Felix Albrecht / Frank Feder (eds.)

Editing the Septuagint: The Unfinished Task

Papers presented at the 50th anniversary of the International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies

V&R

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Preface

The Greek translation of the Hebrew (and Aramaic) Old Testament, commonly known as Septuagint, has its origins in Ptolemaic Egypt. According to the "Letter of Aristeas", the Pentateuch was translated in Alexandria during the third century BCE. Since then, Egypt developed into a strongly bilingual country and the Christian mission in Egypt certainly was based on Greek in its beginnings. In the fourth century CE, when Christianity was on firmer ground in Egypt, the Septuagint was also translated into the native Egyptian language, today known as Coptic.[1] The Coptic daughter version of the Septuagint, next to the Old Latin, represents the oldest and text historically the most important of all daughter versions. The intertwined and prolific relation between the Greek and the Coptic Old Testament is now aptly reflected also in the joint ventures of the Göttingen Academy of Sciences and Humanities.

Göttingen was and is the center of Septuagint research. This research is deeply rooted in the 19th century and linked to the notorious Paul Anton de Lagarde (1827–1891).[2] His disciple Alfred Rahlfs (1865–1935) continued Lagarde's work and founded in 1908 a research institution (until 2015) under the name "Septuaginta-Unternehmen".[3] In 2015, a second major long-term project joined the Göttingen Academy, which deals with the translation of the Septuagint into Coptic-Sahidic and aims at preparing a complete digital edition of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament (http://coptot.manuscriptroom.com). Finally, in 2020, the "*Editio critica maior* des griechischen Psalters" started as a new long-term project at the Göttingen Academy (https://septuaginta.uni-goettingen.de). Our two projects – the edition of the Coptic-Sahidic Old Testament and the edition of the Greek Psalter – work closely together, and the present volume is one of the results of our fruitful collaboration.

We are pleased and grateful that this volume appears in the series *Investigationes* "*De Septuaginta*". We wish to thank the editors of the series as well as the anonymous peer-reviewers for their feedback and support. The contributions in this volume go back to a joint panel that we organized as part of the "Society of Biblical Literature" meeting in Denver, Colorado, in November 2018. At this very

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1 Cf. Frank Feder, "1.1.6 The Coptic Canon," in *Textual History of the Bible Vol. 2A The Deuterocanonical Scriptures*, eds. Frank Feder and Matthias Henze (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 213–39.

2 On Lagarde see Heike Behlmer, Thomas L. Gertzen and Orell Witthuhn, eds. *Der Nachlass Paul de Lagarde. Orientalische Netzwerke und antisemitische Verflechtungen*. Europäisch-jüdische Studien – Beiträge 46, Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter Oldenbourg, 2020. Open Access: https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110615463.

3 Reinhard Gregor Kratz and Bernhard Neuschäfer, eds. *Die Göttinger Septuaginta. Ein editorisches Jahrhundertprojekt*. Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen. Neue Folge 22. MSU 30. (Berlin u.a.: De Gruyter, 2013).

meeting, the "International Organization for Septuagint and Cognate Studies" celebrated its 50th Anniversary. Most of the articles have been held as papers at our panel "Göttingen Septuagint: Greek and Coptic", others have been added at a later stage. To commemorate the special event of the panel held in Denver and this particular anniversary we took the opportunity to publish a selection of papers that deal with (1) the Göttingen Editions, and (2) the Hexapla and Recensions of the Septuagint. Since the Corona pandemic caused a certain delay in the editorial process, we are extremely grateful to the authors for their patience: *Domitrix rerum patientia!*

The editors.

Content

I. Göttingen Editions

Anneli Aejmelaeus

Challenges in Preparing the Critical Edition of 1 Samuel

Working on a critical edition – in my case, the critical edition of the Septuagint translation of 1 Samuel – means doing textual criticism on that text, on each and every word and passage of it. The results of this text-critical work will be seen in the critical text, the main text of the edition, which is intended to represent the closest possible approach to the original wording of the book.

In the case of the Septuagint, there are fairly many Greek manuscripts that are used for the reconstruction of the textual history of the book.[1] All these manuscripts as well as the daughter versions and quotations by early Jewish and Christian writers, which are also used as textual witnesses, will be documented in the apparatus of the edition. The critical text cannot however be established solely on the basis of a survey of the textual witnesses, as problematic cases can rarely be solved by building a stemma of the manuscripts. The reason for this is that the manuscripts seldom represent pure copying of a model manuscript, but often several manuscripts were used when preparing a new manuscript. This was already recognized by Paul de Lagarde, who formulated one of his principles like this:[2]

> (1) Since the manuscripts of the Septuagint are all directly or indirectly the result of an eclectic process, any attempt to restore the original text must also proceed on eclectic principles; and the critic must chiefly depend upon (*a*) his [or her] acquaintance with the style of the several translators and (*b*) his [or her] faculty of referring readings to a Semitic original or, when they are not of Semitic origin, recognizing them as corruptions of the Greek archetype.

Lagarde mentions two different sets of criteria: the translation character of the translation in question and the influences from the Hebrew text. These two demand special attention when tackling the problems caused by textual contamination and corruption. Especially the relationship with the Hebrew text plays

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1 The manuscripts available for the First Book of Samuel, with their tentative groupings, are the following (with those only partially preserved in parentheses): B A V (M) (842) (845) (846) (867); *O* = 247-376; *L* = 19-82-93-108-127; *CI* = 98-(243)-379-731; *CII* = 46-52-236-242-313-328-530; *a* = 119-527-799; *b* = 121-509; *d* = 44-68-74-106-107-120-122-125-134-(370)-610; *f* = 56-246; *s* = 64-92-130-314-381-488-489-(762); 29 55 71 158 244 245 318 (342) 460 554 707. As for the group sigla, *O* stands for the Hexaplaric, *L* for the Lucianic, *C* for Catena manuscripts.

2 Lagarde, *Anmerkungen zur griechischen Übersetzung der Proverbien*, 3; translation according to Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek,* 484–6.

a special role in the textual criticism of the Septuagint. Behind the translation there is of course the Hebrew *Vorlage* that at times diverged from the MT, but in addition, the Greek text has been repeatedly approximated to the Hebrew in its different stages, and this makes the textual criticism of the Septuagint different from the textual criticism of any other text.

Thus, text-critical problems cannot be solved by external criteria only, but internal criteria always play an essential role. Nevertheless, it is not an either-or situation. Which one of the existing readings is to be considered most original cannot be decided alone by the suitability of the readings in their context either. The most important question in textual criticism is "what happened to the text?" When answering this question, we actually need to combine, on the one hand, what we know about the textual history of the text (the external criteria), and on the other, the evaluation of the kinds of variants there are and the consideration of the reasons for their emergence (the internal criteria).

During my work on the Greek 1 Samuel, I have made some observations and discoveries concerning the different factors that have been at work in the textual history of this text. This has led me to an understanding of this textual history that differs to some extent from the understanding Rahlfs had of it, and consequently, the critical text of my edition will be different from Rahlfs' edition.

I shall mention four factors or phenomena of textual history that I have discovered to be decisive in establishing the critical text in problematic cases – the translator, the *Vorlage*, Jewish revisional activity, and doublets – and then introduce just a few examples of cases demonstrating how these factors come into play in the text-critical procedure. I have chosen examples in which the forthcoming edition will differ from Rahlfs' edition.[3]

1. The Translator

The *first factor* that needs to be taken into account is naturally the translator.[4] We need to know the characteristic features of his translation style in order to be able to reconstruct his wordings.[5] Various studies have shown that this translator had a fairly strong word-for-word approach to his source text. However, literalism was for him not so much a principle as "an easy technique," as James Barr put it.[6]

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3 The readings found in Rahlfs' manual edition are designated by Ra.

4 For a characterization of the translation, see Wirth, *Die Septuaginta der Samuelbücher*; Aejmelaeus, "The Septuagint of 1 Samuel", 109–129.

5 For the sake of simplicity, I refer to this translator by the masculine pronoun, but of course, this might be false. We simply do not know enough about the persons who translated the various books of the Septuagint.

6 Barr, *The Typology of Literalism in ancient biblical translations*, 26, 50.

Unfortunately, this translator was not quite up to his task. He had great difficulties with some Hebrew words and in many cases simply tried to guess on the basis of the context what the text means (e.g. 1 Sam 30:10, 21 below). If he did not know a certain Hebrew root, he often tried to connect it with another one that has at least some similarity (e.g. 1 Sam 14:32 וַיַּעַט and it rushed upon' from עיט was translated by καὶ ἐκλίθη 'and it turned,' as if from נטה). Several words that have been translated correctly in the Pentateuch were not recognized by this translator (e.g. 1 Sam 15:3, 8 חרם hiph. 'to devote to the ban'), so he was obviously not a learned person who had studied the Pentateuch in both Hebrew and Greek. Time and again he uses transliterations (e.g. 1 Sam 30:8, 15, 23 γεδδούρ for גְּדוּד 'raiding party'; 1 Sam 2:18, 28; 14:3, 18 etc. ἐφούδ for אֵפוֹד 'priestly garment'),[7] which is a clear sign of problems, but also when he uses Greek words, we need to take into consideration that he might have produced a false translation.

On the other hand, this translator did very nice work with verbal forms. Frequent use of the historical present is characteristic of him. He was also able to recognize the past iterative forms in Hebrew. In fact, I learned about the past iterative through this translator: in Hebrew, repeated actions are expressed by the alternation of the perfect consecutive and the imperfect, and this is translated by the Greek imperfect. However, this translator alternates both historical presents and (iterative or durative) imperfects with the aorist to make the discourse livelier (e.g. 1 Sam 2:14 below).[8]

2. The *Vorlage*

The *second factor* is the *Vorlage*, which was oftentimes different from the MT, even more so than generally thought. One fundamental principle in my methodology is that the Greek text must be studied in relation with the Hebrew text. In the course of my editorial work, I have not been able to avoid the conclusion that the MT has been deliberately edited at a fairly late stage of the textual history, in any case later than the translation, which I would date to the second half of the 2nd century BCE.[9] In many cases it is possible to show the theological

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7 Please, note that the former example of transliteration is based on confusion between *daleth* and *resh*, which suggests that the false transliteration originated with the translator.

8 For a more detailed discussion, see Wirth, "Das *Praesens Historicum* in den griechischen Samuelbüchern," and Wirth "Dealing with Tenses in the *Kaige* Section of Samuel."

9 Certain linguistic features in the translation of 1 Samuel suggest that it was made clearly later than the translation of the Torah, which can be dated to the 3rd century BCE (see Lee, *A Lexical Study of the Septuagint Version of the Pentateuch*, 140–144). As for an *ante quem* date, the Greek text of Samuel was possibly known to the translator of Sirach, see Aejmelaeus, "When Did the Books of Samuel Become Scripture?," 263–81 (esp. 268).

or ideological motivation behind the changes of the Hebrew text.[10] The Septuagint thus often witnesses to a more ancient form of the text of 1 Samuel.

That the *Vorlage* often differed from the MT was taken into consideration already by Paul de Lagarde, who formulated another one of his principles accordingly:[11]

> (2) Where the critic has to make a choice between two readings, he [or she] will do well to prefer (*a*) a free translation to one which is slavishly exact, and (*b*) a translation based upon another Hebrew text to one which represents the MT.

It is important to take into account that the Septuagint may represent another Hebrew text – not only because one or the other Hebrew text was corrupted, but because the MT was later on changed – and that the revisers often corrected the Greek text in cases like these.

3. Jewish revisional activity

The *third factor* to be mentioned concerns revisions of the Greek text. It is well known that the textual history of the Septuagint includes two Christian recensions: the Hexaplaric and the Lucianic.[12] This was already known to Lagarde and Rahlfs, but what they did not know, is that there had been Jewish revisional activity on this Greek text early on.[13] In certain problematic cases Rahlfs might have suspected that there had been pre-hexaplaric revision, but he had no proof of it. In this respect, our generation is in a better position to solve textual problems in the Books of Samuel – and elsewhere. The discovery of the Naḥal Ḥever Minor Prophets scroll and Dominique Barthélemy's interpretation of it have made it clear that the Greek text of the Septuagint was revised by Jewish scholars and that traces of this so-called *kaige* revision are found in certain sections of Samuel-Kings in *Codex Vaticanus* (B) and the majority of other witnesses as well as in the B text of Judges – to mention just the most important for my inquiry.[14]

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10 For editorial activity on the Hebrew text, see Aejmelaeus, "Was Samuel Meant to Be a Nazirite?"

11 According to the translation of Swete, *Introduction*, 189–90. See above note 2.

12 "Recension" is a traditional term used for a new, systematically revised edition of the Septuagint text. The term "revision" is used when referring to more sporadic revision or approximation to the Hebrew text.

13 Aejmelaeus, "What Rahlfs Could not Know: 1 Sam 14,4–5 in the Old Greek."

14 Barthélemy, *Les devanciers d'Aquila,*. For the final edition of the revised Minor Prophets Scroll, see Tov, *The Greek Minor Prophets Scroll from Naḥal Ḥever*.

My discovery is that there are traces of Jewish revisional activity also in 1 Samuel.[15]

Revision that clearly conforms to the *kaige* translation philosophy was recognized by Barthélemy in the second half of 2 Samuel.[16] Similar variants are, however, also sporadically found in 1 Samuel, showing that there probably existed a *kaige* revision for 1 Samuel as well and that this has had an influence on the manuscript tradition of the Old Greek, especially on the B text (*Codex Vaticanus* and the accompanying minuscules 121–509 as well as Aeth). Several examples below illustrate the effects of this phenomenon on the textual history of 1 Samuel.

4. Doublets

One more *text-historical factor* remains to be presented. The *earliest* layer of corrections in 1 Samuel – earlier than the *kaige*-type corrections – resulted in numerous *doublets* that consist of the Old Greek translation of a word, a phrase or a short passage and its correction. The secondary part of the doublet, the formulation considered to be more accurate, must have been first added to the margin of a manuscript from where it slipped into the text, sometimes before the Old Greek counterpart, sometimes after it, and sometimes at a different location. These doublets mark the earliest phase of the textual history attested in the manuscripts, as they are present in practically every manuscript. These early corrections do not always show translation features that would connect with the *kaige* translation style but there always seems to have been some detail that called for correction.[17]

5. Examples

I shall begin by introducing a case with early Jewish revisional readings, an example that I have discussed on many occasions, but one that is worth repeating because it shows the connection with other exemplars of *kaige*.[18]

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15 Aejmelaeus, "*Kaige* Readings in a Non-*Kaige* Section in 1 Samuel." The phenomenon was initially discussed in Aejmelaeus, "David's Return to Ziklag: A Problem of Textual History in 1 Sam 30:1."

16 Barthélemy accepted the definition of this section as 2 Sam 11:2 – 1 Kings 2:11 by Thackeray, "The Greek Translation of the Four Books of Kings." The beginning was shown to lie more probably at 2 Sam 10:6 by Wirth, "Dealing with Tenses in the *Kaige* Section of Samuel."

17 See also Aejmelaeus, "Where Do Doublets Come from? A Problem of the Septuagint of 1 Samuel."

18 See Aejmelaeus, "A Kingdom at Stake," 362–4; Aejmelaeus, "Does God Regret? A Theological Problem that Concerned the *Kaige* Revisors."

(1) *1 Sam 15:11 – early revisional readings*

נִחַ֕מְתִּי כִּֽי־הִמְלַ֥כְתִּי אֶת־שָׁא֖וּל לְמֶ֑לֶךְ

Μεταμεμέλημαι ὅτι ἔχρισα τὸν Σαοὺλ εἰς βασιλέα

μεταμεμέλημαι] μεταμέλημαι V 46*-313 55* 71 460; μεταμέλομαι *d* 554; παρακέκλημαι
B A 247 93ᵐᵍ-108ᵐᵍ 121*(vid) Ra: cf MT; παρακέκληκέ με 376(-καί με) |
om ὅτι ἔχρισα A | ἔχρισα] ἐβασίλευσα B *O L b* 244 460 Ra = MT |
θ′ παρακέκλημαι σ′ μετεμελήθην 243-731(s nom)

This is the message that Samuel receives concerning Saul: God has rejected Saul
saying, "I regret having anointed Saul to be king." There are two different kinds
of corrections in this example. In the first one, the Hebrew verb נחם *niph.* 'to
regret,' has been correctly translated in the Old Greek by μεταμέλομαι but this
was changed to παρακαλοῦμαι which corresponds to the meaning of the Hebrew
verb in *pi.* 'to comfort,' and more precisely, to its passive in *niph.* 'to be comfort-
ed.' The change produces a concordant translation of the Hebrew verb with the
same Greek verb in all its different forms, although the context demands anoth-
er equivalent. The resulting text is hardly comprehensible. The same change is
found in the *kaige* section of 2 Samuel (24:16) as well as in the Minor Prophets
scroll from Naḥal Ḥever (Jonah 3:9 and 10). There is, however, more at stake
here, and I shall come back to this example.

The second case is a simpler one. There was a difference in the Hebrew text:
the *Vorlage* of the Old Greek contained the verb משׁח 'to anoint,' whereas the MT
has been changed to 'to appoint to be king' (cf. the parallel 15:35). In these two
cases as well as elsewhere in 1 Samuel, the main witness for the pre-hexaplaric
corrections is *Codex Vaticanus*, accompanied by the other representatives of the
B text (*b* [= 121-509]) and a few other manuscripts, and so these secondary read-
ings have ended up in all editions of the Greek text, including Rahlfs, but will be
corrected in the forthcoming critical edition.

The following example reveals one of those early doublets that occur in
practically all the manuscripts. In a way, they too represent early revisional
activity.

(2) *1 Sam 4:14–16 – an early doublet*

וַיִּשְׁמַ֤ע עֵלִי֙ אֶת־ק֣וֹל הַצְּעָקָ֔ה וַיֹּ֕אמֶר מֶ֛ה ק֥וֹל הֶהָמ֖וֹן הַזֶּ֑ה וְהָאִ֣ישׁ מִהַ֔ר וַיָּבֹ֖א וַיַּגֵּ֥ד לְעֵלִֽי׃
¹⁵ וְעֵלִ֕י בֶּן־תִּשְׁעִ֥ים וּשְׁמֹנֶ֖ה שָׁנָ֑ה וְעֵינָ֣יו קָ֔מָה וְלֹ֥א יָכ֖וֹל לִרְא֑וֹת׃ ... ¹⁶וַיֹּ֨אמֶר הָאִ֜ישׁ אֶל־עֵלִ֗י

¹⁴καὶ ἤκουσεν Ηλι τὴν φωνὴν τῆς βοῆς <u>καὶ εἶπεν Τίς ἡ βοὴ τῆς φωνῆς ταύτης; καὶ</u>
<u>ὁ ἄνθρωπος σπεύσας εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ Ηλι.</u> ¹⁵καὶ Ηλι υἱὸς ἐνενήκοντα
ἐτῶν, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔβλεπεν· <u>καὶ εἶπεν Ηλι τοῖς</u>
<u>ἀνδράσιν τοῖς περιεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ Τίς ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἤχους τούτου;</u> ¹⁶<u>καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ</u>
<u>σπεύσας προσῆλθεν πρὸς Ηλι</u> καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ... (Rahlfs)

Reading the Greek text according to Rahlfs' edition, we can see that the parts of text underlined (either dashed or waved) form a doublet, but their formulation is not identical. If we take out the part with waved underlining, we get a text that corresponds to the MT. If we take out the part with dashed underlining, we get a text that has about the same content but differs from the MT in the order of the text and in its wording. The latter alternative obviously represents the Old Greek, which is also based on a slightly different *Vorlage*. The part with dashed underlining must have been added to the margin as a corrective to approximate the Greek text to the Hebrew proto-MT. When the text was copied, the marginal reading was inserted into the text by a scribe, who obviously understood that it belonged there.

Since the doublets are secondary elements in the Greek text – even if they are witnessed by practically all manuscripts – they will not appear in the main text of the critical edition.[19] The critical text and apparatus will thus look like this:

[14] καὶ ἤκουσεν Ἡλὶ τὴν φωνὴν τῆς βοῆς. † – [15] καὶ Ἡλὶ υἱὸς ἐνενήκοντα ἐτῶν, καὶ οἱ ὀφθαλμοὶ αὐτοῦ ἐπανέστησαν, καὶ οὐκ ἔβλεπεν. – καὶ εἶπεν Ἡλὶ τοῖς ἀνδράσιν τοῖς περιεστηκόσιν αὐτῷ Τίς ἡ φωνὴ τοῦ ἤχου τούτου; [16] καὶ ὁ ἀνὴρ σπεύσας προσῆλθεν πρὸς Ἡλὶ καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ …

14 fin] add † καὶ εἶπεν Τίς ἡ φωνὴ τῆς βοῆς ταύτης; καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος σπεύσας εἰσῆλθεν καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν τῷ Ἡλί omn codd La[115] Sa Aeth Arm Ra = MT: dupl ex [15–16] ⟦ om καὶ [1] – βοῆς V: homoiotel | ἡ φωνὴ τῆς βοῆς] φωνὴ τῆς ἀκοῆς 82; ἡ βοὴ τῆς φωνῆς B *O* 799 509 106-107-125-610 55 244 La[115] Ra | ταύτης] αὕτη 19 | σπεύσας] ἔσπευσεν καὶ 29 | εἰσῆλθεν La[115]] ἦλθε 106 381 | καὶ ἀπήγγειλεν] καὶ ἀνήγγειλε(ν) V 731 74; om καί 158 | om τῷ 509 | Ἡλί] Ἡλεί B A 247 *L*[–93] 98′ 46′-242′ *b f* 48′ 29 244 460 554 707⟧

This is one of the types of cases in which my critical text goes behind the archetype from which all our manuscripts derive. Another kind of case reaching beyond the manuscript witness can be observed in the following example.

(3) *1 Sam 15:28 – early corruption and reconstruction of a more original text*

קָרַע יְהוָה אֶת־מַמְלְכוּת יִשְׂרָאֵל מֵעָלֶיךָ הַיּוֹם

Διέρρηξεν Κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐπὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐκ χειρός σου σήμερον

σου ἐπί scripsi] σου ἀπό B A *O L b d f* 55 554 Aeth Luc *Par* 4 *Reg* 2; ἀπό *CII* 64 *s* 244 460 Aug *CD* 17,7,9; > V *CI a* 381 29 71 158 245 318 707 Aug *Leg* 1,42 Isid *I Reg* 17,8 Tert *Marc* 2,24,7 Ra = MT | om Ἰσραήλ V 799

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19 In the case of doublets that include a transliteration by the translator and a correction that explains the meaning of the word in question, for the sake of readability of the text, the secondary part may appear in square brackets.

Vorlage: ממלכתך על ישראל מידך

Cf. 1 Sam 28:17 καὶ διαρρήξει Κύριος τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἐκ χειρός σου
and 1 Sam 13:13 τὴν βασιλείαν σου ἕως αἰῶνος ἐπὶ Ἰσραήλ

In this case the majority of the manuscripts (among others, the B text as well as the Hexaplaric and the Lucianic texts) have the preposition ἀπό which is an inner-Greek corruption that actually makes no sense ("your kingdom *from* Israel *out of* your hand"). Rahlfs follows those manuscripts that have an omission in accordance with the MT ("the kingdom *of* Israel *from* you"). The *Vorlage* must have had something different – "your kingdom *over* Israel" – and the MT has been changed here as well as partially also in the parallel cases 13:13 and 28:17.[20]

The following is a case that puzzled me from the very beginning of my work on 1 Samuel. Its solution requires familiarity with the translator's style as well as with the manuscript groups.

(4) *1 Sam 2:14 – an appropriate translation and subsequent revisions*[21]

וּבָא נַעַר … וְהַמַּזְלֵג שְׁלֹשׁ־הַשִּׁנַּיִם בְּיָדוֹ׃ [14]וְהִכָּה בַכִּיּוֹר …

καὶ ἤρχετο τὸ παιδάριον… καὶ κρεάγρα τριόδους ἐν τῇ χειρὶ αὐτοῦ· [14]καὶ καθῆκεν αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν λέβητα τὸν μέγαν…

καὶ καθῆκεν] pr καὶ ἐπάταξεν 509; καὶ καθίει *L*; καὶ καθῆκαν 158; κεκράτηκεν *d*⁻⁶⁸′(mend); καὶ ἐπάταξεν B A *f* Ra: cf MT; καὶ ἐπάταξαν 121 68′; καὶ ἐπάτασσεν *O* = MT; *et iecit* Aeth; *et mittebat* La¹¹⁵

This is part of the description of the misconduct of the sons of Eli, something that occurred repeatedly in connection with sacrificial meals, and for this reason the verbal forms are mainly those used for iterative past action: in Hebrew the perfect consecutive and imperfect; in Greek the imperfect.

In this case, the translator has done a good job choosing a contextually fitting verb καθίημι 'to send down,' 'to let down,' (rarely also) 'to strike down.' The aorist – among the chain of imperfects – was used to express abrupt movement.

Among the alternative readings, there are different forms (aorist and imperfect) from two different verbs πατάσσω and καθίημι of which the former is the standard equivalent for נכה *hiph*. The translator certainly knew this verb and often used the standard rendering for it, but he chose to use here a verb that is

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20 The MT reads at 1 Sam 13:13 אֶת־הַמַּמְלָכָה מִיָּדְךָ and at 28:17 אֶת־מַמְלַכְתְּךָ אֶל־יִשְׂרָאֵל עַד־עוֹלָם. For a more thorough argument, see Aejmelaeus, "A Kingdom at Stake," 359–61.

21 This example has been previously discussed in Aejmelaeus, "The Septuagint of 1 Samuel," 138, and Aejmelaeus, "*Kaige* Readings in a Non-*Kaige* Section in 1 Samuel," 170–72.

more appropriate in the context.[22] The changes of the verb and of the tense that we have among the variants are clearly intentional, whereas the alternation of singular and plural and the spelling error κεκράτηκεν (καί → κε-; καθῆκεν → -κράτηκεν) were most probably unintentional.

The emergence of the different readings can only be explained, if καθῆκεν is taken as the original reading. It is represented by the majority of manuscripts, and in a sense, the Lucianic text also participates in this reading, but out of stylistic reasons, that one aorist among several imperfects was changed by the Lucianic reviser to the imperfect καθίει. It would be impossible to reconstruct the development the other way around, presupposing that καθίει was original.

There has been plenty of discussion on the position of the Lucianic text in the textual history of the Books of Samuel. It is true that the Lucianic recension is based on a good old text, but it is also clear that this text has recensional features, in particular, changes meant to improve the Greek language and style.[23]

But where did the reading ἐπάταξεν come from? It is the standard rendering of the Hebrew verb, and thus, it clearly represents an approximation to the Hebrew text, correcting a free rendering. It is typical that this reading is found in *Codex Vaticanus* (B) and just a few other manuscripts, the accompanying minuscules 121 and 509 showing minor variations. Other manuscripts following the B text in this reading are A and *O*: A having ἐπάταξεν and the *O* group (= 247-376) an analogous change to the imperfect as the Lucianic text). A and *O* were recognized by Rahlfs to be Hexaplaric.[24] In this case, Rahlfs did not however see any Hexaplaric influence but considered ἐπάταξεν to be part of the original translation. From my viewpoint, any form of πατάσσω is here secondary, but neither do I consider it to be Hexaplaric. Why not? The Hexaplaric recension is known for its approximations to the Hebrew text – not, however, for approximations of this kind. Origen's main interest was in the plusses and minuses between the Greek and the Hebrew texts and not in translation equivalents. It is also worth noting that the B text does not contain any of the characteristically Hexaplaric plusses.

How did it happen then that the B text and the Hexaplaric witnesses agree in a secondary reading against the great majority of witnesses? The only possible explanation is that Origen knew and used a manuscript that represented the B text.[25] Thus, the B text must have been in existence around 200 CE. It is my theory that

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22   In the case of נכה *hiph.* the most common rendering is naturally πατάσσω, but there are – in addition to καθίημι – several alternative renderings (πλήσσω 4:2; 5:12; τύπτω 11:11; 17:36; 27:9; 31:2; παίω 13:4; ἐκχέω 5:6; θανατόω 17:35; 20:33; ἀποκτείνω 17:46).

23   More examples can be found in Aejmelaeus, "Textual History of the Septuagint and the Principles of Critical Editing", 160–79 (esp. 167–71).

24   Rahlfs in fact includes A in the group siglum *O*.

25   This was maintained already by Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek*, 487. Rahlfs, *Septuaginta-Studien I–III*, 101, suggests that B was "cum grano salis die Vorlage des Origenes."

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the B text is the *first Christian edition* of the Biblical text from Alexandria – an edition characterized by its adoption of early Jewish corrections.[26]

Origen obviously knew different manuscripts of the Septuagint, and comparing them, he, of course, preferred readings that were closer to the Hebrew text, believing to recover in this way the genuine Septuagint. Readings that Origen picked up from different manuscripts for his fifth column were by definition pre-Hexaplaric, and he naturally did not mark them in any way.

If we now compare our first example 1 Sam 15:11 with this one, we can see that the Hexaplaric recension is following the B text in both cases there too: (1) in the first case, the corrective παρακέκλημαι is found in A 247 and also in 376 in an erroneous form, and (2) in the second case, the corrective ἐβασίλευσα is found in the *O* group whereas A has an omission. Outside of these two groups, the B text and the Hexaplaric text, the distribution of these readings is not very wide.

It is also interesting to see how the Lucianic text behaves in these cases. (1) In the first case, the Lucianic text witnesses the original reading μεταμεμέλημαι. (2) In the second case, however, the approximation to the Hebrew ἐβασίλευσα is also found in the Lucianic text. The pre-Hexaplaric corrections must have been known to the Lucianic reviser, but he did not very often decide for these literal sometimes even Hebraistic renderings. Of the three cases we have seen, the Lucianic text once had the original Old Greek, once a stylistic improvement, and once the early approximation to the Hebrew text. The following two examples will reveal how the Lucianic text sometimes prefers the original longer reading, sometimes decides against such a reading – probably in the interest of the readability of the text.

(5) *1 Sam 1:13 – omission of a genuine Septuagint reading
resulting from omission in the MT*

וְקוֹלָהּ לֹא יִשָּׁמֵעַ
καὶ φωνὴ αὐτῆς οὐκ ἠκούετο· καὶ εἰσήκουσεν αὐτῆς Κύριος.
καί 2° – Κύριος] > B A *O b f* 55 245 707ᵗˣᵗ Aeth Sa Compl Ra = MT
Vorlage: וישמע אליה יהוה
Cf. Gen 30:22 וַיִּשְׁמַע אֵלֶיהָ אֱלֹהִים καὶ ἐπήκουσεν αὐτῆς ὁ θεός

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26 The B text does not seem to have had a direct contact with the Hebrew, from which follows that the *kaige*-type readings were most probably excerpted from an actual *kaige* manuscript. Moreover, the B text used by Origen had to be a Christian text, otherwise he would not have used it to "heal" the text of the Church. For a more detailed discussion, see Aejmelaeus, "*Kaige* Readings in a Non-*Kaige* Section in 1 Samuel," 182–84; Aejmelaeus, "Textual History of the Septuagint and the Principles of Critical Editing," 172–75; and Aejmelaeus, "Hexaplaric Recension and Hexaplaric Readings in 1 Samuel."

Hannah was praying silently at the sanctuary in Shilo. "Her voice was not heard, but" – according to the Greek text – "the Lord heard her." This sentence was obviously inspired by the story of Rachel, who was also suffering from childlessness. The borrowing must however have happened in Hebrew, because the formulation in Greek is different from Gen 30:22. The longer text must have been present in the *Vorlage* – probably representing the original wording of the Hebrew text. It was removed from the MT by an editor who made several changes in the birth-story of Samuel, obviously with the aim to make Hannah's vow appear illegitimate.[27] Comparison of the Greek text with the shorter Hebrew text led to the omission of the sentence from those Greek manuscripts that witness the early Jewish corrections – that is, the B text followed by a few other manuscripts – and this reading was picked up by Origen for the Hexapla, because it was in harmony with his Hebrew text. Again, omitting parts of the traditional text was not a feature of the Hexaplaric recension, but a typical feature of the *kaige* revision. The longer text no doubt belongs to the critical text.

(6) *1 Sam 15:29 – a partial omission of a Septuagint reading*
according to a shorter Hebrew text

לֹא יְשַׁקֵּר וְלֹא יִנָּחֵם כִּי לֹא אָדָם הוּא לְהִנָּחֵם

καὶ οὐκ ἀποστρέψει (4QSamª ישוב) οὐδὲ μετανοήσει,

ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἄνθρωπός ἐστιν τοῦ μετανοῆσαι·

αὐτὸς ἀπειλήσει καὶ οὐκ ἐμμενεῖ·[28]

αὐτὸς – ἐμμενεῖ cf. Aug *CD* 17,7 (*ipse minatur et non permanet*)] pr αὐτός 554: dittogr; αὐτός B A *O b*-121mg *d*-44 Ra; ⲛⲧⲟϥ ⲉϥⲛⲁϭⲱⲛⲧ (≈ αὐτὸς ἀπειλήσει) Sa; *quia ipse iratus est* Aeth; om αὐτός V 245 707; > *L* 44 La^M = MT

Vorlage? ההוא אמר ולא יקימנה

Cf. Num 23:19 הַהוּא אָמַר וְלֹא יַעֲשֶׂה וְדִבֶּר וְלֹא יְקִימֶנָּה

αὐτὸς εἴπας οὐχὶ ποιήσει; λαλήσει καὶ οὐχὶ ἐμμενεῖ;

This example reveals a categorical statement that God does not regret or change his mind like human beings do. In a negative statement, the verb μετανοέω seems to pose no problem. But there is a problem with the following sentence, beginning with αὐτός. In fact, in Rahlfs' edition, the verse ends with the word αὐτός. As usual, Rahlfs follows in this reading *Codex Vaticanus* B which is accompanied by 121-509 (= *b*; except for 121mg that has the longer text) as well as A and *O* and the *d* group (with the exception of 44). This group of manuscripts – main-

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27 This thesis is discussed in Aejmelaeus, "Was Samuel Meant to Be a Nazirite?"

28 For a more thorough discussion, see Aejmelaeus, "A Kingdom at Stake." 362–4. See also Aejmelaeus, "Does God Regret? A Theological Problem that Concerned the *Kaige* Revisers," 41–53.

ly familiar from the previous examples – makes a partial omission, leaving the pronoun αὐτός in its place – as proof of the omission! The Lucianic text (with manuscript 44 coinciding) leaves out the whole sentence including αὐτός.[29] It is possible that the Lucianic reviser made the omission, because he found the sentence hardly comprehensible to those listening to the reading in his Christian community.

No doubt, the longer text is original in the Septuagint – and thus part of the critical text. It is present in the majority of the Greek witnesses and is supported by several daughter versions (Aeth, Sa, La through Aug *CD*). For some reason, it is not represented in the MT, although it must have been in the *Vorlage* of the Septuagint. The formulation is somewhat puzzling. No one would add a sentence like this, but omitting it is understandable. Essential for its interpretation is that it is a question, which underlines the unchangeableness of God's decisions, in this case the decision to reject Saul: "Should he threaten and not keep it?"[30]

The fact that αὐτός was left in its place in the group of manuscripts that witness the *kaige*-type corrections shows indisputably that the longer text is primary. Comparing the longer Greek text with the shorter Hebrew text, it was perhaps not so easy to see which words should be omitted. Whether the error originated with the *kaige* reviser, or with the scribe behind the B text who decided to adopt the shorter reading while copying the text, is impossible to know for sure – however, I find the latter more plausible.

Since I mentioned that the translator was not quite up to his task, I have to present a case where he made an error and this error was corrected by those early Jewish revisors.

(7) *1 Sam 30:21 – an erroneous translation and its correction*

וַיָּבֹא דָוִד אֶל־מָאתַיִם הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר־פִּגְּרוּ׀ מִלֶּכֶת׀ אַחֲרֵי דָוִד

Καὶ παραγίνεται Δαυὶδ πρὸς τοὺς διακοσίους ἄνδρας τοὺς ὑπολειφθέντας τοῦ πορευθῆναι ὀπίσω Δαυίδ

ὑπολειφθέντας] ἀπολειφθέντας *L*⁻⁹³; ἐκλυθέντας B A *O b* Sa Ra = MT |
πορευθῆναι] πορεύεσθαι B A *a b* 64′ 342 460

When chasing after the Amalekites, David had divided his troops and left 200 men behind. When he comes back to them, the Hebrew text refers to these men as those "who were too exhausted to go after David." The translator made a contextual guess: "who were left behind to go after David," giving the impression

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29 Manuscript 44 probably follows the shorter text of the *d* group but leaves out the otiose pronoun, thus coinciding with the Lucianic reading.

30 If not understood as a question, it must be connected with the human being: "He threatens and does not keep."

that they were to follow David later. The Hebrew verb used here, פגר pi. 'to be exhausted,' is a rare word, occurring only here and earlier in v. 10 of the same chapter. The translator obviously did not know the word and made a different contextual guess in each case.

At the first occurrence in v. 10, the translator rendered אֲשֶׁר פִּגְּרוּ מֵעֲבֹר אֶת־נַחַל הַבְּשׂוֹר as οἵτινες ἐκάθισαν πέραν τοῦ χειμάρρου τοῦ Βοσόρ. Instead of "too weary to cross the brook," the Greek text says, "remained on the other side of the brook," which does not change the story too much, but is in fact a false rendering. For v. 10, no correction has been transmitted,[31] but in v. 21 we find ἐκλυθέντας (from ἐκλύω pass. 'to become weary') in a group of manuscripts already familiar to us: B and A and the groups *O* and *b*. It seems that this alteration caused another change in the following infinitive, at least in B A *b*: the verb "to become weary" seems to function better with the infinitive in the present πορεύεσθαι, but not all manuscripts follow the same pattern, due to the eclectic nature of most of the manuscripts. Rahlfs' edition follows the revised text in the participle but not in the infinitive.

The critical text is ὑπολειφθέντας, and ἐκλυθέντας reflects early *kaige*-type approximation to the Hebrew text. The readings of the Three that have been transmitted for these cases confirm that the correction is pre-Hexaplaric.[32]

6. Conclusion

With these few examples from the text of 1 Samuel I have tried to give a glance at the kinds of text-historical problems that an editor of the critical text of a book like the Book of Samuel needs to deal with. I have concentrated on cases that exemplify the new text-historical insights and the methodology used to unravel problem cases that are largely related to the idiosyncrasies of the translator, to early revisional history, and/or to differences of the *Vorlage* in comparison to the later proto-MT.

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31 Nevertheless, the readings of the Three have been transmitted for 1 Sam 30:10: α′ οἳ ἠτόνησαν σ′ ἠδυνάτησαν θ′ ἀπενάρκησαν 243-731(s nom).

32 The readings of the Three for 1 Sam 30:21 are slightly different from those for the parallel verse: α′ οἳ ἐπτωματίσθησαν σ′ ἀτονήσαντας θ′ ἀποναρκήσαντας 243-731(s nom).

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