

From Omri to Jehu's Revolt

Once Ahab's accession-year has been (hyper)corrected to suit the literal construal of Omri's accession formula in 1 Kgs 16:23, the synchronisms of the following kings of Israel and Judah must also be (hyper)corrected. The terminus of these changes, where the original chronology can be resumed, is Jehu's revolt, when the kings of Israel and Judah die in the same year. This double-regicide resets the chronological system. Therefore, the revisions in the chronological system consist of the synchronisms for the accessions of the Israelite kings Ahab, Ahaziah, and Joram, and the Judean kings Jehoshaphat, Jehoram, and Ahaziah. (I will distinguish the two Ahaziahs and the two Jehorams by their patronymics.)

I will briefly explain the variant numbers in the synchronisms in MT and OG for these kings. The variant readings are italicized.

Accession of Ahab of Israel

MT: 38th year of *Asa* (1 Kgs 16:29)

OG: 2nd year of *Jehoshaphat* (1 Kgs 16:29)

Ahab's accession year in MT presumes that Omri's rule began in Asa's 27th year, and that his twelve-year reign ends in Asa's 38th year. Ahab's accession year in OG presumes that Omri's rule began in

¹⁵ Julius Wellhausen, "Die Zeitrechnung des Buchs der Könige seit der Theilung des Reichs," *JDT* 20 (1875): 614 n. 1: "In der LXX hat die Correctur 31 für 27, die im hebr. Text vereinzelt geblieben ist, noch weitere Konsequenzen nach sich gezogen, an denen und nur das interessirt, dass sie zeigen, wie gründlich jene Correctur dem übrigen Zusammenhange widerspricht."

Asa's 31st year (see above), that his twelve-year reign ends after the end of Asa's 41-year reign, in Asa's son Jehoshaphat's second year.

Accession of Jehoshaphat of Judah

MT: 4th year of *Ahab* (1 Kgs 22:41)

OG: 11th year of *Omri* (1 Kgs 16:28a)

The accession year for Jehoshaphat in MT continues the previous MT sequence. Ahab becomes king in Asa's 38th year, and since Asa has a 41-year reign, Asa dies in Ahab's 4th year. The OG accession year continues the previous OG sequence. Omri becomes king in Asa's 31st year, and since Asa has a 41-year reign, he dies in Omri's 11th year. Notice that this chronological change requires that Jehoshaphat's accession occur prior to the death of Omri in the OG narrative sequence. Therefore Jehoshaphat's accession has been moved to 1 Kgs 16:28^a, between Omri's death and Ahab's accession. No further mention of Jehoshaphat occurs until 1 Kings 22 (see below).

Accession of Ahaziah b. Ahab of Israel

MT: 17th year of Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:52)

OG: 24th year of Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:52)

These numbers fit their respective chronological systems. In MT Jehoshaphat accedes in Ahab's 4th year, and Ahab's 22-year reign therefore ends in Jehoshaphat's 17th year. In OG, Ahab accedes in Jehoshaphat's 2nd year, and therefore his 22-year reign ends in Jehoshaphat's 24th year.

Accession of Jehoram b. Ahab of Israel

MT: 18th year of *Jehoshaphat* (2 Kgs 3:1) and 2nd year of *Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat* (2 Kgs 1:17)

OG: 2nd year of *Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat* (2 Kgs 1:18^a)

MT has an interesting doublet for the accession year of Jehoram b. Ahab. Since his brother Ahaziah ruled for only two years, Jehoram b. Ahab's accession should take place in the 18th year of Jehoshaphat in MT, as it does in 2 Kgs 3:1. However, 2 Kgs 1:17 (MT) dates his accession to Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat's 2nd year, a synchronism that is impossible in the MT system,¹⁶ but that conforms to the OG system. In OG, Ahaziah's two-year rule begins in Jehoshaphat's 24th year and extends just beyond the final year Jehoshaphat's 25-year reign (which is also the first year of Jehoshaphat's successor's reign). Therefore Jehoram b. Ahab accedes in Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat's 2nd year. The math is not remarkable. What is remarkable is that this date from the OG system appears as a doublet in MT of 2 Kgs 1:17.

In this one instance, a detail of the OG chronology occurs in MT. This verse, as Shenkel observes, "is a precious witness to the Old Greek chronology in a Hebrew text."¹⁷ That is, this reading demonstrates that the proto-G chronology circulated in Hebrew texts, and was not a creation of the OG translator of Kings. Since this MT doublet is not in the *kaige* recension, which corrected the OG toward a proto-M text sometime around the 1st century B.C.E., Shenkel plausibly argues that it is a relatively late scribal insertion in the proto-M tradition.¹⁸ This indicates the longevity of Hebrew texts that were stemmatically related to the proto-G textual tradition.

The revision of the chronology in the proto-G tradition mandated a further change in the adjoining narratives. Since Jehoram b. Ahab's reign no longer overlaps with Jehoshaphat's, the two kings can no longer be allies in the Moabite campaign of 2 Kings 3. In OG, the Judean king is Ahaziah, who is a contemporary of Jehoram b. Ahab's for one year, before they are both slain by Jehu. It is not clear why Ahaziah is chosen as Jehoram's ally – perhaps their failed adventure against Moab is modeled on their imminent doom in their encounter with Jehu

¹⁶ In MT, Jehoram b. Ahab's accession cannot be in Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat's second year (2 Kgs 1:17) if Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat's accession is in Jehoram b. Ahab's fifth year (2 Kgs 8:16). The peculiarity of this contradiction was noted by Spinoza, *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670), §9.11.

¹⁷ Shenkel, *Chronology*, 74.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

Accession of Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat of Judah

MT: 5th year of Jehoram b. Ahab (2 Kgs 8:16)

G: 5th year of Jehoram b. Ahab (2 Kgs 8:16)

[*OG: 2nd year of Ahaziah b. Ahab]

The absence of variants in this synchronism is a surprise. In the expected MT chronology, the end of Jehoshaphat's 25-year rule should occur in Jehoram b. Ahab's 8th year. As commentators have noted, there is a slight discrepancy in Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat's accession in Jehoram b. Ahab's 5th year, not his 8th year. Scholars have proposed various mechanisms to explain this three-year gap, including a coregency.¹⁹ For our analysis, however, more striking is the absence of the expected OG synchronism. All of the G texts (including the Lucianic) have the same reading as MT. Since in the OG chronology Jehoram b. Ahab acceded in Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat's 2nd year (see above), it is impossible for the latter to accede in the former's 5th year. This impossible synchronism belongs to the proto-M chronological system. We must infer, with Shenkel, that the OG date has been overwritten in the Lucianic mss.:

One of the adjustments made in the late Lucianic revision of the proto-Lucianic text was to replace the older [OG] synchronism with the synchronism proper to the [MT] Hebrew chronology according to which the accession of Jehoram is synchronized with the fifth year of Joram. As a result of this alteration L now has a contradiction in its chronology as this alien synchronism conflicts with the remaining chronological data of L, which otherwise follows the Old Greek chronology perfectly.²⁰

In the proto-G chronological system, the last year of Jehoshaphat's 25-year reign is Ahaziah b. Ahab's 2nd year, which is also naturally the accession year of Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat. As Shenkel and others have noted, we must reconstruct this synchronism as a missing detail in the proto-G system.

¹⁹ Galil, *Chronology*, 40.

²⁰ Shenkel, *Chronology*, 80.

Accession of Ahaziah b. Jehoram of Judah

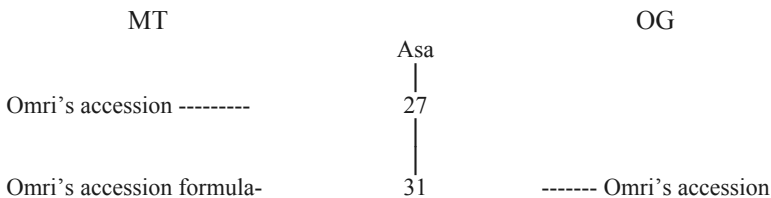
MT: 12th year of Jehoram b. Ahab (2 Kgs 8:25) and 11th year of Jehoram b. Ahab (2 Kgs 9:29)

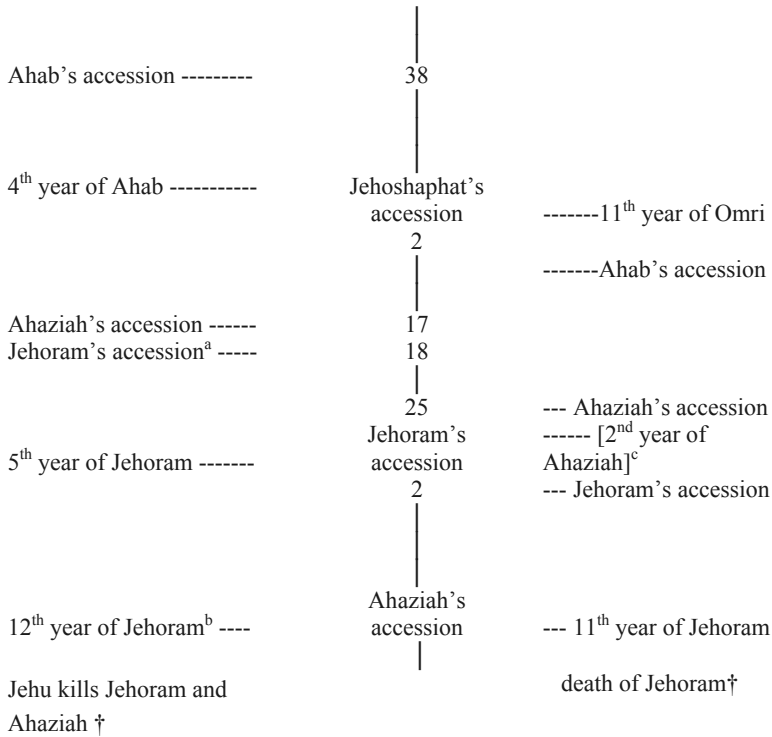
OG: 11th year of Jehoram b. Ahab (2 Kgs 8:25 and 9:29)

In both traditions, Ahaziah b. Jehoram of Judah reigns only one year, whereupon he and Jehoram b. Ahab are slain by Jehu (2 Kgs 9:21-27). Accordingly, Ahaziah accedes in last or penultimate year of Jehoram b. Ahab’s 12-year reign. MT has a doublet of this synchronism, dating it to Jehoram’s last year (12th in 2 Kgs 8:25) or penultimate year (11th in 2 Kgs 9:29). The proto-G edition seems to have harmonized the doublets to agree on the 11th year.

Strikingly, there remains an unresolved problem in the OG chronology of this entry. In both traditions Jehoram b. Ahab reigns for 12 years (2 Kgs 3:1 [MT]; 2 Kgs 1:18^a [OG]), a period that ends when he and Ahaziah are slain by Jehu. However, since he accedes in Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat’s 2nd year, there is not enough time left for his twelve years to transpire before his demise. The OG adds two years to Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat’s rule – from 8 [MT] to 10 [OG = *o*, *c*₂, *e*₂] – but this still places Ahaziah’s accession in Jehoram b. Ahab’s 9th year, not his 11th. In other words, the system has a two-year gap between the end of Ahaziah’s one-year reign and the end of Jehoram’s twelve-year reign. As a consequence, Ahaziah and Jehoram cannot die in the same year in the proto-G system. This gap appears to be an instance of Homer nodding, as it were, in the editorial work of the proto-G scribe. This detail was apparently overlooked in his systematic chronological revision.

The variants in the chronological systems of the two editions from Omri to Jehu can be charted as follows:





^a MT doublet dates Jehoram b. Ahab's accession to the 2nd year of Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat (2 Kgs 1:17) = proto-G chronology.

^b MT doublet dates Ahaziah's accession to 11th year of Jehoram b. Ahab (2 Kgs 9:29).

^c The (reconstructed) OG synchronism has been overwritten by the MT synchronism.

Variants of Style and Sequence

In addition to the numerical variants in the chronology proper, there are also four variations of style and/or sequence. These occur in the synchronisms for Ahab, Jehoshaphat, Ahaziah b. Ahab, and Jehoram b. Ahab. If the above argument for the relationship between the two editions is correct, viz., the production of the proto-G chronological system as a systematic revision of the proto-M edition, then these other variants should also be explicable within this model. Although

the direction of change in this category of variants cannot be determined unequivocally, I maintain that the OG variants can be easily comprehended as (hyper)corrections of the proto-M edition. My analysis of this class of variants is not conclusive in itself, that is, other explanations may be equally plausible. My analysis of the chronological system itself is more decisive with respect to the direction of change.

There are two styles for the synchronism formula in Kings, as Shenkel and others have observed.²¹ In most instances the year of the synchronism comes first,²² and more rarely the name of the king comes first.²³ Examples of both styles occur at the beginning of the history of the dual kingdoms:

year first

ובשנת שמנה עשרה למלך ירבעם בן נבט מלך אביה על יהודה:
And in the eighteenth year of King Jeroboam, son of Nebat, Abijah²⁴
became king over
Judah. (1 Kgs 15:1)

name first

ונדב בן ירבעם מלך על ישראל בשנת שנים לאסא מלך יהודה
And Nadab son of Jeroboam became king of Israel in the second year
of Asa, king of
Judah (1 Kgs 15:25)

The two editions differ with respect to this style in the synchronisms for Ahab (1 Kgs 16:29), Jehoshaphat (1 Kgs 22:41 [MT] and 16:28a [OG]), and Ahaziah b. Ahab (1 Kgs 22:52). In all three cases the dominant style (synchronism first) occurs in OG, and the rarer style (name first) occurs in MT. It is arguable that in all three cases the OG reading reflects a harmonization to the dominant style by the scribe(s) who created the proto-G chronological revision.

It is possible to argue in the other direction, that the rarer style in MT is a secondary scribal innovation.²⁵ However, since Second

²¹ Ibid., 48-49.

²² 1 Kgs 15:1, 9, 33; 16:8, 15, 23; 2 Kgs 12:2; 13:1, 10; 14:1, 23; 15:1, 8, 17, 23, 27, 32; 16:1; 17:1; 18:1.

²³ 1 Kgs 15:25; 2 Kgs 15:13.

²⁴ Reading אביה with OG and 2 Chron 13:1 (etc.); MT has suffered a graphic confusion of א/ב; for other instances, see Hendel, *Text of Genesis*, 25.

²⁵ Cf. Trebolle, "Textual Criticism," 5-8.

Temple period scribes more normally revise toward regularizing the formal structure of a text,²⁶ the direction of change is more likely to be from the proto-M edition to the proto-G revision. In so doing, the proto-G scribe(s) introduced more order into the formal structure of the chronological texts.

There are variants of sequence for the synchronisms of two kings: Jehoshaphat and Jehoram b. Ahab. In the case of Jehoshaphat, as noted above, the change of textual sequence is a consequence of the chronological revision. In the proto-G chronology, Jehoshaphat's accession occurs during Omri's reign, not during Ahab's, as he does in MT. As discussed above, the chronological variants are:

MT: 4th year of *Ahab* (1 Kgs 22:41)
 OG: 11th year of *Omri* (1 Kgs 16:28a)

As a consequence of the chronological revision, Jehoshaphat's accession in the proto-G edition must be placed prior to Ahab's accession. In MT Jehoshaphat's accession formula is embedded in the longer narrative summary of his reign in 1 Kgs 22:41-51. In OG, this whole section is placed at the transition point between Omri's and Ahab's reigns at 1 Kgs 16:28^{a-h}.²⁷ This change in textual sequence is logically necessary for the proto-G chronological system. However, there is a continuity problem caused by this change of sequence. As David Gooding observes, "the placing of the Jehoshaphat summary at xvi 28^{a-h} [occurs] *before* the events it summarizes."²⁸ The summary seems to include Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab in the Aramean campaign of 1 Kings 22.²⁹ One would expect the summary to be placed *after* the events that it summarizes.³⁰ This revision of sequence, which is mandated by the chronological revision, arguably upsets the historiographic structure of Kings.

²⁶ See above, n. 7.

²⁷ See the detailed discussion in Shenkel, *Chronology*, 43-60.

²⁸ Gooding, review of Shenkel, 126.

²⁹ The reference to the alliance with Ahab is truncated in the OG (1 Kgs 16:28^c), cf. MT (1 Kgs 22:45). The shorter OG reading may be the result of a homoioteleuton from יהושפט to יהושפט in this verse; see the textual evidence in Shenkel, *Chronology*, 45-46.

³⁰ Gooding (review, 126) notes that there is a partial parallel in the reign of Joash, where a summary of his reign (2 Kgs 13:10-13) precedes his battle with Amaziah (2 Kings 14), but the battle is immediately followed by a reprise of the summary of Joash's reign (14:15-16).

The variation of sequence for Jehoram b. Ahab's accession is complicated. As discussed above, MT has a doublet for his accession, one of which conforms to the proto-M chronological system, and the other to the proto-G system:

MT: 18th year of *Jehoshaphat* (2 Kgs 3:1) and 2nd year of *Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat* (2 Kgs 1:17)

OG: 2nd year of *Jehoram b. Jehoshaphat* (2 Kgs 1:18a)

Why is the synchronism in the proto-G system in a different location than the proto-M synchronism? Unlike the case of Jehoshaphat, the identity of the kings does not require a relocation of sequence. The most plausible rationale is that, as Trebolle observes, the MT location "breaks the compositional rule according to which every literary unit must be framed by the reign with which it composes a synchrony."³¹ The literary unit that comes between these two locations is 1 Kings 2, the narrative of Elijah's last days and Elisha's succession. In the normal compositional style of Kings, the story would be framed within the reign of the relevant king. In MT there is a gap between the formula of Ahaziah's death (2 Kgs 1:17-18) and the accession formula for his brother Jehoram (2 Kgs 3:1). 2 Kings 2 is thus outside of the royal frame. The proto-G revision arguably corrected this irregularity by moving the accession of Jehoram to immediately after the notice of Ahaziah's death. In so doing, the numbers and formal structure of the chronological system are corrected and regularized in the proto-G edition.

Conclusion

One simple hypothesis accounts for all of the textual variants between the two editions of the royal chronology in Kings in the sequence from Omri to Jehu: a scribe in the proto-G textual tradition construed the meaning of 1 Kgs 16:23 literally, and adjusted the apparently erroneous chronology accordingly. The verse reads: "In the thirty-first year of Asa, king of Judah, Omri became king over Israel for twelve years." By reading this verse in its literal sense, the scribe ignored or bracketed the semantic messiness of the narrative context, in which Omri had been proclaimed king by half of the people several

³¹ Trebolle, "Textual Criticism," 4.

years earlier. The earlier edition is arguably the messy version, in which the Deuteronomistic redactor/author did not wholly solve the problem of accommodating the accession formula into the history of Omri's reign. (For the formula to be accurate, it must be less, e.g., "In the twenty-seventh year of Asa, king of Israel, Omri became king over half of Israel, and in the thirty-first year of Asa, he became king over all Israel.") Dtr chose not to complicate the formula, and thereby created a chronological and semantic problem.

As Wellhausen observed long ago, this problem was sufficient to motivate a revision of the chronological system by a scribe in the proto-G textual tradition.³² In the Second Temple period, such perceived departures from formal and schematic perfection were often systematically revised, as in the analogous case of the chronologies in Genesis 5 and 11. An exegetical irritant of this kind is sufficient to create the impetus for editorial revision.³³

We do not know when Omri actually acceded to the throne of Israel. With regard to history, the existence of his rule and dynasty are certain, since ninth-century Moabite, Aramaic, and Assyrian inscriptions refer to him and his dynasty.³⁴ I have focused not on history but on textual criticism, in which we may assert with confidence that the proto-G edition of the chronology from the reign of Omri to Jehu is a systematic revision of the proto-M chronology. I emphasize that the second edition of the chronology is not to be despised because of its further remove from the reality of royal history. It is valuable testimony to scribal hermeneutics during the Second Temple period and the interpretive practices that accompanied the transformation of ancient Israelite texts into sacred Scripture.³⁵

³² Wellhausen, "Zeitrechnung" (above, n. 15); similarly Gooding, review, 123; Galil, *Chronology*, 143.

³³ In Genesis 5 the problem concerned the death of some of Noah's ancestors *after* the year of the Flood, although (problematically) they were not on the Ark; a similar conundrum is implicit in Genesis 11; see Hendel, *Text of Genesis*, 61–80.

³⁴ E.g. Mesha stele, line 7-8: עמרי ... ובנה ("Omri ... and his son"); several Assyrian texts refer to *bīt Ḥumri*, "the house of Omri"; the Aramaic Tel Dan stele arguably refers to the deaths of Jehoram and Ahaziah during their campaign against Hazael; see Nadav Na'aman, "The Contribution of Royal Inscriptions for a Re-evaluation of the Book of Kings as a Historical Source," *Israel's History*, 200–3.

³⁵ This argument was first presented at an Oxford Hebrew Bible colloquium on Samuel-Kings in Tübingen, 2010. My thanks to all of the participants, including Julio Trebolle, and particular thanks to Zipi Talshir for astute comments on an early draft.

REFLEXIONS ON EPIGRAPHY AND CRITICAL EDITING
4QSAM^A (4Q51) COL. XI

Philippe Hugo, Ingo Kottsieper, and Annette Steudel*

The importance of 4QSam^a (4Q51) for the text history of the Books of Samuel is unanimously recognized. Since the discovery of the fragments of the scroll in 1952 and the publication of two columns by Frank Moore Cross in 1953¹ until the latest text-critical assessments in the last few years,² the fragments of Samuel are rightly considered as a key link in the text history of the Hebrew Bible. Situated at a crossroad of different text traditions, it presents a large affinity with the Old Greek (further LXX) and shares some specificities of the so-called Lucianic Greek Recension (or Antiochian Text, further LXX^L), of the Chronicles and the textual testimony of Flavius Josephus. It attests otherwise to some characteristics of the Masoretic Text (further MT) and shows finally several unique readings and, perhaps, specific literary activities. 4QSam^a looks like a crucial point for studying the earliest textual transmission of the Books of Samuel.

Since 2005, the exegetes have access to the *editio princeps* of 4QSam^a in the series *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert* (further DJD).³ This volume presents the results of five decades of study of

* We thank Prof. Dr. Russell Fuller who kindly improved the language of our article.

¹ F.M. Cross, "A New Qumran Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint," *BASOR* 132 (1953): 15–26.

² See especially F.M. Cross, R.J. Saley, "A Statistical Analysis of the Textual Character of 4QSamuel^a (4Q51)," *DSD* 13 (2006): 46–54, 2006; U. Ulrich, "A Qualitative Assessment of the Textual Profile of 4QSam^a," in A. Hilhorst, E. Puech, E. Tigchelaar (eds.), *Flores Florentino. Dead Sea Scrolls and Other Early Jewish Studies in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*. (JSJSup 122; Leiden: Brill, 2007, 147–161; and the contributions collected in P. Hugo, A. Schenker (eds.), *Archaeology of the Books of Samuel. The Entangling of the Textual and Literary History* (VTSup 132; Leiden: Brill, 2010).

³ F.M. Cross, D.W. Parry, R.J. Saley, U. Ulrich (eds.), *Qumran Cave 4, XII. 1–2 Samuel* (DJD XVII; Oxford: Oxford, 2005).

this scroll, principally by Frank Moore Cross, and recently by Donald W. Parry and Richard Saley. This edition gives to the scholarly world the entire material recomposed with a huge quantity of text critical observations and decisions (variants and reconstructed variants) that show a sovereign mastery of the history of the Hebrew and Greek texts. It replaces with no doubt the former attempts to give as much evidence as possible of 4QSam^a, as the critical apparatus of P.A.H. de Boer in the BHS, and the remarkable text critical notes of P. Kyle McCarter⁴, though they keep their value in numerous points. DJD will be universally used as the reference edition of the scroll for all scholars specialized in textual criticism, but also by exegetes and nonspecialists interested in the Books of Samuel or in the Hebrew Bible.

Nevertheless, a careful analysis of DJD allows to conclude that the last word on the paleographical reconstruction of this important scroll seems not yet to have been said, as Émile Puech⁵ and the present authors⁶ have already shown. Further studies may be required in order to complete or, if needed, to correct the *editio princeps*. In this regard, one should also mention two other previous attempts to edit the fragments that require some attention, because they are offering some diverging and very inspiring reconstructions: The somewhat disconcerting study of Andrew Fincke,⁷ and especially the outstanding reconstruction of 4QSam^a in 2 Sam by the late Edward D. Herbert.⁸ Principally, these works have to be consulted alongside the *editio princeps*.

⁴ P.K. McCarter, *1–2 Samuel* (AB 8–9; New York: Doubleday, 1980–1984).

⁵ E. Puech, “4QSam^a (4Q51). Notes épigraphiques et nouvelles identifications,” in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, M. Vervenne (eds.), *Florilegium Lovaniense. Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez* (BETL 224; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 373–386.

⁶ P. Hugo, I. Kottsieper, A. Steudel, “Notes paléographiques sur 4QSam^a (4Q51) (le cas de 2 Sam 3),” *RevQ* 23 (2007): 93–108.

⁷ A. Fincke, *The Samuel Scroll from Qumran. 4QSam^a Restored and Compared to the Septuagint and 4QSam^c* (STDJ 43; Leiden: Brill, 2001).

⁸ E.D. Herbert, *Reconstructing Biblical Dead Sea Scrolls. A New Method Applied to the Reconstruction of 4QSam^a* (STDJ 22; Leiden: Brill, 1997).

1. *What Users of a Critical Text Edition Need*

However, the main purpose of this study is not to propose new readings or reconstructions but to raise methodological questions: What should be the task of such a scholarly edition as DJD? What kind of information do the users, exegetes or text critical scholars, need? The answers to these questions seem to be simple and plain.

What users of a critical text edition need, is first of all a text to rely on for further studies. Apart from a presentation of the whole photographic material, this means a thorough clarification of what is indeed found on the manuscript including observations on material aspects like e.g. drylines. Any presuppositions about the text must be avoided. Furthermore, it is essential to have a list of all possible textual identifications of a fragment and indications of the degree of the probability of an identification. The placement of fragments within a column has consequences for the reconstruction of the text. Therefore, a careful adjustment of the fragments, including a list of the alternative possibilities, is indispensable. It should be self evident to refrain from using fragments with mainly unsure readings in reconstructing a column. At least the hypothetical character of such an arrangement has to be indicated. Though the result would be a rather complex picture of how the text possibly looked like, a solid ground for the text critical analysis would be built by these guidelines.

In the following, we take column XI (Pl. XI)⁹ as an exemplary passage for a critical assessment of the edition found in DJD. Some reasons are guiding this choice: First, this column has been reconstructed from only nine relatively small fragments, among which some are very tiny (frg. c counts only three certain letters, and frg. h only some very fragmentary letters). Nevertheless, this meager attestation leads DJD to reconstruct, although partially, a proportionally wide section of the text: 1 Sam 11:11–12, 1 Sam 12:7–8, 10–19. Within this section, DJD counts no less than ten variants and eight reconstructed variants. Finally, the last reason for choosing this passage is the fact that, despite the mentioned variants, it does not present any crucial and controversial text critical stake. This allows avoiding any text critical *a priori* in the process of reconstruction.

⁹ DJD, 69–72.

In a last step we take the observations we made as a base for some considerations about what such an edition should present to the reader and how to avoid the problems found in DJD.

2. *Critical Remarks on the Readings in DJD*¹⁰

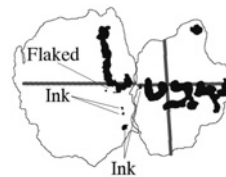
2.1 *Frg. c (PAM 43.113 [4.14])*

DJD]לָח יֵה[(XI b-c 2)

Though the reading of DJD seems to be correct, one should note that this sequence of letters can be found at least four times in Samuel (MT): 1 Sam 12:8,11; 15:1; 2 Sam 12:1. Any of these could have been the original place of the fragment.

2.2 *Frg. d (PAM 42.124 [3.3]; 41.763 [4.8]; 41.174 [1.7])*

DJD]תָּ[1 (XI d 1)
]ירבעל[2 (XI d 2)
]°[3 (XI d 3)



¹⁰ The drawings are not based on the photographs published in DJD (cf. also DJD, 28) but directly on all mentioned PAM photographs which were electronically enlarged. The drawings are direct copies from these enlarged pictures taken by the help of a digital board. Thus, they show only extant traces of ink. Consequently, the enlarged drawings often do not show smooth letter shapes but the actual appearance with all defects. Our observations had been checked against the originals by P. Hugo and I. Kottsieper. We thank the IAA for giving us access to the manuscripts.

This small fragment calls for nine remarks:

1. The identification of the fragment was made in successive steps.¹¹ Cross identified it as belonging to 4QSam^a; McCarter¹² has the passage of 1 Sam 12:11 identified and gave the transcription]ירבעל[. Later, Herbert¹³ was more careful by qualifying the identification as “possible” and indicating the other possible place in 2 Sam 11:21. Finally DJD reconstructs the passage of 1 Sam 12:10–11 without commentary and does not mention any other possibility.

2. DJD reads the fragmentary letter of l. 1 as a *taw*: “the hook looks like the left foot of a taw.” This judgment seems to be arbitrary, because the dot on the leather could belong to any possible letter. It does not permit confirmation of the identification of the fragment.

3. 1 Sam 12:11 is the single occurrence of ירבעל in Samuel MT, because 2 Sam 11:21 has ירבשת. But LXX^L attests ירבעל, Ἰεροβαάλ in three passages: 1 Reg 12:11 (as MT), 2 Reg 11:21 and in the “plus” of the LXX in 11:22.¹⁴ If, in fact, the fragment would attest the reading ירבעל,¹⁵ these three places would be possible in agreement either with MT or with LXX^L. In this case, DJD follows MT.

4. The reconstruction of the whole passage given in DJD which places the fragment into the first half of the line is not possible. The fragment must be placed at the left margin since a vertical dryline is perfectly visible between the *bet* and the *ayin* as seen in the drawing above.

5. The reading of the letters also raises problems. Though the identification of the *lamed* is correct, there are remains of a letter directly attached to the right side of the *lamed*. Otherwise, the *lamed* would have a right shoulder pointing upwards very high and sharply. But there is no such a *lamed* in 4QSam^a (and would be very

¹¹ Cf. Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 211.

¹² McCarter, *1 Samuel*, 211.

¹³ Herbert, *Reconstructing*, 204, 207, 211.

¹⁴ According to the critical edition of the Antiochian Text by N. Fernández Marcos, J.R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia Griega. I. 1–2 Samuel*, (TECC 50; Madrid: CSIC, 1989). Actually, only c₂ (= 127) has Ἰεροβαάλ in these three passages, together with e₂ (= 93) in 1 Reg 12:11 and 2 Reg 11:22, and with b' (= 19) in 2 Reg 11:21. The Antiochian witnesses contain some orthographical variants of the same proper name: Ἰεροβαάλ, Ἰερόβoλα, Ἰεροβάλ. In 2 Sam 11:21 only, b (= 108) has Ἰεροβοάμ in accordance with LXX^B. In these three passages LXX^B has indeed Ἰεροβοάμ.

¹⁵ But cf. further down for the reading of this fragment.

uncommon in any other Qumran scroll).

6. Consequently, if there is a letter between the *lamed* and the *ayin*, the word is not ירבעל, and the fragment does not attest 1 Sam 12:11.

7. A *lamed* written so close after its preceding letter that the right shoulder merges with the left upper part of the foregoing sign is found, e.g., with בל in PAM 43.113 (1.3 = DJD Pl. XIV, frg. 58). Since in our case the preceding letter should have a quite high left stroke, a *shin* would be a possible solution.¹⁶

8. On the original we spotted a tiny trace of ink to the left of the *ayin*.

9. This raises the question, whether the break clearly visible on all photographs points to the fact that the fragment consists of two distinct pieces, though all photos present it as one. Since the fragments have been glued in this way on paper, it is impossible to verify it by checking the originals. If there are two pieces, one would have to ask, whether they really would have to be joined leaving no place for a *shin* (or other letters) between the *lamed* and the *ayin*. Furthermore, the potential reading ירבעשל would make no sense. On the other hand, one should also note, that according to DJD, “there is a dot of ink under the *lamed* of line 2. The letter cannot be identified.”¹⁷ In fact, we spotted even two more tiny traces of ink above this dot on the original. One wonders why on the right piece of the fragment there is no more trace of writing, though the leather seems to be intact.¹⁸ Thus, both parts can hardly belong together.

According to our observations we have to propose an alternative transcription of two separate fragments.

	d 2		d 1	
HKS ¹⁹	ל°[	1	]°[	1
	°[	2	]ירבע°[	2

¹⁶ The trace of ink seems to be too high to belong to the left hook of a *mem* or a *bet*.

¹⁷ DJD, 70.

¹⁸ Even if one interprets the traces in the second line as a *lamed* there should be traces of the heads of foregoing letters on the right part, given the height of the upper part of the *lamed* in the first line.

¹⁹ HKS = Hugo, Kottsieper, Steudel.

2.3 *Frg. e* (PAM 41.174 [1.5]; 41.763 [4.3]; 43.113 [7.7])

DJD	]לכב[	1 (XI e-i 1)
	]מלד[	2 (XI e-i 2)



In l. 1, the reading of the second *kaf* is not possible, because the right upper part of the fragmentary letter would be much too high. The only possible reading is a *he*, with its high right part of the head.²⁰ In Samuel MT, beside forms of הלך, the sequence לכה is only found in מלכה and ממלכה,²¹ but neither of these are followed by מלך within an appropriate distance. In the MT, only 2 Sam 17:17 attests these three letters in והלכה followed 7 words further by the substantive מלך, but this word is preceded by the preposition ל, whose upper arm would have left traces on the leather. Furthermore, if this fragment belonged there and attested MT, the column would be very narrow. Consequently, there are only two possibilities: either this fragment does not attest MT or it does not belong to Samuel.

HKS	]לכה[	1
	]מלד[	2

²⁰ Moreover, if the reading of a *kaf* were correct, one could read מלכב followed by מלך some 8-10 words later and place the fragment lower on the column, in v. 25.

²¹ Since כהן is usually written plene in 4QSam^a (see 1 Sam 2:16 [2x]; 2:27; 2 Sam 15:27 [? fragmentary]; 20:24), it cannot belong to לכהן; on the other hand the preposition with suffix לך is usually defective (without *he*).

2.4 *Frg. f* (PAM 43.124 [6.5]; 41.763 [1.10]; 41.174 [2.1])

DJD	]עתם[	1 (XI e-i 3)
	]מֶלֶךְ עַל[	2 (XI e-i 4)
	]יהוה ומ[	3 (XI e-i 5)
	]עֲתָ []הָ[	4 (XI e-i 6)



Before the tetragrammaton, there is a blank space on the leather, which is not indicated in the transcription.²²

2.5 *Frg. h* (PAM 41.174 [4.10], 41.763 [7.1], 43.113 [8.10])

DJD	ם[	1 (XI e-i 5)
	הָ[	2 (XI e-i 6)
	תָ[	3 (XI e-i 7)
	הָ[	4 (XI e-i 8)
	טָר[	5 (XI e-i 9)



²² Fincke, *Scroll*, 293, saw remains of a *yod* after על in l. 2, but we cannot find any such a trace neither on the extant photographs nor on the original. On the other hand he reads just a *yod* after יהוה in l. 3, but there are clear traces of two letters, of which the last has long curved base and thus obviously was a *mem*. Finally, he overlooked the traces of l. 4. Thus his rendering of this fragment cannot be accepted and consequently also his localization of this fragment has to be rejected. The same holds true for frg. g where he overlooks the clear traces of the last sign in l. 1 which can be read with DJD as *kaf*, but excludes his reading of יהוה. He also misinterprets the last sign in l. 2 as *yod* which would be much to bold. The traces fit very well to a *taw* as read by DJD.

Except in ll. 3 and 5, the reconstruction of this fragment is obviously faulty. The lower left margin of the remains in l. 1 runs in a smooth bow downwards which – what ever letter it may have been – does not fit to a final *mem* which would show a sharp and nearly right angle at this point. In l. 2, the lower trace is far too low to allow the reading of *he*. But the traces fit perfectly to a final *mem*. Finally, the trace of ink in l. 4 is located very low and thus belongs to the lower part of a letter. Since there is no trace above, it cannot belong to a *he* which would have left traces of its head. Given the poor and uncertain information the fragment provides, it seems to be impossible to identify it with any certainty.

HKS	°[	1
	ם̣[	2
	ת̣[	3
	°[	4
	ר̣ט̣[	5

2.6 Conclusion

There is no evidence to suppose that the fragments c, d, e, and h belong to the passage 1 Sam 12:7-19. Consequently they have to be removed from the reconstruction of this column. It has to be based on frgs. a, b, f, g, and i.²³

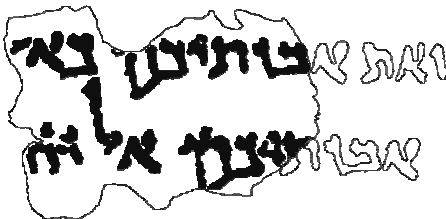
3. Placement of the Fragments in the Column

Frg. a

This fragment with remains of the stitching is correctly placed in the right upper corner of the column.

²³ By the way, Fincke, *Scroll*, 18.293, also uses only these fragments in his reconstruction of col. XI.

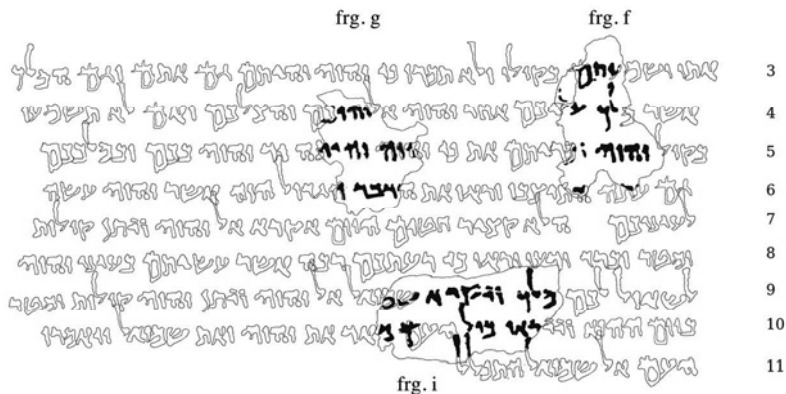
Frg. b



The suggested placement of frg. b close to the right margin of the column is impossible. The reconstructed beginning of l. 1 is too long in comparison with l. 2. No straight column margin is achieved by the presented solution. Frg. b must be placed somewhere more to the left.

Frgs. f, g, and i

Fig. 1: The Reconstruction of Col. XI f, g, and i from DJD



אתו ושם]עתם] בקולו ולא תמרו פי יהוה והיתם גם אתם וגם המלך	3
אשר ל]מלך על[יכם אחר יהוה אל]והיכ[ם והצלכם ואם לא תשמעו	4
בקול]יהוה ומ[ריתם את פי י]הוה והית[ה] יד יהוה בכם וגמלככם	5
גם]עַתְּ]ה] ה[תציבו וראו את]הדבר ה[גדול הזה אשר יהוה עשה	6
לעיניכם <i>vacat</i> הלא קציר הטיס היום אקרא אל יהוה ויתן קולות	7

ומטר וברד ודעו וראו כי רעתכם רבה אשר עשיתם בעיני יהוה	8
לשאול לכם [מלך ויקרא שמ]ואל אל יהוה ויתן יהוה קולות ומטר	9
ביום ההוא וי[ראו כול ה]ע[ם מ]אד את יהוה ואת שמואל ויאמרו	10
העם אל שמואל ל[התפ]ל[ל] בעד עבדיך	11

First, the reconstruction of ll. 9 to 11²⁴ proposed by DJD fits well the criteria that there must be a straight right margin and that the lines should end in the same area at the left margin. Thus the reconstruction of this passage is possible, though their decision to drop MT כל (v. 19) at the end of l. 10 is not mandatory. Even if one assumes the common orthography of כל written plene in this manuscript, there would be still enough space to include it.

Furthermore, the placement of frg. g after frg. f is possible. But one has to note that the space between these fragments in l. 5 seems to be a little bit large for the required text. The reconstruction of the left margin based on the placement of these fragments also seems to be possible. Nevertheless, one has to note that DJD drops the את before פי in l. 3 (v. 14). Also their decision to choose the defective writing והיתם in the same line contradicts the orthography of the manuscript, that always use plene writings for such forms. Finally, the reading ובמלככם (= LXX) instead of MT ובאבותיכם at the end of l. 5 (v. 15) is not justified by this reconstruction, especially since the longer MT word would better fit the left margin to be proposed in ll. 3 and 4.

The main problem concerns the reconstruction of the beginning of ll. 3 to 6, which cannot be accepted, because, as the drawing reveals (see figure 1), it does not end up in a straight right margin. Especially l. 3 would be too long in comparison to l. 6, even if one accepts the defective writing of אתו assumed by DJD. But one has to keep in mind that the scribe of this manuscript uses both, the defective and the plene form.

In order to connect the reconstructions of ll. 9 to 11 and ll. 3 to 6, DJD has to propose a text for ll. 7 and 8 with two variants to the MT. Thus they introduce into l. 8 the word וברד based on the account of Josephus. More problematic is the assumed *vacat* between v. 16 and 17 in l. 7, which at this point in the middle of a direct discourse would

²⁴ In the following paragraphs, the lines' numbers refer to Col. XI e-i in DJD, 71.

be quite surprising.

To sum up, the proposed placement of the fragments in this passage meets at least one severe difficulty and other questionable decisions. Therefore this reconstruction cannot be correct. One has to ask whether a reconstruction can be found which would be acceptable, though this fact would not mean that the original manuscript in fact did look like it.

Actually, two possible reconstructions can be found:

Fig. 2: First Possible Reconstruction

frg. g	frg. f	
		3
		4
		5
		6
		7
		8
		9
		10
frg. i		11
ועבדתם אותו ושם]עתם] בקולו ולא תמרו את פיהו והייתם גם אתם		3
וגם המלך אשר]מלך על[יכם אחר יהוה אל]והיכ[ם והצלכם ואם		4
לא תשמעו בקול] יהוה ומ[ריתם את פי י]הוה והיית[ה יד יהוה בכם		5
ובאבותיכם גם]עַתָּה] ה[ה]תיעבו וראו את]הדבר ה[גדל הזה אשר		6
יהוה עשה לעיניכם הלא קציר הטים היום אקרא אל יהוה ויתן		7
קולות ומטר ודעו וראו כי רעתכם רבה אשר עשיתם בעיני יהוה		8
לשואל לכם]מלך ויקרא שְׁמִי]ואל אל יהוה ויתן יהוה קולות ומטר		9
ביום ההוא וי[ראו כול]הע[ם מ]אד את יהוה ואת שמואל ויאמרו כול		10
העם אל שמואל]ל[התפ]לל]		11

The first one (figure 2) differs from the proposal found in DJD mostly

in the way, the reconstructed words are allocated to the different lines. Thus, transposing **וגם המלך** from the end of l. 3 to the beginning of l. 4 and **לא תשמעו** from the end of l. 4 to the beginning of l. 5 gives a straight right margin for those two lines. This margin is matched well with l. 3 starting with **ועבדתם** and the reading **אותו** instead of **אתו**. It also fits to the beginning of l. 6 with **ובאבתים** according to MT instead of **מלכם** (= LXX) proposed by DJD. The left margin of ll. 3-6 – also with the expected reading **הייתם** instead of **היתם** in l. 3 – fits very well to the left margin of ll. 9-11, especially if one keeps the **כול** at the end of l. 10. But still there would be no place for the reconstruction of **את פי יהוה** in l. 3 (v. 14). There are three possibilities: With DJD, one could assume **פי יהוה**. In this case, probably, the loss of **את** would be a mistake of the writer. On the other hand, **את יהוה**, though a little bit broader, would still fit in this reconstruction and also would yield a clear text. The third and most probable solution would be to read **את פיהו**.²⁵

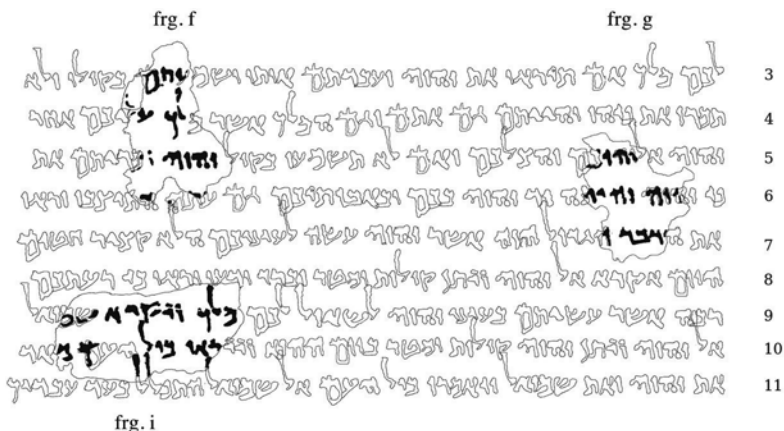
This reconstruction of ll. 3-6 and 9-11 allows also a reconstruction of ll. 7-8, which follows nearly completely MT.²⁶ Thus there is no need to assume a surprising *vacat* in l. 7 and to add the “precarious”²⁷ **וברד** (= Josephus) in l. 8. If this reconstruction is correct, then 4QSam^a would represent MT for 1 Sam 12:14-18 – with the exception of the variant for **את פי יהוה** in l. 3 and the addition of **והצלכם** in l. 4 (= LXX^L; cf. DJD), both in v. 14. The problem of the space between frgs. f and g in l. 5 remains the same as in DJD.

²⁵ The explicit mentioning of YHWH is superfluous at this point after two suffixes referring to him whose name is given at the beginning of the verse. Actually, the same change is witnessed by LXX^L in the very same phrase in v. 15. Though one cannot exclude the possibility that this could even be the oldest text and the other versions are based on an early adaptation of the phrasing found in the next verse, the change can easily be explained by a misreading of an original **את פי יהוה** in favor for the graphical not very different **את פיהו**.

²⁶ The only minor variant—besides orthographic variants, of course—is the plural **וייראו** instead the singular **ויירא** in v. 18.

²⁷ DJD, 72.

Fig. 3: Second Possible Reconstruction



לכם מלך אם תיראו את יהוה ועבדתם אותו ושם]עתם] בקולו ולא	3
תמרו את פיהו והייתם גם אתם וגם המלך אשר]מלך על]יכם אחר	4
יהוה אל]והיכ]ם והצלכם ואם לא תשמעו בקול] יהוה ומ]ריתם את	5
פי י]הוה והית]ה יד יהוה בכם ובאבותיכם גם]עַתָּה] ה]ה]תיצבו וראו	6
את]הדבר ה]גדל הזה אשר יהוה עשה לעיניכם הלא קציר הטיס	7
היום אקרא אל יהוה ויתן קולות ומטר וברד ודעו וראו כי רעתכם	8
רבה אשר עשיתם בעיני יהוה לשאול לכם]מלך ויקרא שֵׁמֹא]ואל	9
אל יהוה ויתן יהוה קולות ומט ביום ההוא וי]ראו כול]הע]ם מ]אד	10
את יהוה ואת שמואל ויאמרו כול העם אל שמואל]ל] התפ]לל] בעד עבדיך	11

In the second possible reconstruction (figure 3), the placement of the fragments would change more dramatically. Thus, frg. g could be placed a line below, but before frg. f. As it can be seen in the drawing, this also allows a good distribution of the texts on the lines with a straight right and a good left margin. The text which could be filled into these lines differs only in two places from the text of the foregoing reconstruction: First, for the penultimate word of v. 13 (l. 3), instead of עליכם one would have to assume לכם found not only in one Hebrew manuscript (Kenn. cod. 177), but also in some variants of Greek cursives (d = 107, g = 158, a₂ = 509), the Armenian version,

as an important witness of the Old Greek, in the Vulgate, and the Peshitta. Second, the text in v. 17 (l. 8) was about one word longer and thus possibly contained **וּבְרֵד** found also in Josephus. In any case, also this reconstruction does not solve the problem of the missing space for **פִּי יְהוָה** in v. 14 (l. 4).

The fact that at least two possible reconstructions can be found but both differing unpredictably from the other known versions shows that, at best, those reconstructions can only give a hint about the original text. Thus, our observations argue, that probably the text of v. 14 differs from MT though the data do not allow a unanimous decision on how it actually did run. It would be unwise, to present the reader one of the possible reconstructions as the sole solution. Even if we would have found only one, the possibility of unpredictable variants of the text together with the amount of text to be reconstructed would not allow us to offer such a reconstruction as more than a mere hypothetical solution.

4. *Conclusions*

The above remarks about the readings and reconstructions illustrate essential issues of how to deal with such a text as an *editor* and to present it to the *reader*. First and foremost, especially in the case of very fragmentary texts *readings and reconstructions should be clearly distinguished*.

The way the editors of 4QSam^a present their results and hypothesis about the reconstructed text leads to an underestimation of fundamental problems of the *readings*. Especially scholars not trained in epigraphy would benefit from detailed notes on readings which indicate problematic passages. An edition—and especially an authoritative one like DJD—should first and foremost inform the reader about what can be found on the extant material.

This includes also observations on *material aspects* like, e.g., drylines or margins should be exposed to the reader. This would be helpful for the editor too. Thus, if the editors had written a note about the vertical dryline on frg. d, they probably would not have placed this fragment in the first half of a line. And if the editors had noted whether the break found on this fragment only attaches the upper parts of the leather or whether the fragment actually is composed of

two independent fragments, they would have given an important piece of information.²⁸

Any attempt to *reconstruct the text* must be based totally on the results of the description of the material conditions and the possible readings of the fragments. None of these results may be left out. All this information should be given so that the reader himself can assess how firm the foundation is on which the reconstruction is built. Fragments with no reliable text should not be used. Actually, also fragments with a text which could be localized at different places should not be regarded as guiding parts for the reconstruction of one specific passage. And of course, the reader should be informed about these different possibilities.

The last point leads to one of the most important issues: *the problem of unpredictable variants*. As pointed out in the introduction, 4QSam^a offers its own version of the biblical books of Samuel with readings sometimes not found in other versions—and even if a reading is in accord with an extant version, one cannot predict which one. The discussion of the possible reconstructions of XI 3-11 (DJD) illustrate this issue. They affect the task of reconstruction in two ways:

1. The most obvious aspect is, that no reconstruction longer than only some letters of a word or phrase can be taken as sure enough to be used as a decisive argument in further scholarly discussion. Thus, e.g., one can detect that in 4QSam^a probably the text of 1 Sam 12:14 differs from all versions. But how the text actually did run cannot be reconstructed with complete certainty, as shown above. Even the assumption that at the end of v. 14 we would have to add **והצלכם** (cf. LXX^L) as proposed by DJD and adopted in our reconstructions is by no means sure. Possible, though less probable, would be the reading **הולכים** which would be in accord with LXX. Anyway, we did not find a way to reconstruct the text of v. 14 which would follow MT or any other known version completely. And even if one finds a way to reconstruct a passage nearly completely according to MT or another version as we did in our first reconstruction for v. 15-18, this would not prove that the text actually did run this way. There could be other

²⁸ In quite a few instances, the joins made by the first generation of the scholars dealing with the fragments later appeared to be wrong, though most of them are ingenious.

ways to reconstruct the text which also would be unprovable hypotheses.

2. This also affects the probability of identification of fragments. Especially in respect to smaller fragments, one may ask if a given identification is the right and the only possible one. The text of 4QSam^a could differ from the assumed text unpredictably at this place or the sequence of the letters could appear somewhere else in an unpredictable variant. This uncertainty should be kept in mind not only while one searches for possible localizations of a fragment, but should also be shared with the reader, who should be told of any possible localizations and their probability.

Taking these considerations into account, one may ask whether to present a reconstruction of such a passage as col. XI makes sense at all. However, if one starts to discuss possible reconstructions, one must keep in mind that one leaves now the field of the edition of a text actually preserved on the fragments and enters the realm of more or less hypothetical considerations.²⁹ To present such a reconstruction, especially in a series like DJD, risks that this guess becomes an authoritative text.³⁰

In any case, the presentation should make the distinction of these two different levels – edition and reconstruction – clear. A good way to do this, would be to present first the fragments as they are and switch to the question of reconstruction in an own section, as done, beside others, by Julio Trebolle Barrera, e.g., in his edition of 4QJudg^a in *RevQ* 54³¹ and 4QJudg^b and 4QKgs in DJD XIV.³² It is a pleasure for us to present him these reflexions on the occasion of Festschrift volume.

²⁹ The reconstruction proposed by Fincke, *Scroll*, esp. 86, is a good example for the hypothetical character of such attempts – he even assumes that the scribe skipped two words in v. 17 and added them afterwards above the line. Such hypothesis cannot be proved and of course also not be falsified because of lack of information. Consequently, they elude the possibility of a scholarly evaluation.

³⁰ Thus, the reconstructions proposed in DJD XVII has already been taken up uncommented in the new edition of the biblical scrolls from Qumran in E.Ch. Ulrich (ed.), *The Biblical Qumran Scrolls* (VTSup 134; Leiden: Brill, 2010), as a tool for biblical scholars.

³¹ J. Trebolle Barrera, “Textual Variants in 4QJudg^a and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges,” *RevQ* 54 (1989): 229-245.

³² In such a section, e.g., one also could reconstruct the text according to MT and/or other versions and by this illustrate the problematic passages where such a reconstruction does not work, as it had been done, e.g., by Emanuel Tov in his discussion of 4QJosh^b frg. 2-3 in DJD XIV.

TEXTUAL HISTORY AND LINGUISTIC DEVELOPMENTS
THE DOUBLET IN 2 KGS 8:28-29 // 9:15-16 IN LIGHT OF 2 CHR
22:5-6

Jan Joosten

The comparison between Samuel-Kings and Chronicles has always been one of the corner stones of the diachronic approach to Biblical Hebrew.¹ The extensive parallels between the books involve a host of variations, many of which are indicative of language evolution.² Where Samuel-Kings differs from Chronicles, the former corpus typically aligns with the language of the Pentateuch, Joshua and Judges, while the latter finds analogues in late biblical books such as Ezra-Nehemiah, Esther, Ecclesiastes and Daniel, in the Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls, and in Aramaic. The linguistic facts amply support the idea that Chronicles is, in the parallel sections, a rewriting of Samuel-Kings.³

Nevertheless, there are some exceptions. In relatively few instances, Chronicles attests an early form of the language while the

¹ Wilhelm Gesenius, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift* (Leipzig: Vogel, 1815), 37–44.

² S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1897⁵), 535–540; R. Corwin, *The Verb and the Sentence in Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah* (Borna: Noske, 1909); A. Kropat, *Die Syntax des Autor der Chronik*, (BZAW 16; Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909); R. Polzin *Late Biblical Hebrew: Toward an Historical Typology of Biblical Hebrew Prose* (HSM 12; Missoula: Scholars Press, 1976).

³ This is contested by R. Rezetko, "Dating Biblical Hebrew: Evidence from Samuel-Kings and Chronicles," in I. Young, ed., *Biblical Hebrew. Studies in Chronology and Typology* (JSOTSup 369; London – New York: T&T Clark International, 2003), 215–250; idem, "'Late' Common Nouns in the Book of Chronicles," in Robert Rezetko, Timothy H. Lim and W. Brian Aucker, eds., *Reflection and Refraction. Studies in Biblical Historiography in Honour of A. Graeme Auld* (VTSup 113; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 379–417. Rezetko's exhaustive discussions do very little to establish his point that the language of Chronicles could be more or less contemporary with that of Samuel-Kings, but the present paper is hardly the place to engage in criticism of his work.

parallel in Samuel-Kings has the later form.⁴ Some of these may indicate that the basis of the rewriting in Chronicles was an edition of the Samuel-Kings different from the one that ended up in the MT. Other instances illustrate that the text of Samuel-Kings continued to evolve for a long time beyond the original composition and edition of the Book. To this latter phenomenon, Julio Trebolle Barrera has made important contributions over his entire career. It is hoped, therefore, that the present exploration of a textual detail in Kings, with an interesting parallel in Chronicles, will be a fitting tribute to the honoree of this volume.

Ahaziah's Visit to Joram on His Sickbed

When Joram, King of Israel, is wounded in the war against the Aramaeans and retires to the city of Jezreel, his nephew, Ahaziah, King of Judah, pays him a visit. This unsensational information might have gone unnoticed in biblical historiography, if it weren't for the dramatic aftermath of the visit, namely the assassination of Ahaziah in the turmoil of Jehu's *coup d'état*. As it is, the anecdote is related three times in the Bible, twice in 2 Kings and once more in 2 Chronicles. The doublet in Kings stands in need of explanation. As we will see, it cannot be understood without an evaluation of the parallel in Chronicles.

As the following synopsis will show, the version contained in 2 Kgs 8:28-29 is practically identical to the parallel in 2 Chr 22:5-6:⁵

2 Kgs 8:28-29

And (Ahaziah) went with

2 Chr 22:5-6

(Ahaziah) walked also after
their counsel,
and went with Jehoram the son

⁴ Some examples of this phenomenon may be enumerated: at times Samuel-Kings uses the “perfect conjunctive” (*we + qatal*) where the parallel uses *wayyiqtol*: 2 Sam 6:16 // 1 Chr 15:29; 1 Kgs 3:11 // 2 Chr 1:11; 1 Kgs 12:32 // 2 Chr 11:15; Kings has the bare noun while Chronicles has the noun + directional *he*: 2 Sam 10:14 // 1 Chr 19:15; 1 Kgs 12:1 // 2 Chr 10:1; Kings has a clause-initial temporal phrase in narrative while Chronicles adds *ויהי*: 2 Kgs 12:18 // 2 Chr 24:23; Kings has a sequence of imperatives while Chronicles uses *weqatal* after an initial imperative: 1 Kgs 22:34 // 2 Chr. 18:33.

⁵ The word-for-word translation follows the KJV.

<p>Joram the son of Ahab to the war against Hazael king of Aram in Ramoth-gilead; and the Aramaeans wounded Joram. And king Joram returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Aramaeans had given him at Ramah, when he fought against Hazael king of Aram. And Ahaziah the son of Je- horam king of Judah went down to see Joram the son of Ahab in Jezreel, because he was sick.</p>	<p>of Ahab king of Israel to war against Hazael king of Aram at Ramoth-gilead: and the Aramaeans wounded Joram. And he returned to be healed in Jezreel because of the wounds which were given him at Ramah when he fought with Hazael king of Aram. And Azariah the son of Je- horam king of Judah went down to see Jehoram the son of Ahab at Jezreel, because he was sick.</p>
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The second passage in Kings transmits the same information, partly in identical form (in italics):

2 Kings 9:14-16

So Jehu the son of Jehoshaphat the son of Nimshi conspired against Joram. (Now Joram had kept Ramoth-gilead, he and all Israel, because of Hazael king of Aram. *But king Joram was returned to be healed in Jezreel of the wounds which the Aramaeans had given him, when he fought with Hazael king of Aram.*) And Jehu said, If it be your minds, then let none go forth nor escape out of the city to go to tell it in Jezreel. So Jehu rode in a chariot, and went to Jezreel; for Joram lay there. *And Ahaziah king of Judah was come down to see Joram.*

All three passages relate the following points:

- Joram, King of Israel, waged war against the Aramaeans;
- having been wounded during this war, Joram retired to Jezreel in order to heal;
- Ahaziah, King of Judah, travelled to Jezreel to visit Joram on his sickbed.

The main difference on the factual level is that 2 Kgs 8:28-29 and 2 Chr 22:5-6 relate that Ahaziah had gone to war against the

Aramaeans with Joram, while nothing is said of this in 2 Kgs 9:14-16.⁶

Working Hypothesis

How is one to account for the doublet in 2 Kings? It plays no obvious narrative role, nor is it functional on the level of historiography. Rather, the doubling seems to be due to some type of mishap in the composition or transmission of the text. Commentaries note the problem and sometimes go as far as to indicate that one of the two versions is the older one, but no clear explanation has been articulated.⁷ The redaction history of the Books of Kings appears to have been somewhat messy and cannot always be retraced with assurance.⁸ In the present case, however, it is possible to throw some light on the process that brought about the doublet. For reasons of clarity, we will take our point of departure in a few key observations so as to formulate an hypothesis that will then be tested against the evidence.

Whereas in 2 Kgs 9:14-16, our anecdote is integrated into the story of Jehu's revolt, which lends it its significance, in the other two passages it is separated from that story. This makes sense in the context of the Chronicler's history of Judah, where the revolt of Jehu, in the Northern Kingdom, is not included. In Chronicles, the verses following the passage transcribed above (2 Chr 22:7-9) do recount how

⁶ By deleting the preposition כִּי in 2 Kgs 8:28, Ewald obtained a smoother text, in which nothing is said about Ahaziah's going to war with the Aramaeans, see Heinrich Ewald, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, 3. Band (Göttingen: Dieterich, 1866³), 568, note 2. This conjecture is perhaps confirmed by the version Flavius Josephus gives of the events in *Ant.* IX 105-112—unless Josephus himself streamlined the biblical text.

⁷ See e.g. J. A. Montgomery, H. S. Gehman, *The Book of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1950), 396, 400, where the first version is said to depend on the second; E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige* (ATD 11, 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 328–331.

⁸ In many passages (although not in the one under discussion), the Septuagint gives access to a different recension of Kings, as works by Treballe Barrera clearly show. See e.g. J. C. Treballe Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboan: Historia de la recension y redaccion de. 1 Reyes 2-12,14* (Institucion San Jeronimo 10; Valencia: Institucion San Jeronimo, 1980); idem, *Jehú y Joás. Texto y composición literaria de 2 Reyes 9-11* (Institución San Jerónimo 17; Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984). This phenomenon shows that until a very late date, scribes remained dissatisfied with the textual form of the Book.

Ahaziah was killed by Jehu “whom the LORD had anointed to destroy the house of Ahab.” But we learn nothing about Jehu’s origins, nor about the fact that he went on to become king of Israel. Since the Chronicler shows no interest for the political history of the northern kingdom as such, this is as one would expect.

In 2 Kgs 8:28-29, the separation between Ahaziah’s visit and Jehu’s revolt is more difficult to explain. The information remains without sequel until it is introduced again in the next chapter.

Setting out from the observation that 2 Kgs 8:28-29 is the anomalous item, the following textual development may be postulated:

— The earliest version of the anecdote is the one wrapped into the story of Jehu’s revolt in 2 Kgs 9. The details relating to Joram’s being wounded and retiring to Jezreel, and to Ahaziah’s subsequent visit are material to the narration of the events.

— Next came the version in 2 Chronicles. The Chronicler had no interest in recounting Jehu’s revolt, but he needed the elements of our anecdote to explain how Ahaziah, King of Judah, died. He therefore extracted those elements from the story of the revolt and rounded them out with a few statements telling how Ahaziah was killed by one Jehu, whom God had appointed as an avenger on Ahab.

— The version in 2 Kgs 8:28-29 results from a kind of reflux from Chronicles to Kings.⁹ At some stage in the editorial or scribal history of the Books of Kings, someone noted that the presentation of Ahaziah in 2 Kgs 8:25-27 lacked details present in the Chronicles parallel, and added them to the Kings account.¹⁰

This scenario provides a plausible explanation for the presence of the three versions, and for the typical differences between them. However, other scenarios could be imagined that could explain the facts equally well. The anomalous account, 2 Kgs 8:28-29, might be

⁹ For secondary influences of Chronicles on the text of Kings, see Montgomery & Gehman, *Kings*, 5 and 45. Another possible instance of such reflux is the small section on Shemaiah in 1 Kgs 12:21-24. See I. L. Seeligmann, *Studies in Biblical Literature* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1996), 139. I thank R. Goldstein and I. Kislev who pointed this example out to me.

¹⁰ In the Antiochene text, the deuteronomic notice on Ahaziah (2 Kgs 8:25-27) follows 2 Kgs 10:36. Julio Trebolle Barrera has argued that this was the earlier position of the pericope and that it was displaced secondarily in the proto-Massoretic tradition., see Trebolle Barrera, *Jehu y Joás*. If this is what happened, verses 28-29 must have been added after the displacement of what are now verses 25-27 in 2 Kgs 8.

the earliest one—an archival notice written down by a conscientious secretary at Ahaziah’s court. The narrator of Jehu’s revolt might then have integrated this old archival note into his story, because it provided him with crucial information on the presence of Ahaziah in Jezreel at the time of the coup. The redactor of Kings would have incorporated both the original note and the story that exploited it. The Chronicler, finally, would have selected the form of the archival note and rounded it out with some details from the story. Other trajectories too could be envisaged.¹¹

Fortunately, where redaction-historical considerations remain inconclusive, historical linguistics provides some firmness. Although the account of Joram’s retiring to Jezreel and Ahaziah’s visit to him there is very short, there are several linguistic differences between the version in 2 Kgs 9 and the other two. While the language of the former coheres with the “classical” Biblical Hebrew of the Pentateuch and Former Prophets (CBH), the language of the other two passages has features typical of the Late Biblical Hebrew of Chronicles (LBH). These linguistic data independently indicate that 2 Kgs 9:14-16 is the oldest of the three versions, and that 2 Kgs 8:28-29 is a late borrowing from Chronicles.

Linguistic Evidence

Where our three passages are parallel, they usually coincide word for word except for some unimportant details:

2 Kgs 9:15

וישב יהורם^a המלך להתרפא ביזרעאל מן המכים אשר יכהו^b ארמים
בהלחמו את חזאל מלך ארם

2 Chr 22:6

להתרפא ביזרעאל כי^c המכים אשר הכהו ברמה וישב
בהלחמו את חזאל מלך ארם

¹¹ Würthwein (*Könige*, 328–331) argues that all of 2 Kgs 9:1-13 is made up of secondary additions. If this were true, the doublet might be explained as a kind of *Wiederaufnahme*. See, however, the very different reconstruction of the history of redaction in Y. Minokami, *Die Revolution des Jehu* (Göttingen Theologische Arbeiten 38; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1989).

2 Kgs 8:29

וישב יורם המלך להתרפא ביזרעאל מן המכים אשר יכהו^b ארמים ברמה
בהלחמו
את חזהאל מלך ארם

^a The forms יהורם and יורם are employed promiscuously in both Kings and Chronicles and cannot be used to decide the direction of influence.

^b The use of the *yiqtol* form is hard to explain;¹² its presence in both Kings passages will be discussed below.

^c The syntax of כי is difficult in this clause, perhaps the conjunction is simply a mistake for מן.

The extensive identity of wording shows that the three passages really do depend on one another on the written level, whatever the direction of dependence. This is not merely a case of parallel traditions.

At the same time, rearrangement and limited rewriting have introduced syntactic divergences, some of which give purchase on the question of relative date.

1. *The Function of Subject – qatal Clauses*

In our working hypothesis, 2 Kgs 9 came first, then 2 Chr 22, and finally 2 Kgs 8. The Chronicler took clauses from his source text, pushed them around and combined them with other clauses. Even where he did not change the wording of his source text, the rearrangement occasioned changes of syntax. In one instance, the Chronicler created a type of syntax that is practically unattested in CBH, but finds parallels in LBH.

2 Kgs 9:16

ואחזיה מלך יהודה ירד לראות את יורם

2 Chr 22:6

ועזריהו^a בן יהורם מלך יהודה ירד לראות את יהורם בן אחאב ביזרעאל

2 Kgs 8:29

ואחזיהו בן יהורם מלך יהודה ירד לראות את יורם בן אחאב ביזרעאל

^a The name Azariah instead of Ahaziah seems to be a simple mistake in the MT of Chronicles, see BHS.

¹² See J. Joosten, "The Long Form of the Prefix Conjugation Referring to the Past in Biblical Hebrew Prose," *Hebrew Studies* 40 (1999): 15–26.

In 2 Kgs 9:16, the clause transcribed has the structure: subject – *qatal*. In CBH narrative, clauses of this form, even although they are not rare, are conspicuous by virtue of the mere fact that they do not use the normal *wayyiqtol* form. Functionally, too, they are marked. Whereas *wayyiqtol* expresses narrative continuity, subject – *qatal* clauses signal a break. One regular function of the structure is to mark the subject as topic:

Gen 31:47

ויקרא לו לבן יגר שהדוּתא ויעקב קרא לו גלעד

Laban called it Jegar-sahadutha, *but Jacob called it Galeed*.

Having been told what Laban called the heap of stones, the reader wants to know what the other protagonist called it. The subject in the second clause is a marked, contrastive topic.¹³

More frequently, the structure subject – *qatal* in narrative functions as a circumstantial clause.¹⁴ In this case the subject is not marked. A circumstantial *qatal* clause expresses anteriority with respect to the reference time—a miniature flash-back, as it were. In English, it typically requires to be rendered with a pluperfect. This is the function of the clause in 2 Kgs 9:16. The NRSV translates correctly: “King Ahaziah of Judah *had come down* to visit Joram.” No special emphasis attaches to the subject of the clause, and the whole clause informs the reader what happened before Jehu arrived in Jezreel as is recounted in the next verses.¹⁵

In 2 Chr 22:6 the same clause structure is found, but not the same function. There is no suggestion that the clause looks back in time or recounts an earlier event. All processes are in their “natural order”: Joram is wounded and retires to Jezreel, Ahaziah comes to visit him, Jehu attacks the city and kills Ahaziah. The NRSV, again correctly, translates: “And Ahaziah, son of King Jehoram of Judah, *went down* to see Joram son of Ahab in Jezreel.”

The use of subject – *qatal* clauses in the narration of sequential events is practically unattested in the CBH corpus (Genesis – 2

¹³ A preposed subject may also function as rheme, or focus, but there are hardly any examples of this phenomenon in narrative.

¹⁴ See M. Eskhult, *Studies in Verbal Aspect and Narrative Technique in Biblical Hebrew Prose* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1990), 32–33.

¹⁵ Other examples of this construction: Gen 24:1; Ex 17:10; Num 17:15; 1 Sam 1:5; 4:1; 1 Kgs 1:41; 2 Kgs 3:22.

Kings).¹⁶ But this changes in LBH. As was observed first by Talmy Givón and then confirmed by Mats Eskhult, LBH makes regular use of subject – *qatal* clauses in the expression of sequential events:¹⁷

2 Chr 25:12

וישליכוֹם מראש הסלע וכלם נבקעו

They threw them down from the top of Sela, and all of them *were dashed to pieces*.¹⁸

By a simple reordering of existing materials, the Chronicler changed the function of the clause under discussion, turning a typical CBH feature into a typical LBH one.

The function of the equivalent clause in 2 Kgs 8:29 is identical to that in 2 Chr 22:6. This is a strong indication that the passage in 2 Kgs 8:28-29 was not created in the context of Kings, where this syntax is unusual, but in the context of Chronicles, where it is normal. The verses were taken wholesale from Chronicles at a late stage in the history of the Hebrew book of Kings.

2. The Structure of Causal-Circumstantial Clauses with a Participle

The Chronicler's rearrangement of materials from 2 Kgs 9:14-16, according to our working hypothesis, did involve a limited amount of rewriting. In 2 Chr 22:5, this did not lead to the introduction of marked LBH syntax or vocabulary. In verse 6, however, the rewriting led to a small but revealing change in the syntax.

2 Kgs 9:16

וירכב יהוא וילך יזרעאלה כי יורם שכב שמה

Then Jehu mounted his chariot and went to Jezreel, *where Joram was lying ill*.

¹⁶ Note an exception in Ex 36:3, in the chapters relating the making of the Tabernacle — probably a late addition balancing the chapters containing the instruction for the making of the Tabernacle. See A. Kuenen, *An Historico-critical Inquiry into the Origin and Composition of the Hexateuch* (London: Macmillan, 1886), 78.

¹⁷ See T. Givón, "The Drift from VSO to SVO in Biblical Hebrew: The Pragmatics of Tense-Aspect," in Charles N. Li, ed., *Mechanisms of Syntactic Change* (Austin/London: University of Texas Press, 1977), 181–254; Eskhult, *Studies*, 116–117.

¹⁸ Other examples in LBH: Est 1:12; 3:15; 7:6-8, 10; 8:1, 14-15; Ezr 1:6; 3:13; Neh 13:12; 1 Chr 12:22; 2 Chr 30:15; compare Jon 1:4.

This sentence is well formed according to the rules of CBH: a main clause with *wayyiqtol* recounting a single event is followed by a circumstantial clause of the structure subject – participle expressing attending circumstances. The circumstantial clause is usually introduced simply with *waw*, but when there is a causal nuance, the use of *כי* is possible.¹⁹

In Chronicles, the subordinate clause telling of Joram's lying ill was attached not to Jehu's arrival, but to that of Ahaziah. The relocation occasioned a new formulation, with a different verb and, crucially, a different word order:

2 Chr 22:6

ועזריהו בן יהורם מלך יהודה ירד לראות את יהורם בן אחאב ביזרעאל כי
חלה הוא

And Azariah (read Ahaziah), son of King Jehoram of Judah, went down to see Joram son of Ahab in Jezreel, *because he was sick*.

Although causal *ki* clauses with the sequence participle – subject are frequent in CBH discursive texts, there are no examples of such clauses in CBH narrative.²⁰ In LBH, however, one finds several examples of this construction.²¹ The rewriting of the text led to the use of a markedly late construction. Again, the fact that 2 Kgs 8:29 has the same syntax at this juncture shows that the whole passage was borrowed from Chronicles at a late stage.

Linguistic evidence is not a magic wand by which the exercise of dating biblical texts becomes easy. The data have to be handled with care and conclusions are to be drawn with due caution. Nonetheless, in the present case, the occurrence in just two verses in Chronicles of two distinct syntagms attested in LBH but not in CBH would seem to be significant. The data indicate, independently of all redaction-historical considerations, that 2 Kgs 8:28-29 is borrowed from 2 Chr 22:5-6. The findings do not depend on our working hypothesis, but they provide confirmation for its validity.

¹⁹ See 1 Kgs 5:4; 8:7.

²⁰ See J. Joosten, "The Predicative Participle in Biblical Hebrew," *ZAH* 2 (1989): 128–159, in particular note 46.

²¹ See Neh 8:9; 1 Chr 14:2; 15:22; 2 Chr 22:6.

Possible Objections to the Hypothesis

If 2 Kgs 8:28-29 depends on 2 Chr 22:5-6, one expects the two passages to conform to one another, as is indeed the case. There are, however, a few differences that seem to contradict the direction of borrowing.

As was pointed out above, the Hebrew text of 2 Chr 22:6 contains an apparent mistake, stating that the name of the king of Judah, son of Joram, was Azariah, and not Ahaziah. This striking reading is not found in the parallel in 2 Kgs 8:29. The divergence merits to be signaled, but does not form an insuperable objection to our hypothesis. The late redactor or scribe of Kings who borrowed the verses from Chronicles may have used a text where the mistake was not yet present; or if it was present, he may have corrected it on his own initiative.²²

Conversely, the anomalous form יכהו is found in 2 Kgs 8:29 as in 2 Kgs 9:15, against the more expected הכהו in 2 Chr 22:5. This would seem to favor a direct connection between the two Kings passages, without mediation on the part of Chronicles. Again, the objection is not strong. In an earlier stage, Chronicles may have had the *yiqtol* form as in 2 Kgs 9. The correction to the *qatal* form may have happened after the passages was taken over in 2 Kgs 8. Or the assimilation of the two forms in Kings to one another may be due to an even later smoothing on the scribal level.

Other more minute differences exist between 2 Kgs 8:28-29 and 2 Chr 22:5-6. They show that the texts remained fluid even after the influence of Chronicles on Kings happened. They do not provide an argument against the textual development proposed in the present paper.

Conclusions

In conclusion it is perhaps worthwhile to stress that our discussion is concerned first and foremost with the literary aspects of the biblical texts. What really happened to Joram and Ahaziah and how they

²² A similar evaluation is in order for other small divergences between the two texts.

came to their end is a different question. According to a widely accepted reading of the Tell Dan Stele, an Aramaean King, probably Hazael, claims to have killed Joram of Israel and Ahaziah of Judah in battle. This version may be confirmed by 1 Kgs 22 if those critics are correct who take the kings involved in this chapter to be Joram and Ahaziah and not Ahab and Jehoshaphat as in the received text.²³ If the two kings were killed by Hazael, they cannot have died at the hands of Jehu.

The intractability of the historical evidence does not dispense one from trying to explain the literary data. The presence of a doublet in the text of 2 Kings 8-9 constitutes a problem with which historical critical scholars have to deal. On the synchronic level the repetition of the same information, partly in the same words, in two passages fifteen verses apart stands in need of explanation. The doublet serves no obvious esthetic effect. A solution must be found in the history of the text's composition or transmission.

A first step is to compare the doublet to the parallel in 2 Chr 22. The parallel is much closer to the first passage in Kings than to the second. This might simply indicate that the Chronicler used the first member of the doublet and not the second. But the Chronicler's version seems to fit much better in its own context than does its close parallel in Kings. This suggests that the form of the passage reflects the writing of the Chronicler and that it was taken over into 2 Kgs 8 at a later stage. Since the normal direction of dependence is the other way round, the hypothesis may seem daring. To make it acceptable, other arguments are needed.

Additional arguments can be drawn from historical linguistics. The first passage in Kings, with its close parallel in Chronicles, shows signs of lateness. Although it is very short and consists mostly of words that remain in use over the entire biblical period, the syntax lines up with LBH, against CBH, in two instances. Linguistically, the passage belongs in Chronicles, not Kings.

Since the literary and the linguistic evidence is mutually independent, their concurrence strongly argues in favor of the hypothesis. The

²³ See recently A. Lemaire, "Les nouveaux fragments de la stèle araméenne de Tell Dan," in C.-B. Amphoux et al., eds., *Études sémitiques et samaritaines offertes à Jean Margain* (Lausanne: Zèbre, 1998), 41-52.

doublet can with some degree of likelihood be traced back to secondary influence of the text of Chronicles on that of Kings.

THE TEXT OF THE SHEMA YISRAEL IN QUMRAN LITERATURE AND ELSEWHERE

Armin Lange and Matthias Weigold

Julio Treballe Barrera is among those members of the international editorial team of the Dead Sea Scrolls who published biblical manuscripts from Qumran, made them available to a broader scholarly public, and analyzed them in his publications. The textcritical work on the biblical Dead Sea Scrolls, in which he participated, has revolutionized our ideas about the textual history of the Hebrew Bible and the individual textual histories of its books. The Dead Sea Scrolls revealed a textual plurality far beyond the three main medieval textual traditions as they are attested by MT, LXX, and the Samaritan Pentateuch (SP). It is only due to the Dead Sea Scrolls that today we can study the textual history of individual biblical books or even individual references during the Second Temple period. Next to the manuscripts of biblical books from the Dead Sea, quotations of and allusions to Jewish Scriptures in ancient Jewish literature provide a second source for the textual history of biblical texts. These quotations will be identified and analyzed textually by a research project which is conducted at Vienna University's Institute for Jewish Studies.¹ We would like to contribute a first result of our work on the quotations of and allusions to Jewish scriptures to Julio's Festschrift as a small token of appreciation for his scholarly achievements. We will study the textual history of the Shema Yisrael, Deut 6:4–9, as attested by Second Temple Jewish literature and manuscripts. Because the Shema Yisrael was used in various liturgical contexts in late Second Temple Judaism (see below), our study raises the question of how a text's liturgical use affected its textual history. In the first part of this

¹ The research project "The Meaning of Ancient Jewish Quotations and Allusions for the Textual History of the Hebrew Bible" is sponsored by the "Jubiläumsfonds" of the Oesterreichische Nationalbank. The authors of the present article conduct this research project.

article we will list the textual witnesses to Deut 6:4–9 as well as its quotations and allusions. Afterwards we will compile a list of variant readings and discuss the importance of these variants. In the end, we will draw some conclusions about the textual history of Deut 6:4–9 and about how its text was affected by its possible liturgical use. Before we can do this, we will have to address the question if there are differences between quotations and allusions in ancient Jewish literature and what can be regarded as a quotation and allusion and what not.

1. QUOTATIONS AND ALLUSIONS IN ANCIENT JEWISH LITERATURE

In the last decades it has been claimed that only those references which are introduced by quotation formulae, such as כַּאֲשֶׁר כָּתוּב, can be regarded as a proper quotation and that all other adaptations of Jewish scriptures should be understood as allusions.² While this brief contribution does not allow for an extensive discussion of the problem, it seems to us, that such a distinction does not meet the reality of ancient intertextuality.

While the use of quotations formulae might point to a special scriptural status of the quoted text, we know of no biblical book or any other Jewish text which was always quoted by way of quotation formulae. Normally one literary work includes parts of a given other text sometimes with and sometimes without quotations formulae. A good example is CD 11:18, introducing Lev 23:28 with the formula כִּי בֶן כָּתוּב, and CD 1:17–18, taking up Lev 26:25 without introductory formula. Furthermore, ancient Jewish literature quotes significant amounts of text verbally without using quotation formulae. Examples include 4QTest (4Q175: Exod 21:21b [preSP]; Num 24:15–17; Deut 33:8–11; 4QapocrJosh^b [4Q379] 22 ii 7–15) and Jdt 9:7–8 (Exod 15:3). We would regard such a case as a quotation and not as an allusion. The same text can be alluded to in other cases only by incorporating two or three key words in the alluding text. As a rule of thumb

² Cf. e.g. S. Metso, “Biblical Quotations in the Community Rule,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. E.D. Herbert and E. Tov; London: The British Museum, 2002), 81–92, 81; eadem, *The Serekh Texts* (Library of Second Temple Studies 62; Companion to the Qumran Scrolls 9; London: T&T Clark, 2007), 41.

we recognize any parallel of two rare or three more common words to another Jewish text as an allusion.³ Exceptions to this rule are formulaic and idiomatic expressions (see below). There are obviously significant grey zones. For this reason we do not distinguish between quotations and allusions in the below lists. As for the variant list, a special problem arises from the free way in which ancient Jewish authors alluded to their scriptures. Sometimes the texts which are alluded to are altered to adjust them to the grammar, syntax, or rhetoric of the alluding text. These cases are not noted below as variant readings.

Another complication in identifying allusions is the formulaic rhetoric of the ancient Jewish scriptures. A good example is the book of Deuteronomy and Deut 6:4–5. The expression “with all one’s heart and with all one’s soul” is used repeatedly in Deuteronomy itself (Deut 4:29; 6:5; 10:12 [cf. 4QRP^b (4Q364) 28a–b 8–9]; 11:13; 13:4 [= 11QT^a (11Q19) LIV 12–13]; 26:16; 30:2, 6, 10). Although it is quite obvious that later dtr and non-dtr Jewish literature is influenced by this idiom of the book of Deuteronomy it remains unclear from which particular reference the phrase is taken or if these texts simply attest to a continued use of the formula without specific reference to the book of Deuteronomy. Examples include Josh 22:5; 23:14; 1 Kgs 2:4; 8:48; 2 Kgs 23:3, 25; Jer 32:41; 2 Chron 6:38; 15:12; 34:31; CD 15:9–10, 12 (par. 4QD^a [4Q266] 8 i 3; 4QD^f [4Q271] 4 i 12); 1QS I 2 (par. 4QpapS^a [4Q255] 1 2; 4QpapS^c [4Q257] I 1–2); 1QS V 8–9 (par. 4QS^b [4Q256] IX 7; 4QS^d [4Q258] I 6); 1QH^a VII 23; 4QapocrMoses^a (4Q375) 1 i 2–3; 4QapocrJer C^b (4Q387) 2 ii 1–2; 4QMMT C 15–16 (4Q397 14–21 14 par. 4Q398 14–17 i 7–8); 4QDibHam^a (4Q504) 1+2 ii recto 14; 11QT^a (11Q19) LIX 9–10; Tob 13:6 (cf. also Sir 6:26). Another example for the same phenomenon is the idiom “to love the Lord” or “to love God” which can be found in Deut 6:5; 7:9; 10:12; 11:1, 13, 22; 13:4; 19:9; 30:6, 16, 20 and is attested outside the book of Deuteronomy e.g. in Josh 22:5; 23:11; Ps 31:24; Tob 14:7; *T. Iss.* 5:2; 7:6; *T. Dan* 5:3; *T. Benj.* 3:1. Although formulaic expressions like our two examples from Deut 6:4–5 echo intertextual relationships it remains often unclear

³ For a more sophisticated outline of criteria from a reader oriented perspective, see J.A. Hughes, *Scriptural Allusions and Exegesis in the Hodayot* (STDJ 59; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 41–54.

which kind of intertextuality is at work. In most cases it cannot be determined to which attestation of a formula an ancient Jewish text refers or whether it refers to a particular attestation at all. Most formulas are widely used and have become part of the general (dtr) religious rhetoric. Formulaic expressions can hence not be analyzed for textcritical purposes.

A particular case of quotations are the phylacteries and mezuzot among the Dead Sea Scrolls. They have been found both at Qumran and the sites connected with the Bar Kokhba revolt. As collections of various quotations from the Pentateuch, phylacteries and mezuzot resemble excerpt manuscripts like the Nash Papyrus or 4QDeutⁿ (4Q41) and need thus to be placed between a biblical manuscript and a florilegium.

In general, the phylacteries and mezuzot from Qumran reflect the textual plurality of the Qumran corpus.⁴ Their textcritical use is limited though as *b. Meg.* 18b tells us that the text of the phylacteries and mezuzot was copied from memory. Next to scribal errors, copying phylacteries and mezuzot from memory led to textual harmonizations, linguistic and theological corrections, and changes in vocabulary. Some phylacteries and mezuzot from Qumran are more or less close to the consonantal text of MT (1QPhyl, 4QPhyl A–C, 4QPhyl F, 4QPhyl I–J, 4QPhyl L, 4QPhyl R, 8QPhyl, and 4QMez G) while others attest to readings known from LXX and SP but also to non-aligned variants (4QPhyl G–H, 4QPhyl K, 4QPhyl M–N, and XQPhyl). Finally, 4QPhyl O and 8QMez are close to SP and LXX. The phylacteries from the other sites at the Dead Sea are rather close to the consonantal text of MT (MurPhyl and 34SePhyl). The exception to this rule is XH_{ev}/SePhyl which attests to a number of non-aligned readings.

⁴ For a more detailed discussion of the phylacteries and mezuzot among the Dead Sea Scrolls, see A. Lange, *Handbuch zu den Textfunden vom Toten Meer*, vol. 1: *Die Handschriften biblischer Bücher von Qumran und den anderen Fundorten* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), 116–122; Y.B. Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text: Tefillin and the Ancient World* (BJS 351; Providence: Brown University, 2008), 55–102.

2. THE TEXTUAL WITNESSES OF DEUT 6:4–9

Before we can turn to the textual witnesses of the Shema themselves it remains to be asked which text was recognized as the Shema in Second Temple Judaism. Although the practice of reciting the Shema twice a day is mentioned by both Flavius Josephus (*Ant.* 4.212–213) and the *Letter of Aristeas* (158–160) neither of them provides any information as to which verses were spoken. The only information as to the textual delimitation of the Shema in Second Temple Judaism can be gained from its manuscript evidence. In the Nash Papyrus from the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. it is part of a Pentateuch excerpt which contains otherwise a harmonized version of the Decalogue.⁵ But in the Nash Papyrus the text of the Shema breaks away in Deut 6:5 due to manuscript deterioration. Manuscript deterioration does not allow for a precise delimitation in the case of 4QPhyl B (4Q129: Deut 6:2–3, 5); 4QPhyl H (4Q135: Deut 6:1–5); 4QPhyl I (4Q136: Deut 6:6–7); 4QPhyl M (4Q140: Deut 6:1–5); 4QPhyl O (4Q142: Deut 6:7–9); 4QMez B (4Q150: Deut 6:5–6); 4QMez C (4Q151: Deut 6:1, 3, 5, 7, 9); 4QMez D (4Q152: Deut 6:5–7). But in 4QPhyl C (4Q130); 8QPhyl (8Q3); XQPhyl 2 (XQ2);⁶ MurPhyl (Mur 4); and XHev/SePhyl (XHev/Se 5) textgraphical markers or other indications show that Deut 6:4–9 was perceived as one textual unit. This is all the more apparent as in 8QPhyl Deut 6:4–9 and 6:1–3 are two separate units of which Deut 6:1–3 is placed in a later part of this phylacterion than Deut 6:4–9. That Deut 6:4–9 was perceived as one textual unit in Second Temple Judaism is also corroborated by its textgraphical delimitation in 4QDeut^p (4Q43).

⁵ For a paleographic date of the Nash Papyrus in the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.E., see W.F. Albright, "A Biblical Fragment from the Maccabean Age: The Nash Papyrus," *JBL* 56 (1937): 145–176, 149–172, esp. 149; cf. idem, "On the Date of the Scrolls from 'Ain Feshkha and the Nash Papyrus," *BASOR* 115 (1949): 10–19; S.A. Birnbaum, *The Qumrân (Dead Sea) Scrolls and Palaeography* (BASORSup 13–14; New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research, 1952), 43; F.M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (ed. G. E. Wright; Garden City: Doubleday, 1961), 133–202, 148.

⁶ According to Y. Yadin, *Tefillin From Qumran (X Q Phyl 1–4)* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 1969), 26 (18 in the Hebrew part), Deut 6:4 is preceded by a space of 3 mm in the end of line 22.

2.1. *The Medieval Versions*

MT

4 שִׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד: 5 וְאַהֲבַת אֵת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ
בְּכָל-לִבְבְּךָ וּבְכָל-נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל-מְאֹדֶךָ: 6 וְהָיוּ הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי
מְצַוְּךָ הַיּוֹם עַל-לִבְבְּךָ: 7 וְשָׁנַנְתָּם לְבִנְיָךָ וְדִבַּרְתָּ בָם בְּשַׁבְּתֶךָ בְּבֵיתְךָ
וּבְלֶכְתְּךָ בְּדַרְךָ וּבְשֹׁכְבְּךָ וּבְקוּמֶךָ: 8 וְקִשְׂרָתָם לְאוֹת עַל-יָדְךָ וְהָיוּ לְטַטְפֹּת
בֵּין עֵינֶיךָ: 9 וְכָתַבְתָּם עַל-מְזוּזֹת בֵּיתְךָ וּבְשַׁעְרֶיךָ:

⁴ Hear, O Israel: The Lord is our God, the Lord alone. ⁵ You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your might. ⁶ Keep these words that I am commanding you today in your heart. ⁷ Recite them to your children and talk about them when you are at home and when you are away, when you lie down and when you rise. ⁸ Bind them as a sign on your hand, fix them as an emblem on your forehead, ⁹ and write them on the doorposts of your house and on your gates. (NRSV)

SP⁷

4 שִׁמַע יִשְׂרָאֵל יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ יְהוָה אֶחָד: 5 וְאַהֲבַת אֵת יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ בְּכָל
לִבְבְּךָ וּבְכָל נַפְשְׁךָ וּבְכָל מְאֹדְךָ: 6 וְהָיוּ הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר אֲנִי מְצַוְּךָ
הַיּוֹם עַל לִבְבְּךָ: 7 וְשָׁנַנְתָּם לְבִנְיָךָ וְדִבַּרְתָּ בָם בְּשַׁבְּתְךָ בְּבֵיתְךָ בְּלֶכְתְּךָ בְּדַרְךָ
וּבְשֹׁכְבְךָ וּבְקוּמְךָ: 8 וְקִשְׂרָתָם לְאוֹת עַל יָדְךָ וְהָיוּ לְטַטְפֹּת בֵּין עֵינֶיךָ: 9
וְכָתַבְתָּם עַל מְזוּזֹת בֵּיתְךָ וּבְשַׁעְרֶיךָ:

LXX⁸

⁴ Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐξεληθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου Ἄκουε, Ἰσραήλ· κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν. ⁵

⁷ Text according to *The Samaritan Pentateuch: According to MS 6 (C) of the Shekhem Synagogue* (ed. A. Tal; Texts and Studies in the Hebrew Language and Related Subjects 8; Tel-Aviv: Tel-Aviv University Press, 1994).

⁸ Text according to *Deuteronomium* (ed. J.W. Wevers; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 3.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977). Translation according to M.K.H. Peters, "Deuteronomion," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint: And the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included under That Title* (ed. A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright; New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 152.

καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας⁹ σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς δυνάμεώς σου.⁶ καὶ ἔσται τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα, ὅσα ἐγὼ ἐντέλλομαι σοι σήμερον, ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου.⁷ καὶ προβιβάσεις αὐτὰ τοὺς υἱούς σου καὶ λαλήσεις ἐν αὐτοῖς καθήμενος ἐν οἴκῳ καὶ πορευόμενος ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ κοιταζόμενος καὶ διανιστάμενος.⁸ καὶ ἀφάψεις αὐτὰ εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρός σου, καὶ ἔσται ἀσάλευτα¹⁰ πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου,⁹ καὶ γράψετε αὐτὰ ἐπὶ τὰς φλῖας τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν.

⁴ And these are the statutes and the judgments, which the Lord commanded to the sons of Israel in the wilderness as they were coming out from the land of Egypt. Hear, O Israel: The Lord our God is one Lord. ⁵And you shall love the Lord your God with the whole of your mind and with the whole of your soul and with the whole of your power. ⁶ And these words that I command you today shall be in your heart and in your soul. ⁷ And you shall teach them to your sons and talk on them while sitting at home and going on the road and lying down and rising up. ⁸ And you shall bind them as a sign on your hand, and they shall be things unshakable before your eyes, ⁹ and you shall write them on the doorposts of your houses and of your gates.

⁹ Instead of *διανοίας* most manuscripts including Codex Alexandrinus (G^A) read *καρδίας* which is the predominant equivalent of *לבב* in the LXX in general and LXX-Deut in particular. The latter reading is preferred by Rahlfs's edition. However, Wevers argued for the originality of the much rarer rendering *διανοίας* as attested most notably in Codex Vaticanus (G^B) and P. Chester Beatty VI (G⁹⁶³), see J.W. Wevers, *Text History of the Greek Deuteronomy* (Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Philologisch-Historische Klasse 3.106; MSU 13; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1978), 59; against A. Yarbro Collins, *Mark: A Commentary* (Hermeneia; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2007), 574 note 81.

¹⁰ Most manuscripts including G^A and G^B read the singular *ἀσάλευτον* like in Exod 13:16, which is preferred by Rahlfs's edition. Cf. however J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy* (SBLSCS 39; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995), 116. MS 767 (Athos, 13–14th cent.) reads the opposite *σαλευτόν* "movable" which is reflected in the Vulgate ("movebuntur") and in Philo, *Spec.* 4.137, 139 (see below).

2.2 *The Ancient Jewish Manuscripts*

4QDeut^p (4Q43) 1, 2 i, 3 1–5¹¹

... אלה]יִנוּ יהוה אֵל אחד⁵ ואהבת את י[הוה | ...]וְהָיָה הַדְּבָרִים ...
א[שֶׁר | ...] וְבִשְׂרָר | [ובקומך⁸ ...] וְהָיָה לְטוֹטְפוֹת[... ..] בְּיַתְד
va[cat ... ובשעריך |

Pap. Nash 22–25¹²

[ואלה החק]ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה אֶתְּ [בני | [ישראל]
במדבר בצאתם מארץ מצרים שֶׁמֶּ [ע] | [ישראל] ל יהוה אלהינו יהוה
אחד הוא⁵ וְאֵל הַבַּת | [את יהוה א]ל[היך בכ]ל⁵ [לבבך ...]

⁴ [(?) And these are the statute]s and the judgements that Moses commanded the [sons of] | [Israel] in the wilderness, when they went forth from the land of Egypt. Hea[r] | [O Isra]el: Jahwe our God, Jahwe is one; ⁵ and thou shalt l[ove] | [Jahwe thy G]o[d with al] t[h]y heart ...].

2.3 *Phylacteries and Mezuzot from the Second Temple Period*¹³

4QPhyl B (4Q129) 1 recto 20¹⁴

[... לִבְּכָ[ב] הֶ וְכָל נַפְשָׁךְ וּבְכֹל מוֹא[ד]ךָ⁵

4QPhyl C (4Q130) 1 15–19¹⁵

⁴ שמע יש[ראל יה]וה אלהיִנּוּ יהוה אחד⁵ ואהבת את | יהוה אלהיך
בכול לבבך ובכול נפשך ו[בכו]ל מאדך⁶ וְהָיָה הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה אֲשֶׁר |
אנכי מצוה היום עֲלֶיךָ [לבבך] וְשָׁנַתָּם לְבַנִּי וְדַבַּרְתָּ בְּסָם בְּשֵׁן בַּתְּדָ

¹¹ S. White Crawford, DJD 14 (1995): 135.

¹² Transcription and translation according to F.C. Burkitt, "The Hebrew Papyrus of the Ten Commandments," *JQR* 15 (1903): 392–408, 395–396.

¹³ For the textual history of Deuteronomy 5–6 as documented in the phylacteries from Qumran cave 4 see G.J. Brooke, "Deuteronomy 5–6 in the Phylacteries from Qumran Cave 4," in *Emanuel: Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and Dead Sea Scrolls in Honor of E. Tov* (ed. S. Paul et al.; VTSup 94; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 57–70.

¹⁴ J.T. Milik, DJD 6 (1977): 52.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 55.

ב[בית וב(ו)לכתך [בדרך] | ובשכבך ובקומך ⁸ וקשרתם לאות על ירך
 והיו לטוט[פות בין]עניך ⁹ וכתבתם על מזוז[ות] | בתך ובשעריך
vacat

4QPhyl H (4Q135) 1 recto 12¹⁶

⁴ שמעה ישראל יהוה א[להינו יהוה] אחד ⁵ ואהבת את[יהוה אלהיך]

4QPhyl I (4Q136) 1 verso 17–19¹⁷

⁶ והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכ[י מ]צוכ[ה] היו | [... ⁷ ...]בשב[ת] |
 ... ד]

4QPhyl M (4Q140) 1 verso 30–33¹⁸

⁴ שמעה] | ישראל יהו[ה] אלוהינו יהוה אחד ⁵ וא] | הבתה א[ת יהוה
 אלוהיכה בכול לבבכה ובכול] | נפשכה[ובכול מואדכה]

4QPhyl O (4Q142) 1 verso 18–24¹⁹

... ⁷ ושנתמה לבני[כ]ה] | [ודברתה במה בשבתכה] בבית ובל |
 [כתכה בדרך ובש]כבכ[ה ו]בקומכה | ⁸ וקשרתמה] לאות על ידיכה
 והי | [לטוטפ]ת בין עיניכה | ⁹ [כת]בתמה על מזוזות בתיכה |
 [ובש]עריכה]

4QMez B (4Q150) 1 1–2²⁰

⁵ [...] | [שך] וב[כל] מאדך ⁶ והיו] ...

4QMez C (4Q151) 1 10–13²¹

⁵ [...] | ובכ[ל] מאדך ⁶ ... ⁷ [...] | בז[ית]ך [ובלכתך בדרך ובשכבך
 ובקומך ⁸ ... ⁹ [...] | מזוזת ביתך ובשעריך]

4QMez D (4Q152) 1 2–3²²

⁵ ... נפש]ך ובכל מאדך ⁶ והיו [...] | [...] ⁷ ושנתם לב[ניך] ...

¹⁶ Ibid., 62.

¹⁷ Ibid., 63.

¹⁸ Ibid., 72.

¹⁹ Ibid., 74–75.

²⁰ Ibid., 81.

²¹ Ibid., 82.

²² Ibid., 83.

8QPhyl (8Q3) 1–11 ii 24–31²³

⁴ שמע ישראל יה[וה אלהינו] יהו[ה] אח[ד] ⁵ ואהבת | את יהוה אלהיך
 בכל[] לבבך ובכל נפשך[] | ובכל מאדך ⁶ והיו הדברים[ים האלה אשר] |
 אנכי מצוך היום על ל[בבך] ⁷ ושננתם[] | לבניך ודברת במ ב[ש]בתך
 ב[ביתך ובלכתך] | בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך ⁸ וקש[רתם] | לאות על ידך
 והיו לטטפת בי[ן] ע[יני]ך ⁹ וכת[ב]ת[ם] ²⁴ | על מזוזת ביתך ובשעריך

XQPhyl 2 (XQ2) 23–26²⁵

⁴ שמע ישראל יהוה אלהינו יהוה אחד ⁵ ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל
 לבבך ²⁶ | ובכל נפשך ובכל מאדך ⁶ והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכי מצוך
 היום על לבבך ²⁷ | ⁷ ושננתם לבניך ודברת במ בשבתך בביתך ובלכתך
 בדרך ובשכבך ובקומך ²⁸ | ⁸ וקשרתם לאות על ידך והיו לטטפת בין
 עיניך ⁹ וכתבתם על מזוזת ביתך ובשעריך ²⁹

MurPhyl (Mur 4) 2 1–17³⁰

⁴ שמע | ישראל | יהוה | אלהינו יהוה | אחד ⁵ ואהבת | את יהוה |
 אלהיך בכל לבבך | ובכל נפשך ובכל | מאדך ⁶ והיו הדברים | האלה
 אשר אנכי | מצוך היום על לבבך | ⁷ ושננתם לבניך ודברת | במ בשבתך
 בביתך ובלכתך בדרך | ובשכבך ובקומך ⁸ וקשרתם | לאות על ידך והיו
 לטטפת בין | עיניך ⁹ וכתבתם על מזוזת | ביתך ובשעריך

XHev/SePhyl (XHev/Se 5) 1 8–10³¹

⁴ שמע ישראל יהוה אחד ⁵ ואהבת את יהוה אלהיך בכל לבבך ובכל
 נפשך ובכל מאדך ⁶ והיו הדברים האלה אשר אנכי מצוך היום על
 לבבך ⁷ ושננת לבנך ודברת במ בשבתך בביתך ובלכתך | בדרך ובשכבך
 ובקומך ⁸ וקשרתם לאות על ידיך והיו לטטפת בין עיניך ⁹ וכתבתם על
 מזוזת | ביתך ובשעריך

²³ M. Baillet, *DJD* 3.1 (1962) 151. Baillet does not mark any probable or possible letters.

²⁴ The word is written below in three lines.

²⁵ Yadin, *Tefillin From Qumran*, opposite pl. XV.

²⁶ The final *kaf* is written at the end of the following line.

²⁷ The final *kaf* is written in the following line.

²⁸ The last three letters follow after the final *kaf* of לבבך (see note 27), separated by a space.

²⁹ The last two letters are written below.

³⁰ J.T. Milik, *DJD* 2.1 (1960): 85.

³¹ M. Morgenstern and M. Segal, *DJD* 38 (2000): 185.

2.4. Quotations of and Allusions to Deut 6:4–9 in Ancient Jewish and Early Christian Literature³²

2.4.1. Hebrew

Zech 14:9

וְהָיָה יְהוָה לְמֶלֶךְ עַל-כָּל-הָאָרֶץ בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא יְהוָה אֶחָד וְשְׁמוֹ אֶחָד:

And the Lord will become king over all the earth; on that day the Lord will be one and his name one.³³ (NRSV)

Sir 7:29–30

בכל לבך פחד אל ואת כהניו הקדיש²⁹
בכל מְאוֹדָךְ אהוב עושך ואת משרתיו לא תעזב³⁰

³² This list does not claim to be exhaustive but should include at least all the quotations and allusions that are relevant for the textual history of the Shema in the Second Temple period. An earlier allusion to Deut 6:5 might be found in 2 Kgs 23:25, where the formula “with all one’s heart and with all one’s soul” (בכל לבב ובכל נפש) is also expanded by “and with all one’s might” (ובכל מאד), although with a different verb (שוב); cf. Deut 30:2, 10; 1 Kgs 8:48; cf. R.W.L. Moberly, “Toward an Interpretation of the Shema,” in *Theological Exegesis: Essays in Honor of B.S. Childs* (ed. C. Seitz and K. Greene-McCreight; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1999), 124–144, 137. Other alleged allusions to the Shema or parts of it are less convincing, e.g. Isa 51:1–3 (cf. J.G. Janzen, “An Echo of the Shema in Isaiah 51.1–3,” *JSOT* 43 [1989]: 69–82); Jer 32:38–41; Job 23:13; 31:15; Dan 2:9 (on these four see idem, “On the Most Important Word in the Shema [Deuteronomy VI 4–5],” *VT* 37 [1987]: 280–300); Prov 3:1–12 (cf. P. Overland, “Did the Sage Draw on the Shema: A Study of Proverbs 3:1–12,” *CBQ* 62 [2000] 424–440); Mal 2:10 (cf. E. Waaler, *The Shema and The First Commandment in First Corinthians: An Intertextual Approach to Paul’s Re-reading of Deuteronomy* [WUNT 2.253; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008], 110–114). A large number of references to the one God/Lord or the only God/Lord in ancient Jewish and early Christian literature cannot be identified as allusions to Deut 6:4 in particular, since they also echo Exod 3:14 and/or other passages. This is especially the case in the works of Philo of Alexandria, see e.g. *Opif.* 100, 172; *Leg.* 1.51; 2.1–3; 3.82; *Cher.* 27, 83, 109; *Sacr.* 59; *Gig.* 64; *Conf.* 170, 171; *Migr.* 134; *Fug.* 71; *Mos.* 2.168; *Decal.* 65; *Spec.* 1.65, 313, 331, 332, 344; 3.29; 4.159; *Virt.* 40, 102; *Praem.* 123. Other examples include AddDan 3:45; 2 Macc 7:37; 4 Macc 5:24; *Let. Aris.* 132, 139; *Sib. Or.* 3.629; 5.285; *Apoc. Mos.* 13:5; *T. Jos.* 6:5; 8:5; Mark 2:7; 10:18 par. Matt 19:17 par. Luke 18:19. Cf. further the selective lists provided by Waaler, *The Shema and The First Commandment*, 447–452.

³³ Cf. Janzen, “On the Most Important Word,” 297–298; C.L. Meyers and E. Meyers, *Zechariah 9–14: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 25C; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 439–440; S.C. Reif, “Prayer in Early Judaism,” in *Prayer from Tobit to Qumran: Inaugural Conference of the ISDCL at Salzburg, Austria, 5–9 July 2003* (ed. R. Egger-Wenzel and J. Corley; Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Yearbook 2004; Berlin: Gruyter, 2004), 439–464, 451.

²⁹ ἐν ὄλῃ ψυχῆ σου εὐλαβοῦ τὸν κύριον καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς αὐτοῦ θαύμαζε. ³⁰ ἐν ὄλῃ δυνάμει ἀγάπησον τὸν ποιήσαντά σε καὶ τοὺς λειτουργοὺς αὐτοῦ μὴ ἐγκαταλίπῃς.

²⁹ With all your soul fear God, revere his priests. ³⁰ With all your strength love your Maker, neglect not his ministers. ³⁴

1QS X 13–14

בר־שית משלח ידי ורגלי אברכ שמו בראשית צאת ובוא | לשבת
וקום ועם משכב יצועי ארננה לו

When first I begin campaign or journey, His name shall I bless;
when first I set out or turn to come back; when I sit down or
rise up, when I spread my bed, then shall I rejoice in Him. ³⁵

³⁴ The Hebrew Text as attested in Cairo Genizah MS B is presented according to *The Book of Ben Sira: Text, Concordance and an Analysis of the Vocabulary* (The Historical Dictionary of the Hebrew Language; Jerusalem: The Academy of the Hebrew Language, 1973), 54; cf. P.C. Beentjes, *The Book of Ben Sira in Hebrew: A Text Edition of All Extant Hebrew Manuscripts and a Synopsis of All Parallel Hebrew Ben Sira Texts* (VTSup 68; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 31. The Greek text is according to *Sapientia Iesu Filii Sirach* (ed. J. Ziegler; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Gottingensis 12.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, ²1980). The translation is according to P.W. Skehan and A.A. Di Lella, *The Wisdom of Ben Sira: A New Translation with Notes, Introduction and Commentary* (AB 39; New York: Doubleday, 1987), 203.

³⁵ Transcription and translation according to *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, part 1: *Texts Concerned with Religious Law* (ed. D.W. Parry and E. Tov; Leiden: Brill, 2004), 38–39. S. Talmon, *The World of Qumran from Within: Collected Studies* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1989), 226, considers the highlighted passage as a paraphrase of Deut 6:7 based on Ps 139:2; cf. already J. Licht, *The Rule Scroll: A Scroll from the Wilderness of Judaea: 1QS, 1QSa, 1QSB: Text, Introduction and Commentary* (Jerusalem: The Bialik Institute, 1965), 217. Furthermore, 1QS X 10 is considered as an allusion to the recitation of the Shema; see, e.g., L. H. Schiffman, *Reclaiming the Dead Sea Scrolls: The History of Judaism, the Background of Christianity, the Lost Library of Qumran* (Philadelphia: JPS, 1994), 293; D.K. Falk, “Qumran Prayer Texts and the Temple” in *Sapiential, Liturgical and Poetical Texts from Qumran: Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (ed. idem, F. Garcia Martínez, and E.M. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden: Brill, 2000), 106–126, 114–118; A.I. Baumgarten, “Invented Traditions of the Maccabean Era,” in *Geschichte – Tradition – Reflexion: Festschrift für M. Hengel zum 70. Geburtstag*, vol. 1: *Judentum* (ed. H. Cancik, H. Lichtenberger, and P. Schäfer; Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 1996), 197–210, 205. By contrast, Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text*, 100 note 166, argues that there is “merely a likely allusion to Deut

2.4.2. *Greek*

Bar 3:9

Ἄκουε, Ἰσραηλ, ἐντολὰς ζωῆς, ἐνωτίσασθε γυνῶναι φρόνησιν.

Hear the commandments of life, O Israel; give ear, and learn wisdom!³⁶ (NRSV)

Ps.-Hec. (Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14.113.1–2 par. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 13.13.40)

(1) In fact, as Hecataeus, the composer of histories reports in his book *According to Abraham and the Egyptians*, Sophocles exclaims plainly on the stage: (2) One, in truth indeed, God is one (εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ἐστι<ν> θεός), who made both the heaven and the far-stretching earth, the Deep’s blue billow, and the might of winds. but as most mortals, having erred in heart, we have established, as solace for our woes, images of gods – of stone, or of brass, or statues wrought of gold or ivory; and to these, sacrifices and immoral festivals appointing, we thus reckon ourselves religious.³⁷

Pseudo-Orpheus = Aristob. 4:5 (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 13.12.5)

An ancient saying sheds light on this matter: “There is one who is complete in Himself (Εἷς ἔστ’ αὐτοτελής), but all things are completed by Him, and He Himself moves about in them. No mortal soul casts an eye on Him; rather, He is beheld by the mind.”³⁸

6:7/11:19, and the significance of these verses [i.e. 1QS X 10–14a] to the community does not necessarily imply a recital practice.” In any case, 1QS X 10 does not allude to the *text* of the Shema and is therefore not included in our list. For the same reason, the reference to phylacteries in Matt 23:5 can be neglected here.

³⁶ Text according to *Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae* (ed. J. Ziegler; Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum auctoritate Academiae Scientiarum Göttingensis 15; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht²1976).

³⁷ Text and translation according to C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, vol. I: *Historians* (SBLTT 20; Pseudepigrapha Series 10; Chico: Scholars Press, 1983), 318–319.

³⁸ Text and translation according to C.R. Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors*, vol. IV: *Orphica* (SBLTT 40; Pseudepigrapha Series 14; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1996), 128–129.

Let. Aris. 158–160

(158) Καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῶν βρωτῶν καὶ ποτῶν ἀπαρξάμενους εὐθέως τότε συγχρησθαι κελεύει. Καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐκ τῶν περιβολαίων παράσημον ἡμῖν μνείας δέδωκεν, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ θυρῶν προστέταχε μὲν ἡμῖν τιθέναι τὰ λόγια, πρὸς τὸ μνεῖαν εἶναι θεοῦ· (159) καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν χειρῶν δὲ διαρρήδην τὸ σημεῖον κελεύει περιῆφθαι, σαφῶς ἀποδεικνὺς ὅτι πᾶσαν ἐνέργειαν μετὰ δικαιοσύνης ἐπιτελεῖν δεῖ, μνήμην ἔχοντας τῆς ἑαυτῶν κατασκευῆς, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ τὸν περὶ θεοῦ φόβον. (160) Κελεύει δὲ καὶ κοιταζομένους καὶ διανισταμένους μελετᾶν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κατασκευάς, οὐ μόνον λόγῳ, ἀλλὰ διαλήψει θεωροῦντας τὴν κίνησιν καὶ ὑπόληψιν ἑαυτῶν, ὅταν εἰς ὕπνον ἔρχωνται, καὶ τὴν ἔγερσιν, ὡς θεία τίς ἐστι καὶ ἀκατάληπτος τούτων ἡ μετὰθεσις.

(158) Accordingly in the matter of meats and drinks he commands men to offer first fruits and to consume them there and then straightaway. Furthermore, in our clothes he has given us a distinguishing mark as a reminder, and similarly on our gates and doors he has commanded us to set up the “Words,” so as to be a reminder of God. (159) He also strictly commands that the sign shall be worn on our hands, clearly indicating that it is our duty to fulfill every activity with justice, having in mind our own condition, and above all the fear of God. (160) He also commands that “on going to bed and rising” men should meditate on the ordinances of God, observing not only in word but in understanding the movement and impression which they have when they go to sleep, and waking too, what a divine change there is between them – quite beyond understanding.³⁹

Philo of Alexandria, *Spec.* 1.30

καὶ συνεχῶς ἐπάδει ποτὲ μὲν λέγων ὅτι θεὸς εἷς ἐστι καὶ κτίστης καὶ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων

³⁹ Text according to *Lettre d’Aristée à Philocrate: Introduction, texte critique, traduction et notes, index complet des mots grecs* (ed. A. Pelletier; SC 89; Paris: Cerf, 1962), 176, 178. Translation according to R.J.H. Shutt, “Letter of Aristeas (Third Century B.C. – First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:7–34, 23.

This lesson he continually repeats, sometimes saying that God is one and the Framer and Maker of all things.⁴⁰

Philo of Alexandria, *Spec.* 4.137–142

τὰ δίκαια, φησὶν ὁ νόμος, ἐντιθέναι δεῖ τῇ καρδίᾳ καὶ ἐξάπτειν εἰς σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῆς χειρὸς καὶ εἶναι σειόμενα πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν, αἰνιττόμενος διὰ τοῦ προτέρου, ὅτι χρῆ μὴ ὡσὶν ἀπίστοις παρακατατίθεσθαι τὰ δίκαια – πίστις γὰρ ἀκοαῖς οὐκ ἔνεστιν –, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἡγεμονικωτάτῳ <τὰ> πάντων ἄριστα μαθημάτων <ἐν>τυποῦν καὶ ταῦτα χαράττοντα σφραγῖσι δοκίμοις· (138) διὰ δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου τὸ μὴ μόνον ἐννοίας λαμβάνειν τῶν καλῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ δόξαντα πράττειν ἀνυπερθέτως – ἡ γὰρ χεὶρ πράξεως σύμβολον, ἧς ἐξάπτειν καὶ ἐξαρτᾶν τὰ δίκαια προστάττει, σημεῖον ἔσσεσθαι τοῦτο φάσκων, καὶ τίνος ἀντικρυς οὐ διείρηκε, διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐνός, ὡς γέ μοι δοκεῖ, πολλῶν δὲ γενέσθαι καὶ σχεδὸν ἀπάντων ἐν οἷς ὁ ἀνθρώπινος βίος -- (139) διὰ δὲ τοῦ τρίτου τὸ αἰεὶ καὶ πανταχοῦ φαντασιοῦσθαι τὰ δίκαια καθάπερ ἐγγὺς ὄντα ὀφθαλμῶν· σάλον δ' ἐχέτω ταῦτα κινούμενα, φησὶν, οὐχ ἴν' ἀβέβαια καὶ ἀνίδρυτα <ῆ>, ἀλλ' ἵνα τῇ κινήσει τὴν ὄψιν ἐκκαλῆ πρὸς ἀρίδην θέαν· ὀράσεως γὰρ ἐπαγωγὸν κίνησις ἐξερεθίζουσα καὶ ἀνεγείρουσα μᾶλλον δ' ἀκοιμήτους καὶ ἐργηγορότας κατασκευάζουσα ὀφθαλμούς. (140) ὅτω δ' ἐξεγένετο τυπώσασθαι ἐν τῷ τῆς ψυχῆς ὀμματι μὴ ἡσυχάζοντα ἀλλὰ κινούμενα καὶ ταῖς κατὰ φύσιν ἐνεργείαις χρώμενα, τέλειος ἀνὴρ ἀναγεγράφθω [...]. (141) προδιδασκέτω δὴ τὰ δίκαια συγγενεῖς καὶ φίλους καὶ

⁴⁰ Text and translation according to F.H. Colson, *Philo*, vol. 7 (LCL 320; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1958), 116–117. Cf. similarly *Opif.* 171; *Leg.* 3.105; *Cher.* 119; *Plant.* 137; *Somn.* 1.229; *Spec.* 1.67. The textcritical use of quotations of and allusions to Jewish scriptures in the work of Philo is especially complicated, because the manuscripts do often not reflect the original quotations and allusions. In a recent article, R.A. Kraft has reaffirmed that the quotations of Jewish scriptures in Philo's work have been revised toward Aquila in late antiquity ("Philo's Bible Revisited: The 'Aberrant Texts' and Their Quotations of Moses," in *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of J. Lust* [ed. F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne; BETL 192; Leuven: Peeters, 2005], 237–253). Cf. also the earlier studies by P. Katz, *Philo's Bible: The Aberrant Text of Bible Quotations in Some Philonic Writings and Its Place in the Textual History of the Greek Bible* (Cambridge: University Press, 1950), and D. Barthélemy, "Est-ce Hoshaya Rabba qui censura le 'Commentaire allégorique'? À partir des retouches faites aux citations bibliques, étude sur la tradition textuelle du Commentaire Allégorique de Philon," in idem, *Études d'histoire du texte de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO 21; Fribourg: Éditions universitaires, 1978), 140–173, 390–391.

πάντας νέους οἴκοι καὶ ἐν ὁδῷ καὶ πρὸς κοίτην ἰόντας καὶ ἀνισταμένους, ἵν' ἐν πάσαις μὲν σχέσεσι καὶ κινήσεσιν, ἐν πᾶσι δὲ χωρίοις ἰδίους τε καὶ δημοσίοις, μὴ μόνον ἐγρηγορότες ἀλλὰ καὶ κοιμώμενοι, φαντασίαις τῶν δικαίων ἐνευφραίνωνται. [...] (142) κελεύει δὲ καὶ γράψαντας αὐτὰ πρόσθεν τῶν φλιῶν οἰκίας ἐκάστης προτιθέναι καὶ πυλῶν τῶν ἐν τοῖς τείχεσιν, ἵν' οἱ μὲν ἐκδημοῦντες καὶ ἐνδημοῦντες, ἄστοι καὶ ξένοι, τοῖς πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν γράμμασιν ἐστηλιτευμένοις ἐντυγχάνοντες ἄληκτον ἔχωσι τὴν τῶν λεκτέων καὶ πρακτέων μνήμην, ἐκατέρου φροντίζοντες τοῦ μήτε ἀδικεῖν μήτε ἀδικεῖσθαι, εἰς δὲ τὰς οἰκίας εἰσιόντες καὶ πάλιν ἐξιόντες, ἄνδρες ὁμοῦ καὶ γυναῖκες καὶ τέκνα καὶ θεραπεία, τὰ ἀρμόττοντα καὶ ἐπιβάλλοντα δρῶσιν ὑπὲρ τε ἄλλων καὶ ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν.

(137) The law tells us that we must set the rules of justice in the heart and fasten them for a sign upon the hand and have them shaking before the eyes. The first of these is a parable indicating that the rules of justice must not be committed to untrustworthy ears since no trust can be placed in the sense of hearing but that these best of all lessons must be impressed upon our lordliest part, stamped too with genuine seals. (138) The second shows that we must not only receive conceptions of the good but express our approval of them in unhesitating action, for the hand is the symbol of action, and on this the law bids us fasten and hang the rules of justice for a sign. Of what it is a sign he has not definitely stated because, I believe, they are a sign not of one thing but of many, practically of all the factors of human life. (139) The third means that always and everywhere we must have the vision of them as it were close to our eyes. And they must have vibration and movement, it continues, not to make them unstable and unsettled, but that by their motion they may provoke the sight to gain a clear discernment of them. For motion induces the use of the faculty of sight by stimulating and arousing the eyes, or rather by making them unsleepful and wakeful. (140) He to whom it is given to set their image in the eye of the soul, not at rest but in motion and engaged in their natural activities, must be placed on record as a perfect man. [...] (141) Indeed he must be forward to

teach the principles of justice to kinsfolk and friends and all the young people at home and in the street, both when they go to their beds and when they arise, so that in every posture and every motion, in every place both private and public, not only when they are awake but when they are asleep, they may be gladdened by visions of the just. [...] (142) He bids them also write and set them forth in front of the door posts of each house and the gates in their walls, so that those who leave or remain at home, citizens and strangers alike, may read the inscriptions engraved on the face of the gates and keep in perpetual memory what they should say and do, careful alike to do and to allow no injustice, and when they enter their houses and again when they go forth men and women and children and servants alike may act as is due and fitting both for others and for themselves.⁴¹

Philo of Alexandria, *Decal.* 64

πάσαν οὖν τὴν τοιαύτην τερθρείαν ἀπωσάμενοι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς φύσει μὴ προσκυνῶμεν, εἰ καὶ καθαρωτέρας καὶ ἀθανατωτέρας οὐσίας ἔλαχον – ἀδελφὰ δ' ἀλλήλων τὰ γενόμενα καθὸ γέγονεν, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἀπάντων εἰς ὃ ποιητὴς τῶν ὄλων ἐστίν, – ἀλλὰ καὶ διανοία καὶ λόγῳ καὶ πάσῃ δυνάμει τῇ τοῦ ἀγενήτου καὶ αἰδίου καὶ τῶν ὄλων αἰτίου θεραπείᾳ σφόδρα εὐτόνως καὶ ἐρρωμένως ἐπαποδύμεθα, μὴ ὑποκατακλινόμενοι μηδ' ὑπέικοντες ταῖς τῶν πολλῶν ἀρεσκειαῖς, ὅφ' ὧν καὶ οἱ δυνάμενοι σώζεσθαι διαφθείρονται.

Let us then reject all such imposture and refrain from worshipping those who by nature are our brothers, even though they have been given a substance purer and more immortal than ours, for created things, in so far as they are created, are brothers, since they have all one Father, the Maker of the universe.

⁴¹ Text and translation according to F.H. Colson, *Philo*, vol. 8 (LCL 341; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1960), 92–97. On this passage, see N. Cohen, *Philo Judaeus: His Universe of Discourse* (BEATAJ 24; Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1995), 129–177. Philo basically follows the structure of the parallel passage in Deut 11:18–20, first referring to the tripartite command in Deut 11:18 (§ 137–140), afterwards to the teaching which is prescribed in Deut 11:19 (§ 141), and finally to the inscriptions on door posts and gates in Deut 11:20 (§ 142).

Let us instead in mind and speech and every faculty gird ourselves up with vigour and activity to do the service of the Uncreated, the Eternal, the Cause of all, not submitting nor abasing ourselves to do the pleasure of the many who work the destruction even of those who might be saved.⁴²

Josephus, *Ant.* 3.91

Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον·

The first word teaches us that God is one and that He only must be worshipped.⁴³

Josephus, *Ant.* 4.212–213

(212) Δίς τε ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ὁπότε πρὸς ὕπνον ὥρα τρέπεσθαι μαρτυρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τὰς δωρεάς, ἃς ἀπαλλαγείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαίας οὔσης φύσει τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ' ἀμοιβῆν μὲν τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπῇ τῶν ἐσομένων· (213) ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ μέγιστα ὧν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἔν τε βραχίουσιν ἕκαστον διαφαίνειν, ὅσα τε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποσημαίνειν δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὖνοιαν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περίβλεπτον πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

(212) Twice each day, at the dawn thereof and when the hour comes for turning to repose, let all acknowledge before God the bounties which He has bestowed on them through their deliverance from the land of Egypt: thanksgiving is a natural duty, and is rendered alike in gratitude for past mercies and to incline the giver to others yet to come. (213) They shall inscribe also on their doors the greatest of the benefits which they have received from God and each shall display them on his arms; and all that can show forth the the power of God and His goodwill towards them, let them bear a record thereof

⁴² Text and translation according to Colson, *Philo*, 7:38–39.

⁴³ Text and translation according to H.S.J. Thackeray, *Josephus*, vol. 4 (LCL 242; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1967), 360–361.

written on the head and on the arm, so that men may see on every side the loving care with which God surrounds them.⁴⁴

1 Cor 8:4

Περὶ τῆς βρώσεως οὐκ τῶν εἰδωλοθύτων, οἴδαμεν ὅτι οὐδὲν εἶδωλον ἐν κόσμῳ καὶ ὅτι οὐδεὶς θεὸς εἰ μὴ εἷς.

Hence, as to the eating of food offered to idols, we know that “no idol in the world really exists,” and that “there is no God but one.”⁴⁵ (NRSV)

Gal 3:20

ὁ δὲ μεσίτης ἐνός οὐκ ἔστιν, ὁ δὲ θεὸς εἷς ἐστίν.

Now a mediator involves more than one party; but God is one. (NRSV)

Mark 12:29–30

²⁹ ἀπεκρίθη ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὅτι πρώτη ἐστίν· ἀκουε, Ἰσραὴλ, κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν κύριος εἷς ἐστίν,³⁰ καὶ ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ψυχῆς σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος σου.

²⁹ Jesus answered, “The first is, ‘Hear, O Israel: the Lord our God, the Lord is one;’³⁰ you shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind, and with all your strength.” (NRSV)

Mark 12:32–33

³² καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ὁ γραμματεὺς· καλῶς, διδάσκαλε, ἐπ’ ἀληθείας εἶπες ὅτι εἷς ἐστίν καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλος πλὴν αὐτοῦ.³³ καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν αὐτὸν ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς συνέσεως καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τὸ ἀγαπᾶν τὸν πλησίον ὡς ἑαυτὸν περισσώτερον ἐστίν πάντων τῶν ὀλοκαυτωμάτων καὶ θυσιῶν.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 576–579.

⁴⁵ On 1 Cor 8:4, cf. Waaler, *The Shema and The First Commandment*, 358–371. The reference to the one God in 1 Cor 8:6 is of no relevance for the textual history of Deut 6:4. The same is true for another debatable reference to the Shema in Rom 3:30.

³² Then the scribe said to him, “You are right, Teacher; you have truly said that ‘he is one, and besides him there is no other’; ³³ and ‘to love him with all the heart, and with all the understanding, and with all the strength,’ and ‘to love one’s neighbor as oneself,’ – this is much more important than all whole burnt offerings and sacrifices.” (NRSV)

Matt 22:37

ὁ δὲ ἔφη αὐτῷ· ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ καρδίᾳ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου·

He said to him, “‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your mind.’” (NRSV)

Luke 10:27

ὁ δὲ ἀποκριθεὶς εἶπεν· ἀγαπήσεις κύριον τὸν θεόν σου ἐξ ὅλης [τῆς] καρδίας σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ψυχῇ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ ἰσχύϊ σου καὶ ἐν ὅλῃ τῇ διανοίᾳ σου, καὶ τὸν πλησίον σου ὡς σεαυτόν.

He answered, “‘You shall love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your soul, and with all your strength, and with all your mind; and your neighbor as yourself.’” (NRSV)

Jas 2:19

σὺ πιστεύεις ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, καλῶς ποιεῖς· καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια πιστεύουσιν καὶ φρίσσουν.

You believe that God is one; you do well. Even the demons believe – and shudder. (NRSV)

2.4.3. Latin

L.A.B. 23:2

And on the sixteenth day of the third month *all the people* along with women and children *gathered together before the Lord in Shiloh*, and *Joshua* said to them, “*Hear, O Israel (Audi Israel)*. Behold, I am establishing with you a covenant of this

Law that the LORD established for your fathers on Horeb. *And so wait here this night and see what God will say to me on your behalf.*⁴⁶

2.5. A List of Variant Readings⁴⁷

- Deut 6:4 [ואלה החק]ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה אִתָּךְ [בני] | [ישראל] Pap. Nash; cf. Ⓞ] > Ⓜ; Ⓢ; 4QPhyl C, H,⁴⁸ 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHēv/SePhyl
- משה Pap. Nash | αὐτός Ⓞ
- שמע Ⓜ; Ⓢ; Pap. Nash; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHēv/SePhyl] שמעה 4QPhyl H
- יהוה אלהינו Ⓜ; Ⓢ; Ⓞ; 4QDeut^p; Pap. Nash; 4QPhyl C, H, M; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; Mark 12:29] > XHēv/SePhyl
- יהוה Ⓜ; Ⓢ; Ⓞ; 4QDeut^p; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHēv/SePhyl; Zech 14:9; Mark 12:29] θεός Ps.-Hec.; Philo *Spec.* 1.30; Josephus *Ant.* 3.91; 1 Cor 8:4; ὁ θεός Gal 3:20; Jas 2:19

⁴⁶ Translation according to D.J. Harrington, “Pseudo-Philo (First Century A.D.): A New Translation and Introduction,” in *OTP* 2:297–377, 332. For the Latin text see *Pseudo-Philon: Les Antiquités Bibliques*, vol. 1: *Introduction et texte critiques, traduction* (ed. D.J. Harrington; trans. J. Cazeaux; SC 229; Paris: Cerf, 1976). The passage is based on Josh 24:1–2, and in the end combined with Num 22:19.

⁴⁷ As indicated above, the list of variant readings does not include textual variations which are the result of alterations by the alluding text. Good examples are Matth 22:37 and Luke 10:27 where the initial conjunction “and” of Deut 6:5 is missing. This conjunction could easily have been omitted by Matthew and Luke themselves as they do not quote Deut 6:4 before, but rather have Jesus opening his saying with Deut 6:5. The variant lists do not only include textual variants but also orthographic variants and inner-Greek variants. For MT, LXX, and SP, we use the sigla of the *BHS*.

⁴⁸ In 4QPhyl M, the end of Deut 6:4 and the beginning of Deut 6:5 are not preserved, but there seems to be not enough room for the longer text of the Nash Papyrus and the LXX.

- אֱוֹהוּ Pap. Nash; Ⓞ; Ps.-Hec.;⁴⁹ Pseudo-Orpheus; Philo *Spec.* 1.30, *Decal.* 64; Josephus *Ant.* 3.91;⁵⁰ Matt 19:17; Mark 12:29, 32; Gal 3:20; Jas 2:19 | > Ⓜ; 4QDeut^p; Ⓜ; 4QPhyl C, H; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl
- Deut 6:5 בְּכֹל Ⓜ; Ⓜ;⁵¹ 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; Sir 7:29; Matt 22:37 | בְּכֹל 4QPhyl C; ἐξ ὅλης Ⓞ; Mark 12:30, 33; Luke 10:27
- בְּכֹל לִבְךָ Ⓜ; Ⓜ; 4QPhyl C; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; τῆς διανοίας σου Ⓞ; τῆς καρδίας σου Mark 12:30 | הַבְּכֹל 4QPhyl B; לִבְךָ Sir 7:29; διανοία Philo *Decal.* 64; τῆς καρδίας Mark 12:33
- וּבְכֹל Ⓜ; Ⓜ; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; Matt 22:37; Luke 10:27 | וּבְכֹל 4QPhyl C;⁵² καὶ ἐξ ὅλης Ⓞ; Mark 12:30, 33
- וּבְכֹל נַפְשְׁךָ Ⓜ; Ⓜ; Ⓞ; 4QPhyl C; 4QMez D; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; Luke 10:27 | וּבְכֹל 4QPhyl M; τῆς συνέσεως Mark 12:33; + καὶ ἐξ ὅλης τῆς διανοίας σου Mark 12:30; + καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ διανοία σου· Matt 22:37
- וּבְכֹל Ⓜ; Ⓜ; 4QMez D;⁵³ 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; Luke 10:27 | וּבְכֹל 4QPhyl C; καὶ ἐξ ὅλης ; Mark 12:30, 33; > Matt 22:37
- וּבְכֹל מַאֲדָךְ Ⓜ; Ⓜ; 4QPhyl C; 4QMez B, D; 8QPhyl; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; τῆς δυνάμεώς σου Ⓞ; Sir 7:30⁶; τῆς ἰσχύος σου Mark 12:30 | וּבְכֹל 4QPhyl B; מַאֲדָךְ Sir 7:30; δυνάμει Philo *Decal.* 64; τῆς ἰσχύος Mark 12:33; > Matt 22:37; + καὶ ἐν ὅλη τῇ διανοία σου Luke 10:27
- Deut 6:6 מִצִּוּת Ⓜ; Ⓜ; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl | הַצִּוּת 4QPhyl I; מִצִּוּת XHev/SePhyl

⁴⁹ The different word order εἷς ἐστι<ν> θεός results from the repetition of εἷς which is stressed before (εἷς ταῖς ἀληθειαισιν). Likewise, εἷς ἐστιν ὁ θεός in Philo, *Plant.* 137; *Spec.* 1.67; Jas 2:19) is due to the text flow of the alluding text.

⁵⁰ Again, the different word order θεός ἐστιν εἷς does not reflect a variant reading.

⁵¹ Pap. Nash only preserves the upper part of the last letter (בְּ[כ]).

⁵² 4QPhyl B only preserves וּבְכֹל, but otherwise uses the spelling כֹּל.

⁵³ The word is only partly preserved in 4QMez B (וּבְכֹל) and 4QMez C (וּבְכֹל). In Sir 7:30, the conjunction is lacking for stylistic reasons.

- לבבך \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{u} ; 4QPhyl C;⁵⁴ XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl;
 XHev/SePhyl; Philo *Spec.* 4.137⁵⁵ | + και ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ σου
 \mathfrak{G}
- Deut 6:7 ושנתם \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{u} ; \mathfrak{G} ; 4QPhyl C; 4QMez D; XQPhyl 2;
 MurPhyl | ושנת XHev/SePhyl⁵⁶
- לבנד \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{u} ; \mathfrak{G} ; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl | לבנד
 XHev/SePhyl
- בביתך \mathfrak{M} 4QMez C; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl
 | בבית \mathfrak{u} ; \mathfrak{G} ; 4QPhyl C, O
- בלכתך \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{G} ;⁵⁷ 4QPhyl C; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl | בלכתך
 \mathfrak{u} ; בלכת XHev/SePhyl
- ובשכבך \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{G} ; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl;
 XHev/SePhyl; *Let. Aris.* 160⁵⁸ | בשכבך \mathfrak{u}
- ובקומך \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{u} ; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl;
 XHev/SePhyl | ובקומכה 4QPhyl O
- Deut 6:8 ידך \mathfrak{M} ; \mathfrak{G} ; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; Philo *Spec.*
 4.137 | ידיך \mathfrak{u} ; XHev/SePhyl; ידיכה 4QPhyl O; τῶν
 χειρῶν *Let. Aris.* 159; βραχίσιον / τοῦ βραχίσιου Josephus
Ant. 4.213⁵⁹
- לטטפת \mathfrak{M} ; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl |
 לטטפות \mathfrak{u} ; לטוטפת 4QDeut^p; פת] לטוט 4QPhyl C

⁵⁴ In 8QPhyl, the end of Deut 6:6 and the beginning of Deut 6:7 are not preserved, but there seems to be not enough room for the additional text of the LXX.

⁵⁵ In line with his general rhetoric, Philo does not know the second person possessive suffixes/pronouns, neither the singular ones of Deut 6:6–9 nor the plural ones of Deut 11:18–20.

⁵⁶ The compound verb προδιδασκέτω in Philo, *Spec.* 4.141 echos the LXX of Deut 11:18 (διδάξετε) rather than Deut 6:8 (προβιβάσεις).

⁵⁷ The LXX does not reproduce the suffixes of the four Hebrew infinitives in Deut 6:7, because this is unnecessary in Greek; cf. J.W. Wevers, *Notes on the Greek Text of Deuteronomy*, 116. Nevertheless, in this case και πορευόμενος could also reflect the reading of ובלכת of XHev/SePhyl.

⁵⁸ Like the LXX in Deut 11:19, *Let. Aris.* 160 has the plural κοιταζομένους και διανισταμένους which fits better to the first person plural used before than the singular in Deut 6:7.

⁵⁹ Josephus attests both to singular and plural forms of βραχίλιον without using a possessive pronoun. Because Josephus employs earlier in his text (ἐπιγράφειν δὲ και τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν) the possessive pronoun αὐτῶν, we regard both the singular and the plural forms as variants.

- עִינִיךָ 𐤒; 𐤎; 𐤅; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; Philo *Spec.* 4.137 | עִינִיךָ 4QPhyl C; עִינִיכָה 4QPhyl O; τῆς κεφαλῆς Josephus *Ant.* 4.213
- Deut 6:9 וּכְתַבְתֶּם 𐤒; 𐤎; 4QPhyl C; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl | וּכְתַבְתֶּם [וכתבתם] 4QPhyl O; καὶ γράψετε αὐτὰ 𐤅; γράψαντας αὐτὰ Philo *Spec.* 4.142
- מִזֹּוֹת 𐤒; 8QPhyl; XHev/SePhyl | מִזֹּוֹת 𐤎; 4QPhyl O; XQPhyl 2; מִזֹּוֹת 4QMez C; MurPhyl
- בֵּיתְךָ 𐤒; 4QDeut^p; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl;⁶⁰ Philo *Spec.* 4.142⁶¹ | בֵּיתְךָ 𐤎; τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν 𐤅; בֵּיתְךָ 4QPhyl C; בְּתִיכָה 4QPhyl O
- וּבְשַׁעֲרֶיךָ 𐤒; 𐤎; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl | וּבְשַׁעֲרֶיךָ XHev/SePhyl; καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν 𐤅; καὶ πυλῶν Philo *Spec.* 4.142⁶²

3. ANALYSIS

The above variant list shows that the Hebrew textual tradition of Deut 6:4–5 was more stable in the Second Temple period than the one of Deut 6:6–9. We will hence analyze the textual histories of Deut 6:4–5 and Deut 6:6–9 separately below.

3.1. Deut 6:4–5

The textual witnesses of Deut 6:4–5 which can be traced to the Second Temple period attest to two main textual traditions of the Shema Yisrael. On the one hand the Nash Papyrus⁶³ and the LXX together

⁶⁰ Cf. 4QMez C (בֵּיתְךָ).

⁶¹ The additional *ἐκάστης* is interpretative. On the lack of the possessive suffix/pronoun, see above note 55.

⁶² Like the LXX and Philo, the reading *ἐπὶ τῶν πυλῶν καὶ θυρῶν* in *Let. Aris.* 158 does not have an equivalent for the preposition *בְּ* in the MT. Like Philo, it also lacks the possessive pronoun for rhetoric reasons, but the reverse word order argues for a free paraphrase. Josephus, *Ant.* 4.213, summarizes *ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν*, attesting to a plural possessive pronoun like the LXX.

⁶³ For the Nash Papyrus as attesting to the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX version of the Shema Yisrael, see S.A. Cook, “A Pre-Masoretic Biblical Papyrus,” *Proceedings*

with the quotations of and allusions to the LXX-text (Ps.-Hec. [Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 5.14.113.1–2 par. Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 13.13.40]; Pseudo-Orpheus [Aristob. 4:5 (Eusebius, *Praep. ev.* 13.12.5)]; Philo of Alexandria, *Spec.* 1.30; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.91; Mark 12:29–30, 32–33; Gal 3:20; Jas 2:19) read a longer text while MT, SP, 4QDeut^p (4Q43), 4QPhyl B (4Q129), 4QPhyl C (4Q130), 4QPhyl H (4Q135), 4QPhyl M (4Q140), 4QMez B (4Q150), 4QMez C (4Q151), 4QMez D (4Q152), 8QPhyl (8Q3), MurPhyl (Mur 4), XH_{ev}/SePhyl (XH_{ev}/Se 5), XQPhyl 2 (XQ2), and Zech 14:9 attest to a shorter textual tradition.⁶⁴

3.1.1. *The Variants of the Longer Textual Tradition*

The longer text of Deut 6:4–5 is characterized by a long introduction and an additional copula at the end of Deut 6:4 (הוא in the Nash Papyrus and ἐστίν in the LXX). Except for quotations of the Deut-LXX in Graeco-Jewish and early Christian literature no hint to the longer textual tradition of Deut 6:4–5 can be found after the Nash Papyrus, i.e. after the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. It seems as if the longer textual tradition of Deut 6:4–5 became extinct in Judaea early in the textual history of the book of Deuteronomy but survived in Egypt somewhat longer (Deut-LXX and Nash Papyrus).

The longer textual tradition precedes Deut 6:4 with an addition which is styled after Deut 4:45.⁶⁵ In the Nash Papyrus, which preserves the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX, this introduction reads [ואלה החק]ים והמשפטים אשר צוה משה את[בני ישראל] במדבר בצאתם מארץ מצרים [“And these are the statute]s and the judgements that Moses commanded the [sons of Israel] in the wilderness, when they went

of the Society of Biblical Archaeology 25 (1903): 34–56, 45–46; Burkitt, “Hebrew Papyrus,” 398–399, 407–408; N. Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote, der Papyrus Nash* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Herder, 1905), 2, 43–51; I. Himbaza, “Le décalogue de Papyrus Nash, Philon, 4QPhyl G, 8QPhyl 3 et 4QMez A,” *RevQ* 20 (2001–2002): 411–428, 413–421. According to Albright, “Biblical Fragment,” 175–176, the Nash Papyrus is close to \mathfrak{G}^p .

⁶⁴ Bar 3:9; Sir 7:29–30; *L.A.B.* 23:2; Philo, *Decal.* 64; 1 Cor 8:4; Matt 22:37; Luke 10:27 cannot be assigned to either the longer or the shorter textual tradition.

⁶⁵ Cf. M. Weinfeld, *Deuteronomy 1–11: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 5; New York: Doubleday, 1991), 337; C. McCarthy, *Deuteronomy* (vol. 5 of *Biblia Hebraica: Quinta editione cum apparatu critico novis curis elaborato*; ed. A. Schenker et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 71*.

forth from the land of Egypt”). This introduction to the Shema is somewhat tautological as it repeats almost verbatim Deut 6:1. The only difference is that now Moses commands while in Deut 6:1 it was the Lord himself. It seems as if the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the Deut-LXX added this text based on Deut 4:45: It wants to emphasize that while God spoke the commandments originally, Moses communicated them to the Israelites. Later on, when the Deut-LXX was produced, it harmonized its additional introduction to the Shema in Deut 6:4 with the text of Deut 6:1. In the Deut-LXX it is both times the Lord who commands the Israelites: *Καὶ ταῦτα τὰ δικαιώματα καὶ τὰ κρίματα, ὅσα ἐνετείλατο κύριος τοῖς υἱοῖς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐξελθόντων αὐτῶν ἐκ γῆς Αἰγύπτου* (“And these are the statutes and the judgments, which the Lord commanded to the sons of Israel in the wilderness as they were coming out from the land of Egypt”).

As a copula, the additional *יהוה* of the Nash Papyrus turns the phrase *יהוה אחד* into an independent clause, which means “the Lord is one.” The Nash Papyrus understands Deut 6:4 hence as a statement of monotheism. The additional *יהוה* of the Nash Papyrus could preserve the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the *ἔστιν* in the LXX. This is all the more likely as the Nash Papyrus reads an additional introduction to Deut 6:4 which is also attested by the LXX (see above).⁶⁶ The Deut-LXX translates *אחד* with the numeral *εἷς* (“one”). *Εἷς* is not an unusual translation of *אחד* in the Deut-LXX (cf. Deut 17:6; 18:6; 19:15; 25:5, 11; 28:55; 32:30). Nevertheless it introduces a monotheistic meaning to Deut 6:4 which was not intended by the book of Deuteronomy itself. This monotheistic understanding of Deut 6:4 in the Deut-LXX should not be viewed as an invention of the Deut-LXX because the Nash Papyrus indicates that the Deut-LXX is in turn based on a Hebrew *Vorlage*. All quotations of and allusions to Deut 6:4 followed Deut-LXX in its monotheistic translation of Deut 6:4.

In the longer textual tradition, some quotations and allusions reproduce the Tetragrammaton in different ways. Some quotations and allusions read *θεός* (Ps.-Hec.; Philo, *Spec.* 1.30; Josephus, *Ant.* 3.91; 1 Cor 8:4) while Gal 3:20 and Jas 2:19 have *ὁ θεός*. But this variant reproduction of the Tetragrammaton should not be understood as a variant reading. It is due to the preferences of these authors how to

⁶⁶ Cf. Cook, “Pre-Masoretic Biblical Papyrus,” 43–44; Burkitt, “Hebrew Papyrus,” 399; Peters, *Die älteste Abschrift der zehn Gebote*, 40–41.

substitute the Tetragrammaton in Greek, i.e. with θεός instead of κύριος.

The textual variants to Deut 6:5 seem to depend all on the Deut-LXX. In our opinion they should all be understood as an inner-Greek textual deviation due to recensional activity. This is true for the rendering of בַּ with ἐξ/έν as well as for the different renderings of לבבך (τῆς διανοίας σου / τῆς καρδίας σου) and מאדך (τῆς δυνάμεώς σου / τῆς ἰσχύος σου). But it needs to be admitted that all these variant readings could also go back to a harmonization with of Deut 6:5 with 4 Kgdms 23:25 where בְּכָל-לִבְבוֹ וּבְכָל-נַפְשׁוֹ וּבְכָל-מְאֵדוֹ is translated ἐν ὄλῃ καρδία αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὄλῃ ψυχῆ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐν ὄλῃ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ.

3.1.2. *The Variants of Shorter Textual Tradition*

Except for orthographic variants,⁶⁷ only one significant variant reading to the consonantal text of MT is attested in the shorter textual tradition. In XH_{ev}/SePhyl (XH_{ev}/Se 5), the scribe abbreviates Deut 6:4 to שמע ישראל יהוה אחד. The abbreviation was probably due to lack of space but hints to an altered understanding of the אחד as compared to Deut 6:4 itself.⁶⁸ For the scribe of XH_{ev}/SePhyl, יהוה אחד was not an explanation of the preceding יהוה אלהינו but the central statement of Deut 6:4. For him the phrase יהוה אחד meant “the Lord is one” and not that the Lord alone is the god of Israel. Hence, Deut 6:4 becomes a monotheistic statement in XH_{ev}/SePhyl.

3.2. *Deut 6:6–9*

The text of Deut 6:6 remains relatively stable. Only one orthographic variant (מ[צוב]ה 4QPhyl I) and two textual variants (מִצְוֹת XH_{ev}/SePhyl; + καὶ ἐν τῇ ψυχῆ σου 6) are preserved. But in Deut 6:7–9 the normal textual and orthographic fluidity of the Second Temple period can be observed. As compared to MT the following

⁶⁷ Deut 6:4: שמעה (4QPhyl H). Deut 6:5: 3x בכול (4QPhyl C); לִבְבוֹ [ב]ה (4QPhyl B); לבך (Sir 7:29); נַפְשׁוֹ (4QPhyl M); מואד[כה] (4QPhyl B); מאדך (Sir 7:30).

⁶⁸ For the original monolatric meaning of Deut 6:4, see e.g. J.H. Tigay, *Deuteronomy: The Traditional Hebrew Text with the New JPS Translation* (The JPS Torah Commentary; Philadelphia: JPS, 1996), 76; cf. the excursus on the Shema *ibid.*, 438–441.

orthographic variants occur: in Deut 6:7 בְּקוֹמְכָה ו[(4QPhyl O); in Deut 6:8 ידיכה (4QPhyl O); לטטפות (א; 4QDeut^p); לטוטפת (4QPhyl C); עיניכה (4QPhyl O); in Deut 6:9 וכת[בתמה (4QPhyl O); מזוזות (א; 4QPhyl O; XQPhyl 2); מזוזת (4QMez C; MurPhyl); בתך (4QPhyl C); בתיכה (4QPhyl O).

The textual variants between the textual witnesses of Deut 6:7–9 which go back to the Second Temple period are relatively small and typical for scribal corruption of a text. Most often the textual witnesses vary in their use of singular or plural forms: Deut 6:7 (לְבַנִּיךָ א; א; א; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl vs. לְבָנֶיךָ XHev/SePhyl); Deut 6:8 (יָדְךָ א; א; א; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; Philo *Spec.* 4.137 vs. יָדֶיךָ א; XHev/SePhyl; ידיכה 4QPhyl O; τῶν χειρῶν *Let. Aris.* 159⁶⁹); Deut 6:8 (עֵינֶיךָ א; א; א; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; Philo *Spec.* 4.137; cf. 4QPhyl O vs. עֵינֶיךָ 4QPhyl C; τῆς κεφαλῆς *Josephus Ant.* 4.213); Deut 6:9 (וְכָתַבְתָּם א; א; 4QPhyl C; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; cf. 4QPhyl O vs. καὶ γράψετε αὐτὰ א; γράψαντας αὐτὰ Philo *Spec.* 4.142); Deut 6:9 (בֵּיתְךָ א; 4QDeut^p; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; cf. 4QPhyl C; Philo *Spec.* 4.142 vs. בְּתֶיךָ א; τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν א; בתיכה 4QPhyl O); Deut 6:9 (וּבְשַׁעְרֶיךָ א; א; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; cf. א; *Let. Aris.* 158; Philo *Spec.* 4.142; *Josephus Ant.* 4.213 vs. וּבְשַׁעֲרֶיךָ XHev/SePhyl).

Disagreement in the use of suffixes can be found several times as well: Deut 6:7 (וּשְׁנַתְּם א; א; א; 4QPhyl C; 4QMez D; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl vs. וּשְׁנַתְּ XHev/SePhyl); Deut 6:7 (בְּבֵיתְךָ א; 4QMez C; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl vs. בְּבֵית א; א; 4QPhyl C, O); Deut 6:7 (וּבְלִכְתְּךָ א; א; 4QPhyl C; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; cf. א vs. וּבְלִכְתָּ XHev/SePhyl); Deut 6:8 (יָדְךָ א; א; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; cf. א; 4QPhyl O; XHev/SePhyl vs. βραχίσιον / τοῦ βραχίονος *Josephus Ant.* 4.213); Deut 6:8 (עֵינֶיךָ א; א; א; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; cf. 4QPhyl C, O vs. τῆς κεφαλῆς *Josephus Ant.* 4.213); Deut 6:9 (בֵּיתְךָ א; 4QDeut^p; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; XHev/SePhyl; cf. א; 4QPhyl C, O vs. τῶν οἰκιῶν ὑμῶν א); Deut 6:9 (וּבְשַׁעְרֶיךָ א; א; 4QPhyl C; 8QPhyl; XQPhyl 2; MurPhyl; cf. XHev/SePhyl vs. καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν א; cf. *Josephus Ant.* 4.213).

⁶⁹ *Josephus, Ant.* 4.213, uses both the plural and the singular.

Furthermore, as compared to the MT, in Deut 6:7 the SP twice lacks a *waw copulativum* (בשכבך and בלכתך), and in Deut 6:9 the LXX (καὶ τῶν πυλῶν ὑμῶν) and Philo, *Spec.* 4.142 (καὶ πυλῶν), once lack an equivalent to the preposition ב (cf. also *Let. Aris.* 158).

4. CONCLUSIONS:

LITURGICAL USE AND TEXTUAL STABILITY OF DEUT 6:4–5

Deut 6:4–9 consists of two parts. The first includes an introductory statement about the unity and singularity of the God of Israel followed by an admonition to love the Lord (Deut 6:4–5). The second part in Deut 6:6–9 comprises instructions how to memorize, transmit, and use the earlier two verses. Our analysis shows that the first part, i.e. Deut 6:4–5, attests on the one hand to a surprising textual stability in its shorter mostly Hebrew textual tradition, although its longer textual tradition which is mostly preserved through its Greek translation is textually more fluid. On the other hand, the textual history of the instructions in Deut 6:6–9 is characterized by the textual fluidity which is typical for Second Temple times. The textual stability of Deut 6:4–5 is all the more surprising, because in its consonantal Hebrew text the Shema is not a monotheistic statement but a monolatric one. It emphasizes that God is singular but not the only existing god (see above). Textually, the monotheistic interpretation of Deut 6:4 is attested only in the Nash Papyrus, in the Deut-LXX, and textual witnesses depending on the latter, i.e. in its longer and more fluid textual tradition. Nevertheless, X_Hev/SePhyl (X_Hev/Se 5) proves that Jews of the Second Temple period understood the Shema as a monotheistic statement. This monotheistic signification of Deut 6:4 did mostly not affect its Hebrew text though. This is all the more interesting, because except for the textual witnesses which depend on the LXX, the longer textual tradition became extinct in ancient Judaism by the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.E.

Given that Deut 6:4 changed its meaning from a monolatric to a monotheistic statement its textual fixity in the Hebrew tradition is astonishing – one would have expected that its changed signification affected its Hebrew text as well. This is all the more surprising, when the phylacteries and mezuzot from the Dead Sea are taken into consideration. Above we emphasized that the ancient scribes copied phylacteries and mezuzot from memory. While in general this copying

from memory led to a corrupted text in ancient phylacteries and mezuzot, except for one abbreviation in X \dot{H} ev/SePhyl (X \dot{H} ev/Se 5) and a few orthographic variants, their text of Deut 6:4–5 is uncorrupted, while their text of Deut 6:6–9 is not. This shows that the text of Deut 6:4–5 was memorized better by the ancient scribes than the one of Deut 6:6–9 in particular and all the other texts which were included in phylacteries and mezuzot in general.

In our opinion, the best explanation of this astonishing textual stability of the Shema Yisrael, is its daily liturgical use already in the late Second Temple period, which enabled the ancient scribes to memorize this text better than other passages. In our opinion, the difference between the textual stability of Deut 6:4–5 in its shorter textual tradition and the textual fluidity of Deut 6:6–9 in its longer mostly Greek textual tradition as well as the general textual fluidity of Deut 6:6–9 points to a difference in the use of these texts. The most probable explanation is that originally only Deut 6:4–5 was recited liturgically while the instructions of Deut 6:6–9 how to use this text were not. This might also be confirmed by the isolated quotations of Deut 6:4–5 in Mark 12:29–30, 32–33.⁷⁰ Once the twice a day recitation (see above) of Deut 6:4–5 was established in Second Temple times, the Shema's frequent recitation contributed to the textual stability of its shorter text and helped to transmit the text of Deut 6:4–5 rather uncorrupted. That the latest Hebrew witness of the longer text of Deut 6:4–5 is the Nash Papyrus from the middle of the 2nd cent. B.C.E. allows for speculation if the recitation of the Shema twice a day is a response to the Hellenistic religious reforms of the years 175–164 B.C.E. and was introduced after the rededication of the Jerusalem temple.⁷¹ Against enforced Hellenization, the daily recitations of the Shema would have emphasized the monotheistic nature of Judaism.

Our analysis of the textual history of the Shema points thus to two conclusions.

⁷⁰ For the emphasis on Deut 6:4–5 as the central part of the Shema, cf. also Reif, "Prayer," 451–452.

⁷¹ Cf. Baumgarten, "Invented Traditions," 202–207. Contra Cohn, *Tangled Up in Text*, 100–102, who argues that the recitation of the Shema began with the introduction of Tefillin in late Second Temple Judaism. Cohn's idea does not explain why the daily recitation occurred outside the temple as well as inside.

1. The study of the manuscripts of Biblical books among the Dead Sea Scrolls has shown that in Second Temple times the books of the Hebrew Bible had individual textual histories. Our textual analysis of the Shema shows that some key passages of individual books had in turn textual histories of their own which were mostly unaffected by their book's overall textual transmission.
2. Frequent liturgical use of individual text passages effected textual fixity and stability.

The latter conclusion is also confirmed by Psalms manuscripts from Qumran. In the Qumran library a rich number of manuscripts attesting to biblical and other psalms were discovered. These manuscripts disagree in which biblical and nonbiblical psalms they contain and in which sequence they present these psalms. P. Flint found at least three different psalm collections in the Qumran library each of which presents their psalms in a different sequence and contains different songs.⁷² But the text of the individual psalms remains surprisingly stable as compared to the sequential fluidity of the various psalm collections. It seems as if liturgical recitation ensured the textual stability of the individual songs while their collections were still unstable in their sequence and content.⁷³

⁷² P.W. Flint, *The Dead Sea Psalms Scrolls and the Book of Psalms* (STDJ 17; Leiden: Brill, 1997), 150–171, 239; cf. Lange, *Handbuch*, 416–421.

⁷³ Cf. A. Lange, "Die Endgestalt des protomasoretischen Psalters und die Toraweisheit: Zur Bedeutung der nichtessenischen Weisheitstexte aus Qumran für die Auslegung des protomasoretischen Psalters," in *Der Psalter in Judentum und Christentum* (ed. E. Zenger; Herders Biblische Studien 18; Freiburg: Herder, 1998), 101–136, 109–111; idem, *Handbuch*, 434–436.

AN OFTEN NEGLECTED WITNESS TO THE TEXTUAL
HISTORY OF THE SEPTUAGINT:
THE SYROHEXAPLA OF 3 KINGDOMS

Timothy Michael Law

Long before I met him, Julio Treballe Barrera had shaped my thinking on the textual history of the Septuagint. When I first became interested in text history, I bought and read *Salomón y Jeroboán* and *Jehú y Joás*, and in them I found arguments that were fresh and persuasive. I then ordered from an online bookseller his Centena of 1989, and found inscribed on the inside: 'Al Prof. Frank Moore Cross, con profundo agradecimiento y respeto. -Julio Treballe.' I suppose if Prof. Cross had already read it and sold it, it is best that it ended up in the hands of a young student who would eventually follow in the author's footsteps. Treballe's work ushered in a new era in the study of the textual history of the Septuagint, where literary and compositional history would have to be considered when assessing the divergences between the Hebrew and Greek versions, and where one could no longer uncritically assume MT was the *Vorlage* of 3-4 Kingdoms. Few have had an influence on the study of Septuagint as Prof. Treballe. In his honor, and with gratitude, I offer this contribution on an often neglected version, the Syrohexapla.

Introduction

This contribution presents some of the findings from a much longer study in which I evaluated the worth of Syh as a witness to the hexaplaric materials in 3 Kingdoms (Kgdms), a project that was preliminary to the preparation of the critical edition of the hexaplaric fragments for the same book.¹

* I am grateful to the British Academy for the support to conduct my research as a Postdoctoral Fellow.

I analyzed both the anonymous signed readings and those attributed to revisers, along with the many attributed readings in the margins, all of which may be called hexaplaric materials, with the result that I was able to appraise the reliability of this version for recovering what is preserved of Origen's Hexapla. The book of 3 Kgdms in Syh comes to us in one single manuscript, but it is, on the whole, in remarkably good condition.

Some details of the Manuscript

The manuscript is Ms. Br. Mus. Add. 14,437 (vellum, 78f., 10 1/8" x 6 1/2", I col. 21-28l.), dated to the 8th century.² The hand is consistent throughout, containing only slight variations in some of the marginal notes that may have been copied by another scribe.³ There are signs which I referred to as 'continuation signs' that were added to indicate that a signed reading (sub + or sub ÷) extends beyond the first line and continues on the line where the continuation sign is placed in the right hand margin. Since these were added inconsistently, the metobelus determines the end of the reading, not the presence or absence of the continuation sign. Recognition of the function of these signs is important since on several occasions Lagarde in his edition (Syh^{ed}) and also the editors of the Cambridge Septuagint (BMT) have misread the purpose of the sign and have therefore written misleading notes in their apparatuses.

In his attempt to insert the hexaplaric signs in the most precise manner, the scribe sometimes ignores the constraints of Syriac by separating the *waw* and other particles from the following word: 2:31; 10:7; 15:4 (preposition Δ), 29, 30; 16:13; 17:17; and 21(20 B):19 (preposition ⊖). In most cases, however, he does not: 2:22; 3:21; 9:3 (preposition Δ), 9 (relative α); 10:29; 13:4; 15:23 (relative α); 16:13 (relative α); 17:6; 20(21 B):1, 7, 11; 22:6 2x (1x: preposition Δ), 38, and 53 (relative α).⁴ Syh^{ed} is inconsistent in offering correctives to

¹ I am editing the hexaplaric fragments for 3-4 Kgdms for the Hexapla Project, and was honored to have been invited recently to contribute to the *Synoptic Polyglot Edition of Kings*, edited by Treballe, P. Torrijano Morales, and A. Piquer Otero.

² Cf. W. Baars, *New Syrohexaplaric Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 1968), 9.

³ E.g., in fols. 113¹ and 113² the *he* is written in the *serta* script, even though the rest of the note is in the same *estrangela* as the main text.

⁴ All of these cases are noted as they appear in the study.

these: at times Lagarde separated the constituents when the manuscript has not, and at others he left the reading as he found it. In this, Field is more trustworthy (see also below).

Analysis of the Readings

I did not rely entirely upon the edition of Lagarde (Syh^{ed}) but instead checked every case from Syh^{ed} with the microfilm of the manuscript obtained from the British Library. Throughout my work I noted those places where Syh^{ed} inconsistently modifies what is in the ms. (Syh^B). Sometimes the editor moves the signs to indicate what he presumes was the intended reading, while other times he does not. Nonetheless, in almost every case where even Lagarde was not completely accurate, Field was correct. Lagarde also made several other minor mistakes marking the signs, but one may argue whether any of these significantly alter the information so as to distort it. Other than these minor cases there are few editorial errors, and this leads to the conclusion that Lagarde's work was very meticulous for the most part. In this study, I have divided all of the hexaplaric readings into five groups.

A. Correctly Preserved Asterisked Readings

There were a total of 170 asterisked approximations correctly noted sub + in Syh. The majority (156) had support from the manuscript tradition. In 90% of those readings, the hexaplaric, or Origenic, recension (A + 247 in 3 Kgdms) corroborated the addition marked sub + in Syh. Moreover, within the hexaplaric group A was a witness in 93% of the cases where the approximation was preserved, thus confirming Burkitt's recognition of A's close relationship to the fifth column of Origen's Hexapla. The Lucianic group was only found in 54.5% of the readings where Greek witnesses joined Syh in these editions, but only twice did *L* preserve a reading independently of the hexaplaric group, which demonstrates *L*'s close relationship to the Hexapla.

The more intriguing portion of the accurately preserved asterisks was that in which Syh alone preserved the asterisked addition.

There are 14 of these readings out of the total of 170. Several examples may indicate inner-Syh borrowing, while others imply possible contact between Syh and P.⁵ Of this latter category, most of the readings are too minor to guarantee a connection with P and could have come independently of any textual witness. Whether this contact came later in the transmission history of Syh or at the very point of translation cannot be known with complete certainty.⁶ Less certain is whether such contact would have been direct, by comparison with the text of P, or indirect, by memory. For my analysis of Syh, however, it was not a chief concern how or when these readings came into the text; indeed, it is not particularly important – though it may be interesting – to know what their source was at all. We have only one extant manuscript of Syh and, although its date is very early, the lack of other testimony prohibits a more balanced evaluation of the evidence.

The final hypothesis is the most speculative, but not necessarily the least convincing: a lost Greek witness was responsible for the readings which now survive only in Syh. The number of readings we examined in section 1 makes this proposal credible. An overwhelming 156 of 170 correctly noted asterisked readings are found in the Greek tradition, accounting for about 92% of the total number. That only 14 readings occur in Syh without corroboration in the Greek tradition makes it less likely that Syh departs from the norm in these 14 cases here. If we can later prove that the sign tradition is better preserved and more accurate in Syh than in the other witnesses, this too would suggest that a Greek source that had the reading has since perished. Some examples from this category follow.

⁵ R.J.V. Hiebert investigated possible P influence on the unmarked additions in the Psalter of Syh, but did not do so for those which were marked with the asterisk as we have done here. The problem with Hiebert's conclusions on this question is the insignificance of the readings. He only found four cases in the Psalter where he suggested P influence was likely, but two of these are pronouns and one is a conjunction; the other is possibly the result of contact with P since it is rather long. Hiebert is more convincing in linking the two versions when he shows those readings in Syh that depart from the normal Syh style, and have the style of P instead. See R.J.V. Hiebert, *The "Syrohexaplaric" Psalter* (SBLSCS 27; Atlanta: Scholars, 1989), 186-188, 190-192, 194-196.

⁶ But the latter may be commended: given that the manuscript's 8th century date is very close to the first translation of Syh in the 7th century, there would have been very little time for a significant number of corruptions to enter the stream of transmission.

1:47

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 MT

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 B

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 L (2 Kgdms 25:47)

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 P

This case is minor and could have come simply from the translator(s) familiarity of the passage in his tradition, i.e. via indirect dependence on P. Direct dependence, however, is not implausible. Additionally, in Syh there is an adapted reading in \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2, an anticipatory suffixed form also influenced by P which has no parallel in MT or the other versions.

3:26

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2, \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2, \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 MT

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2, \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 P

Influence of P is possible for the suffixed addition. The pronoun is minor, though, and could have come about independently.

9:9

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

P: \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

The reading in Syh^B is \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2.⁷ No other extant Greek witnesses preserve the reading of Syh, which would have been \u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2, but P has Syh's exact lemma. Nonetheless, Syh 4 Kgdms 17:7 and 36 have \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 for the Greek \u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2. Inner-Syh borrowing may be the most probable explanation, but since this phrase is so commonly used in biblical language, it could have arisen independently.

20:29

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 (21:29 B)

\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2+ \u02e2\u02e2\u02e2\u02e2 P

⁷ Lagarde modifies the reading in Syh^{ed}, but this is not to be considered an incorrect use of the signs since the relative does not represent another constituent in the source language, and its exclusion from the sub + lemma is, therefore, not inaccurate.

The Greek retroversion is *και επαταξαν οι υιοι ισραηλ εν συρια*. Syh is close to P: *ܩܘܡܘܢܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ ܕܥܝܪܐܩܐ*. Again, in certain areas (e.g., *ܩܘܡܘܢܐ*) Syh follows the Greek, while possibly borrowing from P in that which was lacking. It must also be admitted that the translator(s) of Syh could have added this reading independently.

B. *Correctly Preserved Obelized Readings*

There are a total of 104 (48%) out of 216 omissions that were correctly noted sub ÷ in Syh and corroborated by the manuscript tradition. Though 11 witnesses have asterisks, only the Lucianic ms. 127 preserves the obelus. The omissions in the Greek tradition were much fewer than were the additions. The omissions in the versions are not always the result of hexaplaric activity, but instead may have been caused by certain habits of their translators and also by the constraints of the target language. The most significant conclusion here was that 52% of the readings correctly obelized in Syh were retained in the manuscript tradition without having been omitted.

C. *Inaccurately Preserved Signed Readings*

There were a total of 386 signed readings in Syh marked correctly according to Origen's avowed principles. The total number of inaccurately marked readings in Syh was 194 (177 unique).⁸ Remarkably, out of 541 total signed readings in Syh, only 31.6% have been transmitted inaccurately. The copying and transmission of these signed readings was, while by no means perfect, exceptional. In the light of these statistics, the errors may be considered inconsequential. Indeed, they mostly concern misplaced signs, and very few of the total are impossible to decipher: even in the erroneous readings we were able to determine what must have been intended by the scribe. Therefore, because the sign tradition has been preserved so carefully in Syh, this version is the yardstick by which one must measure the accuracy of the signs in the other six witnesses. My conclusion is opposite that of

⁸ The larger number of 193 refers to the total inaccurate readings, and is larger because some have more than one problem.

Fritsch, who had a rather negative opinion of Syh Proverbs.⁹ I do not deny that the signs have not been preserved perfectly, but Fritsch's opinion seems to have been derived from a standard that is unreasonable to demand from this ancient version. While elsewhere I have proven that there are a high number of readings that lost their signs in the transmission history, here one is able to appreciate that of those signs which were preserved in Syh, 68.4% were recorded accurately.

Both Lagarde and Field erratically modified the readings that they thought were inaccurate. Field is much more dependable in this matter, but both editors now modify the signs, now leave them untouched. Like my predecessors, my judgments are based on Origen's stated methodology, and on what we know about the text history. Without access to the Hexapla itself, we can never be entirely sure where Origen placed the signs. Only a handful of examples are given below.

1. *Partially Correct Sub + Readings*

3:26

לְלֵלֶּה אֶסְמֵהּ וְאֶסְמֵהּ

אֶת־הַיְלֹד הַחַי

το παιδιον

παιδιον] + το ζων A 247 158 Aeth Arm Syh (το sub + α' σ')

The lemma should include **לְלֵלֶּה**. Even though this asterisked reading marks an attributed reading, it would have made little sense to note a reading from Aquila and Symmachus that only included the additional **το**.

6:22

וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַדָּבָר וְיִשְׁמַח וְיִשְׂמַח

כָּל־הַבָּיִת וְכָל־הַמְּזִבְחַת אֲשֶׁר־לְדָבִיר צָפָה זָהָב

παντος του οικου (6:21 B)

οικου] + και ολον το εσω του δαβειρ επεταλωσεν χρυσιω A 247 Arm

Syh^B (επεταλωσεν χρυσιω sub +)

Syh^B only places **וְהָיָה כִּי יִשְׁמַע הַדָּבָר** sub +, but Field (p. 605) and Syh^{ed} have emended.

⁹ C. Fritsch 'The Treatment of the Hexaplaric Signs in the Syro-Hexaplar of Proverbs' *JBL* 72/3 (1953): 171.

7:6
 אֵילָאָם עַל-פְּנֵי הַיָּם אֵילָאָם*
 אϊλαμ עלי פּנוי־הַיָּם
 αϊλαμ επι προσωπον αυτων (7:43 B)
 αϊλαμ—αυτων] qoqṭaw lḥwṯwprw hawṯḥṭw ṯḥwṯṭawng Arm(= uesti-
 bula contra se iniucem) | αϊλαμ] ai ex corr 501^a : ελαμ 52 56 55:
 אֵילָאָם* Syh

As Field (p. 607) notes, only the ם needed to be sub *.¹⁰

2. Partially Correct Sub ÷ Readings

16:12
 אֵילָאָם עַל-פְּנֵי הַיָּם אֵילָאָם*
 אַיִשׁ דְּבַר אֶל-בְּעֵשָׂא
 ο ελαλησεν κυριος επι τον οικον βαασα
 τον οικον βαασα sub ÷ Syh^B

Field (p. 631) correctly suggested the obelized reading should only include אֵילָאָם (= επι ÷ τον οικον\ βαασα), but Syh^{ed} placed the obelus before אַיִשׁ.

3. Asterisk Missing from Lemma

19:15
 אֵילָאָם עַל-פְּנֵי הַיָּם אֵילָאָם*
 אֵילָאָם עַל-פְּנֵי הַיָּם אֵילָאָם*
 לָשׂוּב לְדַרְדָרֶיךָ מְדַבֶּרֶת דְּמִשְׁקָהּ וּבָאָהָּ וּמָשְׁחָהָּ
 πορευου αναστρεφε εις την οδον σου και ηξεις εις την οδον ερημου
 δαμασκου και ηξεις και χρισεις
 και ηξεις 2° A B Aeth Arm Syh^B(+ !)] om V L rell = Ra

Field (p. 636) and Syh^{ed} added the asterisk.

4. Obelus Missing from Lemma

18:7
 אֵילָאָם עַל-פְּנֵי הַיָּם אֵילָאָם*
 וַיִּכְרְהוּ וַיִּפְּלֵם עַל-פְּנֵיו
 אֵילָאָם עַל-פְּנֵי הַיָּם אֵילָאָם*
 וַיִּכְרְהוּ וַיִּפְּלֵם עַל-פְּנֵיו

¹⁰ F. Field, *Origenis Hexaplorum Quae Supersunt*. (2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon, 1875) 1:607, n.11: 'fortasse pro אֵילָאָם*.

και αβδειου εσπευσεν και επεσεν επι προσωπον αυτου
 εσπευσεν] + ! Syh^B | om και επεσεν 82

Field (p. 632) and Syh^{ed} add the obelus.

5. *Metobelus Missing from Lemma*

4:3
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁
 και ιωσαφαθ υιος αχειλιαδ
 και] pr - Syh^B : om 19-108 106-107

Field (p. 600) adds the metobelus, but Syh^{ed} does not.

6. *Unnecessary Signs*

In this section, obvious errors in the use of the hexaplaric signs and those signed readings which go against all extant testimony have been included. The latter may still have been correct if the sign was used as an index or in some other sense not known to us, or if a witness that would have validated the reading has not survived (cf. these examples at 5:23; 10:29; 18:12; and 19:8).

12:27
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁
 και αποκτενουσιν με
 και αποκτενουσιν με] om L⁻¹⁹⁻¹⁰⁸ 246 Luc : + και επιστραφισονται (απο-
 247) προς ροβοαμ βασιλεα ιουδα A 247 Arm Syh (sub + α')

Syh^B has an additional asterisk before 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁. It is easy to see how this error may have come about, since it is directly underneath its proper placement.

15:32
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁
 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁 𐤀𐤁𐤃𐤁𐤁𐤁

hab και πολεμος ην μεταξυ ασα και μεταξυ βαασα βασιλεως ιδλ πασας
 τας ημερας αυτων A Arm Syh {om και 1° Syh | πολεμος—ιδλ sub + α'
 Syh | βαασα] 𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁𐤁 Arm (= *Nabat*) | πασας—αυτων sub ÷ Syh}

The reading is mostly correct, but the obelus before ⲉⲙⲟⲥ slips in by an error due to its proximity to the actual obelized reading in the next verse which begins one line below; the error is recognized by Field (p. 629), but not Syh^{ed}.

18:20

ⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲛⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
 ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
 και απεστειλεν αχααβ εις παντα ισραηλ και επισυνηγαγεν παντας τους
 προφητας εις ορος το καρμηλιον
 και 2°] pr + Syh^B | om παντας Arm

Syh^B had an unnecessary asterisk before ⲉⲙⲟⲥ (= και επισυνηγαγεν). Field (p. 633) does not mention it, but Syh^{ed} has removed it from the text.

7. Wrong Signs

13:17

ⲉⲙⲟⲥ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
 ⲛⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ ⲉⲓⲥⲟⲩⲁⲃ
 και μη πιης υδωρ
 υδωρ A B L 246 Arm] + εχει V Z₂ rell Luc Aeth Syh (sub -) = Ra

D. Attributed Readings

There are 333 readings in Syh attributed to revisers. The reasons for separating the attributed readings *in textu* from those in the margins became apparent whenever I counted up the total number of readings attributed to our revisers. From this total count, I discovered an uneven distribution of readings: in the main text Aquila was quoted most often, but in the margins the readings were overwhelmingly in favor of Symmachus. This suggests to us not only that the sources for the marginal readings may have been different, but more precisely that Origen seemed to have favored Aquila in named signed readings, while the exegetical tradition behind the marginal readings clearly favored Symmachus. Still, the reason for the high proportion of Aquila readings compared to those of Theodotion could be that, since the Theodotion text was so similar to the LXX, when Origen brought

those readings into the fifth column he used only the asterisk for many of them, rather than the asterisk and attribution. If this is true, Theodotion's readings would be unattributed and, therefore, more pervasive than his attributed readings would indicate.

E. Hexaplaric Material Outside of Syh

In order to determine the value of Syh as a source for preserving the hexaplaric materials, I examined the survival of this material outside of Syh, and found that the sign tradition was remarkably preserved in our version. Only three signed readings indicative of hexaplaric material – two asterisks and one obelus – are preserved where Syh has failed to do so. This confirms the importance of this Syriac version for the study of the hexaplaric materials of 3 Kgdms. To put this into figures: 541 of 544 signed readings are preserved in Syh, or 99.4%.¹¹

While less than 1% of the total signed readings appear outside of Syh, a greater percentage of the total attributed readings do exist independently of Syh. Of the total 452 attributed readings known to us, 119 are found scattered among 11 other witnesses without being attested by Syh. Syh, therefore, is the only source for 74% of the total attributed readings. In my view, 26% is not a large enough proportion to significantly challenge Syh's value as the premier conservator of the hexaplaric materials, even when the attributed readings are in view.

In another section, I listed examples of the additions in the Greek tradition, preserved in Syh, which agree with MT. This section, above all others in the entire work, was by necessity a treatment of the Greek textual tradition as well as Syh. Nonetheless, the examples chosen were selected from Syh so that I could continue to keep this version at the center of the inquiry. It is not in doubt that there are a significant number of readings which no longer have, or perhaps never had, accompanying signs. It would have taken me far beyond

¹¹ Two more asterisks and two more obeli are found outside of Syh where Syh's text has been lost. These are not counted against Syh since I was attempting to judge the version's faithfulness, but it is worthwhile pointing out that four more readings are known. Adding these to the total, there are 541 of 548 in Syh, i.e. only 1.3% apart from the witness of Syh.

the scope of my study to pursue the identification of these readings, but it is fitting here to acknowledge that that type of inquiry will only be possible once the studies on the Greek textual history of 3 Kgdms are completed by P. Torijano and the honorand of this volume. As far as the other material in my study is concerned, when the conclusions reached by Treballe and Torijano are made available to us, none of my conclusions will be significantly modified, if at all; no matter the introduction of new Greek material, the evidence is still decidedly in favor of Syh's faithfulness in the preservation of the hexaplaric materials. The problem of unsigned hexaplaric approximations is something to which LXX scholars will have to direct their attention more readily than they have in the past. As we have seen, since the sign tradition is not completely preserved in the manuscript tradition, verifying the impact of the Hexapla upon later textual history will require very meticulous and patient research.

Conclusion

The asterisked readings in Syh that have no other corroborating witnesses in the Greek tradition may indeed be due to a loss of Greek manuscripts that originally had the signs. It would, however, be worth collecting all similar readings throughout Syh in order to note any patterns that might emerge from the amassing of such material. Additionally, the influence of P on Syh needs to be investigated. There may have been no such influence whatever, but since the suggestion is not entirely unreasonable, this will have to be proven.

Another interesting finding of this study that deserves further attention is the elevation of Symmachus within the Antiochian Greek and the Syriac tradition. Taking note of the preservation of Aquila in the Byzantine Jewish tradition,¹² and Symmachus in the Antiochian and Syriac traditions,¹³ is it possible to conclude that Symmachus be-

¹² See N.R.M. de Lange, J. Krivoruchko, and C. Boyd-Taylor (eds.), *Jewish Reception of Greek Bible Versions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009); and T.M. Law, 'Some Glosses on Solomon's Building Program', in de Lange, Krivoruchko, and Boyd-Taylor (eds.), *Jewish Reception*.

¹³ N. Fernández Marcos, 'On Symmachus and Lucian in Ezekiel', in F. García Martínez and M. Vervenne (eds.), with the collaboration of B. Doyle, *Interpreting Translation: Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (Leuven: Peeters, 2005), 151-161; and Law, 'Symmachus in Antioch?', *Textus* 25 (2010).

came the reviser of choice for Christians, while Aquila attained a similar status among Jews? This is not to say that Aquila or Theodotion were of no concern to Christians, or that Symmachus and Theodotion were of no concern to Jews, but that within both exegetical circles there may have been a preference for one reviser. Whatever the case may be, the reason Symmachus is preserved in significantly greater numbers in the margins of Syh is related to the material available to, or simply selected by, the translators and/or copyists of the Syriac tradition.

I have also tried to suggest that until a full textual analysis of Syh is undertaken, the possibility that Antiochian manuscripts were used in the translation of Syh should not be excluded from consideration until it can be proven otherwise. This is a subject worthy of study, but one that will probably be hindered from having its full impact until more work is done on the Greek textual history.

The most obvious prospect for future research, and one to which we now cast our gaze, is the production of a critical edition of hexaplaric material for 3 Kgdms. This update of Field can now begin from more solid foundations than would have been possible had this current study not been undertaken. Certainly, the most valuable contribution of Syh to the textual history of the LXX lies neither in its witness to an underlying *Vorlage*, nor in its preservation of 541 signed readings, but in the preservation of 333 readings with attributions to the Three and other revisers. One should still be pleased if all that were preserved were the 541 signed readings, but the ones from the revisers add to our wealth of primary source material for early Jewish and Christian exegetical traditions.

As is now clear, I have gained an overall positive impression of the preservation of the hexaplaric materials in Syh 3 Kgdms. This should not, however, obscure the fact that the hexaplaric tradition has, on the whole, been poorly preserved. The small steps made in the study highlighted the problem, but even there I was not able to investigate the matter fully since we need to know more about the Greek manuscripts first. Nonetheless, there is enough there to reassert that scholars should cease claiming Syh is a 'translation of the fifth column' of Origen's Hexapla. Brock's conclusions on the hexaplaric recension in 1 Kgdms are worth quoting since they could equally be said about 3 Kgdms, and particularly about the results of my study from Syh:

Although the fifth column was no doubt copied directly, none of the surviving 'hexaplaric' manuscripts can possibly go back to such a transcript. Rather, these manuscripts owe their hexaplaric material to systematic (in varying degrees) correction made on the basis of the fifth column.¹⁴

Therefore, it would be wise to use more restraint when assessing the value of this version, and one should certainly not claim it is a direct witness to the fifth column. But does that mean Syh is of little value? On the one hand, Syh 3 Kgdms appears to be a very poor witness to the hexaplaric tradition. I merely touched on the great number of readings in the manuscript tradition for which the signs have not been preserved. In that regard, Syh is no better than any other witness and has failed to uphold its reputation as chief among them. On the other hand, one can affirm that the hexaplaric tradition is overwhelmingly preserved in Syh when compared to the other witnesses. Thus, instead of answering that Syh is a faithful witness to the hexaplaric materials in 3 Kgdms, it would be more sensible to claim that Syh is the *best* witness to the hexaplaric materials in 3 Kgdms. Indeed, for the recovery of the hexaplaric tradition in 3 Kgdms, one cannot do without Syh.

This contribution is a small token of gratitude to a scholar who has not only influenced the way I think about the textual history of the historical books. He has also from the first time we met offered friendship and a spirit of collaboration, and has demonstrated a humility before the biblical text one would do well to emulate.

¹⁴ S.P. Brock, *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of 1 Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch 9; Torino: Zamorani, 1996), 170.

CRITIQUE TEXTUELLE ET CRITIQUE HISTORIQUE : REMARQUES MÉTHODOLOGIQUES ET EXEMPLES

André Lemaire

La critique textuelle est un art complexe et difficile. On la présente souvent comme la première étape de l'étude philologique d'un texte ancien transmis par la copie, avant d'aborder sa critique littéraire et sa critique historique. Celui auquel ce volume est dédié s'est illustré en montrant comment la frontière entre critique textuelle et critique littéraire pouvait être mouvante. De fait, la découverte puis l'étude des manuscrits de Qoumrân ont révélé que des différences textuelles entre traditions manuscrites pouvaient remonter à des éditions différentes d'une même œuvre et qu'il y avait une interaction entre critique textuelle et critique littéraire : on ne peut pas faire de critique textuelle sérieuse sans faire en même temps de la critique littéraire et tenir compte, en particulier, des hypothèses concernant l'histoire de la rédaction de ce texte.

Il en va de même des rapports entre critique textuelle et critique historique. Bien que cela ne soit que très rarement souligné, il est clair que, spécialement pour les livres rattachés au genre historiographique, on ne peut pas faire de critique textuelle indépendamment de la critique historique : la critique historique ne vient pas seulement après la critique textuelle mais peut et doit intervenir déjà au niveau du jugement de critique textuelle. Cette intervention de la critique historique au niveau de la critique textuelle peut sembler *a priori* anormale, dangereuse et source de confusion ; on peut lui reprocher d'être apparemment une sorte de cercle vicieux. Cependant elle paraît inéluctable et est, de fait, pratiquée depuis longtemps dans un certain nombre de cas. Pour le montrer et en tirer éventuellement quelques remarques méthodologiques, nous voudrions présenter rapidement trois exemples concrets extraits de la fin du chapitre 23 et du début du chapitre 24 du deuxième livre des Rois.

1) Le premier exemple est celui de 2 Rois 23,29a : le TM peut être traduit : “Dans ses jours, pharaon Néchao roi d’Égypte est monté contre (*’al*) le roi d’Assur sur (*’al*) le fleuve Euphrate”. Même si la répétition de la préposition *’al* devant deux compléments différents, un de personne, l’autre de lieu, peut sembler quelque peu étrange, ce demi-verset ne pose apparemment aucun problème de critique textuelle¹ : il ne semble pas y avoir de variantes dans les manuscrits hébreux et les traductions grecques traduisent les deux *’al* par la même préposition grecque *epi*². D’après les parallèles, la préposition *’al* suivant le verbe *’ālāh*, comporte une nuance négative : “monter contre”, “faire une expédition contre”, “attaquer”. Cette nuance agressive a bien été comprise par les traductions et commentaires du XIX^e et de la première moitié du XX^e siècle, en particulier O. Thenius³, R. Kittel⁴ et J.A. Montgomery⁵. Cependant, après la publication de la Chronique des rois néo-babyloniens par D. J. Wiseman en 1956⁶, la plupart des traductions et des commentaires ont interprété cette préposition de façon positive et ont compris que le roi d’Égypte était monté “vers” le roi d’Assyrie, en proposant de corriger *’al* en *’el*. C’est ainsi le cas de J. Gray⁷, G. H. Jones⁸, E. Würthwein⁹, T. R. Hobbs¹⁰, M. Cogan – H. Tadmor¹¹, P. Buis¹², V. Fritz¹³ et M. A. Sweeney¹⁴.

¹ Cf., par exemple, C. F. Burney, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Kings* (Oxford: Clarendon Press 1903), 363; D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l’Ancien Testament* (OBO 50/1 ; Fribourg/Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1982), 421.

² Cf., par exemple, N. Fernández Marcos et J. R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega III, 1-2 Reyes* (TECC 53; Madrid: CSIC, 1992), 154.

³ O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Leipzig, 1849), 435.

⁴ R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, (Handkommentar zum Alten Testament ; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1900), 304.

⁵ J. A. Montgomery – H. S. Gehman, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Kings* (ICC; Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1951), 537, 541.

⁶ D. J. Wiseman, *Chronicles of Chaldaean Kings (626-556 B.C.)* (London, 1956).

⁷ J. Gray, *I and II Kings* (Second Edition; OTL; London: Westminster, 1970), 748.

⁸ G. H. Jones, *I and 2 Kings, II* (NCB; Grand Rapids/London: Eerdmans, 1984), 629.

⁹ E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige I. Kön. 17 – 2 Kön. 25* (ATD; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1984), 464, n. 1.

¹⁰ T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, World Biblical Commentary 13 (Waco, 1985), 340

¹¹ M. Cogan – H. Tadmor, *II Kings* (AB 11; Doubleday: New York, 1988), 291.

¹² P. Buis, *Le livre des Rois* (SB; Paris : Cerf, 1997), 290.

¹³ V. Fritz, *Das zweite Buch der Könige* (ZBK; Zürich, 1998), 143.

¹⁴ M. A. Sweeney, *I and II Kings. A Commentary* (OTL; Louisville/London: Westminster, 2007), 437.

En fait, cette interprétation historique d'une armée égyptienne allant porter secours au roi d'Assyrie contre les Mèdes et les Babyloniens était apparemment déjà celle de Flavius Josèphe¹⁵ mais il est difficile de préciser sur quoi Flavius Josèphe se basait pour proposer une telle interprétation. Bien que cela soit possible, il n'est pas évident qu'il utilisait un texte où 'l était écrit à la place du premier 'l.

Si la correction textuelle de 'l en 'l a été adoptée par la plupart des commentateurs modernes, c'est que, d'une part, probablement sous l'influence de l'araméen, la confusion des deux prépositions 'al et 'el est un phénomène fréquent et bien connu dans la tradition manuscrite reflétée par le TM¹⁶, spécialement dans les livres des Rois¹⁷, et que, d'autre part, la chronique néo-babylonienne¹⁸ contredit explicitement l'interprétation historique supposée par le TM. Un coup d'œil diachronique sur les commentaires modernes montre bien que, finalement, c'est la critique historique qui a été décisive pour l'adoption de cette correction textuelle.

2) Un phénomène analogue se retrouve quelques versets plus loin, en 2 Rois 24,2, avec la mention d'^{ra}rām dans le TM. Là encore, il n'y a apparemment pas de grave problème de critique textuelle puisque aucun manuscrit hébreu ne présente de variante et que la traduction grecque a traduit *Syria*. De fait, D. Barthélemy ne discute pas la mention de ce mot¹⁹, même si le syriaque (Peshitta)²⁰ et l'arabe semblent avoir lu "Édom". Malgré cette quasi-absence de variante dans la tradition manuscrite hébraïque et grecque, dès le XIX^e siècle, plusieurs commentateurs comme Benzinger²¹ ont proposé de corriger ^{ra}rām en ^edom et cette correction a été acceptée au XX^e siècle par C. F. Burney²², B. Stade – F. Schwally²³, E. Würthwein²⁴, V. Fritz²⁵,

¹⁵ *Antiquités juives* X:74.

¹⁶ Cf. déjà F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (Berlin/Leipzig: 1920), 124: § 136b.

¹⁷ Cf. déjà C. F. Burney, *Notes*, 10; cf. récemment P. Buis, *Le livre des Rois*, 12.

¹⁸ Cf., par exemple, J.-J. Glassner, *Chroniques mésopotamiennes* (Paris, 1993), 196.

¹⁹ D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 421–422.

²⁰ Cf. H. Gottlieb, *The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version II, 4, Kings* (Leiden: Brill, 1976), 155.

²¹ I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, (Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament IX; Freiburg/Leipzig/Tübingen: 1849), 196.

²² C. F. Burney, *Notes*, 365.

ainsi que par de nombreux historiens, en particulier à la suite de Martin Noth²⁶. Cependant cette correction n'a pas été retenue par beaucoup d'autres commentateurs²⁷ et historiens²⁸ de la seconde moitié du XX^e s., l'argument avancé étant que cette correction n'est pas nécessaire car l'association des Chaldéens et des Araméens est déjà présente en Jr 35,11. En fait, cet argument ne fait qu'étendre le problème de critique textuelle à un autre passage, les deux versets devant être examinés ensemble.

Comme nous l'avons souligné à la suite de F. Delitzsch²⁹, "une erreur classique de la tradition manuscrite biblique provient de la confusion graphique entre les lettres D et R en écriture paléo-hébraïque, en écriture hébraïque 'carrée' du tournant de notre ère et, surtout, en écriture araméenne de la fin de l'époque perse et du début de l'époque hellénistique. En fait, dans l'écriture araméenne du IV^e s. av. n. è., le D et le R sont identiques, aussi bien en écriture monumentale qu'en écriture cursive : seul le contexte permet de

²³ B. Stade – F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings*, (The Sacred Books of the Old Testament; Leipzig: 1904), 299.

²⁴ E. Würthwein, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 468–469.

²⁵ V. Fritz, *Das zweite Buch*, 146.

²⁶ M. Noth, *Geschichte Israels* (Berlin:1953), 255 ; A. Malamat, "The Last Kings of Juda hand the Fall of Jerusalem," *IEJ* 18 (1968): 137–156, spéc. 143; J. M. Myers, "Edom and Judah in the Sixth-Fifth Centuries B.C.," dans H. Goedicke (ed.), *Near Eastern Studies in Honor of W. F. Albright* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins, 1971), 377–392, spéc. 380, note 16; B. Oded, "Juda hand the Exile," dans J. H. Hayes – J. M. Muller (eds), *Israelite and Judaeon History* (London: SCM, 1977), 435–488, spéc. 470–471; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I. Les ostraca* (LAPO 9; Paris: Cerf, 1977), 192–193, 235; I. Eph'al, *The Ancient Arabs* (Jerusalem: Magness Press, 1984), 172, note 587; J. A. Soggin, *A History of Israel* (Philadelphia-London: SCM, 1984), 249; A. Lemaire, "D'Édom à l'Idumée et à Rome," dans A. Sérandour (ed.), *Des Sumériens aux Romains d'Orient. La perception géographique du monde* (Antiquités sémitiques 2; Paris: 1997), 81–103, spéc. 89.

²⁷ Par exemple J. A. Montgomery – H. S. Gehman, *A Critical*, 552 (mais sans rejeter totalement la lecture "Édom," 554) ; T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 345 ; M. Cogan – H. Tadmor, *II Kings*, 306; P. Buis, *Le livre des Rois*, 295; M. A. Sweeney, *I and II Kings*, 453

²⁸ Cf., par exemple, J. Bright, *A History of Israel*, (OTL; London: Westminster, 1972), 326; J. R. Bartlett, *Edom and the Edomites* (JSOTSup 77; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1989), 148; O. Lipschits, *The Fall and Rise of Jerusalem. Judah under Babylonian Rule* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005), 52–53.

²⁹ F. Delitzsch, *Die Les- und Schreibfehler im Alten Testament* (Berlin: 1920), 105–106. Cf. aussi E. Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2001), 13 qui rappelle la remarque de David Qimhi à propos de 1 Chr 1,7.

déterminer s'il s'agit d'un D ou d'un R"³⁰. Nous avons nous-même déjà essayé de montrer que la prise en compte de ce problème paléographique permettait de mieux comprendre Genèse 36,31-39, 2 Samuel 8,13-14, 1 Rois 11,14-25³¹ et 2 Rois 16,6³². Dès lors, aussi bien dans 2 Rois 24,2 qu'en Jr 35,11, il faut tenir compte du contexte historique pour décider s'il faut lire "Aram" ou "Édom". Le contexte historique étant apparemment le même dans ces deux versets qui se réfèrent à l'attaque de Jérusalem par les Chaldéens à la fin du règne de Yehoyaqim, la lecture à retenir est aussi probablement la même.

En 2 Rois 24,2 la présence des Araméens aux côtés des Chaldéens et avant les Moabites et les Ammonites serait très surprenante ici car, si "Chaldéens", "Moabites" et Ammonites" représentent alors des entités politiques claires et ayant naturellement à leur disposition des troupes armées, il n'en va pas de même des Araméens : depuis la fin du VIII^e s. av. n. è., il n'y a plus de royaume araméen. Tous les royaumes araméens ont été absorbés dans l'empire néo-assyrien, de fait un empire "assyro-araméen", avant d'être lui-même intégré dans l'empire néo-babylonien qui sera, à son tour, absorbé dans l'empire achéménide. Il est vrai que l'absence d'une entité politique proprement araméenne n'a pas empêché la diffusion de la langue et de l'écriture araméennes aussi bien dans l'empire néo-assyrien que dans l'empire néo-babylonien avant de connaître sa grande extension géographique à l'époque achéménide. Le point qu'il faut simplement souligner ici est que, vers 600 av. n. è., il n'y a ni état, ni armée d'Aram. La lecture "Aram" en 2 Rois 24,2 serait donc un anachronisme.

Par contre, dans cette liste des armées alliées des Chaldéens, il y a une entité politique régionale dont on attend la mention explicite : "Édom". Non seulement la lecture "Édom" s'impose-t-elle dans le

³⁰ A. Lemaire, "Les premiers rois araméens dans la tradition biblique," dans P.M.M. Daviau et alii (eds), *The World of the Aramaeans I. Biblical Studies in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (JSOTS 324; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 2001), 113-143, spéc. 114. Pour ce phénomène bien connu dans la cursive araméenne du IV^e s. av. n. è., cf., par exemple, A. Lemaire, *Nouvelles inscriptions araméennes d'Idumée au musée d'Israël* (Supplément n° 3 à *Transeuphratène*; Paris: Gabalda, 1996), 128-129; J. Dušek, *Les manuscrits araméens du Wadi Daliyeh et la Samarie vers 450-332 av. J.-C.* (Culture and History in the Ancient Near East 30; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 469: "Ces deux lettres sont écrites de façon identique, et seul le contexte permet de les distinguer."

³¹ A. Lemaire, "Les premiers rois araméens," 115-135.

³² Idem, "D'Édom à l'Idumée," 91.

contexte immédiat, à savoir la mention des deux autres royaumes transjordanien : Moab et Ammon, mais aussi et surtout parce que, historiquement, aussi bien l'ostracon 24 d'Arad³³ et l'archéologie que plusieurs textes bibliques et l'histoire ultérieure du Négev et du sud de Juda montrent que les Édomites ont pris une part active aux deux campagnes néo-babyloniennes contre Jérusalem, en en tirant d'ailleurs un énorme bénéfice territorial³⁴.

Dans ces conditions, il semble assez clair qu'il faut adopter la lecture "Édom" attestée par le syriaque et l'arabe, comme l'ont déjà proposé un certain nombre d'exégètes du XIX^e et du début du XX^e s. Il est d'ailleurs paradoxal que cette leçon soit rejetée à la fin du XX^e s. alors que les témoignages épigraphiques et archéologiques confirment le rôle d'Édom comme ennemi de Juda dans le sud du royaume à la fin de l'époque royale.

L'argumentation pour adopter la lecture "Édom" en 2 Rois 24,2a vaut aussi bien pour Jérémie 35,11a³⁵ où, d'ailleurs, comme en 2 Rois 24,2a, elle est déjà attestée par le Syriaque.

Ce double deuxième exemple d'influence de la critique historique sur la critique textuelle souligne aussi concrètement l'importance de l'épigraphie ouest-sémitique qui permet de mieux comprendre les confusions graphiques et apporte des informations nouvelles sur l'histoire de l'ancien Israël.

3) Le troisième exemple que nous voudrions proposer est plus complexe. En 2 Rois 23,33a, le TM peut être traduit : "Et le pharaon Nécho l'a attaché/enchaîné (*wayya 'asrēhū*) dans Riblah dans le pays de Hamat lorsqu'il était roi dans Jérusalem (*bimm^elok bīrūsālāim*)", avec un *qeré* lisant MMLK au lieu de BMLK (changement du B

³³ Y. Aharoni, *Arad Inscriptions* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1981), 46–49, 150–151; A. Lemaire, *Inscriptions hébraïques I*, 192–193, 234–235; J. Renz, *Die althebräischen Inschriften I* (Handbuch der althebräischen Epigraphik 1; Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1995) 389–393; S. Ahituv, *Echoes from the Past. Hebrew and Cognate Inscriptions from the Biblical Period* (Jerusalem: Carta, 2008), 126–133 (mais son interprétation historique d'un retour de Judah dans le Négev après 597 est une pure conjecture).

³⁴ A. Lemaire, "Les transformations politiques et culturelles de la Transjordanie au VI^e siècle av. J.-C.," *Transeuphratène* 8 (1994): 9–27; idem, "D'Édom à l'Idumée et à Rome," 89–92. Nous n'avons pas de confirmation de la participation de Moab et d'Ammon mais, d'après l'étendue du Négev judéen annexé par les Édomites, on peut penser que la participation de ces derniers a été beaucoup plus active que celle des Moabites et des Ammonites.

³⁵ Cf. déjà F. Delitzsch, *Die Lese- und Schreibfehler*, 106.

temporel en M privatif), *qeré* soutenu par quelques manuscrits, la Septante, le Targum et la Vulgate. Dans la Septante, cette variante semble liée à un autre verbe en début de verset : *waysîrêhû*, qui correspond au TM de 2 Chroniques 36,3a. Cependant en 2 Chr 36,3, la Septante lucianique³⁶ suppose une Vorlage WY'SYRHW PR'H NKH BRBLH B'RŞ HMT WYSYRHW MMLK BYRŠLM tandis que le TM aurait laissé tomber la première partie de ce verset, ainsi que MMLK. La comparaison du TM de 2 Rois 23,33a et de 2 Chr 36,3a, ainsi que des versions anciennes de ces deux passages révèle une situation textuelle très compliquée qu'on a essayé d'expliquer de diverses façons :

1. O. Thenius propose de corriger le TM Y'SRHW en WYSYRHW avec la Septante et les Chroniques, en comprenant : “et il l'éloigna/l'écarta vers Ribla d'être roi dans Jérusalem”³⁷.

2. Après d'autres commentateurs du XIX^e s., I. Benzinger³⁸, R. Kittel³⁹ et B. Stade – F. Schwally⁴⁰ retiennent le TM de 2 Rois 23,33a : WY'SRHW et regardent M/BMLK BYRWŠLM comme une glose dépendant de 2 Chr 36,3a⁴¹.

3. C. F. Burney voit dans le TM de 2 Rois 23,33 la combinaison de deux lectures : “il l'enchaîna dans Ribla, dans le pays de Hamat” et “il l'écarta du fait de régner dans Jérusalem”, sans préciser davantage⁴². Cette suggestion a été étrangement appréciée par le groupe de Barthélemy : “l'hypothèse très attirante de Burney vise une étape qui est au-delà des prises de la critique textuelle. Le *G des Règles a subi une assimilation à la leçon WYSYRHW du parallèle des Chroniques, alors que, pour ce parallèle, le *G donne une conflation des deux formes”⁴³.

Baucoup de commentateurs ne tentent pas d'expliquer cette variété textuelle, se contentant tout au plus d'une petite remarque en

³⁶ N. Fernández Marcos et J. R. Busto Saiz, *El texto antioqueno de la Biblia griega III. 1-2 Cronicas* (TECC 60; Madrid: CSIC 1996), 155.

³⁷ O. Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige* (Leipzig:1849), 439.

³⁸ I. Benzinger, *Die Bücher der Könige*, 195.

³⁹ R. Kittel, *Die Bücher der Könige*, (Handkommentar zum Alten Testament; Göttingen: 1900), 305.

⁴⁰ B. Stade – F. Schwally, *The Books of Kings*, 180.

⁴¹ Cf. aussi J. A. Montgomery et H. S. Gehman, *A Critical*, 549, 551; BHS; G. H. Jones, *1 and 2 Kings, II*, 631; V. Fritz, *Das zweite Buch der Könige*, 145.

⁴² C. F. Burney, *Notes*, 364.

⁴³ D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle*, 421. Il faut souligner que ce volume reconnaît seulement un but très limité à la critique textuelle : remonter au texte massorétique le plus anciennement attesté, rejetant ainsi pratiquement toute interférence avec la critique littéraire et historique (ibidem 107–113).

passant, éventuellement pleine de bon sens. C'est ainsi que J. Gray note que la forme verbale de 2 Chr 36,3 "is quite feasible"⁴⁴ et que T. R. Hobbs remarque : "It seems strange to deport the king north since Necho would eventually return to the south..."⁴⁵. Ces deux remarques faites en passant nous semblent tout à fait justifiées et nous essaierons d'en tenir compte dans notre tentative d'explication de la naissance du TM de 2 Rois 23,33a.

Soulignons ici que la deuxième remarque est une remarque de critique historique : le TM actuel de 2 Rois 23,33a décrivant l'activité de Nécho paraît assez invraisemblable pour des raisons de chronologie et, surtout, pour des raisons de géographie. Non seulement la chronique néo-babylonienne ne mentionne pas le fait que Nécho aurait établi son quartier général à Riblah, mais elle ne semble pas laisser de temps à Nécho pour s'arrêter de façon significative à Riblah. En effet, elle précise que l'armée néo-assyrienne et l'armée égyptienne ont franchi l'Euphrate au mois de Dumuzi et guerroyé en Haute Mésopotamie "jusqu'au mois d'Elul". Ce laps de temps correspondant apparemment assez exactement aux "trois mois" du règne de Yehoachaz⁴⁶. Il est donc probable que Nécho a déposé Yehoachaz sur son chemin de retour vers l'Égypte. Dans ce contexte, bien que ce soit accepté par la plupart des commentateurs, une convocation et/ou un emprisonnement à Riblah⁴⁷, une soixantaine de kilomètres au nord de Baalbek paraît d'autant plus invraisemblable qu'il s'agit d'emmener ensuite le prisonnier en Égypte. La mention de l'emprisonnement de Yehoachaz à Riblah n'est donc probablement pas historique et semble une addition relativement tardive dans le TM de 2 Rois 23,33a, probablement causée par un rapprochement avec un passage parallèle (*infra*).

Du point de vue de la critique historique, mis à part le problème de la chute éventuelle de MMLK, le TM de 2 Chr 36,3a paraît tout à fait cohérent avec ce qui précède et avec ce qui suit. Le pharaon doit destituer celui qui avait été désigné par le "peuple du pays" avant de

⁴⁴ J. Gray, *I and II Kings*, 750, note a.

⁴⁵ T. R. Hobbs, *2 Kings*, 1985, 341.

⁴⁶ Cf. déjà J. Gray, *I and II Kings*, 755.

⁴⁷ À la suite de l'étude de notre deuxième exemple, on soulignera que la LXX a lu un D initial au lieu d'un R, aussi bien en 2 Rois 23,33 (cf. aussi la Peshitta) qu'en 2 Chr 36,3a.

nommer un nouveau roi (v. 4) et de déporter en Égypte le roi destitué. On peut donc supposer que cela correspondait au sens du texte primitif de 2 Rois 23,33a utilisé par le chroniqueur, avec une forme du verbe SWR au hiphil. Cette forme verbale a pu ensuite être l'objet d'une variante orthographique : peut-être vers le tournant de notre ère si l'on en juge par l'orthographe de certains manuscrits de Qoumrân, un scribe a pu introduire la *mater lectionis* ' après la préformante Y, ce qui a été interprété par un des copistes suivants comme une forme du verbe 'SR, "lier, enchaîner". La graphie WY'SRHW a alors entraîné un rapprochement avec le sort du roi Sédécias à Riblah en 2 Rois 25,7 qui comportait la même forme verbale. Ce scribe, ou un scribe postérieur a donc probablement rajouté la formule "dans Riblah, dans le pays de Hamat", bien attestée et à sa place, en 2 Rois 25,21 (cf. aussi Jr 52,27 et 39,5 ; 52,9), transposant ainsi un fait historique concernant le roi Sédécias sur son frère Yehoachaz. Par ailleurs, l'emploi du verbe 'SR, "lier/enchaîner" a entraîné postérieurement et tout naturellement dans le TM le changement de préposition M > B devant le verbe MLK. Enfin, il y aurait eu un phénomène de conflation au niveau de la LXX antiochienne avec le verbe de 2 Chr 36,3a traduit en 2 Rois 23,33a et l'ajout du début de 2 Rois 23,33a avant la traduction de 2 Chr 36,3.

On le voit : ce troisième exemple est plus complexe que les deux précédents : il s'appuie à la fois sur un jugement de critique historique et sur une possible variante orthographique. Le jugement de critique historique lui-même ne s'appuie pas sur un témoignage positif mais sur un silence de la chronique néo-babylonienne conjugué à une analyse du contexte chronologique et surtout géographique. Il s'agit donc d'une hypothèse de travail que de nouvelles découvertes pourront confirmer ou infirmer.

Celui auquel est dédié ce volume a bien montré l'intérêt de la critique textuelle pour la critique littéraire et ses répercussions éventuelles sur l'interprétation historique. À l'inverse, spécialement dans les cas de confusions fréquentes entre certaines lettres et certains mots, la critique textuelle peut recevoir quelque lumière de la critique historique. Les trois exemples que nous venons de voir, tirés d'un court passage des livres des Rois, suffisent à montrer l'intérêt de la

critique historique pour la critique textuelle, et donc d'une approche interdisciplinaire du texte biblique.

INFLUENCE OF A SO-CALLED P-REDACTION IN THE
'MAJOR EXPANSIONS' OF EXOD 7–11?
FINDING ONESELF AT THE CROSSROADS OF TEXTUAL
AND LITERARY CRITICISM

Bénédicte Lemmelijn

*“Listen, children, to a father’s instruction,
and be attentive, that you may gain insight”*
(Prov 4:1)

To Julio Treballe Barrera,
a most inspiring scholar and a warm human being,
with many thanks for so much instruction.

1. *The Challenge of the Current Textual Situation: Methodological
Prolegomenon*

In one of his highly respected standard works on the history of the Bible¹, Julio Treballe Barrera said the following: “*Textual criticism* studies the process of transmission of the text from the moment it is put into writing or its first edition. Its aim is to determine the oldest biblical text witnessed by the manuscript tradition. Literary criticism (in the sense of the German term *Literarkritik*) studies instead the process before the formation of the biblical writings in order to determine their author and date. Even though in theory the domains and methods of these two disciplines are quite separate, in practice they often overlap. The meeting point causing friction between them is in the editorial process where the previous process of collecting material and of composition and of editing the text ends and the next process, textual transmission, begins” (p. 370). A few pages further

¹ See J. Treballe Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible: An Introduction to the History of the Bible* (Leiden – New York – Cologne: Brill, 1998).

on, he states even more explicitly: “In theory the distinction between these disciplines is clear, but in practice the boundary separating them is very movable making necessary the use of both methods in combination” (p. 390).²

Until recently, and unfortunately sometimes even still today, the generally accepted position was indeed that textual criticism as the study of the transmission of the complete literary work began where literary criticism as the study of the history of origin and literary formation of the text left off. In line with recent text-critical research, and especially with Julio Treballe Barrera’s seminal work in this respect, I aim to argue in this modest contribution that a clear distinction between these two processes simply cannot be satisfactorily made.³ First, the two aforementioned stages in the creation of texts do in fact overlap. Indeed, it is highly likely that the textual transmission of certain biblical texts was already underway prior to the literary completion of the composition in question, if at all such a completion was ever reached consciously or intentionally. Second, it is clear that, when textual and literary criticism ‘cooperate’ in their study of the text, literary irregularities and problems are often discovered precisely at those places and instances where, text-critically speaking, textual variants are observed.⁴ This fact does not only question the aforementioned distinction between the two domains of textual and literary criticism as such. It also seriously

² Cf. J. Treballe Barrera, “The Text-Critical Value of the Old Latin and Antiochean Greek Texts in the Books of Judges and Joshua,” in F. García Martínez – M. Vervenne (ed.), *Interpreting Translation. Studies on the LXX and Ezekiel in Honour of Johan Lust* (BETL 192; Leuven: University Press - Peeters, 2005), 401-413, 413: “The complexity of the Latin, Greek and Hebrew textual traditions, being caused ultimately by textual changes in the Hebrew tradition, imposes the necessity of assuming a methodological approach that combines textual and literary criticism.”

³ Cf. also recently B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts? A Text-Critical Study of the So-Called ‘Plagues Narrative’ in Exodus 7,14–11,10* (OTS 56; Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2009), especially. 3-7 and passim.

⁴ Cf. also B. Lemmelijn, “The So-Called “Major Expansions” in SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExodⁱ Exod 7:14–11:10. On the Edge between Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism,” in B. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies – Oslo 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta, GA: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 429-439, and B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?.. 197-207*. See e.g. moreover J. Treballe Barrera, “A Combined Textual and Literary Criticism Analysis. Editorial Traces in Joshua and Judges,” in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, M. Vervenne (eds.), *Florilegium Lovaniense. Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino García Martínez*, (BETL 224; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), 437-463.

challenges the generally rather speculative claim regarding an alleged difference in method between authors or redactors on the one hand and scribes or copyists on the other. If the discoveries at the Dead Sea have taught us one thing, it is that a multiplicity of biblical texts – be they called ‘families’ or ‘types’ or ‘texts’ or ‘traditions’ – has circulated and has been appreciated within different geographical, historical and religious communities.⁵

With this in mind, it becomes clear that the presupposition behind the search for an *Urtext*, which was once considered as the ultimate goal of textual criticism, is no longer valid. Even more uncritical is the implicit acceptance of such a principle by scholars who, in the context of their literary, structural, diachronic or synchronic study of a specific pericope simply point at the MT as if it were ‘the original’ text. Indeed, talking about the canon of *the* Old Testament and a fortiori talking about a normative ‘standard text’ of the Old Testament – sometimes for confessional reasons – cannot be unequivocally maintained in the present framework of a growing consciousness of multiple and manifold textual evidence.

Taking this observation as a starting point, a number of conclusions should be drawn (which are often not drawn in practice).⁶

1) If there is no *Urtext*, we can, even in the case of individual variants, no longer speak of ‘the original’ reading but rather, at best, and within a relative framework of the (accidentally preserved) extant witnesses, we can only speak of the ‘more original’ variant.⁷

2) By extension, this means that aiming to reconstruct ‘eclectic’ texts as if they could represent some text approaching the ‘original’ is no longer advisable as such. One should be very careful and at least

⁵ With respect to this pluriformity of biblical texts, reference should be made to the seminal contributions by E. Ulrich, many of them collected in his *The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Bible* (Grand Rapids, MI: Eerdmans, 1999). See also most recently, E. Tov, “Reflections on the Many Forms of Hebrew Scripture in Light of the LXX and 4QRevised Pentateuch,” to be published in the proceedings of IOSOT Vienna, 2007.

⁶ See in this respect also the very instructive contribution by G. Brooke, “The Qumran Scrolls and the Demise of the Distinction Between Higher and Lower Criticism,” in J.G. Campbell, W.J. Lyons, L.K. Pietersen (eds.), *New Directions in Qumran studies: Proceedings of the Bristol Colloquium on the Dead Sea Scrolls, 8-10 September 2003* (Library of Second Temple Studies 52; London: Clark, 2005), 26-42.

⁷ See my own working model, presented in B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, pp. 22-27 and earlier also in B. Lemmelijn, “What Are We Looking for in Doing Text-Critical Research?,” *JNSL* 23/2 (1997): 69-80.

be seriously aware of the problems related to such a reconstruction. A fortiori in the case of the study of specific textual pericopes by individual scholars with the aim of establishing a critical text for further literary study, such an option would not be the right one.⁸ Theoretically speaking, one could indeed argue that, taken to the extreme, such a text-critical evaluation of the variants of a specific text would lead, of necessity, to a ‘new’, eclectic text containing all of the ‘preferable’ variants from the various textual witnesses. And indeed, such a critical reconstruction on the basis of scientific principles could offer a real surplus.⁹ In effect, however, one would then be basing oneself on a text that does not in fact exist, a text based only on a hypothetical reconstruction of a number of fortuitously surviving manuscripts. Moreover, it would be a text ‘reconstructed’ from an evaluation of the variants that would not have been able to avoid a certain degree of subjectivity. Therefore, the only valid alternative seems to be to opt for one, single, well-defined, albeit imperfect textual witness that is at least objectively extant. Of course, in doing so, one would nevertheless still be obliged to take the available material as one’s point of departure, and to bear in mind the marginal observations associated with that material.

3) If indeed text-critical variants, and especially the ‘text-relevant’ ones,¹⁰ occur at places of literary and theological importance, then these different readings in distinct manuscripts can no longer simply be classified as errors and deviations from their ‘original’, *c.q.* ‘Vorlage’, and thus start to function as valuable witnesses of a specific textual tradition.

4) Finally, and following from the previous point, if variant textual readings therefore do in fact reflect literary and/or theological

⁸ See in this respect B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, 215.

⁹ See e.g., R. Hendel, “Qumran and a New Edition of the Hebrew Bible,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1; Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 2000), 197-217. See also his “The Text of the Torah after Qumran: Prospects and Retrospects,” in L.H. Schiffman– E. Tov – J.C. VanderKam (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society, 2000), 8-11, 11 and “Plural Texts and Literary Criticism: For Instance, 1 Samuel 17,” *Textus* 23 (2007): 97-114, pp. 97-98. Cf. also J. Trebolle Barrera, *The Jewish Bible and the Christian Bible*, 387: “A critically reconstructed text can be, and many times is, more authentic, i.e. closer to the original, than the documented text.”

¹⁰ For this terminology, see B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, 150-151.

concerns in the extant textual manuscripts (and not just mistakes), then the allegedly unambiguous difference between the methods of authors/redactors on the one hand and scribes/copyists on the other is no longer easy to discern or to define, if indeed it exists at all. After all, if several communities each used their own distinctive and concrete religious texts and handed them over in a creative and recontextualising way¹¹, what then would be the difference between the ‘*Fortschreibung*’ or interpretative redaction of authors and redactors in preceding, ‘literary’ stages on the one hand and the adaptations, reinterpretations and minor or major changes of scribes and copyists in stages of ‘transmission’, providing concrete texts for the concrete needs and (self)-understanding of their respective communities, on the other?¹²

Against this methodological background – notwithstanding all its complications – and taking the final question in particular as a starting point, this contribution aims to propose a synergetic link between textual criticism and literary criticism, and more particularly even with so-called diachronic redaction criticism. However, what will be presented below is in no way a fully argued, proven thesis. Rather, it is merely a suggestion, a question worth pondering. It is open to corrections and comments, and functions as an invitation to further reflection.

¹¹ Cf. J. Sanders’ reflections upon ‘adaptability’ and ‘stability’, as developed in, e.g., J.A. Sanders, *Canon and Community: a Guide to Canonical Criticism* (Guides to Biblical Scholarship; Old Testament Series; Philadelphia, PA: Fortress, 1984), 22; “Stability and Fluidity in Text and Canon,” in G.J. Norton–S. Pisano (ed.), *Tradition of the Text*. FS D. Barthélemy (OBO 109; Freiburg: Universitätsverlag; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1991), 203-217, 209, endorsed by E. Ulrich, “The Bible in the Making: The Scriptures at Qumran,” in E. Ulrich – J.C. VanderKam (ed.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 77-93, p. 84; “The Community of Israel and the Composition of the Scriptures,” in C.A. Evans – S. Talmon (ed.), *The Quest for Context and Meaning. Studies in Biblical Intertextuality*. FS J.A. Sanders (Biblical Interpretation Series 28; Leiden - New York – Cologne: Brill, 1997), 327-342, pp. 335-336.

¹² See similar reflections in E. Ulrich, “Multiple Literary Editions. Reflections toward a Theory of the History of the Biblical Text,” in D.W. Parry A – S.D. Ricks (ed.), *Current Research and Technological Developments on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Conference on the Texts from the Judean Desert, Jerusalem, 30 April 1995* (STDJ 20; Leiden - New York – Cologne: Brill, 1994), 78-105, p. 90; “The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Hebrew Scriptural Texts,” in J.H. Charlesworth (ed.), *The Hebrew Bible and Qumran* (The Bible and the Dead Sea Scrolls 1; Richland Hills, TX: Bibal, 2000), 105-133, pp. 129-130.

Concretely, in what follows, I shall present a particular textual characteristic with regard to the mentioning of Aaron in the so-called major expansions of SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j within the ‘Plague Narrative’ of Exod 7:14–11:10.

2. *The So-Called Major Expansions of SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j in Exod 7:14–11:10*

In an earlier study presented at the meeting of the IOSCS in Oslo (1998) – being a very young scholar at the time – I demonstrated that Old Testament textual criticism has an important role to play within the literary study of biblical texts.¹³ I argued that it is indispensable as a first phase in the study of a biblical pericope in order to evaluate the value of the textual witness chosen to be used as the basis for the literary study. But, moreover, I tried to show that a text-critical study can often contribute to the recognition of fundamental data, important to the literary study of a text. To illustrate the latter point, I showed that especially the so-called ‘major expansions’ in SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j of Exod 7:14–11:10¹⁴ – the ‘Plague Narrative’ – do not merely function as text-critical curiosities.¹⁵ More importantly, they indicate some literary irregularities as to the content and the structure of the final text of the narrative insofar as they try to smooth out these irregularities by making additions, or by harmonizing with the (immediate or broader) literary context. Moreover, they were shown to reveal, at the same time, the contextual framework in which the literary text functions.

¹³ B. Lemmelijn, “The So-Called ‘Major Expansions’ in SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j Exod 7:14–11:10. On the Edge between Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism,” in B. Taylor (ed.), *X Congress of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies – Oslo 1998* (SBLSCS 51; Atlanta, GA: SBL, 2001), pp. 429–439.

¹⁴ For a detailed presentation and characterization of these ‘major expansions’, see J. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran. 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986); J. Sanderson, “The Contributions of 4QpaleoExod^m to Textual Criticism,” *RevQ* 13 (1988): 547–560 and J. Sanderson, “The Old Greek of Exodus in the Light of 4QpaleoExod^m,” *Textus* 14 (1988): 87–104.

¹⁵ The major expansions are to be found in Exod 7,18b (SamP4Q^m), Exod 7,29b (SamP4Q^m4Q^j), Exod 8,1b (SamP4Q^j), Exod 8,19b (SamP4Q^m), Exod 9,5b (SamP4Q^m), Exod 9,19b (SamP4Q^m), Exod 10,2b (SamP4Q^m) and in Exod 11,3b (SamP), a twofold expansion.

Without repeating everything that has already been written in the said contribution, I simply refer to the two main ideas again. (1) First, if one reads the ‘Plague Narrative’ in Exod 7–11, one immediately notices that the story proceeds in a very stereotypical way. In general, one observes that YHWH commands Moses and/or Aaron to speak to Pharaoh and announce a plague. At other times, he orders them to produce the plague immediately. These commands are followed by the description of their execution and its consequences (cf. *e.g.*, Exod 7:19–21; 8:1–2.12–13). When one begins the study of the ‘Plague Narrative’ with a text-critical examination of the extant witnesses, this structural pattern of command and execution is immediately detectable on that level, i.e., even before the content of the story is at stake. Indeed, a large number of variants in the textual witnesses of this narrative can be explained and evaluated when the literary context is carefully observed.¹⁶ It then becomes clear that many of these have originated out of a tendency to harmonize their readings to the literary context, and thereby to create greater internal consistency in the text.¹⁷ In exactly the same way, the so-called ‘major expansions’ within the ‘Plague Narrative’ of SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^l have attempted to complete the scheme of command and execution when it was not strictly applied, thereby showing the scholar, already in this stage of research, that the text of Exod 7:14–11:10 contains some literary irregularities in its structure.

(2) Second, and directly related to what has just been said, it becomes clear that the text-critical study of the textual materials prior to any so-called ‘literary’ study, helps to reveal the contextual framework in which the literary text functions. This is not only true for the ‘major expansions’, and especially for the second plus in Exod 11,3b which reiterates the command of YHWH from Exod 4:22–23, but, by way of an example, also for the minor variants in the context of the literary motif of the so-called ‘despoiling of the Egyptians’ in Exod 11:2–3, in which the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch seem to have harmonized their story to the other pericopes on the

¹⁶ See B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, pp. 150–207.

¹⁷ See similarly E. Tov, “Textual Harmonizations in the Ancient Texts of Deuteronomy,” in idem (ed.), *Hebrew Bible, Greek Bible and Qumran. Collected Essays* (Texts and Studies in Ancient Judaism 121: Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), 271–282, p. 271. On the phenomenon of biblical harmonizations in general, see as well his earlier study “The Nature and Background of Harmonizations in Biblical Manuscripts,” *JSOT* 31 (1985): 3–29.

‘despoiling’ in Exod 3:21–22 and 12:35–36. Thus, it has been shown in the previous study that literary and textual criticism really can complement each other, detecting and explaining textual variants that contribute to the literary understanding of the text.

3. *Aaron at the Crossroads of Textual and Literary Criticism*

Against this background, I would actually like to focus on one particular characteristic with regard to the mention of Aaron in the so-called ‘major expansions’ of SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j within the ‘Plague Narrative’ of Exod 7:14–11:10. As said already, and in general, the expansions function in the context of the harmonization of command to execution and vice versa. They mainly consist of the precise copying of existing verses from the immediate (c.q. larger, in a few cases) context in their source-text/*Vorlage*. The methodology could be described as the precise, quasi word-for-word, repetition of terms from the command or the execution respectively. However, when one studies the ‘major expansions’ more closely, one observes that they simultaneously reveal the interpolation of a number of minor emendations or adaptations. Thus, they also contain differences in comparison with the text that they seem to have copied, thereby revealing individual text-critical variants.

In this respect, and besides the linguistically necessary grammatical changes in verbs and pronouns when changing from direct speech to narrative, as well as some summarizing paraphrases, it is striking that Aaron is introduced in almost all major expansions, whereas this character seems to be absent in the preceding or subsequent text that served as the source for each harmonizing expansion. A closer look to the texts concerned¹⁸ reveals the following.

I. *The Textual Data*

Exod 7:18b (SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m): In SamP, Aaron is added in the major expansion describing the execution of the command in Exod

¹⁸ A more elaborate description and discussion of the characterization of these major expansions can be found in B. Lemmelijn, *A Plague of Texts?*, pp. 201-207.

7:14–18. Verbs and pronouns have been adapted to the plural. In the preceding common text of MT, LXX, SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QExod^c and 4QGen-Exod^a, only Moses was given the command. The extant texts of 4QExod^c and 4QGen-Exod^a do not contain any expansion. And finally, there is a *vacat* in 4QpaleoExod^m in place of the word ‘Aaron’, but it has an extant singular verb form ויאמר while SamP reads ויאמרו. Thus Aaron seems most explicitly present in SamP.

Exod 7:29b (SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QExod^d): Aaron is mentioned in the major expansion relating the execution of the command in Exod 7:26–29 – verbs and pronouns have been adapted to the plural – , but not in the preceding common text of MT, LXX, SamP and 4QExod^c.

*Exod 8:1b (SamP, 4QExod^d)*¹⁹: At this juncture, the situation is slightly different. In the preceding common text of Exod 8:1, YHWH commands Moses to commission Aaron. The execution of Aaron’s commission follows immediately in Exod 8:2. Thus, Aaron has already been mentioned in the common text of MT, LXX, SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QExod^c and 4QExod^d. However, the expansion of Exod 8:1b makes additional explicit reference to Moses’ execution of the command to speak to Aaron, thereby again strongly emphasizing the role of Aaron.

Exod 8:19b (SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m): The major expansion describing the execution of the command in Exod 8:16–19 reveals the insertion of Aaron with the adaptation of the verb forms, whereas only Moses is mentioned in the preceding common text of MT, LXX, SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^c.

Exod 9:5b (SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m): Once again, we observe the insertion of Aaron in SamP with the adapted plural verb form ויאמרו. 4QpaleoExod^m, revealing parts of the major expansion, is not extant in this case. The major expansion offers a virtually literal repetition of the command to Moses in 9:1–5. In the preceding common text of MT, LXX and SamP, only Moses is mentioned.

Exod 9:19b (SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m): Both in SamP and the extant textual fragments of 4QpaleoExod^m, Aaron has been added at this

¹⁹ 4QpaleoExod^m has not been preserved at this juncture although it probably contained the same expansion. Cf. P.W. Skehan – E. Ulrich – J.E. Sanderson, *Qumran Cave 4*, vol. 4: *Palaeo-Hebrew and Greek Biblical Manuscripts* (DJD 9; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 77.

juncture and the verb forms have been adapted (cf. ויאמרו). The beginning of the larger plus 9:19b represents a summarizing recapitulation of the commission given by YHWH to Moses in 9:13; the remainder of Exod 9,19b, namely from ויאמרו to the end is a literal repetition taken from 9:13–19. In the preceding common text of MT, LXX, SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^c, Moses is the only one mentioned.

Exod 10:2b(SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m): At this point, the procedure with respect to the expansion found in SamP and 4QpaleoExod^m of Exod 10:2b is reversed when compared to the major expansions discussed so far. The larger plus in 10:2b, which renders a command, precedes the execution thereof that is also related in 10:3ff of MT, LXX, SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m, 4QExod^l and 4QExod^c. The expansion found in 10:2b repeats the words of the execution just as the expansions mentioned so far did with the words of the command. In this case, however, the larger plus is intended to show that YHWH had indeed commanded what was being executed. Against this background, one observes that the beginning of 10:3 represents the execution of the command given at the beginning of 10:1. The remainder of 10:3 and the verses that follow, namely 10:4 up to and including היום הזה in 10:6, however, appear to be the execution of a command formulated in the larger plus of 10:2b. Indeed, Exod 10:2b and Exod 10:3–6 apparently agree with one another word-for-word. Nevertheless, minor differences can be found upon closer inspection. First, whereas 10:2b makes an explicit reference אל פרעה, the execution in 10:3 speaks of אליי. Moreover, and more important in our context, it is strange that, at this juncture and contrary to the above described textual situations, the common text (MT, LXX, SamP and 4QExod^c) in 10:3 mentions Moses and Aaron with a plural verb form, whereas the expansion in 10:2b has a singular form ויאמר. Thus, the major expansion of Exod 10:2b seems to form the ‘exception to the rule’.

*Exod 11:3b (SamP)*²⁰: One encounters a similar procedure in the first expansion of Exod 11:3b. Once again, we are dealing here with an expansion that formulates a command prior to the execution thereof related in the other textual witnesses. The larger plus repeats the words

²⁰ 4QpaleoExod^m originally bore evidence to both expansions in Exod 11:3b. However, they have not been preserved in the extant text fragments.

of the execution in precisely the same fashion in order to demonstrate that YHWH *de facto* commanded what was being executed.

Against this background, one notices that the expansion found in 11:3b¹, from the beginning וּבִין יִשְׂרָאֵל up to and including וּבִין יִשְׂרָאֵל, agrees word-for-word with the text in 11:4–7 (MT, LXX, SamP, 4QExod¹, 2QExod^a). In this way, the expansion demonstrates that the words addressed by Moses to Pharaoh in 11:4–7 are from YHWH. Exod 11:3b¹ thus formulates a command prior to its execution in 11:4–7. On the other hand, the continuation of Exod 11:3b¹, from וְגַם הָאִישׁ up to and including וּבְעֵינֵי הָעָם, is identical to the end of 11:3 (MT, LXX, 2QExod^a), to which SamP does not bear evidence at that location. In other words, at this point, the expansion would appear to recall that which precedes it, although the textual basis of the expansion found in SamP (and 4QpaleoExod^m) remains unclear. Given the fact that MT, LXX and 2QExod^a have preserved identical phraseology in 11:3, however, it is clear that the words found in 11:3b¹ are not an ‘invention’ of the scribe(s) behind SamP and 4QpaleoExod^m and it is probable that this segment of the expansion also came about as a result of harmonization.

The concluding portion of the expansion found in Exod 11:3b, which we refer to here as Exod 11:3b², is very special. The portion of 11:3b in question repeats the command of YHWH from Exod 4:22–23 using exactly the same words.²¹ In Exod 4:22–23, YHWH commands Moses to announce to Pharaoh that all the firstborn of Egypt will die if he refuses to let Israel, YHWH’s firstborn, go. In the expansion of 11:3b², Moses addresses Pharaoh with the words given to him in 4:22–23.

Nevertheless, with regard to the focus of our investigation, the expansions mention neither Moses nor Aaron. They refer to the words of YHWH. On the other hand though, we do see that, in the common text, it is introduced as being addressed to Moses in 11:1 and it is brought to Pharaoh by Moses in 11:4. Only in 11:9–10 are both Moses and Aaron mentioned in the plural pronoun (v.9) and in the explicit mention of their names as subject (v.10). This means that, with regard

²¹ Cf. also E.L. Greenstein, “The Firstborn Plague and the Reading Process,” in D.P. Wright, D.N. Freedman, A. Hurvitz (eds.), *Pomegranates and Golden Bells: Studies in Biblical, Jewish and Near Eastern Ritual, Law, and Literature* (FS J. Milgrom; Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 555–568, especially p. 561.

to the question under scrutiny in this contribution, the expansions of 11:3b do not bring much relevant data.

Coming to the end of this survey, it can thus be concluded that it is striking that Aaron is indeed introduced in all relevant major expansions (except for 10:2b), despite the fact that he seems to be absent in the preceding or subsequent texts that served as the source for the respective harmonizing expansions. The question to be answered then is that which pertains to the origin of this phenomenon.

II. *The Origin?*

In traditional reasoning – making a clear distinction between textual and literary criticism – the question at stake would thus be whether this insertion/addition of Aaron is the result of the activity of a scribe/copyist in the stage of the transmission/(re-)production of the text or of a redactor in the (prior) phase of the literary composition. More specifically, is the insertion of Aaron in these major expansions the result of a theological concern of the copyist(s) of SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j or was it already part of a theological development in the process of composition itself, and hence already part of the tradition that preceded these three manuscripts, which would suggest the possibility of another source-text?

In this respect, Judith Sanderson points out, at least with regard to SamP and 4QpaleoExod^m, that they are the work of one and the same scribe who should be situated in the period in which the texts behind LXX and MT had already separated themselves from the main group, while the texts behind SamP and 4QpaleoExod^m continued to develop together.²² As her study is only concerned with 4QpaleoExod^m, she does not mention the expansions in 4QExod^j, but it is evident that they are of the same type as those in SamP and 4QpaleoExod^m. Moreover, this line of interpretation is also followed by the editors of this manuscript in DJD 12.²³ Now, if this is true, then of course the

²² Cf. J. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, p. 206.

²³ E. Ulrich, F.M. Cross *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4*, vol. 7: *Genesis to Numbers* (DJD 12; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), pp. 149-150, especially p. 149: “Frgs. 1-2 have been presented in two ways, reconstructed according to SamP and to MT, respectively, though differences involve only line 5, since the text of MT in 7:29 is virtually identical to that of SamP in 7:29b, and 8:1 is also identical with 8:1a in SamP. There is no direct

question is even sharper: if three texts contained the same ‘major expansions’ and if all of them introduced Aaron in their ‘plus’ (due to the very fragmentary character of 4QExodⁱ, we cannot be sure in this case) despite the absence of Aaron in the common preceding or subsequent texts, what then is origin of this insertion of Aaron’s name?

A second possibility, besides being the work of the scribe(s) or copyist(s), could be that these texts are evidence of a – literarily speaking – different (younger?) textual tradition, in which the presence and activity of Aaron was so important that a redactor elaborated and expanded his activity in the Plague Narrative. In this case, the *Vorlage* – here understood as the text at the disposal of the scribe/copyist – would have already testified to Aaron’s greater role in the Plagues. The question that remains then is why the preceding/subsequent texts outside the expansion itself – i.e., the shared textual tradition – did not mention Aaron.

There is also a third possibility: why should it be (a) scribe(s) *OR* a redactor? Is it not possible that scribes/copyists also engaged in so-called redactional, literary work, modifying the text to cater to the needs and concerns of their communities?²⁴ And so, do textual and literary criticism perhaps overlap here? Are literary composition and textual (re)production interwoven in the overall activity of redacting and theologizing copyists/scribes? In other words, could a specific theological concern as such be the cause of emending texts while copying or do we really have to suppose a prior written *Vorlage* for every word a scribe writes? And even if we postulate an alternative *Vorlage*, then the next question would be how that one came about. The classical recourse to another *Vorlage* might have simply offered

evidence to show whether this manuscript contained the major expansions of the 4QpaleoExod^m-SamP tradition or lacked them with MT-LXX. While both reconstructions are possible, the placement of the text favours the expansion. The interval at the end of line 4 is not surprising in SamP, since SamP often has an interval before and/or after interpolations. The presence of any interval between vv. 1 and 2 in the unexpanded text of MT would be less expected, however, and the fact that an additional interval at the beginning of line 5 is required (unless a longer reading is to be posited) is even more unusual.”

²⁴ Cf. K. Van der Toorn, *Scribal Culture and the Making of the Hebrew Bible*, Cambridge (MA – London: Harvard University Press, 2007), p. 109: “To properly appreciate the role of the ancient scribes, it is necessary to take leave of the common conception of the scribe as a mere copyist. The traditional distinction between authors, editors, and scribes is misleading because it obfuscates the fact that authorship and editorship were aspects of the scribal profession.”

a convenient solution to scholars in the past: instead of dealing with the problem at hand—a problem that dissolves the boundaries between textual and literary criticism—it was easier to propose another *Vorlage* because then the ‘text-critical’ scholar did not have to deal with the problem anymore and could pass it on to the ‘literary critic’.

Before attempting to propose an alternative answer to these problems, there is an additional difficulty that needs to be unraveled. Why did the scribes decided only to expand the accounts of certain plagues and not of all of them? Indeed, one observes that the preparatory sign in Exod 7:8–14, the plague of gnats in 8:12–15, the plague of boils in 9,8-12 and the plague of darkness in 10,21-27 have not been expanded.

In her study on 4QpaleoExod^m, Judith Sanderson deals with this question and offers the following answer.²⁵ What the pericopes have in common, according to Sanderson, is the fact that none of them contains a direct address by YHWH to Pharaoh. The plagues in question are brought about by Aaron or Moses. If one studies the text closely, moreover, one observes that there are other places that could have been expanded but have not been. Within the account of the individual plagues, there is often more than one command and as a consequence more than one opportunity for the scribe to introduce a larger plus. Despite this, one encounters no expansions in Exod 7:19; 9:22 and 10:12, in which YHWH commands Moses to do something himself or to order Aaron to do something. These verses likewise make no reference to direct address by YHWH to Pharaoh. According to Sanderson, the scribe therefore paid no attention to them. Moreover, if one argues that all the preserved texts do the same, then it would seem that the *Vorlage* must already have made reference to the execution in the respective verses that follow the commands – Exod 7:20; 9:23 and 10:13. Sanderson summarizes her observations regarding the selection of expanded passages as follows. It is clear on the one hand that every passage containing either a command on the part of YHWH to speak to Pharaoh or an address by Moses to Pharaoh has been expanded. On the other hand, passages in which Moses is commanded to commission Aaron to do something or to do something himself are not expanded (probably in part because they already related the execution of the

²⁵ Cf. J.E. Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll*, pp. 204-205.

command). There is only one exception in this regard, namely the larger plus in Exod 8:1b. In this case, the command to speak to Aaron is repeated in an expansion. Based on these observations, Sanderson concludes that the scribes focused on the words of YHWH to Pharaoh. The repetition of the said words underlined once again the dramatic effect of the struggle in which YHWH and Pharaoh were engaged.

Although this proposal is very plausible, I would like to propose an alternative explanation here, establishing even more strongly the synergic link between textual criticism and literary criticism, and more specifically diachronic redaction criticism. If we reconsider the concrete example of the insertion of Aaron in the ‘major expansions’ of the ‘Plague Narrative’, the connection to redaction is immediately revealed. Indeed, bearing classical source and redaction criticism in mind, the observations regarding the insertion of Aaron in the ‘major expansions’ of the ‘Plague Narrative’ immediately rings a bell: the presence of Aaron is one of the main features of the conceptual and theological characteristics of what has classically been called the Priestly layer (P). And indeed, from a redaction-historical point of view, it is remarkable that the verses mentioned, namely Exod 7:8–14.19–20; 8:12–15, 9:8–12.22–23; 10:12–13.21–27 are all either ‘P’ or ‘redactional’ (R, being the activity of P as redactor). On the basis of my own research and in a more adequate formulation, they are part of the activity of ‘P as redaction’ (containing layer II and R-verses in the style of II).²⁶ In short, within a comprehensive interpretation of the concept of ‘redaction’, P in the ‘Plague Narrative’ is not to be seen as a separate, self-reliant narrative or ‘source’, but rather as a ‘redaction’ that, in addition to the introduction of its own textual material/tradition, also reworked, complemented and integrated the existing material at hand. Now, within these P-verses, Aaron is present in all texts. Thus, it would not have been necessary to create an expansion emphasizing his activity. If we take a brief look at the verses in question, i.e., the ones

²⁶ Cf. B. Lemmelijn, “The So-Called “Priestly” Layer in Exod 7:14–11:10: ‘Source’ and/or/nor ‘Redaction’?,” *RB* 109 (2002): 481–511. This article presents a number of the main results of the third part of my doctoral dissertation: B. Lemmelijn, *Het verhaal van de ‘Plagen in Egypte’ (Ex 7,14–11,10). Een onderzoek naar het ontstaan en de compositie van een Pentateuchtraditie* (unpublished doctoral dissertation Theology PhD/STD, 4 vols., K.U.Leuven), Leuven, 1996 (promoter: M. Vervenne), pp. 468–629. The exhaustive part on redaction criticism (vol. 3), – together with the status quaestionis of research into Exod 7–11 (vol. 1) – has been updated and is currently being translated. It will hopefully be published in the near future.

not being expanded, we observe the following from a redactional and literary point of view:

	<i>Expansion</i>	<i>Aaron in common text</i>	<i>Execution narrated</i>	<i>Redactional layer</i>
<i>Exod 7:8–14</i>	No	Yes	Yes	P (own material, layer II)
<i>Exod 7:19–20</i>	No	Yes	Yes	P (own material, layer II)
<i>Exod 8:12–15</i>	No	Yes	Yes	P (own material, layer II)
<i>Exod 9:8–12</i>	No	Yes	Yes	P (own material, layer II)
<i>Exod 9:22–23</i>	No	Yes	Yes	P/R (P-redaction of layer I)
<i>Exod 10:12–13</i>	No	Yes	Yes	P/R (P-redaction of layer I)
<i>Exod 10:21–27</i>	No	Yes (in v. 24): LXX, SamP, 4QpaleoExod ^m ; Not in MT	Yes	P/R (P-redaction of layer I)

If we summarize the data presented above, we observe that in all cases, 1) there is no major expansion, 2) there is already an execution of the command in the shared text, 3) the shared text already presents Aaron as an active character and, finally, 4) all these verses are generally identified as P either being part of its very own material or at least integrated in a P-redaction that reworked and inserted its ideas against the background of a basic layer I. Bearing these observations in mind, the reason for expanding or not expanding the reports of the command/execution of the respective plagues seems to be related with the presence or absence of Aaron in the common text. Where Aaron is already present and his role is highlighted, there is no expansion added. Where Aaron is not mentioned in the shared text, a major expansion inserting Aaron and emphasizing his activity has been created.

III. *Conclusion and Methodological Consequences*

This observation brings us to the final question, introduced above, concerning the origin of the major expansions and specifically the highlighting of Aaron's role therein. At this juncture, I would propose an interesting line of thought, albeit merely a suggestion and an invitation for further reflection.

(1) If, in fact, the textual data point to the conclusion that the reason for expanding or not has something to do with the importance accorded to Aaron's character and activity,

(2) and if scholars generally agree that the presence of Aaron is one of the major characteristics of P-activity,

(3) could one then conclude that there might be a connection between the creators of the major expansions in SamP, 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^j and the Priestly redaction of the text?

In other words, do the scribes/copyists of the major expansions participate in and contribute to the promulgation of the Priestly concepts in the Pentateuch? Were they part of a so-called Priestly school? Or did they simply have another '*Vorlage*' (i.e., the text from which they copied) that was more Priestly orientated than the common texts that we encounter in the extant texts known to us?²⁷

²⁷ In this respect, unfortunately, we do not gain much insight on the basis of a study of the so-called Reworked Pentateuch of Qumran. Although it has been suggested that 4Q364-365 could be a witness of a further development of the textual

Might this explain why they only added Aaron in their expansions and not in the preceding text of the textual witnesses concerned or did they only dare to introduce changes in their own additions and not in the text handed down because that text might have already had a certain theological authority? In this respect, it could also be possible that the creators of the ‘major expansions’ were part of a similar

directions that SamP and 4QpaleoExod^m have taken and, moreover, that it might have used the same textual tradition as its basis, the fragments 2, 3 and 4 of 4Q365, respectively witnessing (parts of) Exod 8:13–19, 9:9–12 and 10:19–20, do not offer any relevant information as to whether there was an expansion at all or whether, if there was, it would have added Aaron. Fragment 2 does not mention Aaron in Exod 8:16, and thus conforms to the extant biblical texts only referring to Moses. Fragment 3, presenting Exod 9:9–12, does mention Aaron in the text, and is also identical to the extant biblical texts discussed above. And finally, fragment 4 has merely preserved three words that are identified as part of Exod 10:19–20, and thus contains no relevant information for us. What these fragments, at least numbers 2 and 3, show however is that their extant text, apart from any potential expansion, is the same as the one common to the extant biblical textual witnesses discussed above. This would thus not point in the direction of a different ‘Vorlage’. These texts are published as E. Tov – S. White Crawford, “Reworked Pentateuch,” in H. Attridge *et al.*, *Qumran Cave 4. Volume 8: Parabiblical Texts, Part 1* (DJD 13; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 187–352; for further comments, e.g., E. Tov, “The Textual Status of 4Q364–367 (4QPP),” in J. Treballe Barrera – L. Vegas Montaner (ed.), *The Madrid Qumran Congress. Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls. Madrid 18–21 March 1991* (STDJ 11; Leiden - New York - Cologne: Brill; Madrid: Editorial Complutense, 1992), 43–82; E. Tov, “Biblical Texts as Reworked in Some Qumran Manuscripts with Special Attention to 4QRP and 4QPara Gen-Exod,” in E. Ulrich – J.C. VanderKam (ed.), *The Community of the Renewed Covenant: The Notre Dame Symposium on the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Christianity and Judaism in Antiquity 10; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1994), 111–134; E. Tov, “4QReworked Pentateuch: A Synopsis of its Contents,” *RevQ* 16/64 (1995): 647–653; S. White Crawford, “Reworked Pentateuch,” in L.H. Schiffman– J.C. Vanderkam (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000, 775–777 and S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times* (Grand Rapids, MI - Cambridge, U.K.: Eerdmans, 2008), pp. 39–59. Concerning the ongoing debate on the status of the ‘Reworked Pentateuch’ texts, see M. Segal, “4QReworked Pentateuch or 4QPentateuch,” in L.H. Schiffman– E. Tov– J.C. VanderKam (ed.), *The Dead Sea Scrolls. Fifty Years after Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20–25, 1997*, Jerusalem, The Israel Exploration Society, 2000, 391–399, M.M. Zahn, “The Problem of Characterizing the 4QReworked Pentateuch Manuscripts: Bible, Rewritten Bible, or None of the Above?,” *DSD* 15 (2008): 315–339, as well as E. Tov’s lecture delivered most recently in Groningen during the conference “The Authoritativeness of Scriptures in Ancient Judaism” (28–29 April 2008), to be published as “From 4QReworked Pentateuch to 4QPentateuch(?)” in a forthcoming volume in the series *Studies on the Texts of the Desert of Judah*. On the question whether 4Q158 and 4Q364–365 constitute five copies of the same composition or a group of five different, though closely related, texts, see G.J. Brooke, “4Q158: Reworked Pentateuch^a or Reworked Pentateuch A?,” *DSD* 8 (2001): 219–241, endorsed by S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, p. 39.

Priestly ‘milieu’ as the Priestly redactors, but that they worked in another period and constellation, in which direct changes to the given text (as witnessed in the common one) had become less permissible. Against the background of this idea, the suggestion of S. White Crawford that we should consider the pre-Samaritan group of texts – which include 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QExod^l – as the product of a “Priestly-Levitical/Essene exegetical tradition” could be instructive.²⁸ Bearing in mind my observations made above, this ‘Priestly-Levitical/Essene’ line of interpretation, which White Crawford credits with the creation of the harmonizing additions in SamP, seems somehow to be connected to the Priestly redaction of the ‘Plague Narrative’. Their common interest in emphasizing the role of Aaron seems to suggest that, at the very least, the Priestly redaction and the later ‘Priestly-Levitical/Essene’ tradition of interpretation shared certain characteristics.

To conclude, and in line with a more recent view on the relation between textual and literary criticism²⁹, should we not ultimately accept the possibility that the work of scribes also comprised the further updating, recontextualization and evolution—in short, actual literary composition—of the text through their own redactional activity? If this can be affirmed, it is clear that the previously held position of a strict division between the domains of textual and literary criticism, *mutatis mutandis* between creation and production of the text or, still in other words, between the work of copyists/scribes and that of authors/redactors simply cannot be maintained.

Yet, all this also introduces a further question. If redaction, progressing theological reflection, and ‘*Fortschreibung*’ were integral to the process of copying, should then the idea of searching for the ‘preferable’ variant in the evaluation of text-critical variants also be modified? Indeed, generally speaking, the preferable variant is

²⁸ Cf. S. White Crawford, *Rewriting Scripture in Second Temple Times*, pp. 144–149. My attention to White Crawford’s view in this respect, leading to this particular suggestion, has been drawn by one of my PhD-students, Hans Debel (in the mean time Postdoctoral Research Fellow of the Research Foundation – Flanders).

²⁹ See, in this respect, also H. Ausloos & B. Lemmelijn, “Canticles as Allegory? Textual Criticism and Literary Criticism in Dialogue,” in H. Ausloos, B. Lemmelijn, M. Vervenne (eds.), *Florilegium Lovaniense. Studies in Septuagint and Textual Criticism in Honour of Florentino Garcia Martínez* (BETL 224; Leuven – Paris – Dudley, MA: Peeters, 2008), pp. 35–48.

considered to be the one which is the ‘more original’ even in a relative framework (cf. above) or the one that explains the development of the others. Now, if one affirms the fact that the (re-)production of the text also contained further reflection and evolution at the level of the theological content, should the ‘preferable’ variant then still be the ‘more original’? Would this not create a paradox between the ‘preferable’ reading from a text-critical perspective and the ‘preferable’ variant from a literary perspective? In other words, would or could the ‘preferable’ variant not be the ‘more developed’ one, from a literary and theological perspective? Concretely, is the text of the ‘Plague narrative’, especially from the perspective of its Priestly redaction which seems to be the younger one, ‘preferable’ without the harmonizations – clearly being made on the basis of the pre-given text and thus being less ‘original’ – or with the expansions inserting Aaron and the theologically developed accent on his activity?

As I already stated at the start of this contribution, the ideas above – and the consequences they may entail – do not at all pretend to be a proven thesis or even a sound hypothesis. Even the questions raised are left open. However, they are a humble but honest invitation for scholars to reflect on statements that – too often – are taken for granted and as such, they constitute an appeal for the serious (re-)consideration of the data we find in the many-sided multiplicity of our extant biblical texts. After all, textual data are the only certain point of departure, and hence far superior to a simple acceptance of previously proposed scholarly (re)constructions, be they on the literary, the redactional or the textual level.

THE KING/PRINCE OF TYRE IN EZEKIEL 28:11-19
IN HEBREW AND IN GREEK

Johan Lust

In his dissertation volumes¹ our honoured colleague Julio Trebolle defended a thesis with two important facets for the textual criticism of the Books of Samuel and Kings: first, the Old Greek (OG),² and the Old Latin (OL), are based on a Hebrew text that is different from, and earlier than the Masoretic Text (M); second: the reworked text as found in M is related to the deuteronomistic circles. OG translates an earlier text, in which some of the Deuteronomistic elements extant in M are not yet taken up. This does not suggest that OG was composed before or in the times of the activity of the deuteronomistic circles. It simply says that it translates an early Hebrew text that did not yet contain a full version of the deuteronomistic redaction.

The present contribution seeks to apply the first part of the thesis to the OG and M versions of the lament or *qina* over the King of Tyre in Ezek 28:11-19. The title of this king— מֶלֶךְ in M, and $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$ in OG—touches upon a topic to which Julio devoted a short but interesting and dense text critical essay.³

¹ Julio C. Trebolle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboan: historia de la recensión y redacción de 1 Reyes 2-12, 14* (Bibliotheca Salmanticensis, Dissertationes, no. 3; Salamanca: Universidad Pontificia, 1980); Idem, *Jehú y Joás: texto y composición literaria de 2 Reyes 9-11*, (Institución San Jerónimo, no. 17; Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984).

² Trebolle adequately demonstrated that OG in the Books of Samuel and Kings is best represented by the so-called Lucianic text. In the following notes on Ezekiel, we distinguish between OG, and G or the critical edition of the Septuagint as published in Göttingen.

³ Julio Trebolle Barrera, “La transcripción $\text{מֶלֶךְ} = \mu\omicron\lambda\omicron\chi$: historia del texto e historia de la lengua,” *Aula Orientalis* 5 (1987): 125–128.

Problems in Ezek 28:11-19

Chapter 28 is one of the most difficult passages in the book. The problems include: the relationship between its two major sections (1-10 and 11-19), the differences between the Masoretic text and the Septuagint, numerous textual obscurities, *hapax legomena*, and the links with other biblical traditions, such as the paradise stories in Gen 2-3 and with the priestly materials in Exod 28 and 39.⁴

Most often, these questions are answered on the level of literary criticism of the text preserved in M. Two matadors of textual criticism and biblical scholarship rightly note that G should receive an important role in the discussion. Their careful observations and deductions lead to contrasting results. According to P.-M. Bogaert⁵ most of the problems in the text can be solved when one accepts the priority of OG and its Hebrew parent text. According to J. Barr,⁶ who does not distinguish G and OG, G offers a facilitating translation of M. In his view, many commentaries run into difficulties because they recur to G when they do not understand M, and do not see that the translator of G failed to understand M. How do these two scholars proceed?⁷

⁴ See D. Block, *The Book of Ezekiel Chapters 25-48* (NIBCOT; Grand Rapids MI and Cambridge U.K.: Eerdmans, 1998), 87 and 99-121; compare the other recent critical commentaries, such as: W. Zimmerli, *Ezechiël* (BKAT 13/2; Neukirchen: Neukirchener Verlag, 1969), 671-689; L.C. Allen, *Ezekiel* (WBC 29; Waco, TX: Word, 1990) 89-96; M. Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37* (AB, 22A; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1997), 579-593; Karl-F. Pohlmann, *Das Buch des Propheten Hesekiel (Ezechiël)* (ATD 2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2001), 389-395; P. Joyce, *Ezekiel, A Commentary*, (Library of Hebrew Bible / Old Testament Studies; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 2007), 178-180; see also D. Barthélemy, *Critique textuelle de l'Ancien Testament* (OBO, 50/3; Fribourg, Éd. Univ.; Göttingen, Vandenhoeck, 1992), 237-238.

⁵ P.-M. Bogaert, "Montagne Sainte, Jardin d'Éden et sanctuaire (Hiérosolymitain) dans un oracle d'Ézéchiël contre le Prince de Tyr," in H. Limet and J. Ries (eds.) *Le mythe, son langage et son message* (Homo religiosus 4; Louvain-la-Neuve: 1988), 131-153; see also Idem, "Le Chérub de Tyr (Ez 28,14.16) et l'hyppocampe de ses monnaies," in R. Litwak & S. Wagner (eds.), *Prophétie und geschichtliche Wirklichkeit im Alten Israel, FS S. Herrmann*, (Stuttgart: Kohlhammer, 1991), 29-38.

⁶ J. Barr, "Thou art the Cherub: Ezekiel 28.14 and the Post-Ezekiel Understanding of Genesis 2-3," in E. Ulrich (a.o. eds.), *Priests, Prophets and Scribes. Essays on the Formation and Heritage of Second Temple Judaism* (FS J. Blenkinsopp, JSOTSup 149; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1992), 213-223.

⁷ More recently several authors joined the debate. The following list is not exhaustive: R.R. Wilson, "The Death of the King of Tyre: The Editorial History of Ezekiel 28," in J.H. Marks & R.M. Good (eds.), *Love and Death in the Ancient Near East. FS M.H. Pope* (Guilford, Connecticut: Four Quarters Publishing Company,

1. *Bogaert and Barr*

Bogaert sets out from the major difference between M and OG. It concerns with the identity and qualification of the subject of the *qina*. Whereas OG distinguishes between the leader of Tyre, and the Cherub accompanying him in the garden of Eden, M identifies the king of Tyre with the Cherub. The discrepancy is mainly due to a different vocalisation of the first word in v.14: אַתְּ “with” in the hypothetical parent text of OG, versus אַתָּה “you” in M. According to Bogaert, the variant in M is not due to a simple scribal mistake since it is joined by consonantal differences: the additional כּוֹנֵנִי at the end of v.13, and the ו preceding נְתַתִּיךָ in v.14. Moreover, v.16 consolidates the differences found in v.14: M states: “I destroyed you, Cherub” (וְאַבְדִּיךָ כְּרוּב) (בְּרוּב), whereas OG reads: “The cherub expelled you” (καὶ ἤγαγέ σε τὸ χερουβ). This implies a clear distinction between cherub and royal figure. Furthermore, in v.12 M gives the title מֶלֶךְ “king” to the resident of the garden, whereas OG uses ἄρχων “leader,” a title also used in 28:2, where M had נָגִיד “leader.” The differences in the adornment of the figure's vestment (v.13) in OG and M also suggest a difference in the identification of the figure.

Having described these and other divergences in OG and M, Bogaert proceeds with an argumentation in favour of the anteriority of OG as preserved in papyrus 967, and then explains why the editor of M changed the text. He could not accept the identification of Jerusalem and its king with the garden and its prime inhabitant. The harsh fate of the condemned figure was intolerable. Therefore he brought in the following changes: he identified the said king with a cherub or

1987), 221–217; B. Gosse, “Ezéchiel 11-19 et les détournements de maledictions,” *BN* 44 (1988): 30–38 (in agreement with Bogaert); F. Fechter, *Begewaltigung der Katastrophe. Untersuchungen zu ausgewählten Fremdvölkersprüchen im Ezechielbuch* (BZAW 208; Berlin, W. de Gruyter, 1992), 163–207; J. Day, *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan* (JSOTSSup 265; Sheffield: JOST Press, 2000), esp. pp. 175–179; T. Stordalen, *Echoes of Eden Genesis 2-3 and Symbolism of the Eden Garden in Biblical Hebrew Literature* (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 332–356; D.E. Callender Jr., “The Primal Human in Ezekiel and the Image of God,” in M.S. Odell & J.T. Strong (eds.), *The Book of Ezekiel. Theological and Anthropological Perspectives* (SBLSS 9; Atlanta: SBL, 2000), 175–193; S. Gathmann, *Im Fall gespiegelt. Der Abschluss der Tyrus-Sprüche in Ez 28,1-19* (ATS 86; St Otillien, EOS Verlag, 2008); H. Patmore, “Did the Masorettes Get it Wrong? The Vocalisation and Accentuation of Ezekiel xxviii 12-19,” *VT* 58 (2008): 145–257.

angelic figure in the mood of the angels of the nations, and he addressed the oracle to the מֶלֶךְ צָר “the king of Tyre” (28:12), and no longer to the נְגִיד (as in v.2). As suggested before him by Bevan,⁸ M’s use of מֶלֶךְ in the address of the oracle against Tyre may have been inspired by the name of the patron deity of this city Melkart *mlk qrt* “king of the city.”

According to Bogaert, the key to the questions raised by these differences is to a large extent to be found along the lines of literary criticism, using the hypothesis holding that oracles against Jerusalem where once transformed into oracles against another nation. In our case the oracle was originally an oracle against Jerusalem and its priest-king, announcing the profanation of the temple. Later on it was adapted to Ezek 28:1-10 and to the king of Tyre. (a) Gold and silver were added to the list of precious stones, describing the wealth of Tyre, and deviating the attention from the dress of the high-priest in Jerusalem. (b) Several expressions were added that reinforce the link with 28:1-10 (תַּעֲהָ 28:7,17, רְבֵלָה 28:5,16,18, and לֵב גְּבִיהַ 28:2,5,17). These correspondences demonstrate the editorial effort towards a connection between these two oracles. (c) Without the inserted elements the oracle in vv. 11-19 is perfectly understandable as a condemnation of Jerusalem.

Ignoring Bogaert's paper, published in 1983, Barr addresses the differences between the diverging versions of G and M Ezek 28:12-19 in his contribution dated 1992. His attention goes more directly to text critical observations. First he deals with אֶת כְּרוֹב in v.14. He rejects the reading implied by G (preposition “with”), and prefers the vocalisation given in M (second person masculine singular). Because this form is rare, the translators failed to recognize it, and interpreted it as the direct object particle, or as a preposition “with.” In Barr's view, this had an effect on the interpretation of v.16 where the כְּרוֹב is again referred to. The form of the verb אָבַד (וְאָבַדְךָ) is obscure. M vocalizes it as an imperfect first person singular, in which the prefix א has been merged with the א of the root. In this reading, the Lord is the subject, and the cherub is the object. Since the verb form is very rare, one cannot blame the translator when he rendered it as a more common third person form, with the cherub as subject (“he, the shielding cherub, banished/destroyed you”). This interpretation was

⁸ “The King of Tyre in Ezekiel XXVIII,” *JTS* 4 (1902-1903): 500–505.

supported by the translation of v.14, where a distinction had been made between king and cherub. Barr's thesis seems to be corroborated by Goldberg's study on "The Poetic Structure of the Dirge over the King of Tyre" (in Hebrew), *Tarbiz* 58 (1989): 277-281. In M, the structure of vv 12b-13 corresponds to that of vv. 14-15. Both stanzas begin with a direct address: "you (אתה) were the sealer of proportion" (12b); "you (את) were a shielding cherub." G's interpretation of the particle תּא in v.14 seems to interrupt the parallelism.⁹

2. Evaluation. Textual Criticism

Barr's views are obviously diametrically opposed to Bogaert's proposals. An evaluation is needed.

Bogaert does not give a full discussion of the text critical problems, but mainly focuses on the literary critical tensions in the text. Barr mainly addresses the text critical aspects, without fully analysing the literary critical implications. In an attempt towards an evaluation of their proposals, and a sensible reaction to them, let us first deal with the text critical problems, starting with the difficulties raised by the expression את כְּרוּב in v.14. These difficulties are undoubtedly closely linked to the interpretation of תְּדַבֵּר in v.16, and are to be discussed in one stride. Barr's reasoning makes sense in as far as G (and Syriac Peshitto) is concerned: It is easy to explain the G (and Peshitto) renderings as a misreading of the extremely unusual Hebrew represented by M. Thus Barr.¹⁰ But does this reasoning also apply to Symmachus and Aquila? It is well known that these two *recentiores* gave a faithful rendition of the Hebrew text they had before them, a text closely resembling M. Aquila most often translated the Hebrew word for word, disregarding Greek syntax and style. While carefully preserving the meaning of the Hebrew, Symmachus produced a stylistically better Greek version. More than any other ancient translation, they are important witnesses to M. In Symmachus' version, the first words of v.14 read as follows: καὶ μετὰ χερουβ "and with a cherub." Using the preposition μετὰ, Symmachus obviously agrees with G in his translation of תּא. Aquila's rendering of this phrase has

⁹ See Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-27*, 587-588.

¹⁰ "Thou art the Cherub," 217.

not been preserved, but his reading of v.16 (as found in mss 87-91)¹¹ indirectly supports the interpretation of תא as a preposition: και πτερύγια χερουβ έσκέπασεν σε “the wings of the cherub gave you shelter” clearly distinguishes between cherub and king, whereas M (אָדָם הַכֹּהֵן הַגִּבּוֹר הַיְהוָה “I destroyed you, cherub”) does not do so. Symmachus has a similar rendition: και άπώλεσί σε ό χερουβ ό σκέπασάς σε. So also Theodotion: <και> απώλεσεί σε ό χερουβ ό συσκιάζων.¹² The three of them clearly distinguish between cherub and king. This strongly pleads against the originality of M’s interpretation of תא in v.14, and of אָדָם in v.16.

The conclusion must be that, in as far as the interpretation of תא in v.14, and the distinction between two figures in vv. 14 and 16 is concerned, OG preserved the unvocalized proto-masoretic text, as read by Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila. M’s identification of the King of Tyre with the cherub offers a different interpretation of that text, and does not seem to have been known to these ancient translators.¹³

The parallelism between vv 12b-13 and 14-15 does not invalidate this conclusion. Hardly any word or expression of the first stanza returns in the second. The parallelism does not by any means consist of a word for word repetition. It is basically limited to a repetition of synonymous expressions in roughly corresponding positions, mingled with elements that are not repeated. Thus stanza 2 does not only introduce the cherub as a new element, but also the notions of blamelessness and iniquity.

These text critical observations ask for a comparison with the literary critical aspects of the differences between M and G / OG versions of the lament.

¹¹ The variant και πτερύγια χερουβ έσκέπασέν σε in ms 86 is more complicated, but also presupposes a distinction between cherub and king-prince.

¹² See Ziegler’s critical edition in the Göttingen series (p.224).

¹³ Barr refers to Symmachus in passing, but does not discuss the value of his text. He does not even mention Aquila and Theodotion. Something similar can be said about D. Barthélemy (*Critique Textuelle* 3, 237–238) who also prefers M, and does not discuss Symmachus, Theodotion, and Aquila, although he records Symmachus faithfully.

3. *Textual and Literary Criticism. Wilson versus Bogaert*

Is it likely that these differences were introduced by M in order to accentuate the transfer of the oracle from Jerusalem to Tyre as Bogaert suggests? A presentation of the more recent literary critical analysis of the section by Wilson¹⁴ may help us to refine the question. The following lines summarize his views, and add some critical remarks.

Undoubtedly, the oracle reveals a vocabulary calling to mind the terminology employed in the description of Jerusalem, its temple, and its high-priest, both in M and in G. The clearest example is the list of gems in v.13. It does not simply contain a random enumeration of precious stones. It follows a system, obviously based on the description of the breastplate of the Israelite high priest (Ex 28:17-20; 39:10-13). The list in M's version mentions 9 of the 12 stones enumerated in Exodus, and retains the tripartite order. In G's version of Ezek 28:13 all twelve stones are enumerated in the same order in which they appear in Exodus. We may add here that the versions of the "Three" are not preserved, and that Jerome¹⁵ notes that their lists diverged among each other, and differed from G.

According to Wilson, the stones are not described as a feature of the garden, but as part of the dress worn by the figure in the garden. His view is shared by others and depends upon the interpretation of the suffixed noun *מְסַכֵּת*. He admits that the precise meaning of this word is not clear, but is convinced that it can plausibly be derived from *סָכַח* "to cover" (p. 214, n.16). Here we note that G definitely supports Wilson's view. It interprets the Hebrew as a verb form with the addressee as subject, and the stones as direct object (*πᾶν λίθον ... ἐνδέδεσαι* "you bound upon you every precious stone"). Though Symmachus also uses a verb form, he prefers a different meaning and syntax. He turns the stones into subject: *πᾶς λίθος ... περιφράσε σε*. As for the meaning, he clearly derives *מסכח* from *סָחַח* "to hedge", suggesting that the stones formed a hedge around the garden. As usual, he may have correctly understood M's meaning. If so, M's version of the stones and their function appears to be less directly

¹⁴ See our note 7.

¹⁵ F. Glorie (ed.), *S. Hieronymi Presbyteri Commentariorum in Hiezechielem Libri XIV* (CCSL 75; Turnhout: Brepols, 1964), 393.

the stones and their function appears to be less directly referring to the vestment of the high priest than that of G.¹⁶

The Garden of Eden is identified as הַר קֹדֶשׁ אֱלֹהִים “the holy mountain of God” (v.14). For Ezekiel's audience this characterisation would immediately call to mind the Jerusalem temple on mount Zion, which is often called “the holy mountain” or “my holy mountain” (Ezek 20:40). G here agrees with M.

The cherub in Ezek 28:14.16 is usually identified with the guardian cherub in the Garden of Eden in Gen 3:24. According to Wilson¹⁷ such identification is unlikely, because Genesis mentions more than one cherub, and there is no indication that these beings lived in the garden along with the first men. Wilson overlooks that plural and singular can be used indiscriminately. Ezekiel's temple cherubs, for instance, are indiscriminately referred to in the plural (see, e.g., 10:1,3,5,6,9...) and in the singular (see, e.g., 10:2,4,7...) Moreover, he does not see that the guardian function of the cherubs in Gen 3:24, barring the entrance of the Garden to the expelled men, is very similar to the expelling function of the cherub in Ezek 28:16. He prefers to link the cherub with the Jerusalem temple. It is true that cherubs flanked the ark in the holy of holies as described in the Pentateuch and the Historical Books. More importantly, cherubs are frequently mentioned in relation with the temple in Ezekiel's visions. In Ezek 10:3ff., for instance, burning coals are to be taken from among these cherubim and to be scattered over the city. This calls to mind the fiery stones in the garden described in 28:14.16, and the destructive fire in v.18. One does not see, however, why both links could not be operative simultaneously. Since Ezekiel identifies the Garden of Eden with the holy mountain of God in Jerusalem, it is not at all unlikely that he associated the cherub with both domains.

4. “Oblique” or “Redirected”

Wilson's views to a large extent coincide with those of Bogaert, although the former does not seem to be familiar with the latter's writings. One major difference strikes the reader. In Bogaert's proposi-

¹⁶ Compare Greenberg, *Ezekiel 21-37*, 581–583.

¹⁷ “King of Tyre,” 215.

tion, the original oracle in 28:1-19 directly addressed the high priest and king in Jerusalem. Later inserts re-directed the saying and applied it to the king of Tyre. Wilson defends a more conservative position. The list of gems, and other so-called editorial inserts in vv 1-19, need not to be considered additions at all, but can be interpreted as part of the original text. The prophet delivered a dirge which was ostensibly concerned with the king of Tyre, but which in fact was so laced with allusions to the high priest in Jerusalem, that its real thrust could not have been missed by Ezekiel's exilic audience. According to Wilson, such "oblique oracles" do occur elsewhere in Ezekiel. His main example is to be found in Ezek 17 involving a cedar from Lebanon. In his view the image of the cedar points to a Phoenician setting, but in fact the oracle is clearly concerned with Israel. This example is not very convincing since the cedar of Lebanon symbolized royal majesty, without any specific reference to the king of Tyre.¹⁸ Elsewhere, Ezekiel applies the symbol to the king of Egypt (31:3), but not to Tyre.

Both Wilson and Bogaert draw the attention to the ambiguous identity of the addressed figure in Ezek 28:11-19. Their interpretation of this ambiguity, however, is fundamentally different. Wilson reasons as follows. On the surface, the figure is explicitly identified with the king of Tyre. Obliquely, he is referred to as the high-priest in Jerusalem. This ambiguity was intended by the author. According to Bogaert, it was not. The original oracle did not at all refer to the king of Tyre, but exclusively to Jerusalem and its high priest. The oracle has been redirected, by the editor of M, and in a slightly different way by the editor of the G's parent text. In support of his view, Wilson tries to find some other "oblique" oracles in Ezekiel, and Bogaert seeks other re-directed sayings. After having accepted some text critical corrections of M, on the basis of OG, Wilson basically sticks to M. Bogaert accepts the same corrections of M, but basically sticks to OG. In both cases, much depends on the basic presuppositions of the authors. Wilson discusses the Hebrew text as found in M, and uses G exclusively to correct M when he deems it necessary. Bogaert recognizes OG as a literary text differing from M, and witnessing to a Hebrew parent text predating M. A closer look at the title given to the figure in the garden may help us to arbitrate in this discordance.

¹⁸ See Greenberg, *Ezekiel*, 310.

5. "Prince" versus "King"

When comparing OG and M in Ezek 28:11-19, the reader is from the outset struck by a puzzling divergence. In the M-version of v.12 the addressee is given the royal title מֶלֶךְ. The *recentiores* use βασιλεύς in agreement with M. In OG, however, the addressee is called ἄρχων, as in v.2, where this title renders דָּגָן. Normally, when foreign monarchs are concerned, βασιλεύς is G's equivalent for מֶלֶךְ,¹⁹ and ἄρχων or ἡγούμενος for דָּגָן.²⁰ Stordalen observes that, since G-Ezekiel is most often literal, one would assume דָּגָן in the parent text in v.12.²¹ Moreover, he says, the typical editorial pattern of a lament is that it immediately follows upon an oracle of judgment against the same addressee. Thus the *qina* over Tyre in chapter 27 follows upon the oracle against Tyre in chapter 26, and the *qina* over the leaders of Israel in chapter 19 follows upon the allegory and oracle of judgment against the same leaders in chapters 17-18. Therefore, one would expect the *qina* in 28:11-19 to be addressed to the דָּגָן spoken to in the immediately preceding oracle of judgment in 28:1-10. According to Zimmerli, however, ἄρχων in 28:12 is the result of harmonisation.²² He explains the different addressees in vv. 2 and 12 in M as due to the different tradition-historical origin of the two oracles.²³ Stordalen counters him: He observes that the address of the lament belongs to the same final editorial frame work as the address of the preceding oracle, and not to an earlier traditional level to which the lament itself may belong.

Stordalen's reasoning is to the point, albeit not fully cogent. The nouns מֶלֶךְ and דָּגָן can be used as qualifications of the same person.²⁴ Given this fact, M's addressees in v.2 and in v.12 can be one

¹⁹ See Ezek 17:12,16; 19:9; 21:19(24), 21(26); 24:2; 26:7; 29:18,19; 30:10,24,25; 32:11 (king of Babylon); 29:1,2,3; 30,21,22; 31:2; 32,2,31 (king of Egypt); foreign kings (plural 27:33,35; 28:17; 32:10.)

²⁰ Ἀρχων renders דָּגָן in 1Kgs 9:16; 10:1; 13:14; 2Chr 32:21; 35:8; Is 55:4; Ezek 28:2. More frequently it renders אִשִּׁי, especially in Ezekiel, or שָׂר (אִשִּׁי in Ezekiel: 7:27; 12:10,12; 19:1; 26:16; 27:21; 30:13; 32:29; 34:24; 37:25; 38:2.3; 39:1.18; שָׂר in Ezekiel: 17:12; 22:27.)

²¹ *Op. cit.*, 335; see also Bogaert, "Montagne sainte," 135-136.

²² So Stordalen, "Eden Metaphors," 335. It is difficult, however, to find such statement in Zimmerli's commentary.

²³ Zimmerli, *Ezekiel*, 681.

son.²⁴ Given this fact, M's addressees in v.2 and in v.12 can be one and the same even when their title appears to differ. Anyhow, the choice of דגיד in this context remains odd. Elsewhere in M-Ezekiel, individual foreign monarchs are called מלך rather than דגיד ,²⁵ and $\beta\alpha\sigma\iota\lambda\epsilon\upsilon\varsigma$ in G.²⁶ The phrase צר דגיד (“prince of Tyre”) found in 28:2 is a *hapax* in the Bible. As a rule, the monarch of Tyre is called צר מלך (“king of Tyre”).²⁷ As a royal designation, דגיד almost exclusively designates the one chosen by the Lord to become Israel's monarch. More remarkably, דגיד is only rarely followed by a proper name. The rare exceptions are to be found in one of the latest books of the Bible: 1Chron 27:16; 2Chron 31:12, and in Ezek 28:2. Except Ezek 28:2, no biblical text comprises the genitive דגיד followed by a proper name in the absolute state.

Should the conclusion still be that in Ezek 28:12, the Hebrew counterpart of $\alpha\rho\chi\omega\nu$ originally was דגיד , as in v.2 and not מלך ? Applied to v. 12, this option would support Bogaert's theory suggesting that the original oracle was addressed to the high priest-ruler in Jerusalem. Indeed, the Hebrew title דגיד fits better into the circles of the hierarchy in Jerusalem and its temple than at the court in Tyre. The title מלך might then have been brought in by an editor wishing to redirect the anti-Jerusalem oracle to Tyre, to its king, and to its god Melkart (*mlk qrt* “King of the city”).²⁸ In this option, it remains puzzling why the editor of M did not use the same terminology in the address of the preceding oracle (28:2) which serves as a key to vv.11-19.

Conclusions

The oracle against the king of Tyre in Ezek 28:11-19 remains an enigmatic prophetic saying. Our analysis did not answer all the questions raised by its sometimes obscure vocabulary and complex syntactic structure. It mainly addressed text critical problems and their

²⁴ See G.F. Hasel, “ דגיד ,” TWAT 5 (1986): 203–219; Gathmann, *Im Fall Gespiegelt*, 467–471.

²⁵ See the references in note 19.

²⁶ See the references in note 22.

²⁷ 2 Sam 5:11; 1Kgs 5:15; 9:11; 1 Chr 15:1; 2 Chr 2:2,10; Jer 25:2; 27:3; Ezek 28:12.

²⁸ Melkart, the name of the patron deity of Tyre, translates “king of the city.”

literary critical implications. The discussion began with a confrontation of the views of Barr, Bogaert, and Wilson. The following conclusions were reached:

1. Barr's text critical remarks are judicious. They suggest that in Ezekiel's lament over the king of Tyre, the most fundamental differences between M and G are not due to a parent text of G which deviated from the proto-Masoretic text, but to its erroneous interpretation in G. Barr does not, however, take into account the evidence provided by Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotion, nor does he fully address the literary critical problems. The preserved fragments of the *recentiores* prove that, in as far as the interpretation of תס in v.14, and the distinction between two figures in vv. 14 and 16 is concerned, OG preserved the proto-masoretic text, as read by Symmachus, Aquila, and Theodotion. M's identification of the King of Tyre with the cherub belongs to the latest strands in the development of the text, not yet known to these ancient translators.

2. There is no need to correct M's punctuation of תס in v.14, nor of תס in v.16. M represents a late stage in the development of the text. Theories, such as those set up by Wilson, which start from a corrected version of M, are flawed from the outset. Bogaert's proposals are more convincing. The present contribution confirmed them by further text critical observations, underpinning the hypothesis that the parent text of OG represents an earlier version of Hebrew-Ezekiel than M. The edition of M did not automatically entail the end of the earlier text form of Ezekiel. Both versions may have existed alongside each other for quite a long time. The findings resulting from this limited exploration, focusing on one text in Ezekiel, seem to fall in line with those reached by J. Treballe in his much more detailed study of Samuel and Kings.

ZADOKITE INTERPOLATORS AT WORK
A NOTE ON CD III,21-IV,4

Corrado Martone

One of the main features of the Qumran library in each and every of its sectors is undoubtedly the free approach to the text of the Scripture.

First and foremost, this free approach has long been recognized among the so-called “biblical” texts from Qumran, and Emanuel Tov remarked in a seminal study how difficult and risky it is to label a given Qumran biblical text as belonging to a given tradition. As for the well-known case of 4QSam^a, Tov maintains that this text

shares important readings with the LXX, but when these are examined together with the differences between the two, and with the unique readings of both, the scroll cannot be characterized any longer as “Septuagintal.” Furthermore, not even all common readings of 4QSam^a and the LXX bear on this comparison.¹

And Sh. Talmon, as early as 1964, wrote that “[t]he more ancient manuscripts are being discovered and published, the more textual divergencies appear.”²

The same can be said for the works that have been labelled as sectarian. The use of the biblical texts in some of them might shed some light on the group’s historical evolution and in particular on the estab-

¹ E. Tov, “A Modern Textual Outlook Based on the Qumran Scrolls,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 53 (1982): 11–27 (p. 21); for a criticism of Tov’s views see B. Chiesa, “Textual History and Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Old Testament,” *The Madrid Qumran Congress: Proceedings of the International Congress on the Dead Sea Scrolls, Madrid 18-21 March 1991* (ed. J. Trebolle Barrera and L. Vegas Montaner; Leiden: Brill, 1992) 257–72; see also A. Catastini “L’originale ebraico dei LXX: un problema ancora aperto,” *Annali del Dipartimento di Scienze Storico-Religiose*, 6 (2001): 125–46.

² Sh. Talmon, “Aspects of the Textual Transmission of the Bible in the Light of Qumran Manuscripts,” *Textus* 4 (1964): 95–132; see also E. Ulrich, “Horizons of Old Testament Textual Research at the Thirtieth Anniversary of Qumran Cave 4,” *CBQ* 46 (1984): 613–36.

ishment of the Zadokite element within it.

A number of Qumran texts ascribe the greatest importance to the Zadokite element, seen as the élite of the sect itself. This makes it at least plausible the identification of the Community's élite with a group which no longer acknowledges the Jerusalem priesthood as the legitimate priesthood after the end of the Zadokite descent.³

At some point a group of Zadokites takes over the Essene tradition because of its eschatological elements. After the death of Onias III, in fact, the Zadokite descent is definitely removed from the historical scene and only these eschatological elements may offer a last hope to see the legitimate priesthood re-established in its office. This shift of the Zadokite priesthood from a historical to an eschatological level is pointed out in CD III,21-IV,4:

21 Col. IV והלויים והבנים הכהנים והלויים ובני 21
 צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני ישראל 2מעלי הם יגישו לי
 חלב ודם vac הכהנים הם שבי ישראל 3היוצאים מארץ יהודה והנלוים עמהם
 vac ובני צדוק הם בחירי 4 ישראל קריאי השם העמידים באחרית הימים
 21. God promised them by Ezekiel the prophet, saying, ‘The priests
 and the Levites and the sons of Col. IV 1. Zadok who have kept the
 courses of My sanctuary when the children of Israel strayed 2. from
 Me, they shall bring Me fat and blood’ (Ezek 44:15). vac ‘The priests’:
 they are the repentant of Israel, 3. who go out of the land of Judah and
 the Levites are those accompanying them; vac ‘and the sons of Zadok’:
 they are the chosen of 4. Israel, the ones called by name, who are to
 appear in the last days.

The Scriptural passage quoted here is Ez 44:15, which is a little bit different, however:

והכהנים הלויים בני צדוק אשר שמרו את-משמרת מקדשי בתעות בני-ישראל
 מעלי--המה יקרבו אלי לשרתני; ועמדו לפני להקריב לי חלב ודם--נאם אדני
 יהוה
 But the levitical priests, the descendants of Zadok, who kept the charge
 of my sanctuary when the people of Israel went astray from me, shall
 come near to me to minister to me; and they shall attend me to offer me
 the fat and the blood, says the Lord God.

About 50 years before the Qumran discoveries, Solomon Schechter commented this passage of the “Zadokite Work” as follows:

The differences are striking and some of these may be ascribed to the

³ See also G. Garbini, *Mito e Storia Nella Bibbia* (Brescia: Paideia, 2003) (esp. 133–137).

carelessness of the scribe, but it is not impossible that the differences in the first three words were made intentionally to indicate that his priests and Levites were not identical with the sons of Zadok. This is at least the impression one receives from the comment given in the lines that follow.⁴

In fact, the CD quotation plays subtly and skillfully with the conjunctions and reads *הכהנים והלויים ובני צדוק אשר שמרו את משמרת מקדשי*. It is clear in that our text aims at a distinction of the Zadokites from other priests. This way the Zadokite priests are provided with a central role, they are no less than the *בחירי ישראל קריאי השם העמדים* באחרית הימים.

Thus it comes as no surprise to see the Zadokite priesthood raised to an eschatological level and given a central role in a well known passage of 1QSa (I, 1-3):

1 וזה הסדר לכול עדת ישראל באחרית הימים בה>אספם ליחד להתהלך על פי משפט בני צדוק הטהורים ואנושי בריתם אשר סלחו מלכת בדרך 3 העם המה אנושי עצתו אשר שמרו בריתו בתוך רשעה לכפ[ר בעד הארץ]

1. This is the rule for all the congregation of Israel in the Last Days, when they are mobilized [to join the Yahad. They must l]ive 2. by the law of the Sons of Zadok, the priests, and the men of their covenant, they who ce[ased to walk in the w]ay 3. of the people. These same are the men of His party who kept His Covenant during evil times, and so aton[e]d for the lan[d].

This same concept is even more patent in 4Q174 (4QFlor), 1–2i,21:16–17:

16 העם הזה והמה אשר כתוב עליהמה בספ[ר] יח[ו]...זאהאל הנביא אשר לוא יטמאו עוד בכל 17 גל[ו]ליהמה המה בני צדוק וא[נ]שי עצ[ת]מ[ה] רוח[ק]ים [מרע] אחריהמה [בעצת] היחד

16. ... And they (are) the ones about whom it is written in the book of Ezekiel the prophet, who ['shall] ne[ver] defile themselves with all] 17. their id[ol]s.' (Ezek 37:23) They (are) the Sons of Zadok and the m[e]n of [the]ir Council who ke[ep] (far) from evil] after them [in the Council of] the Community.

In this passage, Ezekiel's prophetic dream of a reunited Israel is interpreted in the sectarian text as referred only to the *בני צדוק*. I would like to recall that the verse preceding the one quoted in our text, runs as follows (Ezek 37:22):

⁴ S. Schechter, *Documents of Jewish Sectaries. Edited from Hebrew MSS. in the Cairo Genizah Collection, Now in the Possession of the University Library, Cambridge* (Cambridge: University Press, 1910), vol. I, xxxiv–xxxv.

ולא יהיו עוד לשני גוים ולא יחצו עוד לשתי ממלכות עוד
 Never again shall they be two nations, and never again shall they be
 divided into two kingdoms.

What may we conclude from all of this? At some point after Onias III gives up, the Zadokite element enters (and gains the power in) the Qumran Community. These Qumran-Zadokites, far from changing the Essene tradition radically, will adopt it.⁵

Some forty years ago M. Goshen Gottstein⁶ published a thorough study whose main conclusion can be summarized in the author's own words:

Almost all our evidence from medieval MSS would be explicable as a secondary development from a common archetype and practically all of it as belonging to one 'recension.'⁷

Such a conclusion turned into a sort of *damnatio memoriae* against Kennicott and De Rossi's great collections of variant readings,⁸ since then considered a repository of readings "developed at a late stage, sometimes in the Middle Ages themselves."⁹ On the contrary, cases as the one briefly analyzed in this note dedicated to Prof. Julio Treballe Barrera show that the attitude of the Teacher of Righteousness as well as of his followers toward the text of the Scripture is a sound confirmation of Abraham Geiger's insights that in Second Temple times ideological polemics led to deliberate alterations in the biblical text¹⁰ and that traces of this alterations might still be to be found even

⁵ C. Martone, "Beyond *Beyond the Essene Hypothesis?* Some Observations on the Qumran Zadokite Priesthood," *Henoch* 25 (2003): 267–27; for a thorough reassessment of the matter, see now Ch. Hempel, "Do the Scrolls Suggest Rivalry Between the Sons of Aaron and the Sons of Zadok and If So was it Mutual?," *RevQum* 24 (2009): 135–53.

⁶ M. Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts: Their History and Their Place in the HUBP Edition," *Biblica* 48 (1967): 243–89.

⁷ Goshen-Gottstein, "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts" 285–86.

⁸ B. Kennicott, *Vetus Testamentum Hebraicum cum variis lectionibus*, I (Oxonii: 1776); J.B. De Rossi, *Variae lectiones Veteris Testamenti*, I-II (Parmae: 1784-1788).

⁹ E. Tov, "Criteria for Evaluating Textual Readings: The Limitations of Textual Rules," *HTR* 75 (1982): 429–448 (p. 435, n. 20).

¹⁰ See A. Geiger, *Urschrift und Übersetzungen der Bibel in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der innern Entwicklung Des Judenthums* (Breslau: J. Hainauer, 1857): "Die spätere ausserordentliche Sorgfalt für die Reinhaltung des Bibeltextes darf uns nicht zu einem Rückschlusse auf die früheren Zeiten verleiten. In der älteren Zeit ist die Behandlung des Textes eine weit selbständigere, ja oft willkürliche gewesen, und die spätere Sorgfalt ist gerade als eine heilsame Reaction gegen dieses lange fortgesetzte Verfahren der eigenmächtigen Textes-gestaltung aufgetreten." (p. 97): "[t]he extreme care taken in more recent times to preserve the biblical text inviolate

in later manuscripts¹¹ containing not so innocent “orthographical” variant readings.

should not induce us to draw conclusions *a posteriori* that the same care was taken also in an earlier era. In older times the text was often dealt with in quite an independent, even arbitrary manner, and the care exercised subsequently was simply a healthy reaction against this long continued process of summary text revision. English citation taken from M. Wiener, *Abraham Geiger and Liberal Judaism: The Challenge of the Nineteenth Century* (transl. Ernst J. Schlochauer; Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 1981), p. 219.

¹¹ C. Martone, “Recentiores Non Deteriores’: A Neglected Philological Rule in the Light of the Qumran Evidence,” *From 4QMMT to Resurrection: Mélanges Qumraniens en Hommage à Emile Puech* (ed. F. García Martínez, A. Steudel and E. J. C. Tigchelaar; Leiden: Brill, 2006), 205–15.

WHO NAMES THE NAMERS?
THE INTERPRETATION OF NECROMANTIC TERMS IN
JEWISH TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE¹

Andrés Piquer Otero

To explore the womb, or tomb, or dreams; all these are usual
Pastimes and drugs, and features of the press:
And always will be, some of them especially
When there is distress of nations and perplexity
Whether on the shores of Asia, or in the Edgware Road.
Men's curiosity searches past and future
And clings to that dimension. But to apprehend
The point of intersection of the timeless
With time, is an occupation for the saint—
No occupation either, but something given
And taken, in a lifetime's death in love,
Ardour and selflessness and self-surrender.

(T.S. Eliot, *Four Quartets: The Dry Salvages*. V)

To open this contribution to honor Prof. Treballe Barrera, I have chosen a short fragment of T. S. Eliot's *Quartets*, as it brings memories of some of my earlier conversations with Julio on poetry in general and Eliot in particular, where I expressed a recurring preference for *The Waste Land*, whereas he always leaned towards the *Quartets*. Nevertheless, those conversations took me into re-reading the *Quartets* and finding passages which shed a sort of poetic intensity of a different color than the cruelest month of April, an intensity which perhaps one may understand better after these years of learning from and working with Julio on the text of the Bible, and which the fragment above, and its assessment on apprehending *the point of intersection of the timeless with time* could fitly describe. As a sample of this academic connection which the teaching of Julio has revealed and still reveals, I will turn in the present paper to another

¹ The research on which is based the present pages has been carried out with the support of a Research Grant of the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia.

recurring conversation of ours, this time on the Hebrew Bible: the meaning of the Hebrew אֹזֶב, a mystifying puzzle which certainly we have not solved, but which to me constituted quite a bit of fascinating immersion into Ancient Near Eastern myth and ritual, paired with biblical literary, textual and linguistic analysis. Here I will not try to unlock the issue of the word's etymology, for sure. On the other hand, I will present a series of considerations on traditions of interpretation of the specialized mantic term, both in the Rabbinic world and in the history of the Septuagint and other versions of the Bible, and on how a comparative of these interpretations and translations, particularly in the historical books of Samuel and Kings, may reflect ideas of interest on mantic and necromantic practices in the cultures and communities in question, even though the אֹזֶב itself remains a conundrum.

1. The אֹזֶב וַיִּדְעוּנִי in the Hebrew and Aramaic Tradition

Although this paper will focus on later developments of the basic (Hebrew) texts, I will begin my approach by presenting the passages of the Hebrew Bible which contain the words which originated that later complicated line (or, rather, mesh) of interpretation. Later, I will summarize briefly the main interpretations produced by the Jewish tradition, to conclude with a quick survey of the explanations presented in modern scholarship.²

1.1. Contexts and Distribution

The word אֹזֶב (either in singular or plural) appears in the following passages of the Hebrew Bible:

- I. *Pentateuch*: Lev 19:31; 20:6; 20:27; Deut 18:11
 II. *Historical Books*: 1Sam 28:3, 7 (x2), 8, 9; 2Kgs 21:6; 23:24; 1Chr 10:13; 2Chr 33:6

² A thorough exposition of the biblical texts involving אֹזֶב (and וַיִּדְעוּנִי) may be found in J. Tropper, *Nekromantie. Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament* (AOAT 233; Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1989); 210-311; R. Schmitt, "The Problem of Magic and Monotheism in the Book of Leviticus," *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 8 (2008): 1-12.

III. *Prophetic Books*: Isa 8:19; 19:3; 29:4

IV. *Wisdom Books*: Job 32:19

In the case of the historical books, it has to be noted that the two passages from the Chronicler's work are either parallels of Kings (2Chr 33:6 = 2Kgs 21:6) or a paraphrastic summary of materials to be found in 1Samuel 28 (the short notice on Saul of 1Chr 10:13.)

After presenting the inventory of text, the issue of the relationship between the two words which usually appear together, אֹהֶב and יִדְעוּנִי, should be addressed:

1. *אֹהֶב and יִדְעוּנִי together as a pair*: Lev 19:31 (both in plural); 20:6 (both in plural); 20:27 (both in singular); Deut 18:11 (both in singular); 1Sam 28:3 (both in plural); 28:9 (אֹהֶב in plural, יִדְעוּנִי in singular³); 2Kgs 21:6 (אֹהֶב in singular, יִדְעוּנִי in plural); 2Kgs 23:24 (both in plural); 2Chr 33:6 (both in singular); Isa 8:19 (both in plural); Isa 19:3 (both in plural);

2. *אֹהֶב alone*: 1Sam 28:7 (singular; two instances); 1Sam 28:8 (singular); 1Chr 10:13 (singular); Isa 29:4 (singular); Job 32:19 (singular.)

It has to be noted that יִדְעוּנִי does not appear alone in any passage of the Hebrew Bible, but always forms a pair with אֹהֶב. This fact will probably have implications in the later interpretation of the nouns, as there would be a strong tendency to see them as an item (single semantic unit.)

From a typological angle, it would be interesting to classify the instances mentioned above:

³ Nevertheless, it is quite possible that the singular יִדְעוּנִי were the result of haplography of the plural *-m* with the *mem* of the following מֵן particle. Cf. H.J. Stoebe, *Das erste Buch Samuel* (KAT 8/1; Gütersloh: 1973), 485; H. Donner, "Die Verwerfung des Königs Saul," in *Sitzungsberichte der Wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaft an der Johann Wolfgang Goethe Universität Frankfurt am Main* 19/5 (1983): 229-259, 232 n. 8; P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *1 Samuel* (AB 8; New York: Doubleday, 1980), 419 n. 9. A different proposal may be found in D.T. Tsumura, *The First Book of Samuel* (NICOT; Grand Rapids MI: Eerdmans, 2007), 622 n. 35 where the author proposes that the MT spelling would not reflect a haplographic loss but rather a form of *sandhi*, i.e., aural spelling, as further treated in Tsumura, D.T., "Scribal Errors or Phonetic Spelling? Samuel as an Aural Text," *VT* 49 (1999): 401. This proposal should extend this "aural" reading tradition well into the Septuagint and other versions (Peshitta and Vulgate), where the plural form is found. Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 224 n. 76 also expresses doubts on the haplography of the plural, given the 2Kgs 21:6 passage, where we also find lack of number agreement (see above.) It is remarkable that the Chronicles parallel, 2Chr 33:6, does present agreement in the singular between both words.

A) *Lists of illegal practices or practitioners*: Lev 19:31; 20:6; 20:27; Deut 18:11; 2Kgs 21:6; 2Kgs 23:24; Isa 8:19;⁴ 2Chr 33:6 + 1Sam 28:3; 1Sam 28:9 (in the last two cases, אוב and ידעוני constitute the only two banned practices, and the notice is inserted within a narrative framework.)

B) *Narrative usage*: 1Sam 28:7 (x2); 1Sam 28:8; 1Chr 10:13

C) *Predictive / Prophetic Discourse*: Isa 19:3

D) *Poetic Comparison*: Isa 29:4; Job 32:19

It is remarkable that אוב and ידעוני appear as a pair in passages of types A and C, that is, in contexts where no actual account of the אוב practice is given, as they cover legal lists (in Leviticus, Deuteronomy and Kings) or future-prospective presentations of fruitless attempts of divination (Isa 8:19 and 19:3.) On the other hand, when the authors do present the phenomenon as a concrete instance (within a narrative or as a term of comparison), אוב appears alone. This situation is important for the reception and interpretation of the words, both in the tradition of Jewish exegesis and in the different versions, and can be summarized in the fact that אוב and ידעוני are understood as a literary pair (or 2-member unit.) This would be possible, first, due to the mere quantitative majority of usages of the pair versus the single אוב, but also because of the qualitative relevance of the verses where the word-pair is found; a good number of them belong to primarily legal texts from the Torah (Leviticus and Deuteronomy) or to prophetic oracles from the book of Isaiah, also steeped in the negative vision of unorthodox divination practices. Therefore, it would not be strange that the texts with legal authority had an impact on the usage in other texts, including the “proscription lists” introduced in the Samuel-Kings (+ Chronicles) narratives.⁵ In any case, as time went

⁴ Isa 8:19 could be also placed in group C below. Nevertheless, the general meaning and context of the prophetic exhortation seems to point towards the proscribed character of the practices listed.

⁵ The importance on the usage of necromancy (and the associated vocabulary) in a (negative) legal-theological characterization of Saul vis à vis with David by the Deuteronomist is treated in detail in B.T. Arnold, “Necromancy and Cleromancy in 1 and 2 Samuel,” *CBQ* 66 (2004): 199-213. Cf. also R. Schmitt, “The Problem of Magic and Monotheism in the Book of Leviticus,” *Journal of Hebrew Scriptures* 8 (2008): 1-12, 10: “Like many verdicts in the priestly and deuteronomistic regulations and even more in the later prophetic writings the condemnation of necromancy is just a stereotype for non-Yahwistic practices in general. The only account which could point to necromancy as a wide-spread form of divination is Isa 8:19, but this text is late or a later addition and is dependent on the deuteronomistic polemics.”

by, the presence of two difficult words in a related functional context (the reference of a proscribed necromantic practice) would in all likelihood produce a certain degree of confusion for interpreters and translators: as the original meaning (related to the actual ancient praxis) was muddled or forgotten, the two words were conceived as a complementary pair in which one could fit two different kinds of procedure for consulting the dead, or even different divinatory activities (or condemnatory interpretations thereof.) In this sense, a comparison between two Aramaic versions of the Hebrew text would be meaningful: although the Targumim present different options for rendering אוב and ידעוני, as will be seen in detail in the following paragraph, there is a visible degree of stability in the rendering of אוב as בְּדִין and ידעוני as זְכוּרוֹ. Without going into the meaning of the Aramaic words yet, it is striking that the Peshitta does share the usage of derivatives of *zkr* (ܙܚܪܐ in Syriac, either in singular or plural) with the Targumim, but it does use it for the translation of אוב, whereas it uses a construction of the root *gd'* for ידעוני. Given that both זְכוּרוֹ in Rabbinic literature and ܙܚܪܐ in the Syriac tradition are rather well-attested as technical words related to necromancy, it seems that their usage both in the Targumic and Syriac traditions is far from a coincidence, and also that there is not a precise division between the rendering of אוב and ידעוני, as the translators' aim was to present via two words a body of necromantic practices. If anything, the usual translation in the Targum could be as secondary and ideologically motivated, as בְּדִין (a word with visible negative connotations⁶) displaces the technical item (זְכוּרוֹ) to the second position in the pair. On the other hand, the situation in the Peshitta seems to indicate that the construction from *zkr* was in fact the semantically-accurate necromantic item, as it renders one of the elements of the pair (אוב), whilst the rendition of the second (and equally hard to understand item) is reflected in a quasi-transcription of the Hebrew ידעוני by resorting to the root *gd'*.

⁶ The Aramaic seems to be connected to a similar usage of BH בְּדִים, also applied to (lying) oracles (cf. Isa 44:25; Jer 50:36; perhaps Hos 11:6. Although the actual etymology of the root is not easy to discern (cf. *HALOT* 108-109), the semantic field of invention, devising and boasting seems to have played a role in the negative divination usage.

1.2. Rabbinic Interpretation and Speculation

I have anticipated the prevalent translation options in the Targumim and the Peshitta because the Aramaic renderings of אוב and ידעוני seem to be crucial for understanding the landscape of interpretation of these complicated word-pair in the post-Biblical Jewish tradition, which, in turn, will be key in contextualizing the Septuagint translation of these words. The brief sketch depicted above is enriched by the treatment of the Biblical necromantic lexicon in Talmudic and Midrashic literature,⁷ as befits a praxis which would be treated as a transgression in Judaism. Here I will begin with the ideological and exegetical concepts which can be gleaned from a review of the Targumim, then these concepts will be compared with the framework of Rabbinic texts.

Though in the historical books, Targum Jonathan uses the distribution commented in the previous paragraph for rendering אוב and ידעוני in an almost-mechanical way, the situation in the Pentateuch, where we have a plurality of Targumim to compare, seems richer and more interesting. It will be presented here as a summary:

Lev 19:31

MT	T ^O	T ^N	T ^{Ps-J}
אַל-תִּפְנוּ אֶל-הָאֱבֹתָהֶם וְאֶל-הַיִּדְעֹנִים	לֹא תִתְפַּנּוּן בְּתֵר	לֹא תִטּוֹן בִּתְר שׁוֹאֲלֵי אוֹב' וּמִסְקֵי דְכוּרֵן	לֹא תִסְטוֹן בִּתְר שׁוֹאֲלֵי בִידִין וּמִסְקֵי זְכוּרוֹ וּתְבַעֵי גֵרָם יְדוּעַ

Lev 20:6

MT	T ^O	T ^N	T ^{Ps-J}
וְהַנֶּפֶשׁ אֲשֶׁר תִּפְנֶה אֶל-הַנֶּפֶשׁ	וְאֶנְשׁ דִּיתְפְּנֵי בְתֵר	וּנְפֶשׁ' דִּי תִסְטִי בִתְר שׁוֹאֲלֵי אוֹבֵה	וּבִרְנֶשׁ דִּיִסְטִי בִתְר שׁוֹאֲלֵי

⁷ For a detailed vision of the conception of necromancy in Midrashic (and Talmudic) literature with a focus on the 1Sam 28 episode, see Seidel, J., "Necromantic Praxis in the Midrash on the Seance at En Dor," in L. Ciraolo, and J. Seidel, (eds.), *Magic and Divination in the Ancient World* (Ancient Magic and Divination II; Brill – Styx: Leiden, 2002), 97-106.

הַאֲבֹת	בִּידִין	וּמְסָקִי זְכוּרִין	בִּידִין וּמְסָקִי זְכוּרוֹ וּתְבַעֵי גֵרָם יְדוּעַ
וְאֵלֵהֶיּוֹדְעָנִים	וּזְכוּרוֹ		

Lev 20:27

MT	T ^O	T ^N	T ^{Ps-J}
כִּי־יִהְיֶה בָהֶם	אֲרִי יִהְיֶה בְהוֹן	דִּי יְהוּוֵי בְהוֹן שְׂאֵלֵי	אֲרוּם יִהְיֶה בְהוֹן
אוֹב אוֹ יְדַעְנֵי	בִּידִין אוֹ זְכוּרוֹ	אוֹבָה אוֹ מְסָקִי זְכוּרוֹן	בִּידִין אוֹ זְכוּרוֹ

Deut 18:11

MT	T ^O	T ^N	T ^{Ps-J}	T ^{Tr} (Vat)
וְשָׂאֵל	וְשָׂאֵל	וְשָׂאֵלֵי	וְשָׂאֵלִין	וְשָׂאֵל
אוֹב	בְּבִידִין	אוֹבָה וּמְסָקִי	אוֹבָא טְמִיא	אוֹבָא
וְיְדַעְנֵי	וּבְזְכוּרוֹ	זְכוּרוֹן	וּגְרָם יְדוּעַ	זְכוּרוֹן

The four Targumim present quite an interesting landscape regarding the rendering of אוֹב and יְדַעְנֵי in the legal context of Leviticus and Deuteronomy: Whereas Onkelos agrees with the translation option detailed above and attested throughout Targum Jonathan for Samuel-Kings and Isaiah, both Neophyti and Pseudo-Jonathan (plus the Fragmentary Targum in Deut 18:11) yield different readings: T^N, remarkably, does not include the equation בִּידִין = אוֹב visible in Onkelos and Jonathan. Instead, it presents the Hebrew word אוֹב as a direct loanword; it does share the reading זְכוּרוֹ for the second element of the pair⁸, but, most remarkably, both nouns are further specified by the presence of verbal participles which define divination practitioners: “those who ask the *’ob* and raise *zkwrn*.”⁹ T^{Ps-J} agrees

⁸ The reading דְּכָרִין in 19:31, together with variations of זְכוּרוֹ such as זְכָרִין, זְכָרִן, poses a problem of its own, though the changes seem purely dialectal. A marginal reading in Neophyti 1 does again include a form with *z*. See A. Diez Macho, *Neophyti 1. Tomo III. Levítico* (Madrid-Barcelona: CSIC, 1971), 135.

⁹ The verbs are also remarkable for their clear technical mantic context, both *š’l* (consult) and *slq* (raise.) They should be seen as secondary developments in the Targumim, as they could have been introduced to discriminate the cases where אוֹב and יְדַעְנֵי are referring to *practitioners* (Lev 19:31 and 20:6; Deut 18:11) from those in which the paragraph talks about the actual “spirits” (Lev 20:27.) This semantic overlap is one of the difficulties of the words (see K. van der Toorn, B. Becking, *et al.*, *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible* [Leiden: Brill, 1999²], 808-809) and thus the Targumic expansive translation could be seen as an

with Neophyti in using the very same participles of *š'l* and *slq* to convey the same meaning, though in the translation choices for the pair itself it seems to agree closely with Onkelos, as it renders אוב with בְּדִין. Furthermore, Pseudo-Jonathan includes in two cases (Lev 19:31 and 20:6) an additional phrase, ותבעי גרם ידוע, *those who seek the knowing(?) bone*. It is likely that this construction worked as a gloss / alternative translation to ידעוני, given the coincidence of roots and the fact that in Deut 18:11 גרם ידוע acts as the primary rendering of ידעוני in T^{Ps-J} (זכורו does not appear in this case.)¹⁰

All in all, the testimonies of the Palestinian Targum (Neophyti 1, Pseudo-Jonathan, and, for Deut 18:11, the Fragmentary Targum) hint at the existence of translations of אוב which did not use the root *bd* in the sense of “lying oracle” or “(false) fabrication.” We find a literal transcription of אוב followed by the noun זכורו and, in some cases, an additional descriptor of necromantic practices which could be semantically connected to ידעוני (the “knowing bone.”)¹¹ It would be tempting to see the fuller T^{Ps-J} renderings as a chiasmic combination of literal (or quasi-literal) renderings of the Hebrew original materials with an attempt to explain those difficult lexical items via additional words which make them fit with necromantic practices known to the Aramaic writers.¹²

A. אובא (= MT) ⇔ A'. זכורו
 B. גרם ⇔ B'. ידועי (≈ MT ידעוני)

The Targumic tradition would have progressively abridged this translation option, probably seeking a more direct agreement with the

explanatory/facilitating reading. It is remarkable how, nevertheless, there is a degree of confusion here, and T^N, against good sense, includes the expanded rendering also in Lev 20:27. This observation, in any case, should not minimize the importance of the retention in the Palestinian Targum of technical mantic verbs well-attested both in the Hebrew Bible and in other ancient Semitic sources.

¹⁰ References to גרם ידוע may also be found in marginal readings of Neophyti 1 to 20:6, בר נש די יסתכל בתר בידין וגרם ידוע, where the two alternate translations to Neophyti's primary choice are annotated. This adds to the possibility of the phrase being an alternate translation of ידעוני in the tradition of the Palestinian Targum, which T^{Ps-J} includes as a doublet. One should also consider the possibility of later influence from the Babylonian Talmud, through this influence could go both ways (as Jewish traditions attested in the targumim and incorporated into / shared with the Talmud.)

¹¹ The form *yaddū'a* can be interpreted as a *qattūl* nominal pattern, which would render an active meaning (“knowing” or “knowing much.”) Cf. Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 179.

¹² Evidently, there is a correlation between this translation and some of the interpretations around בעל אוב discussed in *b. Sanh.* 65b (see below.)

Hebrew text by getting rid of the doublets. The inclusion of an alternative, exegetic and ideological rendering of אוב as בדין in the Onkelos and Jonathan texts further confused the correspondences between these already complicated nouns, and produced a translation more in line with the exegesis and speculation about אוב in the Rabbinic sources (see below.) On the other hand, the pattern proposed above is remarkable for its agreement with the translation option taken in the other main Aramaic version, the Peshitta, where we find the equation אוב = אוב and ידעוני = ידעוני.¹³

Turning now to evidence in Rabbinic literature, the key passages for the interpretation of אוב are *m. Sanh.* 7:7 and the corresponding expanded materials in *b. Sanh.* 65b. The Mishna confirms that, when faced with the doublet אוב וידעוני, one option of interpretation was to see each term as a descriptor of different divinatory/necromantic practices. Thus, the text reads בעל אוב זה הפיתום המדבר משחיו וידעוני זה המדבר בפיו.¹⁴ In itself, this description does not present a particularly strong opposition: both practitioners are characterized by a Greek loanword as *pythones*.¹⁵ The former has the summoned spirit speak through armpits;¹⁶ the latter speaks through the mouth, but both would fit in a general and not very precise mediumnic activity. There is a strong sense of ambiguity in the sentence, as we do not know whether the one speaking would be the spirit or the practitioner. Certainly the phrase בפיו was a problem for the rabbis, as we may see in the explanation in an anonymous baraita in *b. Sanh.* 65b: בעל אוב זה המדבר בין הפרקים ובין אצילי ידיו ידעוני זה המניח עצם ידוע בפיו והוא מדבר מאליו. The intention of this paragraph seems to indicate that the bone

¹³ In additional support of this proposal, it is remarkable that in *Leviticus Rabbah* 26,7, the אוב בעלת אוב from 1Sam 28 is explicitly connected to *zkr* in the explanation of the summoning procedure: שלשה דברים נאמרו במי שמעלה מת בזכרו.

¹⁴ "A *ba'al-'ôb* is the *pythom* [πυθων] who speaks from his armpit; and a *yidde'oni* is the one who speaks from his mouth."

¹⁵ In a probably non-coincidental agreement with the Latin of choice in the Vulgate translation of אוב in a relevant number of cases. See below, 2.1.

¹⁶ There is quite a visible similarity between the idea of a spirit talking out of the practitioner's joints (instead of the mouth) and the interpretation of the Greek ἐγγαστροκτύπος (the majority LXX rendering of אוב) as a "ventriloquist" (see below.) This affinity would be applicable regardless of the consideration of the practice as true or faked (either the spirit speaking from the joints or stomach or the practitioner producing the noises via ventriloquism or by flapping the arms to produce noises (cf. *b. Sanh.* 65a מעשה איכה הקשת זרועותיו היו מעשה "the *ba'al 'ôb*, what is his action? The knocking of his arms").

itself would speak.¹⁷ The associated discussion focuses on whether the spirit invoked by the *ba'al 'ob* speaks “naturally” or not, and the act of sitting between the joints and speaking¹⁸ is seen as opposite to that kind of “natural speech.” The next baraita can be seen as a development of the same opposition. This time, two different practices are associated to *ba'al 'ob*: conjuring the dead בזכורו (“by soothsaying” in the Soncino translation¹⁹) and consulting בגולגות (by means of a skull.) Even though the paragraph has lost interest in defining the opposition between אוב and ידעוני, it continues the previous line of defining two distinct necromantic practices which, although partially, overlap with the previous definitions in the second element of the pair, as both the usage of the גרם ידוע and the skull involve access to the deceased via a bone, prospectively his or her own. In both instances, “bone necromancy” seems to be more “effective” or at least “genuine”, as the fact that the bone or spirit “speaks of itself” or “answers naturally.”²⁰ On the other hand, the former type (identified with אוב in the first commented baraita and with the מעלה בזכורו in the second) is deemed somehow inferior (the spirit speaks through the summoner's joints, thus requiring an intermediary; or comes up upside down and cannot ascend on a

¹⁷ Thus in the Soncino translation: “A *Ba'al ob* is one who speaks from between the joints of his body and his elbow joints. A *yidde'oni* is one who places the bone of a *yido'a* in his mouth and it speaks of itself.” Interpretation of ידוע as a creature is offered in Rashi and Maimonides. Though the depiction of the “beast” in rabbinic sources is also relevant for necromancy, given the chthonic connection of the creature (cf. Troppper, *op. cit.*, 182 n. 38 and 39), the lexical and morphological connection with the Syriac ܘܢܝܘܢ seems to be key in understanding the presence of the lexical element in the portrayal of necromancy in the Talmud.

¹⁸ סליק ויחיב בין הפרקים ומתשעי. *b. Sanh. 65b*

¹⁹ The construction is interpreted in a similar sense also in Seidel, *op. cit.* 103. The footnote in the Soncino edition relates the word to the Syriac ܘܢܝܘܢ (see above): “from Syriac זכר, ‘to divine’.” Seidel is more precise in rendering it as “by means of naming,” an expression which seems to fit better with a ritual usage of the root *zkr* when compared to the Akkadian *zakārum* (see below.)

²⁰ Other considerations of “effectiveness” could be added, such as the fact that the spirit summoned by זכורו does not ascend “naturally,” whereas the one called by a skull does, or the fact that skull-conjuring works on a Sabbath, whilst זכורו does not. Though elusive, “natural” vs. “unnatural” (to be interpreted as head first or feet first) ascension of the spirit seems to be an important element in defining types of summoning of the dead in Rabbinic literature, as proven by its detailed, though different from *Bavli*, explanation in *Leviticus Rabbah* 26,7: “it does not come up for an ordinary person in the way it comes up for a king. For an ordinary person it comes up with its head down and its feet up, but for a king it comes up with its feet down and its head up.”

Sabbath.)

All in all, and without trying to delve any further into the intricacies of the rabbinic discussion on necromancy and its legal background, some relevant conclusions may be presented:

1) Targumic and rabbinic sources approach אוב and ידעוני as a pair which seems to define a taxonomy of necromantic practice. Though this is more visible in Mishnaic and (especially) Talmudic discussion, the lexical continuum between Targum and Talmud (together with the Peshitta) is remarkable. The contents of the taxonomy itself vary with the sources, but there are two visible tendencies, one which distinguishes techniques (זכורו vs. גרם ידוע or גולגות), namely conjuring “by naming” or via bones; and one in which we have an activity which explicitly requires the conjurer as a form of mediator (the פיתום who speaks through his joints in the Mishna, plainly called אוב בעל in the first examined baraita of *b. Sanh.* 65b). In this case, the spirit is said not to speak “naturally.” The Talmud presents, in the complementary part of the pair, a practice where the spirit comes and speaks “naturally.” Though distribution within the pair changes, what becomes relevant for the writers is the dualistic taxonomy.

2) Out of this taxonomy, it is possible, though not clearly explicit in the sources, that necromancy via a mediated procedure led part of the tradition into presenting readings or interpretations which underscored the element of “fakeness,²¹” or at least of a less “genuine” kind. This tendency can be connected to the inclusion of the reading בדין as the translation of choice for אוב in Onkelos which has been commented above.²² Certainly this conception of necromancy as trickery or deception (at times with the mediation of a demon) reaches its highest level in the Christian tradition.²³

²¹ *Contra*, Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 180-83: “Wie schon in der Mischna, so werden auch im Talmud der *b'l 'wb und der yd'wny* [...] als Wesen verstanden, die wirkliche Verbrechen begehen” (182-83). Although Tropper’s assessment of the sources is accurate, especially regarding the legal treatment, he minimizes the recurring differentiation and qualitative distinction between “natural” and “unnatural” invocation.

²² The importance of בדין for the contextualization of the Septuagint reading ἐγγαστρίμυθος could be seen in a usage of the Greek word to render the Biblical Hebrew בדיים in Isa 44:25. See below n. 27.

²³ I will not treat here this derivation of the necromantic tradition in the Bible. For a detailed vision of the problem in early Christian literature, with edition and commentary of the main sources, see R.A. Greer, and M.M. Mitchell, *The “Belly-Myther” of Endor. Interpretations of 1 Kingdoms 28 in the Early Church* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World 16; Atlanta: SBL, 2006).

3) Although rabbinic sources apply their own terminology for the development of their classification of necromantic practices and we cannot positively know whether this terminology had anything to do with the original meanings of אוב and ידעוני beyond the basic notion of “consultation of the dead,” it is also true that both some of the renderings of אוב and ידעוני and the verbs associated to the practices (שאל, עלה/סלק) are well-grounded as technical terms in ancient Near Eastern divination or necromancy, and also, in later times, potentially influenced by Greek practices.²⁴ And this attitude and interaction of the textual and interpretative traditions of the Hebrew and Greek texts of the Bible towards the usage and shifting of these technical terms may reveal a meaningful process in the reception of necromancy in Jewish sources of the Antiquity.

2. Necromantic Terms in the Septuagint: ἐγγαστήριμθος and Stranger Colleagues

The textual history of the Greek renderings of אוב and ידעוני in the Septuagint is far from simple. Focusing on the Samuel-Kings cases, cursory examination of the evidence shows remarkable differences between the Vaticanus (G^B) and Lucianic (G^L) texts, together with relevant variants in fragments of the Hexapla. The secondary versions also contribute additional information (and make the overall picture even more complex.) Nevertheless, most of the discussion on the necromantic terminology in the Septuagint deals with versions and textual groups different from the majority text rather quickly, if at all.²⁵ In this section I will try to determine whether the layering of different translations in the Septuagint version of the Samuel-Kings paragraphs may be the reflection of changes in the interpretation of necromantic terms.

²⁴ This will be summarized in the final section of this paper.

²⁵ Cf. e.g. Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 171-178 (no discussion of the Lucianic text; the Hexaplaric evidence is dealt in less than seven lines), or S. Torallas Tovar, and A. Maravela-Solbakk, “Between Necromancers and Ventriloquists: The ἐγγαστήριμθος in the *Septuaginta*,” *Sefarad* 61/2 (2001): 419-438 has a similarly short paragraph on “other versions of the Greek translations” (424) where the evidence is briefly described without giving any explanation on the actual history of the Greek rendering.

2.1. אוב in the Greek Witnesses of the Septuagint. Textual Situation

The translation of אוב in the Septuagint is, in an overwhelming majority of cases, ἐγγαστρίμυθος, literally “ventriloquist” or “belly-speaker.”²⁶ “The relationship works in both directions, as ἐγγαστρίμυθος in the Septuagint is used, with one remarkable exception,²⁷ exclusively for the translation of אוב or nominal phrases which include the element.²⁸ On the other hand, ידעוני presents a far more varied array of translation choices. Before focusing on the historical books, I will present a quick survey of the translation choices for both words throughout the Septuagint materials.²⁹

²⁶ The problem of a precise rendering of ἐγγαστρίμυθος which does not project too many connotations foreign to the intention of the LXX writers is treated in Greer, and Mitchell, *The “Belly-Myther” of Endor*, xi-xv.

²⁷ Is 44:25, where ἐγγαστρίμυθος translates בְּדִים. The equation turns more interesting when the Targum translates בְּדִים as בְּדִין, the standard rendering for אוב in the Onkelos and Jonathan texts which has been discussed in the previous section. The possible interest of this triangular relationship for the rabbinic and Septuagint tradition will be considered in the conclusions of this section.

²⁸ In Hatch and Redpath's *Concordance to the Septuagint* vol. 1 362, אוב is the first lemma rendered by ἐγγαστρίμυθος, further divided into a. אוב b. בעלת-אוב c. שאֵל אוב. The second lemma is the single instance of בְּדִים. The third lemma, highly problematic, poses two cases (Is 8:19 and 19:3) where ἐγγαστρίμυθος would be translating the second element of the Hebrew pair, ידעוני. The concordance itself expresses doubts (Is 8:19 is noted as “1a vel 3” and Isa 19:3 is marked with a question mark), something to be expected given the problematic context of the word in these verses: both agree in rendering the phrase וְאֵלֶיהָ אֲבוֹת וְאֵלֶיהָ יִדְעוּנִים as τοὺς ἀπὸ/ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστρίμυθους. Nevertheless, as commented above, אוב and ידעוני should be understood as a unit pair, and one should not expect a strict reflection of the Hebrew word-order in the rendering of the items in the version, thus Hatch and Redpath are accurate in reflecting the dubious character of the third entry. Such a respect does show up in later recensions of the Greek (Hexaplaric and Lucianic, which here picks on the Hexaplaric text), with a transposition of the two elements in 8:19 and the addition of the usual -in the historical books- rendering of ידעוני, γνωστός in 19:3 in *Sinaiticus* and *Alexandrinus*. This should be understood as an editing of the Greek text to bring it in line with a proto-MT Hebrew, but does not necessarily have an impact on the equation אוב = ἐγγαστρίμυθος, as the change in word-order could be the product of how the Greek translator treated the pair in each particular context. Isa 8:19 is particularly interesting, as the order could also have been influenced by prosody: in the whole list of practitioners, τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας / καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστρίμυθους / τοὺς κενολογοῦντας / οἱ ἐκ τῆς κοιλίας φωνοῦσιν, we find the two long elements (the ones which use prepositional phrase + participle / prepositional phrase within a relative clause) at both ends of the enumeration, whereas the two single-word items occupy the middle position. Such considerations would go further in indicating that entry 3 in Hatch and Redpath is pretty unlikely.

²⁹ Textual evidence has been drawn from the Göttingen editions, when already

Pentateuch			
	LXX ³⁰		Hexaplaric and Similar Readings
Lev 19:31	ἐγγαστριμύθοις καὶ τοῖς ἐπαυδοῖς	θελητάς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνώστας C'	μάντεις M' μάγοις [καὶ] ἀναγνωριστ-αῖς> F ^b
Lev 20:6	ἐγγαστριμύθοις ἢ ἐπαυδοῖς	θελετάς καὶ πρὸς τοὺς γνώστας C'	ἐγγαστριμύθοις ἢ τερατοσκοποῖς ἢ ἐπαυδοῖς b
Lev 20:27	ἐγγαστριμύθος ἢ ἐπαυδός	θελητῆς (ἀναγνωρ[ιστής] F ^b) ἢ γνώστης M | μάγ[ος] F ^b	
Deut 18:11	ἐγγαστριμύθος καὶ τερατοσκόπος	α' ἐπερωτῶν μάγον | θ' θελητῆν γνωριστῆς | γνώστης (α' SyrHex ⲙⲉⲛⲁ)	
Historical Books (Samuel-Kings and Chronicles)			
	LXX ^B	LXX ^L	Hexaplaric Readings
1Sam 28:3	τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς γνώστας	τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς γνώστας	α' μάγοις | σημειοσκόπους jz
1Sam 28:7	γυναῖκα ἐγγαστριμύθου	(γυναῖκα) ἐγγαστριμύθου	α' ἔχουσαν μάγον
1Sam 28:7	γυνὴ ἐγγαστριμύθου	γυνὴ ἐγγαστριμύθου	
1Sam 28:8	μάντευσαι δὴ μοι ἐν τῷ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ	μάντευσαι δὴ μοι ἐν τῷ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ	α' ἐν τῷ μάγῳ

published: J.W. Wevers, , *Leviticus. Septuaginta* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum II,2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1986); idem, *Deuteronomium. Septuaginta* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum III,2; 2nd ed.; Vanderhoeck : Göttingen, 2006); J. Ziegler, *Isaia. Septuaginta*. (Vetus Testamentum Graecum XIV; 3rd ed.; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck, 1983); idem, *Iob. Septuaginta* (Vetus Testamentum Graecum XI,4; . Vanderhoeck: Göttingen, 1982). For books without a published Göttingen critical edition, I have resorted to Brooke-McLean's edition of *Vaticanus*: Alan E. Brooke, Norman McLean, and Henry St. John Thackeray, *1-2 Samuel* (The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus 2/1; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927); idem, Vol. II Part II, *I and II Kings* (The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus 2/2; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); idem, *I and II Chronicles* (The Old Testament in Greek according to the Text of Codex Vaticanus 2/13; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1932); as well as to Rahlfs' manual edition: A. Rahlfs, A. and R. Hanhart, *Septuaginta. Id est Vetus Testamentum graece iuxta LXX interpretes* (2nd ed.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006).

³⁰ Main text from the Göttingen edition or from Rahlfs's manual edition.

1Sam 28:9	τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς γνώστας	τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς ἀποφθεγγομένους	ἀ' μάγους θελητὰς καὶ σημειοσκόπους
2Kgs 21:6	θελητὴν ³¹ καὶ γνώστας	ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ γνώστας	אַ' מַאְגִּים SyrHex | εβρ. כְּסִיפִים
2Kgs 23:24	τοὺς θελητὰς καὶ τοὺς γνωριστὰς	τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς γνώστας	אַ' מַאְגִּים | ס' כְּסִיפִים
1Chr 10:13	ἐν τῷ ἐγγαστριμύθῳ		
2Chr 33:6	ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ ἐπαιιδούς		
Prophets			
	Ziegler	LXX ^L	Hexaplaric Materials
Is 8:19	τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους	τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας	ἀ' μάγους θ' θελητὰς
Is 19:3	τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους	τοὺς ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους	+ καὶ τοὺς γνώστας SA
Is 29:4	ὡς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς	ὡς οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς	
Writings			
Job 32:19	ὡσπερ φυσητὴρ χαλκῆως		

In this brief survey, it is clear how the equation נֹבֵא (and constructs thereof) = ἐγγαστριμύθος is widespread throughout the Septuagint. Of the exceptions to this rule, Job 32:19 should be probably discarded, as the Hebrew context is highly problematic and the possibility of a corruption in the original is considerable.³² Above all, the text is clearly removed from a necromantic context.³³

³¹ ἐλλήν in *Vaticanus*, read θελητὴν (as in Rahlfs' text) with 509, Aeth and the majority of codices.

³² Cf. Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 297-308. Definitely, this reading would be the only case in Biblical Hebrew of the hypothetical נֹבֵא I lemma as presented in *HALOT*. The Greek word used in Job, φυσητὴρ, only appears in another OT text, Jer 6:29, where it translates פְּהֵי and clearly means “bellows.” Its association to נֹבֵא should therefore be considered an anomaly and unlikely to have an impact on the primary discussion of נֹבֵא as a necromantic term.

³³ Though it is not unconceivable that the necromancy-related נֹבֵא at some point could have played a role in strengthening or perpetuating the prospective corruption of the verse, as Elihu's bursting desire to speak could be equated to a possessing spirit

The second case is more meaningful for the history of the Greek text in general and of the historical books in particular: the noun *θελητής* is used for rendering *אוב* in the two instances attested in 2Kgs (21:6 and 23:24.) It can also be found in materials from the Pentateuch verses (in catenae notes and commentaries, and in one explicit Theodition reading in Deut 18:11) as a correction or alternative to *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*. The word is only attested in the Septuagint's main text in the two passages from 2Kings and in Mic 7:18³⁴ and 1Macc 4:42, where it has the basic Greek meaning of “one who wills.” It is quite likely that the association of this word to *אוב* had its basis in a false etymology which connected it to the root *אבה* (to be willing, want, satisfy³⁵), as the wizard would have the will to produce the magic or be the one able to satisfy peoples' desires. This consideration is furthered by the distribution of the word in the historical books, where we can define different layers of texts and recensions:

1) Every time the word appears in the non-*καὶ γε* section *α* of Samuel-Kings (1Samuel), *אוב* is translated as *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* in all the Septuagint groups, including the agreement LXX^B= LXX^L. The only variants are to be found in Hexaplaric materials and will be discussed below in their own paragraph.

2) When the word appears in the *καὶ γε* section *γδ* (1Kgs 22:1-2Kgs), the text groups are divided: whereas the B-group and the rest

wanting to speak from his insides. Of course, this interpretation does not make good sense of the context (it is hard to read *אבות הַדְּשִׁים* in this sense, as “new spirits” sound pretty unlikely) and it would require conceptions of the *אוב* similar to either the Greek “ventriloquist” or the Rabbinic diviners who have a spirit talk through them or out of their armpits (see above.) Therefore, it is more feasible to envisage a moment when necromantic conceptions of *אוב* in the Jewish tradition had some influence in the reading of the Job verse than the opposite situation. Of course, the process could eventually come full circle and hence it is possible that the connection between the “skin/flask” meaning deducible through parallelism in the verse and the majority, necromancy-related, meaning of *אוב* would have played a role in the development of medieval traditions on explanations of the *אוב* where it was related to a pipe-like contraption used by the practitioners to simulate the spirits' voice (this appears in Abraham ibn Ezra's commentary to Lev 19:31: *האבת מנורת וכאבות חדשים*; *בי הם עיקר זאת האומנות* see Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 193).

³⁴ Where it translates a Hebrew *חָפֵץ*.

³⁵ This is the standard (and most likely) explanation for the usage, unattested in Greek outside the Septuagint (and some Patristic materials derived in all likelihood from the biblical passages in question.) It is even mentioned in Liddel and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*: “II. *wizard*, by confusion of of Hebr. *'ōbh* (*sic*) 'necromancer' with *'ōbheh* (*sic*) 'wishing'” (788.) See also Tropper, *Nekromantie*, 172.

of codices use *θελητής*, the Lucianic group presents *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, in agreement with the Old Greek section α. The same reading can be found in the parallel text of 2Kgs 23:24, 2Chr 33:6.

The secondary versions of the Septuagint seem to support the Lucianic reading: The Old Latin fragments of 1Samuel agree with the Old Greek form *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*, though the evidence appears in the form of a doublet, or rather a composite reading; so the *Legionensis* gloss to 28:3, *eos qui habebant in ventre pythones*; 28:7 *quae habet in ventre pythones*; 28:9 *eos qui habebant in ventre pythones*.³⁶ The inclusion of *in ventre* definitely points to the OL materials reflecting the Greek *ἐγγαστρίμυθος*. On the other hand, *pythones* indicates the Vulgate influence, although in 28:3 and 28:9 Jerome's word of choice is *magos*.³⁷ OL rather seems to have been influenced by the Vulgate constructions in 28:7 *mulierem habentem pythonem* to produce this mixed reading. In the same line, the version of the *Breviarium Gothicum* of 28:3³⁸ includes a doublet, and the Vulgate reading *Saul abstulit magos et ariolos de terra* is followed by the sentence *et interfecit eos qui pythones habebant in ventre*. Augustine³⁹ also attests a mixed reading: *quod pythones et ventriloquos de regno suo delevit*. Here we find a literal translation of *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* together with *pythones*, usual in Vulgate. This layering of readings is detailed in Bede,⁴⁰ *est mulier habens pithonem in Aendor. Recte pithonissa, quam quidam ventriloquam appellant, in Aendor esse narratur*; and also by Jerome himself,⁴¹ *a muliere qui erat in Endor et habebat iuxta septuaginta interpretes spiritum pythonem, iuxta Hebraeos magum*. This explanation would indicate that for Jerome *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* = *python* when the word is used for a spirit or practice, and that in this case he is basing his own Vulgate translation in his understanding of

³⁶ The *Legionensis* readings appear in Vercellone, *Variae Lectiones Vulgatae Latinae Bibliorum Editionis* (Vol. 2. I; Roma: Spithöver, 1860). The gloss to 28:3 is missing from the critical edition in C. Morano Rodríguez, *Glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas. 1-2 Samuel* (Madrid: CSIC, 1989), 31, but the same reading appears as a gloss to 28:9.

³⁷ The Vulgate seems to discriminate rather carefully between the usages of *אֹרַב*: *magus* for the actual practitioner; *python* for the practice or spirit. In one case (1Chr 10:13) we find *pythionissa* for the practitioner; in Le 20:27 the text is especially explicit, as the expression *pyhonicus...spiritus* is used.

³⁸ Edited by J.P. Migne in *Patrologia Latina*. vol. 86 (1850.)

³⁹ *Contra Faustum* 22:65.

⁴⁰ *Comm. Samuelis*, 255:1819, 1833.

⁴¹ *Epistula* 78, 38,1.

the LXX interpretation when translating בֹּאֵן;⁴² on the other hand, when the Hebrew word is used for a practitioner, he aligns himself with some of the Hexaplaric traditions in using *magus* (see below.) In turn, this choice of words in Jerome is meaningful for the two cases in the καὶ γε γδ section, 2Kgs 21:6 and 23:24. Here, against the usage of θελητής in non-Lucianic codices, the Vulgate keeps using *pythones* (and hence reflecting ἐγγαστρίμυθος according to his own explanation)⁴³: *et fecit pythones et aruspices multiplicavit* (21:6); *set et pythones et ariolos* (23:24.) This evidence, though indirect, could concur in indicating that the OG reading in the καὶ γε γδ section was ἐγγαστρίμυθος, as in the OG section α, and that the majority reading θελητής of 2Kgs 21:6 and 23:24 was recensional, and in all likelihood an attempt to produce a more literal rendering of the Hebrew בֹּאֵן, although through a wrong etymology.⁴⁴ With only two cases, it would be quantitatively problematic to classify the majority reading θελητής as a καὶ γε feature (though strictly speaking it fulfills the requirements of appearing only in a καὶ γε section and never appearing in an OG section of Samuel-Kings.) In any case, it would be a recensional feature of the majority text, whereas the Lucianic reading should be considered the Old Greek translation of בֹּאֵן throughout the historical books.

Finally, the third deviation from ἐγγαστρίμυθος in the Septuagint is associated to the three usages of בֹּאֵן in the book of Isaiah, Isa 8:19; 19:3; and 29:4. As anticipated above, the problem here involves both word-order and the particular choice of the terms for translation: in 8:19 and 19:3, the already-familiar ἐγγαστρίμυθος appears in the second position of the pair, whereas the first place is taken by the phrase τοὺς ἀπὸ/ἐκ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας. It is hard not to agree with Ziegler's edition and apparatus, where he considers the codices and text groups which present the opposite order (τοὺς ἐγγαστρίμυθους καὶ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας) in 8:19 as secondary; it would constitute

⁴² Given that *python* is also the source for the Mishnaic tradition on בֹּאֵן (see above), Jerome's testimony is even more meaningful, as it provides another link for the Greek and rabbinic conceptualizations of biblical necromantic praxis.

⁴³ Other Greek and Latin Patristic sources add to Jerome's evidence in 2Kgs 21:6 readings: Lucifer *Reg. 8, et fecit pythones et divinos multos*; Eucherius *IV Reg. 4, et fecit pythones et aruspices multiplicavit*.

⁴⁴ See above, n. 34. The recensional character of the reading is also supported by its usage by some Hexaplaric sources in other passages (various Hexaplaric texts and catenae in Lev 19:31; 20:6 and 20:27; Theodotion in Deut 18:11; Aquila in 1Sam 28:9).

a later harmonization of the text to put it in a closer agreement with MT, thus supporting a conception of the Greek translators / revisors of אוב = ἐγγαστρίμυθος.⁴⁵ The case of 29:4 is even more problematic. Here, in Hebrew we do not find the pair, but אוב alone as part of a comparison. Still, the Septuagint translation is οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς.⁴⁶ In this case, we have a Hebrew *Vorlage* for ἐκ τῆς γῆς in MT, as the phrase reads אוב מְאָרֶץ and so the immediate context of the word could be a source of inspiration for the Greek translators. Nevertheless, the appearance of the same phrase in the other two passages of Isaiah is well-grounded in necromantic contexts, as the parallel constructions indicate: In 8:19 אֱלֹהֵי-הָאָבוֹת וְאֱלֹהֵי-יְדֻעֵנִים are equated to two participles, הַמְצַפְצָפִים וְהַמְהַגִּים, and further supplemented by an explanation explicitly referring to consultation of the dead, אֱלֹהֵי-הַמֵּתִים. In 19:3 we also find אוב and יְדֻעוֹנֵי in parallel to אֱלִילִים and אֲטִים, words which very probably refer to otherworldly entities involved in the summoning of the dead.⁴⁷ Therefore, it is quite likely that the Septuagint rendering in these three Isaiah passages is an alternate expression of a necromantic practice, which is actually, completely congruent with the biblical (and ancient Mesopotamian) model where a dead shade “ascends”: the necromancer of 1Sam 28 does in fact make the dead “ascend” (Saul uses the *hiph’il* imperative הַעֲלֵי when asking her to invoke Samuel; this usage in turn matches cleanly the Akkadian technicism *šūlū*.⁴⁸) Hence, it is a logical consequence that those shades come or

⁴⁵ Not too surprising, giving the presence of the translation equation in important and well-circulated books of the Bible, like the Pentateuch or the episode of Saul in 1Sam 28.

⁴⁶ The only variations on this reading are to be found in Hexaplaric sources (ms. 86 from the Alexandrian group, citations from Procopius of Gaza, and Jerome's *Commentarius in Isaiam*.) They will be discussed below together with all other Hexaplaric materials on אוב.

⁴⁷ A widespread etymological proposal derives אֲטִים from the Akkadian *etemmu*, “ghost, spirit of the dead” (cf. *HALOT*, 37; *CAD* vol. 4, 397 f.); the association of the אֱלִילִים “gods” with summoning of the dead in the Mesopotamian world (and its relationship to the Hebrew Bible), cf. B.B. Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead. Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake IN: Eisenbraun, 1994), 211-220, for Egyptian correlates, cf. R. K. Ritner, “Necromancy in Ancient Egypt,” in Ciruolo and Seidel (eds.), *Magic and Divination*, 89-96.

⁴⁸ Cf. *CAD* vol. 4, 127-128. For specific parallels with Hebrew specialized vocabulary, see Seidel, “Necromantic Praxis,” 103; O. Loretz, “Nekromantie und Totenevokation in Mesopotamien, Ugarit und Israel,” in *Religionsgeschichtliche Beziehungen zwischen Kleinasien, Nordsyrien und dem Alten Testament*:

speak from the ground.⁴⁹ Also, this conception fits seamlessly in the Talmudic and Midrashic traditions commented in Section 1.2 above, where practitioners of necromancy (through its several possible techniques) are characterized with terms derived from Hebrew עלה or Aramaic סלק. All in all, it would be justified to consider the LXX reading οἱ φωνοῦντες ἐκ τῆς γῆς as an alternative rendering of אוב which is well-grounded at the very least in the conceptions of necromancy common to Judaism in the late b.c.e. and early c.e. centuries, possibly with roots and inspiration going further back in Hebrew and Ancient Near Eastern history. This would not require proposing a variant Hebrew *Vorlage*, but would be a witness to a particular tradition of interpretation for a word which, as attested by the many commentaries and speculation, ancient and modern, was already a “difficult” term at the time the Septuagint was translated and the Jewish traditions which would later become the rabbinic corpus started to take shape.

With this last consideration in mind, it is possible to try to solve the textual problem mentioned above: in the Isaiah cases, the proposed Old Greek text does not equate ἐγγαστρίμυθος with אוב, but displaces it to the second position of the pair. This is a difficult scenario for a concordance writer (as attested in Hatch and Redpath's entry⁵⁰) and seems to indicate that the translator did not operate under purely mechanical criteria (which would make the text critics' job far too easy) but rather tried to include in his rendering of the Hebrew pair of necromantic terms two Greek lexical items which would be representative of the practice detailed in the verses in question. In the case of Isaiah, the choice was to include:

1. a phrase expressing the well-attested situation relating the spirits

Internationales Symposium Hamburg 17-21. März 1990 (Ed. by B. Janowski, K. Koch, G. Wilhelm; OBO 129; Freiburg/Göttingen: Universitätsverlag/Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 1993), 285-318, 304-307.

⁴⁹ Furthermore, the term “earth” can have, in the right contexts, considerable underworld connotations in Hebrew (ארץ) and other ancient languages of the area (Ugaritic 'rṣ; Akkadian *erṣetu*; Sumerian *ki*.) Without the need of postulating a variant Hebrew *Vorlage* based on a retroversion of the Greek phrase, it is quite possible that the expression denotes -at least partially- this Semitic usage of “earth”, as found in the Hebrew of Isa 29:4, “like an 'ōb from the Netherworld.” Given the high recurrence of the word ארץ in that verse, it is even possible that the poet intended to create a pun between literal earth = ground (in the sense of abasement and humiliation) and the funerary and otherworldly earth = burial ground + Netherworld.

⁵⁰ See above, n. 27.

of the dead to the “ground,” whence they speak when summoned;

2. a term which seems to be related to a specific technique for invoking spirits and inquiring from them.⁵¹

These data seem to indicate that, together with a quite stable equation אוב = ἐγγαστρίμυθος, the Septuagint translators accepted some level of latitude and freedom in order to express, within the pairs of necromantic terms, nuances and references to practices that they considered relevant. These references can be important when trying to retrieve the Old Greek text of certain passages, and given their connection to word-pairs, will be further analyzed in relationship with the second item of the pair.

2.2. *A Shifty Sibling: LXX renderings of ידעוני*

As visible in the tables above, against the remarkable stability of אוב = ἐγγαστρίμυθος, the situation of ידעוני is more diverse, both between biblical books and, in some books, between variant readings. As it has been anticipated above, it seems likely that these words were understood *as a pair*, and the translator produced renderings to create, in Greek, another pair of complementary concepts which matched his cultural vision of necromancy. This is, on a translational level, analogous to the rabbinic procedures detailed above, where Mishna and Talmud authors ascribe practices they were familiar with to the two terms in order to create a complementary distribution (see above) As a result, we have a series of recurring terms which translate ידעוני in the main text of the Septuagint:

- a) ἐπαοιδός appears as the main choice of translation in the three Leviticus cases and in the single case of Chronicles;
- b) γνώστης / γνωριστής features in Samuel-Kings;
- c) τερατοσκόπος appears only once, in the Deuteronomy passage
- d) the distribution in the Isaiah verses has been treated above and

⁵¹ On the complicated and rich academic discussion on the necromantic connotations of ἐγγαστρίμυθος (or lack thereof) in non-Biblical, non-Patristic Greek sources, see Torallas Tovar and Maravela-Solbakk, “Between Necromancers and Ventriloquists,” 426-437; for some complementary remarks, see also J.T.Katz, and K. Volk, “Mere Bellies? A New Look at *Theogony* 26-8,” *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 120 (2000): 122-131; a view more receptive to a non-biblical association of the word to necromancy is expressed in D. Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy* (Oxford-Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001), 112-115.

will not be discussed again here.

On *ἐπασιδός*, it is remarkable that its usage is not confined to the rendering of ידעוני. The word is the choice term for translating different Hebrew or Aramaic words with the meaning of magician or enchanter.⁵² In most cases, it refers explicitly to *foreign* practitioners of magic, which are presented in a negative (or impotent way.) Therefore, it cannot be considered a specialized necromantic term within the Greek text. Nevertheless, the etymological meaning of the word is relevant for a discussion on approaches to the interpretation of אוב and ידעוני in biblical and extra-biblical Jewish traditions, as the Greek *ἐπαείδω* may have a specific meaning “sing as an incantation”, and “use charms and incantations,”⁵³ related but specialized from the basic usage of singing. It is then possible that the choice of this word by the LXX translators in the indicated passages were related to the cultural background attested in rabbinic sources where the invocation of the dead is carried out “by naming” or “by incantation” (בזכרו),⁵⁴ in a remarkable agreement with the majority reading in all preserved Targumim, where זכרו ends up rendering BH ידעוני.⁵⁵

The usage of *τερατοσκόπος* is hard to define, given its rarity, both for translating ידעוני (only in Deut 18:11) and in the Septuagint in general.⁵⁶ Semantically, it seems far more general than other mantic (including necromantic) terms, as it refers to a diviner or soothsayer in general.⁵⁷ The same word—or the similar *σημειοσκόπος*—appear in a number of Hexaplaric sources and, as I will discuss in the following

⁵² חרטם, used for the Egyptian wizards in Exodus 7:11; 7:22; 8:3; 8:14; 8:15; and the Chaldaean magicians in Daniel 2:2, 2:27; 5:7 (missing in MT); 5:8 (missing in MT); חובר (enchantment, spellcaster) in Isa 47:9 and in Sir 12:13 (MT Isa 47:9 reads “thy spells,” חֲבֵרֶיךָ, but the participle appears in 1QIsa^a 39:29; חובריך, the Hebrew Ben Sira also has preserved a participle חובר.)

⁵³ Liddell & Scott, 603 col. 1.

⁵⁴ See above in the treatment of Targumic and Talmudic evidence.

⁵⁵ At this point of the discussion it is not relevant whether in earlier phases of the development of the Targumim זכרו was used for translating אוב (as it is the case in the Peshitta) and its placement as the second element in the pair was part of a progressive process (which includes the double readings detailed in my section on Targumic variants.) The idea at hand is that at some stage of reading and interpretation traditions of the Bible, the notion of invoking the dead via incantations was relevant enough both in rabbinic and LXX sources for it to become one of the essential elements in the pair of terms used to render אוב and ידעוני.

⁵⁶ Deut 18:11, discussed here, and Zech 3:8, where it is translating אנשי מופת in a rather confused way, as it interprets the phrase as “men who examine signs” (ἀνδρες τερατοσκόποι) instead of “men who are seen as a sign” (“men wondered at” NRSV.)

⁵⁷ Liddell & Scott, 1776.

section, could be connected to a progressive process of turning specific necromantic terms into more general references to magic and divination. The concrete case of Deut 18:11, where *τερατοσκόπος* appears in the main text, could be due to, contextual influence, as the list of practitioners in the verse also includes, at the beginning, *ἐπαιδών ἐπαιδοῦν*. Different forms of *ἐπαιδών* are used in the Septuagint to translate both *ידעוני* and *חובר*, so it is probable that here the Greek translator, in order to avoid repetition of the same term twice in a list, used a different, semantically-related, word to render *ידעוני*.⁵⁸ Therefore, the usage of *τερατοσκόπος* would be contextual in Deut 18:11, and of little relevance for the history of the translation of *ידעוני* in the Septuagint.

Finally, *γνώστης* / *γνωριστής* remains to be explained. At first sight, it seems to be a literal rendering which tries to reproduce faithfully the Hebrew by interpreting *ידעוני* as a derivate of the root *ידע*, to know, and the using a word from the related Greek root (*γιγνώσκω*, to know.) This literal approach is similar to the option taken in the Peshitta (ܓܘܫܬܐ) and it also appears, besides the main text of Samuel-Kings, in Hexaplaric variants to other passages which present different translation options in the main text (see the table at the beginning of this section.) Nevertheless, the reading is not the only way of translating *ידעוני* in the Septuagint witnesses of Samuel-Kings, and an attempt to reconstruct the textual history of the reading in the Greek tradition of the historical books could be of interest:

1) Within evidence in the Greek language, there is one case, 1Sam 28:9, where the Lucianic texts stands in disagreement with the majority text, as it translates *τοὺς ἀποφθεγγόμενους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς*. The translation generates a syntactic ambiguity, as *ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς* could be understood either as the verbal complement (Saul expelled “from the land”) or as part of the nominal phrase (“those who utter from the earth.”) The second option is remarkably similar in structure to the phrase which renders *אוב* in the Septuagint passages of Isaiah discussed above.

⁵⁸ In turn, even though it is a minor textual feature, the absence of a copulative particle between *τερατοσκόπος* and *ἐπερωτῶν τοὺς νεκρούς* (cf. MT *וְיִדְעוּנִי וְיִדְעוּ אֶל־הַמָּתִים*) could have been—at least partially—the result of the translator (or later scribes) wanting to specify more clearly the semantic field of *τερατοσκόπος*. Regardless of the degree of redundancy between *אוב*, *יִדְעוּנִי*, and *וְיִדְעוּ אֶל־הַמָּתִים*, MT presents three practitioners, whereas LXX has two practitioners plus one participle phrase which further explains the previous category.

2) The Old Latin version⁵⁹ has preserved a reading of 1Sam 28:3, *et eos qui respondebant a terra*, which can be easily retro-translated into a Greek form very similar to the Lucianic variant of 28:9.

3) The extant Sahidic Coptic text of 1Samuel⁶⁰ attests both in 28:3 and 28:9 structures and lexicon very similar to the Lucianic variant of 28:9: $\text{NNEKACTPIMIN}\Theta\text{OC ET}\Theta\text{E NPE}\bar{\text{C}}\bar{\text{E}}\text{NK}\bar{\text{W}}\bar{\text{A}}\text{C EZOYNI NE M}\bar{\text{N}} \text{NET}\Psi\text{INE EBOLA Z}\bar{\text{M}} \text{PKAHZ}$ (28:3);⁶¹ $\text{NNEKACTPIMIN}\Theta\text{OC M}\bar{\text{N}} \text{NETE}\Psi\bar{\text{A}}\text{Y}\Psi\text{INE EBOLA Z}\bar{\text{M}} \text{PKAZ}$ (28:9).⁶²

4) In the Georgian version of 1Samuel 28:9, the majority of codices⁶³ read ყოველნი მეცნიერნი და მისანნი და ულუკნი და ქუეყანით მეტყუელნი.⁶⁴ This testimony is rich in doublets and has clearly incorporated Hexaplaric sources. It does, nevertheless, preserve the Lucianic reading. Also, the text of 28:3 could provide some indirect evidence: ყოველი მისანი და გრძნეული და ულუკი სოფლისაგან თვისსა ქუეყანასა ზედა.⁶⁵ The repetition of a local complement, “from his land upon the earth,” besides being awkward, is only attested (though recurring so) in the Georgian version of 1Sam 28:3. It is very possible that this almost-redundant repetition is the result of an original (or *Vorlage*) reading which included two distinct values for “from the earth”, one referring to Saul's expulsion of necromancers from the land of Israel, and another connected to “those who speak from the earth” in the sense clearly attested in Georgian in 28:9 and also in the other LXX witnesses discussed above.

These materials are scant and disperse, but what is remarkable about them is their agreement in including one rendering of וְיַעֲזֹב , which departs from the majority reading $\gamma\upsilon\acute{\alpha}\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$ / $\gamma\upsilon\alpha\rho\iota\sigma\tau\eta\varsigma$, in

⁵⁹ *Codex Legionensis* gloss. See above n. 35.

⁶⁰ For the Sahidic text, see J. Drescher, *The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Kingdoms I-II* (CSCO 313; Leuven: Peeters, 1970).

⁶¹ “the $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$, that is, the necromancers, and those who would answer from the earth.”

⁶² “the $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\rho\iota\mu\acute{\alpha}\theta\omicron\varsigma$ and those who would answer from the earth.”

⁶³ F, O and S. I would like to thank Prof. Anna Kharanauli from the University of Tbilisi for supplying me with Georgian materials and priceless advice on their textual history.

⁶⁴ “all knowing ones, and magicians and diviners, and those who speak from the earth.” As the Georgian language composes a well-marked nominal chain, it is quite clear that this version understood “from the earth” as a complement of “those who speak.”

⁶⁵ Codices F O Ja S, “all magicians and knowing ones and diviners from his land upon the earth.”

versions of the Septuagint which are unlikely to be related to each other unless it is via a common Greek *Vorlage*. It is especially relevant that a reading **τοὺς ἀποφθεγγόμενους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς* can be reconstructed in a passage (1Sam 28:3) where G^L aligns itself with the majority Greek text by an agreement between Sahidic and Old Latin (plus the hint of a possible late correction in the Georgian version.) Agreement in 1Sam 28:9 between G^L, Sahidic and Georgian is also relevant; although it could be interpreted as a “Lucianic correction/insertion” in the Sahidic and Georgian traditions,⁶⁶ its agreement with the previous case, without a correlate in preserved Greek manuscripts, is remarkable and could indicate a textual leftover from a text almost completely obliterated due to correction and revision. In this sense, and even though our evidence in the versions is fragmentary, it is worth mentioning that the few “survivors” of this tradition of translation are found in the OG section α of 1Samuel. On the other hand, the two witnesses from the καὶ γε section γδ (2Kgs 21:6 and 23:24) seem to have experienced a more intense recensional process of unification with the majority reading. Perhaps this textual landscape would slightly change if the fragmentary versions (OL and Sahidic) had preserved those two verses.

Once the textual map has been presented, it would be adequate to analyze the possible causes of the recurrence of the variant reading **τοὺς ἀποφθεγγόμενους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς* in G^L and in the secondary versions. Three basic options should be considered:

1. That the reading is a direct influence of the Isaiah passages detailed above (especially Isa 8:19 and 19:3, where *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας* appears as a pair with *τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους*.) Therefore, it should be considered as secondary in the LXX tradition. This explanation is problematic on two different levels: First, given its dissemination throughout secondary versions, one would have to accept a very high level of coincidence or propose a common origin in a Greek *Vorlage*. For the aforementioned dissemination to have taken place (especially in the OL - G^L agreement), this origin should have been very early; hence a priori secondariness becomes questionable. Second, for a direct influence of the Isaiah passages,

⁶⁶ Sah tends to follow a majority / B-text type; Georgian codices vary in the concentration of Lucianic readings, from the Lucianic (or corrected via Lucianic manuscripts) Codex O to later codices (such as S), where matches with the Lucianic text are more sporadic.

one would expect more agreement in the lexical choice, but what we find in G^L 1Sam 28:9 is quite a specific and rare term, ἀποφθεγγόμενους, in contrast with the more generic and common φωνοῦντας of Isaiah.⁶⁷ In turn, it could be proposed that φωνοῦντας was the earlier reading and that ἀποφθεγγόμενους is the result of Lucian's activity.⁶⁸ But, again, this would give a modicum of antiquity to the reading, as it would have been known (and stylistically improved) by Lucian without being part of Lucian's direct action on the text. Hence, it would be more cautious to propose a shared translation tradition, without assuming direct influence.

2. That the reading is a mistake of a Greek translator, who had trouble with the rare word ידעוני. It is remarkable that in all its usages in Samuel-Kings, it always appears with the definite article ה. In Hebrew writings of the 2nd Century b.c.e. - 1st Century c.e., the shapes of י, ה, and ד are quite similar, and the reader could certainly omit, at least visually, part of the sequence.⁶⁹ Given the plural number of the word throughout Samuel-Kings⁷⁰, this visual phenomenon would be synergic with a *lectio facilior*: understanding the rare הַיְדַעֹנִים as a more common—both lexically and grammatically—הַעֲנִיִּים, “those who answer.”⁷¹ This hypothesis is nigh-impossible to prove or disprove; in any case, accepting it would require us to assume that the mistake took place when translating from a Hebrew original, so it could not be attributed to intra-Septuagint corruption or recension but to an ancient Greek translation.

3. That the reading is an alternate way of translating ידעוני in the Septuagint, without the need of proposing the mistake in the *Vorlage* reading detailed in 2) or considering it a late or secondary feature. Obviously, option 2) would be included as a further explanation of 3), but it is not a requirement for it, given that “those who speak from the earth” does fit well, without any change in the Hebrew *Vorlage*

⁶⁷ Though not as clearly as G^L, the versions (Sahidic and Old Latin) also present a level of specification (“to answer”) lacking in the Isaiah text.

⁶⁸ An argument supporting this hypothesis is that ἀποφθέγγομαι, though not frequent in the Septuagint, does appear in a few contexts with direct connections to sorcery or (mostly false) prophecy: 1Chr 25:1; Ps 58:8; Mic 5:11; Zech 10:2; Ezek 13:9; 13:19.)

⁶⁹ The sequence of *he yodh daleth* could trigger a quasi-haplography.

⁷⁰ At least in the LXX understanding of its Hebrew *Vorlage*; for the textual problem of 1Sam 28:9 regarding singular vs. plural, see above Section 1.

⁷¹ It is interesting that ענה is the root of choice in 1Sam 28:6 and 15 to denote Saul's failure at procuring a divine answer by traditional (non-forbidden) means.

whatsoever, into the cultural lines of necromantic practice detailed in previous sections.⁷² This network of references to necromantic praxis will be detailed in the Conclusions to this paper.

To close the survey of ידעוני and its Greek renderings in the Septuagint of Samuel-Kings, it is necessary to consider that, despite the fragmentary evidence, here we are comparing a variant reading attested (though scantily) in the Lucianic text and in several (and mutually unrelated) secondary versions, some of which (mainly OL) are recurrently used as a touchstone to define Lucianic variants as Old Greek readings.⁷³ Were the surviving evidence more thorough, it would be feasible to propose τὸς ἀποφθεγγόμενους ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς⁷⁴ as the OG reading, whereas γνώστης / γνωριστής could be defined as a recensional reading, not a καὶ γε feature, as it appears throughout G^B (and partly in G^L) in the OG section α, but some sort of καὶ γε-like or similarly undetermined recensional feature which deleted the previous reading almost completely. The usage of γνώστης / γνωριστής as a technical word for divination (including necromancy) is unaccounted for outside the Septuagint (and texts directly related to it), so it definitely has all the traits of a word produced in an attempt to literally render the Hebrew ידעוני. Given its success, it is quite possible to assume that it was the word of choice for a revision of the Greek text which brought it closer to Hebrew sources. Although, again, the scarcity of materials and readings in Samuel-Kings may challenge any firm conclusions, it is illustrative how γνώστης / γνωριστής repeatedly appears in Hexaplaric sources which give alternate readings to other ways of rendering ידעוני throughout the Septuagint: ἐπαοιδός in the three Leviticus verses; τερατοσκόπος in Deut 18:11. Also, in Isa 19:3 καὶ τοὺς γνώστας appears as a plus in codices S and A, a clear attempt to bring this text in line with a more literal translation of the pair: τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ τοὺς γνώστας. So, it seems more logical, given the evidence of the texts, that

⁷² See the previous section on Rabbinic interpretations about summoning of the dead.

⁷³ See, e.g., A. Piquer, P. Torijano, and J. Trebelle, "Septuagint Versions, Greek Recensions and Hebrew Editions. The Text-Critical Evaluation of the Old Latin, Armenian and Georgian Versions in III-IV Regnum," in *Translating a Translation. The LXX and its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (Ed. by H. Ausloos, J. Cook, *et al.*; BETL 213; Leuven-Paris-Dudley MA: Peeters, 2008), 251-281.

⁷⁴ Or a similar phrase with a different verb, given the possibility of ἀποφθεγγόμενους being the result of Lucianic stylistic improvement; see above n. 67.

changing readings into γνώστης / γνωριστής was the prevalent tendency of the transmission of these words. The development and insertion of an alternative form would have been quite unlikely; a variant in the Historical Books could be better explained as a leftover from an earlier (closer to OG and less literal) way of translating the Hebrew text.

2.3. Hexaplaric Readings and Cultural Shifts

In the previous sections, I have tried to outline the textual situation of Greek renderings of אוב and ידעוני in the Septuagint, with a special focus on Samuel-Kings and the interaction between texts B and L. This picture should be completed with a brief survey of the variant readings connected to the Three and other Hexaplaric sources, which can offer additional insight into the ideological process of conception and translation of necromantic terminology.

Examining the right column of the table at the beginning of this section, it is possible to see that there are a number of recurring terms in Hexaplaric sources to translate אוב and ידעוני and that some of them are connected to a particular column of the Hexapla:

1. μάγος systematically translates אוב in Aquila materials in all contexts,⁷⁵ both in Greek sources and in the Syro-Hexapla. It also appears in catena materials, associated to Hexaplaric readings, in Leviticus.

2. θελητής appears in different sources, also rendering אוב. In two instances (Deut 18:11 and Isa 8:19) it is presented as a Theodotion reading; in 1Sam 28:9 it is identified with Aquila and constitutes a doublet with μάγος. The reading exploits the false etymology detailed above under the comments on ἐγγαστρίμυθος.

3. In Syro-Hexaplaric sources of 2Kings, we find the reading ܡܚܠܠܐ ܕܥܝܢܐ, “those who speak with / from the belly.” In 21:6 it is attributed to the Hebrew; in 23:24 to Symmachus. This is a remarkable reading, as it constitutes a literal rendering into Syriac of

⁷⁵ In 1Sam 28:3, it appears as an Aquila reading of ידעוני. It is possible that a transposition took place at some point in the transmission process of the Hexapla materials. A similar situation can be seen in Hexaplaric sources for Leviticus 20:27, where F^b reads ἀναγνωρ[ιστής] ἢ μάγ[ος], whereas M presents the more expectable order θελητής ἢ γνώστης, attested also by F^b in 19:31, μάγοις καὶ ἀναγνωριστ[αῖς].

ἐγγαστρίμυθος. Given the distribution and textual typology of this word, it is most likely that here SyrHex has preserved an Old Greek reading, and its sources perhaps felt that the translation θελητής of the majority text of LXX was wrong (as the wrong etymology explained above.)

4. In the Pentateuch verses, וַיִּגְדִּי tends to be translated by words connected with knowledge (γνώστας, ἀναγνωριστ-αῖς, γνωριστής), thus echoing the usage of the word in the Septuagint instances of Samuel-Kings (with the exceptions and problems commented above.) Its literal attitude towards the Hebrew word could, again, prove a recensional feature typical of an attempt to produce a more faithful translation.⁷⁶ γνώστας also appears in Isa 19:3 as an addition in G^A. This Hexaplaric tendency could be an additional argument in proposing a non-Old Greek origin of the form γνώστας in Samuel-Kings either.

5. In Samuel-Kings, Aquila sources present σημειοσκόπους instead of γνώστας. This word would constitute, like μάγος, a progressive generalization of the technical terms, moving away from words which could be considered necromancy-specific and into the realm of divination at large. Similar to this cases, in the Pentateuch there are some other terms which move the text in the same direction: μάντις (Lev 19:31) and τερατοσκόποις (Lev 20:6),⁷⁷ some alone, some part of a doublet.

All in all, the general picture⁷⁸ we get from this data is that Hexaplaric materials either attempt to produce a literal reading (either by re-introducing the false etymology resulting in θελητής for וַיִּגְדִּי or by applying a literal rendering of a derivate of yd' for וַיִּגְדִּי) of the Hebrew text or opt to introduce words which cover wider ideas of divination and soothsaying, which become further and further removed from the more precise attempts at producing Greek terms related to necromancy or at least summoning of spirits of some kind.

This tendency of the Hexaplaric materials is also manifest (probably at least in part due to Hexaplaric influence) in some of the

⁷⁶ One SyrHex witness of Aquila presents ρωα, a direct derivation from the Hebrew root yd', and, remarkably, identical to the word used in the Peshitta.

⁷⁷ For considerations on the secondary character of this reading, see the previous section, 2.2.

⁷⁸ The preservation of the OG in the SyrHex materials of 2Kgs would be exceptional and due to a possible relationship of the Symmachus materials with the Lucianic text.

versions, both the secondary versions of the Septuagint and the Vulgate:

1. The Armenian version of LXX Samuel-Kings translates **גוֹיִם** and **יִדְעוּי** with **վիռլ** and **գէտ**. The former is a generic “negative magic” term, which could mean “fattucchiero, stregone, ammaliatore, mago, negromante, venefico, incantatore...”⁷⁹ The latter, with associated meanings like diviner, magician, dream-interpreter, or wizard, derives from the same root as the verb “to know.” Thus it could be a quasi-literal rendering of the Greek **γνωστής** (or a similar word.) Therefore, the Armenian attests the two Hexaplaric tendencies mentioned in the previous paragraph: resort to generic magical terms and literal approach to the root **yd’**. Either the Armenian text derives from (or is heavily influenced by) a Hexaplaric Greek or it partakes in the same ideological tendency on necromantic terms.⁸⁰

2. The Georgian manuscripts also present a marked tendency to introduce readings which depart from necromancy-specific terms and present more general descriptors of sorcery and divination, either independently or through influence of Hexaplaric materials in the Georgian text (or its *Vorlage*.) This tendency runs parallel to the preservation of important Lucianic readings discussed above and is more or less marked according to the different books and codices. For instance, in Samuel codex B systematically uses **მთგვ** (“magician”, in all likelihood a loanword from **μάγος**) to render LXX **ἐγγαστρίμυθος**, in a remarkable agreement with Vulgate and with the Aquila readings commented above.⁸¹ Also, it is common to find an accumulation of duplicates, which turn the pair of necromantic terms

⁷⁹ Sorcerer, warlock, bewitcher, magician, necromancer, poisoner, enchanter, according to E. Ciackiak, *Dizionario Armeno-Italiano* (Venice: San Lazzaro), 1837.

⁸⁰ The same tendency is also visible in the Pentateuch passages, where **վիռլ** and **գէտ** are the terms of choice in the Leviticus verses (thus reflecting, probably, a Greek *Vorlage* for the second word with the Hexaplaric reading instead of **ἐπασιδός** of the main text; in Deuteronomy 18:11 we find **վիռլ** and a quasi-literal rendering of **τερατοσκόπος**, **նշանագէտ**, “knower of signs.” Chronicles uses **վիռլ** and **թովիշ** (again, a generic term, wizard, sorcerer.)

⁸¹ It would be possible to propose Hexaplaric influence in B; nevertheless, the extremely late date of the codex and the possibility of it incorporating readings external to the Greek tradition cannot be discounted. A more distinct case of Aquila readings in codex B may be found in the rendering of Deut 18:11, where the Aquila **ἐπερωτῶν μάγον** is deftly reflected in codices BDES as **უღუკთმკითხველი**, that is, “the one who asks from/by the *uluk*.” *uluk* is used repeatedly throughout the Georgian Bible to translate **ἐγγαστρίμυθος**, and seems to be the translation of choice in the earlier manuscripts throughout Samuel-Kings.

into a longer list depicting generic diviners, soothsayers and sorcerers.⁸² Finally, in some codices and books we do find the reading მუცლითმეზღაპრედ, literally “the one who tells stories/lies from the belly”, obviously a literal translation of ἐγγαστρίμυθος. The term is standard in the Leviticus and Isaiah cases and also appears in part of the manuscript tradition at 2Kgs 23:24 (codices FJS), but it is remarkably absent from codex O, and not attested in the evidence for 1Samuel. Georgian textual history of the LXX is particularly problematic, and this case makes us wonder whether მუცლითმეზღაპრედ, at least in the Georgian version of the Former Prophets, was not translated directly from the LXX but mediated by the Symmachus reading discussed above.⁸³ All in all, the Georgian codices, though in different stages, seem to have partaken of the tendency to blur necromancy into a more generic presentation of divination and magic.

3. Some of the Vulgate readings have been discussed above when dealing with the LXX translation of ჳაღ. To summarize, it seems that Jerome combined two ways of rendering ჳაღ, one applied to the practitioner, *magus*, another one to the involved spirit, *python*.⁸⁴ Both of them seem to imply a distance from necromancy-specific ideas and a growing inclusion of generic divination terms,⁸⁵ which is even more

⁸² e.g. 1Sam 28:3 (codices FJaOS), მისანი და გრძნეული და ულიკი (*diviner, sorcerer and seer*); 28:9 (codices FOS), მეცნიერნი და მისანნი და ულუკი და ქუეყანით მეტყუელნი (*knowing ones and diviners, and seer and those who speak from the earth.*) Here it has to be underscored how some probably old readings (“those who speak from the earth”) are combined with forms reflecting prospectively recensional readings (both გრძნეული from 28:3 and მეცნიერნი are connected to Georgian roots meaning “to know”, and thus could be an attempt to reflect the Greek γωστιάς, but, on the other hand, the lexical overlap between magic and knowledge is well-attested in different language families, so it could be coincidental, or perhaps just play some role in the choice of terms by the translator), and with new items introduced by the translator either as explicative glosses or just to round up the listing.

⁸³ Which, in turn, would be preserving an OG reading. Given that in 2Kgs 23:24 part of the Greek tradition read the problematic θελήτης, it is possible to conceive the word as a later correction, which explains its divergence for the apparently standard Georgian translation of ἐγγαστρίμυθος, ულუკი.

⁸⁴ And according to *Ep.* 78, he translates *python* “iuxta septuaginta interpretes.” See above n.41.

⁸⁵ The term *magus*, like its Hexaplaric analogue μάγος, seems to be indicating a generic practitioner of magic. The possibility of it including some necromantic elements, based largely on the Graeco-Roman perception of Persian magical practices, has been discussed in Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, esp. 128-132.

visible in the different ways of rendering ידעוני, *ariolus* (Lev 19:31; 20:6; 20:27;⁸⁶ 1Sam 28:3,9; 2Kgs 23:24; Isa 19:3), *divinus*⁸⁷ (Deut 18:11; Isa 8:19), *aruspex* (2Kgs 21:6⁸⁸), *incantator* (2Chr 33:6⁸⁹). Even though some of these terms designate specialized practitioners (like the reference to haruspices), none of them has specific links with necromancy, hence Vulgate seems to partake in the process of generalization of the pair אוב and ידעוני as practices of divination or magic at large. It does, nevertheless, preserve an important tradition of interpretation in the inclusion of *pythones* as the spirits associated to the אוב praxis, as it could reveal a close parallel between the Rabbinic tradition of interpretation discussed in 1.X above and the LXX tradition,⁹⁰ based on the specificity of *python* < ἐγγαστρίμυθος as related to the activity of a medium.⁹¹

⁸⁶ In Lev 20:27 Vulgate is clearly adapted to the context, *pythonicus vel divinationis... spiritus*, but should be included in the sphere of *divinus*.

⁸⁷ The word in these usages would not be primarily mean “god-like,” but either “versed in magic” or “capable of divination or foresight.” For the attestation of these specialized meanings since Classical Latin, see meanings 5 and 6 of the lemma in *OLD*, 564: “5. (of persons) adept in magic... 6. Able to know future or hidden things, foreseeing, second-sighted.”

⁸⁸ Probably this word was used here as a literary variation from *ariolus*, as here the list of practices is longer, and Vulgate had already used *ariolatus est* to render ידעוני.

⁸⁹ *Incantator* seems to be a pretty accurate Latin reflection of the Greek ἐπαιδός. That Vulgate uses the term here, but not in the other cases where the word appears in LXX to render ידעוני could indicate that in those instances Jerome was influenced by Hexaplaric translations of the word, which in Lev show a tendency to substitute LXX ἐπαιδός with γνώστης (see above), and thus he uses *ariolus* throughout the Leviticus passages, in agreement with the 1Samuel and 2Kgs 23:24 cases, where the main LXX text reads γνώστης.

⁹⁰ Regardless of the precise meaning of πύθων in Greek sources at large, Jerome himself does comment that he is making reference to a *spiritum pythoem*, and that he does so *iuxta LXX interpretes*. See above n. 41. The equation πύθων = ἐγγαστρίμυθος is also clearly defined by Plutarch, *De Defectu Oraculorum* 414E, τὸς ἐγγαστρίμυθους Εὐρυκλέας πάλαι δὲ Πύθωνας προσαγορευομένους. For this similarity in approaches, and for the biblical and extra biblical confusion in having the term designating either the spirit or the practitioner (which Jerome dispels with the introduction of *magus*) see Greer and Mitchell, *The “Belly-Myther” of Endor*, xiv-xviii.

⁹¹ Of course, a medium does not necessarily have to channel spirits of the dead. One of the traditional problems in academia of interpreting ἐγγαστρίμυθος is precisely the nature of the “possessing agent” which speaks through the medium, and whether ghosts of the dead belong to the ἐγγαστρίμυθος area of expertise outside biblical (and Bible-influenced) ancient sources. For a non-necromantic extra biblical ἐγγαστρίμυθος, see Torallas Tovar and Maravela-Solbakk, “Between Necromancers and Ventriloquists,” 426-437. For a more nuanced, and open to necromancy as part of the ἐγγαστρίμυθος praxis, see Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 112-115.

All in all, it seems quite clear that later interpretations of אוב and ידעוני (or its LXX correlates) progressively moved away from necromancy-specific activities and focused on generic terms alluding to magical and divinatory arts. No matter the date and ideological affiliation of the original Hebrew proscription, which clearly singled out activities related to the cult of the dead, including necromancy,⁹² passages including it became progressively more general, probably as interpreters and translators had also lost the knowledge on the actual meaning of the two words designating what could be proposed as necromancy by the context. It remains to be seen if some notions of necromantic practice were preserved, after all, in the variety of choices taken by the receptors of the biblical text.

3. Conclusions and Reflections

In the previous pages I have tried to organize some of the evidence regarding how אוב and ידעוני were read in different traditions which received the words as part of the transmission of the Bible, mainly Rabbinic and Aramaic Targumic activity and the different stages of the Septuagint version. As I forewarned in the introductory section, it is quite unlikely that such analysis sheds any light on the actual problem of the ancient meaning of the Hebrew words; that would probably require to continue the well-established line of comparisons with ancient Near Eastern necromantic practices which has produced a large volume of academic papers.⁹³ On the other hand, it is possible that these later traditions of interpretation, covering the centuries

⁹² For a thorough analysis of this proscription and its date and framing within the scope of Deuteronomic legal codes and Deuteronomistic History, see Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, esp. 138-245.

⁹³ See, among others, H. Hoffner, "Second Millennium Antecedents to the Hebrew 'ֹב," *JBL* 86 (1967): 385-401; J. Ebach, and U. Rütterswörden, "Unterweltsbeschwörung im Alten Testament : Untersuchungen zur Begriffs- und Religionsgeschichte des 'ֹב (Teil I)," *UF* 9 (1977): 57-70; *idem*, "Unterweltsbeschwörung im Alten Testament : Untersuchungen zur Begriffs- und Religionsgeschichte des 'ֹב (Teil II)," *UF* 12 (1980): 205-220; O. Loretz, "Ugaritisch ap (III) und syllabisch-keilschriftlich abi/apu als Vorläufer von hebräisch 'aab/'ֹב '(Kult/Nekromantie-)Grube': ein Beitrag zu Nekromantie und Magie in Ugarit, Emar und Israel," *UF* 34 (2002): 481-519; *idem*, "Hurr/akk ābi = ug/he ap/'wb "Totengeist(er)-Grube" mit Hundeopfer," *UF* 37 (2005): 441-443. Though not conclusive, these comparative studies seem to indicate that the original ritual context of the biblical terms and that of their later reception (the subject of this paper) may have differed, though both would have strong links to ancient Near Eastern praxis.

immediately before and after the change of era, have incorporated ideas of interest for the study of magical and, particularly, necromantic practices of considerable antiquity. Logically, given that the tendency in Judaism and Christianity was to blur and generalize the more detailed notions and practices of magical operations in favor of their denigration and later condemnatory dismissal as falsehood (either as pure chicanery or “apparently working” falsehood provided by the intervention of demons or devils), those ideas of interest will have survived as brief remainders of previous conceptions, particularly in the cases studied above, in variant translations as attested in the Septuagint and the different Targumim, and in the rich and dialogic discussions of Talmudic materials. Taking those materials into consideration, some general observations can be made:

1. As already discussed, most versions and interpreters considered **און** and **ידעוני** as a unit, where different meanings could be inserted (according to the translator's or commentator's ideological coordinates) in order to produce a complementary pair.

2. If we eliminate from the equation those terms which gravitate towards generic designations, two items seem to be recurrently associated to the pair: (1) the mediumnic activity of a spirit entering and speaking out of the practitioner (the Greek *ἐγγαστρίμυθος* = Vulgate's *python*; the *m. Sanh.* 7:7 and *b. Sanh.* 65b *pithom* speaking from the armpits or joints; (2) summoning a spirit of the dead via incantation or “naming,”⁹⁴ as in the forms from the root *zkr* attested in the Targumim, the Talmud of Babylon and Leviticus Rabbah, together with, probably, some of the Septuagint readings used to translate **ינדע**: *ἐπαιδός*, which implies a recitation or pronunciation; and perhaps also, though indirectly, the phrase *τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς φωνοῦντας / ἀποφθεγγομένους*. Whereas *ἐπαιδός* can be understood as a generic incantator or reciter of spells, the second option does express an explicit relationship with the earth-underworld.⁹⁵ In this regard, it is particularly important that the Aramaic and Greek traditions are linked in an extra-biblical literary source: materials from Iamblichus' *Babyloniaca* cited in Photius' *Bibliotheca*.⁹⁶ *καὶ μάγον δὲ λέγει χαλάζης καὶ μάγον ὄρνεων, καὶ νεκυομαντείας καὶ*

⁹⁴ See above, n. 19.

⁹⁵ See above n. 49.

⁹⁶ *Bibliotheca* 94, 75b 25; quoted from Henry, R. (ed.) *Photius Bibliotheca* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1959-1981).

ἐγγαστρίμυθον, ὃν καὶ φησιν ὡς Ἕλληνες μὲν Εὐρυκλέα λέγουσι Βαβυλώνιοι δὲ Σάκχουρα ἀποκαλοῦσι. The transcription Σάκχουρα is clearly expressing a Semitic term connected to the root *zkr* which is echoed in the Peshitta and Targum traditions described above. It seems to be the case, then, that at least in one Greek non-biblical source (Iamblichus), there is an connection between the first kind of practitioner (ἐγγαστρίμυθος - “medium”) and the second (“conjurer-raiser” through naming or incantation.)⁹⁷

3. Finally, it has to be noted that the lines of interpretation outlined above (again, without positing etymologies for the Hebrew originals) can be traced back to ancient parallels in the Near Eastern background of Hebrew literature, particularly the second approach to necromancy through incantation and/or summoning from the Underworld. A continuity in the lexicon and concepts relating to this practice can be seen in the references to “raising” already present in 1Sam 28 and carried through in Rabbinic literature, which have clear parallels in Akkadian materials.⁹⁸ Also, the usage of the root *zkr* is considerably relevant, given that here it seems to be preserving its Akkadian meaning of “naming” as opposed to the majority West Semitic sense of “remembering.”⁹⁹ Sources indicate that this “naming” may refer to the concrete naming of the dead in a ritual context.¹⁰⁰ Of course, the other line of meaning, mediumnic activity related to spirits of the dead, is a widespread phenomenon connected to ancient and diverse practices which have usually been described as “shamanistic.”¹⁰¹

⁹⁷ This text is commented in Torallas Tovar and Maravela-Solbakk, “Between Necromancers and Ventriloquists,” 429. Nevertheless, the authors are interested in discussing here the relationship between ventriloquist and the name/term Eurikles, and only deal with the Semitic loanword in a cursory manner, providing a Sumerian etymology which is quite improbable, both on phonetic grounds and when compared to the well-defined and functionally analogous Semitic root *zkr*.

⁹⁸ See Seidel, “Necromantic Praxis.” I.J. Finkel, “Necromancy in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *AfO* 29-30 (1983-84): 1-17. For a more general picture of relationships between Mesopotamian magical praxis and Judaism, see M.J. Heller, M.J., “The Influence of Ancient Mesopotamia on Hellenistic Judaism,” in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East* (Volume 1; Ed. by J.M. Sasson; Peabody MA: Hendrickson, 2000), 43-54; M.J. Heller, “The Babylonian Background to Talmudic Science”, *EJIS Newsletter* 6 (1999): 27-31.

⁹⁹ The root with the sense of “remember” is attested in Akkadian, but noted in scholarship as a West Semitic loan. See *CAD* 21, 22 (*zakāru* B.)

¹⁰⁰ *CAD* 21, 18 (*zakāru* 3 c’.)

¹⁰¹ Bibliography in this topic is vast; for an approach to relationships between necromancy and shamanism in the Graeco-Roman world, see Ogden, *Greek and*

All in all, the traditions of interpretation of אֹבֹב and יִדְעוּנִי both in the Septuagint and Rabbinic traditions seem to have preserved ancient elements which point to necromantic practices in the biblical background. Certainly, it is possible that these interpretations came from later contact with Mesopotamian and similar sources and that they do not reflect any connection with the original meaning of the Hebrew words, but nevertheless, they give testimony of the importance of reading the history of the texts of the Bible and its versions in order to acquire a more complete view of certain concepts and ideas, which combine actualization and preservation of ancient elements of ancient Near Eastern culture. In this particular case, the precious materials gleaned from Rabbinic sources become richer when contrasted to a detailed history of the Septuagint text. By delving into its intricacies I have tried to offer a tribute to Julio Trebolle, who showed me first (and keeps showing to this day) what the Greek Bible was about.

Roman Necromancy, 116-127; for wider connections in the biblical background, see e.g. B.U. Long, "Social Setting for Prophetic Miracle Stories," *Semeia* 3 (1975): 46-63; *idem*, "Social Dimensions of Prophetic Conflict," *Semeia* 21 (1981): 35-53; M. Money, "Deceit and Duality: Jacob's Shamanic Vision," *Shaman* 9/1 (2001): 19-33; J.P. Brown, "The Mediterranean Seer and Shamanism," *ZAW* 93/3 (1981): 374-400; T.W. Overholt, "Feeding the Widow, Raising the Dead: What Counts as Cultural Exegesis?," in *Text and Experience: Towards a Cultural Exegesis of the Bible* (Ed. by D.L. Smith-Christopher; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1995), 104-121; for shamanism and later Jewish mysticism, see J.R. Davila, *Descenders to the Chariot. The People Behind the Hekhalot Literature* (JSJSup 70; Leiden: Brill, 2001).

GLANURES EPIGRAPHIQUES : LE LIVRE DES PROVERBES ET LE LIVRE DE JOB A QUMRAN

Émile Puech

Le propos de ces notes dans un hommage à un ami et collègue d'études à l'École Biblique et Archéologique Française de Jérusalem, centré sur la critique textuelle des manuscrits bibliques et parabibliques de la mer Morte et l'histoire du texte biblique, m'est une opportunité de reprendre des observations faites à l'occasion de l'étude des fragments publiés par des collègues. Elles se limitent aux livres bibliques de sagesse des Proverbes et de Job, le targum de la grotte 11 compris.

1. *Le livre des Proverbes : 6QProverbes = 6Q30*

Dans les *Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan III*, Maurice Baillet a publié, sans identification, un fragment de papyrus en hébreu de la grotte 6 en écriture cursive. Baillet a justement noté : "Écriture assez évoluée, mais en général sans ligatures. Certaines formes sont connues par les ossuaires, ou par les documents de la Seconde Révolte."¹ En effet, il n'y a pas de ligature visible dans les restes des six lignes d'écriture. Mais cette écriture cursive de type évolué n'autorise nullement de considérer ce fragment comme le document le plus tardif parmi ceux trouvés à Qumrân, et de le dater de la Seconde Révolte (132-135 A.D.).²

Il a déjà été noté avec pertinence qu'une lettre importante, une des deux qui revient trois fois dans ces maigres restes, a été mal

¹ M. Baillet, "30. Fragment en écriture cursive," *Les "Petites Grottes" de Qumrân*, par M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, et R. de Vaux, (DJD III ; Oxford, 1962), *Textes*, 140, *Planches* XXIX.

² Voir B. Webster, "Chronological Index of the Texts from the Judaean Desert," *The Texts from the Judaean Desert: Indices and Introduction to the Discoveries in the Judaean Desert Series*, (ed. by E. Tov *et alii*, DJD XXXIX; Oxford, 2002), 351-446, p. 434.

identifiée : elle a été lue *țet* par l'éditeur au lieu de *šin*³. En effet, ce tracé cursif du *šin* est connu dès le premier siècle de notre ère : de 'Murabba'ât 18' daté de 55/57, qui était de fait une année sabbatique, des ostraca de Masada,⁴ d'ostraca de provenance inconnue,⁵ et même bien auparavant. Les débuts de ce tracé cursif sont attestés par l'inscription araméenne en écriture cursive du tombeau de Jason à Jérusalem datant au plus tard de la première moitié du premier siècle avant J.-C.,⁶ par 4Q266,⁷ par 4QHénoch⁸, par 4Q530⁹ et 6Q8 = *Livre des Géants*¹⁰ pour ne citer que ces exemples qumraniens. Sans doute le tracé sur ce fragment est-il plus évolué, les deux obliques tracées en continu, une ligature en forme de zigzag, auquel s'accroche dans un second temps le départ du jambage gauche, mais le tracé reste dans la ligne de cette évolution, sans qu'on doive dater le fragment du deuxième siècle de notre ère. On doit certainement en rester à une copie qumranienne antérieure à la destruction du site, dans la cursive de l'époque hérodiennne, sans qu'il soit possible de préciser davantage.

³ Voir H. Eshel, "6Q30, A Cursive *šin*, and Proverbs 11," *JBL* 122 (2003): 544-46.

⁴ Y. Yadin and J. Naveh, *The Aramaic and Hebrew Ostraca and Jar Inscriptions, Masada I* (Jerusalem 1989), n^{os} 360 à 371 p. 19, Pl. 19, n^{os} 561 et 564 p. 53, Pl. 46, n^o 583 p. 57, Pl. 47, n^o 441 p. 32, Pl. 26.

⁵ A. Yardeni, "New Jewish Aramaic Ostraca," *IEJ* 40 (1990): 130-52, p. 151-52 : "The script is a Jewish cursive hand, apparently from the first half of the first century C.E.". Voir encore A. Yardeni, *Textbook of Aramaic, Hebrew and Nabataean Documentary Texts from the Judaean Desert and Related Material. B Translation, Palaeography. Concordance* (Jerusalem, 2000), 208-209.

⁶ Voir E. Puech, "Inscriptions funéraires palestiniennes : Tombeau de Jason et ossuaires," *RB* 90 (1983) : 481-533, p. 482, ligne 4 en particulier, inscription datée vers 80 avant J. C.

⁷ Voir J. Baumgarten and J. T. Milik, with Contributions by S. Pfann and A. Yardeni, *Qumran Cave 4 XIII. The Damascus Document (4Q266-273)* (DJD XVIII; Oxford, 1996). Ce manuscrit daté vers le milieu du 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C. (de la période hasmonéenne tardive) connaît quelques exemples des débuts de ce tracé.

⁸ J.T. Milik, *The Books of Enoch. Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford 1976), 246 : "A beautiful semi-cursive script, dated by Cross to the years 50-1 B.C. In my opinion the handwriting of En^e dates from the middle of the first century B.C. rather than from the end." J'accepte cette datation. Voir F.M. Cross, "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," *The Bible and the Ancient Near East. Essays in Honor of W. F. Albright* (ed. by G.E. Wright, New York, 1961), 133-202, p. 149, fig. 4.

⁹ E. Puech, *Qumrân grotte 4 XXII. Textes araméens Première partie, 4Q529-549*, (DJD XXXI ; Oxford 2001), 21.

¹⁰ E. Puech, "Les fragments 1 à 3 du *Livre des Géants* de la grotte 6 (pap6Q8)," *RevQ* 74 (1999): 232-8.

Cette lecture correcte de la lettre qui change le sens des quelques mots préservés, permet au réviseur de suggérer, dans une reconstruction qui se voulait un essai, d'y retrouver une citation de Pr 11,5.6.7 et 10b. Mais cette proposition donne des lignes de fort inégale longueur, que le réviseur expliquerait, soit par des mots écrits dans les interlignes, soit du fait de l'écriture cursive. Il est certes prouvé que des textes ont été corrigés de cette manière, mais des corrections dans les interlignes n'expliquent pas la longueur variable des lignes qui ne sont pas copiées en stichométrie. Sans nulle preuve dans ce cas, il est toujours risqué de proposer une telle solution, et de conclure que ce fragment suit le TM en Pr 11,7 : "À la mort d'un homme méchant, l'espoir périt" et non la Septante : "Quand meurt un homme juste, l'espoir n'est pas perdu." En effet, si tel était le cas, le fragment appuierait la construction surprenante du TM où ce seul verset, contrairement à tout le passage dans cette longue séquence, ne marque aucune opposition ou de parallélisme antithétique. Il est donc recommandé d'y regarder de plus près.

L'éditeur, M. Baillet, lisait des traces de deux lettres à la ligne 1, et Eshel qui n'en lit qu'une, l'identifie avec raison à un *qof*. Les photographies PAM 41.736 et 42.963 ne laissent guère apercevoir autre chose, possiblement un reste de jambage au-dessus de l'haste du *šin*, et difficilement des traces à la cassure de droite. Aussi la restauration du réviseur *šd]q[t tmym* paraît-elle bien difficile, sans restes des lettres avant et après le *qof*, pour lire des traces de Pr 11,5.

La lecture *]rš't[* à la ligne 2, est assurée, avec Eshel, ainsi que la lecture *]t bwgd[* à la ligne 3 avec l'éditeur suivi par Eshel. À la ligne 4, lire *r]š' tw[*, lecture préférable à *r]š' t[*, car l'extrémité fine d'un jambage vertical (PAM 41.736) convient à *waw* mais pas à *'alef* cursif, lettre non lue par Eshel mais signalée par Baillet. Dans ce cas, on devrait avoir affaire à une orthographe pleine comme ailleurs dans ce fragment. À la ligne 5, la lecture *]rš'ym rnh* est assurée avec des traces de la tête de *reš* (non lu par Eshel), puis *rnh* avec Eshel au lieu de *wlh* de l'éditeur. À la cassure, les traces peuvent convenir à *taw* ou à *bet* ? (trace de la base à droite au-dessus de la hampe de *lamed*). Enfin, à la ligne 6, seul le *lamed* est assuré ; l'éditeur lit deux traces sous *'ain-yod*, alors qu'Eshel propose deux traces au-dessous de *'ain* et de *reš*, mais cette dernière n'est qu'une tache d'ombre sur la photographie. Le plus assuré est le départ d'un jambage sous *'ain-yod*, *he* possible, et peut-être d'un autre sous l'haste du *šin*. Soit :

]	ק[	1
]	רשעת[	2
]	ת בוגד[	3
]	שע תו[	4
]	רשעים רנה]°	5
]	ל[ ]°°[	6

Est-il possible de comprendre et de mieux identifier ces restes ?

Les séquences des lignes 3 à 4 correspondent à des séquences de Pr 11,6b-7a en *scriptio plena*, et celle de la ligne 5 à une séquence de Pr 11,10b, et peut-être encore de 11a. Est-il possible de préciser davantage ?

À la ligne 1, le réviseur a proposé de lire $\text{šd}]\text{q}[t\text{ tmym}$ à l'aide de Pr 11,5a où se trouve le premier *qof* du texte hébreu. Ce choix est discutable, puisqu'il donne une ligne de texte très courte, comparée aux autres. Et en restaurant le mot de Pr 11,4b, une longueur de ligne acceptable serait alors possible et certainement préférable. Toutefois, sans restes suffisants correspondant aux deux lettres précédant *qof* et à la suivante, il est très difficile de lire $\text{šd}]\text{q}[t$ ou $\text{wšd}]\text{q}[h$; si la trace lue par Baillet pourrait convenir à *dalet*, il n'y a rien pour le *šade* attendu ni pour *taw* ou *he* ensuite. Il faut donc chercher une autre solution. Le grec semble y répondre en partie, qui n'a pas de verset 4 dans la plupart des manuscrits et le verset 3 est différent. En effet, l'hébreu est une reprise presque mot à mot de Pr 10,2 : *l' yw'ylw wšrwt rš' wšdqh tšyl mmwt* "Les trésors mal acquis ne servent de rien, mais la justice délivre de la mort," et Pr 11,4 : *l' yw'yl hwn bywm 'brh wšdqh tšyl mmwt* "La fortune ne sert de rien au Jour de la Colère, mais la justice délivre de la mort." Dans ce cas, il faut très probablement chercher à lire des restes d'un verset précédent. Comme aucun mot au verset 3 ne correspond aux traces préservées, on est réduit à tenter une lecture à l'aide du verset 2. Le mot $\text{q}[lwn$ paraît acceptable, sans trace du pied du *lamed* qui n'est pas attendue dans la surface préservée. Auparavant, la trace de jambage paraît bien être celle du jambage du '*alef* cursif avec une tête horizontale à droite, qui explique l'absence de trace du *bet* ou même du *waw* en *scriptio plena* de $\text{wyb}]'$ ou de $\text{wybw}]'$. Lire alors, avec vraisemblance à la ligne 1, le verset Pr 11,2 : $\text{bw' zdwn wybw}]'$ $\text{q}[lwn w't šnw'ym hkmh$ "Est venue l'insolence, alors vien]dra le dé[shonneur, mais avec les humbles (est)

la sagesse.” Le sens de “humbles” *šnwʿym* est tout autant celui de “réservés, discrets, réfléchis.”¹¹

À la ligne 2, la lecture *wb]ršʿt[w* est certainement le début de Pr 11,5b que devait précéder une partie de 5a à la fin de la ligne 1, et le reste est à reporter au début de la ligne 2 pour une mise en colonne acceptable : “La justice de (l’homme) parfait trace droit son chemin, mais par sa]méchanceté[tombe le méchant.” Lire sans doute la *scriptio plena* en *ypwl* dans l’orthographe du manuscrit. En conséquence, les versets Pr 11,3-4 manquent dans ce fragment (voir ci-dessus). Ce pourrait être dû à une série de ‘doublets’ dans les versets 3 à 6 : v. 3 à rapprocher de v. 5 et v. 4 de v. 6.¹²

À la ligne 3, les restes sont certainement ceux de Pr 11,6, *šdq̄t yšrym tšylm wbhww]t*¹³ *bwgd[ym ylkdw* “La justice des (hommes) droits les délivre, mais par les convoitise]s les traître[s sont pris.” Le mot *wbhww]t* est certainement à lire au pluriel absolu en *scriptio plena*, et non au cas construit du singulier comme dans le TM. Le verbe *ylkdw* a la nuance de capturer dans un filet l’homme que les convoitises ont attiré pour sa ruine ou sa destruction (les deux sens de *hwh*), ce que le grec ἀπωλεία ἀλίσκονται précisent à leur tour.

À la ligne 4, la lecture *r]šʿ tw[ʿbd* est certainement celle de Pr 11,7a en *scriptio plena*, mais le texte hébreu ici n’a pas la forme antithétique habituelle dans ce passage, et il est de construction difficile avec deux hémistiches en parallèle synonymique, sous forme de proverbe tautologique ou truisme : “Quand meurt l’homme méchant, périt l’espoir, et l’attente des impies périt,”¹⁴ alors que le grec a conservé la structure antithétique vraisemblablement primitive du passage : “Quand meurt l’homme juste, l’espérance ne périt pas,

¹¹ Avec W. McKane, *Proverbs. A New Approach* (London, 1970), 428, et R.J. Clifford, *Proverbs. A Commentary* (Louisville-London-Leiden, 1999), 121.

¹² Voir Clifford, *op. cit.*, 121-22.

¹³ Eshel, *cit.*, 545, restaure *tšlm wbhw]t*, dans une orthographe plus défective encore que le TM. Il est probable que le mot *hwt* du TH est ici un pluriel en *scriptio defectiva*, de préférence à un singulier de forme primitive, ainsi que le propose M. Dahood, *Proverbs and Northwest Semitic Philology* (SPIB 113 ; Roma, 1963), 21.

¹⁴ Au lieu de la lecture *ʿwnym* (“l’espérance des richesses”) du TH, des auteurs proposent de lire *ʿwylm* avec le grec, d’autant que le *lamed* cursif peut facilement être confondu avec le *nun* par un copiste, voir ici même *nun* de la ligne 5 lu *lamed* par l’éditeur. B. Gensser, *Sprüche Salomos*, (HAT ; Tübingen, 1963), 54, juge le TM suspect, et J. Reider, “Etymological Studies in Biblical Hebrew,” *VT* 2 (1952) : 113-20, p. 124, propose la correction *ʿmwylm*, peu vraisemblable ici, d’autant qu’il doit donner à *ʿbd* un sens connu par l’arabe pour retrouver l’antithèse. Mais le fragment semble connaître une autre structure.

mais l'orgueil des impies périt."¹⁵ La *Vorlage* du grec devrait avoir la préférence de l'ancienneté que semble supposer la restauration du verset dans ces lignes, et on ne peut pas supprimer le mot *rš'* en invoquant la longueur de l'hémistiche.¹⁶ Il apparaît clairement maintenant qu'on ne peut plus écrire que le grec n'a aucun support ancien, et qu'il semble être une interprétation du traducteur grec, sous l'influence de la croyance tardive à l'immortalité,¹⁷ mais voir déjà une idée comparable en Pr 10,28 ; 11,4 et 14,32. Pour la longueur des lignes, on restaurerait ainsi¹⁸ : *bmwt šdyq l' 'bdh tqwh wtwħlt r]š' tw['bd*, avec le support du grec "Quand meurt le juste, ne périt pas l'espérance, mais l'espoir de l'im]pie pé[rit."

À la ligne 5, la lecture *]rš'ym rnh b[* qui semble s'imposer, est celle de Pr 11,10-11, ne laissant pas d'espace pour Pr 11,8-9, comme si, après deux séquences commençant par *šade* (Pr 11,5-6), le copiste était passé, par saut visuel, à des séquences débutant par *bet* (Pr 11,7.10.11.12).¹⁹ Restaurer ainsi ces lignes : *b]twb šdyqym t'lwš qryh wb'bw]d]rš'ym rnh b[brkt...* "Quand sont heureux les justes, la ville se réjouit, mais quand périssent]les méchants, c'est une explosion de joie." La suite, lue au mieux *b[*, semble être le début du verset Pr 11,11 : *b[brkt*. Mais il n'y a pas d'espace séparant les maximes ou les

¹⁵ Voir D.-M. d'Hamonville, *Les Proverbes, Traduction du texte grec de la Septante, Introduction et notes* (La Bible d'Alexandrie ; Paris, 2000), 224s. A. Barucq, *Le livre des Proverbes* (Sources bibliques ; Paris, 1964), 108, hésite à dire si la lecture grecque de 7a est une variante intentionnelle, ou due à une distraction (confusion de *rš'* lu *yšr*), ou à un texte fautif : soit une faute de lecture, ou la recherche de la leçon édifiante. O. Plöger, *Sprüche Salomos (Proverbia)* (BKAT ; Neukirche, 1984), 133 et 136, n'estime possible la structure du grec que suite à un trop important bouleversement textuel et, en conséquence, il ne la retient pas, préférant une progression dans l'énoncé qu'une antithèse comme texte original, de même Clifford, *op. cit.*, p. 119-20 et 122 : "When a person dies, hope is destroyed; expectation pinned on wealth is destroyed."

¹⁶ Voir par exemple Plöger, *op. cit.*, 133, qui cite Barucq (mais ce n'est pas exactement l'opinion de ce dernier), ou encore supprimer *'dm* (Gemser, Ringgren). Ce dernier mot peut être superflu.

¹⁷ Voir par exemple C.H. Toy, *A critical and exegetical commentary on The Book of Proverbs* (ICC ; Edinburgh, 1899), 223 : "This form, which is not supported by any other ancient authority, looks like an interpretation of the Greek scribe, under the influence of the later belief in immortality." Malgré toutes ces difficultés, les auteurs préfèrent garder la construction du TH, voir McKane, *op. cit.*, 440.

¹⁸ L'ordre des mots peut être discutable, il a été préféré ici pour une meilleure mise en colonne du texte et la marge droite, tout en gardant le sens de l'antithèse. Comparer encore Pr 23,18.

¹⁹ La Septante a omis les hémistiches 11,10b-11a, que peut expliquer une haplographie par *homéoarcton* : *wb...wb...* Les versets 8-9 reprennent d'autres sentences dans ce même passage : v. 9 parallèle à v. 12, et v. 8 parallèle aux vv. 6-7.

hémistiches dans cette copie, comparée à celles de 4Q102 et à des passages de 4Q103.

Toute restauration de la suite ne peut être qu'*exempli gratia*. Il serait possible de retrouver des restes des premiers hémistiches des versets 11 et 12, mais en construction antithétique, sans qu'il y ait une correspondance totale de sujet : b[brkt yšrym trwm qrt wbz lr]h[w ḥsr]l[b "Par [la bénédiction des (hommes) droits s'élève une ville, mais qui méprise s[on prochain]n[est un]in[sensé." Le grec passe de 10a à 11,²⁰ alors que le fragment semble passer, par haplographie (?), de 10b à 11a, puis à 12a. Toutefois, il est toujours possible que l'hémistiche 11b ait pu être ajouté dans la marge pour garder l'antithèse originelle.

Cette manière de comprendre le passage donne une largeur de la colonne d'environ 9,5 à 10 cm, largeur assez habituelle pour les colonnes des manuscrits à Qumrân d'une part et, d'autre part, chaque ligne est, dans ce cas, paléographiquement correctement comblée. Il n'y a pas d'omission de Pr 11,10a, ni de groupement particulier autour de la mort du méchant.²¹

Proposition de lecture de 6Q30, texte non disposé en stichométrie dans ce fragment, contrairement à 4Q102 et à des passages de 4Q103 :

1	בוא זדון ויבן]א ק[לון ואת צנועים חכמה ⁵ צדקת תמים
2	תישר דרכו וב[רשעת]ו יפול רשע ⁶ צדקת ישרים
3	תצילים ובהו[ו]ת בוגד]ים ילכדו ⁷ במות צדיק לא אבדה
4	תקוה ותוחלת ר[שע תו]אבד ¹⁰ בטוב צדיקים תעלוץ
5	קריה ובאבוד [רשעים רנה ^{11a} ב]ברכת ישרים
6	תרום קרת ¹² ובז[ר]עה[ו חסר]ל]ב

Traduction de Pr 11,2.5-7.10-11a.12a, en stichométrie, avec numérotation des versets ou hémistiches :

1) ²Vienne l'insolence, vien]dra le dé[shonneur,
 Mais avec les humbles (est) la sagesse.
⁵La justice de (l'homme) parfait 2) trace droit son chemin,
 Mais par sa]méchanceté[tombe le méchant.
⁶La justice des (hommes) droits 3) les délivre,
 Mais par les convoitise]s les traître[s sont pris.
⁷Quand meurt le juste, ne périt pas 4) l'espérance,
 Mais l'espoir de l'im]pie pé]rit.

²⁰ À l'exception de Théodotion et de certains manuscrits.

²¹ Comme le suggère Eshel dans son essai de lecture, *cit.*, 545s.

- ¹⁰Quand sont heureux les justes, se réjouit 5) la ville,
 Mais quand périssent]les méchants, (c'est) une explosion de joie.
^{11a}Par [la bénédiction des (hommes) droits 6) s'élève une ville,
^{12a}Mais qui méprise]s[on prochai]n[est un]in[sensé (?).

En fin de compte, il est difficile de dire si on a affaire à une anthologie de versets sur le thème du sort des méchants opposé à celui des justes, ou à des restes d'une copie de ce passage du Livre des Proverbes, des versets ayant l'appui de la Septante, mais copie avec des omissions qui pouvaient, le cas échéant, être corrigées en partie dans les interlignes et en partie dans la marge de gauche, comme il arrive parfois.

Les restes de ces lignes ont leur importance pour l'idée que l'auteur de ces maximes se faisait des récompenses et des rétributions, idée particulièrement exprimée ici dans le verset 7 (lignes 3-4), à la mort de l'homme juste ou méchant où est définitivement fixé leur sort éternel. La justice du juste lui permet d'espérer en une vie qui ne finit pas, alors qu'il n'y a plus d'espoir pour le méchant dont le sort est scellé pour toujours. Les conséquences de la conduite humaine rejoignent celles de la doctrine des deux voies du Deutéronome (Dt 30,15), un choix de vie ou de mort. La conception de la vie future dans ce fragment de Pr 11, 2-12 en hébreu, différent du TM, rejoint d'autres passages du recueil salomonien qui vont dans ce sens, dans le texte hébreu primitif eux aussi : Pr 12,28 ; 14,32 et 15,24.²²

Quoi qu'il en soit, ce fragment de la grotte 6, une fois mieux lu et restauré, où les antithèses sont respectées, doit être identifié à pap6QProverbes, comme il a été déjà proposé par Eshel. Dans ce cas, il est le seul témoignage d'une autre copie, sur papyrus, du livre des Proverbes venant s'ajouter aux deux copies identifiées par les éditeurs, 4Q102 et 4Q103.²³

²² Voir E. Puech, *La croyance des Esséniens en la vie future : immortalité, résurrection, vie éternelle ? Histoire d'une croyance dans le judaïsme ancien*. I – *La résurrection des morts et le contexte scripturaire* (EB NS 2;1 ; Paris 1993), 59-65.

²³ P.W. Skehan and E. Ulrich, "Proverbs," *Qumran Cave 4 XI. Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford, 2000), 181-186. Dans "Qumrân e il libro dei Proverbi," G. Bellia – A. Passaro (ed.), *Libro dei Proverbi. Tradizione, redazione, teologia* (Casale Monferrato, 1999), 169-89, p. 170-74, j'ai donné des corrections de lecture de ces deux manuscrits de la grotte 4. Ailleurs, j'ai proposé d'identifier un autre fragment à 4Q103a, voir E. Puech, "Identification de nouveaux manuscrits bibliques : Deutéronome et Proverbes dans les débris de la grotte 4," *RevQ* 77 (2001) : 121-27, p. 121-23. Mais E. Tigchelaar, "Minuscula qumranica," *RevQ* 84

2. Le livre de Job

Ont été retrouvés des fragments hébreux identifiés au livre de Job dans les grottes 2 (2Q15), 4 (4Q99 et 4Q100, et 4Q101 en paléo-hébreu) et 11, et d'autres identifiés à une traduction araméenne (4Q157 et 11Q10). Certaines remarques de lectures paraissent s'imposer concernant les textes hébreu et araméen.

4QJob^a – 4Q99

Ce manuscrit, daté de la première moitié du 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C., n'est pas sans intérêt.

Au fragment 4 ligne 1, les éditeurs ont lu des restes de Jb 33,24a : wy']mr[, et à la ligne 2, des restes de deux lettres qu'ils estiment correspondre à *reš-waw* de *bšrw*.²⁴ Ils notent l'absence de correspondance au texte hébreu, ce que montre leur reconstruction des lignes. En fait, au lieu de ces deux lectures, les restes offrent une correspondance parfaite avec le texte hébreu de Jb 33,24-25, mais en lisant ainsi, avec une correction-addition supra-linéaire du premier mot de Jb 33,25, sans doute oublié. Comme la distance de l'interligne de cette addition est égale à celle des autres interlignes du fragment, on devrait avoir affaire à la première ligne de la colonne, avec la correction sans limitation d'espace dans la marge supérieure, Jb 33,24-26 :

(2004) : 643-48, p. 647, note avec raison que cette proposition reste insuffisamment prouvée. Si la lecture du fragment PAM 43.563 (en haut à gauche) que les éditeurs (voir p. 183) n'ont pas retenu, même s'il aurait pu être identifié à Pr 9,16, ne pouvait assurer cette proposition d'identification, comme je le signalais (p. 121), la proposition de Tigchelaar d'une identification à Esd 8,27-28 n'est pas davantage recevable. Les restes n'autorisent pas la lecture de la suite : un agrandissement du fragment avec les méthodes actuelles demandent de lire au mieux]lb l'mr hš[(difficilement hq[ou hlw]), ce qui ne correspond à aucune attestation biblique, à moins d'une variante importante. Et la tache au-dessous du *lamed* s'avère n'être qu'une tache d'ombre, non de l'encre. En conséquence, je ne retiens plus ma proposition. En revanche, l'identification de 4Q103 15 à Pr 10,30-32 que je proposais (p. 122), en écriture continue comme dans d'autres cas de ce manuscrit, est, elle, assurée, au lieu de Pr 7,9-11 (?) des éditeurs. Comme ce fragment se situe avant le texte du fragment 1, il aurait dû recevoir cette numérotation.

²⁴ E. Ulrich and S. Metso, "Job," *Qumran Cave 4 XI, Psalms to Chronicles* (DJD XVI; Oxford, 2000), 171-80, p. 173-74.

marge supérieure

ש[רטפ ²⁵]	1a
[כ]פר בשרו מנער[ישוב לימי עלומיו]	1
[יעתר ²⁶] אל אל וירצה[ו וירא פניו בתרועה]	2

Cette mise en colonne du texte donne un alignement correct à la marge de droite, et montre qu'il n'y a pas, dans ce cas, de disposition stichométrique. La seule variante du passage réside dans la forme du théonyme 'l en 33,26, voir aussi 5,8 ; 8,5 ; 13,3 ; 34,23.31 ; 38,41.

Au fragment 15, ligne 3 = Jb 36,22, lire *m*['ny h]nh 'l, sans traces de *lamed* mais celles des deux extrémités du '*alef*'²⁵ avec une variante orthographique.

Au fragment 16 ii, des difficultés de lecture demandent des explications. Sur PAM 41.294 et 41.786, il y a de fines traces d'encre pour le bas de la hampe de *pe* final là où on l'attend dans l'alignement à la marge de la ligne 8 avec les lignes 10-11, voir 'p, ligne 10, sans qu'on doive invoquer un blanc en début de ligne.²⁶ Dans ce cas, il faut sans doute lire le début du verset Jb 36,29, et non une variante unique du verset 32. Cette lecture du verset est rendue par le grec (B) lisant : *καὶ ἐὰν συνῆ ἀπεκτάσεις νεφέλης ἰσότητα σκηγῆς αὐτοῦ*. Mais le syriaque lit *wmhw* comprenant 'm comme *my*, et 11QTgJob (= 11Q10) XXVIII 6 a traduit ainsi : *hn* blanc *mn prs* '[nny 'trgw]sth *mn tll*, comme s'il avait hésité dans la lecture et la traduction du texte hébreu.²⁷ Et le targum de Job lit : *lhwd 'yn 'ytbyyn pryšt' d'yb' dnpt 'nnyh tlyh*.²⁸

²⁵ Avec l'aide d'autres moyens de lecture, je dois corriger mes lectures en "Le livre de Job à Qumrân," G. Bellia – A. Passaro (eds.), *Il Libro di Giobbe. Tradizione, redazione, teologia* (Studia biblica, Città Nova, 2010) sous presse, où je proposais de lire *hn]l' [y]s[gyb* en suivant le TH.

²⁶ Voir Ulrich and Metso, *op. cit.*, 177. Il est clair que 'm ne correspond pas à *kpyw* parmi les variantes relevées.

²⁷ Voir F. García Martínez, E. Tigchelaar and A. Van der Woude, *Qumran Cave 11 II. 11Q2-18, 11Q20-31*, (DJD XXIII ; Oxford, 1998), 143, avec quelques variantes de lecture pour la longueur des lignes et des restaurations.

²⁸ L. Díez Merino, *Targum de Job. Edición Príncipe del Ms. Villa-Amil n. 5 de Alfonso de Zamora* (Bibliotheca Hispana Biblica, 8 ; Madrid, CSIC, 1984), 158 et 223 : *verumtamen si intelliget extensionem nubis que elevatur quasi umbraculum suum*. Traduction anglaise de C. Mangan, "The Targum of Job," *The Aramaic Bible. The Targums*, Vol. 15 (Collegeville, 1991), 80 : "Can one perceive the extent of the cloud, which binds up his clouds, his pavilions?"

À la ligne 9 = Jb 36,33, la lecture *ygyd* [l]yw]r'yw s'impose avec de bons restes de 'ain et de lamed sur PAM 41.294 et 41.786.²⁹ Le verset porterait une variante avec le pluriel *r'yw* "ses pasteurs," comme si le copiste avait lu le pluriel dans une *scriptio defectiva* du TH, comme c'est parfois le cas dans les graphies de Qumrân. Il semble qu'on doive lire *'p* comme le verbe dénomiatif "renifler, flairer," sans avoir affaire appel à une faute pour š'p³⁰. Ces lectures ont une certaine importance, puisqu'elles attestent l'absence des versets 30 à 32 dans cette copie, à moins que le verset 31 ait été présent après le verset 28 comme il serait logique dans le texte³¹.

À la ligne 10 = Jb 37,1, la lecture *lby* est assurée en écartant et redressant le fragment pour une ligne horizontale au lieu de *l* des éditeurs. À la cassure, la lecture *ytr*.[des éditeurs est douteuse. Il semble qu'on doive lire *ytrg*[z, voir le *gimel* de *šgy'* au fragment 15, ligne 16, Jb 37,1.³² Cette lecture rendrait parfaitement le sens de la phrase, comme synonyme du verbe *ytr*, de *trr*, voir *tarâru* akkadien "trembler," dit des mouvements spasmodiques du cœur.³³ Cette variante de Jb 37,1b, sans la coordination, s'ajoute à la négation *l'* de 37,1a.

À la ligne 11 = Jb 37,2, il est possible de lire la correction supra-linéaire comme *bh*, pour *w<bh>gh*], une trace du jambage de *he* paraît devoir être perçue à l'extrémité de la base du *bet*. Il n'y a pas à invoquer un amuïssement de la gutturale *he*. Le texte construit ce mot avec la préposition comme en 2a, mais ici le verbe est au singulier, non au pluriel du TH.

Lire ainsi ce début du fragment 16 ii = 36,29,33 ; 37,1-2 :

[א ²⁹ א] 8	יבין מפרשי עב תשאות סכתו]
גיד על[יו] 9	[רעיו מקנה א]ף עלעולה]
אף לזאת לא יחרד לבי יתרג[ז ממקומו] 10	
שמע שמע ברגו קלוו >בה-גה] מפיו יצא 11	

²⁹ On ne comprend pas la note des éditeurs, *op. cit.*, 177, qui n'ont pas dû regarder les photographies antérieures et en sont restés à PAM 43.096 !

³⁰ Voir P. Dhorme, *Le livre de Job* (Études Bibliques ; Paris, 1926), 508-9.

³¹ Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 506, note bien, dans son commentaire, que les versets 29-33 sont marqués d'une astérisque dans plusieurs manuscrits grecs et quelques autres. Les éditeurs ne signalent pas cette importante variante.

³² Malgré les remarques des éditeurs, *op. cit.*, 177, 'note.' Il y a un espace suffisant pour *lby*, et *l'* ou *lh* ne conviennent pas aux traces.

³³ Avec Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 510.

4QJob^b = 4Q100

Dans cette autre copie de Job, datée vers le milieu ou la deuxième moitié du 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C., une autre variante intéressante n'a pas été relevée par les éditeurs.³⁴ Sans doute la surface du fragment 1 est-elle mal conservée, mais il semble possible de proposer une lecture de la ligne 3 dont la distance à la marge droite est connue : trace de tête de lettre, *yod* probable ainsi que la partie du *nun* final ; après un espace, lire 'alef, bet, nun, yod et la partie gauche de *mem* final, puis *yod* et trace de lettre. La distance à la marge demande de restaurer un *waw* pour l'alignement sur les deux autres lignes. Cette lecture s'accorde parfaitement avec le texte hébreu connu du traducteur grec de Jb 8,17b : ἐν δὲ μέσῳ χαλίῳ ζήσεται. Il est donc probable que le mot à la cassure corresponde au substrat hébreu de ζήσεταιί, soit *yh[yh*, au lieu de la lecture *yh[zh* comme dans le TH, à la ressemblance graphique évidente.³⁵ À la ligne 1, le *qof* du dernier mot de Jb 8,15 est bien lisible. Lire donc ainsi ce fragment, qui ajoute une variante importante du manuscrit de Job en hébreu :

1	יחזק בו ולא [י]ק[ום]16 רטב הוא לפני שמש
2	ועל גנתו ינקתו] תצא17 על גל שרשיו יסבכו]
3	[ו]בין אבנים יח18 יה] אם יבלענו ממקומו]

Ces quelques remarques ne sont pas sans intérêt pour l'histoire du texte hébreu du livre de Job,³⁶ et pour compléter la liste des variantes du grec avec des appuis dans la *Vorlage*, un texte hébreu connu des scribes qumraniens.

³⁴ Voir DJD XVI, *op. cit.*, 179.

³⁵ Le targum classique suit le TH en Jb 8,17b : by 'bny' y'yyyn, voir Díez Merino, *op. cit.*, 133 et 179. Pour la difficulté du passage, voir Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 110.

³⁶ En recherchant des fragments araméens non repérés en vue de l'édition de DJD XXXVII, j'avais noté sur un papier un fragment devant être identifié à Jb 15,(16)17-18, mais n'ayant pas noté sur le champ le numéro de la photographie du PAM, je donne la transcription que j'en avais faite en attendant que la reproduction du fragment soit à nouveau repérée. Le *waw* de la ligne 2 serait d'un type paléohébraïque:

1]°°°° [
2	לי וזה חזיתי ו אספרה אש]ר
3	[כחדו מאבות]ם

11QTgJob

Dans une autre note, j'ai étudié des passages de ce targum qui seraient en faveur d'une traduction essénienne.³⁷ Il est maintenant généralement accepté par les spécialistes que l'araméen de ce targum se situe entre celui de Daniel et celui de 1QApGn, à dater sans doute dans la deuxième moitié du II^e siècle avant J.-C.³⁸ Dans ce cas, il pourrait être plus ou moins contemporain de la traduction grecque du livre. Bien que dans des situations et des contextes très différents, il n'est plus alors surprenant que certains passages appuient une lecture du texte hébreu comparable à celle du traducteur grec,³⁹ et différente du TM, laissant apparaître par là une histoire plus complexe de la transmission du texte. Sans reprendre la liste déjà établie par les devanciers qui vont dans ce sens, ces notes voudraient réexaminer certains passages relatifs à ce sujet et quelques autres où des lectures demandent révision.

Ainsi en Jb 35,10 (= 11QTgJb XXVI 4-6) :

ולא אמר[ין אן הוא] אלהא	4
די עבדנה ודי חלק לנא ל[מנטר ולמשמ]ש לנצבתנא	5
בליליא	6

“¹⁰Et [ils] ne disent pas : [Où est]Dieu qui nous a faits, et qui nous a répartis pour [monter la garde et prendre so]in de notre plantation pendant les nuits ”.

La finale de Jb 35,10b y rend le sens retenu par le traducteur grec : ó κατατάσσων φυλακὰς νυκτερινάς, traduisant le TH “qui assigne des gardes pendant la nuit,” sens que peut recevoir *zmrwt* en ugaritique et

³⁷ Voir Puech, “Le Livre de Job à Qumrân,” *cit.* Mais n'ayant pas eu accès à la thèse de E.W. Tuinstra, *Hermeneutische aspecten van de Targum van Job uit grot XI van Qumrân*, soutenue à Groningen en 1970, j'avais utilisé le bon résumé accessible à tous et les remarques complémentaires qu'en a donnés A. Caquot, “Un écrit sectaire de Qoumrân : le “Targoum de Job,”” *RHR* 185 (1974) : 9-27. L'importance de ce rouleau ne se réduit pas à l'état de la langue araméenne, mais elle vient aussi de son herméneutique.

³⁸ L'argumentation de S.A. Kaufman, “The Job Targum from Qumran,” *JAOS* 93 (1973) : 317-27, p. 325-27, proposant de dater 1QApGn dans le 1^{er} siècle de notre ère et 11QTgJb dans le 1^{er} siècle avant J.-C. ne convainc pas totalement. Aux remarques des auteurs consultés, on devrait ajouter l'usage de la forme de *hwh* avec *lamed* à l'imparfait *pe'al*, qui suppose une date après le milieu du II^e siècle avant J.-C., et la traduction systématique du tétragramme en *lh'*.

³⁹ On sait que le texte grec de Job est plus court que le texte hébreu : *Vorlage* différente ?

en hébreu,⁴⁰ alors que le TM comprend “qui inspire des cantiques pendant la nuit.” Cette addition semble être une des touches esséniennes du traducteur, groupe qui connaît le service liturgique nocturne de la pratique essénienne, voir par exemple IQS VI 6-8, 1QH^a XX 7-10,⁴¹ mais service inconnu des autres courants du judaïsme. L’essénien assure sur terre le service correspondant à celui des Veilleurs dans le temple céleste, d’autant que l’image de “la Plantation” est caractéristique chez eux comme désignation de la Communauté. Cette conclusion paraît renforcée par l’absence des “sœurs” de Job au banquet final. En effet, 11QTgJb 42,11 ne mentionne que l’ensemble de ses amis, ses frères et ses connaissances, autrement dit, seuls ses frères et ses familiers ou “ses confrères,” mais “les sœurs et toutes les vieilles connaissances” du TH ne font plus partie du banquet. Cela semble bien reprendre la composition de l’assemblée d’un banquet essénien !

Il est intéressant de noter un autre parallèle entre 11QTgJb frgs 15 ii – 16 i = Jb 31,11 ... *d]n' rgz whw' h̄t̄*[... et le grec *θυμός γὰρ ὀργῆς ἀκατάσχετος τὸ μῖαναι ἀνδρὸς γυναῖκα* “car c’est un désir de violence irrépressible, un homme souillant une femme,” les deux traditions mettant l’accent sur l’aspect de violence que ne contient pas le TH.

Mais en Jb 30,3, alors que le verset est absent du grec (astérisque) et du syriaque, 11QTgJb XV 7-8 traduit ou comprend un texte quelque peu différent, ou comme si le TH avait subi une haplographie de *yrq* ou *ʿqr*. Il semble lire ainsi :

7 בחסר ובב[פן רעין הוא ירק מ/ב]

⁴⁰ Sans avoir à changer le texte hébreu en *šmrwt*, à la suite de J. Gray, “The Massoretic Text of the Book of Job, the Targum and the Septuagint Version in the Light of the Qumran Targum (11QtargJob),” *ZAW* 86 (1974) : 331-50, p. 345-46, et déjà d’autres avant lui, par exemple Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 487. Les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 137-39, ne mentionnent pas la remarque de P. Grelot, “recensions,” *RevQ* 8 (1972) : 105-114, p. 112, mais à corriger en ajoutant un deuxième verbe pour l’espace et les traces, *šin* au lieu de *qof* ou *taw* des éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.* 138, ou *reš* de l’édition *princeps* (voir note 41).

⁴¹ L’*editio princeps*, J.P.M. Van der Ploeg, et A.S. Van der Woude avec la collaboration de B. Jongeling, *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân*, (Leiden, 1971), 7 et 63, ne la retient pas dans ce sens, même si les auteurs sont prêts à y reconnaître le texte du targum de Job emmuré sous les ordres des Gamaliel (p. 8), alors que je l’attribuai volontiers au traducteur essénien, voir Puech, “Le Livre de Job à Qumrân,” *cit.*

“³Par suite de disette et de fa]mine, ils mordillent la verdure de/dans[... ..et] mauvais”⁴².

De même, il est curieux de noter l’absence de Jb 21,23 en 11QTgJb frg. 5, ligne 4, et dans le grec, comme si l’auteur de la *Vorlage* du passage sous-jacent voulait éviter de se prononcer, en laissant la justice divine intervenir dans un jugement posthume, Dieu ne punissant pas le méchant dans sa descendance (Jb 21,21), mais bien le méchant en personne. À un point de vue purement anthropocentrique et sapiential, l’auteur a substitué un point de vue théologique, ayant dépassé une rétribution collective qui ne concernerait point le coupable lui-même. Comme il est difficile d’invoquer une addition du TH à une *Vorlage* différente, la *Vorlage* de 11QTgJb et du grec n’a pas ‘gardé’ le verset 21,23 qui évoque la mort paisible du méchant.⁴³

La présence du verset Jb 28,28 en grec et en 11QTgJb XIII 9-10 montre que “l’addition, ou glose” selon les commentateurs, est ancienne (même *Vorlage* ?), mais à la ligne 10, lire sûrement *wmsṯ[mn b’yš’ hy’ rymw* “et se détourner [du mal, c’est l’intelligence.”⁴⁴ De même, le grec et 11QTgJb XXX 4-5 = Jb 38,7 ont traduit *kl bny ’lhym* respectivement par πάντες ἄγγελοί μου et *kl ml’ky ’lh’*, démythisant ainsi le texte, en évitant de personnifier les astres dans une conception par trop animiste. Tout comme le grec en Jb 38,3, 11QTgJb traduit *whwdy’ny* “et instruis-moi” par un verbe marquant, non l’instruction, mais la réponse σὺ δέ μοι ἀποκρίθητι – *whtybny {n hw}*⁴⁵ *ptgm*, évitant ainsi de reconnaître à Job une connaissance supérieure à celle de Dieu. Car Dieu seul sait de science certaine, Jb 37,16b : *’rw hw’yd’ md’[’*, le verset Jb 37,17a étant intercalé entre 12a et 12b, mais 17b est absent en 11QTgJb, alors que dans ce passage le grec traduit mot à mot le TH. Pour un essénien, Dieu est “le Dieu des connaissances” (*’l hd’wt*, voir 1QS III 15, 1QH^a IX 28, XX 13, XXI 32, XXII 34, XXV

⁴² La lettre à la cassure ne peut être lue *dalet* avec les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 116-7, pour retrouver le mot *dhšt* “steppe” de XXXII 5. Le tracé correspond à celui de *mem* ou même de *bet*. L’alignement sur les lignes 4 à 6 est en faveur de la lecture des deux substantifs coordonnés à la ligne 7, *bšsr wbk]pn*, comme dans le TH, mais le début du verset est difficile en hébreu, voir Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 393.

⁴³ Noter qu’en Jb 21,20 (= 11QTgJb V 1) le Targum lit le suffixe d’un nom pluriel, avec le grec et le syriaque et avec le *qeré* du TH).

⁴⁴ Sans le *yod* des éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 112.

⁴⁵ Telle semble être la lecture des lettres effacées.

32-33, 4Q299 35 1 et 73 3, 4Q417 1 i 8, 4Q418 43-45 i 6 et 55 5, 4Q427 8 ii 16, 4Q504 4 4, 4Q506 131-132 9).

11QTgJb II 6 = Jb 19,17 n'est, cette fois encore, en rien en accord avec le grec lisant *καὶ ἠκέτευον τὴν γυναῖκά μου* "j'ai supplié ma femme." En effet, *rwḥ hmkt l'ntty* ne signifie pas "J'ai humilié (mon) esprit devant ma femme,"⁴⁶ mais "un esprit a humilié ma femme[." Le verbe doit être analysé à la 3^e personne du féminin singulier, au lieu de la première, avec *rwḥ* comme sujet, mot le plus souvent féminin en sémitique, et tout spécialement quand il désigne "un esprit mauvais," comme ce doit être le cas dans ce passage. Cette manière de comprendre la phrase ne saurait surprendre, puisque la femme de Job s'est déjà disqualifiée, en ayant suggéré à Job de renoncer à son intégrité, Jb 2,9-10. La même idée est reprise dans le *Testament de Job* 23,1-27,6, où Satan humilie la femme de Job qui n'ose plus aller au marché. Job lui-même subit l'influence de cet esprit mauvais, voir Jb 2,7 et 30,14, traduit en 11QTgJb mais à lire ainsi : *btqp šḥny ytw n [(w)ṯḥwt rwḥ(h)]b'yšh 'tkppt*,⁴⁷ "Dans la force de mon ulcère ils viennent, [(et) sous un esprit]mauvais je me suis abaissé." 11QTgJb II 3 = Jb 19,13-14 semble lire au mieux, à la cassure, *bšdq[h* "par charité," tout en réorganisant ces deux versets en un seul, et il lit correctement le verbe *hrḥqw* au pluriel avec le grec et le syriaque (haplographie du *waw* dans le TH). Et à la ligne 4 = Jb 19,15, lire *lnkr[y] t[*, comme début du verbe à une conjugaison féminine.

⁴⁶ Ainsi que le comprennent les auteurs, voir *e.g.* Gray, *cit.*, 344, "thereby agreeing generally with LXX...Here both versions evidently read *garah* for MT *zarah*, ...the translators have had a different *Vorlage* from MT...or...In any case the agreement between the Greek and Aramaic versions is striking." Analyse acceptée par les éditeurs en DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 92-93, E.J. Wilson, "11QTgJob and the Peshitta Job," *The Dead Sea Scrolls Fifty Years After Their Discovery. Proceedings of the Jerusalem Congress, July 20-25, 1997* (ed. by L.H. Schiffman, E. Tov, and J.C. VanderKam; Jerusalem, 2000), 411-17, p. 414 n. 11. Pour une telle lecture, outre l'absence du suffixe à *rwḥy*, on attendrait la préposition *qdm* devant *'ntty* à la place du *lamed* (accusatif !), voir aussi en ce sens Caquot, *cit.*, 24.

⁴⁷ Passage non restauré dans l'édition, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 117-19. Pour l'espace, lire soit la forme *rwḥh*, soit insérer un *waw* au début, mais absent du TH. Le début du verset ne doit pas être lu *wk']n* avec les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 117s, sans appui textuel, mais plus vraisemblablement *mnhw]n* à la fin du verset 13, avec Grelot, "recensions," *cit.*, 110.

En Jb 21,2b, 11QTgJb IV 1 paraît, en partie du moins, en accord avec le grec *ἵνα μὴ ᾗ μοι παρ' ὑμῶν αὐτῆ ἢ παράκλησις*, en lisant *m'* *ly lhwt tnhw*[*mykwn*⁴⁸ “qu]e seraient pour moi [vos] conso[lations ?.”

En Jb 30,16, 11QTgJb XVI 5-7 connaît un stique supplémentaire, sans autre appui ou parallèle, à lire sans doute ainsi :

5
6

ני¹⁶ וכען עלי תתאשד
נפשי יאחדוני י[ומי תשברא יאקפוני

“Et maintenant sur moi s'épanche [mon âme, des j]ours de détresse [m'ont saisi], m'enserrent [des ...”⁴⁹

Mais en Jb 30,17, 11QTgJb XVI 7-8 paraît s'accorder avec la *Vorlage* du grec en lisant le verbe *nqd* compris comme “brûler,” *yqdw* et *συγγέχεται* - *συγγέκαυται* supposant la confusion fréquente des *dalet-reš*. En Jb 30,17-20 = 11QTgJb XVI 8-10, les restaurations de l'édition sont d'inégales longueurs pour les distances à la marge : si on accepte, comme il appert, [*l' yškbwn bsgy'*] à la ligne 8, on doit alors lire ainsi les lignes 9-10 :

7
8
9
10

ועדק [י]
[לא ישכבון¹⁸ בסגיא [חיל יאחדון לבו]שי]
[כפמא די כתוני יסנ]פונני¹⁹ אחתוני ל[טינא]
[ואתדמי כעפר²⁰ אזעק ע]ליד [ו]א[נתה לא תעני]

“...et mes veines 8)[n'ont pas de repos. ¹⁸Avec grande] force ils saisissent [mon] vêteme[nt, 9)comme le col de ma tunique,] ils m'[ento]urent. ¹⁹Ils m'ont fait descendre dans [la boue, 10) et je

⁴⁸ Lecture en partie suggérée dans l'*editio princeps*, *op. cit.*, p. 18, signalée mais non retenue par les éditeurs en DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 95-96. La distance à la marge pourrait ne porter que *m'* (voir l'alignement sur *mnd'y* ligne 2), avec un espace insuffisant pour *lm'* supposé par la formulation du grec, à moins d'une correction, et dans ce cas le Targum offrirait une variante du grec. À la cassure, les restes s'accommodent au mieux à la lecture *tnhw*[*mykwn*, sans avoir à faire appel à la proposition de Kaufman, *cit.*, 319a : *l thw*] *ly lhwt' mnkwn* qui est exclue par la distance à la marge, ou à celle de K. Beyer, *Die aramäischen Texte vom Toten Meer* (Göttingen, 1984), 285 : *n*] *ly lhytyh* [, *nun* est insuffisant pour l'espace et la finale est difficilement acceptable. L'araméen semble suivre le TH *why z't*, *m'* compris comme neutre, donc féminin.

⁴⁹ A-t-on affaire à un dédoublement ou synonyme du deuxième stique ? Grelot, “recensions,” *cit.* 109-10, suppose avec raison que le sujet ou le complément de ce stique supplémentaire a disparu (espace pour deux mots, e.g. soit ...y... “des – de –” , soit *kl -y* “tous mes –”). Mais l'explication de D. Shepherd, *Targum and Translation. A Reconsideration of the Qumran Aramaic Version of Job* (Studia semitica neerlandica 45 ; Assen, 2004), 150-51, qui y voit le verbe en fin de stique, est inacceptable, en ignorant la disposition du verset dans ce manuscrit. On peut difficilement imaginer deux blancs à deux lignes d'intervalle, ou les passer sous silence sans les signaler tout au moins, la note 96 est insuffisante et n'explique pas la lecture de la ligne 6.

ressemble à de la poussière. ²⁰Je crie v]ers Toi, et T[oi, tu ne me réponds pas.”⁵⁰

Mais le Targum seul a mis les verbes au pluriel suggérant que Job doit ses maux à ses ennemis, non à Dieu.

En Jb 30,27b, on ne peut accepter les lectures ‘m[l’ ou ‘w[lbn’ proposées par les éditeurs⁵¹. On doit lire ywmy ‘n[et compléter sans doute ‘n[ywt’, “des jours de misè[re,” comme dans le targum classique en 30,16 et 27.

De Jb 31,9, 11QTgJb XVIII 1-2 n’a conservé que quelques traces, à lire sans doute ainsi :

הן יצ פא	1
לבי באנ[תא ועל תרעא די חברי(?) אטמ[רת	2

“⁹Si]mon cœur [a é]pié une fem[me, et qu’à la porte de mon prochain] je[me suis cach]é,[... ”

La lecture s]p’ est claire au lieu de p]ty’ des éditions.⁵² Dans la suite, le Targum a un texte un peu plus court, omettant seul 10b.

Les restes manuscrits en Jb 31,29 ne permettent pas de se faire une idée du contenu des deux stiques supplémentaires en araméen, probablement plus proche du grec.

En Jb 32,2, 11QTgJb traduit le TH en transcrivant mn] zr’ rwm’[h. Le grec explicite la provenance du clan : ἐκ τῆς συγγενείας Παμ τῆς Αὐσίτιδος χώρας. Mais la transcription du Targum fait difficulté : faut-il comprendre une localité de la région, Rûmah, un clan,⁵³ ou y voir une mention de Rome ?⁵⁴ Une telle référence à Rome dans la deuxième moitié du II^e siècle avant J.-C. paraît plutôt surprenante. En

⁵⁰ Comparer Grelot, “recensions,” *cit.* 109, et DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 117.

⁵¹ DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 120-21, lectures acceptées par Shepherd, *op. cit.*, 150-51. La tête caractéristique du nun médian ne convient nullement à mem ni à waw dans cette main, voir PAM 44.114.

⁵² La longue base de la lettre au coude arrondi et le petit trait à gauche ne peuvent correspondre à taw et yod (sans tête), mais à pe médian, et le verbe se construit avec b-, malgré les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 121-22, et pour la fin de la ligne 2, suivre l’*editio princeps*, *op. cit.*, 46.

⁵³ On connaît le mot ou anthroponyme rwm’ écrit deux fois sur une jarre de la grotte 7 : 7Q6, voir R. de Vaux, “Archéologie,” M. Baillet, J.T. Milik, et R. de Vaux, *Les ‘petites grottes’ de Qumrân* (DJDJ III ; Oxford, 1962), 30.

⁵⁴ Avec Tuinstra, lecture retenue par Caquot, *cit.*, 17-18. R. Weiss, “Zr’ rwm’ in 11Q tg Job XX,7,” *IEJ* 25 (1975) : 140-41, y voit un *midrash*, jeu de mot entre le clan de Réûma, concubine de Nahor et le mot ram.

Jb 32,14, 11QTgJb a une autre structure du verset, sans parallèle ailleurs, comme si Dieu ne devait pas laisser longtemps Job sans réponse à ses questions. Job est soumis directement à l'influence néfaste d'un esprit mauvais, voir Jb 30,14, (ci-dessus).

En Jb 33,16, les traductions se retrouvent assez bien. 11QTgJb lit certainement *b]mrd[wthwn*⁵⁵, comme le syriaque *wbmrwdwthwn nmkk 'nwn*, le targum classique *wbmrwdthw yhtwm*, et le grec use d'une périphrase avec *ἐν εἰδῆσιν φόβου τοιοῦτοις αὐτοὺς ἐξεφώβησεν* pour rendre l'hébreu *wbm(w)srm* (de *ysr*). Mais en Jb 33,12, seul 11QTgJb semble avoir omis 12a en totalité, évitant de contester la déclaration de Job au v. 9 et faisant des versets 13 et suivants des paroles de Job et non plus d'Elihu, mais répétées par ce dernier.

En Jb 33,24, contrairement au TH, 11QTgJb XXIII 1-2 porte un tétrastique qui se retrouve en bonne partie dans le style périphrastique du grec, du moins pour deux d'entre eux, le dernier étant identique,⁵⁶ voir *τὰ δὲ ὁστᾶ αὐτοῦ ἐμπλήσει μυελοῦ*. Les deux traductions lisaient-elles une même formulation dans la *Vorlage*?⁵⁷ La copie qumranienne 4Q99 paraît conforme au TH et ne pas lire de stique supplémentaire (voir ci-dessus).

Si, on l'a noté ci-dessus, 11QTgJb a omis Jb 21,23 qui pouvait évoquer la mort paisible du méchant, en revanche, le Targum semble bien admettre le châtement dans l'au-delà pour l'impie, en comprenant l'hébreu *bmrdy 'wr* de Jb 24,13 "ceux-là font partie des rebelles à la lumière," par *b(m)wrdy 'wr* "de ceux qui descendent dans la flamme (du feu)," en parallèle à "ceux qui descendent dans la fosse."⁵⁸ Une telle traduction peut se comprendre en fonction de Jb 31,12 = 11QTgJb XVIII 4-5 : "car]c'[est un feu qui] dé[vore] jusqu'à l'Abaddon," comme châtement d'un péché scandaleux ou d'un acte

⁵⁵ Les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 129-30, lisent]rh[, et proposent de reconstruire *wbmws]rh[wn* d'après le TM, mais la lecture matérielle n'est pas acceptable.

⁵⁶ Restauration en partie avec P. Grelot, "recensions," *cit.* 111, voir aussi Puech, "Le livre de Job à Qumrân," *cit.*

⁵⁷ Voir les explications de Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 457-8. Shepherd, *op. cit.*, 62, propose une explication stylistique et linguistique insuffisante de la tournure araméenne en la comparant à la traduction syriaque. Mais 11QTgJb suit une autre structure du verset. Et il est probable qu'il utilise cette même traduction en Jb 33,28 : *pr[q npšh mn hbl' wnšmt]h bnhrw thz'* "Il a préservé son âme de la destruction, et]son [souffle (= lui-même)] verra la lumière."

⁵⁸ Avec Van der Ploeg, *Le targum de Job*, *op. cit.*, 26 : "ils seront jetés devant lui au feu" de l'enfer?'. Mais on préférerait lire : *'nwn yhtwn] qdmwhy lnwrh* "eux descendront]en sa présence au Feu (éternel)."

criminel. À l'opposé, le Targum comprend le salut posthume du juste dans sa traduction de Jb 33,24, où le TH évoque un rétablissement imminent. 11QTgJb 33,24-31 :

1 ויאמר פצהי מן חב[לא ויפרקנה די למא ביקד]ת
 2 אשה ישנקנה ויתמלין [גרמוהי מוח²⁵ יחלש בשרה] מן
 3 עולים וחב ליומי עלימ[ותה²⁶ ויצלא לאלהא ו]ישמענה
 4 ויחזא אנפוהי באסיא[לה ויתיב לה זכות]ה²⁷ וכעבד
 5 כפוהי[י] שלם לה ויאמ[ר] חטיית ו[לא
 6 כארחי השתלמת²⁸ פר]ק נפשה מן חבלא ונשמת]ה
 7 בנהור תחזא²⁹ הא כ[ל] אלין די יעבד אלהא עם ג[בר
 8 זמן תרין תלתה³⁰ לא]תבה <נפשה> מן חבלא ולה\מנהרה בנהו[ר
 9 חייך³¹ הצת דא א[י]ובשואמע לי שתק ואנה אמלל

“²⁴et qui ait compassion de lui,] 1)et dise : ‘Exempte-le de [la] destruc[ti]on, et le délivre, de peur que dans la brûl[ur]e 2)du feu il ne l’étouffe !’ [Ses os] sont remplis [de moëlle, ²⁵sa chair est] plus [fraîche] que celle 3)d’un adolescent, et il est revenu aux jours de [son] adolescen[ce]. ²⁶Et il prie Dieu, et] Il lui répond, 4)et il voit Sa face tandis qu’Il [le] guérit,[et Il lui rend]sa[justice]²⁷et selon l’œuvre de 5)ses mains Il le rétribue. Et il di[ra] : ‘J’ai péché et...], et je n’ai pas 6)été traité selon ma voie’. ²⁸Il a préser[vé] son âme de la destruction, et] son [souffle] 7)verra la lumière. ²⁹Voilà to[ut] ce que Dieu fait avec l’hom[me] 8)deux fois, trois fois, ³⁰pour raj[mener] <son âme > de la destruction, et pour l’illuminer de la lumiè[re] 9)des vivants. ³¹Fais attention à ceci, J[ob], et écoute-moi. Tais-toi et moi, je vais parler...”⁵⁹

Le traducteur a dû comprendre le TH (de même en 4Q99, ci-dessus) *mš'ty kpr* “j’ai trouvé une rançon” du discours de Job au sens de “poix,” et y lire une allusion au feu infernal lors de la rétribution *post-mortem*, au lieu d’une restauration immédiate sur terre. Avec l’allusion à l’ange accompagnateur qui prend soin du juste et l’assiste lors du jugement, on retrouve un trait bien attesté des Psaumes davidiques du *Rituel d’exorcisme* (11QP^sAp^a III 11-12, IV 1-8, V 3.8-14, VI 10-11),⁶⁰ tel Michel veillant sur le peuple de Dieu en Dn 12,1. Le feu du Shéol est bien connu de *I Hénoch*, 4QInstruction⁶¹ ou

⁵⁹ En partie avec Grelot, “recensions,” *cit.* p. 111, et Puech, “Le Livre de Job à Qumrân,” *cit.*

⁶⁰ Voir E. Puech, “Les Psaumes davidiques du rituel d’exorcisme (11Q11),” *Sapiential, Liturgical, and Poetical Texts from Qumrân. Proceedings of the Third Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies Oslo 1998* (ed. by D. Falk, F. García Martínez, E. Schuller; STDJ 35; Leiden-Boston-Köln, 2000), 160-81.

⁶¹ Voir E. Puech, “Les fragments eschatologiques de 4QInstruction (4Q416 1 et 4Q418 69 ii, 81-81a, 127),” *RevQ* 85 (2005) : 89-119.

1QS IV 4-12, 1QH^a XI 20-37 par exemple. Cette traduction explicative a introduit un hémistiché en plus en Jb 33,24. En Jb 33,28 et 30, le mot *nhwr* (*hyy*n) “lumière (des vivants)” semble avoir un double sens et faire allusion à la lumière du juste après le jugement, voir 4Q548 1 ii – 2 9-14 où l’Abaddon est synonyme de feu de l’enfer, 1QS IV 6-8 et déjà Is 53,11 (LXX et 1QIs^{a-b}), etc. Une telle signification semble s’imposer après la mention de “la guérison” *b’sy’* au v. 26 (traduction ou confusion par similitude graphique de *btrw’h* avec *btrwph* ?). Dans la pensée du traducteur, en antithèse de ce qui précède, la guérison, liée à la vision de la face de Dieu, a certainement reçu une signification eschatologique, comme en 1QS IV 6-8 où elle est liée au Jugement. En réponse au discours de Job en Jb 21,20-26 dont ce passage reprend partiellement le vocabulaire, la réjuvenation ou “nouvelle ou éternelle jeunesse” fait partie des images des récompenses eschatologiques, voir de même *Jubilés* 23,26-31 où l’une des félicités y est ainsi présentée : “ils seront tous des nourrissons et des enfants.”⁶²

En Jb 34,25-26, 11QTgJb XXV 2 n’a pas de correspondant des versets 25b et 26a α , tout comme 25b est absent du grec. Faudrait-il invoquer une *Vorlage* commune, comme c’est le cas en Jb 34,13 ?

En Jb 36,14, 11QTgJb XXVII 8 interprète 14b, alors qu’il suit, comme les versions, le TH en 14a, à lire ainsi :

עלהון 8 תמות בעלימו נפשהון ומדינתהון בממתין

“¹⁴Leur âme meur[t] dans la jeunesse et]leur [v]ille par des meurtriers”

la province-ville étant le lieu de vie.⁶³

En Jb 36,26a β , 11QTgJb XXVIII 3-4 intercale une explication qui donne un meilleur parallèle à 26b mais explication absente des autres témoins : *wywmwhy sgy’[l’ nn]d’* “et *ses jours (si) nombreux (que) nous ne savons pas.*” Cette paraphrase limite quelque peu l’incapacité humaine à l’incompréhension de l’éternité divine.

⁶² Il serait peut-être possible de voir avec Caquot, *cit.* 23s, une allusion indirecte à une perspective d’un grand jugement mettant fin au siècle mauvais et inaugurant l’ère des récompenses eschatologiques en Jb 40,11b : “Écarte donc l’orgueil et l’esprit hautain, alors tu revêtiras splendeur, gloire et honneur.” Le Targum pourrait avoir entrevu là une promesse d’élévation posthume, le juste persécuté et humble jugera les puissants, alors que le TH en reste à une restauration en cette vie.

⁶³ Les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 141-42, ne peuvent retrouver 14a en lisant *w*^a].

En Jb 37,13, 11QTgJb XXIX 4 paraît avoir traduit *ḥsd* du TH par *ptgm ṭb* “une bonne chose,” non *ḥwb* “un litige,”⁶⁴ pour rendre le mérisme, voir le syriaque *ḥsyd’*.

En Jb 39,10-11, 11QTgJb XXXII 8-10 porte un stique supplémentaire, mais il reste proche de la construction du grec comparé au TH :

8 ירדף⁹היבא ראמא [ל]מפלחך והיבית על
9 אוריד¹⁰התקטר[ראמא ב]צוריה וילג[ן] בבקעה
10 אחריך ותכ[נע ראמא¹¹]ה[תתרחץ בה] ארו[ן] סגיא

⁹Le buffle te servira-t-il, ou passera-t-il la nuit dans 9)tes étables ?
¹⁰Peux-tu atteler [le buffle avec] ses harnais et her[se]ra-t-il dans la vallée 10)derrière toi, et peux-tu do[m]pter le buffle ? ¹¹Peux-]tu avoir confiance en lui [parce que] grande (est)... .⁶⁵

Cette lecture possible des restes du stique supplémentaire introduirait alors parfaitement le verset 11 : “L[ui] ferais-tu confiance [parce que] grande est [sa force... ?”

En revanche, Jb 39,24 n’est pas traduit en 11QTgJb ; est-ce dû à une faute de copiste, du fait de la présence du mot *qrn’* à la fin de v. 24, et au début de v. 25 ?

En 11QTgJb XXXV 10 = Jb 40,31, la lecture *[gnwn dy nwnyn]* s’impose,⁶⁶ au lieu de *[gwn]*, et elle correspond à la traduction du targum classique *wbgnwn’ dnwny’*, à comprendre “avec des]harpans de poissons.”

11QTgJb XXXVIII 2-3 connaît la même lecture que le grec en Jb 42,9b : καὶ ἔλυσεν τὴν ἀμαρτίαν αὐτοῖς διὰ ἰώβ – *wšbq lhw n ḥt’yhw n*

⁶⁴ On doit suivre la lecture de Van der Woude dans l’*editio princeps*, *op. cit.*, 68, non celle des éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 146-47. Le *ṭet y a* a une tête un peu plus arrondie que d’habitude mais une séquence *ḥet-waw* est certainement exclue.

⁶⁵ On doit suivre les éditeurs, DJD XXIII, *op. cit.* 155-57, pour la lecture de la ligne 9, et non Shepherd, *op. cit.*, 45, 77 et 162, la lecture *b]nyryh wys[dr]* est totalement impossible, mais la lecture des éditeurs à la ligne 10 est exclue, lire *ḥryk* pour les traces et la langue (autrement on aurait *btrk*). Enfin, les restes permettraient de lire *wtk[n’ r’m’]*. Le mot *šwryh* doit être analysé comme un pluriel construit avec suffixe et désigne les harnais (cordes ou autres) avec lesquels on attache (*qtr*) une bête de somme à son attelage. À la ligne 8, corriger *[w]* en *w*, *waw* est assuré.

⁶⁶ Au lieu de *[g/nwn]* de l’*editio princeps* qui ne choisit pas, *op. cit.*, 80-81, et *[gwn]* de DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 163 et 165. Mais la base horizontale ne permet que la lecture de *nun* avec la trace du départ du *gimel* auparavant. Le mot est habituellement traduit par “enclos,” et Mangan, *cit.*, 88, le traduit “with fishing spears ?,” qui paraît mieux rendre le sens de l’hébreu, voir Dhorme, *op. cit.*, 573. Mais une lecture *bdgwgyn* est impossible, voir M. Sokoloff, *The Targum to Job from Qumran Cave XI* (Ramat-Gan 1974), 163.

bdylh pour rendre l'hébreu *wys' yhw' t pny 'ywb*, mais le grec redouble l'expression en Jb 42,10. Les deux traductions pourraient a priori dépendre d'une *Vorlage* commune, de préférence à une traduction dépendante l'une de l'autre.⁶⁷ Le parallèle se poursuit en Jb 42,10, mais à la différence que 11QTgJb 42,10 ne traduit pas l'hébreu *bhtpllw b'd r'hw*, puisqu'il a déjà dit en Jb 42,9 *wšm' 'lh' bqlh dy 'ywb wšbq lhwn h't'yhwn bdylh* "et Dieu exauça la prière de Job et il leur pardonna leurs péchés à cause de lui,"⁶⁸ sans doute déjà après la mention de la prière de Job en Jb 42,8 (non préservé) évitant ainsi un doublet inutile, mais il ajoute *brhmy'n* "gracieusement." Comme le grec ne connaît pas cette première incise en Jb 42,9, 11QTgJb ne semble pas dépendre directement de cette tradition, tandis que le grec connaît en Jb 42,10 la prière de Job suivie du pardon des péchés : ὁ δὲ κύριος ἠὔξατο τὸν Ἰώβ εὐξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ περὶ τῶν φίλων ἀφῆκεν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀμαρτίαν. Dans ces deux versets, le grec paraît être à mi-chemin entre le TH et la tradition de 11QTgJb, avec un doublet difficilement explicable en Jb 42,9c, alors que l'absence de 42,10aβ en 11QTgJb est tout à fait logique après sa traduction de Jb 42,9 [à la suite de 42,8]. Dans ce cas, 11QTgJb ne peut dépendre du grec, ni directement de la *Vorlage* du grec.⁶⁹ La traduction araméenne de 11QTgJb y est certainement la plus fidèle et élégante possible, sans répétitions inutiles, comparées aux autres traductions et même à la formulation du TH.

Le Targum de la grotte 11 ne finit pas en Jb 42,11, comme il a été d'abord affirmé, mais la colonne XXXVIII porte des restes bien visibles de la suite, à lire ainsi :⁷⁰

⁶⁷ La formulation grecque différente de Jb 7,21 ne peut avoir influencé celle en Jb 42,9, mais en allait-il différemment en 11QTgJb, compte tenu des traductions du syriaque et du targum classique ? Voir Shepherd, *op. cit.*, 69-70.

⁶⁸ Shepherd, *op. cit.*, 70-71, estime, quant à lui, que cette traduction est superflue, étant donné "et Il leur pardonna leurs péchés à cause de lui" au verset 9. Il semble que ce ne soit pas cette phrase, mais la précédente "et Dieu entendit la voix (= exauça la prière) de Job" qui fait mention de la prière de Job pour ses compagnons. Cette incise est absente du grec, contrairement à ce qu'écrit Shepherd.

⁶⁹ La traduction grecque aurait-elle connu cette traduction araméenne ou dépend-elle d'une tradition exégétique commune ? Ce ne paraît pas impossible, puisque 11QTgJb ne connaît pas les nombreuses omissions du grec estimées entre 15 et 25 % d'une part (voir *Le Targum de Job de la grotte XI de Qumrân*, *op. cit.*, 7) et, d'autre part, cela appuierait l'antiquité de l'addition grecque en Jb 42,17.

⁷⁰ Il y a des restes de lettres après 'alef : jambage droit de *het*, têtes de *yod* et de *taw*, trace du trait horizontal de *he*, puis celle du coin droit de *he*, et *lamed* certain, puis trace de l'épaulé de *res*. À la ligne suivante, restes plus probables de *mem*

9 וואלהא ברך ית א[י]ב באח[ר]יתה[ר] והו[ה]ה ל[ה] ארבעת עש[ר]
10 [אלפין ען ושת אלפין ג]מ[ל]ין

“ 9) ¹²Et Dieu bénit J[o]b dans sa nouvelle [con]dition, [et i]l e[ut quatorz]e 10)[mille brebis et six mille cha]m[eaux...]”

Le Targum change un peu la formulation du début du verset du TH : *wyhwh brk 't 'hryt 'ywb mr'štw wyhy lw...*, mais il reste assez proche du TH pour le sens du verset.

Les tendances du traducteur ou du milieu auquel il appartient, ne sauraient manquer de se refléter dans la traduction du livre ‘saint,’ car on peut difficilement invoquer l’inintelligibilité de l’hébreu dans le milieu qumrano-essénien qui a livré des restes d’une si riche bibliothèque, sans cesse recopiée au long de sa courte histoire. Tout en rendant accessibles des mots rares ou obscurs du vocabulaire hébreu, la traduction avait sans doute aussi pour but d’explicitier certaines idées forces du livre en fonction de la tradition reçue et de la vie du groupe des lecteurs. Et malgré des efforts de littéralisme, le Targum de la grotte 11⁷¹ qui n’est pas une paraphrase, comme l’est le targum classique, n’est pas non plus une traduction tout à fait neutre, elle reste libre. Les divergences avec le TH ne peuvent pas toutes s’expliquer par une impossibilité stylistico-linguistique de transposition dans une autre langue. Il y a bien plus, même si parfois, quand le grec vient à l’appui d’une tradition commune, on peut invoquer une *Vorlage* quelque peu divergente du TH traduit. Les

médian. À l’aide d’autres moyens techniques, je corrige quelque peu notre premier déchiffrement, E. Puech et F. García Martínez, “Remarques sur la colonne XXXVIII de 11QtgJob,” *RevQ* 35 (1978) : 401-407, ainsi que les propositions des éditeurs en DJD XXIII, *op. cit.*, 170-71.

⁷¹ On garde l’identification du manuscrit à un ‘targum,’ parce qu’il est une authentique traduction araméenne du livre ; et si, comme il paraît très vraisemblable, ce texte doit bien être identifié à une copie de l’œuvre emmurée par ordre de Gamaliel, cette identification ancienne comme ‘targum’ par des connaisseurs du genre, s’en trouverait confirmée. On ne comprend pas les réticences de Shepherd, *op. cit.*, p. 277-87, qui centre sa définition du genre targum à partir du TM et des *targumin* rabbiniques postérieurs, comme si le TH des livres ‘bibliques’ n’avait jamais varié, et qu’il n’y avait qu’une seule manière de traduire un livre en langue vernaculaire. Voir à ce propos des remarques plus ouvertes de S.L. Gold, “Targum or Translation. New Light on the Character of Qumran Job (11Q10) from a Synoptic Approach,” *Journal for the Aramaic Bible* 3/1 (2001) : 101-20, et déjà les conclusions de R. Le Déaut, “Usage implicite de l’*’al tigré* dans le Targum de Job de Qumrân ?,” D. Muñoz Leon (ed.), *Salvación en la Palabra. Targum – Derash – Berith. En memoria del Profesor Alejandro Diez Macho* (Madrid, 1986), 419-31.

omissions et les touches ‘esséniennes’ relevées ci-dessus parmi les seuls restes conservés (un cinquième du rouleau) peuvent déjà expliquer le milieu d’origine du traducteur et, partant, l’ordre de Gamaliel d’emmurer la copie du targum en question. Ce dernier contenait trop de points de vue de leurs ennemis juifs, idéalisant le personnage de Job, le juste qui souffre dans sa chair, avant tout du fait des méchants, une figure retouchée d’après l’image idéale que se faisait le traducteur. Cela pouvait être lu sur le fond de la persécution du Maître par ses opposants du temple. Bien qu’elle soit le lot normal du juste en butte aux assauts des forces du mal, la souffrance trouvera sa récompense dans l’au-delà, thème bien reçu et constant des écrits esséniens. Par la suppression de l’ironie dans les formulations hébraïques des discours et des interrogations, le Targum a aussi appauvri le discours ou dialogue philosophique en un récit catéchétique édifiant.

Loin d’avoir épuisé l’étude de ces restes manuscrits, ces notes auront atteint leur but si elles contribuent à faire avancer la recherche sur ces maigres fragments de livres bibliques. Elles touchent aussi bien la critique textuelle du *textus receptus* que celle des autres versions anciennes, et, partant, elles apportent leur petite contribution à l’histoire du texte de ces livres qui ne peut se réduire au seul texte massorétique. Les variantes plus ou moins importantes ne s’expliquent pas toutes par des erreurs de copies ou l’intervention intentionnelle du scribe, elles peuvent remonter à une *Vorlage* différente de celle représentée par le *textus receptus*. Cela est d’autant plus vraisemblable, quand deux anciennes versions éloignées dans l’espace, comme le grec et le Targum de Job par exemple, paraissent dépendre de traditions parfois proches ou du moins apparentées, qui supposent une vocalisation différente de tel ou tel mot, la présence ou l’absence de tel membre de phrase ou passage. Il est souvent délicat de dire qui a ajouté ou omis dans une copie ou une traduction. Le copiste reçoit un texte dans la tradition exégétique de son milieu, et il fait certainement son travail de son mieux, mais il peut commettre des erreurs. Les spécialistes de critique textuelle trouveront sans doute dans ces nouvelles propositions de lecture de quoi alimenter leurs pistes de réflexion. Et c’est avec un grand honneur que je dédie ces notes à notre ami, Julio Treballe, grand spécialiste en ces matières si

difficiles et controversées, mais non sans importance pour l'histoire du texte biblique.

NACH DEM EXIL WURDEN IM LAND ISRAEL ZWEI TEMPEL
ERRICHTET
IST DER BERICHT 1 ESDR 5:49 VOM TEMPELBAU DER
VÖLKER DES LANDES DIE ÄLTESTE LITERARISCHE
ERWÄHNUNG DES TEMPELS IN SAMARIEN?

Adrian Schenker

1. *Die ursprüngliche Textgestalt von 1 Esdras 5:49*

Es ist bekannt, dass Esra-Nehemia in einer parallelen Fassung im griechischen Buch des 1. Esdras, oft auch als 3. Esdras gezählt, vorliegt¹. Dieses griechische Buch der LXX ist die Übersetzung einer hebräisch und aramäisch verfassten Schrift². Die meisten Gelehrten nehmen an, dass dieses Buch eine literarische Umgestaltung von Esra-Nehemia ist³. Aber es gibt gewichtige Gegenstimmen, die das Verhältnis umgekehrt bestimmen⁴.

¹ Kritische Ausgabe: R. Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I* (Septuaginta V.T. graecum vol. VIII; Göttingen: Akademie der Wissenschaften, Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974); deutsche Übersetzungen: K.-F. Pohlmann, *3. Esra-Buch* (JSHRZ I, 5; Gütersloh: Gütersloher Verlagshaus G. Mohn, 1980); *Septuaginta deutsch. Das griechische A.T. in deutscher Übersetzung* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 551–566. Kommentar zum Text von 1 Esdras: R. Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte des 1. Esrabuches* (MSU XII; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

² Z. Talshir, *1 Esdras. From Origin to Translation* (SBLSCS 47; Atlanta, Georgia: SBL, 1999); ead., *1 Esdras. A Text Critical Commentary* (SBLSCS 50; Atlanta, Georgia: SBL, 2001).

³ D. Marcus, *Ezra and Nehemia* (BHQ 20; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), 10–11); Zipora Talshir und die meisten Kommentare von Esra-Nehemia.

⁴ D. Böhler, *Die heilige Stadt in Esdras a' und Esra-Nehemia. Zwei Konzeptionen der Wiederherstellung Israels* (OBO 158; Freiburg/Schweiz: Universitätsverlag-Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1997); id., "On the Relationship between Textual and Literary Criticism. The Two Recensions of the Book of Ezra: Ezra-Neh (MT) and 1 Esdras (LXX)," in A. Schenker, ed., *The Earliest Text of the Hebrew Bible. The Relationship between the Masoretic Text and the Hebrew Base of the Septuagint Reconsidered* (SBLSCS 52; Leiden-Boston: Brill, 2003), 35–50.

Der griechische 1. Esdras ist auch in einer altlateinischen⁵ und in einer syrischen Übersetzung⁶ erhalten geblieben. Diese antiken Übertragungen erlauben es mitunter, den griechischen Text an fehlerhaft überlieferten Stellen zu korrigieren.

Julio Treballe Barrera hat das grosse Verdienst, die Bedeutung der *Vetus latina* (VL) für die Herstellung des ursprünglichen *biblischen* Textes an bestimmten Stellen erkannt zu haben. Ich hoffe, dass ihn dieses kleine neue Beispiel in 1 Esdras freuen und überzeugen wird.

In der Tat ist der umfangmässig kleine, aber inhaltsschwere summarische Bericht in 1 Esdr 5:49 auf griechisch allein schwer zu verstehen⁷. Er ist aber auch in der VL rätselhaft. Beide Texte zusammengenommen, sozusagen übereinandergelegt, ergeben jedoch, so scheint es, das Bild des ursprünglichen griechischen — und damit indirekt auch des ursprünglichen hebräischen (oder aramäischen) — Textes, der eine historisch geradezu sensationelle Aussage macht.

Hier der Vergleich:

1	καὶ ἐπισυνήχθησαν	et convenerunt
2	αὐτοῖς	ipsi ⁸

⁵ Hier in der kritischen Ausgabe benützt: R. Weber, *Biblia Sacra iuxta vulgatam versionem*, 5 (verbesserte Aufl. von R. Gryson; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007), 1910-1930. Neben dieser ersten altlateinischen Übersetzung, die seit Cyprian von Karthago (1. Hälfte 3. Jh.) bezeugt ist, gibt es eine jüngere, von Pierre Sabatier als "*versio altera*" bezeichnete Wiedergabe. 1 Esdr 5:49 steht bei P. Sabatier, *Sacrorum Bibliorum Latinae versiones antiquae*, (Reims: Réginald Florentain, 1743), Tom. 3, P. 2, 1055 und lautet: et convenerunt cum eis de caeteris regionibus terrae et erexerunt aram in loco suo omnes gentes terrae et offerebant holocausta Domino matutina et serotina. Diese Form entspricht einer *Rezension* des älteren Textes: 1. Auf stilistischer Ebene ersetzt sie das singuläre *sacrarium* durch das geläufige *ara* und das seltene *holocaustoma* durch das viel häufigere *holocaustum*; 2. In sachlicher Hinsicht ersetzt sie die seltsame Opferliste *hostiae et holocaustomata matutina* durch das normale, in Ex 29:38-42; Num 28:2-8 vorgeschriebene tägliche Brandopfer am Morgen und Abend; 3. Unter logischem Aspekt löst sie die Spannung zwischen dem Partitiv "von allen Völkern des Landes" und dem Subjekt "alle Völker des Landes": bei ihr wird der Satz "es versammelten sich die von den andern Völkern des Landes, und es errichteten einen Altar ... alle Völker des Landes" zu folgender Wendung: "es versammelten sich mit ihnen (welche) von den andern Regionen des Landes, und es errichteten einen Altar ... alle Völker des Landes". Die handschriftliche Bezeugung der beiden altlateinischen Übersetzungen: Hanhart, *Esdrae liber I*, 15-17.

⁶ Siehe unten Abschnitt 2.

⁷ Böhler, *Heilige Stadt*, 299-302, untersucht die Auslegungsgeschichte von V. 49, ohne aber die VL zur Erklärung heranzuziehen.

⁸ Die Herausgeber, R. Weber und R. Gryson, haben die Lesart *ipsis*, Dativ, konjiziert. Aber die Handschriften bezeugen einmütig den Nominativ Plural *ipsi*. Das

3	ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν	ex aliis nationibus
4	τῆς γῆς	terrae
5	καὶ κατάρθωσαν ⁹	et erexerunt
6	θυσιαστήριον	sacrarium
7	ἐπὶ τοῦ τόπου	in loco
8	αὐτῶν	suo
9		<omnes gentes terrae>
10	ὅτι ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς	
11	καὶ κατίσχυσαν αὐτούς	
12	πάντα τὰ ἔθνη	omnes gentes
13	τῆς γῆς	terrae
14	καὶ ἀνέφερον	et offerebant
15	θυσίας	hostias
16	κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν	
17	καὶ ὀλοκαυτώματα	et holocaustomata
18	τῷ Κυρίῳ ¹⁰	Domino
19	τὸ πρωινὸν	matutina
20	καὶ τὸ δειλινὸν	

Pronomen ist Subjekt. Erst wenn dieser Nominativ als sinnlos erwiesen ist, darf man eine Konjektur machen. Methodisch muss am Anfang der Versuch stehen, die überlieferte Lesart *ipsi* sinnvoll zu interpretieren.

⁹ Dass das Aktive die ursprüngliche Form ist, hält Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 117, für wahrscheinlich. Das Aktive steht bei allen griechischen Zeugen mit Ausnahme der Hss B, 55, 122 (1. Hand), Aethiop. Übersetzung, ebenso in VL und Peshitta. Das Passive hat zur Folge, dass die Völker des Landes keinen Altar errichten, sondern sich auf dem Platz des Altars der Judäer aufstellen. Diese Folge liegt wohl *als Absicht* dieser sekundären Lesart zugrunde. Es ist demgemäß eine literarische Lesart, keine Textverderbnis (was auch Hanhart in seiner Perspektive annimmt).

¹⁰ Die Ursprünglichkeit des Artikels begründet Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 100–101.

Zu Zeile 1: das Verb wurde in gleicher Form in 1 Esdr 5:46 (VL V. 47) verwendet und übersetzt. Es entspricht $\eta\sigma\alpha$ *nifal* in Esra 3:3.

Zu Zeile 2: *ipsi* entspricht $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$. In LXX ist das Subjekt implizit und dementsprechend indefinit: "einige von", während nach der VL das Subjekt ausgedrückt ist: "die aus den andern Völkern". Ihm würde im Hebräischen $\mathfrak{ח}$ entsprechen, das in der LXX mit $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\iota$ übertragen ist: Gen 34:22; Ps 95(94):10; 2 Kön (4 Regn) 22:7 usw.

Zu Z. 5: $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\omicron}\omega$ entspricht $\eta\eta$ *hifil* in 1 Chr 28:7; Jes 9:7(6); 10:23, $\kappa\alpha\tau\omicron\rho\theta\acute{\omicron}\omega\mu\alpha\iota$ oft diesem selben Verb im *nifal*.

Zu Z. 6: Die Wiedergabe der VL ist singular, aber sinnvoll. Nichts kann gegen sie eingewendet werden.

Zu Z. 8: Die beiden Possessivpronomen entsprechen sich, da *suus* gebraucht werden muss, wenn sich das besitzanzeigende Fürwort der 3. Pers. masc. auf das Subjekt im gleichen Satz bezieht.

Zu Z. 9: Wieder ist kein Subjekt in der LXX genannt. In VL ist es: "alle Völker des Landes" auf Z. 12-13.

Zu Z. 11-12: LXX von 1 Esdr konstruiert manchmal Subjekte im Neutrum Plural mit Verbalprädikaten ebenfalls im Plural, z.B. 2:11; 9:4.¹¹

Zu Z. 9-13: VL erklärt sich entweder als Homoioteleuton: von *terrae* in Z. 9 zu *terrae* in Z. 13 oder als sekundärer Einschub von Z. 10-11 in die ursprüngliche LXX. VL würde in dieser zweiten Hypothese dem Wortlaut der ursprünglichen LXX entsprechen. Der Einschub könnte von Esra 3:3 und 4:23 im MT inspiriert sein. Der Bau des Tempels der Völker des Landes würde auf diese Weise als feindliche (Z.10) und mächtige (Z. 11) Antwort dieser Völker auf die Bautätigkeit der *golah* in Jerusalem erklärt. <*omnes gentes*> steht in Z. 9 in spitzen Klammern, weil es in VL nur einmal auf Z. 12 belegt ist.

Zu Z. 16 und 20: Der Text in LXX ist symmetrischer (Morgen- und Abendopfer) und liturgisch sorgfältiger konzipiert (Schlachtopfer entsprechend den vorgeschriebenen Gelegenheiten, Brandopfer am Morgen und am Abend). Das Asymmetrische und liturgisch nicht genau Präzisierte ist eher ursprünglich, weil Kopisten oder Herausgeber leichter zur Ergänzung des Asymmetrischen und

¹¹ E. Mayser, *Grammatik der griechischen Papyri aus der Ptolemäerzeit*, Bd. II 3 *Satzlehre synthetischer Teil* (Berlin-Leipzig: de Gruyter, 1934), 28–30. Besonders bei lebenden Wesen bevorzugt man oft das Verb im Plural.

Ungenauen neigen, als dass sie Symmetrisches und Genaues durch ihr Gegenteil ersetzen.

Zu Z. 14-20: Da das Subjekt impliziert ist, darf man annehmen, es sei mit dem Subjekt in Z. 5-9 identisch. Auf Seiten der LXX sind das die Israeliten (V. 46), die Priester und Zorobabel mit seinen Brüdern (V. 47-48), aber auf Seiten der VL sind das vielleicht die Völker des Landes.

Als Ergebnis ist festzuhalten, dass der ursprüngliche Text der LXX lautete:

- 1 και ἐπισυνήχθησαν
- 2 αὐτοὶ
- 3 ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἐθνῶν
- 4 τῆς γῆς
- 5 καὶ κατάρθωσαν
- 6 θυσιαστήριον
- 7 ἐν τῷ τόπῳ
- 8 αὐτῶν
- 9 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς
- 10 ὅτι ἐν ἔχθρᾳ ἦσαν αὐτοῖς
- 11 καὶ κατίσχυσαν αὐτοῦς
- 12 πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς
- 13 καὶ ἀνέφερον
- 14 θυσίας
- 15 καὶ ὀλοκαυτώματα
- 16 τῷ κυρίῳ
- 17 τὸ πρωινόν.

In Übertragung:

- 1 Und es kamen zusammen
- 2 die
- 3 von den andern Völkern
- 4 des Landes,
- 5 und es errichteten
- 6 einen Altar
- 7-8 an ihrer Stätte
- 9 <alle die Völker des Landes,>
- 10 denn es standen in Feindschaft zu ihnen
- 11 und es beherrschten sie
- 12 alle die Völker des Landes,
- 13 und sie brachten dar
- 14 Schlachtopfer
- 15 und Brandopfer
- 16 dem Herrn
- 17 in der Frühe.

2. Der syrische Text der Peshitta

Neben der VL enthält auch die Peshitta das Buch 1 Esdras in syrischer Übertragung. Diese ist somit ein weiterer Textzeuge von 1 Esdras. 1 Esdr 5:49 lautet in der Peshitta wie folgt¹²:

- 1 Und es versammelten sich
- 2 alle
- 3 von den andern Völkern des Landes,
- 4 und sie errichteten¹³
- 5 den Altar
- 6 an seiner Stelle,
- 7 weil in Feindschaft waren gegen sie
- 8 alle diese Völker des Landes,
- 9 und sie waren stark,
- 10 und sie brachten Opfer
- 11 zur Zeit
- 12 und Brandopfer Friedopfer
- 13 für den Herrn
- 14 am Morgen
- 15 und am Abend.

Zu dieser Textform sind folgende Erläuterungen nützlich:

Z. 2: Das Wort "alle" wird von keinen Textzeugen der LXX und VL gestützt. Die Wendung "alle von..." scheint nicht ursprünglich zu sein, weil der Partitiv nach einem Ausdruck der Gesamtheit keinen befriedigenden Sinn gibt. "Alle von den Völkern" ist soviel wie "alle Völker".

Z. 6: Das Possessivum im Singular entspricht der Mehrheit der griechischen Textzeugen, wie Hanhart zeigt¹⁴. Es deckt sich überdies mit MT von Esra 3:3 und mit 2 Esdras 3:3. Ferner ist es *lectio faciliior*. Aus allen diesen Gründen muss man mit Hanhart den Plural für ursprünglich halten.

Z. 8-9: Der Platz des Subjekts "alle diese Völker des Landes" ist in LXX vor die Wendung "sie waren stark" gestellt, in der Peshitta danach. Das Demonstrativum: "alle *diese*" ist nur in der Peshitta bezeugt.

¹² 1 (3) *Esdras* (Edited by W. Baars and J.C.H. Lebram; The Old Testament in Syriac According to the Peshitta Version, IV,6; Leiden: Brill, 1972), [19–20].

¹³ Wörtlich: sie machten gerade = *κατορθώω*.

¹⁴ Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 76–77.

Z. 9: Das syrische Verb ist intransitiv. Daher fehlt das Pronomen des Objekts.

Z. 10-15: Dieser Satz ist mit LXX identisch, wenn man von der nicht ganz durchsichtigen Bezeichnung der beiden Opferarten, beide im Plural, **אמלש אקדי** absieht.

Insgesamt lässt sich sehen, dass die syrische Fassung von 1 Esdras 5:49 dem griechischen Mehrheitstext folgt (mit dem Possessiv im Singular in Z. 6!) und drei kleine Eigenheiten in Z. 2, 8, 8-9 aufweist, die keine Ursprünglichkeit beanspruchen können.

3. Was bedeutet die Erzählung nach dem ursprünglichen Text von 1 Esdr 5:49?

Nach 1 Esdras 5:46-48 "versammelten sich" (*συνήχθησαν*) die Israeliten auf dem Platz vor dem ersten Tor auf der Ostseite der Stadt Jerusalem¹⁵ und bereiteten dort den Altar (*ἡτοίμασαν*) des Gottes Israels. Nach 5:49, Z. 1-3, "versammelten sich" aber auch (*ἐπισυνήχθησαν*) "die von den andern Völkern des Landes" und errichteten (*κατώρθωσαν*) einen Altar "an ihrer Stätte". Z. 5-8: Die andern Völker des Landes stehen parallel zu den Israeliten von 5:46. "Alle" Völker des Landes, Z. 9 und Z. 12-13, stehen der Einmütigkeit der Israeliten (*ὁμοθυμαδόν*) in Jerusalem (5:46) gegenüber. Der Ort "Jerusalem" korrespondiert mit dem *τόπος αὐτῶν*, "ihrem Ort", Z. 7-8, nämlich dem Ort der Völker des Landes.

Das Bild, das sich vor den Lesern auftut, ist das von zwei Bevölkerungen im Land, nämlich die Israeliten auf der einen Seite und die Völker des Landes auf der andern, die sich beide versammeln, um je einen Altar zu errichten. Beide brachten darauf Opfer *für Jhwh* dar, 5:48, 50-52. Die Israeliten taten das nach den Vorschriften der *Tora*, 5:48, 50. Die Völker des Landes beföhden die Israeliten und waren stärker oder mächtiger (*κατίσχυσαν*) als sie, Z. 10-12. Das wird wohl gesagt, um zu erklären, warum sie einen zweiten Altar, nämlich den ihren, errichten konnten. Politisch und machtmässig waren sie dazu in der Lage. 1 Esdras 5:49 erklärt demgemäss, warum es gleich nach der Rückkehr aus dem Exil wieder

¹⁵ P.-M. Bogaert, "La Porte, place de rassemblement du peuple, et l'extension de l'oeuvre du Chroniste," *Transeuphratène* 17 (1999): 9–16.

zwei konkurrierende Heiligtümer gab, wie zur Zeit Jeroboams! Das eine stand in Jerusalem, das andere an der Stätte der Völker des Landes. Beide waren ja Jhwh geweiht, da auf dem Altar beider Gruppen Opfer für Jhwh dargebracht wurden, 5:48 und 5:49, Z. 16.

Wäre es aber nicht auch möglich, 5:49, Z. 13-17, vom Vorhergehenden abzutrennen und mit den folgenden V. 50-52 zu verbinden, deren Subjekt "die Israeliten" von Jerusalem sind? Die Zwischenbemerkung von 5:49 würde dann nur Z. 1-12 umfassen, und der Verfasser würde nicht berichten, auch die Völker des Landes hätten Jhwh Opfer dargebracht. Das ist jedoch wegen der unvollständigen Darbringungen, die nicht den täglich in Jerusalem dargebrachten Opfern entsprechen, kaum wahrscheinlich. Solche unvollständigen, nicht toragemässen Darbringungen passen besser zu den Völkern des Landes als zu den Israeliten von Jerusalem.

In Zusammenfassung kann die Bedeutung der ursprünglichen Fassung von 1 Esdras 5:49 in folgenden fünf Punkten herausgestellt werden: erstens, zwei Altäre wurden nach dem Exil errichtet, einer in Jerusalem gemäss der *Tora* und ein anderer an der Stätte der Völker des Landes; zweitens, es entsteht so eine Parallelisierung und das Bild einer kultischen Rivalität zwischen Israeliten in Jerusalem und den andern Völkern des Landes, denn an beiden Stätten wurden Jhwh Opfer dargebracht; drittens, 1 Esdr 5:49 ist ein Seitenblick, eine Zwischenbemerkung zu den Völkern des Landes, ein Blick zu einem Nebenschauplatz hinüber, während die Erzählung den Israeliten in Jerusalem und ihren Schicksalen gewidmet ist; viertens, die Israeliten in Jerusalem tragen keine Verantwortung an diesem andern Altar, weil die Völker des Landes ihnen feindlich gesonnen und mächtiger waren als sie. Daher konnten sie diesen Altar nicht verhindern; fünftens, dieser konkurrierende Altar erklärt, warum die Israeliten in Jerusalem die Mitwirkung der Völker des Landes an ihrem *Tempelbau* in Jerusalem ablehnten, 5:63-70, wenn die "Feinde des Stammes Juda und Benjamin" (V. 63) die gleichen Leute sind wie die Völker des Landes von 5:49, eine Identifizierung, welche 1 Esdr 5:69 nahelegt. Das Rätsel, weshalb diese Beteiligung abgelehnt wurde, löst sich auf diese Weise! ¹⁶

¹⁶ Als Gründe werden stets zwei angegeben: 1. Die Gegner Judas und Benjamins üben einen synkretistischen, d.h. mit Heidnischem vermischten Jhwh-Kult; 2. Sie wollen politischen Einfluss in Jerusalem und Juda gewinnen, z.B. J. Blenkinsopp,

4. *1 Esdr 5:49 in der ursprünglichen Fassung ist älter als Esra 3:3*
MT

Ist die ursprüngliche griechische Fassung von 1 Esdr 5:49, wie sie hier mit Hilfe der VL rekonstruiert wurde, eine redaktionelle Veränderung von Esra 3:3, oder ist es umgekehrt: korrigierte der hebräische Text von Esra 3:3 den ursprünglichen Wortlaut, der hinter 1 Esdr 5:49 (LXX und VL) steht? Die Antwort liegt eigentlich auf der Hand! Eine solche Aussage, dergemäss die Völker des Landes einen Tempel für Jhwh gebaut haben, noch bevor die Judäer den ihren errichtet hatten, wurde kaum da hinzugefügt, wo sie fehlte! Aber da, wo sie stand, konnte sie begreiflicher Weise aus judäischer und jerusalemischer Perspektive getilgt werden. Wer hätte da ein Interesse gehabt zu sagen, während die Israeliten in Jerusalem ihren Tempel wieder errichteten, hätten die Landesbewohner ihrerseits "an ihrem Ort" bereits einen Tempel aufgebaut, weil sie mächtig genug waren, das zu tun, und hätten daselbst von neuem einen Kult für Jhwh gefeiert? Was bedurfte es eines solchen Berichtes, der diesem konkurrierenden Heiligtum eine Bedeutung verlieh, die man lieber mit Schweigen zudecken wollte? Was hatte dieser Tempel überhaupt in der Erzählung von der Wiedererrichtung des einzigen legitimen israelitischen Heiligtum in Jerusalem zu schaffen? Es sei nochmals daran erinnert, dass 1 Esdras die griechische Übertragung eines semitischen Originals ist!

5. *Die älteste Erwähnung eines nachexilischen Jhwh-Tempels und*
Jhwh-Kultes ausserhalb Jerusalems

Was war die Funktion dieses Berichtes im ursprünglichen Buch Esra? Er erklärt wohl, warum die Mitwirkung dieser gleichen "Völker des Landes" am Tempelbau in Jerusalem zurückgewiesen wurde. Das ergibt sich aus der Episode von 1 Esdr 5:63-69 (= Esra 4:1-3). Die beiden Stellen werden durch die Begriffe "Feindschaft" und "Feinde" miteinander verbunden (5:49; 5:63) Diese Begriffe kommen in 1 Esdr

Ezra-Nehemiah. A Commentary (OTL; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1988), 107, und viele andere.

5 nur hier vor!¹⁷ Die Völker des Landes haben ihren eigenen Tempel aus Feindschaft gegen die Judäer errichtet: 5:49. Daher dürfen sie jetzt in Jerusalem nicht mitbauen, denn sie haben in feindlicher Absicht einen nicht legitimen Gegentempel errichtet, noch bevor die Judäer den ihren bauen konnten, welcher der legitime Tempel ist.

Als Ergebnis lässt sich festhalten, dass 1 Esdr 5:49 die *älteste* Erwähnung eines israelitischen Tempelbaus ausserhalb Jerusalems nach dem babylonischen Exil ist. Die Völker des Landes bezeichnen *Israeliten*. Denn sie weihten ihren Kult Jhwh. Ihr Heiligtum bauten sie an anonymer Stätte, "an ihrem Ort". Das Possessivum deutet eine durch Tradition bei ihnen dafür bestimmte Lokalisierung an. Sie bauten diesen Tempel, noch bevor die Judäer den ihren in Jerusalem errichtet hatten. Vielleicht legt das Buch, sowohl in der Form von 1 Esdr wie in jener von Esra-Neh, gerade deshalb soviel Gewicht auf die Widerstände, die den Tempelbau in Jerusalem verzögerten. Es sollte klar werden, dass man in Juda und Jerusalem trotz bestem Willen mit dem Bau des Heiligtums nicht vorankommen konnte, obwohl die "andern" Israeliten ihr illegitimes Heiligtum an ihrem Ort schon errichtet hatten.

6. Die *crux* von 1 Esdr 5:69

Abschliessend möchte ich noch einen Lösungsvorschlag für eine verzweifelte Lesart unterbreiten, die in 1 Esdr 5:69 steht: τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς ἐπικοιμώμενα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ. Hanhart hat mit Recht das Partizip in seinem Text festgehalten und der Versuchung widerstanden, eine Konjektur an seine Stelle zu setzen, wie es Rahlfs in seiner Ausgabe der LXX getan hatte. Der Text ist in der Tat gut bezeugt¹⁸. Die deutsche Übertragung der Septuaginta gibt den Satz wie folgt wieder: "Die Völker des Landes aber waren *denen in* Judäa *eine Last*"¹⁹. Sie folgt dem Vorschlag Hanharts.

¹⁷ ἔχθρα ist ein Hapax in 1 Esdr, und ἐχθρός kommt neben 5:63 nur noch einmal vor (8:61).

¹⁸ Hanhart, *Text und Textgeschichte*, 63–64. In seiner Revision der Rahlfs'schen LXX-Ausgabe hat Hanhart den Text Rahlfs' unverändert belassen: A. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta*. Ed. altera ... R. Hanhart (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2006), *ad loc.* Talshir, *1 Esdras. A Text Critical Commentary*, 319–320 hält wie Hanhart am Partizip der hauptsächlichen Textzeugen fest.

¹⁹ *Septuaginta deutsch* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2009), 560.

Hier vielleicht ein gangbarer Ausweg aus der Schwierigkeit! In V. 69 stehen zwei Partizipien im Plural, das erste im Plural Neutrum: ἐπικοιμώμενα, das zweite im Plural Masculinum: πολιορκοῦντες. Das Subjekt des ersten Partizips sind "die Völker des Landes", ein Neutrum Plural: τὰ ἔθνη κτλ. Dieses Subjekt passt nicht zum zweiten Partizip, das ein Plural Maskulin ist. Es legt sich daher nahe, zwischen den beiden Partizipien eine Trennung anzunehmen und aus dem Vers zwei Sätze zu machen²⁰: "Die Völker des Landes aber waren 'schlafend' für die von Judäa. Und die Belagernden wehrten dem Aufbauen...".

Da der Vers schwer verständlich formuliert ist, liegt die Vermutung nahe, es könnte die Versteilung falsch sein. Daher lohnt es sich zu prüfen, ob der erste Satz von V. 69 noch zur direkten Rede gehören könnte, die in V. 67 beginnt. Zorobabel, Jesus und die Familienführer sagen zu den Feinden des Stammes Juda und Benjamin, die beim Tempelbau mittun wollen, V. 63-66, dass das nicht möglich sei wegen des anderslautenden Befehls von König Kyros: (V. 68) "Denn wir allein werden dem Herrn Israels ein Haus bauen, demzufolge was Kyros, der König der Perser uns befohlen hat, (V. 69) die Völker des Landes aber (δὲ) haben ruhig zu bleiben für die in Judäa."

Für diese Wiedergabe spricht das δὲ, das das Folgende dem Vorhergehenden als Gegensatz zuordnet. Zu ihrem Verständnis bedarf es zweier Erläuterungen. Erstens, das Verb ἐπικοιμάομαι verwendet die griechische Bibel in Dt 21:23 (nach der Mehrzahl der Handschriften, nicht nach *Vaticanus*) für "übernachten", לִי, und in 1 Kön 3:19 für "schlafen, liegen", שכב. Polybius, *Geschichte*, II, 13,4, verwendet das Wort im bildlichen Sinn von "verschlafen", d.h. etwas nicht merken und geschehen lassen. Polybius lebte im 2. Jh. v. Chr. Im Vergleich mit dem entsprechenden Passus im MT deutet man dieses Verb als Wiedergabe für מרפי ידיים, Esra 4:4. Aber sicher ist das nicht, weil Esra 4:4 und 1 Esdr 5:69 im Ganzen sehr verschieden formuliert sind. In Esra 4:4 stehen vier Partizipien, in 1 Esdr 5:69 sind es fünf Verben (in finiten Formen und als Partizipien), und mehrere Nomina des griechischen Textes haben keine Entsprechung im MT. Die Bedeutung des Verbs ist jedenfalls nicht transitiv, wie es der hebräische Ausdruck: "jemandes Hände schlaff machen" ist. In

²⁰ Das tut auch *Septuaginta deutsch*.

Polybius, Dt 21:23 und 1 Kön 3:19 hat das Verb kein Dativobjekt und ist intransitiv. Man muss daher verstehen: schlafen, oder daliegen, d.h. das passive Ruhig-Bleiben.

Zweitens können hebräische Partizipien eine zeitliche oder modale Dimension haben²¹. Nach dem Futurum "wir werden bauen" in V. 68 ist diese Bedeutungsnuance des Partizips in V. 69 möglich. Übrigens kann hinter dem griechischen Partizip "schlafend" auch eine finite hebräische Verbalform (im Imperfekt mit modaler Bedeutung) stehen, da der Übersetzer von 1 Esdr gerne finite Verben mit Partizipien wiedergibt²².

Zusammenfassend würde in solcher Interpretation Folgendes gelten: V. 69a τὰ δὲ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς ἐπικοιμώμενα τοῖς ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ gehört noch zur Antwort der Judäer in direkter Rede. Es stellt ein Wort des Königs Kyros dar: nur die Judäer werden bauen, während die andern Israeliten passiv zu bleiben haben. Die hebräische Vorlage ist nicht mehr festzustellen. Der Dativ "denen von Judäa" bedeutet: ihnen gegenüber. Parallele für οἱ ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδαίας ist 1 Esdr 5:64 οἱ ἐκ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας (= Esr 4:1 הַגּוֹלִים בְּנֵי); für Dativ ohne verbales, nominales oder präpositionales Antezedens, das einen Dativ fordert: 1 Esdr 5:58 ὅτι ἡ χρηστότης αὐτοῦ καὶ ἡ δόξα αὐτοῦ... παντὶ Ἰσραήλ (= Esra 3:11 לְאַרְש־לְּע) ²³. Die zweite Hälfte von V. 69: "und belagernd wehrten sie dem Aufbauen" hat als Subjekt die Feinde Judas und Benjamins, die in V. 63 genannt wurden und seither als Adressaten der Antwort Zorobabels und seiner Genossen in V. 67-69a für den Leser gegenwärtig geblieben sind.

²¹ P. Joüon, *Grammaire de l'hébreu biblique* § 121 i (Rome: Institut biblique pontifical, 1947), 341–342; C. Brockelmann, *Hebräische Syntax* § 44 (Neukirchen: Verl. Erziehungsverein, 1956), 45–46.

²² Talshir, *1 Esdras. From Origin*, 206–208.

²³ Hanhart, *Text- und Textgeschichte*, 98, bevorzugt ἐν παντὶ Ἰ. in den Hss A, N und fünf Minuskeln. Sein Grund: δόξα hat oft den Dativ der Person bei sich. Daher hätten gewisse Kopisten spontan den Dativ an Stelle der präpositionalen Wendung gesetzt. Aber diese Person im Dativ ist in der Regel Gott, nicht Israel, zumal im Kontext des Hymnus. Dass Israel Objekt der δόξα sein soll, ist im hymnischen Beten ganz ungewöhnlich. Der Dativ "für ganz Israel" ist eine Art Zeugma: da die Güte Gottes für Israel ist, ist ebenso auch die Herrlichkeit für Israel. Daher ist der Dativ, den Vaticanus und sieben Minuskeln aufweisen (darunter sind die lukianischen Zeugen), hier die ungewöhnlichere Lesart. Überdies zeigt das Schwanken in der Präposition, ἐν und ἐπί; in den Textzeugen, dass der Dativ als schwierig empfunden und in verschiedener Weise durch eine Präposition verständlicher gemacht werden sollte. Daher ist der blosse Dativ mit Rahlfs als ursprünglich festzuhalten.

V. 68-69 kann nach alledem so übertragen werden: V. 68 (direkte Rede Zorobabels und seiner Genossen) «Denn wir allein werden für den Herrn Israels bauen gemäss dem Befehl, den Kyros, König der Perser uns gegeben hat, (V. 69a) die (übrigen) Bevölkerungen des Landes aber haben ruhig zu bleiben für die aus Juda. » (V. 69b) Und/aber mit einer Belagerung wehrten sie dem Aufbau...".

7. Ergebnis

1 Esdr 5:49 steht in Parallele mit Esra 3:3 im MT. Aber die griechische Form von 1 Esdr 5:49 ist nicht die ursprüngliche griechische Textgestalt. Es ist eine überarbeitete Form, wie der Vergleich mit der *Vetus latina*, einer Tochterübersetzung der LXX zeigt. Mit ihrer Hilfe lässt sich der ursprüngliche griechische Text mit hoher Wahrscheinlichkeit rekonstruieren.

Dieser ursprüngliche Wortlaut enthält die überraschende Notiz, dass die Völker des Landes ihrerseits einen Tempel für Jhwh errichtet und dort für ihn einen Kult mit Opfern gefeiert haben. Gemäss dieser Notiz wurde somit neben dem Heiligtum in Jerusalem ein zweiter jahwistischer, d.h. israelitischer Tempel erbaut. Sein Ort wird nicht mit Namen genannt, sondern mit dem Ausdruck: "an der Stätte der Völker des Landes" bezeichnet. Dieser Bau entstand sogar noch vor der Errichtung des judäischen Tempels durch die Heimkehrer aus dem Exil unter Serubbabel und Josua. Das ist wohl die älteste literarische Erwähnung eines zweiten Tempels für Jhwh im Lande Israel neben jenem von Jerusalem in der Perserzeit!

Diese Textform von 1 Esdr 5:49 ist höchstwahrscheinlich älter und ursprünglicher als die entsprechende hebräische Formulierung in Esra 3:3, weil es nicht wahrscheinlich erscheint, dass jemand das "schismatische" Heiligtum dort eingeführt hätte, wo es nicht vorkam. Das umgekehrte leuchtet dagegen sehr gut ein: man hat die Erwähnung eines mit jenem von Jerusalem konkurrierenden als illegitim betrachteten Heiligtums gerne beseitigt.

Aufgabe der Historiker ist es nun, die geschichtliche Plausibilität einer solchen Notiz aus dem 4. Jh. (vermutliche Entstehungszeit des Buches 1 Esdras) zu prüfen.

Die *crux* von 1 Esdr 5:69a kann vielleicht durch eine andere Satzteilung verständlich werden. V. 69a könnte noch zur direkten

Rede der V. 67-68 gehören. Die Zäsur zwischen V. 69a und b empfiehlt sich wegen des Plurals Neutrum in V. 69a und Masculinum in V. 69b.

TEXTUAL INTERPRETATION IN 7TH-6TH CENTURY ISRAEL: BETWEEN COMPETITION, TEXTUALISATION AND TRADITION

Mark S. Smith

Over the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE, texts and traditions were read by Israelite scribes with greater scrutiny and apparently with increasing technical sophistication. In this context, issues of interpretation came to the fore. The Bible contains explicit reflections on interpretation focusing on a number of topics.¹ In this short contribution in honor of Julio Trebolle Barrera, I wish to focus on one aspect of this development. Interpretation and text have been two basic concerns in his writings, and I am happy to offer this short piece as a token of my appreciation for Julio's superlative scholarship and for our warm friendship that began with our time together at the Ecole biblique in Jerusalem. The honoree of this volume has been an important international figure for decades and is certainly the most significant Spanish scholar of his generation in biblical studies and Dead Sea Scrolls. My specific concern in this study involves biblical expressions² concerning norms said to be laws that Yahweh did not command. After reviewing these instances briefly, I will note an Akkadian parallel that will provide a basis for comparison and contrast.

¹ See the important book of Bernard M. Levinson, *Legal Revision and Religious Renewal in Ancient Israel* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 2009). For some reflections on this matter, see also Mark S. Smith, *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of God in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2004), 107–10, 151–52.

² The biblical passages under discussion derive from Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and Ezekiel. This study does not undertake detailed discussions of the dates of these books, nor of specific passages in them. For the purposes of this piece, the core of Deuteronomy is taken as a seventh century work, while Jeremiah and Ezekiel are dated to the sixth century. To be sure, many scholars give considerably later dates for this works, and this issue does play some role in the matter of pseudonymous authorship mentioned at the end of this study.

One set of cases involves prophecy given in the name of Yahweh that, in the view of the biblical writers and editors, is to be regarded as false. With slightly different variations, Deuteronomy 18:20 as well as Jeremiah 14:14, 23:32 and 29:23 (which adds adultery) refer to prophecy given in the name of Yahweh as that “which I did not command.” The evaluation of false and true prophecy was already an issue in the period of the monarchy. With this expression, “which I did not command,” these passages refute the claim that the prophecies in question were commanded by God. In other words, they question the interpretation of what may have been accepted by others as true prophecy. In short, the phrase, “which I did not command,” questions some prophecy.

Another set of passages uses the expression in regard to child sacrifice, which has been richly studied by Baruch Halpern in relation to its rejection in Jeremiah and Ezekiel.³ Jeremiah 7:31, 19:5 and

³ B. Halpern, “The False Torah of Jeremiah 8 in the Context of Seventh Century BCE Pseudepigraphy: The First Documented Rejection of Tradition,” in “*Up to the Gates of Ekron*”: Essays on the Archaeology and History of the Eastern Mediterranean in Honor of Seymour Gitin (eds. Sidnie White Crawford et al.; Jerusalem: The W. F. Albright Institute of Archaeological Research/The Israel Exploration Society, 2007), 337–43, esp. 339–40. For other treatments of these passages, see Jon D. Levenson, *The Death and Resurrection of the Beloved Son: The Transformation of Child Sacrifice in Judaism and Christianity* (New Haven/London: Yale University Press, 1993); and John van Seters, “From Child Sacrifice to Paschal Lamb: A Remarkable Transformation in Israelite Religion,” *Old Testament Essays* 16/2 (2003): 453–63.

A recent treatment of the Phoenician evidence for the *mlk*-sacrifice was authored by Luis Alberto Ruiz Cabrero, *El Sacrificio Molk entre los fenicio-púnicos: Cuestiones demográficas y ecológicas* (Tesis Doctoral), Departamento de Historia Antigua, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2007 (reference courtesy of the author). This work accepts the view of Otto Eissfeldt, Paul G. Mosca and others that *mlk* is not the name of a deity in the Phoenician material and that offerings of children were indeed involved. For Eissfeldt, see his monograph, *Molk als opferbegriff im punichen und hebräischen und das Ende des Gottes Moloch* (Beiträge Religionsgeschichte des Altertums, volume 3; Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1935). Eissfeldt’s work has been translated into Spanish as *El Molk como concepto del Sacrificio Púnico y Hebreo y el final del Dios Moloch* (edited by Carlos C. Wagner and Luis Ruiz Cabrero. Madrid: Centro de Estudios Fenicios y Púnicos, 2002), published together with articles on the subject by Enrico Acquario, Maria Giulia Amadasi, Antonia Ciasca, and Edward Lipiński. For Mosca, see “Child Sacrifice in Canaanite and Israelite Religion: A Study in *Mulk* and *mlk*” (Ph.D. dissertation), Harvard University, 1975. For the view that archaeological research has confirmed that sacrifice of children was involved and not simply burial of deceased children, see Lawrence E. Stager and Samuel Wolff, “Child Sacrifice at Carthage: Religious Rite or Population Control? Archaeological Evidence Provides Basis for a New Analysis,” *BAR* 10/1 (1984): 30–51.

32:35 denounce the practice as one “which I [God] did not command” (or “never commanded,” NJPS) and “which did not ascend to my heart” (that is, “never entered my mind”). In its representation of the divine role in the law of child sacrifice, Ezekiel 20:25-26 goes further than either Jeremiah 7:31, 19:5 or 32:35, by telling its audience that Israel’s God “gave them statutes that were not good and rules by which they would not live.”⁴ These expressions about God’s view of child sacrifice seem to be addressing what their authors evidently thought was the wrong understanding of the law of the sacrifice of the first-born, as expressed, for example, in Exodus 22:28.⁵ More specifically, the aim of Ezekiel would appear to dispute and disavow an interpretation of Exodus 22:28 (or the like) that would apply the law of the sacrifice of the first-born to humans. In this case, these authors are arguing not only about the authority of an older text, but also about its interpretation, which had become part of their tradition surrounding such authoritative texts. These prophets cannot change the older text due to the broadly recognized weight of tradition that has legitimized them – at least in some eyes. Instead, they refute its divine character – though not so much of the text itself, but of the way that it had been understood and interpreted. What people thought was commanded, it is now claimed, represents an incorrect understanding or interpretation of them.

The strategy of characterizing a practice as one “which I did not command them,” was also applied to the worship of other gods in Deuteronomy 17:3.⁶ Jeremiah 7:22 lists burnt offering or sacrifice as practices that “I did not command.”⁷ I have juxtaposed these two particular cases to indicate something of the range in which the

⁴ A discussion can be found in Scott Walker Hahn and John Seitz Bergsma, “What Laws Were ‘Not Good’? A Canonical Approach to the Theological Problem of Ezekiel 20:25-26”, *JBL* 123 (2004): 201–18. Compare the remarks of Moshe Greenberg, *Ezekiel 1-20* (AB 22; Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1983), 368–70. Without providing reasons or evidence, Greenberg regards the practice, much less such an interpretation of it in this regard, as “intrinsically improbable.”

⁵ So see the discussion of Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The JPS Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1996), 162–63. Child sacrifice appears to be understood also in Micah 6:7; see also Numbers 3:12-13 and 8:17-18. Parenthetically, it is to be noted that in proposing Levites as a substitute for first-born Israelites, the passages from Numbers shows that the commandment was taken to apply to first-born humans.

⁶ So Tigay, *The JPS Commentary: Deuteronomy*, 162–63.

⁷ For a detailed discussion of the religious and sociological setting of this text, see Halpern, “The False Torah of Jeremiah” 337–43.

expression could be applied. In the former instance, there is no controversy involved for the circles that Deuteronomy represented and for the most part it seems to be a non-issue for a good deal of the priestly elite that it engaged. In the latter case of Jeremiah 8:22, some controversy is apparent, as this citation militates directly against priestly torah. It is evident that this sort of expression could be marshaled against a wide range of practices being debated among elite religious circles of the period.

These references to laws “which I did not command” might seem at first to be a denial of the laws involved rather than an argument for a more careful and nuanced interpretation of them. Still, at this time, perhaps the distinction between text and its interpretation was not yet fully decoupled.⁸ In some instances this phrase, “which I did not command,” seems to be a means by which these authors express their disagreement with a known, inherited interpretation of these laws that for some has authority but whose authority they wish to question.⁹ This expression of prophecy or law that the deity says that he did not command dates to the late seventh and sixth centuries BCE.

This was the period when concern was developing over how older texts may and arguably should be read. These passages in Deuteronomy, Jeremiah and Ezekiel are among the earliest texts¹⁰ that explicitly raise the problem of interpretation of biblical laws, and all of them may be traced to various priestly backgrounds in this period. We should perhaps further connect this development with the scribal production of prophecy and law in ancient Judah at the time; in other words, interpretation perhaps developed as an issue in these texts in combination with their production. It may be that this scribal context engendered a sense of textual interpretation in a manner not as critically apparent as in earlier periods. This juncture in Israel’s textual culture also marks the growing importance of writing in

⁸ Note the post-exilic account of such study and interpretation in Nehemiah 8:13-15.

⁹ Regarding Ezekiel’s alteration of tradition, see the reflections of Moshe Greenberg, “Notes on the Influence of Tradition on Ezekiel,” *JANES* 22 (1993): 37 n. 11.

¹⁰ Yet note also Hosea 8:12: “I wrote for him a multitude of my teachings, like something foreign have they been reckoned.”

general and also for Israel's sacred traditions emerging in written scriptures.¹¹

As a coda to this discussion, we may note that this type of issue was not confined to Israel in this period. A parallel is found in an Akkadian pseudonymous letter apparently attributed to Samsuiluna (the name is reconstructed), and thought to date to the reign of Nebuchadnezzar II.¹² This Neo-Babylonian text, known from two copies from Sippar and Ur, concerns the holy places of Akkad, and it criticizes temple officials for their dishonesty, sacrilege and other offences, including the following statement: "They establish for their

¹¹ I use the term "scriptures" for the beginning of the process of scriptural collection and transmission at this point in Israel's religious-scribal history. Its later and full accomplishment as a religiously recognized reality is signaled by the explicit use of the term in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, as indicated by the following references:

"the law, the prophets, and the later authors"; and "the law, the prophets, and the rest of the books of our ancestors": Ben Sira prologue;

"Torah, prophets and Psalms": Luke 24:44;

"in the writings," בְּסֵפֶרִים: Daniel 9:2;

"the holy works," τὰ βιβλία τὰ ἅγια: 1 Maccabees 12:9;

"holy writings," γραφαῖς ἁγίαις: Romans 1:2;

"writing," γραφῶν: Romans 15:4; "writings," γραφάς: 1 Corinthians 15:3, 4;

"holy writings," ἱερὰ γράμματα: 2 Timothy 3:15;

"For what does the writing say?" τί γὰρ ἡ γραφή λέγει: Romans 4:3, (citing Genesis 15:6); cf. Romans 9:17, 10:11, 11:2; Galatians 3:8, 22; 4:30;

"the writing," τὴν γραφήν, John 20:9; "(it says) in the writing," ἐν γραφῇ, 1 Peter 2:6;

"there is no prophecy of scripture," γραφῆς, 2 Peter 1:20;

"scripture (is inspired by God)," γραφή, and "the holy writings," ἱερὰ γράμματα in 2 Timothy 3:15-16;

"the holy writings," τῶν ἱερῶν γραφῶν: Josephus, *Contra Apionem*, 2.4 para. 45 (see also "our *biblia*" in 1.38-40); Philo, *De Abrahamo*, 61; *De congressu eruditionis gratia*, 34, 90.

For discussions of these terms, see *The Canon Debate* (Edited by Lee Martin McDonald and James A. Sanders; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2002), 128-145; Jonathan G. Campbell, "4QMMT(d) and the Tripartite Canon," *JJS* 51 (2000): 181-190; Timothy H. Lim, "The Alleged Reference to the Tripartite Division of the Hebrew Bible," *RevQ* 20 (2001): 23-37; Eugene Ulrich, "The Non-attestation of a Tripartite Canon in 4QMMT," *CBQ* 65 (2003): 202-214. For an optimistic view of a relatively early tripartite canon (especially compared to the discussions of Ulrich), see Stephen Dempster, "From Many Texts to One: The Formation of the Hebrew Bible," in *The World of the Aramaeans I: Studies in Language and Literature in Honour of Paul-Eugène Dion* (Edited by P. M. Michèle Daviau, John W. Wevers and Michael Weigl; JSOTSup 324; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 19-56. I do not use the term "Bible," which is a post-biblical anachronism.

¹² For this text, see F. H. N. Al-Rawi and A. R. George, "Tablets from the Sippar Library III. Two Royal Counterfeits," *Iraq* 56 (1994): 135-48, esp. 138-39. See also the translation of this text by Benjamin R. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (Third ed.; Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 2005), 288.

gods matters that the gods did not command.”¹³ According to F. H. N. Al-Rawi and A. R. George, “‘Things that the gods commanded’ are presumably the correct ritual procedures of the temple, which in Babylonia were considered matters of divine revelation dating from time immemorial.”¹⁴ Following this accusation, the text goes on to say how Marduk established both “the purifying exorcist” and “the lamentation priest.” It is difficult to surmise what precisely were “the things that the gods did not command.” If it relates to the reference to these two classes of temple functionaries, it might be guessed that the concern was a matter of exclusion of these officials from priestly staffs. It is, however, difficult to confirm this guess, and a substantial lacuna that immediately follows does not help matters. It is, in fact, quite possible that the expression, “things that the gods did not command,” represents the rhetorical culmination of the list of ills that precede it. In any event, the expression criticizes practices that were not traditionally sanctioned.

In this letter as well as all of the biblical cases, divine authority stands behind the human voice represented as asserting the claim. In these texts, human pseudonymity plays a role. The figure of Samsuiluna, the son and successor of Hammurapi of Babylon, is attributed this Akkadian letter. Moses is the pseudonymous mediator of torah of Deuteronomy, and many biblical scholars would view much of the prophecy attributed to Jeremiah and Ezekiel as pseudonymous as well. Pseudonymous authorship in the Akkadian case involves a figure of old, a Babylonian king from over a millennium earlier. He evokes a Babylonia of antiquity to a Babylon of the present (relative to the text). In terms of the perceived antiquity of the human figure, it is the case from Deuteronomy that relates the most to this feature as it appears in the Akkadian letter. The divine voice in this biblical work comes through the hand of Moses, the human mediator of the Torah. Both the Akkadian letter and Deuteronomy involve a claim to a notable human voice in the distant past (in relative contrast to Jeremiah and Ezekiel). The voice in the Akkadian letter is royal, and it evokes the order established in Babylon under both the Old Babylonian and neo-Babylonian

13 For this text, see F. H. N. Al-Rawi and A. R. George, “Tablets from the Sippar Library III. Two Royal Counterfeits,” *Iraq* 56 (1994): 135–48, in particular 138–39. See also the translation of this text by Foster, *Before the Muses*, 288.

¹⁴ Al-Rawi and A. R. George, “Tablets from the Sippar Library III”, 139.

dynasties. In contrast, the monarchical voice is absent from the biblical passages; the authority is religious as in the Akkadian text, but it is decoupled from the royal, and it is possibly anti-royal in some instances. Both the Akkadian letter and the biblical texts also invoke the authority of specific deities. Marduk's creation of the gods and humanity as well as his allotment of their destinies is cited as the foundation of the moral order. Similarly, Yahweh's authority is consistently invoked in the biblical texts.

At the same time, the forms of these texts differ considerably, and this is particularly the case when it comes to the prophetic cases from Jeremiah and Ezekiel. These biblical texts largely involve first person speech by God embedded in prophecy (for the most part), while the Akkadian letter attributes the criticism to the putative human speaker. The Akkadian letter does not link or telescope the human authority and the gods. Instead, it involves a claim by human authority about Marduk and the gods. In contrast, the biblical texts do not simply attribute the claim to the deity, but put it in the deity's mouth in the form of first-person speech, and as such, it carries the authority of that divine figure. The claim about the deity is a claim made by the deity. With this fusion, text and interpretation are both cloaked in the divine voice, providing one of the foundations for the emergence of Scripture.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ANTIOCHEAN GREEK TEXT
TO TEXT CRITICISM IN KINGS: RAHLF'S STUDY OF THE
LUCIANIC RECENSION REVISITED (1 Kgs 1:8, 36, 40, 41, 45)¹

Pablo A. Torijano Morales

The text of the first chapter of 1 Kings / 3 Kingdoms was chosen by A. Rahlfs in his *Septuaginta Studien* as the ideal field of experimentation for textual criticism of Kings.² He intended to establish the text-critical value of the Antiochean Greek text in Kings in order to recover the Old Greek text to be edited in a critical edition. With this aim in mind, he classified all the variants of LXX^L in 1 Kings, comparing them with the "standard" text of LXX. Rahlfs concluded that "the Lucianic text depends on the text of LXX", that is, the one known through the Vatican Codex and those that follow it.³ According to Rahlfs, the varying Lucianic readings were better explained as deviations from the standard text of LXX. Rahlfs thought they might be caused by emendations of the Greek standard, modifications following parallel passages, simplifications of the Greek text, or stylistic improvements. Thus, leaving aside a few occasions, the Greek text attested by the Antiochean tradition would not represent a Hebrew text different from the MT. As the Vatican codex mirrors almost literally the MT, Rahlfs seemed to conclude that the Masoretic Hebrew text is the primary and single source of the OG text, on which the witness of the other secondary versions depends. Rahlfs' opinion heavily influenced later criticism, represented mainly

¹ The research on which is based the present pages has been carried out with the support of a Research Grant of the Spanish Ministerio de Educación y Ciencia. It is a great pleasure to write these pages to honor Julio Trebolle. He was my professor during my undergrad years; he introduced me to Biblical textual criticism and bore patiently with my dissertation. Now we are colleagues and friends and he still bears patiently with me. I was not the best student, but he sure was the best teacher.

² See Alfred Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension der Königsbücher* (Septuaginta Studien III; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1911).

³ See, Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, p.190.

by M. Noth and Würthwein in their introductions to the study of the Hebrew Bible.⁴

However, the perspectives of the study of Rahlfs were those previous to the discovery and study of the biblical manuscripts of Qumran. The new data they provided on the history of the biblical text of the historical books and, in particular, of the *kaige* and proto-Lucianic recensions forces us to restate the views on which Rahlfs based his work, and make necessary a new critical evaluation of the Antiochean text as witness of the Old Greek text.⁵ This re-evaluation has to be combined with the assessment of the textual evidence provided by secondary versions such as Old Latin, Georgian, Armenian (in its pre-Hexaplaric stratum) among others, as well as Josephus and the parallel Hebrew text of Chronicles where extant.

The editor of any text of the Antiquity, given the particularities of transmission, is somehow at the middle of a crossroad of multiple choices and decisions; if he faces a religious text, chances are that he will have to deal with its redaction history, and if the text derives from a version, he will be lost in translation. The challenges that a critical edition of III-IV Kingdoms poses to the editor respond almost exactly to that conundrum. The historical books have undergone a long and a complicated process of redaction both in Greek and Hebrew, with several recensions in both languages.

On the other hand, the Göttingen series pursues to establish *the* OG text, which is by itself a daunting task given the multiplicity of revisions. However some of those recensions (*kaige*, Hexaplaric) are important for the history of the text and for the history of the religious group that authored and cherished them at a determined moment of the history. Therefore, they cannot be discarded or buried in the depths of the critical apparatuses.⁶ As it seems, a middle way should

⁴ See M. Noth, *Die Welt des Alten Testaments. Einführung in die Grenzgebiete der alttestamentlichen Wissenschaft* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 1953), 286; E. Würthwein, *Der Text des alten Testaments. Eine Einführung in die Biblica Hebraica* (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1974), 112.

⁵ On the *kaige* recension see, Dominique Barthélemy, *Les Devanciers d'Aquila* (VTSup X; Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1963), 31–68 / 91–143; H.St. J. Thackeray, "The Greek Translators of the Four Books of Kings," *JTS* 8 (1907): 262–78 ; Natalio Fernández Marcos, *The Septuagint in Context: Introduction to the Greek Version of the Bible* (Leiden: E.J.Brill, 2000), 142–53.

⁶ On this point, Muraoka rightly states: " ... An equally firm decision must be taken as to what to do with a relatively early revision or recension such as *Kaige*, which of all revisions/recensions carries special weight partly by virtue of its putative

be implemented in those cases where an “Old” Greek text can be reached, but an “alternative” later Greek text is extant as well, because both texts are important when considering the history of transmission and redaction as a whole.⁷

In the particular case of Samuel-Kings, secondary versions such as the Old Latin, the Georgian and the Armenian, and in a lesser degree others such as the Coptic, the Syrohexapla or the Ethiopic are witnesses that have to be reckoned with: they often attest processes of revision and recension that mirror those of their Greek *Vorlage*, just as the Greek version mirrors that of its Hebrew *Vorlage*.⁸ They do partially preserve different textual traditions that shed light on the general development of their parent Greek text, in the same way that the Greek text illuminates somehow the history of the Hebrew text. However, some problems arise when using the secondary versions as witnesses of a Greek text. On the one hand, many of the versions lack a modern critical edition so the recourse to Mss evidence is *conditio sine qua non* for assessing their critical value. On the other, it is essential to decide their weight when establishing the Greek text: can they stand alone as witnesses for a supposed Greek reading which has disappeared from all the Greek mss. tradition in that location, but that has been preserved in other places as witnesses by both the Versions and the Greek Mss tradition?

age (1st cent. BCE?) and partly by virtue of the fact that in books such as Kingdoms it is very firmly rooted in the textual tradition of the Septuagint. However, if one is serious about it, someone should one day produce an edition of it comparable to our Spanish colleagues' edition of the Antiochean version of 1-2 Samuel and 1-2 Kings,” in Takimatsu Muraoka, “A Septuagint Greek Grammar, but of Which Text-Form or -Forms?,” *Estudios Bíblicos* 51 (1993): 433-458, 453.

⁷ For an example of this critical approach see Pablo A. Torijano, “Textual Criticism and the Text-Critical Edition of IV Regnorum. The case of 17:2-6”, in Ausloos, H., Lemmelijn, B., García Martínez, F. (eds.), *After Qumran: Old and New Editions of Biblical Texts. The Historical Books* (BETL; Leuven - Paris - Dudley MA: Peeters, 2011) (in press).

⁸ On the weight and importance of the versions see Andrés Piquer, Pablo Torijano, and Julio Treballe, “Versions of the Septuagint, Greek Recensions and Hebrew Editions. Text-Critical Evaluation of the Old Latina, Armenian and Georgian Versions in III-IV Regnorum,” in *Translating a Translation. The LXX and Its Modern Translations in the Context of Early Judaism* (Ed. by H. Ausloos, et al.; BETL 213; Leuven: Peeters, 2008), 251-282. Julio Treballe was among the first scholars in acknowledging the importance of the versions: J. C. Treballe Barrera, “From the ‘Old Latin’ Through the ‘Old Greek’ to the ‘Old Hebrew’ (2 Kgs 10:23-25),” *Textus* 11 (1984): 17-36.

In the same way, one may ask whether the editor can go even farther and resort to textual conjecture. This practice is very common in the critical editions of Classical texts, since there was theoretically an original at the beginning of the process, but it is not performed easily on texts such as those of Kings, given the multiple redactional layers to be extricated during the process. In any case, and despite the difficulties, the editor can, through careful juggling of textual evidence, translation technique and literary criticism, reach the oldest attainable text by proposing a conjecture. However, the “temptation” of recreating an impossible text should be avoided.

In the next pages a preliminary edition of some verses of III Kingdoms will be presented (1 Kgs 1:8, 36, 40, 41, 45.) The aim is to use those verses and the difficulties they offer to assess the validity of the above considerations and find the best approach to the establishment of the OG text of III-IV Kingdoms. They correspond to the first chapter of Kings in *kaige* section $\beta\gamma^9$ since most of the textual problems happen to be concentrated where recensional activity is evident. Many of them were considered by Rahfls in this study of the Lucianic tradition; the comparison between Rahfls approach and a fresh consideration of the evidence should open venues for further study.

The layout of each verse is as follows: the OG text figures in the main text but the recensional readings have been acknowledged in the apparatus, marking them with bold (*kaige* recension) letters. The evidence assembled in the apparatus incorporates the data from the Collation Books of the Septuaginta Unternehmen of Göttingen (Kollationhefte); in them, a total of 60 Greek mss. has been collated for the Critical edition. The grouping of Mss follows the path established for 1 Samuel by S. P. Brock but they include all the available textual evidence.¹⁰ The Greek evidence precedes the one

⁹ Classification of H. St J. Thackeray, *The Septuagint and Jewish Worship*, (London: Oxford University Press, 1923), 114: $\alpha = 1\text{ Sam}$; $\beta\beta = 2\text{ Sam } 1:1-9:1$; $\beta\gamma = 2\text{ Sam } 11:2 - 1\text{ Kings } 2:11$; $\gamma\gamma = 1\text{ Kings } 2:12-21:43$; $\gamma\delta = 1\text{ Kings } 22 - 2\text{ Kings}$.

¹⁰ The list of the manuscripts distributed in several groups according to their textual filiation is as follows: B M V A 247-376 (=O) 19-82-93-127 (=L), 98-243-379-731 (C), 46-52-236-242-313-328-530 (CII), 121-509 (b), 44-06-107-125-610 (d), 56-246 (f), 64-381 (o), 92-130-314-488-489-762 (s), 74-120-134 (t), 119-527-799 (x), 68-122 (z), 55-71-158-244-245-318-342-372-460-554-700-707^s (*mixti*). Following the convention of the Göttingen LXX, the uncials would appear at the beginning of every entry but for A forms part of O; when the letter designating a mss. group is capital, it means that it constitutes a recension. This point specially applies

furnished by the daughter versions.¹¹ These have been collated on the available critical editions exception made for the Armenian and the Georgian versions, for which new mss. evidence has been taken into consideration.¹²

to O L and CI. For the general disposition of the critical apparatus, see any introduction of the Critical Editions in the Göttingen series. For a description of the different mss. that have been collated see A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (MSU 2; Berlin: Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1914). The study of the textual filiations of a partial collation based in Brooke-McLean's Edition was made for 1 Samuel by S. P. Brock and can be extrapolated grosso modo to 1-2 Kings as well; see id., *The Recensions of the Septuagint Version of I Samuel* (Quaderni di Henoch; Torino: Silvio Zamorani Editore, 1987).

¹¹ The sources collated for the secondary versions are the following: for the Ethiopic evidence, A. Dillmann, *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Primus sive Octateuchus Aethiopicus* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1853); id., *Veteris Testamenti Aethiopici Tomus Secundus sive Libri Regum, Paralipomenon, Esdrae, Esther* (Leipzig: Brockhaus, 1861). For the Armenian, see Hovhann Zohrapian, *Astuatsaschunch' Matean Hin Ew Nor Ktakarants' (Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments). A Facsimile Reproduction of the 1805 Venetian Edition with an Introduction by Claude Cox* (1805; repr., Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1984). For the Sahidic materials, the lists of texts by A. Vaschalde, "Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible," *RB NS* 16, 28 (1919): 220-43, 513-31; 29 (1920): 91-106, 241-58; 30 (1921): 237-46; 31 (1922): 81-88, 234-58. For the Bohairic, idem, "Ce qui a été publié des versions coptes de la Bible," *Le Muséon* 43 (1930): 409-31; the inventory continues in W. C. Till, "Coptic Biblical Texts After Vaschalde's Lists," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 42 (1959-60): 220-40; and P. Nagel, "Editionen koptischer Bibeltexte seit Till 1960," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 35 (1990): 43-100. For the Old Latin version, see B. Fischer with the collaboration of E. Ulrich and J.E. Sanderson, "A Revised Edition of L 115 for Samuel-Kings," *BIOSCS* 16 (1983): 13-87; idem, "Palimpsestus Vindobonensis", in idem, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Bibeltext* (Vetus Latina. Die Reste der altlateinischen Bibel 12; Freiburg: Herder, 1986), 308-386; Antonio Moreno Hernández, *Las glosas marginales de Vetus Latina en las Biblias Vulgatas españolas: 1 y 2 Reyes* (TECC 49; Madrid: CSIC, 1992), 137-138. For the Syrohexapla, cfr A. Lagarde *Bibliothecae Syriacae a Paulo de Lagarde collectae quae ad philologiam sacram pertinent* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1892); idem, *Veteris Testamenti ab Origene recensiti fragmenta apud Syros servata quinque*, (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1880).

¹² The Armenian edition has been supplemented with the following manuscripts: Matenadaran 1500, Jerusalem 1925, Vienna 55, Lambeth Library 1209, St Lazzaro 280, St Lazzaro 935. The Georgian evidence has been gathered by Dr. A. Piquer on the basis of the Mss collation kindly furnished by Dr. A. Kharanauli. The following mss. have been taken into account: B (Bakhari Edition; 18th Century) O (*Codex Oskhi*; Mt Athos Monastery N1, 10th Century) Ja (Jerusalem 114, 13th Century) F (A 646, 16th Century), J (Jerusalem 7/11, 11th Century), S (A 51, *Biblia Mxet'ica*, 17th-18th Centuries).

3 KINGDOMS 1:8

8 και Σαδδουκ ὁ ἱερεὺς και Βαναϊας υἱὸς Ἰωαδ και Ναθαν ὁ
προφήτης και Σαμαίης και οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ, και οἱ υἱοὶ
δυνατοὶ τοῦ Δαυιδ, οὐκ ἦσαν μετὰ Ορνια.

om και 1^o- Ορνια *d* 246^{txt} | Σαδδουκ *L* Arm Geor] **σαδωκ** A B V
O C' d f o s t z mixti^{55 158 245}; *σαδωχ* M *x* 55-158; *αδωχ* 245 |
Βαναϊας] *βανεας* 19' 46-52-242 246^{mg} 74 527 342 Arm; *βανοιας*
245 | *Ἰωαδ* *L*¹⁹ Arm] *ιωιαδαε* A Arm; *αδωναε* 460; *ιωαβ* 19';
αδωε 242-328; *ιωδδαε* 74; **ιωδαε** B M V *O CI CII*^{242 328} *d f o s*
*t*⁷⁴ *x z mixti*⁴⁶⁰ Geor | Σαμαίης] **σεμει** M N *CI* 121 *d f o t* 527 *z*
71-121-158-244-245- 554; *σεμει* A B 247 (313^c) *CII* 509 *x*⁵²⁷
55-342-460-554-707 | οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ *L* Geor] *ρησι* MN 376 *CI*
d 246 488'-762 527 244-318; *ρησει* A B 509 (*ρης*[... 246^{mg}) *f*
*οx*⁵²⁷ 55-245-342-707; **ρηι** *CII* *s*^{488'} ⁷⁶² *tz* 121^c-554; *ρειε* 460;
ρι 488; *ρειε* 247; *ρηση* 158; *ρισι* 71 | και 6^o) > 245 19; *οι* *L*¹⁹
707; *absc* 246^{mg} | οἱ υἱοὶ δυνατοὶ 71] υἱοὶ δυνατοὶ A B M V *O CI*
CII^{46'} *b d f o s t x z mixti*³¹⁸; *οι δυνατοι* 46' Ra; *οντες δυνατοι*
L 318 SyrH¹; *fili fortis* Arm; *fili fortium* Geor^{mss}; *fili*
fortitudinum Geor; *omne robur exercitus* Lat | τοῦ] *τω* *L* |
Δαυιδ] *δαδ* A M V 247 *L CI CII b* 44-106 *f o s t x z mixti*;
δαυειδ B | οὐκ ἦσαν] *pr.* και 527 460; > (246^{mg}) *f* | μετὰ *L* Arm
Geor] **οπισω** *rel* | *ορνια* *L* Geor SyrH¹] **αδωνιου** A M V 376 *CI*
*CII b d s t x z mixti*⁷¹⁻⁴⁶⁰; *αδωνειου* B (*αδω*[... 246^{mg}) *f*; *αδονιου*
247 71-460

The proposed text differs in several points from Rahlfs' manual edition. The onomastica printed in the text is attested by the Lucianic tradition and the Georgian version. These variants were classified by Rahlfs among those that do not derive from the B text, and indicate either a different consonantic Hebrew text or a different pronunciation.¹³ In the particular case of Σαδδουκ, 2 Sam 8:17 has the same reading attested by B A (σαδουχ) *L* (σαδδουκ 93-127, σαδουκ 19-82) 121 (σαδουχ) and 245. The name departs from the

¹³ Thus Rahlfs notes: "In L lauten die Eigennamen oft wesentlich anders, als in G. Dabei lassen sich aber die L- und G-Formen nicht auseinander ableiten, sondern gehen meistens auf hebräische Konsonantenvarianten oder verschiedene Ausdrachen derselben Konsonanten zurück. [...] G schliesst sich durchweg an M an, L weicht mehr oder weniger stark ab. Also kann L nicht nach M korrigiert haben". Rahlfs, *Lucians Rezension*, 183

MT as it stands and cannot be explained as an inner Greek phenomenon of correction or corruption. The denomination of the Sadducees (σαδδουκαιοι) supports the antiquity of the proposed reading;¹⁴ besides this form of the name is quite usual in the book of Ezekiel.¹⁵ The form Ιωαδ also shows a different vocalization of the Hebrew; it appears also in B in 1 Paralipomena 11:4. It is only witnessed by the *L* group and the Armenian version in some manuscripts

The reading *καὶ Σαμαίαις καὶ οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ δυνατοὶ τοῦ Δαυιδ* must be considered together. The first part of the reading, *οἱ ἐταῖροι αὐτοῦ*, is attested solely by the Lucianic group and presupposes a Hebrew text slightly different from the MT: שמעיה ורעיו גבורים. The form ρηι, that we find in the rest of the mss. tradition, follows the MT and segments the text differently, either by taking the personal pronoun suffix as a copulative conjunction that precedes the noun גבורים,¹⁶ or by haplography of two Hebrew *waws*. At this point Josephus' text *καὶ Σιμουεῖς ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος*¹⁷ seems to ratify the proto-Lucianic character of the Lucianic reading, although Josephus' reads a singular for the plural; this change could be due to a stylistic re-arrangement to balance the clause or to Josephus' well-attested paraphrastic tendency.

The second half of the verse presents several difficulties. The reading *υἱοὶ δυνατοὶ τοῦ Δαυιδ* is attested by the whole Greek tradition except the Lucianic text; the versions, exception made of the Syriac text of Jacob of Edessa, follow the majority Greek tradition with

¹⁴ Cf. *Jewish Antiquities* 13.171-173; 18.18-22; *Jewish war* 2.119-161; Matt 3:7; 16:1, 6, 11, 12; 22:22, 23; Luke 20:27; Acts 4:1, 5:27, 23:6.

¹⁵ The Lucianic tradition in Samuel and Kings attests always the form *σαδδουκ*; it appears also in Ezra 7:2, Neh. 3:29, 10:22, 11:11, 13:13; Ezek 40:46, 42:13, 19; 44:15, 48:11.

¹⁶ The variant ρηι responds partially to the *kaige* tendency towards transliteration of Hebrew words that in the OG were translated. In this case, the transliteration is due to a different segmentation of the Hebrew text; cfr Emanuel Tov, "Transliterations of Hebrew Words in the Greek Versions of the Old Testament. A Further Characteristic of the *Kaige*-Th. Revision?," *Textus* (1999): 78-92; reprinted in *The Greek and the Hebrew Bible. Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden, Boston, Köln: E.J. Brill, 1999), 501-512.

¹⁷ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Σάδωκος καὶ ὁ προφήτης Νάθας καὶ Βαναίας ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σωματοφυλάκων καὶ Σιμουεῖς ὁ Δαυίδου φίλος καὶ πάντες οἱ ἀνδρείοτατοι (AJ VII 346-347).

small variants.¹⁸ Rahlfs corrected the Greek text on the basis of the MT¹⁹ discarding υἱοὶ. Rahlfs' reading, οἱ δυνατοί, is a literal translation of the MT; the Lucianic text, οἱ ὄντες δυνατοὶ Δαυιδ, seem to be also secondary since it tries to clarify the text. The Georgian version translates "and the sons of the strong ones of David" (Mss B, FS) or "those who were the select army of David" (rest of the tradition); the Armenian reads "the strong sons".²⁰ The Itala OL text as attested in the *Breviarium Gothicum* reads *omne robur exercitus*.²¹ The Vulgata tradition presents *robur exercitus*, with the variant *robustissimi* that follows more closely the MT. The agreement between Vulg and OL readings ("robur exercitus") suggests that Vulgata has preserved an OL reading in this place. Some of the variants attested by the Latin and Georgian versions, mainly the ones that indicate a genitive construction ("the strength of the army", "the sons of the strong ones of David) are similar to the Greek expression υἱοὶ δυνάμεως, a literal rendering of בני חיל. The coincidence of OL and Georgian indicate that both attest a Greek *Vorlage* similar to the one preserved by the majority Greek tradition. At this point the Lucianic reading would be recensional as it agrees with Hexaplaric sources (obelus in SyrHexapla).

Rahlfs' approach understands υἱοὶ as a transmission problem within the Greek tradition. However, υἱοὶ seems to indicate a problem of Hebrew *Vorlage* and translation technique of three Hebrew expressions *gibborim vs. *bney hayyil or even *gibbor hayyil. The three expressions can be translated by the Greek δυνατοί but only the second one would explain the reading υἱοὶ that it is found in most of the Greek tradition. It is possible then that the reading υἱοὶ was

¹⁸ On the *Vorlage* of Jacob of Edessa's text see Alison Salvensen, *The Books of Samuel in the Syriac Version of Jacob of Edessa* (MPIL 10; Leiden / Boston / Köln: E.J. Brill, 1999).

¹⁹ Two mss. of the *CII*, 46-52, attest the same reading, but according to the apparatus of the *LXX* manual edition, they were not taken into consideration or perhaps even known by Rahlfs.

²⁰ I am indebted to Dr. Andrés Piquer on his insights on the relationship between the Georgian version and OL. He presented the problems in the paper "The Use of Secondary Versions for the Critical Edition of 3-4 *Regnorum*: The Georgian Evidence" (SBL Annual Meeting Boston 2008).

²¹ It is interesting to note that Josephus' πάντες οἱ ἀνδρείοτατοι agrees with the *omne* of the OL. One may ask whether the ὄντες of the Lucianic text results from an original text with πάντες.

originated at a stage of the Hebrew tradition in which the formula was different from the גבורים reflected in the MT.

The critical text proposed in the present sample reflects the oldest text attainable on purely textual grounds. However, the expression *καὶ οἱ ἑταῖροι αὐτοῦ καὶ υἱοὶ δυνατοὶ τοῦ Δαυὶδ* is highly suspicious as it is from the point of view of literary criticism. It could well represent a doublet. If such was the case, the first half of the reading would constitute the OG, whereas the second half would be a recensional reading. Unfortunately, the textual witnesses do not provide us with data which would allow us to go beyond the feeling and propose a different critical text.

3 KINGDOMS 1:36

36 καὶ ἀπεκρίθη Βαναίας υἱὸς Ἰωαδ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ εἶπεν
γένοιτο οὕτως εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ

36 Βαναίας] βανεας 19' 46'-328^c 509 246 74 527 342 ; βανναιας 707 ; ναβαιας 55* | om υἱὸς Ἰωαδ 71 | υἱὸς] pr o 82 | Ἰωαδ] **ἰωδαε** B M V O CI CII b d f o s̄⁴⁸⁸ t̄⁷⁴ x z mixti^{158 245 707}; ἰουδαε 488 245; ἀδωε 158 ; ἰωας 19 ; ἰωιαδαε ; A Arm ; ὠδδαε 74 ; ἰωωδαε 707 vid ; + καὶ χερεθθι καὶ οφερεθθι 125 | τῷ βασιλεῖ] > 125 ; post ειπεν tr CII 71 | εἶπεν] ειπον 125 ; + οὕτως (+ καὶ d¹⁰⁶) **πιστώσαι κυριος** (> B L 509 Lat) **ο θεος** (+ τους λογους L Sah Lat (*verbo*) Geor ; + το ρημα V CI 121 z 244) **του κυριου** (τω κυριω 509) **μου** (>488) **του βασιλεως** (τους λογους 242' ; + το ρημα 125 Sah) om. codd. | οὕτως – βασιλεῦ L Sah (mutil Geor] **om** rel.

The textual situation of v. 36 is quite complicated, but the doublet present in the Lucianic tradition and in the Georgian version allows us to sort it out and establish the OG. The MT as it stands is the result of the fusion of two different readings that lost some elements when mingling. The comparative examination of MT / LXX^L / LXX^B makes possible to recognize and isolate them; the Antiochean text preserves both readings in a complete and differentiated way.

The first reading would represent the *kaige* recension: οὕτως πιστώσαι ὁ θεὸς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ βασιλέως. It is witnessed partially by mss. B 509 and 460, the Sahidic and the

Aethiopic version with the omission of τὸς λόγους, and fully in the first half of the doublet of the Lucianic text, the extant part of the OL and the Sahidic and Georgian versions. The mss. V CI 121 z 244 attest the reading τὸ ῥῆμα as a variant of the *kaige* reading τὸς λόγους—which is omitted in the rest of the Greek tradition as shown in the critical apparatus. According to this, the *kaige* text attests a Hebrew text different from the MT. The MT would constitute then the last development in the textual and redactional history of this verse, combining partially the two previous stages of the text.

The OG οὕτως εἶπε κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ (Thus spoke the Lord your God, o my Lord the King = כִּן אָמַר יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ) is preserved only in the *L* group and the Georgian version; . It has the following traits: 1. the verb εἶπε reflects a *qatal* form (אָמַר) instead of *wayyiqtol* (וַיֹּאמֶר) of the Masoretic text. 2. The subject of the clause is κύριος ὁ θεὸς σου = יהוה אלהיך, “Yahweh your God”, instead of MT יהוה אלהי “Yahveh the God of” (my lord the king). The pronominal suffix of second person (ך) addresses David (“Yahweh your God”), instead of the construct form of MT that also refer to David but in indirect style, “the God of (my lord the king)”. The vocative κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ continues the direct style reflected by the possessive pronoun σου; it presupposes then also a Hebrew vocative form, אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ, instead of the construct of the MT. The vocative “o my lord the king” is well attested in 1 Kgs 1 (1:13, 18, 20, 24),²² whereas the expression “YHWH, the God of my Lord, the King” has no parallel in the narrative. The case of 1Kgs 2:38, which forms part of the OG section of the book, illustrates this point; in the MT, אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ is the subject of the clause (דָּבַר אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ “My lord the king spoke...”). The OG, as represented both by the B and the L traditions, renders here a vocative: τὸ ῥῆμα ὃ ἐλάλησας κύριε (μου) βασιλεῦ = “the word that you spoke o (my) lord king”.

The *kaige* reading, οὕτως πιστώσαι θεὸς τοὺς λόγους τοῦ κυρίου μου τοῦ βασιλέως (“may God in this way confirm the words of my Lord the King” = כִּן יֵאֱמַן אֱלֹהִים אֶת דְּבָרֵי אֲדֹנָי הַמֶּלֶךְ) supposes an alternative textual tradition. B, 509, 460, the Aethiopic, Coptic and OL confirms the reading πιστώσαι (יֵאֱמַן) instead of MT יֵאֱמַר, as well as the

²² Besides these cases, 1:17 should be noted, where the MT has only אֲדֹנָי but LXX^L and the rest of mss., except for B 509, preserve the complete reading with the vocative κύριέ μου βασιλεῦ.

omission of κύριος (om. B 509 *L* Aeth Sah) in this place, although it appears in the second part of the Lucianic doublet as attested in *L* and Georgian. Besides this, the *kaige* text differs from the MT in two points more: the subject of the clause is θεός, אלהים, instead of יהוה אלהים (the second in construct form); the *kaige* text adds τὸς λόγους / τὸ ῥῆμα = אַתְּ דַּבַּרְתָּ, a construct on which the genitive τοῦ κυρίου depends, against the MT, that makes of מַלְכֵה an apposition to אֲדֹנָי.

The MT has mingled both readings at a still later stage, only preserving fragments of each of them. The more original reading is the one preserved by the OG, that constitutes the oldest stage of the textual tradition; it fits better into the style of the narrative (use of vocative, direct style (7) when addressing the king), represents a *lectio difficilior* and, at the same time, a less sophisticated and more spontaneous structure. In this case, the *kaige* text seems to attest the existence of a Hebrew text that was different from both the Hebrew represented by the OG and the Masoretic text. According to this, the recensional process that both Greek and the daughter versions underwent, mirrors the history of the Hebrew text itself. The Greek text can point out to the existence of a “*kaige*-like” Hebrew textual stage to be situated between the Hebrew represented by the OG and the Masoretic text. From this point of view, it could be said that in Antiquity there was not an “original” text but rather a multiplicity of traditions that are reflected partially in the different texts. The quest, then, would be not for the original text but for the oldest text.

Against Rahlfs’ opinion, the Lucianic text preserves in this verse the OG within a doublet that merges a *kaige* text with the OG text. In this case, both the Lucianic tradition and the Georgian version are the best witness for both the recensional and the old text. The mss. that usually represent the *kaige* recensional text, namely B 509, seems to have undergone further recensional activity to adapt their textual type to a proto-Masoretic Hebrew text.

3 KINGDOMS 1:40, 41, 45.

40 και ἀνέβη πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ὀπίσω αὐτοῦ και ἠύλουν ἐν αὐλοῖς και ἔχαιρον χαρᾷ μεγάλῃ και ἤχησεν ἡ γῆ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῶν.

40 ἀνέβη] *ascenderunt* Aeth | και 2°] * *et populus* * SyrH | ηυλουν - μεγαλη (χαραν μεγαλην 19) *L* Lat (*organizantes in organis et iucundabantur in iucunditate magna*) Geor] pr *populus totus* Geor ; pr πας ο λαος εχορευον (ο χορευων 82) εν χοροις (pr τοις 19) και ευφραινομενοι ευφροσυνη μεγαλη *L* ; pr *populus cantabat in canticis et melodiis et gaudebant gaudio magno* Lat ; εχορευον (pr ο λαος SyrH^f) εν (επι 509) χοροις και (> 381 489) ευφραινομενοι (*gaudebant* SyrH) ευφροσυνη μεγαλη rel ; hab αυλοις Jos / ἤχησεν 247 *L* 158 Arm Geor Lat (*resonabat*) SyrH^M] ερραγη rel ; *contremuit* Aeth ; hab περιηχείσθαι Jos | om ἢ γῆ 92 | om γῆ - τῆ 509^{xt} | ἐν τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῶν] απο της φωνης (+ αυτου 68) 121 *z* Aeth Arm SyrH^f ; om εν 509

41 και ἤκουσεν Ορνια και πάντες οί κλητοί αὐτοῦ και αὐτοί συνετέλεσαν φαγεῖν και ἤκουσεν Ιωαβ τὴν φωνὴν τοῦ ἤχου και εἶπεν τίς ἢ βοη τῆς φωνῆς; ἤχει μέγα .

Ορνια (-νεια 82-93-127) *L* Geor SyrH^f] **αδωνιας** A M V 376 *CI CII b d s t x z mixti*⁻⁴⁶⁰ ; αδωνιας B* *f* ; αδονιας 247 460 ; + αυτος *f* | κλητοί] εσθιοντες μετ' 19' εσθιοντες (+και παντες οι 93) καιι πινοντες μετ' *L*^{-19'} Geor SyrH^f | συνετέλεσαν] συνετελεσθησαν 245| φαγεῖν] pr του *CI* 106 *s* 74-134 342-554 ; εσθιοντες *L* ; > *d*¹⁰⁶ | τὴν φωνὴν] της φωνης 98' | του ηχου *L* Geor] **της κερατινης** (την κερατινην 489) rel | ἢ βοη τῆς φωνης ἤχει μεγα (φωνη της βοης 19') *L* Geor] **η φωνη της πολειως εχουσης** rel ; *iste clamor vocis qui resonat in urbe* Arm |

45 και ἔχρισεν αὐτὸν Σαδδουκ ὁ ἱερεὺς και Ναθαν ὁ προφήτης ἐν τῷ Γειων και ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν ἐκεῖθεν εὐφραινομένοι και ἤχησεν ἡ γῆ κραυγῆν· αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἤχου ἣν ἠκούσατε

ἔχρισεν A B^c *OL* 509 *d o s t* 119 *z mixti*^{-158 318 342 707}] εχρισαν rel ; *preoccupaverunt* Lat | Σαδδουκ] **σαδωκ** A B V *O CI CII b d o b s t* 527 *mixti*^{55* 158 245} ; σαδωχ M *x*⁻⁵²⁷ 55*-158-245 | om ὁ 74 | προφήτης B *L* 245 Geor] + εις Βασιλεα επι (τον 246) Ιηλ *f* ; + **εις βασιλεα** rel Arm Aeth SyrH | ἐν τῷ Γειων] και εσαλησαν τη κερατινη και ανεβη ο λαος 245 ; > Geor | τῷ] τη B | Γειων B M V *L*⁻¹⁰⁸ *b f o x z* 158-318-342-460-554-707] γηων 108 *CI*²⁴² *CII* 489 244 ; *gehon* Arm ; γηωμ 242 ; γιων rel | ἀνήγαγον αὐτὸν *L* Geor] **ανεβησαν** rel | ἡ γῆ κραυγῆν *L*^{-19'} Geor] η κραυγη 19' ; **η πολις** rel | αὕτη] εν τη 247 | ἐστὶν *L*] **om rel** | ἡ φωνή] φωνην 121 *z* 71| τοῦ ἤχου *L* Geor] **om rel** | ἦν] η 247

These three verses must be considered as a whole since their textual difficulties are interconnected; they describe Solomon's anointment

and people's joy at the event. Rahlfs' edition reflects the B text; the above critical text is the result of different critical choices. As it stands, the Greek textual tradition is clearly divided in two streams; on the one hand we have the B (= *kaige* recension); on the other, the Lucianic tradition supported by OL, Georgian and (partially) Armenian shows a different text, that was dismissed by Rahlfs as late or as depending on B. The critical text we proposed relies on the Lucianic tradition as a whole. I will analyze here only those readings that differ notably from Rahlfs' edition. I therefore will not explain minor variants as ἔχρισεν / ἔχρισαν or Γειων / Γιων since they are clearly due to inner Greek developments and can be solved on purely textual grounds.

At the beginning of v. 40 the Lucianic text has a doublet. Rahlfs classifies it as an example of Lucianic dependence on the OG, which is identified by him with the B text.²³ However, the first part is formed by καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαὸς ἐχόρευον ἐν χοροῖς καὶ εὐφραίνόμενοι εὐφροσύνη μεγάλη), while the second one preserves καὶ ἠΰλου ἐν αὐλοῖς καὶ ἔχαιρον χαρᾶ μεγάλη. The first half is attested by the whole Greek textual tradition and seems to derive from a different reading of the consonantal Hebrew text (מחללים במבולות). It is a recensional *kaige* reading. The second part attests then the proto-Lucianic or OG text and is older than the first half, i.e., the recensional reading adopted by Rahlfs in his edition as OG. Several facts supports that textual choice: the OL preserves the doublet in the same terms; the recensional reading (*et populus cantabat in canticis et melodiis et gaudabant gaudio magno*) follows quite exactly the *kaige* text; the second part represents the proto-Lucianic strand, and therefore reflect the OG text (*organizantes in organis et iucundabatur in iucunditate magna*) or a text quite near to it.²⁴ The Georgian witness attests only the second part of the doublet, i.e., the purely proto-Lucianic

²³ "Den klarsten Beweis hierfür liefern Vers 36 und 40a. An beiden Stellen hat L handgreifliche Dubletten, und den ersten Bestandteil bildet beidemale der vollständige, bei L nur etwas vermehrte G-text. Ein zufälliges Zusammentreffen ist hier aber umso sicherer ausgeschlossen, als gerade G in beiden Fällen von M abweicht" (Rahlfs, *Lucians*, 171).

²⁴ This doublet seems to indicate an ongoing process of recensional activity on the OL text that was brought it closer to the masoretic, somehow preceding Jeronimus work. See J. Treballe, "Textos '*kaige*' en la *Vetus Latina* de Reyes (2 Re 10,15-18)," *RB* 89 (1982) 198-202.

reading.²⁵ The presence of the word ἀυλοῖς in Josephus' text confirms the antiquity of the reading and its original character.²⁶ The mention of the subject (λαός / *populus*) in the three witnesses should be considered as a mark of secondary recensional activity as it appears with asterisk in the SyrH (**populus* *) and in the Vulgate as well.

At the end of v. 40 we find the variant ἔχησεν; this textual choice depends on taking into consideration vv. 41, 45 as well. The three verses describe how the people go up behind Solomon, playing instruments and showing their joy. TM reads: "the earth was split-up open with their shouting..." (1:40) When Joab hears the noise, he asks "What does this shouting in the city mean?" (1:41)... Later Jonathan explains "and the city went into an uproar. That's the shouting you heard" (1:45).

The proposed Greek critical text of these verses has several differences with respect to Rahlfs' text. The B text attests the *kaige* recension; it follows literally the MT (except for B τις = MT עוֹדֵם, which means that τις is part of OG, also attested in L). The Lucianic tradition presents several variants that represent the OG text or at least a stratum corresponding to a text very close to it.

The reading ἤχησεν in v. 40 is to be preferred to B ἐρράγη. According to Rahlfs, in verse 40 LXX changed the "incomprehensible" reading of B ἐρράγη (ρήγνυμι, to "crack") for ἤχησεν (ἤχειν = המה / הום, *resonabat* VL), as a case of translation of the MT which is freer than that of the standard version²⁷, as well as of "facilitation of the understanding" of the text.²⁸ However The OL "et resonabat omnis terra in voce eorum" attests the proto-Lucianic character of the reading of LXX^L.²⁹ It is also attested in both the

²⁵ This point is extremely important since it shed light on the importance of the Georgian version. Against what is normally held, the Georgian version does not depend on the Armenian at least in the historical books; rather, it seems to have a Greek text as *Vorlage*. The textual filiation of this Greek *Vorlage* is Lucianic, but in occasions, it preserves only the purely pre-Lucianic strand of the tradition, as it is the case here.

²⁶ καὶ πᾶς ὁ λαός [...] ἀυλοῖς τερούμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους τῶν ὀργάνων ἄπασαν περιχεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν καὶ τὸν ἀέρα (AJ VII:358). It has to be noted that both the Peshitta and the Targum seem to reflect a similar Hebrew wording (אנגח), see Sanda, "Bücher der Könige," 23.

²⁷ "L's Übersetzung gibt MT freier wieder, als die gewöhnliche griechische Übersetzung", (Rahlfs, *Lucians Recension* p. 174).

²⁸ "Erleichterung gives Verständnisses, (Rahlfs, *Lucians Recension*, p. 180).

²⁹ Moreno, *Glosas*, p. 97

Georgian and the Armenian versions, which supports its value and antiquity since both are not dependent on one another in this case.

In v. 41, B reads τῆς πόλεως, whereas the Lucianic text has τῆς φωνῆς. Rahlfs follows only B, φωνὴ τῆς πόλεως, against the reading of the Lucianic manuscripts (βοή τῆς φωνῆς ἔχει μέγα). In v. 45: B has πόλις, L reads κραυγή. Rahlfs classifies the L reading among those "few" variants of L that suppose either a different Hebrew consonantal text or a different vocalization of the same consonants.³⁰ He states clearly that he does not want to grant any weight to these small variants.³¹ The variants of vv. 41 and 45 are, however, very significant. Rahlfs suggests that L translates the MT קרייה, "city" as *geriygah*, "shouting" through a vocalic change. However, κραυγή translates the Hebrew תרועה in 1 Sam 4,6: καὶ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἀλλοφύλοι [ἅ τὴν φωνήν] τῆς κραυγῆς. τίς ἢ κραυγὴ ἢ μεγάλη αὕτη = תא ... וישמעו ויזאת קול התרועה... מה קול התרועה הגדולה הזאת ("when the philistines heard the noise of the shouting... what is this great voice of outcry"), and the word שועה in 1 Sam 5:12: ἀνέβη ἡ κραυγὴ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν = ותעל שועת העיר השמים ("the cry of the city went up to heaven"). In 2 Sam 6:15 it translates again the Hebrew תרועה: μετὰ κραυγῆς καὶ μετὰ φωνῆς σάλπιγγος = בתרועה ובקול שופר. These passages, 1 Kgs 1:40ff. and 1 Sam 4:6; 5:12 and 2 Sam 6:15 (narrative of the transfer of the Ark, 1 Sam 4-5 + 2 Sam 6) and their contexts are very similar; they respond to a situation of shouting due to joy. Thus, from a literary point of view, the Lucianic tradition seems to fit better in the situation than the *kaige* recension. Therefore, the OG is attested in the Lucianic group together with the Georgian, the OL and (partially) the Armenian; the case of the Armenian is interesting since it preserves a doublet of the reading with references to the shouting and to the city (*iste clamor vocis qui sonat in urbe*). Thus, the methodological steps followed to untangle the text are the following:

³⁰ "Endlich kann man hier noch einige andere L-Lestarten nennen, die eine hebräische Konsonante-varying oder eine andere Aussprache derselben Konsonantes voraussetzen [italic of Rahlfs], *Lucians Recension*, p. 186). He only notes other two cases in 1,21 (בשכב instead of *kskb*) and 1,38 (*wayeleku* instead of *wayyoliku*), and also possibly ("eventuell") 1,6 (yld instead of yldh), where other explanation may be possible.

³¹ "Indessen möchte ich auf gives kleinen Varianten kein Gewicht legen", *Lucians Recension*, 186.)

1. We have to establish the text of the recensions of LXX. Thus it is clear that in v. 40 the reading of B corresponds to the *kaige* recension. The Lucianic recension transmits the pre-Lucianic stratum of the same, with elements that are reflected in the Vetus Latina (OL): ἤχθησεν = *resonabat*, the Georgian and the Armenian. In v. 41 the B text corresponds again to the *kaige* recension and follows the Masoretic tradition, in the correspondence τῆς πόλεως = בקריה. However, both the L and the B texts read τις, which forms part then of the OG text. Here the Lucianic recension preserves partially, as in vv. 40, 45, an element of the old reading τῆς φωνῆς ἤχει. In v. 45 B represents the *kaige* recension that follows the MT ἡ πόλις = הקריה.
2. After determining the different recensions of the Greek tradition, the OG text can be defined:

- v. 40 : καὶ ἤχθησεν ἡ γῆ ἐν τῇ φωνῇ αὐτῶν
 v. 41: τις ἡ βοή τῆς φωνῆς ἤχει (μεγα)
 v. 45: καὶ ἤχθησεν ἡ γῆ κραυγῆν. αὐτῆ ἔστιν ἡ φωνή (τοῦ ἤχου).

3. The Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG, in case of being different, must be considered. In these verses, the Hebrew *vorlage* of the OG differs from the MT and the *kaige* recension. Thus it would be:

- v. 40 ותהם הארץ בקלם
 v. 41 מה קול ההמון הומה (הגדולה)
 v. 45 ותהם הארץ הוא קול ההמון

4. Finally, we compare the MT with the Hebrew *Vorlage* of OG:

a. In v. 40 the verb of TM בקע, [“to explode”, “to open up a breach”], is found in 2 Kgs 25:4, in the expression ותבקע העיר, in the fitting context of the destruction of the city of Jerusalem. On the other hand, the stylistics of the story needs the correspondence between vv. 40 and 45, according to the structure order / execution that the text of LXX seems to preserve better by the repetition of the verb ותהם הארץ.

b. In v. 41 the word term קריה of the MT fits better in the context of 1 Sam 5:12.

The word κραυγή corresponds to קריה (Rahlf's), but also to תרועה. The expression ... מה הקול seems preferable to MT מדוע. On the other hand, the Hebrew *Vorlage* of LXX would be more prone to be copied erroneously due to the repetition of letters of the noun and of the verb of the same root, הומה ההמון, which could produce the corruption of

the text and the reading קרייה, “city.” The Hebrew adjective גדולה has a parallel in the same expression of 1 Sam 5:12.

Conclusions

After studying the previous cases, it is clear that Rahlfs’ assessment of the Lucianic textual evidence must be reconsidered. The above examples show the necessity of rethinking the text-critical approach to the Septuagint of Kings and, ultimately, to the history of the Hebrew text(s), as the Qumran evidence suggest for Samuel suggests (4 QSam^{abc}).

In the same way, these examples prove again that the text of LXX, transmitted by the Vaticanus in the sections 2 Sam 11:1 - 1 Kgs 2:11 (βγ) and 1 Kg 22- 2Kgs (γγ), corresponds to a recension of the first half of the first century, done in rabbinic circles of Palestine. This is the so-called *kaige* recension, which adjusts the LXX text to the proto-Masoretic Hebrew text, that was beginning to be considered, at least in those circles, the official text.

The text of the Lucianic mss. (19-82-93-108-127) in those same sections happens to be the only surviving witness of a text very close to the Old Greek. The OL, the Armenian version in its pre-Hexaplaric Stage and the Georgian are also witnesses of the same Greek text; the cases of agreement of these versions with the Greek text attested by the Lucianic tradition works provides a textual check of great value when establishing the critical text since they preserve in occasions Lucianic reading that were lost in the Lucianic Greek mss.

The examples of vs. 36, 40, 41 45 shows that the process of the Greek textual recension mirrors a similar process that took place in the Hebrew tradition. Thus, the *kaige* Greek recension is not only an inner Greek process but can reflect also a Hebrew text that differed from the proto-Masoretic one. On the other hand, the text of v. 8 shows the difficulties of reaching a sure critical footing on purely textual grounds; the recourse to literary criticism would be necessary in this case, but the lack of textual support rends the result too unsure to include the shorter reading in the main text. As Julio Trebolle has proved through the years, textual criticism by itself cannot always tackle the difficulties and needs of the cooperation of literary

criticism to understand and explain the obscurities of the text.³² Otherwise, we will explain *obscura per obscuriora*.

³² See J. C. Trebolle Barrera, *Salomón y Jeroboán: Historia de la recensión y redacción de 1 Re 2,12–14* (Tesis y Monografías 10; Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1980); idem, *Jehú y Joás* (Valencia: Institución San Jerónimo, 1984); idem *Centena in libros Samuelis et Regum. Variantes textuales y composición literaria en los libros de Samuel y Reyes* (TECC 47; Madrid: CSIC, 1989).

THE CHAPTER AND SECTION DIVISIONS IN ESTHER

Emanuel Tov

The purpose of the present study is to examine how the content of a biblical book is divided with different types of divisions. We chose the little book of Esther for this purpose because of its small size (10 chapters), focusing on the subjective aspects of these divisions. No ancient fragments of Esther have been found among the texts in the Judean Desert or elsewhere, and as a result the discussion focuses on the medieval manuscripts, some modern editions, and some commentaries.

1. *Chapter Divisions*

The chapter division of the Bible derives from the Middle Ages,¹ and since it was applied first to the Vulgate and only secondarily to Hebrew sources, its logic is detached from the traditional Jewish section division.

In order to present the chapter divisions, we start the analysis with the lucid presentation of the content of the book in a modern commentary, viz., that by Omanson–Noss.² Like most other scholars, Omanson–Noss reckon with a larger number of units than the ten traditional chapters.

¹ The division into chapters was established around 1204–1205 by Archbishop Stephen Langton from Canterbury, England (who also lectured at the University of Paris), probably on the basis of divisions accredited to an earlier Archbishop, Lanfranc (died 1089). The earliest manuscript containing the division of Bishop Langton is the Paris manuscript of the Vulgate from the thirteenth century. From the Vulgate, this division was transferred to the manuscripts and editions of the Hebrew Bible. See J. H. A. van Banning, S.J., “Reflections upon the Chapter Divisions of Stephan Langton,” in *Method in Unit Delimitation* (ed. M. J. Korpel et al.; Pericope 6; Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2007), 141–61.

² R. L. Omanson and P. A. Noss, *A Handbook on the Book of Esther, The Hebrew and Greek Texts* (UBS Handbook Series, New York: American Bible Society, 1997).

Table 1: *Meaningful Units in Esther According to Omanson–Noss*

<i>Chapters</i>	<i>Omanson–Noss</i>
1	Vashti's disobedience and the result
2	Esther becomes queen
3	Mordecai brings down Haman's anger upon himself and his people
4	Mordecai asks for Esther's help
5:1-8	Esther's first banquet invitation
5:9-14	Haman plots to kill Mordecai
6:1-13	Mordecai is honored; Haman is humiliated
6:14–7:10	Esther's second banquet invitation
8:1-2	The king promotes Mordecai
8:3-17	Esther and Mordecai arrange for the Jews to be saved
9:1-10	The first victory of the Jews over their enemies
9:11-19	The second victory of the Jews over their enemies
9:20-28	Mordecai established the festival of Purim
9:29-32	Esther's regulation for the festival of Purim
10:1-3	The greatness of Xerxes and Mordecai.

Adapted to the traditional chapter structure, the topics of the chapters would be as follows according to Omanson–Noss.

Table 2: *The Content of the Chapters of Esther According to Omanson–Noss*

<i>Chapters</i>	<i>Omanson–Noss</i>
1	Vashti's disobedience and the result
2	Esther becomes queen
3	Mordecai brings down Haman's anger upon himself and his people
4	Mordecai asks for Esther's help
5	Esther's first banquet invitation; Haman plots to kill Mordecai
6	Mordecai is honored; Haman is humiliated
7	Esther's second banquet invitation
8	The king promotes Mordecai; Esther and Mordecai ar-

	range for the Jews to be saved
9	The victories of the Jews over their enemies; the establishment of the festival of Purim
10	The greatness of Xerxes and Mordecai.

Focusing on the logic of the chapter division in Esther, we consider it generally to be meaningful, consisting of a number of units in each chapter, as elsewhere in Scripture. The chapter divisions in tables 1 and 2 are unproblematic in most instances, the only questionable aspect being the transition between chapters 6 and 7. Omanson–Noss transferred the last verse of chapter 6 (6:14 “While they were still speaking with him, the king’s eunuchs arrived and hurriedly brought Haman to the banquet which Esther had prepared.”) to the next chapter, so that their “chapter 7” starts with 6:14. What is at stake is whether the hurried bringing of Haman to the banquet in this verse was meant to heighten the tension and the suspense as a continuation of the last episode of chapter 6 describing Haman’s chances to overcome Mordecai, or whether this verse is meant to introduce the story of chapter 7. In a way, this verse serves both purposes, and the continuous text, as in the manuscripts, best represents the story as intended by the author. The first verse of chapter 7 (“So the king and Haman came to feast with Queen Esther.”) is based on 6:14, so that the suggestion of Omanson–Noss may be preferable to the chapter division. On the other hand, the pronominal suffix in the phrase “While *they* were still speaking with him” (beginning of 6:14), should not be detached from the persons to whom the phrase referred to in the preceding verses in chapter 6. In that case the traditional chapter division should be preferred to the perception of Omanson–Noss based on the *NAB* and *TEV*.³ In short, there is no clear-cut solution regarding the dividing line between chapters 6 and 7 (see further below).

2. Section Divisions

³ *The New American Bible* (New York: St. Joseph Edition, 1970); *Good News Bible, The Bible in Today’s English Version* (New York: American Bible Society, 1978). In both translations, the heading above v 14 (*TEV*: “Haman is put to death”, *NAB*: “Esther’s second banquet”) and the layout reveal their exegesis.

It is unknown what the section division in the ancient Hebrew sources of Esther looked like. Judging from parallels with the other Scripture books, we assume that the medieval system of subdividing Esther into a hierarchy of text division already existed in antiquity, but that the various sources differed among themselves in details.

The system of indicating sections is ancient.⁴ Indeed, in the great majority of biblical and nonbiblical texts from the Judean Desert, as in most Greek texts from the Hellenistic period, and in earlier Aramaic texts from the fifth and fourth centuries BCE, the text was subdivided into meaningful units that were separated from one another by means of spacing. Prior to the discovery of the Qumran texts, this system was often wrongly considered to be characteristic of the transmission of the Masoretic Hebrew text, where the sections thus indicated were named *parashiyot*.⁵

It is not easy to reduce the manifold scribal practices to a small number of systems pertaining to all the texts, since each scribe was to some extent individualistic in denoting sense units; nevertheless two major systems can be discerned in the Judean Desert texts. In these texts, the content is divided into small and larger units. A certain hierarchical relation between these two systems may often be assumed; that is, according to the modern way of thinking we would probably say that larger sense units are often subdivided into smaller units.

To a great extent, the division into section units by scribes was impressionistic. It appears that scribal decisions on the type of relation between section units were often, but not always, decided *ad hoc*, made upon completion of the copying of one unit and before embarking on the next. To some extent, this procedure explains the differences between manuscripts of the same composition, as scribes often approached the relation between two units differently. Furthermore, after the initial paragraph division of Esther was determined, each scribe made changes in accord with the dimensions of the new scroll if it differed from an earlier one.

⁴ See my monograph *Scribal Practices and Approaches Reflected in the Texts Found in the Judean Desert* (STDJ 54; Leiden/Boston: E. J. Brill, 2004), 133–66.

⁵ L. Blau, *Papyri und Talmud in gegenseitiger Beleuchtung* (Leipzig: Gesellschaft zur Förderung der Wissenschaft des Judentums, 1913) 15 was probably the first to assume the widespread use of such divisions in all texts long before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls.

No rule exists in ancient or medieval texts regarding the length of a section that is separated from the preceding and following section units. This parameter depends on the nature of the literary composition and on the scribe’s understanding. The two extremes are evidenced: some manuscripts have many section divisions, while others have virtually none. Thus the book of Ruth in MT contains only one section division, after 4:17. Other divisions are called for, but they were not included in MT.

The following two main systems are recognized in ancient texts written in the paleo-Hebrew and square scripts:

(a) A space in the middle of the line (“closed section” in the Masoretic tradition recorded below as “S[etumah]”) usually denotes a segmentation of a larger unit (such as described in *b*) into one or more smaller units:

```
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX      XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
```

In principle, a closed section is thematically related to the immediately preceding section, if any, but the vagueness of this definition leads to differences of opinion with regard to the interpretation of this relation. If this thematic relation was not recognized, scribes usually denoted the new section as an “open section.”

(b) A space extending from the last word in the line to the end of the line indicates a *major* division (an “open section” in the Masoretic tradition recorded below as “P[etuhah]”).

```
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX
```

In most scrolls, this system reflects the largest degree of separation between sections. In ancient scrolls and medieval manuscripts two additional systems are used, indentation and completely empty lines. These are not used in medieval Esther scrolls.

The indication of a section division is very subjective, whether inserted by the first or subsequent copyists. If the initial authors or scribes embedded a hierarchical subdivision in the text, that division necessarily reflected their exegesis, and later scribes often changed this understanding, sometimes in a minor way, and sometimes in a major way.

Leaving aside the question of who first inserted the large sense divisions (the initial authors/scribes or subsequent scribes), it is important to know when and why such divisions were indicated in the text. Since these divisions are subjective, there are no *a priori* rules for them.⁶

Within this framework of impressionistic subdivisions we list the data concerning the segmentation of the book of Esther in three manuscripts, three editions, and two commentaries (12 columns of data). The first manuscript, L, is presented differently in three editions according to the editors' conceptions. Only a few sources have been sampled,⁷ as our main purpose is to present the exegetical aspects of the different systems.

1. Reference referring to the section preceding the verse number mentioned.

2. *BHS*⁸ = L.

3. *BHQ*⁹ = L.

4. Adi edition¹⁰ = "L". This edition presents the text of L, but in the sense divisions it provides a form of the traditional division.

5. MS Cambridge University Add. Ms. 1753.¹¹

7. MS EBR. II B 34 of the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg.

8. *BH*, third edition.¹²

8. Rabbinic Bible, second edition (RB2).¹³

⁶ The logic of the section divisions in one source (1QIsa^a) was analyzed in detail by O. H. Steck, *Die erste Jesajarolle von Qumran (1QIsa^a): Schreibweise als Leseanleitung für ein Prophetenbuch* (SBS 173/1; Stuttgart, 1998). Likewise, the MT of the Torah was examined by C. Perrot, "Petuhot et setumot. Étude sur les alinéas du Pentateuque," *RB* 76 (1969): 50–91 and F. Langlamet, "Les divisions massorétiques du livre de Samuel: À propos de la publication du codex du Caire," *RB* 91 (1984): 481–519.

⁷ A very wide sampling of manuscripts with a typology of their distribution is presented in a forthcoming paper by J. Penkower [non vidi].

⁸ *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (ed. W. Rudolph and K. Elliger; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1967–77; last printing to date: 1997).

⁹ *Biblia Hebraica Quinta* (ed. A. Schenker et al.; Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2004 –), Part 18: *General Introduction and Megilloth* (ed. P. B. Dirksen et al.; 2004). The details of the sense division of L are recorded in the third column in the Table in *BHQ*, part 18, p. 21*.

¹⁰ A. Dotan, תורה נביאים וכתובים מדויקים היטב על פי הניקוד הטעמים והמסורה של (Tel Aviv: Adi, 1976).

¹¹ This and the following manuscripts are quoted according to *BHQ*, p. 21*.

¹² *Biblia Hebraica* (3rd ed.; ed. R. Kittel and P. Kahle; Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1929–37).

9. Edition of C. D. Ginsburg.¹⁴

10. Commentary of G. Gerleman: layout of the German translation.¹⁵

11. Commentary of A. Berlin: layout of the text and translation.¹⁶

Both commentators added several sense divisions in the presentation of the Hebrew text. Added sections against the evidence of manuscripts and editions are indicated as “[P]” or “[S/P]”.¹⁷

12. Contents of chapters and sections according to Omanson–Noss.

¹³ Ed. Jacob Ben-Hayyim ben Adoniyahu (Venice: Daniel Bomberg, 1524–25) = RB2. The details were recorded according to a later printing (Jerusalem: Levin-Epstein, n.d.).

¹⁴ C. D. Ginsburg, תורה נביאים כתובים מדויק היטב על פי המסרה ועל פי דפוסים ראשונים (London: British and Foreign Bible Society, 1926).

¹⁵ G. Gerleman, *Esther* (BKAT; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1973).

¹⁶ A. Berlin, *The JPS Bible Commentary, Esther* (Philadelphia: JPS, 2001). The layout of the biblical text included in the Hebrew translation of the commentary is imprecise and does not reflect the finesses of the author’s intentions: *Esther, Introduction and Commentary* (Heb.; *Mikra Leyisra’el*, A Bible Commentary for Israel; Tel Aviv/Jerusalem: Am Oved/Magnes, 2001).

¹⁷ The space left until the end of the line in the printed text resembles an open section (P), but I have the impression that the commentators often meant a closed section (S). I therefore indicated these section divisions as S/P.

Table 3: Meaningful Units in Esther Recorded According to Different Sources

Refer- ence (before verse) <i>ChapI</i>	Manuscripts					Editions			Commentaries		Content of chapters and sections ²⁰	
	BHS = L	BHQ = L	Adi = "L"	MS 1753	MS 34	BH	RB2	Ginsburg ¹⁸	Gerle- man ¹⁹	Berlin		
I:1											Wine and women	<i>Vashti's dis- obedience and the result</i>
I:9	-	-	S (L: -)	-	>	-	S	S	-	[P]		Ahasuerus's feast
I:10	S	S	- (L: S)	S	>	S	-	-	S/P	S		Vashti's feast
I:13	-	-	S (L: -)	S	>	-	S	S	-	[S/P]		Vashti refuses to come
I:16	S	S	S	P	>	S	S	S	-	S		The king takes advice what to do
												Memukhan's advice (16- 22)

¹⁸ The edition of Ginsburg denotes only closed sections, as found in some manuscripts and many printed editions. See G. H. Cohen, *Introduction to Five Megillot, Esther* (Hebr.; Jerusalem: Rav Kook Institute, 1973), 3.

¹⁹ Gerleman makes no distinction between S and P, all presented with indentations.

²⁰ This column, referring to both paragraphs and chapters, repeats the description provided in Tables 1 and 2.

1:19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
1:21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
<i>Chap 2</i>											Sex and spies	<i>Esther becomes queen</i>
2:1	P	P	S	P	P	P	P	S	S	P	P	Search for a queen
2:5	S	S	S	S	P	S	S	S	S/P	S	S	Esther is chosen as queen (5-20)
2:8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
2:12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	[S/P]	[S/P]	
2:15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	[S/P]	-	
2:16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	[S/P]	[S/P]	
2:19	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	[S/P]	[S/P]	
2:21	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	P	S	S	Mordecai hears about a plot to kill the king
<i>Chap 3</i>											Honor and enmity	<i>Mordecai brings down Haman's anger upon himself and his people</i>
3:1	P	P	S	P	P	P	P	S	P	P	P	Haman's measures against the Jews (1-7)
3:7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	

3:8	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	the king's edict against the Jews (8-15)
3:12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	text
3:15	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
<i>Chap 4</i>												<i>Mordecai asks for Esther's help</i>
4:1	P	P	S	P	P	P	S	S	S	P	P	Mordecai's conversations with Esther (1-12)
4:4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
4:7	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
4:10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
4:12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
4:13	P	P	P	P	P	P	-	-	-	-	P	Continued conversation, fasting of the Jews
<i>Chap 5</i>												<i>Esther's first banquet invitation; Haman plots to kill Mordecai</i>
5:1	P	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	P	S	Esther approaches the king
5:3	S	S	S	S	S	S	-	-	-	-	S	Esther's request to the king at the first meal (3-8)

5:6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	Haman prepares gallows for Mordecai
5:9	P (L: →)	-	P	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	Haman is honored; Haman is humiliated
<i>Chap 6</i>													
6:1	P	P	S (L: P)	P	P	S	P	S	S	P	-	P	The king rewards Mordecai, Haman prepares the horse (1-13)
6:11	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
6:12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
6:14	P (L: →)	-	-	P	-	-	P	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	Haman is rushed to Esther's dinner
<i>Chap 7</i>													
7:1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	Another party favor
7:5	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	-	-	Esther's request to save the Jews
7:9	S	S	-(L: S)	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	-	-	The king consents Haman is hanged on the gallows

printed as continuous text

<i>Chap 8</i>											
8:1	S (L: P)	S (L: P)	S (L: P)	P	S	S	S	S	P	A reversal of förtunes	<i>The king pro- motes Mor- decai; Esther and Mordecai arrange for the Jews to be saved</i>
8:3	P	S (L: P)	S (L: P)	S	P	S	P	S	P		Esther re- ceives Ha- man's prop- erty
8:7	S	S	S	S	S	S	-	S	S		Esther asks the king to reverse Ha- man's decree The king sends a new edict (7-14)
8:9	-	-	-	^	-	-	[S/P]	[S/P]	[S/P]		
8:11	-	-	-	^	-	-	[S/P]	-	-		
8:13	-	-	-	^	-	-	[S/P]	-	-		
8:15	P	S (L: P)	S (L: P)	S	S	S	S/P	P	P		Mordecai is being honored
<i>Chap 9</i>											<i>Victories of the Jews over their enemies; establishment of Purim</i>
9:1	P (L: -)	-	-	^	P	-	[P]	-	-	Riots and revelry	Background description of 13 Adar

9:5	S (L: P)	P	-	(L: P)	-	-	-	-	-	-	S/P	P printed as continuous text [S/P]	Vengeance by the Jews (5-10)
9:6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
9:10	-	-	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
9:11	P (L: -)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	-	The king sug- gests a second day of killing in the king's provinces (11-19)
9:12	S	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	S printed as continuous text [S/P]	
9:16	S (L: -)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	-	
9:20	P (L: P)	P	S	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	P	P	Mordecai writes a letter instituting the holiday (20- 28)
9:23	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	-	
9:24	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[S/P]	
9:29	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S	S/P	S	Esther ratifies the holiday <i>The greatness of Xerxes and Mordecai</i> Moral of the story
Chap 10												All's well that ends well	
10:1	P	P	S	(L: P)	S	P	S	S	S	P	P	P	

3. *Relation Between Chapter and Section Divisions*

It was expected that the medieval chapter division would coincide with P section divisions in the Jewish tradition, since P is a large form of interval. However, the two systems derive from different sources, so that they sometimes differ in accord with their own internal logic. In most chapters the chapter division indeed coincides with open sections, but not so in four chapters of Esther,²¹ reflecting a rather high percentage for its ten chapters.

Transition from chapter 4 to 5 (S in L; MS Cambridge University Add. Ms. 1753; MS EBR. II B 34 of the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg). The tradition of the printed Bibles (RB2, Ginsburg) takes chapters 4 and 5 as one large uninterrupted unit without a major division (P) at the beginning of chapter 5.²² There is much to be said in favor of the traditional approach since chapters 4-5 of MT indeed form one long narrative unit from the point of view of content. Chapter 4 contains Mordecai's request for help from Esther continued in chapter 5 by Esther's first banquet invitation; in the same unit, Haman plots to kill Mordecai. To some extent, this arrangement is thus better than the artificial creation of two chapters in the chapter division.

Transition from chapter 6 to 7. All sources take chapters 6 and 7 as one large unit, uninterrupted in 7:1. From the point of view of content such a unit is indeed preferable to the chapter division, since in that division chapter 7 constitutes a short chapter (10 verses). In chapter 6 Mordecai is honored and Haman is humiliated. As a logical continuation chapter 7 contains Esther's request from the king to save the Jews, and as a result Haman is hanged on the gallows. There is much to be said in favor of this division since the combined chapter 6-7 would contain the central action of

²¹ There are S divisions in codex L before chapters 5 and 8, and no section division at all before chapters 7 and 9.

²² See below regarding the P division in 4:13 reflecting an unusual choice by a scribe.

reversal in the book. The story in chapter 6-7 is dynamic and the main events happen within this central unit. Further, neither the manuscripts nor the editions record any division at 7:1. On the other hand, *BH* and *BHS* start a new unit ("chapter 7", so to speak) one verse before 7:1, at 6:14, against all the evidence, with an open section, and so do the commentaries of Gerleman and Berlin (see above). Also in this case the artificial chapter division goes against the manuscript evidence.

Transition from chapter 8 to 9. The medieval chapter division that starts a new chapter at 9:1 goes against the manuscript evidence. At the same time, the Jewish tradition does not make 8-9 one long chapter, but it divides the content differently. The stories in chapter 8 are subdivided with several open divisions (P):

8:1-2 Esther receives Haman's property.

8:3-14 Esther asks the king to reverse Haman's decree; the king sends a new edict.

8:15-9:4 Mordecai is being honored; background description of 13 Adar.

9:5-19 Vengeance by the Jews. The king suggests a second day of killing in the king's provinces.

9:20-32: Mordecai writes a letter instituting the holiday; Esther ratifies the holiday.

In conclusion: in chapters 4-5 and 6-7 the creation of two chapters each in the chapter division is artificial.²³ In chapters 8-9 the chapter division at 9:1 is an alternative to a different type of division in the Jewish tradition, in smaller units.²⁴ In all three cases the chapter division goes against the section division, but not against the unit division, since the Jewish tradition did not include units greater than sections.

²³ In other instances the decisions made by bishop Stephen Langton were more flawed. See Tov, *TCHB*, 52-3; J. S. Penkower, "The Chapter Division in the 1525 Rabbinic Bible," *VT* 48 (1998): 350-74.

²⁴ The alternative major division point is probably at 8:15.

4. *Manuscripts, editions, and commentaries*

Manuscripts and editions. Very few manuscripts have been selected for this study. See n. 7. The section divisions in codex L have been recorded in three different editions. The imprecise recording of L in *BHS* has been corrected in *BHQ*. The divisions in the *Adi* edition, that otherwise reflects L, do not reflect L.²⁵

Commentaries. As a rule, the commentaries divide the text into a larger number of major units than the ten traditional chapters. Omanson-Noss (Tables 1 and 2 above) divide the text into fifteen such units, Berlin into 11,²⁶ and Gerleman into 13 major units,²⁷ some of them consisting of a few verses only. Had these commentators been asked to propose a new subject division of the book, they would probably have proposed their own division instead of the traditional one.

The differences between the traditional divisions (chapters and sections) and the divisions of each of the commentaries show the subjectivity of each system. A good example of this feature is the section division of Berlin in her commentary published in a traditional Jewish commentary series. Realizing the subjectivity of the earlier systems, this commentator allowed herself to disregard in the layout of the translation several traditional section notations (3:8 S; 4:13 S²⁸; 5:3 S; 7:9 S; 9:5 P; 9:12 S) and to add new ones (1:13, 19, 21; 2:8, 12, 16, 19; 3:7, 12, 15; 4:12; 5:6, 9; 6:12, 14; 9:1, 6, 16). Likewise, Gerleman disregarded section divisions (1:13, 16; 3:8; 4:13; 5:3; 7:5, 9; 8:7) and added several new ones (2:12, 15, 16, 19; 3:12; 4:4, 7, 10; 5:9; 6:11, 14; 8:9, 11, 13; 9:1, 11, 16, 23).

²⁵ A. Dotan was responsible for this aspect in *BHQ* as well as in the *Adi* edition. The practice of the *Adi* edition is explained on p. 1110.

²⁶ 1:1,9; 2:1; 3:1; 4:1; 5:1; 6:1; 7:1; 8:1; 9:1; 10:1.

²⁷ 1:1-22; 2:1-20; 2:21-23; 3:1-15; 4:1-17; 5:1-8; 5:9-14; 6:1-13; 6:14-8:2; 8:3-17; 9:1-19; 9:20-32; 10:1-3.

²⁸ The division in 4:12 is disregarded, while a new one is added in 4:13.

Above, we pointed to some of the difficulties in the chapter divisions. Some examples follow for the section divisions.

1:9 describes a feast that Vashti organized. This is a one-verse description of Vashti's feast about which no information is given. The description in this verse sets the stage for the invitation of Vashti by Ahasuerus in the next verse, 10. Since v 9 stands by its own it could be connected with the preceding verses 1-8 as in codex L and the other sources. According to that understanding, the banquets of Ahasuerus and Vashti constitute one unit. However, the verse could also be understood as beginning a new section with 1:9, as in RB2, Ginsburg, and Adi. Both types of division are possible. Berlin follows RB2, while Gerleman follows codex L.

2:21-23 (the plot to kill the king) forms a major independent section in Gerleman's commentary, introduced by a P, while it is introduced by an S in all other sources. These verses could be combined with the earlier verses as a separate episode like in the chapter division and the traditional Jewish understanding (preceded by S). This understanding is also implied by the next verse (*אחר הדברים*) (*האלה*) clearly starting a major unit (3:1).

4:13 The P division found in several sources²⁹ is problematical. Chapter 4 contains a long conversation between Mordecai and Esther, and accordingly a major section division before 4:13 in the middle of that conversation seems to be out of place. The maximum expected division would be an S. This division is rightly disregarded in Berlin's commentary.

5:9 The presentation of a P in the middle of chapter 5 before 5:9³⁰ is more than is called for at this point in the story. It comes after Esther's request to the king at the first meal, and before Haman's preparation of gallows for Mordecai. According to the dynamics of the story there should be no division at this point or at most an S division.

²⁹ L; MS Cambridge University Add. Ms. 1753; MS EBR. II B 34 of the Russian National Library, St. Petersburg; *BH*.

³⁰ *BH, BHS*, Gerleman, Berlin. All other sources have no division.

Chapter 6. The story in this chapter could have been suspended by one or two S intervals, while the whole chapter is now presented in most sources as one uninterrupted long story. Probably this lack of intervals reflects the literary understanding of haste expressed by the continuous sequence of events. See, further, above on 6:14.

7:1-4 and 7:5-8 are two episodes in a conversation between Esther and the king, separated by an S division. Elsewhere, for example in chapter 4, there is no such separation between the sections after each stage in the conversation between Esther and Mordecai.

5. Conclusions

The analysis showed the different logic behind the chapter and section divisions. All these divisions are subjective in the medieval manuscripts, chapter divisions, and modern commentaries. In the case of the section divisions, they reflect the exegesis of one or more scribes. In both cases not all section divisions reflect the dynamics of the story itself.

THE OLD LATIN, MOUNT GERIZIM, AND 4QJOSH^a

Eugene Ulrich

An Old Latin manuscript agrees with the Samaritan Pentateuch in reading “Mount Gerizim” at Deut 27:4, which narrates Moses’ command to build an altar “on the day that you cross over the Jordan into the land.” The OL-SP reading is a variant contrasting with “Mount Ebal” in the traditional MT and the preserved LXX. Following the pedagogically instructive title by Professor Julio Treballe Barrera, “From the Old Latin through the Old Greek to the Old Hebrew,” it may prove illuminating to test whether his insight will in this instance lead us from the OL through the OG to the OH.¹

I. *The Old Latin*

The OL reading *Garzin* is attested in codex 100.² Almost the entire LXX MS tradition, however, reads a form of ἐν ὄρει Γαιβάλ. To date only a single biblical Greek witness is known to attest “Mount Gerizim” for this verse: Papyrus Giessen (with fragments from Deuteronomy 24–29 dating from the fifth-sixth century)³ reads *αρ*

¹ See Julio Treballe Barrera, “From the ‘Old Latin’ through the ‘Old Greek’ to the ‘Old Hebrew’ (2 Kings 10:23-35),” *Textus* 11 (1984): 17–36; idem, “Old Latin, Old Greek and Old Hebrew in the Books of Kings (1 Ki 18:27 and 2 Ki 20:11),” *Textus* 13 (1986): 85–95. It is a pleasure to honor Professor Treballe with this essay in gratitude for thirty years of friendship and intellectual enrichment.

² John Wm. Wevers (ed.), *Deuteronomium* (Septuaginta: Vetus Testamentum Graecum III.2; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1977), 287.

³ Wevers, *Deuteronomium*, 16; some Catenae also attest that τὸ σαμ’ reads ἐν τῷ Γαριζίν. Emanuel Tov provides a new edition and discussion, incorporating new readings and reconstructions: “Pap. Giessen 13, 19, 22, 26: A Revision of the Septuagint?” in *The Greek and Hebrew Bible: Collected Essays on the Septuagint* (Leiden: Brill, 1999), 459–75. His analysis “suggests that the Giessen papyri do not reflect the Σαμαρειτικόν” but rather “a revision, possibly of Samaritan origin, of the OG” (p. 459). Though he cautiously says, “possibly of Samaritan origin,” he eventually does not prefer that possibility but rather a revision of the OG (cf. pp. 73–74). See also Reinhard Pummer, “The Samareitikon Revisited,” in Alan D. Crown and

γαρ[ι]ζιμ.⁴ The writing of the pair of words without space for word division is usually considered the mark of a Samaritan author.⁵ But since nothing we know leads us to think the OL might be influenced by the SP, the question arises: Are this Greek papyrus reading and this OL reading witnesses to the SP specifically, or might they possibly be witnesses to a Hebrew reading circulating in the broader Jewish milieu?

In favor of an ancient, non-sectarian witness, Reinhard Pummer notes that

The *Vetus Latina* has twice the form *Argarzim*, i.e. in 2 Macc 5:23 and 6:2. It is well known that this translation has often preserved ancient variants, and it is most probable that this is the case also here. . . . Rather than assume that 2 Macc 5:23 and 6:2 go back to a Samaritan source or tradition, it can be argued that there existed Greek versions which transliterated and contracted הַר גַּרְזִים as they did with other similar names.⁶

In editing 4QpaleoExod^m and further studies I have found a number of other putative “Samaritan” readings preserved in LXX MSS which strongly support Pummer’s argument on a broader scale: that Greek

Lucy Davey (eds.), *Essays in Honour of G. D. Sixdenier: New Samaritan Studies of the Société d'études samaritaines* (Sydney: Mandelbaum Publ., University of Sydney, 1995), 381–455; and S. Noja, “The Samareitikon,” in Alan D. Crown (ed.), *The Samaritans* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1989), 408–12.

⁴ Whereas Wevers presents the reading with a space between αρ and γαρ[ι]ζιμ, Tov (“Pap. Giessen,” 472 n. 11) says that it “cannot be determined whether αργαρ[ι]ζιμ was written as one word, as in the Samaritan tradition.” But he correctly suggests that Αρμαγεδων in Rev 16:16 “shows the wider use of this transliteration as do many additional transliterations of geographical terms in the LXX” (ibid.). His suggestion is confirmed by Reinhard Pummer (“ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ: A Criterion for Samaritan Provenance?” *JSJ* 18 [1987]: 19–25), who perhaps understates, in light of his strong evidence, that “The results of these considerations are: In view of the recent age of Samaritan MSS, and the fact that there are instances where הַר and the proper name following it were transliterated and contracted in Greek translations, LXX and others, without any conceivable sectarian basis for it, it is at least doubtful that the reading Αργαριζιν can at all times and in all writings where it is found be used as proof for Samaritan provenance or an underlying Samaritan tradition. It can only serve as one indicator among others. In itself it is insufficient to prove Samaritan provenance” (p. 25).

⁵ Pummer, “ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ,” 18.

⁶ Pummer, “ΑΡΓΑΡΙΖΙΝ,” 23–24; see also Eugene Ulrich, “47. 4QJosh^a,” DJD 14:146. Tov agrees: “While the importance of the agreement of P[ap.] G[iessen] with the most important sectarian reading of SP should not be underestimated, it could also be an ancient not yet sectarian reading. The fact that the *Vetus Latina*, never suspected as Samaritan, preserves the same variant, points in the same direction, since this source has preserved many important ancient variants (p. 472); see also Tov, *Textual Criticism of the Hebrew Bible* (2d. ed.; Assen: Royal Van Gorcum; Minneapolis: Fortress, 2001), 94–95, n. 67.

readings initially considered “Samaritan” may well have derived from broader Jewish sources. For example, several LXX MSS attest the major expansions which are found in the SP but are not specifically Samaritan (i.e., some are already found in 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QNum^b). Such can be seen at Exod 27:19^b (see *BHS* note 19^c); 32:10^b (*BHS* note 10^a). Many other “Samaritan” readings are attested in the Syro-Hexapla⁷ without LXX MSS, e.g.: Exod 6:9^b; 7:18^b; 7:29^b [LXX 8:4], etc.; Num 20:13^b (*BHS* note 13^b); 21:23^b; etc. Yet others are found in both LXX MSS and the Syro-Hexapla, e.g.: Num 12:16^b [LXX 13:1] (*BHS* note 12:16^b); 21:12^a [LXX 11^{fm}]; 21:22^b; 27:23^b; 31:21^a [LXX 20^{fm}].

These ancient Greek readings, often attributed to “Samaritan” influence,⁸ indicate that other Greek textual witnesses with expanded readings which used to be labeled “Samaritan” should be more accurately seen as “general Jewish.”

Ancient Hebrew MSS also confirm that view, demonstrating that numerous readings once considered Samaritan are not Samaritan but general Jewish readings. 4QpaleoExod^m and 4QNum^b, both of which routinely display major “Samaritan” expansions, have taught us that the majority of such readings are not due specifically to the Samaritans but occur in general Jewish texts.⁹ These texts were simply “new and expanded editions” of scriptural books that were circulating within Jewish groups alongside the earlier editions that are transmitted in the Masoretic *textus receptus*. The Samaritans, in turn, simply happened¹⁰ to adopt the later, expanded, equally valued edition, rather

⁷ The Syro-Hexapla is an early seventh-century literal Syriac translation of Origen’s fifth, *o*’ (= Septuaginta) column. Its close fidelity renders it equal to a Greek witness (Wevers, *Exodus* [Septuaginta II.1; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1991], 38) and “of great importance in recovering Origen’s text of the LXX” (D. C. Parker, “Syro-Hexapla,” *ABD* 6:285–86).

⁸ Note, e.g., Wevers’ annotation “ex Sam secundum Syh” after many of the Syh readings cited above. “Sam” is accurate insofar as the readings are in the SP, but it is difficult to see how LXX MSS and the Syro-Hexapla would have derived them from (“ex”) the SP specifically.

⁹ For the edition of the Exodus MS see Patrick W. Skehan, Eugene Ulrich, and Judith E. Sanderson, “22. 4QpaleoExodus^m,” in *DJD* 9:53–130, esp. the list on p. 67; see also the analysis by Judith Sanderson, *An Exodus Scroll from Qumran: 4QpaleoExod^m and the Samaritan Tradition* (HSS 30; Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986). For the edition of the Numbers MS see Nathan Jastram, “27. 4QNum^b,” in *DJD* 12:205–67, esp. his listings on p. 216.

¹⁰ The evidence that the Rabbis apparently did not choose or select the textual forms that they received and transmitted in the MT indicates that it is even less likely

than the earlier edition, of those texts as the basis for their (textually, not theologically) only slightly altered version.

Returning to the OL at Deut 27:4, we can plausibly suggest that, even though only one surviving Greek witness attests “Mount Gerizim,” the OL was translated from some form of an ancient LXX MS which read “Mount Gerizim.” Based on what we know about the OL, it seems highly improbable that it was translated from a specifically Samaritan Hebrew or even from a Samaritan Greek MS. Thus, even though only that single Greek witness survives, it seems that the OL reading was based on an ancient Greek reading, which in turn raises the question whether the Greek reading may have been based on an Old Hebrew text (other than the SP itself).

II. *Mount Gerizim*

The reading *בהרגרזים* in Hebrew at Deut 27:4, long known from the SP, has recently surfaced in a small scroll fragment of uncertain origin, a solitary fragment measuring only 3.8 × 2.9 cm, containing text from Deut 27:4-6.¹¹ The fragment is claimed to have come from Cave 4, though not all scholars agree. Two questions arise. First, is it genuine or a forgery? In particular, it is suspicious that *בהרגרזים* appears prominently and clearly in the center of this very small fragment. That suspicion, however, is countered by the solitary fragment of 4QJudg^a, only slightly larger, which similarly shows clearly the highly significant lack of MT vv. 7-10 between Judg 6:6 and 6:11 in the Gideon story.¹² Thus, that Judges fragment provides an important witness to an earlier version of its narrative, just as this fragment would provide an important witness to an alternate, and possibly earlier, version of Deuteronomy 27 and the Joshua altar narrative. The authenticity of 4QJudg^a, if not proving the authenticity of this newly

that the Samaritans, about two centuries earlier, consciously selected specific forms as the base text for their Torah.

¹¹ On his website — <http://www.ijco.org/?categoryId=46960> — James Charlesworth presented photographs and an edition of the fragment. I thank Professor Charlesworth for collegially sharing this with me. He has now published it: James H. Charlesworth, “What is a variant? Announcing a Dead Sea Scrolls Fragment of Deuteronomy,” *Maarav* 16/2 (2009):201–12 + Plates IX–X (pp. 273–274).

¹² For the edition see Julio Trebelle Barrera, “49. 4QJudg^a,” in DJD 14:161–64; and idem, “Textual Variants in 4QJudg^a and the Textual and Editorial History of the Book of Judges,” in *RevQ* 14/2 (1989): 229–45.

surfaced fragment, does seriously counter that suspicion. Moreover, although I have not seen the fragment itself, if it is a forgery, it appears to be a good forgery.¹³ Materially, the fragment shows serious deterioration, and that deteriorated state would make forming the tips of partial letters all around the edges very difficult, but all the letter-tips seem to have been well formed. Textually, whereas a forger would probably want to reproduce textual forms that generally agreed with MT-SP, there are both orthographic and morphological variants from the MT-SP that would require sophisticated familiarity with Second Temple texts.

The second question: is the fragment, if genuine, from a specifically Samaritan or a more broadly general Jewish milieu? The available clues point toward a general Jewish MS. Regarding provenance, it is highly unlikely that a specifically Samaritan MS would be found at Qumran:¹⁴ one need only think of the Samaritan non-acceptance of the Nebi'im as authoritative Scripture clashing with the Qumran intense emphasis on the Prophets. Regarding script, one would expect the Samaritans to use the Palaeo-Hebrew script (recall that 4QpaleoParaJoshua does use that script).¹⁵ Regarding other "general Jewish" texts, the MT-SP-LXX traditions all include a Mount Gerizim–Mount Ebal scribal stratum in Deut 11:29-30 + 27:11-13.¹⁶ In addition, Abraham's first altar was at Shechem (Gen 12:7), and Ger-

¹³ Regarding authenticity, Charlesworth says: "The Arab who formerly owned the fragment belongs to the family through whom the Dead Sea Scrolls have come to scholars. He claims it is from Qumran Cave IV. The fragment appears to be genuine for the following reasons: The source is the same as that for almost all the Qumran fragments in the Shrine of the Book. The patina sparkles in the ink and in the leather. My attempts to prove that the fragment is a fake failed."

¹⁴ Although there were early statements by scroll editors about Samaritan MSS at Qumran, those views have evanesced in light of further research. For instance, Patrick Skehan entitled his first published announcement of 4QpaleoExod^m "Exodus in the Samaritan Recension from Qumran" (*JBL* 74 [1955]: 435–40), but he quickly revised that designation in "Qumran and the Present State of Old Testament Text Studies: The Masoretic Text," *JBL* 78 (1959): 21–25, esp. 22. See also Maurice Baillet, "Le texte samaritain de l'Exode dans les manuscrits de Qumrân," in A. Caquot and M. Philonenko (eds.), *Hommages à André Dupont-Sommer* (Paris: Adrien-Maisonneuve, 1971), 363–81.

¹⁵ For the edition see Eugene Ulrich, "4Q123. 4QpaleoParaJoshua," in DJD 9:201–03; despite the title, this text may have been "simply a variant edition of the biblical book of Joshua" (p. 201).

¹⁶ Observe the geographical confusion in Deut 11:30: "As you know, [Mount Gerizim and Mount Ebal] are beyond the Jordan, some *distance* to the *west*, in the land of the Canaanites who live *in the Arabah, opposite Gilgal*, beside the oak of *Moreh*" [= Shechem, cf. Gen 12:6; Josh 24:26] (emphasis mine).

izim is always positively viewed in its few occurrences.¹⁷ Moreover, as we have seen above, the majority of putative “Samaritan” readings are not due specifically to the Samaritans but occur in general Jewish texts.

Thus, this new fragment — if genuine, and if Jewish — would be an instance in which the OL witnessed to an ancient Greek reading otherwise entirely lost,¹⁸ and ultimately to a (Jewish) Old Hebrew text tradition also otherwise lost.¹⁹ Having discarded the *Σαμαρειτικόν* as the source of Pap. Giessen, it remains to determine whether the Greek reading is the original OG translation, or whether it is rather a very early revision of the OG. In either case it most likely reflects its Hebrew *Vorlage* faithfully, since the variant would most likely have originated at the Hebrew stage: either the OG was originally translated from a Hebrew MS which already had the “Mount Gerizim” insertion, or the OG with no place name was secondarily revised in conformity with a Hebrew MS which had that insertion. Again — if genuine, and if Jewish — the new fragment would at the same time provide additional support for the view that 4QJosh^a presents the earliest extant witness to the locality of the first altar built in the newly entered land.

III. 4QJosh^a

The Problem

What sacred center in Israel’s religious history was privileged to be the site of the first altar built in the newly entered land? That question was not often asked until the discovery of 4QJosh^a, but, once articu-

¹⁷ See Gary Knoppers (“Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion: A Study in the Early History of the Samaritans and Jews,” *SR* 34 [2005]: 309–38, esp. p. 320): “in the very texts that many Judeans cherished as in some sense foundational to the life of their own community, Mt. Gerizim occupied a favoured position.”

¹⁸ Note the parallel situation in which the entire OG of Daniel was almost entirely lost, preserved only in Greek MS 88 (and the Syro-Hexapla) until the Chester Beatty Papyri (Pap. 967) were discovered.

¹⁹ See now (without reference to the new fragment) the agreement of Magnar Kartveit (*The Origin of the Samaritans* [VTSup 128; Leiden: Brill, 2009], 300–05) that the OL and Pap. Giessen readings ultimately depend upon a Jewish Hebrew text, which had “the original reading ‘Mount Gerizim’” (p. 305) vis-à-vis “Mount Ebal”. I would rather say “the earlier reading,” which was inserted into the original form of Deuteronomy 27 that lacked a place name.

lated, it exposes an issue that may well have been polemically debated.²⁰ There now appear to be three different contenders for that honor. Tantalizing bits of evidence from 4QJosh^a, the MT, the new scroll fragment discussed above, the SP, the LXX, the OL, Josephus, and Pseudo-Philo weave an intriguing pattern of textual variants regarding that first altar built by Joshua in the promised land. Some of the variants are apparently intentional, aimed at favoring or demoting one of the contenders. The pieces of the puzzle fit most cogently, in my view, according to the following schema, which I will sketch briefly and then attempt to demonstrate.²¹

At an early stage, the mixed and highly repetitious²² set of commands in Deuteronomy 27 may not have mentioned a specific place for that first altar (cf. especially vv 2-3); Israel was simply to set up the stones and inscribe the law “on the day that you cross over the Jordan into the land” (v 2), presumably near Gilgal.²³ The account of the building of the altar and proclamation of the Torah at Gilgal was narrated at the end of Joshua 4, before the circumcision passage in Joshua 5 and the military conquest starting in chapter 6.

At a second stage, some unknown person or group added “on Mount Gerizim” in Deut 27:4. This is documented in the SP; the question is whether it originated in specifically Samaritan or in broader Jewish circles. This reading arose either in conjunction with the insertions in Deut 11:29-30 and 27:11-13 or due to northern con-

²⁰ Examining the Chronicler’s work, Knoppers (“Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion,” 320) convincingly states that “the Chronicler’s allusions and appeal to institutions associated with Israel’s national beginnings are best understood as reflecting a time in which there were multiple discrepant and competing claims to the nation’s past.”

²¹ See Eugene Ulrich, “4QJoshua^a and Joshua’s First Altar in the Promised Land,” in *New Qumran Texts and Studies: Proceedings of the First Meeting of the International Organization for Qumran Studies, Paris 1992* (ed. George J. Brooke with Florentino García Martínez; STDJ 15; Leiden: Brill, 1994), 89–104 and Pls. 4–6; idem, “47. 4QJosh^a,” in DJD 14:145–46. See now also Heinz-Josef Fabry, “Der Altarbau der Samaritaner — Ein Produkt der Text- und Literaturgeschichte?” in *Die Textfunde vom Toten Meer und der Text der Hebräischen Bibel* (ed. U. Dahmen et al.: Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 2000), 35–52, esp. 44.

²² See Fabry, “Der Altarbau”; Kristen De Troyer, “Building the Altar and Reading the Law: The Journeys of Joshua 8:30–35,” in *Reading the Present in the Qumran Library: The Perception of the Contemporary by Means of Scriptural Interpretations* (SBLSymS 30; ed. K. De Troyer and A. Lange; Atlanta: SBL, 2005), 141–62; Michael Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation in Ancient Israel* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 160–62.

²³ The temporal clause “on the day” need not be taken in its narrow literal sense, but that sense does fit naturally here.

cerns to promote Mount Gerizim. The rearranged placement of the passage about the altar (now in the MT at Josh 8:30-35 and in LXX^B at 9:2a-f) from before the circumcision passage in Joshua 5 to after the destruction of Ai (8:29) may well have taken place in conjunction with the addition of “on Mount Gerizim” in Deut 27:4 and 27:11-13.²⁴

At a third stage, “Mount Gerizim” was replaced with the odd and problematic “Mount Ebal,” which begs for a better explanation than simply as a hasty and ill-thought-out polemical reaction against “Mount Gerizim.”

The Evidence

What is described as the first stage is apparently documented in 4QJosh^a, which, though no mention of a specific locality is preserved in the surviving fragments, clearly assumes Gilgal. The “Mount Gerizim” reading suggested as the second stage can be seen in the SP, the Greek Pap. Giessen, the OL codex 100, and the new scroll fragment. The proposed third-stage reading “Mount Ebal” occurs in the MT and also lies behind the main surviving LXX MS tradition and other versions such as the Targum, Peshitta, and Vulgate, which are all dependent on the reading transmitted in the MT.

Gilgal. The sequence in 4QJosh^a is natural: even without the command in Deuteronomy 27, it would be appropriate to build an altar and offer sacrifices immediately after, and in thanksgiving for, the long-delayed crossing into the promised land, followed by the circumcision and passover rituals. No name of the site is mentioned, although the beginning of the passage where one would expect it is

²⁴ Richard D. Nelson (*Joshua: A Commentary* [OTL; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1997], 116) comments concerning Josh 8:30-35: “This section is isolated from its context and clearly the product of deuteronomistic redaction. It begins abruptly with *'az* and the imperfect, used to indicate a tenuous and appropriate chronological connection: “about this time” (cf. 10:12; 22:1). See Isaac Rabinowitz, “*'āz* Followed by Imperfect Verb-Form in Preterite Contexts: A Redactional Device in Biblical Hebrew,” *VT* 34 (1984): 53–62, who concludes: “*'āz* + imperfect in a preterite context is . . . a redactional usage, a device to which recourse is had for introducing into a text additional material from a source extraneous to, or other than, that from which the immediately foregoing bloc of material has been drawn or produced” (p. 54).

missing. In fact, the explicit mention in any text of a place name, whether “Mount Gerizim” or “Mount Ebal,” would be suspicious (how would Moses know where Mount Ebal was?) as both a textual insertion and a rival claim. In support of an MT insertion of the place name, note that the MT also inserts at Josh 6:26 a place name, “Jericho,” that is not present in the LXX, the Testimonia (4Q175) or the Apocryphon of Joshua (4Q379 22 ii 8). Similarly, the MT adds “Gilgal” at Josh 10:15 and 10:43 where the OG does not have it.

Mount Gerizim. Promotion of the sanctuary at Mount Gerizim could be envisioned in several time periods: the pre-monarchic, pre-Jerusalem-temple period; the period after the secession of the northern kingdom; the early post-exilic period when the second temple was being built in Jerusalem; the Hasmonaean period; plus other less-known situations. But it seems impossible for either the fragment from Qumran (if it is from Qumran) or the OL to have been influenced by the SP itself; rather, the “Gerizim” (and/or “Ebal”) reading appears to have been an intentional addition in some general Jewish MS tradition.

Mount Ebal. The locale of Mount Ebal as a place where Joshua supposedly built the first altar has long troubled commentators, both militarily and religiously. Militarily, Joshua presumably has all the population²⁵ march twenty miles north into hostile enemy territory unchallenged, build the altar, and then immediately abandon it, leaving it vulnerable to the autochthonous warriors and predators, and march back to Gilgal (Josh 9:6). Notice as well that the beginning of chapter 9, “when all the kings . . . heard this,” refers to the destruction of Ai (8:29), not to the (inserted) passage 8:30-35.

Religiously, Mount Ebal has no significance elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. It is mentioned only five times in three closely interconnected passages: Deut 11:29; 27:4, 13; and Josh 8:30, 33, all in the context of this altar and (linked with “Mount Gerizim”) the recitation of curses. Significantly, it is never again mentioned in the Joshua narrative, whereas the camp and population are immediately back at Gilgal again (Josh 9:6). Adam Zertal claimed to have unearthed on

²⁵ “All Israel, alien as well as citizen, with their elders” (Josh 8:33); “all the assembly of Israel, and the women, and the little ones, and the aliens” (8:35).

Mount Ebal a structure, “a cultic site,” “founded in the second half of the 13th century B.C.E.,” that was “presumably part of an earlier complex which undoubtedly bore a cultic character.²⁶ A number of archaeologists, however, dispute Zertal’s claims.²⁷ Moreover, as Richard Nelson observes, it “must be stressed that this particular text relates exclusively to Deuteronomy [literarily and thematically] and not directly to any tradition about any actual sanctuary” [historically or archaeologically].²⁸

In short, “Mount Ebal” has nothing to recommend it, other than its presence in the MT. If “Mount Gerizim” can be characterized as “the most important sectarian reading of SP,”²⁹ then (unless one is overly committed to the MT) “Mount Ebal” should be equally considered as a possibly sectarian reading.³⁰

Finally, the evidence of both Josephus and Pseudo-Philo must be weighed. These two authors attest, near the end of the first century C.E., that this altar was located at Gilgal. Josephus narrates that “Joshua, with the stones which each of the tribal leaders had, by the prophet’s orders, taken up from the river-bed, erected that altar that was to serve as a token of the stoppage of the stream, and sacrificed thereon to God.”³¹ Notice that he does not specify a place name; Joshua simply crosses the river and builds the altar. Presumably,

²⁶ Adam Zertal, “Has Joshua’s Altar Been Found on Mt. Ebal?” *BAR* 11/1 (Jan.-Feb. 1985): 26–43; idem, “Ebal, Mount,” *ABD* 2:255–58, esp. 256–57.

²⁷ A. Kempinski, “Joshua’s Altar — An Iron Age I Watchtower,” *BAR* 12/1 (Jan.-Feb. 1986): 42; idem, “Zertal’s Altar — 19th Century Biblical Archaeology” *BAR* 12/4 (July-Aug. 1986): 64. See also A. Mazar, *Archaeology of the Land of the Bible* (New York: 1990), 348–50. I thank Professor Ephraim Stern for an enlightening discussion on this topic. Regarding Mount Gerizim, however, Gary Knoppers (“Mt. Gerizim and Mt. Zion,” 312) relates that the “archaeological excavations of Izhag Magen attest to the construction of an impressive city and sacred precinct on Mt. Gerizim in Hellenistic times. . . . Beneath the Hellenistic sacred precinct on Mt. Gerizim, Magen discovered an older layer, which he dates to the 5th century and identifies as the Samari(t)an Temple mentioned (but misdated) by Josephus (i.e., to the time of Alexander the Great: *Ant.* 11.302-347, 13.254-56; *J.W.* 1.62-65).” For Magen’s publication references, see Knoppers, p. 335. Magen’s conclusions may still be developing; see Kartveit, *The Origin of the Samaritans*, 206–08.

²⁸ Nelson, *Joshua*, 118 n. 5.

²⁹ The quote is from Tov (“Pap. Giessen,” 472), but he does conclude that, though it is also an “important sectarian reading of SP,” in this case it is “an ancient not yet sectarian reading.”

³⁰ Tov (*Textual Criticism*, 266, n. 37) thinks that “the probability that *Ebal* in MT in Deut 27:4 is an anti-Samaritan reading . . . is very slight,” but without explanatory rationale the reading seems either anti-Samaritan or anti-Samaritan.

³¹ Josephus, *Ant.* 5:20.

however, “the stones . . . taken up from the river-bed” require that it be at Gilgal, unless they were to be carried all the way to Mount Gerizim or Ebal.

Similarly, Pseudo-Philo states that “Joshua went down to Gilgal and built an altar with very large stones and did not lift an iron tool to them, as Moses had commanded.”³² It is true that both authors also know and mention the altar at Shechem as well, but both place that report late in the Joshua narrative, not at the beginning or in the middle of the conquest. The point is that two separate early authors, with no hint of entering into “the location debate,” simply report as a matter of fact that Joshua’s altar was built at Gilgal.

The Solution

The solution as sketched above seems to be at least fully plausible if not compelling. 4QJosh^a (our earliest MS), supported by Josephus and Pseudo-Philo (very early and, in this regard, unbiased witnesses), presumably specifying no locality, presents the earliest preserved and most logical stage of the narrative. The occurrence of a specific place name was probably an intentional secondary insertion, designed to promote some site other than the original. Such an insertion, whether “Gerizim” or “Ebal” would require a third stage with the opposite name. When considering which order of the two names, Gerizim and Ebal, would be more likely, the replacement of “Ebal” with “Gerizim” would be expected only by the Samaritans or Samaritans (but then how explain the broader Jewish Pap. Giessen and the OL?); the replacement of “Gerizim” with “Ebal” probably can be explained only as a polemical counterclaim against the northerners. To date there appears to be no other cogent explanation of the anomalous “Mount Ebal.” Thus, the sequence appears to be: Gilgal (4QJosh^a, Josephus, Pseudo-Philo), then Mount Gerizim (non-extant Jewish MSS (?), SP, Pap. Giessen, the OL), replaced in most texts by Mount Ebal (MT, revised LXX).³³

³² Pseudo-Philo, *L.A.B.* 21:7. I am grateful to Professor Christopher Begg for alerting me to this reference.

³³ The LXX, in my view, like Pap. Giessen, may not be the OG but a revision of the OG, depending upon how early the “Mount Ebal” reading entered the MT. That the LXX here, like often elsewhere, was secondarily revised to agree with the MT (which, in this view, itself reflected a secondary or tertiary stage), is fully possible.

An Alternate View

In contrast, Kristin De Troyer views the situation in reverse. She concludes that the OG is “the oldest stratum of the text of the book of Joshua”; the second stratum would have been the “(proto)-Masoretic text”; whereas 4QJosh^a is “an example of how the Qumranites read Scripture as a way of interpreting their present.”³⁴

She bases her choice of the OG on the view that “Gilgal plays a lesser role in the OG than in the MT” (157). “‘Gilgal’ is a characteristic of the MT; Gilgal as Joshua’s military headquarters was not yet present in the pre-Masoretic text [which the OG translates]. This non-interest in Gilgal as military headquarters is reflected in the OG” (162).³⁵ Subsequently the MT “relocates the text to chapter 8, namely, 8:30-35, its current position” (158). “The focus on Gilgal appeared late in time, say in the second century B.C.E. . . . in the Masoretic Text.” The third stratum is “the Qumranites [who] could accept an MT with Joshua having a military headquarter in Gilgal,” but could not “accept a crossing of the Jordan without an immediate erecting of an altar and reading the law; . . . by reorganizing the text, the Qumranites avoided mentioning an altar built on Mount Ebal” (162).³⁶

The different placement after 9:2 in Vaticanus and half the minuscules, versus that of AFM^N⊖ and the other half with the MT at the end of chapter 8, shows either that LXX^B repositioned the passage generally in conformity with the MT edition but possibly after 9:2 for better sequence, or that the others repositioned it for more exact conformity with the MT.

³⁴ De Troyer, “Building the Altar,” 162 and 142. Another solution is offered by Michaël N. van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation: The Redaction of the Book of Joshua in the Light of the Oldest Textual Witnesses* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), which I hope to address in a future study.

³⁵ Although I agree with De Troyer concerning the general priority of the OG over the MT, one must question whether “Gilgal plays a lesser role in the OG than in the MT.” It is true, as she states, that the place name is lacking in the OG though present in the MT at Josh 10:15, 43. But the absence has not “been problematic since the study of the Old Greek text began” (141). These are simply explicating insertions in the MT of what is already known (see Nelson, *Joshua*, 23; individual textual variants operate independently of variant editions): the LXX clearly has the camp at “Gilgal” at 9:6; 10:6, 7, 9. The entire verses of 10:15 and 43, not just “Gilgal” within them, are lacking in the OG; they are unnecessary and are most likely narrative additions in the MT.

³⁶ It is simply unknown whether “Mount Ebal” was in 4QJosh^a, since it is mentioned only in (MT) 8:30, 33, before the first fragment of 4QJosh^a begins (8:34); but presumably it was not mentioned if the altar was built at Gilgal. As far as I can tell, mention of another pair of mountains called Gerizim and Ebal near the Jordan in subsequent rabbinic and Christian sources, as well as the Madaba map, is a later con-

Her argument focuses on “three differences among the MT, the OG, and the Qumran texts”: (1) the importance of Moses; (2) the re-interpretation of Deuteronomy 27 in Joshua; and (3) the location of the altar (142). As the discussion develops, however, questions arise for all three.

(1) *Moses*. Although Moses is now dead, De Troyer states that in two passages “Moses pops up, namely, in 8:30-35 as well as in the Gibeonites’ story in 9:3-27” (147). It is seen as significant that “Moses is the key figure at the end of the section” ending in 8:30-35 “and at the beginning of the section on conquering the land [Joshua 9]. More precisely, Moses appears at the beginning and ending of the Gibeonites’ story (9:3, 24). It seems as if Moses needs to be near Joshua whenever a new stage in the history of Israel opens or closes” (153-54).

The texts present difficulties, however, since the person Moses does not appear in 8:30-35; there are only references to the Mosaic law and commands previously made in Deuteronomy. The point that “Moses is mentioned in two stories that follow precisely one after the other” (148) in 8:30-35 and 9:3-27 works only for the placement of the passage as in the MT-LXX, which 4QJosh^a challenges.³⁷ The texts do not support the view that “[b]oth at the beginning and at the ending of the Gibeonites’ story there is now a reference to the law of Moses and to the fact that . . . the Gibeonites . . . follow the orders given by Moses” (158). In 9:3 Moses does not appear at all; rather, in the MT the Gibeonites heard “what *Joshua* had done” and in the LXX “what *the Lord* had done.” Further, in 9:24, the reference, rather than to “the orders given by Moses,” is to the report that earlier “God had commanded . . . Moses to give you all the land.” Moreover, perhaps a greater difficulty that diminishes “the importance of Moses” (142) with respect to these two passages is that references to Moses appear not just in these two passages but frequently throughout the book of Joshua (in 16 of 24 chapters in both MT and LXX).

(2) *Deuteronomy 27*. In this interpretation the main position is expressed “that the text of Deut 27 originally dealt with stones (27:2)

fusion based on the confusion caused precisely by the textual variants of Deuteronomy–Joshua under discussion here and especially Deut 11:30.

³⁷ All might not agree with the structures outlined on her pp. 152–55. Joshua 6–8, the stories of the destruction of Jericho and Ai, are characterized as “Examples of how to live in the land” (section III), whereas the “Conquering the land,” section IV, does not begin until chapter 9.

and . . . writ[ing] on these stones the words of the law. . . . Then an editor connected the stones with the altar by inserting 27:5-7” (150). A related position is also offered, proposing 27:4a-b and 8a-b as a *Wiederaufnahme* which “can be credited to the editor who inserted verses 5-7. . . . The purpose of the insertion of the verses is to connect the stones with the stones of the altar. . . .” (151). The basis to support these positions is not developed; the position is possible, but other positions are equally possible.³⁸ As far as I can see, only two stages in the development of the passage are proposed: the original and the editor who added vv. 5-7 (with the *Wiederaufnahme*). But if two stages help relieve the apparent inconsistencies, why not more stages in this highly complex chapter?³⁹ In fact, the interpretation of Deuteronomy 27 offered does not discuss the “Gerizim” reading, which requires at least a third stage.

(3) *Location*. The OG tradition is viewed as earlier than that in the MT, and in both witnesses “originally . . . the text specified where the stones needed to be erected, namely, on Mount Ebal (27:4)” (150). Though it is conceded that Ebal is “strange” (156) and “problematic” (158), no explanation of the rationale for this problematic reading is offered (other than “it might have been possible that the negative connotations associated with Mount Ebal did not yet exist . . .” [158]); it is simply asserted: “The text, however, clearly states that the altar was indeed built on Mount Ebal” (156). But the placement of the altar is precisely the question to be determined, and the highly improbable “Mount Ebal” begs for justification, while the “Mount Gerizim” reading is not considered.

Thus I do not find this alternate proposal, that 4QJosh^a was a post-LXX-MT revision by the Qumranites, persuasive, especially considering the following:

³⁸ See Fabry, “Der Altarbau”; Fishbane, *Biblical Interpretation* (n. 19); van der Meer, *Formation and Reformulation*.

³⁹ E.g., Fabry (“Der Altarbau,” p. 44) envisions: [1] “ursprünglich das Moses-Gebot ergangen war, einen Altar ‘dort,’ d.h. am Jordanufer zu bauen (Dtn 27:2-3). [2] Im jeden Fall ist die Einfügung einer spezifizierenden Ortsangabe in v. 4 sekundär, [3] *hargarizin* (SP, OL) tertiär und [4] *har ‘ejbal* (MT, LXX) als ‘counterclaim against the Samaritans’ quartär. I would agree, while seeing 2 and 3 as probably the same step.

• 4QJosh^a in general displays the shortest edition, the Greek a longer, and the MT a yet further expanded edition; thus, the presumption would favor 4QJosh^a as the earliest;⁴⁰

• There is no indication that 4QJosh^a was edited or copied at Qumran, and it contains no sectarian readings.⁴¹ Though the qualification is made “The Qumranites — or whoever wrote 4QJosh^a” (159), the alternate proposal works only if “4QJosh^a is an example of how the Qumranites [specifically] read scripture in order to interpret their present” (147);

• It is difficult to attribute the relocation at Gilgal specifically to “the Qumranites,” since Josephus and Pseudo-Philo (who clearly were not Qumranites) attest the altar at Gilgal;

• Finally, “[t]here are rabbinic traditions that reflect the same sequence of events as the Qumran text and probably reflect the same motivation to harmonize Joshua with Deuteronomy: *y. Sota* 7:3, *t. Sota* 8:7-8.”⁴² Is not the multiple witness of Josephus, Pseudo-Philo, and rabbinic traditions sufficient to demonstrate a broader Jewish text tradition reading “Mount Gerizim” and to preclude a Qumranite revision?

Conclusion

Insofar as my solution and its underlying argument prove accurate, we may thank Professor Treballe for his instructive insight: once again, enriching our understanding of Deuteronomy 27 and Joshua 5/8, we have followed a valuable heuristic path, from the Old Latin (*Garzin*), through the Old Greek or at least the oldest Greek preserved (*αργαρ[ι]ζιμ*), to an Old Hebrew (*בהרגרזים*), which also may not have been the earliest Hebrew but is the earliest form of Deut 27:4 preserved.

⁴⁰ See Tov, *Textual Criticism*, 327–28, 346.

⁴¹ Eugene Ulrich, “The Absence of ‘Sectarian Variants’ in the Jewish Scriptural Scrolls Found at Qumran,” in *The Bible as Book: The Hebrew Bible and the Judaean Desert Discoveries* (ed. Edward D. Herbert and Emanuel Tov; London: The British Library and Oak Knoll Press, 2002), 179–95.

⁴² Nelson, *Joshua*, 117 n. 4.

ANOTHER CITATION OF GREEK JUBILEES

James C. VanderKam

In the vigorous discussion about the development of a canon of scripture in Early Judaism, the Book of Jubilees has played a prominent role. It appears to have been considered an authoritative work by the writer of the Damascus Document and perhaps by other writers whose compositions were found among the Dead Sea Scrolls.¹ Unlike the books that in time became part of the Hebrew Bible, the original text of Jubilees is not fully preserved.

The text of the Book of Jubilees survives in complete form in the classical Ethiopic language due to the respect and care shown to it by scribes of the Abyssinian Church. The full Ge'ez text appears in many copies, usually together with other Old Testament books.² The first modern students of the text hypothesized that the author of the book wrote it in the Hebrew language (possibly Aramaic); they were aided in their conjecture not only by features in the Ge'ez version but also by a few hints in ancient sources that the book had been written in Hebrew.³ The Qumran copies have documented that hypothesis. Fourteen or fifteen fragmentary manuscripts, all in Hebrew, offer small segments of the text from many different passages in the book.⁴ No one, so far as I am aware, has claimed the Ethiopic version rests directly on the Hebrew text. All experts have recognized that a Greek

¹ See, for example, VanderKam, "Authoritative Literature in the Dead Sea Scrolls," *DSD* 5 (1998): 382–402; idem, "Questions of Canon Viewed Through the Dead Sea Scrolls," in *The Canon Debate* (ed. L. M. McDonald and J. A. Sanders; Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2002), 91–109.

² For a listing of the copies, see VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees* (2 vols.; CSCO 510–11, *Scriptores Aethiopici* 87–88; Louvain: Peeters, 1989), 1.14–16 and, for a description of them, see 2.xviii–xxiv.

³ For a survey of the views of A. Dillmann, R.H. Charles, and others, see VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (HSM 14; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1977), 1–6.

⁴ The complete texts and translations of all of the fragmentary copies can be accessed most readily in Donald Parry and Emanuel Tov, eds., *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, vol. 3: *Parabiblical Texts* (Leiden: Brill, 2005), 38–91.

intermediary version served as the base text for the translation into Ge'ez (and into Latin), as was normally the case for scriptural works in Ethiopia.

The Greek version of Jubilees disappeared long ago, and no copy of it has surfaced in more recent times. But before it passed out of circulation it was used by a number of ancient writers who cited it, at times extensively, usually only briefly.⁵ Patristic and Byzantine authors appealed to Jubilees to supplement their sources regarding events, characters, and words in Genesis-Exodus (and occasionally elsewhere). Scholars have traced lines of transmission through which information from Jubilees passed, for example, from Julius Africanus through the Alexandrian scholars Panodorus and Annianus to Byzantine chronographers.⁶ Another medium by means of which information drawn from Jubilees became available to Christian expositors was the Greek Catena on Genesis. The Catena offered theologians interested in interpreting the sacred text a rich resource for tapping into patristic exegesis and into explanations originating in other sources. It was a kind of exegetical synopsis that presented in a most convenient form the comments that authorities had written regarding the passage at hand. These comments were cited in the margins of the manuscripts that contained the scriptural texts.

The full wealth of the Catena to the first book of the Bible is now more apparent than ever because of Françoise Petit's edition of *La chaîne sur la Genèse: Édition intégrale* I-IV in the series *Traditio Exegetica Graeca*.⁷ Several of the 2270 items included in the edition offer information related in some way to the contents of Jubilees, but the first lines of the last of them—#2270—are the most important

⁵ Several scholars have collected the ancient citations of Jubilees found in Greek sources. The most comprehensive collection and assessment remains H. Rönisch, *Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis* (Leipzig: Fues's Verlag [R. Reisenland], 1874). A convenient publication is A.-M. Denis, "Liber Jubilaeorum," in his *Fragmenta Pseudepigraphorum Graeca* (PVTG 3; Leiden: Brill, 1970), 70–102. They are also gathered and translated in VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*.

⁶ H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, 2/1: *Die Nachfolger des Julius Africanus* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1885), 249–97; for an evaluation and critique of Gelzer's views, see William Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Dumbarton Oaks Studies 26; Washington, DC: Dumbarton Oaks, 1989).

⁷ Louvain: Peeters, 1991–96. For a helpful account of the Catena and the manuscript bases for it, see her "Introduction: Caractères généraux de la chaîne sur la Genèse," 1.xiii–xxxvii.

instance of a new text taken, it seems, from a Greek version of Jubilees, though in the manuscript the material is unattributed. The entire entry appears in the *Catena* ms. Leningrad, Public Library, gr. 124 on 125rA16-B31; lines 1-23 in Petit's edition reproduce much of the wording of Jub 46:6-12a; 47:1 as a commentary on Gen 50:25-26.⁸ Any new textual discoveries from the earlier versions of Jubilees are especially welcome. This essay is concerned with the passage in the *Catena* and its contributions to a better understanding of the text of Jubilees.

The two verses from Genesis are the last ones in the book and read as follows in the Septuagint: "And Ioseph made the sons of Israel swear, saying, 'In the time of the visitation with which God will visit you, you shall also carry up my bones from here together with you.' And Ioseph expired at one hundred ten years of age and they honored him with funeral rites and placed him in the coffin in Egypt."⁹ The Catenist calls upon Jub 46:6-12a; 47:1 to clarify and amplify the situation and wording of the text; he omits Jub 46:12b-16—the verses intervening between 46:6-12a and 47:1—probably because they are a rather close rendering of Exod 1:9-13 and thus would hardly serve usefully as a commentary on Gen 50:25-26.

The verbal correspondence between the Greek text in the *Catena* and the Ge'ez version of Jubilees is so precise that Jubilees is, ultimately, the only likely source for the citation. Yet the Catenist, though he quoted it at some length, borrowed from the text of Jubilees in a selective way. More particularly, the *Catena* citation lacks two features that are characteristic of Jubilees: the extended date formulas—that is, an event happened in a certain year within a certain week of years within a certain jubilee of years—and the literary framework of second-person address to Moses (an angel of the presence reveals the content of Jubilees' rewriting of scripture to Moses). Apart from these missing items that were perhaps thought unhelpful for exegetes, the Catenist quotes the text.

Below I compare word-by-word the *Catena* Greek and the Ethiopic (and Latin where extant) texts for the parallel numbered sections.

⁸ As Petit notes, *La chaîne sur la Genèse*, 4.455. There she also describes the material and sources for lines 24–60.

⁹ The rendering is from Robert J.V. Hiebert, "Genesis," in *A New English Translation of the Septuagint and the Other Greek Translations Traditionally Included Under That Title* (ed. A. Pietersma and B.G. Wright, eds.; New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

are the ones who, he knows, will not bring them out. They, with Jacob's sons, brought out the patriarch's bones (Gen 50:7-9), but in Joseph's case the duty would have to fall on his brothers. Or so the Greek citation suggests. In making the "sons" of Israel the recipient of his oath, Gen 50:25 and Ethiopic Jubilees leave the way open for a broader understanding of those who would be responsible for transfer of the bones.

[3] Jubilees 46:6 (continued): and bury him on the day in the land of Canaan

wa-qabiroto

ba-'elat

ba-medra kanā'an

εις γην χανααν εν ημερα της τελευτης αυτου

The two versions diverge in several ways in this short stretch of text: only the Ethiopic mentions Joseph's burial, it places the reference to the land of Canaan second, and locates an expression involving the word *day* first. The Greek has the opposite order (only Ethiopic ms. 39 has the Greek order). The day-expression is a case in which the Greek citation probably preserves a superior form of the text. The Ethiopic oddly has only "on the day" with no indication of which day or time that might be. Ms. 38 omits ba-'elat altogether, while mss. 21 and 35 preserve a reading that may have arisen to make some sense of the expression: they offer kā'bat = double, doubling, perhaps in the sense of "again." The Greek reads "on the day of his death." It seems the Ethiopic word motu or its Greek or Hebrew forebear dropped out of the text by mistake. Possibly the repeated letters in ביום מותו or the look-alike beginning and end of the Greek phrase της τελευτης caused a problem, but neither would be the triggers for a standard case of parablepsis.

[4] Jubilees 46:6 (continued): since Makamaron, the king of Canaan—while he was living in the land of Asur—fought in the valley

'esma mākamāron neguša kanā'an 'enza yexadder medra 'asur taqātala ba-q'alā

διστι μαχμαρων βασιλευς χανααν

εποιησε πολεμον

The Greek citation here and in [7] below provides the name of the king and uses a form very close to the one in the Ethiopic copies. This is helpful confirmation of his name—one the Ethiopic tradition has

preserved accurately—though his supposed identity or how the name was chosen remains a mystery.¹¹

There is again a notable difference between the versions. First, the Greek has no equivalent for “while he was living in the land of Asur,” and though the Ethiopic text locates the fighting in a valley the Greek here simply mentions the fighting and defers referring to the valley until later in the report (see unit [5] below). The land of Asur has not been securely located but perhaps it is possible to make some progress in identifying it.

The Greek citation mentions a land of Asur neither here nor elsewhere. The commentators on Jubilees pass over the reference in silence because no such place is known, but Jub 13:1 may provide some assistance. There, one learns, “Abram went from Haran and took his wife Sarai, and Lot, the son of his brother Haran, to the land of Canaan. He came to Asur. He walked as far as Shechem and settled near a tall oak tree.” The place name *Asur* here has the same spelling in the Ethiopic text as the toponym in 46:6.¹² Rochus Zuurmond has shown that, using standard transcriptional practices, Ethiopic ḥAsur could represent *Assur* or *Asur*, either of which may be a transliteration of חצור. As a result, the travelers in Jub 13:1 reached the city in the north of Canaan, exactly as one would expect in a journey from Haran to Canaan.¹³

The place name in 46:6 could, therefore, be Hazor as in 13:1. Yet, while the location is a reasonable one in 13:1, in 46:6 it would require that the battle between the two kings took place at a rather northerly locale for a struggle between the monarchs of Canaan and Egypt, although not an impossible one. It is perhaps worth noting here that in Judg 4:2 (see also 4:23, 24 [twice]) a ruler is called “King Jabin of Canaan, who reigned in Hazor.”¹⁴

¹¹ See, for example, R.H. Charles, *The Book of Jubilees or the Little Genesis* (London: Adam and Charles Black, 1902), 246 n., where he indicates he could not identify Makamaron. Klaus Berger considers the possibility that the Egyptian monarch who met his end in the conflict was Ptolemy VI, but it is not clear why one should imagine reflections of the author’s time in a scriptural expansion such as this one. See Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen* (JSHRZ II/3; Gütersloh: Gerd Mohn, 1981), 537 n. a.

¹² Sur in ms. 12; preceded by ḥur wa- in ms. 21; preceded by medra in ms. 38 = the reading of 46:6.

¹³ Zuurmond, “Asshur in Jubilees 13.1?” *JSP* 4 (1989): 87–89.

¹⁴ The Bible refers to several places named Hazor: a place in Benjamin just north of Jerusalem (Neh 11:33); one in Judah (Josh 15:23; cf. v. 25); and one in the Ara-

The motif of a war between Egypt and Canaan as the reason passage between the two places was no longer possible plays a part in 4QVisions of Amram (4Q543-48, 549?). The section appears in several copies of the work, though all of them are highly fragmentary. No copy of the cave 4 text, however, preserves either the name Makamaron or Asur.¹⁵ For the expression “make war” in Greek, see Josh 11:18 for example; the Ethiopic version translates with a single word.

[5] Jubilees 46:6 (continued): with the king of Egypt and killed him there
 mesla neguša gebš wa-qatalo ba-heyya
 μετα του βασιλεως αιγυπτου και εθανατωσεν αυτον εκει εν τη κοιλαδι

The versions agree verbatim apart from the fact that where the Ethiopic text has a somewhat repetitious indication of place the Greek mentions the valley here (it was mentioned in [4] by the Ethiopic). In the scriptural stories about Joseph and the exodus from Egypt, the monarch is frequently called “the king of Egypt” (Gen 37:36; 40:1; 41:45; Exod 1:15, 17, 18; 2:23; 3:18, 19; 5:4; 6:11, 27, 29; etc.).

[6] Jubilees 46:6 (continued): He pursued the Egyptians as far as the gates of Ermon.
 wa-dēganomu dextrēhomu la- gebš 'eska 'anqāša 'ērmon
 και επεδιωξεν οπισω των αιγυπτιων εως των οριων αιγυπτου

The agreement is again complete except for the place name—the point to which the king of Canaan pursued the king of Egypt. The phrase “gates of Ermon” suggests that the pursuit extended to the entrance of a city named Ermon, and the commentators have so understood the passage. Dillmann thought it could be the place called Ηρωων πολις, and Charles, Littmann, and Berger concurred although the names do not appear to be the same.¹⁶ The Greek citation offers a

bian desert (Jer 49:28, 30, 33); but none of them plays a role so prominent as the northern Hazor does.

¹⁵ Parts of the text of the war section survive on five copies—4Q543-47. The texts of 4Q543-49 are conveniently presented one after the other in Parry and Tov, *The Dead Sea Scrolls Reader*, vol. 3 *Parabiblical Texts*, 412-43. The text speaks of a war between Egypt on the one side and Canaan/Philistia on the other and provides more detail, as one might expect, about Amram and his adventures.

¹⁶ August Dillmann, “Das Buch der Jubiläen oder die Kleine Genesis,” *Jahrbücher der Biblischen wissenschaft* 3 (1851): 72, n. 78; Charles, *The Book of Jubilees*, 246, n. 1; E. Littmann, “Das Buch der Jubiläen,” *APAT* 2.114, n. e; Berger, *Das Buch der Jubiläen*, 538, n. 6d. Ηρωων πολις is supposed to be the Hellenistic name for the ancient city of Pithom (see P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [3 vols.; Ox-

different picture: the border of Egypt. The Ethiopic anticipates the references to the gates of Egypt in the sequel (46:7, 11, supported by the Greek in both instances), while the Greek offers a bland and sensible reference to the Egyptian border. The phrase “border of Egypt” is used in Gen 47:21, although the term also functions to designate the entire country, the territory between the boundaries (see Exod 10:4, 14). If the Greek preserves a better form of the text, it is difficult to see how the Ethiopic might have arisen from it.¹⁷

[7] Jubilees 46:7: He was unable to enter because
 wa-se'na bawi'a 'esma
 και ουκ ηδυννηθη μαχμαρων εισελθειν εις αιγυπτον διοτι

Here, too, the Greek specifies the referent of a pronoun while the Ethiopic contents itself with “he.” The Greek also explains that Makamaron was unable to go into Egypt, something not made explicit in the Ethiopic but obvious from the context.

[8] Jubilees 46:7 (continued): another new king ruled Egypt. He was stronger than he
 nagša kālē' ḥaddis neguṣ la-gebṣ wa-xayyala 'emennēhu
 ανεστη βασιλευς ετερος νεος επ αιγυπτον και ενισχυσεν υπερ αυτον

The first verb in the two versions is different. The Greek verb is precisely the one used in the LXX at the base text—Exod 1:8—where the Ethiopic Exodus uses the equivalent *tanše'a*. As a result, the Ethiopic Jubilees has the advantage that it reflects a text independent of the scriptural base, whereas one could accuse the Greek citation of conforming to that base. The verb מלך is used with the subject מלך in Biblical Hebrew (often in 2 Kings as part of a formula, e.g., 8:16, 25; 14:1, 23; Jer 23:5; 37:1). The two versions attest the same two adjectives, though the word order relative to the noun they modify differs. In Ge'ez, “[d]escriptive adjectives normally follow the noun they modify and if placed first, gain a certain emphasis.”¹⁸ The order in the

ford: Clarendon, 1972], 1.177). At least its location in the eastern delta region would be a fitting one for the place to which the Canaanite pursuit would have extended.

¹⁷ É. Puech, the editor of the copies of the Visions of Amram, reads the first part of 4Q544 frg. 1 line 5 as וּאֲחִידוּ גְּבוּלֵי מִצְרַיִם (and the b[orders] of Egypt were closed) and thinks a reading [תִּרְעֵי] is “totalement exclue” (*Qumrân Grotte 4 XXII Textes Araméens Première Partie 4Q529-549* [DJD 31; Oxford: Clarendon, 2001], 322–24 [the quotation is from p. 324]). Plate XVIII supports his reading.

¹⁸ Thomas O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Classical Ethiopic (Ge'ez)* (HSS 24; Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1978), 16.2 (69).

Greek citation is that of Exod 1:8, though “new” is not found there. The word order relative to the noun they modify differs in most Ethiopic manuscripts, but mss. 20 25 35, the best family, actually have the order attested in the Greek. The verb *ισχυω* regularly renders forms of *ἰσῆ* in the HB, and the Ethiopic uses a verb with the same meaning, though it indicates the idea of “than” idiomatically with a comparative and the Greek with *ὑπερ*.

[9] Jubilees 46:7 (continued): so he returned to the land of Canaan and the gates of Egypt were closed
 wa-gab'a medra kanā'an wa-ta'aṣwa 'anāqeṣa geḅṣ
 και εκλεισθησαν αι πυλαι αιγυπτου

The Ethiopic version has an extra clause relative to the Greek. It makes perfectly good sense in the context, but there is no clear way of demonstrating whether it is original to the text of Jubilees. For the second clause, the texts are the same.

[10] Jubilees 46:7 (continued): with no one leaving or entering Egypt
 wa-'albo za-yewaḏde' wa-'albo za-yebawwe' westa geḅṣ
 και ουκ ην ο εισπορευομενος και εκπορευομενος εις αιγυπτου

The texts are the same aside from transposing the verbs: Greek has the order enter-leave; the Ethiopic has leave-enter.¹⁹ In this case it may be that the Ethiopic is preferable because the preposition “into” follows the second verb in both versions but fits only with the verb “enter” which directly precedes it in the Ge'ez text.

[11] Jubilees 46:8: Joseph died in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, during its second year [2242].
 wa-mota yosēf ba-za 'arbe'ā wa-sedestu 'iyobēlewu ba-subā'ē sādes
 ba-kāle' 'āmatu
 και ετελευτησεν ιωσηφ

Here is an instance in which the Greek citation fails to include Jubilees' characteristic way of dating events through a formula involving the jubilee, the week, and the year within the week.

[12] Jubilees 46:8 (continued): He was buried in the land of Egypt
 wa-qabarewwo westa medra geḅṣ
 και εταψαν αυτον εν τη σορω εν αιγυπτω

Both versions have third-person plural active verbs with a direct object (= they buried him) that can express the passive voice. The

¹⁹ Mss. 20 25 38 58 agree with the Greek order.

Greek citation includes a reference to his being buried in a coffin, just as Gen 50:26 does. In fact, it uses the very same word that LXX Genesis employs. Its absence from the Ethiopic is therefore more likely to be original. Ethiopic Jubilees uses the common *medra* (= land of) before *gebṣ* (= Egypt), while the Greek does not.

[13] Jubilees 46:8 (continued): and all his brothers died after him
 wa-motu kwellomu 'axawihu 'em-dexrēhu
 και ετελευτησαν παντες οι αδελφοι αυτου μετ αυτον

The expressions are identical.

[14] Jubilees 46:9 [46:9a is lacking in the citation: “Then the king of Egypt went out to fight with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week, during its second year [2263].”] The Israelites brought out all the bones of Jacob’s sons except the bones of Joseph.
 wa-'awḏe'u weluda 'esrā'el 'a'ṣemtihomu la-weluda yā'qob kwello
 za'enbala' a'ṣemta yosēf
 και εξηνεγκαν οι υιοι ιακωβ τα οστα των υιων ισραηλ παντα παρεκτος
 των οστων ιωσηφ

The only real difference in the two versions is the transposition of the names Jacob/Israel in the two references in the first clause. The phrasing in the Ethiopic text would seem to make more sense because it uses the idiomatic “sons of Israel” for the larger group, reserving the phrase “sons of Jacob” for the biological offspring of Jacob.

[15] Jubilees 46:9 (continued): They buried them in the field, in the double cave in the mountain
 wa-qabarewwo westa gadām westa bo'at za-kā'bat westa
 dabr
 και εθαψαν αυτα εν τω αγρω του σπηλαιου του διπλου εν χειβρων εν τω
 ορει

The Greek expresses clearly the fact that the cave of Machpelah is in Hebron; the Ethiopic has an odd expression: in the field in the cave of Machpelah [= the double cave] in the mountain (see Gen 50:13). The Greek specifies twice that it was in Hebron, here and in the next sentence (note “near Mamre” in Gen 50:13), while the Ethiopic mentions only the mountain here and Hebron in the next verse.

[16] Jubilees 46:10: Many returned to Egypt but a few of them remained on the mountain of Hebron
 wa-gab'u bezuxān westa gebṣ wa-xedāṭān tarfu 'emennēhomu westa
 dabra kēbron

και απεστρεψαν πολλοι εις αιγυπτον και ολιγοι περιλειφθησαν επ αυτων εν τω ορει χεβρων

The versions agree word-for-word.

[17] Jubilees 46:10 (continued): Your father *Amram* remained with them.

wa-tarafa 'abrām 'abuka meslēhomu

και περιλειφθη αμβραμ ο πατηρ μωυσεως μετ αυτων

The Greek here avoids Jubilees' characteristic second-person address to Moses by the angel of the presence, thus showing that the Catenist is adapting the text slightly for the sake of the reader. Note that Ethiopic Jubilees reads 'abrām (hence the italics in the translation above for a correction); the Greek spelling here shows how the two names could easily have been confused. Only an *m* separates them.²⁰

[18] Jubilees 46:11: The king of Canaan conquered the king of Egypt and closed the gates of Egypt.

wa-mo'a neguša kanā'an la-neguša gebṣ wa-'ašawa 'anāqəša gebṣ

και ετροπωσατο βασιλευς χανααν βασιλεα αιγυπτου και απεκλεισε τας πυλας αιγυπτου ο βασιλευς αιγυπτου

The texts are almost the same. The two verbs do not have the same nuances, but both fit within the semantic range of “conquer, subjugate.” The Greek verb has the sense of “to put to flight,” and it renders Hebrew חִנִּיעַ (e.g., Judg 4:23; 2 Sam 8:1; 1 Chr 18:1) and נָגַח (e.g., Judg 20:35, 36, 39; 2 Sam 8:1) in a number of passages. The Ethiopic verb has the senses of “conquer, vanquish, defeat, subdue.”²¹ The Greek citation names the Egyptian king as the subject of the verb “closed”—perhaps to remove the ambiguity left by a shorter text such as the one represented by the Ethiopic reading, which has a pronoun subject of the verb. It could imply that that the king of Canaan did the closing of the gates although it would be possible to understand the king of Egypt as being responsible for the action. See below for the reading of the Latin version in the next clause where it specifies the king of Canaan as subject.

[19] Jubilees 46:12: He conceived an evil plan against the Israelites in order to make them suffer

wa-xallaya xellinā 'ekuya lā'la weluda 'esrā'ēl kama yāḥmemomu

²⁰ See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.302, n. on 46:10 for a summary of the evidence.

²¹ See LSJ; for the Ethiopic verb, see W. Leslau, *Comparative Dictionary of Ge'ez (Classical Ethiopic)* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), 374.

και ελογισατο λογισμους πονηρους επι τους υιους Ισραηλ του κακωσαι
 αυτους
 et cogitavit rex chanaam cogitationem pessimam ut adfligeret eos

The Greek and Ethiopic texts again agree word-for-word, though the Greek uses a plural word for the evil plan and the Ethiopic (and Latin) a singular form. Against the other two, the Latin here lacks the reference to the Israelites though the context suggests it is needed.²² Note that the Latin makes the king of Canaan the subject of “conceived”.

At this point the Catenist does not reproduce Jub 46:12b-16 but jumps forward to 47:1b. As noted earlier, this is the section of Jubilees that closely reproduces Exod 1:9-13.

[20] Jubilees 47:1: your father came from the land of Canaan
 maṣ’a ’abuka ’em-medra kanā’an
 επανελθων δε αμβραμ απο γης χανααν εις αιγυπτον
 aduenit pater suus de terra canaan

Again the Catena phrases the clause in the third person and the Latin, surprisingly, does as well, where Ethiopic Jubilees, true to the setting of the book, resorts to the second person. The Greek, against the other two witnesses, also adds the name Amram where the two versions have a pronoun; it includes “into Egypt” which is not required by the context, is unsupported by the Ethiopic and Latin, and is unlikely to belong to the text of Jubilees.

[21] Jubilees 47:1 (continued): You were born [date formula], which was the time of distress for the Israelites
 wa-tawaladka [+ date formula] za-we’etu mawā’ela mendābē lā’la we-
 luda ’esrā’ēl
 γεννα τον μωυσεα ουτος ην ο καιρος θλιψεως επι τους υιους ισραηλ
 et genuit [+ date formula] hoc est tempus tribulationis super filios is-
 trahel

If one overlooks the date formula and the penchant of the Catenist to rephrase in the third person, the texts are identical. In this case, however, the Latin, oddly enough, also phrases in the third person, though it lacks the name Moses. The Latin can hardly be correct as it conflicts with the consistent pattern in the book, a pattern supported by the Latin elsewhere (see 47:3 where it reverts to the second-person address to Moses).²³

²² See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.302, note to the passage.

²³ See VanderKam, *The Book of Jubilees*, 2.305, n.

The textual variations between the Greek and Ethiopic texts can be classified as follows (the numbers in brackets are those of the sections above).

Noun vs. pronoun

46:6	ιωσηφ / pronominal subject of verb 'amḥalomu	[1]
	τους αδελφους αυτου / -omu	[1]
46:7	μαχμαρων / pronominal subject of verb se'na	[7]
46:11	ο βασιλευς αιγυπτου / pronominal subject of verb - 'aṣawa	[18]

I doubt that in any of these cases the Greek citation preserves a better reading. The desire to name the referents of pronouns is consistent with the nature of a passage in the Catena: it is cited from a source without the larger context of that citation. As a result, the person who placed the passage in the Catena felt the need to be more specific than was necessary when the passage was read in the full context of the Book of Jubilees.

Plus/Minus

46:6	Ethiopic: + wa(-'amḥalomu)	[1]
	Ethiopic +: wa-qabirotu	[3]
	Greek +: της τελευτης αυτου	[3]
	Ethiopic +: 'enza yaxadder medra 'asur	[4]
46:7	Greek + εις αιγυπτον	[7]
	Ethiopic +: wa-gab'a medra kanā'an	[9]
46:9	Greek + εν χεβρων	[15]
47:1	Greek + εις αιγυπτον	[20]

Transposition

46:6	Greek εν χανααν / εν ημερα	[3]
	Greek μετα του βασιλεως αιγυπτου και εθανατωσεν αυτου εκει εν τη κοιλαδι	[4- 5]
46:7	Greek βασιλευς ετερος νεος / kāle' ḥaddis neguš	[8]
	Greek εισπορευομενος / εκπορευομενος	[10]
46:9	Greek ιακωβ / ισραηλ	[14]

Different words

46:6	οριων αιγυπτου / 'anqasa 'ermon	[6]
46:8	τη σορω εν / medra	[12]

The incidences in which the Greek lacks or rewords features that are characteristic of Jubilees—full date formulas and second-person address to Moses—are the following:

Dates

46:8 Greek lacks an equivalent for “in the forty-sixth jubilee, in the sixth week, during its second year” but has the words directly before and after the date. [11]

46:9a Greek lacks not only the date but also the clause that precedes it. Missing is: “Then the king of Egypt went out to fight with the king of Canaan in the forty-seventh jubilee, in the second week, during its second year.” After this the two texts are again parallel.

[14]

47:1a Greek lacks “During the seventh week, in the seventh year, in the forty-seventh jubilee” and then resumes with the same text as in the Ethiopic and Latin versions. [21]

Second-person address

46:10	Greek: ο πατηρ μωυσεως	
	Ethiopic: 'abuka	[17]
47:1	Greek: αμβραμ	
	Ethiopic: 'abuka/ Latin: pater suus	[20]
47:1	Greek: γεννατον μωυσεα	
	Ethiopic: tawaladka	[21]

The failure of the Greek citation to reflect Jubilean characteristics is not surprising, since they might not have served the purposes of exegetes poring over the text of Genesis or rather might have been confusing in the particular setting of the citation. Both kinds of changes are consistent with the fact that the Greek passage is in a *Catena*: the dates were phrased in an unusual manner, and the second-person ad-

dress would have been unclear. Both would have been problematic apart from the fuller context of Jubilees.

Of the actual textual variants, two suggest themselves as superior to the readings adopted in the critical text in my *The Book of Jubilees* and a third could be defended as preferable though I doubt it is.

46:6: the Greek phrase *εν ημερα της τελευτης αυτου* appears where the Ethiopic mss. have only *ba'elat* [3]. Making the reference to the day more precise renders the meaning of the phrase much clearer or, rather, it gives meaning to it. The Ethiopic text is ambiguous: “because he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring him out and bury him *on the day* in the land of Canaan.” Which day did the writer mean? Was it the day of his death or the day of the Exodus or some other day? Though the Ethiopic is undoubtedly the more difficult reading, it is also not meaningful and thus is inferior.

46:7: there are two instances of transpositions, in both of which the Greek order has strong mss. support in the Ethiopic tradition. With the weight of the Greek citation added to its witness, they show, in the first case, the order in the Greek to be the superior one.

βασιλευς επερος νεος [8]: the same word order—*neguš kālē' ḥaddis*—is found in the best family of Ethiopic mss. (20-25-35) and should be adopted in the critical Ethiopic text, although the reversed order would not affect the English translation. Placement of the adjectives before the noun in most Ethiopic copies could have been motivated by a desire to emphasize them.

Greek *εισπορευομενος / εκπορευομενος* [10] offers an order of the two verbs agreeing with mss. 20-25-38-58, that is, again two of the best mss. (20-25). It likewise, one could argue, should be adopted for the Ethiopic text. But in this case the preposition after the second verb—*into*—would be inappropriate following a verb meaning “going out.” For this reason the Ethiopic reading is still preferable, though one could maintain that at some point in the transmission of the text someone noticed the inappropriate preposition and reversed the verbs.

The result of the comparison between the Ethiopic (and in a smaller measure the Latin) text of Jubilees and the Greek citation (#2270) is that the Greek citation, once one subtracts alterations caused by its use in a Catena, furnishes helpful information of two kinds: it supplies two superior readings, and it documents what a careful translation the Ethiopic version is. There are several small

differences, especially in order and in minuses/plusses for which it is difficult to decide which is superior, but the Ethiopic tradition, as nearly as one can investigate the matter, seems to have preserved a reliable text of Jubilees at this place in the narratives about Joseph and the plans for burial of his bones.

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