

SHORT GOLIATH

The Old Greek and the Masoretic Text in 1 Samuel 17-18

A Thesis

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ABBREVIATIONS

1QSam	The Samuel manuscript found in Qumran cave I
4QSam ^a	The "a" manuscript of Samuel found in Qumran cave IV
BDAG	Bauer, Danker, Arndt, and Gingrich's <i>A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament</i>
BDB	Brown, Driver, and Briggs' <i>A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament</i>
MT	Masoretic Text
NETS	<i>A New English Translation of the Septuagint</i>
NRSV	<i>New Revised Standard Version</i>
OG	Old Greek

INTRODUCTION

The story of David and Goliath is among the most loved of all Bible stories. It is ubiquitous in our culture, from being a staple of children's Sunday school curricula to being employed as a popular and poignant metaphor for the struggle of the disadvantaged against a seemingly invincible foe. It is a prime example of a passage which is valued much more for its affective qualities than for its scholarly nuances.

Yet very few readers are aware that there is a fascinating textual situation underlying this beloved story which defies any easy explanation. The Old Greek¹ (OG) text of the David and Goliath pericope, which is comprised of 1 Samuel 17-18², is dramatically shorter than the version found in the Hebrew Masoretic Text (MT), which is the basis for most translations of the Hebrew scriptures. The most noteworthy instance is the absence of any Greek text corresponding to the Hebrew of verses 12-31 of the seventeenth chapter. The differences in this section are not a consequence of translation style or occasional, accidental omissions. Rather, significant portions of the story are missing in the OG.

The missing text contains nothing which most readers would consider central to

1. The term "Old Greek" is used in lieu of "Septuagint" or "LXX" throughout this work. This will help avoid confusion in the meaning of the term "Septuagint," which can mean anything from "any Hebrew scriptures in Greek" to only "the Pentateuch in Greek." Here "Old Greek" includes all of the Hebrew scriptures which were produced in Alexandria and excludes later efforts such as the recensions of Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian.

2. 1 Kingdoms in the OG. The Hebrew titles of books of scripture are utilized in this work.

the story. Two different readers could approach the text, one in Hebrew and one in Greek, and still come away with the same basic impression of the story. Yet there are quite a few details which are lost in the Greek version.

Beyond the purely inquisitive desire to know how these texts came to be so different, this case has text critical implications. Typically, when a translation is strikingly different than its *Vorlage*, the variation was written off as the result of poor translation practices and is not given much (if any) weight in textual criticism. However, as with the whole of textual criticism of the Hebrew scriptures, the oldest extant copies of the OG are centuries older than the oldest extant copies of the MT. Additionally, thanks to historical sources, we can ascertain the general time period in which the books of the OG were translated. All of them were apparently finished before the birth of Jesus of Nazareth. Therefore we know that the OG represents a much older direct textual witness to the Hebrew text than does the MT. So textual differences in the OG are quite important for the textual criticism of the Hebrew scriptures.

The implications for Hebrew textual criticism are interesting, because it is likely that the MT of 1 Samuel 17-18 is longer than the Hebrew *Vorlage* from which the OG was translated. If that were the case, it could be that the MT represents some editorial addition to the David and Goliath story, or perhaps a conflation of two (or more) different versions of the pericope, only one of which is represented in the OG. Conversely, it could be that the *Vorlage* was shortened by an editor prior to the translation of the OG. So a solution to this problem must be found if the earliest text of the story is sought.

Another important aspect of this problem is that the dramatic differences between

the OG and MT are localized in only two chapters of the books of 1 and 2 Samuel. In other books of the OG, there are significant divergences from extant Hebrew copies. However, these tend to be pervasive throughout an entire book (e.g. Jeremiah) rather than localized in a single pericope. So it is not clear why 1 Samuel has such a stark, sudden variance while the rest of the book follows the Hebrew closely enough.

The issue of the differences between 1 Samuel 17-18 is both multifaceted and significant in several regards. The purpose of this inquiry is to pursue the answer to the following question: Why is the OG of 1 Samuel 17-18 forty-three percent shorter than the MT and which reading is prior, the longer or the shorter? A several-step process is employed to find the answer to that question.

First of all, the differences between the two texts in those three chapters are fully cataloged. This includes a four-column chart with the text of the OG, the MT, and English translations of each (Appendix A). The chart will facilitate an easy analysis of the differences for all readers. The parallel visual representation will also demonstrate how significant the variance is.

The Greek text is compared to the Hebrew in three different categories: minuses, pluses, and differences (both lexical and grammatical). The first category is concerned primarily with the rather large portions of text which are present in the MT but absent in the OG. However any other smaller minuses at the verse, phrase, or word level will also be noted. It is also important to catalog anything which may be found in the Greek but not in the Hebrew. And finally, any pronounced differences in grammar or word-choice are noted.

After the data has been thoroughly collected, it is analyzed. Each textual difference is reckoned as a variant (a difference between the *Vorlage* of the OG and the MT) or a non-variant. Particular attention is paid to finding any patterns of minus, addition, or difference which may assist in providing an overall explanation for the variance. In particular, the differences are examined to see if it is more likely that they came from textual corruption, translation, interpretation, editorializing, a difference in *Vorlage*, or some combination thereof. This data chapter will comprise a large portion of the inquiry and is preeminently important with respect to evaluating various proposed solutions to the problem at hand.

The next chapter will examine the books of the Kingdoms (1-2 Samuel, 1-2 Kings) in general. These are examined for similar patterns of variance (namely lengthy minuses resulting from editorial activity). Such similar patterns can affirm or contradict proposed solutions to the problem. Also, translation style is evaluated. The literal style indicates that the *Vorlage* of the OG was as short as the resulting translation, since a translator employing a formal style would not be expected to make large editorial omissions like those in 1 Samuel 17-18. This narrows the possible explanations for the textual problem in the story of David and Goliath.

The inquiry will then turn to the evidence of other ancient manuscripts, versions, and external citations. This is limited to versions of which there are extant copies which predate the MT. The purpose of this is twofold. First, it is seen if other versions of antiquity match the OG's shorter version of 1 Samuel 17-18. Second, it may facilitate the establishment of a date for the longer version which predates the MT. With this

information, the textual history of the passage can be more clearly understood, which assists in understanding the reason for the textual problem in these chapters.

The first group of texts to be examined is the Qumran documents. There are four scrolls which contain 1 Samuel from Qumran. These are examined to see if any text in chapters 17-18 is attested and how that text compares with the OG and MT. These are among the earliest known witnesses to the Hebrew scriptures in Hebrew, so their testimony may be quite influential in this inquiry.

Next the later Greek recensions and translations of the Hebrew scriptures are examined. In particular this will include Aquila, Symmachus, and Theodotian. These are quite valuable in establishing a date of the longer version and understanding how ancient scholars understood this textual problem. With respect to their relationship to the OG, there is a variety of options, ranging from revision to all-new translation.

Finally, early versions in languages other than Hebrew and Greek are examined, along with citations in other sources. These versions, including the Vulgate and the Peshitta, are evaluated with respect to their textual antecedents (namely Greek or Hebrew) and their dates. If one of these versions is generally considered to be aligned with one of the two traditions (MT or OG), but has a reading which agrees with the other in 1 Samuel 17-18 (e.g. translated from the OG but has the longer Masoretic version of the David and Goliath story), that will be quite significant for understanding the nature of the problem.

Lastly, in light of all the collected data, various proposed solutions are evaluated. These possible solutions can be broken down into two basic categories. First, it could be

that the MT is the result of the conflation of the account found in the OG with another parallel but slightly different account. Second, it could be that the *Vorlage* of the OG had been redacted to shorten the inherited text. This thesis will demonstrate that the OG had a different *Vorlage* than the MT as the result of a prior redaction of the Hebrew. This stands as an affirmation of the Bible versions which include the lengthier text found in the MT, but indicates that the Hebrew text has a rather complicated history.

A Note on the Texts

Before the details of the text are examined, there are a few points about the texts themselves. The OG text used is Alfred Rahlfs' *Septuaginta*.³ This text was chosen because it reflects the OG tradition (as opposed to later revisions). The oldest available attested text is preferable in this study because it gives the earliest possible insight into the Hebrew text of 1 Samuel. Also, an eclectic text was selected since it spares the task of the textual criticism of the OG itself from this inquiry.

The MT is that of *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia*.⁴ This work is considered by many to be the standard critical representation of the MT. An explanation is in order for why the MT was chosen for comparison to the OG as opposed to any other. For the purposes of this inquiry, it should not be regarded as the "original" text which the OG deviated from. Indeed, the MT is different from the *Vorlage* of the OG of 1 Samuel at least in so far as there were certainly no vowel points in the latter. Also, even if there were a direct descent of the MT from the *Vorlage* of the OG, there would have been

3. Albert Rahlfs, ed., *Septuaginta* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1979).

4. K. Elliger, W. Rudolph, et al., eds., *Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 1984).

numerous transcriptions made in the intervening time, which allow both for textual corruption and emendation.

Rather, the MT is ultimately the most practical choice as a point of comparison with the OG. As noted above, it is indeed considered the standard Hebrew text upon which most translations are based. It is a point of comparison which gives us an insight into how translation, copying, and both geographical and chronological distance affect a text. The text itself is the most consistent Hebrew textual tradition.⁵ Therefore a comparison to the MT is the most beneficial for the task of textual criticism.

English translations of the MT are taken from the *New Revised Standard Version*⁶, except where noted. For English translations of the OG, the *New English Translation of the Septuagint*⁷ is utilized. The latter aims to follow the former as far as possible, so this allows for synoptic comparison between the two versions in English.

5. As opposed, for example, to the fragmentary texts of 1 Samuel found at Qumran.

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CHAPTER ONE
THE OLD GREEK COMPARED TO THE MASORETIC TEXT

The David and Goliath pericope is noted for the lengthy minuses in the text of the OG, but there are also a number of other differences from the MT, including smaller minuses within verses, pluses, and some readings which are the same length but have a different meaning. Such differences are here cataloged so the textual history of this passage can be understood as clearly as possible. Once the differences are noted, they are analyzed for any patterns which might indicate the reason(s) for the differences between the texts.

For the convenience of the reader, a four-column chart has been prepared to assist in this task. The columns contain the OG, the MT, and English translations of each. This will aid the reader in having an easy visual reference to the material discussed here. The chart is found in Appendix A, and it includes a key which explains the various annotations the author has added.

Minuses

For this inquiry, "minus" should simply be understood to mean text which is present in the MT but is not present in the OG. The use of the term is merely descriptive and does not imply that the translator or redactor purposefully omitted any text, nor does

it necessarily imply that the text was absent from the *Vorlage*. The use of a neutral term like "minus" is intentional to help avoid bias in the treatment of this topic.⁸

The MT of 1 Samuel 17-18 has been divided into a total of 87 verses. The OG, however, attests only 50 of those verse divisions, with 37 verses being totally absent. The result is that the Greek text is approximately 43% shorter than the Hebrew text by verse count. There are also a number of minuses which comprise only part of a verse (a word, prepositional phrase, or clause). This makes for a stark distinction between the two texts - one that is certainly not expected when the former is a translation of the latter.

Surprisingly, the minuses do not greatly interrupt the flow of the story. That is, in the Greek the story is just as coherent as the Hebrew, though lacking some details. For example, in the first and longest minus, the text of 17:12-31 is missing in the Greek. However, the missing text, containing mostly background information about David's family and his travels, is not critical to the plot of the story. Just after Saul and all Israel despair in verse 11, David immediately chimes in with his exhortation in verse 32, making for a smooth transition. The same can be said about the other minuses as well.

This provides an important clue to the nature of the textual situation in 1 Samuel. The fact that the story reads coherently in spite of a 43% reduction indicates that the differences between the two texts are most likely not the result of random textual corruption. Indeed, the verse-length minuses never truncate a sentence. This indicates that the discrepancy is the result of editorial changes. Since the translator used a formal style and would not be expected to make such editorial changes, either the Greek translator

8. Emanuel Tov is due credit for the application of these terms to such inquiries. See *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 130.

was working from a correspondingly short Hebrew *Vorlage* or that the text was redacted after translation. However, an analysis of translation style in the minus sections of later OG manuscripts show that they are most likely not translated by the original OG translator.⁹ Therefore it can be concluded that the OG had the shorter reading at the time of translation, so it is certain that the translator was working from a correspondingly short *Vorlage*.

The minuses are divided into two groups for this examination. First are the short minuses, which account for less than an entire verse in Hebrew and are generally disconnected from other minuses. Second are the long minuses¹⁰, which range in length from one to twenty verses. This distinction is helpful because the short minuses are more likely to be the natural result of translation or scribal error, whereas the long minuses cannot be the result of either. The observed minuses for 1 Samuel 17-18 are cataloged in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1. Old Greek Minuses from the Masoretic Text

Short minuses	Ch. 17:2; 7; 37; 38; 48; 51; Ch. 18:8; 12; 21; 26; 27a,c;
Long minuses	Ch. 17:12-31; 41; 50; 17:55-18:6a ¹¹ ; Ch. 18:10-11; 17-19; 29b-30 ¹²

9. See Chapter Two.

10. Tov uses the term "recurring minuses." C.f. *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997),130.

11. This minus continues into what would become verse 6. However, since it is contiguous with the previous lengthy minus, it is still to be counted among the long minuses.

12. This minus begins as the second half of verse 29 in Hebrew. However, since it is contiguous with the following whole-verse minus, it is still to be counted among the long minuses.

Short Minuses

There are at least twelve instances in 1 Samuel 17-18 where the Hebrew text is longer than the Greek in a verse which is attested in both. Emanuel Tov writes regarding these short minuses (which he calls "occasional minuses") that

the decision as to whether an element lacking in the translation was absent in the *Vorlage* or was omitted by the translator is based on an analysis of the translator's technique. There can only be certainty when external evidence . . . supports the assumption of a shorter *Vorlage*, or when MT is conflated . . .¹³

In the case of 1 Samuel 17-18, translation technique is quite formal, so it is unlikely that any short minuses are the result of the translator volitionally changing the text. The most pertinent external evidence comes in the form of Hebrew manuscripts outside the Masoretic tradition, but it can also be found in quotations from various sources.¹⁴

However, since such external support in these chapters is sparsely present, there can be little hope that a short minus could be verified as an instance of a shorter *Vorlage*, since the translator, a scribe, or commentator may have occasionally omitted portions by accident. Therefore, in this section, the short minuses are divided into two groups: those which are likely the result of typical translation processes and those which are more likely the result of an editorial process.

The first example of an short minus in 1 Samuel 17-18 which is the incidental result of the translation process is found in 17:7 where the Hebrew reads "the blade of his spear"¹⁵ while the OG reads merely "his spear." The minus does not recreate the

13. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 130-131.

14. *Ibid.*, 78-81.

15. Contra NRSV, "the head of his spear."

juxtaposition between the description of the shaft of the spear (חֵצַּ חֲנִיתוֹ) as opposed to the head of the spear (לְהִבַּת חֲנִיתוֹ), which is manifest in the parallel construct chains in Hebrew. The Greek translator took a different approach and used two different terms for spear (δορυ v. λογχη), whereas the Hebrew only used one (חֲנִית) with different nouns in construct. Indeed, λογχη is understood to mean "spear-point" in other attestations.¹⁶ There is also no external evidence that this divergence represents a place where the *Vorlage* of the OG differed from that of the MT. Therefore this minus is to be regarded as incidental to the translation process and not a variant in the translator's *Vorlage*.

The same could be said in the case of 17:51a, where the OG uses a pronoun while the Hebrew reads "the Philistine." The evidence indicates the translator most likely opted for the pronoun since the object of the phrase is unambiguous in the context and "the Philistine" is therefore redundant. Another instance of an incidental minus comes in 17:37, where the OG omits "David said," because David is the speaker both before and after that remark.

A very similar case is found in 18:27a, where "David" is once again omitted for redundancy's sake, and again in 18:27c where the same is done for Saul. There is no ambiguity about the subject of those clauses, so the Greek translator likely felt comfortable in leaving out the proper nouns.

These cases of incidental minuses are fairly easy to identify among those which were likely caused by other factors. In all the the aforementioned cases, there is no semantic change brought about by the translator's omissions. Furthermore, they can be

16. Walter Bauer, et al., eds., *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and Other Early Christian Literature*, 3rd ed. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000).

explained easily in terms of typical translator behavior. The instances of short minuses which are likely incidental to the translation process and therefore non-variants are listed separately in Table 1.4.

These incidental short minuses are the exception and not the rule in 1 Samuel 17-18. A majority defy explanation in terms of the translation process (and none can be explained by any common form of haplography¹⁷). The first such minus in the text occurs in 17:2, where the OG omits "of Elah," the name of the valley where the Israelites were encamped. It could be that the *Vorlage* of the OG lacked the name of the valley, or that a translator (or scribe) accidentally omitted this detail, or even that a redactor regarded the name of the valley as unimportant or inaccurate. However, the latter option would require more supporting evidence, which is lacking here. Also, the second option seems unlikely, since the translator took great care transliterating several names of geographical features which are found in the previous verse (e.g. Sokchoth of Judea and Azeka in Ephremem). Therefore this instance appears to be a variant from the MT.

In 17:38, the OG lacks "and clothed him with a coat of mail." There is a low probability for an accidental omission in this case. At the onset of fighting between David and Goliath, there is another minus in the Greek. In Hebrew, 17:48 includes "David ran quickly towards the battle line to meet the Philistine." This makes David seem more brave and proactive than in the Greek, which simply has Goliath rising up to meet David. The transition from 48 to 49 in the Greek does not show any signs of missing information, since both are complete sentences starting with *καί*, which is typical in the

17. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 132-133.

translation of 1 Samuel. Once again, it does not seem likely that this is an accidental omission, but rather a variant.

After the women ascribe mere thousands of kills to Saul, in the Hebrew of 18:8 he inquires "what more can he have but the kingdom?" This is absent in the OG and it is not a likely candidate for haplography. Shortly following, there is another instance in 18:12 where "because the Lord was with him but had departed from Saul" is included in the MT as an explanation for why Saul feared David. An interesting feature of this minus is that it has a second function as an editorial comment about the men's standing with God. Once again, it seems unlikely that this was an accidental omission.

The minus in 18:21 serves an interesting purpose, as it relates directly the overall problem of minuses in these two chapters. The OG lacks "therefore Saul said to David a second time, 'You shall now be my son-in-law.'" In a sense this is a necessary minus from the Hebrew, since in the Greek, Saul had not yet asked David to be his son in law, and therefore it could not have been the "second time." The story of Saul's elder daughter being pledged to David is absent in the Greek, so the episode with Michal (the context of this present minus) is the first place that Saul could have offered that David be his son-in-law. Also interesting is that the Hebrew text of the minus has Saul speaking directly to David, while both the Greek and Hebrew of the subsequent verse have Saul commanding his servants to deliver the exact same message to David, a seeming repetition in the Hebrew but not in the OG. This case clearly cannot be explained in terms of an accidental omission. Therefore it is likely that these words were absent from the OG translator's *Vorlage*.

A minus at the end of 18:26 implies there was some time limit to David's quest to bring one-hundred foreskins to Saul: "Before time had expired . . ." (ולא מלאו הימים). There is nothing implied of a time limit in either Hebrew or Greek prior to this point. Based on the surrounding text, this is not likely an instance of accidental omission. Also, in the following verse, the Greek omits the detail that the foreskins "were given in full number" to Saul. Once again, this single Hebrew word was not likely omitted as a result of haplography.

The occurrence of short minuses in 1 Samuel 17-18 is fairly uniform. A handful can be understood as incidental to the translation process, but that makes them less important in the context of this inquiry, since such minuses occur regularly in translation in spite of any related textual problems such as the one found here. None of the short minuses can be understood as an accidental omission due to haplography. The majority therefore are variants which indicate a shorter *Vorlage*. This indicates that the short minuses in these chapters are consistent with the larger phenomenon of lengthier minuses which characterize this pericope.

Long Minuses

The following minuses were selected for the "long" group by virtue of them comprising one or more verses in Hebrew. It is an arbitrary distinction, especially given that most of the shorter minuses are indeed of the same nature of these long minuses. However, by virtue of their length, it is certain that these are not the result of translation technique nor of accidental omission. These must be the result of a shorter *Vorlage* and therefore all represent variants. Each long minus is analyzed for patterns.

The first long minus comprises 1 Samuel 17:12-31 in the Hebrew text. At twenty verses, it is the longest and contains some of the more memorable details about David's family life and how he came to be present for the battle. In the Hebrew text, David is splitting time between his services to Saul and his duties at home. There is also included in this section the account of David's strife with his brother and the reward which Saul is offering. However the OG has David speaking to Saul concerning Goliath as though he had never left since entering the king's service at the end of the previous chapter.

The next whole-verse minus comprises a single verse (17:41) and describes Goliath approaching David with his shield bearer preceding him. The subsequent minus is another single verse (17:50). It reiterates that David killed Goliath without a sword in his hand. This is an interesting verse, because it is more a commentary than part of the narrative proper because it essentially repeats the circumstances of David's triumph. It also removes the ambiguity of the pronouns describing whose sword was used to sever Goliath's head in the following verse ("he grasped his sword" in both Hebrew and Greek) – this verse makes it clear that it was Goliath's sword while in Greek it could have been David's sword as well.

After David returns triumphant from Jerusalem comes the next lengthy minus (17:55-18:6a). In this section, Saul inquires about David's identity in spite of David having been recruited into Saul's service in chapter sixteen. The beginnings of David's relationship with Jonathan are detailed here, as are the rewards which Saul granted to David, including a military command. This minus concludes when the dancers come out to extol the "tens of thousands" killed by David, much to the chagrin of Saul. The

Hebrew version includes more details, including that the dancers were women, and that they came out while the army was returning from the conquest. There are several curious features of this minus which is examined below.

The subsequent minus (18:10-11) describes Saul's rage and attempted murder of David. Next there is the account of Saul offering his daughter Merab to David (18:17-19). Saul apparently has a last second change of heart and offers her to someone else instead.¹⁸ This is followed immediately in the Hebrew and OG by the story of another of Saul's daughters (Michal) being infatuated with David. The second time is a charm for David, who ends up receiving Michal as a reward for his campaigns against the Philistines. The final minus (18:29b-30) describes David's success as one of Saul's generals as well as the enmity between the two men.

Analysis of Minuses

Now that the minuses have been cataloged and categorized, it is necessary to analyze them in order to find clues which can help explain the fact that 1 Samuel 17-18 is so much shorter in the OG. First of all, the David-centric nature of the minuses is commented on. Next, it is noted that many omitted verses are characterized by redundancy, out-of-context details, and chronological shifts. Then the infamous forgetfulness of Saul is examined. Finally, the entire episode of Saul offering a daughter to David is compared in the OG and Hebrew. These phenomena are described here and will inform subsequent sections of this inquiry.

18. "But at the time when Saul's daughter Merab should have been given to David, she was given to Adriel the Meholathite as a wife." Since the passive voice is used, the agent is unclear. Nonetheless, Saul is the only plausible reason for her being given to Adriel.

That David should be mentioned frequently in the context of the David and Goliath story is not surprising. However, the Hebrew sections which are absent from the OG can be noted for their particular focus on David. Thirty-one of thirty-seven missing verses deal directly with David or his family. The very large minus in the seventeenth chapter provides a great amount of detail concerning David's family and their connection to the story. For example, if one reads the OG text, one would not find any mention of David's brothers at the battle with the Philistines. Also, in the MT David is not attending Saul's court full-time, but rather commuting between his responsibilities there and his shepherding duties in Bethlehem. The non-Davidic verses which are absent from the OG deal primarily with the circumstances of the battle. The minuses can be broadly characterized as Davidic, as opposed to the surrounding material, which does not focus so closely on David.

There is in these minuses a fair amount of repetitious and redundant material. While this does not assist in determining the authenticity of a reading directly (since authors may or may not be repetitious themselves), it does help in understanding how the texts came to be different. Namely, it could be that a redactor omitted repetitious material for editorial purposes or because he doubted its authenticity. Or it could be that the Hebrew represents a conflation of two separate but overlapping stories, which could explain the repetition. At any rate, the minuses are characterized by repetition much more than the portions which are attested in both Greek and Hebrew.

For example, in 17:12, the first verse missing in the OG, there are some details recounted about David which have already been stated in the previous chapter. Namely,

the information concerning his father's name (Jesse), city (Bethlehem), and number of sons (eight) can be found in 16:1 and 10-11. In the next verse (17:13), the names and birth order of David's three oldest brothers are repeated from 16:6-9. The fact that David was the youngest son is restated in the next verse, as first attested in 16:11.

There is also quite a bit of information about the Philistine engagement and Goliath which is repeated. Such repetitions occur in 17:19, 21, 23, and 24. Also, there is the interesting case in 18:21-22 where Saul first directly offers David a marriage into his family (only attested in the MT), and immediately following Saul sends his servants to convey the same message to David (attested in both). Overall there are eight instances within minuses where there is a repetition of material which appears in a section which is attested in both Greek and Hebrew.

In the minuses there are also some instances of contextual confusion. These are cases where a verse or group of verses are seemingly unrelated to the surrounding material and would perhaps benefit (at least in the mind of a modern critic) from reorganization. The OG lacks such interruptions of flow. To brand a verse as "out of context" is ultimately a subjective decision, but there are some good candidates. For example, 17:16 reads "for forty days the Philistine came forward and took his stand, morning and evening." This verse is found in the midst of the background story about how David came to be present at the battle. It is preceded and followed by verses about David, and it is not clear how this verse relates to this particular part of the story.

Another instance comes in the account of the beginning of the friendship between David and Jonathan. It comprises verses 18:1, 3, and 4. However, 18:2 and 5 are given to

describe Saul's commissioning David into military service. The flow might seem more natural if these verses were not split. Once again, it is a subjective judgment.

Non-linear chronology is a prominent feature of the minuses. The OG reads in a chronological manner, but the MT has a major instance where the narrative backs up to make a point, and then zooms forward to tell about generic future events. Saul's inquiry to Abner concerning David's identity backs up to "when Saul saw David go out" to fight Goliath, even though David had returned to Jerusalem in the previous verse (17:54). This example coincides with the beginning of the lengthy minus which begins in 17:55 and extends through 18:6a. That passage describes Saul's inquiry into David's identity during the battle, the meeting between David and Saul immediately after the battle, and the formation of the friendship between David and Jonathan, all of which chronologically come before the return of David to Jerusalem described in 17:54.

This portion in Hebrew continues with some insight on the future as well, where it comments on David's successes in Saul's service (18:5), which chronologically happen after the events of 18:6. However, in the next verse where the OG picks up again (18:6b), the time frame shifts back to when David was being greeted by the dancers, presumably on his return to Jerusalem. The first part of 18:6 in the MT includes additional narrative which notes that David and Saul were returning home, which is necessary to bridge the gap of the extended story which was just told. No such narrative is needed in the OG, however, since in its previous verse it was noted that David had returned to Jerusalem. This is significant since, as noted above, the major chronological shifts occur within a long minus whereas the OG reads linearly.

The incident of Saul's forgetfulness is found in 17:55-58. Once again, this is a long minus, so there is no such problem in the OG. In the MT version, Saul must have forgotten who David was or never really took his identity to heart in spite of David entering the king's service as bard and armor-bearer in 16:21. Indeed, Saul is said to have "loved him greatly." Therefore it seems odd that when David went out to face Goliath, Saul had to inquire to Abner about the youth's identity.

However, also in the Hebrew version is the account of David's transient lifestyle, shifting between the king's court and his responsibilities at home. There is no indication as to how much time has passed. Given these factors, it is not unreasonable that Saul could have forgotten David's identity. It is also possible that these events are not being presented chronologically by the author.

Still, this unusual episode is taken as evidence by some¹⁹ that the king's forgetfulness is really evidence of conflation in the MT. In this scenario, the long minus represents a version of the David and Goliath story where David had never entered into the king's service as a musician, but was one of Saul's armor-bearers when he volunteered to take on the giant. This can be supported by the fact that Saul asked Jesse to "let David remain in my service." It seems odd that in spite of a request by the king that David would still be splitting time between court and his father's household. What is interesting here is the capacity of David's service to Saul is not explicitly mentioned in this minus. It could be that he was playing harp and bearing the king's armor, or that he was following the king in the same capacity as his brothers. Therefore this detail could match either

19. Emanuel Tov, "The David and Goliath Saga. How a Biblical Editor Combined Two Versions," *Bible Review* 2 (Winter 1986): 41.

scenario, either a conflation or Saul simply being forgetful.

This episode in the MT is unusual or problematic for sure. However, the nature of the text in this minus does not necessarily indicate whether or not it was initially present in the original written form of the story. It could be that a redactor had some of the same observations about the passage as modern critics and therefore felt it best to omit. The overall tendencies of translation in the Kingdoms books of the OG are examined in Chapter Two to determine if editorial activity occurs elsewhere in the surrounding literary context or if it is limited to this pericope.

Another unusual episode occurs in the long minus found in 18:17-19. In it, Saul offers his eldest daughter Merab to David as a reward for fighting against the Philistines (and risking his life in doing so). The offer is abruptly rescinded, however, and Merab is married off to another man. Immediately following the minus the story of Michal's love for David is told. Unlike Saul's forgetfulness, there are no reasons to suspect that the offerings of Saul's daughters might conflict with one another. The version in the MT is consistent both with the names and ages of Saul's daughters (1 Samuel 14:49) and with the fate of Merab (2 Samuel 21:8). While some²⁰ argue this might be the same story told twice, there is nothing about the story in and of itself which indicates inauthenticity.

The minuses in the OG of 1 Samuel 17-18 can be distinguished from the rest of text in terms of David-centrism, repetition, flow, and chronology. There are also the curious cases of Saul's forgetfulness and the offering of Merab. At the very least, these differences indicate that the text which is missing from the OG but present in the MT is of a different sort from the text which is present in both. This does not mean that it differs

20. Ibid., 40-41.

in source or authenticity. Rather it means that the cause of the textual problem in these chapters is likely connected to the aforementioned types of content. There are at least two possible explanations for this: a redactor of the Hebrew *Vorlage* or of the Greek translation selected certain types of material for omission (for whatever reason); or, the MT represents a conflation of the *Vorlage* of the OG and some parallel (and somewhat contradictory) David narrative. With the minuses being fully cataloged and commented upon, this inquiry will shift to a similar treatment of the pluses.

Pluses

In this section "plus" should simply be understood to mean text which is present in the OG but is not present in the MT. The use of the term is merely descriptive and does not imply that a translator or redactor purposefully emended the text, nor does it imply that the text was present in his *Vorlage*.²¹

Pluses can be difficult to analyze, since they can be the result of a variant in the translator's *Vorlage* (possibly the result of a scribal error in Hebrew or a redacted manuscript), a later editorial addition in Greek, or a change incidental to the translation process. Therefore careful attention must be paid to each instance in order to properly categorize it. As opposed to the previous section, there are no long pluses. The pluses present in these chapters never exceed a verse length, and are as small as a single word. A list of the observed pluses in 1 Samuel 17-18 is found in Table 1.2.

21. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 130.

Table 1.2. Old Greek Pluses to the Masoretic Text

Short pluses	Ch. 17:5; 8; 36; 37; 43; 45; 46; 49 Ch. 18:21
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The first plus comes in 17:5, where Goliath's armor is being described. The weight of Goliath's coat is recorded in Hebrew as "shekels of bronze," while the OG adds "and iron" (και σιδηρου). A retroversion into Hebrew would read:

שקלים נחשת וברזל. The beginning of the next verse in Hebrew is וּמִצַּחַת, which leaves a low probability of the phrase "and iron" being eliminated from the MT via parablepsis.²²

Another option in this case would be a translation doublet,²³ wherein two terms are used in the target language to represent a single word in the source language. In this case "copper and iron" (χαλκου και σιδηρου) would be two ways of rendering the same Hebrew word into Greek. Still another option is that the two terms comprise a hendiadys for "bronze." This is a particularly intriguing possibility since bronze is in fact an alloy, of which one of the components is copper (though the other is not iron). On the converse side, there is no evidence that the mention of iron is an editorial addition. Indeed, it would be senseless to employ two metals in the description of the weight of Goliath's coat, since a shekel was a standard weight²⁴ and the type of metal does not affect the

22. Ibid., 128.

23. Ibid., 129.

24. Francis Brown, S.R. Driver and Charles Briggs, eds., *A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

weight.²⁵ Therefore it seems this plus is best described as a hendiadys and is, as such, not a variant.

The next plus comes in 17:8, when Goliath is taunting Israel. The phrase "opposite us" (ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν) is appended to Goliath's question "why have you come out to draw up for battle?" The task of retroverting the Hebrew is difficult here, since the phrase ἐξ ἐναντίας is used to translate several different Hebrew words in 1 Samuel and in the OG in general. However, the phrase appears in nearly the same form above in 17:2 (εἰς πολέμον ἐξ ἐναντίας ἀλλοφυλῶν). Given the similarity of phrasing (c.f. πολέμῳ ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν), it could be that the translator or scribe interpolated the previous prepositional phrase into this verse from memory. At any rate, given the paucity of evidence and the relatively low importance of this plus to this inquiry, it seems best to count it as a non-variant.

When David is pleading his case to Saul, there is a rather lengthy plus in 17:36: "Shall I not go and smite him and take away today a reproach from Israel? For who is this uncircumcised one who" In the OG, the last sentence is a question, while it is a statement in the MT. Nonetheless, they have the same verbal elements. In their current form, both readings form complete thoughts, so it is likely that one or the other had to be adjusted in the process of a change.

The plus here shares some verbal elements in common with the surrounding verse, including "smite," "reproach," and "uncircumcised." However, it has just as many

25. For example, five kilograms of feathers weighs the same as five kilograms of gold. Even if shekel is not used as a standard weight but as a relative weight (e.g. based on size), using two types of metal would only confuse the situation, since a shekel of copper would not weigh the same as a shekel of iron.

unique elements, which make this plus impossible to explain in terms of a duplicate translation. Also, the addition of this material does not serve a clear editorial purpose, since it is essentially a re-iteration of David's point. Therefore an addition in the Old Greek seems unlikely. It is most likely that this verse can be explained by an omission in the transmission process of the Hebrew some time after the *Vorlage* of the OG was copied but before the time of the MT, meaning the longer reading is prior. Consequently, this plus should be considered a variant, but not one which was part of any editorial process.

In the following verse (17:37) there is another plus which is similar to the case in 17:8. Here the adjective "uncircumcised" is added to "Philistine." However, in 17:36, "uncircumcised Philistine" appears in both Hebrew and in Greek, and in Greek it has the same adjectival position, albeit with a different grammatical case (17:36: ο αλλοφυλος ο απεριτημος; 17:37: του αλλοφυλου του απεριτημου). There is a low probability of omission by parablepsis in Hebrew transcription. Therefore, it is most likely this plus resulted from an interpolation via memory during translation or transmission and is therefore not to be considered a variant.

David's confrontation with Goliath is the location of the next plus (17:43), where Goliath's comment about David's armament includes the mention of "stones" (και λιθοις), which is absent in the MT. Then, the OG also includes David's reply to the taunt: "And David said, 'No, but worse than a dog.'" This plus extends one sentence and creates a new one. Given the formal tendencies of this translator, this is almost certainly represents a variant, though the plus does not have a particularly high probability of

accidental omission by parablepsis in the transmission of the Hebrew. Also, the Greek term here translated "worse" (χειρῶ) is a hapax legomenon in the books of the Kingdoms in the OG.²⁶ This might indicate that this plus is the result of a later addition in Greek. At any rate, this plus, variant or not, came about after the translation of the OG of 1 Samuel, either by textual corruption in the Hebrew or by textual emendation in the Greek. It is therefore not a part of the larger editorial phenomenon in these chapters.

A brief plus occurs at the end of 17:45, where "today" is appended. The beginning of the very next sentence in Hebrew is הַיּוֹם. It seems most probable that "today" was read by the translator twice and consequently translated twice, once mistakenly at the end of 17:45, and once in the proper context of 17:46. It could also be an instance of dittography. Either way, this plus is not a variant in the *Vorlage* of the OG, and is not likely part of the editorial process in these chapters.

When David continues his reply in the next verse (17:46), the phrase "your limbs and" (τα κωλα σου και) is prefixed to the threat to give the limbs of the Philistine army to the birds and animals.²⁷ This is a likely candidate for an omission in Hebrew due to parablepsis because of the repetitive nature of the phrase. A duplication in Greek due to homoiarchon is unlikely because of the distinct genitive modifiers (σου vs. παρεμβολης). The best explanation in this case is that the plus arises because of a later omission in the Hebrew transmission process and is therefore a variant.

In the climax of the fight sequence in 17:49 there is another plus, which describes

26. The word is also quite unusual in the rest of the Septuagint, appearing only one other time in Hebrew translation (Esther 3:13) and only a handful of times in the deuterocanonical books.

27. The term "limbs" as opposed to "dead bodies" is itself a difference which is considered in the next section.

David's perfect shot with his sling. After the stone strikes Goliath, the OG adds that it penetrated "through the helmet" (δια της περικεφαλαιας). This makes for a more vivid picture, and might increase the esteem of the reader for David's strength. The description of Goliath's head gear in 17:5 does not give an indication as to whether his helmet (כובע) would cover his forehead.²⁸ However, the forehead being protected by a helmet is probably a fair assumption. So we can presume that the OG is not adding to the story so much as offering an exegetical comment. Consequently, this plus should not be considered a variant in the translator's *Vorlage*.

In 18:21, there is the final plus where the OG makes explicit that the hand of the Philistines was against "Saul" as opposed to simple "him" as in the MT. A scribe, editor, or the translator probably added "Saul" to relieve confusion in the context which arose from his decision to count that phrase as narration and not a continuation of Saul's dialog (as it reads in the MT and English translations thereof, where the "hand" is implicitly against David). Therefore this is not a variant.

The occurrence of pluses in these chapters is not as dramatic as the occurrence of minuses, but it is still significant. In addition to the relative frequency thereof, there are some other important differences between minuses and pluses in this passage. First, the majority of minuses can be counted confidently as variants, whereas the opposite is true for pluses. Second, all of the examples of variant pluses can with a high degree of certainty be attributed to textual corruption in the Hebrew after the translation of the OG but before the MT. Therefore it can be concluded that pluses are not a major piece of the

28. BDB simply offers the gloss "helmet."

explanation for the divergence between the MT and the OG in 1 Samuel 17-18. Having examined both pluses and minuses, this inquiry turns to an examination of lexical and grammatical differences.

Differences

In this section "difference" should simply be understood to mean text which is present in both the OG and the MT, but has a difference in meaning which cannot be understood in terms of typical translation processes. The use of the term is merely descriptive and does not imply that a translator or redactor purposefully changed the text, nor does it imply that the text was different in the *Vorlage*. A list of the differences in 1 Samuel 17-18 is found in Table 1.3.

Variants in these cases are difficult to detect since differences can also be the result of a mistaken translation or subsequent corruption in transmission. Therefore it is best to rely on external sources when classifying a difference as a variant.²⁹ Those differences which are likely the result of translation are treated briefly while possible variants are examined more carefully.

Table 1.3. Old Greek Differences from the Masoretic Text

Differences	Ch. 17:4; 6; 8; 32; 39a,b; 40; 42a,b; 45; 52 Ch. 18:6; 7; 28
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The first of the less significant differences comes in 17:39b, where there is a change in who removes the armor from David. In the OG it is Saul and David (as implied by the subject-less plural verb) while in the MT it is David himself. It seems the translator

²⁹ Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 134.

likely understood the verb as plural, while others understood it as singular, with the result that the proper noun "David" was inserted as the subject in Hebrew to remove the ambiguity. It ought to be counted as a variant.³⁰

The description of David's sack in 17:40 is another difference. The OG reads "which he had with him for collecting" while the MT reads "in the pouch." It seems in this case that the translator understood **ובילקוט** as a verb (**לקט** - "to collect")³¹ and translated it as such. This is a non-variant.

In 17:42a, the name Goliath is given in the OG, but "Philistine" is the reading in the MT. There are a number of possibilities here, but since there is no semantic change, it will not be regarded as important to the question at hand.

In 17:52, there is a third-person plural pronoun in OG while the Hebrew reads the more explicit "Philistines." This can be understood as incidental to translation and therefore will not be considered a variant.

The first significant difference is found in 17:4 where Goliath's height is recorded. The MT reads "six cubits and a span," whereas the OG reads "four cubits and a span," making for a shorter Goliath. This is an interesting difference in that the greater height leaves the reader with a greater awe of David's victory. Some would take this as evidence that the MT contains an exaggerated recording, meant to increase the readers' esteem for David. Others understand the lesser height of the OG to be a redaction by a skeptic who doubted the incredible height of Goliath and sought to make it more "realistic."

30. S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Typography of the Book of Samuel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 146.

31. BDB.

Both of these tracks are speculative, so it is best to look first for textual evidence. J. Daniel Hays makes a convincing argument that this is a text-criticism problem as opposed to a "literary development" problem. He presents the textual evidence and argues convincingly that the MT reading of six cubits is the result of a textual corruption.³² Therefore this difference should indeed be regarded as a variant, but not the sort resulting from an editor.

The next difference is found in 17:6 where Goliath's armament is described. This same difference is found again in 17:45. The MT reads that Goliath carried on his back a "javelin of bronze" (וְכִירְוֹן נְחָשֶׁת) while the OG reads "shield of bronze" (ασπις χαλκη). At first glance this appears to be a variant or a careless translation mistake, as a shield is quite different from a javelin. However, ασπις can also mean "asp" or "serpent."³³ It could be that the translator was employing the term metaphorically in description of a javelin. At any rate, this should not be considered a variant, due to the ambiguity of the situation.

Goliath's taunt is the location of the next difference in 17:8. It has become something of a textbook example³⁴ of difference caused by the confusion of letters within a Hebrew word. Here the noun "servants" (עֲבָדִים) is read in the MT while "Hebrews" (Εβραῖοι from עֲבָרִים) is the reading in the OG. The reading of servants makes more

32. J. Daniel Hays, "Reconsidering the Height of Goliath," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48 (December 2005): 703-707.

33. BDAG.

34. C.f. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed. (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 59, 89, 93, 136.

sense in context, because they are said to be "servants of Saul." Moreover, the phrase "servants of Saul" is attested frequently in the surrounding chapters. Therefore it is best to regard the reading in the MT as primary. As such, we can conclude that the difference here was a variant in the OG translator's *Vorlage*.

Another difference is found in 17:32 when David promises to go out and defeat Goliath. The Hebrew reads "let no one's heart fail" (אַל־יִפֹּל לְבַב־אֶדְרָם) while the OG reads "let not the heart of my lord collapse" (μη δη συμπεσετω η καρδια του Κυριου μου). Here it seems a scribe or translator read אֶדְרָנִי in place of אֶדְרָם, which results in the difference. The OG is without external support in this reading, so it should be counted as a secondary reading, though not a particularly significant one.

When David is trying on Saul's armor in 17:39a, the OG reads that David "grew tired walking once and twice," while in the MT he "tried in vain to walk, for he was not used to them." There are no high probability scenarios for this difference resulting from transcription error. Moreover, the two renderings do not substantively change the understanding of the story, so it is doubtful that this is the result of a redactor. It seems then that this difference is a non-variant which arose in the translation process and is therefore not part of the larger editorial phenomenon.

There is a difference of several words in 17:42b, where the Hebrew describes David as "handsome in appearance," but the Greek uses the phrase "with beauty of eyes." Both are preceded by David being "ruddy." These three are all components of the description of David in 16:12. In the OG, both terms are the exact same as found in the prior verse (πυρρακης μετα καλλους οφθαλμων), but in Hebrew the phrase for

"handsome" is different (וְטוֹב רֵאִי in 16:12 v. עִם־יָפֶה מְרֹאֶה in 17:42). Also, the Hebrew phrase for "beauty of eyes" in 16:12 (עִם־יָפֶה עֵינָיִם) is structurally similar to "handsome" in 17:42 (עִם־יָפֶה מְרֹאֶה). Therefore it seems that "beauty of eyes" was most likely interpolated from memory by a scribe or translator due to the familiarity of the phrasing. As such, it should not be considered part of the editorial process.

There is a difference in 18:6 which is difficult to evaluate, since it coincides with the end of a long minus (17:55-18:6a). Here in the OG the dancers are said to come out to meet David, but in the MT, it is Saul who is met. The previous verse in the OG context has David returning to Jerusalem with Goliath's head, so the progression to the dancers celebrating his conquest is natural. However, in the MT Saul and David are returning together (in something of a flashback) and the dancers meet Saul. This is certainly a variant, and it seems to be directly caused by the change in context which accompanies the preceding minus, meaning it is an editorial change.

The same can be said about the following difference, which comes in 18:7. Women "began and were saying" (καὶ ἐξήρχον αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ ἔλεγον) in the OG, but "sang to one another as they made merry" (וַתִּעַנְיָנָה הַנָּשִׁים הַמְשַׁחֲקוֹת) in the MT. That the women are "making merry" or "mocking" matches the previous verse in the MT, where they are addressing Saul. So this is also the result of the same editorial process which brought about the preceding extended minus.

The final difference in 18:28 has "all Israel" loving David in the OG while it is "Saul's daughter Michal" in the MT. The following verse notes Saul's fearfulness.

Therefore it seems more likely that the OG reading is original, since all Israel loving David seemingly would make Saul more fearful than his daughter loving David. Still, this variant is not likely the result of later redaction or conflation, since it does nothing to harmonize the account with the longer version found in the MT. Therefore it is best to regard this difference as accidental, probably the result of an echo of 18:20, where almost the same phrase is found.³⁵

The phenomenon of differences in 1 Samuel 17-18 is fairly extensive. Seven of the fourteen noted instances should be considered as variants between MT and the *Vorlage* of the OG. These variants are the result of transmission problems after the translation of the OG or they are connected directly to the phenomenon of long minuses in these chapters. Now the textual observations from these chapters will be considered as a whole.

Summary of Textual Observations

The minuses, pluses, and differences between the OG and the MT are listed in Table 1.4.³⁶ There they are divided between variants and non-variants. As a result of the this study, it is possible to induce the probable *Vorlage* for the OG in these chapters. This is necessary in order to discern the nature of the textual problems in these chapters.

As stated above, the long minuses which are the most prominent feature of these

35. S.R. Driver, *Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Typography of the Book of Samuel* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960), 155.

36. As with any subjective classification, there is some variance among authors as to which verses are to be considered pluses, minuses, or differences. For another take on these chapters, see Emanuel Tov, "Composition of 1 Samuel 16-18," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 125-130. In spite of this, the examples dealt with in this study are a good representation of the overall phenomenon and the conclusions drawn from them are not put in doubt by differences among scholars in how variants are counted.

chapters are necessarily variants. However, the nature of the variants in the other categories (plus and difference) will further illuminate for us the reason for the OG being so much shorter.

Table 1.4. Summary of Differences Between Old Greek and Masoretic Text

	Variants	Non-variants
Minuses	Ch. 17:2, 12-31; 38; 41; 48; 50; 17:55-18:6a Ch. 18:8; 10-11; 12; 17-19; 21; 26; 29b-30	Ch. 17:7; 37; 51a Ch. 18:27a,c
Pluses	Ch. 17:36; 43; 46	Ch. 17:5; 8; 37; 45; 49 Ch. 18:21
Differences	Ch. 17:4; 8; 32; 39b Ch. 18:6; 7; 28	Ch. 17:6; 39a; 40; 42a,b; 45; 52b

Of the pluses, there are only three variants. Each of these variants can be explained in terms of a later transmission problem in the Hebrew text, likely an accidental omission in transcription after the translation of the OG but before the MT. The problem in 1 Samuel 17-18 is clearly the result of editorial changes, so we can conclude that these variant pluses are isolated phenomena and not a part of the larger trend.

Differences account for seven variants. Of those, five can be attributed to transmission problems. Only two (18:6, 7) are likely the result of an editorial process. However, these are both located right at the end of a long minus. Those differences apparently result from a harmonization between the longer and the shorter account. Apart from these two which are directly connected to a minus, the differences in 1 Samuel 17-

18 are inconsequential to the major problem in these chapters.

Since variant pluses are isolated and variant differences are isolated or directly related to minuses, the textual problem in 1 Samuel 17-18 is distinctly characterized by minuses. Whatever editorial changes were made, they are manifested as minuses in spite of the relatively large number of pluses and differences in these chapters. This means that the changes were either a redaction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the OG or a conflation of the *Vorlage* of the MT with additional material. Moreover, the "Analysis of Minuses" section above offers great insight in to the type of content which was affected by the editorial activity. Understanding the type of content helps in understanding the cause of problem.

In order to distinguish between these two major options, an examination of the other versions and manuscripts of 1 Samuel 17-18 is necessary. The dates, lineage, and geographic locations of these versions will assist in narrowing down the origin of the minuses in these chapters. But first an examination of the rest of the books of the Kingdoms in the OG will be undertaken. Similar patterns of editorial activity, if found, can assist in understanding the problem in 1 Samuel 17-18.

CHAPTER TWO

THE OLD GREEK OF 1-4 KINGDOMS

The story of David and Goliath does not exist in a literary vacuum. Therefore it is important to consider the surrounding context, including the rest of 1 Samuel, 2 Samuel, and 1-2 Kings (which make up 1-4 Kingdoms in the OG). By examining these works broadly, conclusions can be reached which assist in understanding the nature of the problem in 1 Samuel 17-18.

For instance, the translation style of the work can be broadly established to determine if the translator himself would be likely to editorialize his text. Then the possibility of redaction after the translation of the OG must be examined. Also the surrounding works are examined for similar patterns of variance, most significantly minuses but other changes as well. This will assist in determining if the David and Goliath story is an isolated phenomenon, or if it is part of a larger pattern of editorial alteration. It will also assist in establishing the source of the editorial activity, whether a redactor of the *Vorlage* in Hebrew, by the translator, or a redactor in Greek after the translation.

There is a general consensus that the translator of 1 Samuel used a formal, literal style, as demonstrated by Emanuel Tov.³⁷ This is evidenced by the general one-to-one

37. Emanuel Tov, "Composition of 1 Samuel 16-18," in *Empirical Models for Biblical Criticism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), 106-115.

correspondence between the Hebrew *Vorlage* and the Greek result. Also, the translator is careful to transliterate place names and individuals' names. Tov explains the significance of literal translation style for this inquiry:

[the] data show that the translator remained, as a rule, loyal to his parent text, and it is therefore not likely that he would have omitted 44 percent of the text. As in all arguments, this is subjective reasoning, but under the circumstances we consider this the most feasible argument, since it is based on the internal consistency of the translator's approach to his text. We therefore assume that the translator worked from a text which was much shorter than the Masoretic Text.³⁸

Given a formal style, the only possible explanations for a translator omitting text are accidental omissions (via parablepsis), a correspondingly short *Vorlage*, or later redaction in Greek. In Chapter One, it was demonstrated that the minuses could not have been the result of accidental omission by the translator. Therefore Tov is correct in his assertion that the translator is not responsible for the shorter form of the story.

Just as the translator has been ruled out as the source of the problem in 1 Samuel 17-18, a later redactor in Greek can also be ruled out. A study of the longer account in Alexandrinus and later Greek manuscripts shows that the Greek in those passages was likely translated by a different individual than the surrounding OG of 1 Samuel.³⁹ Since Alexandrinus was based on the same OG tradition as Vaticanus, it means that the longer account was never part of the original OG translation and must have been translated later. Therefore it can be concluded that any editorial activity which affected the OG must have happened before the translation, not after.

The nature of the minuses in 1 Samuel 17-18 is interesting in that the problem is

38. Ibid., 115.

39. A. Graeme Auld, "The Story of David and Goliath: A Testcase for Synchrony *plus* Diachrony," in *David und Saul im Wiederstreit* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004), 118-128.

localized in a relatively small passage. Other books in the OG have textual issues which characterize entire books (e.g. Jeremiah). Therefore it is somewhat odd to find so stark a change seemingly in the middle of nowhere. However, there are some other notable textual issues, chiefly the kaige recension and the second account of Jeroboam's rise to power. Both are briefly examined to see how (if at all) they relate to the problem at hand.

Parts of 1-4 Kingdoms are apparently the product of a later revision. This phenomenon is typically called the "kaige" recension, since it is marked (among other things) by the Greek words *καὶ γέ* prefixing most sentences. The affected portions are 2 Kingdoms 11:2 through 3 Kingdoms 2:11 and 3 Kingdoms 22:1 through 4 Kingdoms 25:30. It seems this revision dates to the "latter part of the first century BCE."⁴⁰ Given the date and evidence that this passage is the result of revision, it does not provide any insight into the problem in the David and Goliath story.

There is a pertinent portion of 1 Kings which describes the rise of Jeroboam. In the OG (as attested in Codex Vaticanus), there is a significant plus where an alternative form of the account is given (1 Kings 12:24a-z). It is also found in the Old Latin and some other later Greek documents.⁴¹ However, this account is not present in Greek in Codex Alexandrinus nor in the other versions. Since Alexandrinus was apparently based on the same tradition of Vaticanus, it seems this addition was removed as a correction to the Hebrew text. In this regard it is similar to the situation in 1 Samuel 17-18, where the minuses are chiefly attested by Vaticanus in the OG but no other versions.

40. Albert Pietersma, and Benjamin G. Wright, eds. *A New English Translation of the Septuagint* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 271.

41. James Montgomery, *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Books of Kings* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), 251.

There is much debate over the nature of this addition⁴² which is not germane to this present inquiry. What is significant in this case is that the Greek of the plus in 1 Kings 12:24a-z is apparently translated from Hebrew.⁴³ Since the source material was in Hebrew, that means that it was likely present in the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the translator of 1 Kings. So here is an instance of editorial action in one branch of the Hebrew tradition which came to be translated into the OG but was absent from, ignored by, or removed from later manuscripts. Except for the fact that this passage has a plus while 1 Samuel 17-18 has minuses, it is a remarkably parallel situation. Generically stated, an editor of the *Vorlage* of the OG made various changes which were corrected by later editors and translators referencing the Hebrew text.

Based on this evidence, there is a precedent for editorial activity in the *Vorlage* of the OG in the same literary context as 1 Samuel. In one case there is a plus and in another minuses, but these two can be seen as parts of the same phenomenon (if not necessarily at the hands of the same redactor). This observation lends its support to the longer text of 1 Samuel 17-18 being primary, since that longer reading would have been shortened by a redactor in the Hebrew, just as the Jeroboam account was expanded. This realization will factor in support of the "abridgment theory" as explained in Chapter Four.

The wider literary context of the OG of 1-4 Kingdoms provides clues to the nature of the problem, namely that the problem could not have been the result of the translator or a later redactor, and that similar editorial activity is found in the same literary context.

Now the focus will move to those witnesses which are outside of the OG.

42. Ibid., 252.

43. Mordechai Cogan, *1 Kings: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), 356.

CHAPTER THREE

OTHER MANUSCRIPTS AND VERSIONS

The OG is the first and most prominent of ancient versions of the Hebrew Bible, but it is not alone. Later recensions and new translations in Greek are also significant, and other translations are important as well, including the Vulgate and Peshitta. However, the ancient witness which can offer the most direct insight into the present inquiry is the documents found at Qumran, since they are by far the oldest Hebrew manuscripts which contain 1 Samuel 17-18.

Each version is compared to the OG and the MT to see if it followed the shorter or longer account. Then the date and other pertinent features of each version are examined in order to give context to the readings which are found therein. Readings which are earlier will offer the greatest insight. If a version is typically regarded as being based on the OG but follows the MT (or vice versa) for these chapters, it will also offer clarification. Also, there are some characteristic readings (like the height of Goliath) which can indicate whether each version follows the OG or MT outside of the context of the long minuses.

Qumran

Of the cataloged documents from Qumran, only four are known to contain portions of the books of Samuel. Only two of those actually contain verifiable portions

from 1 Samuel 17-18: 4QSam^a (17:3-8, 40-41; 18:4-5) and 1QSam (18:17-18). Also, these witnesses are quite fragmentary, barely consisting of more than a few consecutive consonants or words in most cases.

This fragmentary nature means that they are not as useful for textual criticism, though there have been some notable applications.⁴⁴ However, given the long minuses which characterize these chapters, short fragments may be all that is necessary to demonstrate if each Qumran document contains the longer or shorter account. That is, if there is a short fragment which can only be identified with one of the verses which is absent from the OG, then it stands to reason that the document had the longer reading of the MT when it was transcribed.

The Qumran documents tend to agree with the OG in matters of textual criticism. For example, 4QSam^a agrees with the OG against the MT concerning the height of Goliath. Eugene Charles Ulrich's work on the subject provides in-depth analysis of the relationship between 4QSam^a, the OG, and the MT.⁴⁵ Given the lower degree of textual variance between the OG (as represented in Codex Vaticanus) and 4QSam^a, it is presumed that they share a common ancestor which is relatively close (in terms of transcription) to each. This would not be the case for the OG and the MT, whose common ancestor is necessarily much more remote, especially on the Hebrew side. Emanuel Tov concurs with the general characterization of 4QSam^a agreeing with the OG.⁴⁶

44. J. Daniel Hays, "Reconsidering the Height of Goliath," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48 (December 2005): 703-707.

45. Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978).

46. Emanuel Tov, "The Textual Affiliations of 4QSam^a," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 14 (1979): 37-53.

Due to this affinity between Qumran and the OG in matters of textual criticism, it is assumed that the two would share the same affinity in terms of the long minuses (or "literary development" for short). However, recently identified fragments have made it clear that a text-critical affinity is not the same as literary development affinity in this passage. Each Qumran document is introduced below and the pertinent evidence is examined.

4QSam^a has been dated in "the first half of the first century B.C."⁴⁷ This places it in the same general time-frame as the translation of the OG of the books of Samuel, if not just after. It is noted by Ulrich, however, that 4QSam^a has an affinity with the readings of Chronicles (5th or 6th century B.C.). So it seems that its text type predates the translation of the OG.

Of the cataloged portions of 4QSam^a, two are of particular interest to this inquiry. The first is in 17:41 where Goliath is approaching David with his shield-bearer in front. This entire verse is missing in the OG. The next important portion of 4QSam^a comes in 18:4-5, which describes the aftermath of the battle with Goliath. These verses are also part of a long minus (17:55-18:6a). Given that 4QSam^a includes fragments of multiple minuses, it is probable that it included the lengthier reading found in the MT, since there are no examples of manuscripts including some verses but omitting others of the minuses.

The pertinent verses in 1QSam are 18:17-18, where the betrothal of David to Merab is described. These verses are also part of a minus. Unfortunately, 1QSam has not had any other fragments identified in the context, particularly in the context of the

47. Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 10.

betrothal to Michal. So it is impossible to verify that 1QSam contains accounts of both betrothals. Still, the presence of these two verses is another indication of the presence of the longer account of the MT at Qumran.

The longer reading of the MT is attested in two Qumran documents, both of which are older than our oldest extant OG manuscript. This conclusion can be reached only in light of fairly recent fragmentary identification, so it supersedes previous scholarly opinions that the longer reading was absent from Qumran. It is also noteworthy that of all extant Hebrew manuscripts which include 1 Samuel 17-18, every single one includes the longer account. In other words, there is no evidence of the shorter account in Hebrew.

J. Daniel Hays proposed a helpful guideline for evaluating textual problems in these chapters, namely that "we should remove our study of the variations in the height of Goliath from the larger, more complicated but probably unrelated literary development issue"48 Indeed, this works for all text-critical problems, not just Goliath's height. Hays' methodology has proved quite useful, since it has been demonstrated that the Qumran texts are indeed closer to the OG in text-critical matters but share the longer account of the MT.⁴⁹

The witness of the Qumran documents (particularly 4QSam^a) is of utmost importance in understanding this problem. It provides an important insight into the family tree of this passage. What it shows is that 4QSam^a is likely a close descendant of a

48. J. Daniel Hays, "Reconsidering the Height of Goliath," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 48 (December 2005): 703.

49. Ironically, Hays misidentifies 4QSam^a as having the shorter reading in concord with the OG (probably due to older evidence).

common ancestor of the OG (by virtue of text-critical agreement) and the MT (by virtue of the longer reading). Since the *Vorlage* of the OG probably had an ancestor which contains the longer reading, the minuses in OG should be understood as an editorial omission in that particular "branch" of the family tree. That is, the longer reading has priority. This hypothesis is visualized in Appendix B. In geographical and temporal context, it seems that the OG was translated from a line of manuscripts which had been redacted somewhere in the process of transmission between Palestine and Alexandria. Conversely, if the minuses were indeed the result of a conflation, that conflation would have to have occurred before the first century BC and in such a way that all versions (including MT and Qumran) were affected without the *Vorlage* of the OG being affected.

Other Greek Versions

Greek editions of the Hebrew Bible can generally be divided into two groups: the OG and later recensions. The most important manuscript of the OG text as it pertains to this problem is Codex Vaticanus. It is the primary basis for Rahfls' eclectic text, and it is the oldest extant manuscript of the 1 Samuel in Greek. Vaticanus was transcribed in the fourth century A.D., though the location is unclear. The shorter version of the story is attested in it.

The next most significant manuscript is Codex Alexandrinus, which was transcribed in the fifth century A.D. Unlike Vaticanus, Alexandrinus has the complete text of the longer reading. In all likelihood this codex was corrected against a longer Hebrew text. This is significant, because the OG is not a unified witness on this matter. Codex Vaticanus may be earlier, but the fact that Codex Alexandrinus had within one hundred

years "reverted" to the longer reading means that the shorter reading was probably viewed dubiously by the scholars of the time.

Among the three primary Greek recensions (Aquila, Theodotion, and Symmachus), all include the longer reading.⁵⁰ Origen's translation includes the longer reading as well.⁵¹ Also, the later Lucianic recension includes the longer reading. All of these were based either fully or in part on a Hebrew *Vorlage*, so it is possible that their OG manuscript contained the shorter reading and that the longer reading came from the Hebrew text. Alternatively, an OG manuscript with the longer reading (similar to Codex Alexandrinus) could have been the source of the reading. In either case, it is significant that all of the recensions viewed the longer text as authoritative over and against the shorter Greek text.

Simply stated, the only Greek manuscript which bears witness to the shorter reading is Codex Vaticanus. All the rest have the longer reading. This puts the textual problems in these chapters in a new light, since instead of the monolithic "Old Greek" having the shorter text, it could be simply said that only Codex Vaticanus (though quite important) has the shorter text.

Other Versions and Citations

The David and Goliath story is attested in other ancient translations as well as in citations from other sources. Neither the books of Chronicles nor any other biblical texts

50. Frederick Field, ed., *Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt*, Vol. 2 (Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1964).

51. *Ibid.*

bear directly on this problem. The evidence of other versions is silent on this matter or supports the longer reading of the MT. The Latin Vulgate, Syriac Peshitta, and Targums all include the longer reading.⁵² All are considered to be based on the Hebrew text type, so this is not particularly surprising. Still, the shorter reading as attested in the OG was available for comparison at the time of each translation (particularly in the case of the Vulgate), and in each case the editors and translators thought the longer version to be authentic.

Josephus has several references to and citations from 1 Samuel in the sixth book of his *Antiquities*. These provide an interesting insight, since he was not merely transcribing the OG nor translating the Hebrew. Rather, as is demonstrated below, he apparently had both available for consultation in addition to offering his own commentary and exegetical notes. The story of David and Goliath is found in *Antiquities* 6:170-195.

The longer reading of the story was certainly available to Josephus. His paraphrase includes many details which are present only in minuses. For example, he records that Goliath taunted the Hebrew army daily for forty days (6:174), which is only found in the Hebrew in 17:16. That David was sent by his father with provisions for his brothers (17:17) is also recorded by Josephus (6:176). It is noteworthy here that Josephus has apparently sought to smooth out the rough transition between David being in service in Saul's court in 16:23 and his renewed responsibility for his father's flocks in 17:20: "Now, on the outbreak of war between the Hebrews and the Philistines, Saul had sent

52. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 250-252.

David away to his father Jesse, being content with the latter's three sons . . . David then returned at first to his flocks . . ."⁵³ That Josephus felt the need to add these contextual details indicates that he was aware of the tension in the longer version of the story. Nonetheless, this indicates that the longer version was available to him when *Antiquities* was composed.

There is also evidence of Josephus' exposure to the OG. This can be seen when a plus (present in OG, absent in MT) is referenced. Some pluses are not represented, like the plus in 17:36 is not represented in his account in 6:183. On the other hand, the plus in 17:33 is indeed represented in 6:186: ουχι τοιουτου αλλα και χειρω κυνος ("not such, but worse than a dog"). The wording here has great affinity with OG but is not a direct quote.⁵⁴ Still, it seems that Josephus had the OG text available to him, because this phrase is absent from the Hebrew.⁵⁵

In another instance, Josephus chose to omit the betrothal of David to Merab, agreeing with the OG. This was another interesting editorial decision, since we know that he had both accounts available to him. For whatever reason, it is omitted, though we cannot be sure if this is due to a desire to follow the OG, some skepticism of the passage in Hebrew, or for the sake of brevity.

Josephus makes a complex contribution to this problem. On the one hand, he had access to the longer reading and included it in his account in some cases. On the other

53. Josephus *Antiquities* 6:175. Translation from J. Thackeray and Ralph Marcus, trans., *Josephus* Volume 5 (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1966).

54. See Appendix A.

55. It is also possible that the phrase is an emendation which was later included in the textual history of the OG.

hand, the longer reading is not followed in every case, and sometimes pluses from the OG are included. Added with the inclusion of additional materials which smooth out the rough parts of these chapters, and it becomes clear that Josephus too viewed this passage as problematic.

At the very least we can conclude that the longer reading was available at the time of his writing (first century A.D.). Ulrich considers Josephus' *Vorlage*:

the present study intends to demonstrate anew that the Bible which lay before Josephus as he compiled the Samuel portion of his *Jewish Antiquities* was Greek bible of an Old Greek/proto-Lucianic nature. . . . One can never rule out the possibility that Josephus had two or more Bibles (Greek, Hebrew, Aramaic) and that as a historian he used all at his disposal to check, correct, and amplify his narrative.⁵⁶

Tov concurs with this conclusion of Ulrich's.⁵⁷ Since Josephus worked primarily from an OG text in these chapters, it is particularly telling that details of the longer version are included. Josephus corrected the OG, his primary text (which he must have viewed as defective), in light of the Hebrew. Even if he did not exclusively base his paraphrase on the OG, he certainly had its shorter reading available for consideration, and chose the longer reading nonetheless. So he viewed the longer reading as legitimate.

Summary of Observations from Other Versions

The textual evidence of other ancient manuscripts and versions is overwhelmingly in favor of the primacy of the longer version of 1 Samuel 17-18. Outside of the OG, the shorter reading is not attested at all. Even within Greek, the majority of manuscripts

56. Eugene Charles Ulrich, *The Qumran Text of Samuel and Josephus* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1978), 223.

57. Emanuel Tov, "The Textual Affiliations of 4QSam^a," *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* 14 (1979): 49-52.

include the longer reading. And in those Greek recensions and the case of Josephus, editors even corrected Greek texts to include the longer reading. This puts the shorter reading in a rather lonely place, textually speaking.

This poses a problem for proponents of the conflation theory: how did a conflation come to have such a wide influence that the "original" shorter form of the story is only attested in one prominent manuscript? That problem can be understood both in terms of the replication of texts and in terms of editorial activity. If the shorter version is primary, why would the longer version receive so many confirmations in the form of transcription, translation, and editorial alteration? The challenges and strengths of the conflation theory are examined in the following chapter, along with an account of the abridgment theory.

CHAPTER FOUR

EVALUATION OF PROPOSED SOLUTIONS

There are many possible solutions to a textual problem where a large portion of text is omitted. One is the textual corruption of the manuscripts themselves, where various natural processes create a gap in the text. This is illustrated by the fragments at Qumran. In other cases, a portion of text may be omitted due to a mistake by a scribe or translator. However, given the textual data gathered in Chapter One of this inquiry, these two possibilities cannot explain the phenomena of 1 Samuel 17-18. It was editorial activity and not incidental omissions which brought about the problem.

Another possible solution is that the translator took liberty to omit portions of the text for whatever reason. This solution is problematic as well, since such editorial activity is incongruous with the task of translation. Moreover, as shown in Chapter Two, the translator's style is noted to be quite literal, so it would be all-the-more unexpected for the translator to be the cause of such a stark minus.⁵⁸ Rather, it can be concluded that the translator of the OG of 1 Samuel had a *Vorlage* which was just as short as the resulting translation.

Given that the *Vorlage* of the OG was short, there are two basic possibilities remaining. First, it could be that the shorter reading came first and that the longer reading

58. Emanuel Tov, *The Text-Critical Use of the Septuagint in Biblical Research*, 2nd ed (Jerusalem: Simor, 1997), 251.

found in the MT (and elsewhere) is the result of a conflation of the original text with additional narrative material.⁵⁹ This will hereafter be referred to as the "conflation theory." Second, it could be that an ancestor of the OG's *Vorlage* was shortened by a redactor, meaning that the longer reading came first. This is called the "abridgment theory." Both theories have had several champions in scholarly circles.

Each theory is examined in terms of its proponents' presentation. The strengths and weaknesses of each are evaluated in light of the current evidence. Then a determination about which theory best explains the data is made.

Conflation

For the sake of this inquiry, the primary argument for the conflation position is supplied by Emanuel Tov. Along with J. Lust, Tov has put forth his position in a number of publications. The version followed here is his article "The David and Goliath Saga" in *Bible Review*.⁶⁰ To begin, Tov makes an excellent point about the uncertainty of the inquiry: "We cannot tell *a priori* which version is earlier, because both the MT and the LXX may be based on traditions much earlier than their actual date."⁶¹ Indeed, the date of a manuscript is not the ultimate factor, though it can provide important clues to the understanding of the problem.

Tov's argument has the following basic features, each of which is expanded

59. It should be noted that some scholars like P. Kyle McCarter would actually argue in favor of an expansion of the Hebrew text and not a conflation per se. For the sake of simplicity in this chapter, only "conflation" is directly assessed, since it has the same material implications as expansion, namely that the shorter text is prior.

60. Emanuel Tov, "The David and Goliath Saga. How a Biblical Editor Combined Two Versions," *Bible Review* 2 (Winter 1986): 35-41.

61. *Ibid.*, 36.

below: 1) All variants should be considered, not just minuses; 2) it is unlikely that an editor would abridge the David and Goliath story while leaving other troubled passages intact; 3) The OG version reads as its own account; 4) We can see the evidence of conflation in various ways. This is not an exhaustive list, but it serves to guide the discussion.

The minuses are indeed the most striking feature of 1 Samuel 17-18, but there are many variants in other categories. Tov decries as defective those explanations which "focus only on the large minuses in the LXX, neglecting the shorter minuses, the variant readings, and the pluses in the LXX compared to the MT."⁶² The total variants in these chapters are cataloged in Table 1.4. Tov argues that an examination of these other types of variants is crucial to understanding the problem, though he does not make explicit how such details are useful.

Next, Tov makes an important point about the abridgment theory. That theory generally relies on an editor deleting what he considers to be dubious portions of the Hebrew text at some time prior to the translation of the OG. The problem is one of motive and consistency: "literally scores of contradictory passages have been left in the LXX translation, including many in the Book of Samuel. . . . in other chapters in Samuel containing contradictions and inconsistencies, we find nothing like the alleged abridgment said to have occurred in the David and Goliath story."⁶³ It is true that the patterns of variance in 1 Samuel 17-18 are unique to those chapters. P. Kyle McCarter argues that the editor's abridgment for the purpose of harmonization would not explain

62. Ibid., 36.

63. Ibid., 39.

why David's covenant with Jonathan in 18:1-4 was also omitted.⁶⁴ McCarter also argues that some inconsistencies remain nonetheless in the resultant text. So, if one is going to posit that an editor made extensive changes in only one passage of a large work, and that those changes were not even internally consistent, a reasonable explanation for the inconsistent behavior should be included.

Tov then argues that "the episode as related in the LXX was an independent, cohesive version of the David-Goliath incident."⁶⁵ As noted in the Introduction and the "Analysis of Minuses" section of Chapter One, this is a valid observation. The OG as it stands is a complete narrative. Moreover, the sections which are missing are characterized by some problematic features like duplication and chronological shifts. In other words, it may be said that the shorter account actually reads smoother than the longer account.

McCarter argues that the converse is also true, namely that "most damaging to the 'shortening' hypothesis, however, is the fact that the materials missing from LXX^B, when collected . . . can be seen to form a more or less complete narrative on their own."⁶⁶ This is illustrated by McCarter treating each version separately in his translation and commentary.⁶⁷ This, in McCarter's estimation, is the best evidence that the longer account is the result of conflation.

In addition to the OG forming its own unit, Tov argues that the MT shows several

64. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 307.

65. Emanuel Tov, "The David and Goliath Saga. How a Biblical Editor Combined Two Versions," *Bible Review* 2 (Winter 1986): 39-40.

66. P. Kyle McCarter, *I Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary* (New York: Doubleday, 1980), 307.

67. *Ibid.*, 299-301.

features of conflation, chiefly duplicate accounts among other inconsistencies.⁶⁸ In the area of duplications, he cites the two times Saul learns about David's identity and when two of Saul's daughters are offered to David on different occasions. Additionally, the incident of Saul trying to kill David is cited here, though its duplicate is actually outside of the context of this inquiry (1 Samuel 19:9-10), making it of questionable relevance. Still, Tov and others have identified many possible contradictions. The argument goes that such purported contradictions would not have been present at the initial composition of the story. Therefore, they must be the result of a later conflation with a similar yet contradictory alternative account.

The basics of this line of argument can be augmented with many supporting details. Tov's observations of the textual tensions in this passage are keen. Indeed, the problems prompted Josephus to include clarifying comments in his account. Still, the approach taken by Tov and others has some problems which are enumerated below. These criticisms will also stand in support of the abridgment theory, to be presented thereafter.

First up for review is Tov's contention that all variants in the passage should be considered, not just minuses. Indeed, all variants are significant to the task of textual criticism, but not all variants are necessarily resultant from the same process. As a careful inspection of all the variants found, all of the non-minus variants can be understood in terms of non-editorial processes.⁶⁹ So when it comes to understanding the editorial process which shaped 1 Samuel 17-18, the minuses are indeed the only pertinent variants.

68. Emanuel Tov, "The David and Goliath Saga. How a Biblical Editor Combined Two Versions," *Bible Review* 2 (Winter 1986): 40.

69. This is with the exception of the two differences in 18:6-7, which seem to be the direct result of the preceding minus.

Therefore Tov's theory is undermined where it relies on non-minus variants in these chapters.

Tov objects to the idea of a redactor abridging the account for perceived inconsistencies when other inconsistencies elsewhere in the book have been preserved in the OG translation. However, there is no need to assume that such an editorial process must be systematic or consistent. A redactor could have deleted portions of the text for many reasons, not all of which would require the redactor to apply the same process to the rest of the book or to the entire *Vorlage* of the OG.

Moreover, the converse objection could be made against the conflation theory, as Tov himself acknowledges: "Why the editor or redactor created this conflate version, despite its inconsistencies, is a matter of conjecture."⁷⁰ The very inconsistencies which Tov points out make it difficult to understand why such an awkward conflation would be attempted. At the very least, it can be agreed that the "why" behind the editorial process which shaped these chapters is unknowable and perhaps moot. That is, it might be faulty to assume that an editor would act in a way which a present scholar would regard as "rational."

Along the same lines, it should be noted that the conflation of multiple accounts is not restricted to later editorial action. The original author of 1 Samuel may have been the one whose task it was to combine several varied accounts. Later literary development is not the only plausible explanation for the problematic features of the text which Josephus, Tov, and others have noted. Therefore even if the problematic features of the longer

70. Emanuel Tov, "The David and Goliath Saga. How a Biblical Editor Combined Two Versions," *Bible Review* 2 (Winter 1986): 41.

narrative are the result of a conflation, that does not mean that the conflation is necessarily the reason for the OG being shorter.

Tov does not greatly take into account the textual evidence for this problem. The presence of the longer reading at Qumran is acknowledged: "this version actually goes back to a much earlier period and is already attested in a few verses of the pericope found in the manuscripts from the Dead Sea Scroll cave"71 Unlike some other works, Tov here apparently has the benefit of the latest fragmentary identifications which place the longer reading at Qumran. What is missing from this acknowledgment is an evaluation of its implications, which are stated in Chapter Three. It seems that the *Vorlage* of the OG possesses an ancestor which contained the longer reading. If not, it puts the conflation scenario in the position of having to explain how the original text came to be represented in only one extant manuscript. The empirical textual evidence cannot be counted in favor of Tov's conflation theory.

Given the questions raised above, particularly in the area of the perceived inconsistencies, the only facet of Tov's argument which stands strong is that the OG reads as "an independent, cohesive" account. This argument does not stand well on its own, however, since a redactor could nonetheless create a coherent account by deleting portions of a longer text. Also, McCarter's assertion that the unique material of the longer reading forms its own, cohesive account "may, however, be doubted," to borrow a phrase from Henry Smith's evaluation of an earlier version of the same argument.⁷² Whether or not a portion of text forms a cohesive unit is ultimately a subjective judgment. In

71. *Ibid.*, 35.

72. Henry P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1951), 151.

addition, Tov and McCarter have not convincingly demonstrated that a cohesive reading necessarily indicates an original reading.

Finally, it should be noted that the very same features which Tov and others cite in favor of conflation may have been the same which prompted an editor to abridge the text. The seeming contradictions,⁷³ chronological shifts, and duplicate events can make the same impression on an ancient editor as on modern scholars. That may provide some of the motive for editorial action which is so hard to discern in either case.

Tov's argument is primarily based on source and form criticism, which are subjective disciplines. The conflation theory does not properly weigh the textual witnesses, which is a more objective discipline, at least in so far as it deals with empirical evidence. Moreover, Tov's source and form critical arguments have their own weaknesses, as noted above. In light of all of these objections, it is best to consider another possibility: that the *Vorlage* was abridged before translation.

Abridgment

Here the present author's own argument in favor of abridgment is set forward. The essence of the abridgment theory is that a redactor of the *Vorlage* of the OG (or one of its ancestors) shortened the original longer account. It is also clear that this editorial action was, with few exceptions, carried out by removing portions of the longer text. Therefore this abridgment is independent of the other text-critical issues which are present in 1 Samuel 17-18.

73. The classification of certain elements of these chapters as "inconsistent" or "duplicate" also requires further analysis. This task of literary criticism unfortunately falls outside of the scope of this inquiry.

We can hypothesize that this abridgment took place before translation as opposed to after since an analysis of the longer section in Alexandrinus and other later Greek manuscripts shows that it was probably translated by someone other than the original translator of the OG.⁷⁴ Later Greek manuscripts had to be supplemented by a new translation of the Hebrew, since the received OG was defective.

The motive for the redactor is not known. At this point the abridgment theory has a common feature with the conflation theory. It seems the most likely cause for such editorial effort was that the editor doubted the authenticity of the deleted portions or wanted to harmonize the narrative. We can find clues in the sort of material which was omitted. The Analysis of Minuses section of Chapter One provides a good overview of the nature of these omissions. In summary, they were characterized by David-centrism, redundancy, chronological shifts, and duplicates. These are the most likely characteristics which lead to the text being shortened.

Tov's objection that it is unlikely that a redactor would take such action only in one passage can be answered by the singular nature of this passage. The importance of the David and Goliath story within 1 Samuel probably brought it greater scrutiny than other portions of the book. Consequently it could be that this was the only passage wherein the editor perceived problematic features. McCarter's objection that some non-problematic text was removed can be answered in two ways. First, we have no certain way of knowing the entirety of what would or would not have been problematic in the eyes of the redactor. Second, it could be that the redactor felt it necessary to remove some

74. A. Graeme Auld, "The Story of David and Goliath: A Testcase for Synchrony *plus* Diachrony," in *David und Saul im Wiederstreit* (Fribourg: Academic Press, 2004), 118-128.

"neutral" material in order to create a smoother resulting narrative. To be more specific, David and Jonathan's covenant was probably omitted because it was in the midst of a major chronological shift.

An important point in favor of the abridgment theory is the textual witness. That Codex Vaticanus represents the best witness of the OG is not in doubt - it is clear that the shorter account was in front of the translator. However, the fact that it is the only extant manuscript which has the shorter reading makes it difficult to argue for the priority of the shorter reading. It is not the oldest manuscript which bears witness to the chapters. That mantle is worn most likely by 4QSam^a, which might even predate the translation of 1 Samuel. Furthermore, the shorter reading seems to have been understood as defective by the editors of subsequent versions and other witnesses. Josephus is the paragon of this, because though he worked primarily from the Greek text, he integrated the longer reading into his paraphrase, even though the OG was probably considered more authoritative than the Hebrew in his context.

There is also the matter of the addition in 3 Kingdoms, which is discussed in Chapter Two. It seems that pre-translation editorial activity (in the form of an addition in this case) is not limited to 1 Samuel 17-18. The circumstances of these two problems are remarkably similar. Consequently, the situation in 3 Kingdoms serves as a confirmation of abridgment theory by demonstrating that similar editorial activity occurred in the surrounding context of the David and Goliath story.

Based on all of the available evidence, the abridgment theory best explains the textual situation in 1 Samuel 17-18. It can even accommodate a large portion of the

conflation theory, since a conflation did not necessarily come after the initial composition. The longer reading as attested in the MT and other witnesses is primary.

CONCLUSION

The problem in the story of David and Goliath is certainly complex. Many brilliant minds have come down on different sides of the issue. The background to this variance is ambiguous because it was the result of editorial activity, not the result of easily categorized and predictable scribal habits and translation practices. Moreover, the motive behind the change remains problematic no matter what approach is taken. Still, given all of the internal evidence, the contextual evidence, and the external evidence of other manuscripts and versions, the abridgment theory describes the most probable solution to the problem of why the Old Greek is so much shorter than the Masoretic Text in these chapters.

Consequently, the longer reading of the story as found in vernacular Bibles has been vindicated. There is no need to revise children's curricula, except perhaps to reduce Goliath's height by about a meter. That is, in spite of containing a defective reading, it seems that the OG does indeed serve a valuable role in textual criticism in these chapters. Further insight into this problem might come in the form of additional fragments at Qumran being discovered or new manuscript finds. Until then, the matter of the short Goliath will continue to be debated.

APPENDIX A

Brackets [] enclose text which is present in one version but absent from another (pluses and minuses). Differences between the versions are underlined>.

Table A.1. Four Column Chart of 1 Samuel 17-18

OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
και συναγουσιν αλλοφυλοι τας παρεμβολας αυτων εις πολεμον και συναγονται εις σοκχωθ της ιουδαιας και παρεμβαλλουσιν ανα μεσον σοκχωθ και ανα μεσον αζηκα εν εφερμεμ	And the allophyles gathered their armies for battle, and they were gathered at Sokchoth of Judea, and they encamped between Sokchoth and between Azeka, in Ephermem.	17:1	Now the Philistines gathered their armies for battle; they were gathered at Socoh, which belongs to Judah, and encamped between Socoh and Azekah, in Ephes-dammim.	וַיֵּאסְפוּ פְּלִשְׁתִּים אֶת־מַחֲנֵיהֶם לְמַלְחָמָה וַיֵּאסְפוּ שָׁכָה אֲשֶׁר לְיְהוּדָה וַיִּחַנוּ בֵּין־שׁוֹכָה וּבֵין־עֶזְקָה בְּאֶפְסֵי דָמִים:
και σαουλ και οι ανδρες ισραηλ συναγονται και παρεμβαλλουσιν εν τη κοιλαδι αυτοι παρατασσονται εις πολεμον εξ εναντιας αλλοφυλων	And Saoul and the men of Israel were gathered and encamped in the valley; they formed ranks for battle opposite the allophyles.	17:2	Saul and the Israelites gathered and encamped in the valley [of Elah], and formed ranks against the Philistines.	וְשָׂאֵל וְאִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל נֶאֱסָפוּ וַיִּחַנוּ בְּעֵמֶק הָאֵלָה וַיַּעֲרְכוּ מַלְחָמָה לְקִרְיַת פְּלִשְׁתִּים:
και αλλοφυλοι ιστανται επι του ορους ενταυθα και ισραηλ ισταται επι του ορους ενταυθα και ο αυλων ανα μεσον αυτων	And the allophyles stood on the mountain here, and Israel stood on the mountain there, and the valley was between them.	17:3	The Philistines stood on the mountain on one side, and Israel stood on the mountain on the other side, with a valley between them.	וּפְּלִשְׁתִּים עָמְדִים אֶל־הַהָר מִזֶּה וַיִּשְׂרָאֵל עָמְדִים אֶל־הַהָר מִזֶּה וְהָיָא בֵּינֵיהֶם:
και εξηλθεν ανηρ δυνατος εκ της παραταξεως των	And a mighty man came out from the ranks of the allophyles;	17:4	And there came out from the camp of the Philistines a	וַיֵּצֵא אִישׁ־הַבְּנִים מִמַּחֲנֹת

OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
αλλοφυλων γολιαθ ονομα αυτω εκ γεθ υψος αυτου τεσσαρων πηχεων και σπιθαμης	Goliath was his name, from Geth; his height was <u>four</u> cubits and a span.		champion named Goliath, of Gath, whose height was <u>six</u> cubits and a span.	פְּלִשְׁתִּים גְּלִיָּת שְׁמוֹ מִגַּת גְּבָהוּ שֵׁשׁ אַמּוֹת וְזֵרַת:
και περικεφαλαια επι της κεφαλης αυτου και θωρακα αλυσιδωτον αυτος ενδεδυκως και ο σταθμος του θωρακος αυτου πεντε χιλιαδες σικλων χαλκου και σιδηρου	And he had a helmet on his head, and he was armed with a coat of chain mail, and the weight of his coat was five thousand shekels of bronze [and iron].	17:5	He had a helmet of bronze on his head, and he was armoured with a coat of mail; the weight of the coat was five thousand shekels of bronze.	וְכֹבַע נְחֹשֶׁת עַל-רֹאשׁוֹ וְשָׂרְיוֹן קִשְׁשִׁים הוּא לְבוּשׁ וּמִשְׁקַל הַשָּׂרְיוֹן חֲמִשָּׁת-אַלְפִים שְׁקָלִים נְחֹשֶׁת:
και κνημιδες χαλκαι επανω των σκελων αυτου και ασπις χαλκη ανα μεσον των ωμων αυτου	And there were bronze greaves on his legs and a bronze <u>shield</u> between his shoulders.	17:6	He had greaves of bronze on his legs and a <u>javelin</u> of bronze slung between his shoulders.	וּמִצַּחַת נְחֹשֶׁת עַל-רֵגְלָיו וְכִידוֹן נְחֹשֶׁת בֵּין כַּתְּפָיו:
και ο κοντος του δορατος αυτου ωσει μεσακλον υφαινοντων και η λογχη αυτου εξακοσιων σικλων σιδηρου και ο αιρων τα οπλα αυτου προεπορευετο αυτου	And the shaft of his spear was like a beam of weavers, and his spear weighed six hundred shekels of iron, and the one who carried his armor would go before him.	17:7	The shaft of his spear was like a weaver's beam, and his spear's [head] weighed six hundred shekels of iron; and his shield-bearer went before him.	וְחֵץ כֹּ [וְעֵץ ק] חֲנִיתוֹ כְּמִנּוֹר אַרְגָּנִים וְלַהֲבַת חֲנִיתוֹ שֵׁשׁ-מֵאוֹת שְׁקָלִים בְּרִזְל וְנִשָּׂא הַצֹּנֵה הַלֶּךְ לְפָנָיו:
και εστη και ανεβοησεν εις την παραταξιν ισραηλ και ειπεν αυτοις τι εκπορευεσθε παραταξασθαι πολεμω εξ εναντιας ημων ουκ εγω ειμι	And he stood and shouted to the ranks of Israel [and said to them], "Why do you come out to draw up for battle [opposite us]? Am I not an allophyle, and are	17:8	He stood and shouted to the ranks of Israel, "Why have you come out to draw up for battle? Am I not a Philistine, and are you not <u>servants</u> of Saul?"	וַיַּעֲמֵד וַיִּקְרָא אֶל-מַעֲרַכַת יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיֹּאמֶר לָהֶם לָמָּה תִצְאוּ לַעֲרֹךְ מִלְחָמָה הֲלוֹא אֲנֹכִי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וְאַתֶּם עֲבָדִים לְשָׂאוּל

OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
αλλοφυλος και υμεις εβραιοι του σαουλ εκλεξασθε εαυτοις ανδρα και καταβητω προς με	you not <u>Hebrews</u> of Saoul? Choose a man for yourselves, and let him come down to me,		Choose a man for yourselves, and let him come down to me.	בְּרוּ-לָכֶם אִישׁ וְיָרַד אֵלַי:
και εαν δυνηθη προς εμε πολεμησαι και εαν παταξη με και εσομεθα υμιν εις δουλους εαν δε εγω δυνηθω και παταξω αυτον εσεσθε ημιν εις δουλους και δουλευσετε ημιν	and if he is able to fight against me and if he strike me, then we will be to you for slaves, but if I am able and kill him, then you shall be to us for slaves and be subject to us."	17:9	If he is able to fight with me and kill me, then we will be your servants; but if I prevail against him and kill him, then you shall be our servants and serve us.'	אִם-יִוָּכַל לְהִלָּחֵם אִתִּי וְהִכְנִי וְהָיִינוּ לָכֶם לְעֲבָדִים וְאִם-אֲנִי אִוָּכַל-לוֹ וְהִכִּיתִיו וְהָיִיתֶם לָנוּ לְעֲבָדִים וְעַבְדֶתֶם אֹתָנוּ:
και ειπεν ο αλλοφυλος ιδου εγω ωνειδισα την παραταξιν ισραηλ σημερον εν τη ημερα ταυτη δοτε μοι ανδρα και μονομαχησομεν αμφοτεροι	And the allophyle said, "Behold, today on this very day I have chided the ranks of Israel. Give me a man, and we both will fight in single combat."	17:10	And the Philistine said, 'Today I defy the ranks of Israel! Give me a man, that we may fight together.'	וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֲנִי חֹרֶפְתִּי אֶת-מַעְרְכֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה תִּנְנוּ-לִי אִישׁ וְנִלְחַמָּה יָחַד:
και ηκουσεν σαουλ και πας ισραηλ τα ρηματα του αλλοφυλου ταυτα και εξεστησαν και εφοβηθησαν σφοδρα	And Saoul and all Israel heard these words of the allophyle, and they were dismayed and greatly afraid.	17:11	When Saoul and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they were dismayed and greatly afraid.	וַיִּשְׁמַע שָׁאוּל וְכָל-יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת-דְּבָרֵי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּחַתּוּ וַיִּירָאוּ מְאֹד: פ
		17:12	Now David was the son of an Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah, named Jesse, who had eight sons. In the days of Saoul the man was already old and advanced in years.	וְדָוִד בֶּן-אִישׁ אֶפְרָתִי הָיָה מִבֵּית לָחֵם יְהוּדָה וְשֵׁמוֹ יֵשׁוּ וְלוֹ שְׁמֹנֶה בָּנִים וְהָאִישׁ בִּימֵי שָׁאוּל זָקֵן בָּא בְּאִנְשֵׁים:

OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
		17:13	The three eldest sons of Jesse had followed Saul to the battle; the names of his three sons who went to the battle were Eliab the firstborn, and next to him Abinadab, and the third Shammah.	וַיֵּלְכוּ שְׁלֹשֶׁת בְּנֵי-יִשָּׁי הַגְּדֹלִים הָלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי-שָׁאוּל לַמִּלְחָמָה וְשֵׁם שְׁלֹשֶׁת בְּנָיו אֲשֶׁר הָלְכוּ בַּמִּלְחָמָה אֱלִיאָב הַבְּכוֹר וּמְשֻׁנָּהוּ אַבְיָנָדָב וְהַשְּׁלִישִׁי שָׁמָּה:
		17:14	David was the youngest; the three eldest followed Saul,	וְדָוִד הוּא הַקָּטָן וְשֹׁלְשָׁה הַגְּדֹלִים הָלְכוּ אַחֲרֵי שָׁאוּל: ס
		17:15	but David went back and forth from Saul to feed his father's sheep at Bethlehem.	וְדָוִד הֵלֵךְ וָשָׁב מֵעַל שָׁאוּל לְרֻעוֹת אֶת-צֹאן אָבִיו בֵּית- לְחֶם:
		17:16	For forty days the Philistine came forward and took his stand, morning and evening.	וַיָּנֹשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַשָּׂכֶם וְהָעָרֶב וַיִּתְיַצֵּב אַרְבָּעִים יוֹם: פ
		17:17	Jesse said to his son David, 'Take for your brothers an ephah of this parched grain and these ten loaves, and carry them quickly to the camp to your brothers;	וַיֹּאמֶר יִשָּׁי לְדָוִד בְּנוֹ קַח-נָא לְאַחֶיךָ אֵיפֹת הַקֶּלִיא הַזֶּה וְעֲשֶׂרֶה לֶחֶם הַזֶּה וְהָרֵץ הַמַּחֲנֶה לְאַחֶיךָ:
		17:18	also take these ten cheeses to the commander of their thousand. See how your brothers fare, and bring some	וְאֵת עֲשָׂרֵת חֲרָצֵי הַחֶלֶב הָאֵלֶּה תָּבִיא לְשֵׁר־הָאֶלֶף וְאֵת אַחֶיךָ תִּפְקֹד לְשָׁלוֹם וְאֵת-עֲרֻבְתֶּם

OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
			token from them.'	תקח:
		17:19	Now Saul, and they, and all the men of Israel, were in the valley of Elah, fighting with the Philistines.	וּשְׂאוּל וְהָמָה וְכָל-אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּעֵמֶק הָאֵלָה נִלְחָמִים עִם- פְּלִשְׁתִּים:
		17:20	David rose early in the morning, left someone in charge of the sheep, took the provisions, and went as Jesse had commanded him. He came to the encampment as the army was going forth to the battle line, shouting the war cry.	וַיִּשְׁכֶּם דָּוִד בַּבֹּקֶר וַיִּטֵּשׂ אֶת- הַצֹּאן עַל-שֹׁמֵר וַיִּשָּׂא וַיֵּלֶךְ כַּאֲשֶׁר צִוְּהוּ יִשִׁי וַיָּבֹא הַמַּעְרָלָה וַתְּחִיל הַיָּצֵא אֶל-הַמַּעְרָכָה וַהֲרֵעוּ בַּמִּלְחָמָה:
		17:21	Israel and the Philistines drew up for battle, army against army.	וַתַּעֲרֹךְ יִשְׂרָאֵל וּפְלִשְׁתִּים מִמַּעְרָכָה לְקִרְאֵת מִמַּעְרָכָה:
		17:22	David left the things in charge of the keeper of the baggage, ran to the ranks, and went and greeted his brothers.	וַיִּטֵּשׂ דָּוִד אֶת-הַכֵּלִים מֵעָלָיו עַל-יַד שׁוֹמֵר הַכֵּלִים וַיָּרֶץ הַמַּעְרָכָה וַיָּבֹא וַיִּשְׂאַל לְאֶחָיו לְשָׁלוֹם:
		17:23	As he talked with them, the champion, the Philistine of Gath, Goliath by name, came up out of the ranks of the Philistines, and spoke the same	וְהוּא ׀ מְדַבֵּר עִמָּם וְהִנֵּה אִישׁ הַבְּנִים עוֹלָה גִלְיָת הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי שְׁמוֹ מִנָּת [מִמַּעְרוֹת כ] (מִמַּעְרָכוֹת ק) פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיְדַבֵּר

OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
			words as before. And David heard him.	כְּדַבְּרֵים הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּשְׁמַע דָּוִד:
		17:24	All the Israelites, when they saw the man, fled from him and were very much afraid.	וְכָל אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל בְּרָאוּתָם אֶת־הָאִישׁ וַיִּנָּסוּ מִפָּנָיו וַיִּירָאוּ מְאֹד:
		17:25	The Israelites said, 'Have you seen this man who has come up? Surely he has come up to defy Israel. The king will greatly enrich the man who kills him, and will give him his daughter and make his family free in Israel.'	וַיֹּאמְרוּ אִישׁ יִשְׂרָאֵל הֲרֵאִיתֶם הָאִישׁ הַעֲלֶה הַזֶּה כִּי לְחַרֵּף אֶת־יִשְׂרָאֵל עָלָה וַהֲיֵה הָאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר־יִכְנוּ יַעֲשֶׂרְנוּ הַמְּלֹךְ וְעָשָׂר גְּדוּל וְאֶת־בֵּיתוֹ יִתֵּן־לוֹ וְאֶת בֵּית אָבִיו יַעֲשֶׂה חֲפְשֵׁי בְיִשְׂרָאֵל:
		17:26	David said to the men who stood by him, 'What shall be done for the man who kills this Philistine, and takes away the reproach from Israel? For who is this uncircumcised Philistine that he should defy the armies of the living God?'	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הָאֲנָשִׁים הַעֲמִידִים עִמּוֹ לֵאמֹר מַה־יַּעֲשֶׂה לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִכֶּה אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה וְהִסִּיר חֲרָפָה מֵעַל יִשְׂרָאֵל כִּי מִי הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה לְחַרֵּף מִעַרְכוֹת אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים:
		17:27	The people answered him in the same way, 'So shall it be done for the man who kills him.'	וַיֹּאמְרוּ לוֹ הָעָם כְּדַבְּרֵי הַזֶּה לֵאמֹר כֹּה יַעֲשֶׂה לְאִישׁ אֲשֶׁר יִכְנוּ:
		17:28	His eldest brother Eliab heard	וַיִּשְׁמַע אֱלִיאָב אָחִיו הַגְּדוֹל

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			him talking to the men; and Eliab's anger was kindled against David. He said, 'Why have you come down? With whom have you left those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your presumption and the evil of your heart; for you have come down just to see the battle.'	בְּדַבְּרוֹ אֶל-הָאֲנָשִׁים וַיִּחַר-אַף אֵלֵיָאֵב בְּדוֹד וַיֹּאמֶר ׀ לְמַה-זֶּה יָרַדְתָּ וְעַל-מִי נָטַשְׁתָּ מְעַט הַצֹּאן הַהַנְּהָה בַּמִּדְבָּר אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי אֶת- זִדְנְךָ וְאֵת רָע לִבְבְּךָ כִּי לְמַעַן רְאוֹת הַמְּלַחְמָה יָרַדְתָּ:
		17:29	David said, 'What have I done now? It was only a question.'	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד מָה עָשִׂיתִי עָתָה הֲלוֹא דִבַּר הוּא:
		17:30	He turned away from him towards another and spoke in the same way; and the people answered him again as before.	וַיִּסַּב מֵאֲצִלוֹ אֶל-מוֹל אַחֵר וַיֹּאמֶר כַּדָּבָר הַזֶּה וַיִּשְׁבְּהוּ הָעָם דָּבָר כַּדָּבָר הַרְאִישׁוֹן:
		17:31	When the words that David spoke were heard, they repeated them before Saul; and he sent for him.	וַיִּשְׁמְעוּ הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר דָּוִד וַיִּגְדּוּ לְפָנָיִם-שָׂאוּל וַיִּקְחֵהוּ:
και ειπεν δαυιδ προς σαουλ μη δη συμπεσετω η καρδια του κυριου μου επ αυτον ο δουλος σου πορευσεται και πολεμησει μετα του αλλοφυλου τουτου	And David said to Saoul, "On no account let the heart <u>of my lord</u> collapse <u>upon</u> him; your slave will go and will fight with this allophyle."	17:32	David said to Saul, 'Let <u>no one's</u> heart fail <u>because</u> of him; your servant will go and fight with this Philistine.'	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל-שָׂאוּל אֶל-יִפְלֹ לִב-אָדָם עָלָיו עֲבֹדְךָ יִלָּךְ וַנִּלְחַם עִם-הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה:

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και ειπεν σαουλ προς δαυιδ ου μη δυναση πορευθηναι προς τον αλλοφυλον του πολεμειν μετ αυτου οτι παιδαριον ει συ και αυτος ανηρ πολεμιστης εκ νεοτητος αυτου	And Saoul said to Daudid, "You will definitely not be able to go against the allophyle to fight with him, for you are a boy, and he has been a warrior from his youth."	17:33	Saul said to David, 'You are not able to go against this Philistine to fight with him; for you are just a boy, and he has been a warrior from his youth.'	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד לֹא תוּכַל לְלַחֵם אֶל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה לְהִלָּחֵם עִמּוֹ כִּי־נָעַר אַתָּה וְהוּא אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה מִנְעָרָיו: ס
και ειπεν δαυιδ προς σαουλ ποιμαινων ην ο δουλος σου τω πατρι αυτου εν τω ποιμνιω και οταν ηρχετο ο λεων και η αρκος και ελαμβανεν προβατον εκ της αγελης	And Daudid said to Saoul, "Your slave was tending the flock for his father, and when the lion and the bear would come and take a sheep from the herd,	17:34	But David said to Saul, 'Your servant used to keep sheep for his father; and whenever a lion or a bear came, and took a lamb from the flock,	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־שָׁאוּל רֵעָה הָיָה עִבְדִּי לְאָבִיו בְּצֹאן וְכֹא הָאָרִי וְאֶת־הַדּוֹב וְנִשָּׂא שָׂה מִהֶעֶדֶר:
και εξεπορευομην οπισω αυτου και επαταξα αυτον και εξεσπασα εκ του στοματος αυτου και ει επανιστατο επ εμε και εκρατησα του φαρυγγος αυτου και επαταξα και εθανατωσα αυτον	and I would go after it, then I struck it and pulled from its mouth, and if it turned against me, then I caught it by its throat and struck it down and put it to death.	17:35	I went after it and struck it down, rescuing the lamb from its mouth; and if it turned against me, I would catch it by the jaw, strike it down, and kill it.	וַיֵּצֵאתִי אַחֲרָיו וְהִכֹּתִיו וְהִצַּלְתִּי מִפִּי וַיִּקָּם עָלַי וְהִחֲזַקְתִּי בִּיָּקְנוֹ וְהִכֹּתִיו וְהָמִיתִיו:
και την αρκον ετυπτεν ο δουλος σου και τον λεοντα και εσται ο αλλοφυλος ο απεριτμητος ως εν τουτων ουχι πορευσομαι και παταξω αυτον και αφελω	And your slave would smite both the bear and the lion, and the uncircumcised allophyle shall be like one of these. [Shall I not go and smite him and take away today a reproach from	17:36	Your servant has killed both lions and bears; and this uncircumcised Philistine shall be like one of them, since he has defied the armies of the living God.'	גַּם אֶת־הָאָרִי גַם־הַדּוֹב הִכָּה עִבְדִּי וְהָיָה הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הָעֶרְלָה זֶה כְּאֶחָד מֵהֶם כִּי תָרַף מִעֲרַכְתָּ אֱלֹהִים חַיִּים: ס

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σημερον ονειδος εξ ισραηλ διοτι τις ο απεριτμητος ουτος ος ωνειδισεν παραταξιν θεου ζωντος	Israel? For who is this uncircumcised one] who reproached the ranks of the living God?			
κυριος ος εξειλατο με εκ χειρος του λεοντος και εκ χειρος της αρκου αυτος εξελειται με εκ χειρος του αλλοφυλου του απεριτμητου τουτου και ειπεν σαουλ προς δαυιδ πορευου και εσται κυριος μετα σου	The Lord who delivered me from the paw of the lion and from the paw of the bear, he himself will rescue me from the hand of this [uncircumcised] allophyle." And Saoul said to Dauid, "Go, and the Lord will be with you!"	17:37	[David said], 'The Lord, who saved me from the paw of the lion and from the paw of the bear, will save me from the hand of this Philistine.' So Saul said to David, 'Go, and may the Lord be with you!'	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד יְהוָה אֲשֶׁר הִצִּילָנִי מִיַּד הָאָרִי וּמִיַּד הַדָּב הוּא יִצִּילָנִי מִיַּד הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַזֶּה ס וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד לֵךְ יְיָהוָה יְהִיֶּה עִמָּךְ:
και ενεδυσεν σαουλ τον δαυιδ μανδυν και περικεφαλαιαν χαλκην περι την κεφαλην αυτου	And Saoul put a woolen cloak on Dauid, and a bronze helmet around his head,	17:38	Saul clothed David with his armour; he put a bronze helmet on his head [and clothed him with a coat of mail].	וַיִּלְבַּשׁ שָׁאוּל אֶת־דָּוִד מַדְיּוֹ וְנָתַן קִזְבַּע נְחֹשֶׁת עַל־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיִּלְבַּשׁ אֹתוֹ שָׂרְיוֹן:
και εξωσεν τον δαυιδ την ρομφαιαν αυτου επανω του μανδνου αυτου και εκοπιασεν περιπατησας απαξ και δις και ειπεν δαυιδ προς σαουλ ου μη δυναμαι πορευθηναι εν τουτοις οτι ου πεπειραμαι και αφαιρουνσιν αυτα απ αυτου	and he girded Dauid with his sword over his woolen cloak, and he <u>grew tired walking once and twice</u> . And Dauid said to Saoul, "I shall definitely not be able to go in these, for I am not experienced." And <u>they</u> removed them from him.	17:39	David strapped Saul's sword over the armour, and he <u>tried in vain to walk, for he was not used to them</u> . Then David said to Saul, 'I cannot walk with these; for I am not used to them.' So <u>David</u> removed them.	וַיִּחַזֵּר דָּוִד אֶת־חַרְבּוֹ מֵעַל לְמַדְיּוֹ וַיֵּאָל לְלָכֶת כִּי לֹא־נִסָּה וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־שָׁאוּל לֹא אוֹכֵל לְלָכֶת בְּאֵלֶּה כִּי לֹא נִסִּיתִי וַיִּסְרֶם דָּוִד מֵעָלָיו:
και ελαβεν την βακτηριαν αυτου εν τη χειρι αυτου και	And he took his staff in his hand and chose for himself five	17:40	Then he took his staff in his hand, and chose five smooth	וַיִּקַּח מִקְלוֹ בְּיָדוֹ וַיִּבְחַר־לוֹ

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εξελεξατο εαυτω πεντε λιθους λειους εκ του χειμαρρου και εθετο αυτους εν τω καδιω τω ποιμενικω τω οντι αυτω εις συλλογην και σφενδονην αυτου εν τη χειρι αυτου και προσηλθεν προς τον ανδρα τον αλλοφυλον	smooth stones from the wadi and put them in his shepherd's bag, <u>which he had with him for collecting</u> , and his sling in his hand, and he advanced against the man, the allophyle.		stones from the wadi, and put them in his shepherd's bag, <u>in the pouch</u> ; his sling was in his hand, and he drew near to the Philistine.	חַמְשָׁה חֲלָקֵי-אֲבָנִים מִן-הַנַּחַל וַיִּשֶׂם אֹתָם בְּכַלֵּי הָרַעִים אֲשֶׁר-לוֹ וּבִיָּלְקוּט וְקָלְעוֹ בְּיָדוֹ וַיִּגַּשׁ אֶל-הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי:
		17:41	The Philistine came on and drew near to David, with his shield-bearer in front of him.	וַיֵּלֶךְ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי הַלֵּךְ וְקָרַב אֶל-דָּוִד וְהָאִישׁ נָשָׂא הַצַּנָּה לְפָנָיו:
και ειδεν γολιαδ τον δαυιδ και ητιμασεν αυτον οτι αυτος ην παιδαριον και αυτος πυρρακης μετα καλλους οφθαλμων	And <u>Goliad</u> saw Daudid, and he disdained him, for he was a boy, and he was ruddy with <u>beauty of eyes</u> .	17:42	When <u>the Philistine</u> looked and saw David, he disdained him, for he was only a youth, ruddy and <u>handsome in appearance</u> .	וַיִּבַּט הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּרְאֶה אֶת-דָּוִד וַיִּבְזֶהוּ כִּי-הָיָה נַעַר וְאֶדְמָנִי עִם-יָפֵה מֵרְאָה:
και ειπεν ο αλλοφυλος προς δαυιδ ωσει κυων εγω ειμι οτι συ ερχη επ εμε εν ραβδω και λιθοις και ειπεν δαυιδ ουχι αλλ η χειρω κυνος και κατηρασατο ο αλλοφυλος τον δαυιδ εν τοις θεοις αυτου	And the allophyle said to David, "Am I like a dog, that you come upon me with a rod [and stones]?" [And Daudid said, "No, but worse than a dog."] And the allophyle cursed Daudid by his gods.	17:43	The Philistine said to David, 'Am I a dog, that you come to me with sticks?' And the Philistine cursed David by his gods.	וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶל-דָּוִד הַכֶּלֶב אֲנֹכִי כִּי-אַתָּה בָּא-אֵלַי בְּמַקְלוֹת וַיִּקְלַל הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶת-דָּוִד בְּאֱלֹהָיו:
και ειπεν ο αλλοφυλος προς δαυιδ δευρο προς με και	And the allophyle said to Daudid, "Come to me, and I will give	17:44	The Philistine said to David, 'Come to me, and I will give	וַיֹּאמֶר הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶל-דָּוִד לָכֵה אֵלַי וְאַתָּנָה אֶת-בְּשָׂרְךָ לְעוֹף

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δωσω τας σαρκας σου τοις πετεινοις του ουρανου και τοις κτηνεσιν της γης	your flesh to the birds of the air and to the animals of the earth."		your flesh to the birds of the air and to the wild animals of the field.'	הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְבַהֲמַת הַשָּׂדֶה: ס
και ειπεν δαυιδ προς τον αλλοφυλον συ ερχη προς με εν ρομφαια και εν δορατι και εν ασπιδι καγω πορευομαι προς σε εν ονοματι κυριου σαβαωθ θεου παραταξεως ισραηλ ην ωνειδισας σημερον	And David said to the allophyle, "You come to me with sword and with spear and with <u>shield</u> , and I am coming to you in the name of the Lord Sabaoth, the God of the ranks of Israel, which you have reproached [today].	17:45	But David said to the Philistine, 'You come to me with sword and spear and <u>javelin</u> ; but I come to you in the name of the Lord of hosts, the God of the armies of Israel, whom you have defied.	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אַתָּה בָּא אֵלַי בְּחֶרֶב וּבַחֲנִית וּבְכִידּוֹן וְאֲנֹכִי בָא־אֵלֶיךָ בְּשֵׁם יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת אֱלֹהֵי מִעְרָכוֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל אֲשֶׁר חָרַפְתָּ:
και αποκλεισει σε κυριος σημερον εις την χειρα μου και αποκτενω σε και αφελω την κεφαλην σου απο σου και δωσω τα κωλα σου και τα κωλα παρεμβολης αλλοφυλων εν ταυτη τη ημερα τοις πετεινοις του ουρανου και τοις θηριοις της γης και γνωσεται πασα η γη οτι εστιν θεος εν ισραηλ	And today the Lord will shut you up into my hand, and I will kill you and remove your head from you, and I will give [your limbs and] the <u>limbs</u> of the camp of the allophytes on this day to the birds of the air and to the wild animals of the earth, and all the earth will know that there is a God in Israel,	17:46	This very day the Lord will deliver you into my hand, and I will strike you down and cut off your head; and I will give the <u>dead bodies</u> of the Philistine army this very day to the birds of the air and to the wild animals of the earth, so that all the earth may know that there is a God in Israel,	הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה יִסְגְּרֶךָ יְהוָה בְּיָדִי וְחָפְתֶךָ וַחֲסַרְתִּי אֶת־רִאשְׁתְּךָ מֵעַלְיֶךָ וְנָתַתִּי פָנֶיךָ מַחְנֶה פְּלִשְׁתִּים הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה לְעוֹף הַשָּׁמַיִם וּלְחַיֵּת הָאָרֶץ וַיֵּדְעוּ כָּל־הָאָרֶץ כִּי יֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל:
και γνωσεται πασα η εκκλησια αυτη οτι ουκ εν ρομφαια και δορατι σωζει κυριος οτι του κυριου ο πολεμος και παραδωσει κυριος υμας εις χειρας ημων	and all this assembly will know that the Lord does not save by sword and spear, for the battle is the Lord's, and the Lord will give you into our hands."	17:47	and that all this assembly may know that the Lord does not save by sword and spear; for the battle is the Lord's and he will give you into our hand.'	וַיֵּדְעוּ כָּל־הַקָּהָל הַזֶּה כִּי־לֹא בְּחֶרֶב וּבַחֲנִית יְהוֹשִׁיעַ יְהוָה כִּי לַיהוָה הַמִּלְחָמָה וְנָתַן אֶתְכֶם בְּיַדֵּנוּ:

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και ανεστη ο αλλοφυλος και επορευθη εις συναντησιν δαυιδ	And the allophyle arose and came to meet David,	17:48	When the Philistine drew nearer to meet David, [David ran quickly towards the battle line to meet the Philistine].	וְהָיָה כִּי־קָם הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּלָּךְ וַיִּקְרַב לַקְרָאתָ דָּוִד וַיִּמְהַר דָּוִד וַיִּרְץ הַמַּעְרָכָה לַקְרָאתָ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי:
και εξετεινεν δαυιδ την χειρα αυτου εις το καδιον και ελαβεν εκειθεν λιθον ενα και εσφενδονησεν και επαταξεν τον αλλοφυλον επι το μετωπον αυτου και διεδυ ο λιθος δια της περικεφαλαιας εις το μετωπον αυτου και επεσεν επι προσωπον αυτου επι την γην	and David stretched out his hand into the bag and took out from there one stone and slung it and struck the allophyle on his forehead, and the stone penetrated [through the helmet] into his forehead, and he fell on his face on the ground.	17:49	David put his hand in his bag, took out a stone, slung it, and struck the Philistine on his forehead; the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell face down on the ground.	וַיִּשְׁלַח דָּוִד אֶת־יָדוֹ אֶל־הַכֶּלִּי וַיִּקַּח מִשָּׁם אֶבֶן וַיִּקְלַע וַיִּךְ אֶת־ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי אֶל־מִצְחוֹ וַתִּטָּבַע הָאֶבֶן בְּמִצְחוֹ וַיִּפֹּל עַל־פָּנָיו אֶרְצָה:
		17:50	So David prevailed over the Philistine with a sling and a stone, striking down the Philistine and killing him; there was no sword in David's hand.	וַיַּחֲזַק דָּוִד מִן־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי בַקֶּלַע וּבָאֶבֶן וַיִּךְ אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיָּמִיתָהוּ וְחֶרֶב אֵין בְּיַד־דָּוִד:
και εδραμεν δαυιδ και επεστη επ αυτον και ελαβεν την ρομφαιαν αυτου και εθανατωσεν αυτον και αφειλεν την κεφαλην αυτου και ειδον οι αλλοφυλοι οτι	And David ran and stood over <u>him</u> and took his sword and put him to death and cut off his head. And the allophyles saw that their	17:51	Then David ran and stood over <u>the Philistine</u> ; he grasped his sword, [drew it out of its sheath], and killed him; then he cut off his head with it.	וַיִּרְץ דָּוִד וַיַּעֲמֵד אֶל־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּקַּח אֶת־חַרְבּוֹ וַיִּשְׁלַפְהָ מִתַּעֲרָה וַיָּמִיתָהוּ וַיִּכְרַת־בָּהּ אֶת־רֹאשׁוֹ וַיִּרְאוּ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּים כִּי־

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τεθνηκεν ο δυνατος αυτων και εφυγον	mighty one was dead, and they fled.		When the Philistines saw that their champion was dead, they fled.	מת גבורם וינסו:
και ανιστανται ανδρες ισραηλ και ιουδα και ηλαλαξαν και κατεδιωξαν οπισω αυτων εως εισοδου γεθ και εως της πυλης ασκαλωνος και επεσαν τραυματιαι των αλλοφυλων εν τη οδω των πυλων και εως γεθ και εως ακκαρων	And the men of Israel and Ioudas rose up and shouted and pursued after <u>them</u> , as far as the entrance to Geth and as far as the gate of Ascalon, and the wounded of the allophytes fell on the way of the gates, even as far as Geth and as far as Akkaron.	17:52	The troops of Israel and Judah rose up with a shout and pursued <u>the Philistines</u> as far as Gath* and the gates of Ekron, so that the wounded Philistines fell on the way from Shaaraim as far as Gath and Ekron.	ויקמו אנשי ישראל ויהודה וירעו וירדפו את הפלשתים עד-בואד גיא ועד שערי עקרון ויפלו חללי פלשתים בדרך שערים ועד-נת ועד-עקרון:
και ανεστρεψαν ανδρες ισραηλ εκκλινοντες οπισω των αλλοφυλων και κατεπατουν τας παρεμβολας αυτων	And the men of Israel came back from <u>turning aside after</u> the allophytes, and they trampled their camps.	17:53	The Israelites came back from <u>chasing</u> the Philistines, and they plundered their camp.	וישבו בני ישראל מדלק אחרי פלשתים וישפו את-מחניהם:
και ελαβεν δαυιδ την κεφαλην του αλλοφυλου και ηνεγκεν αυτην εις ιερουσαλημ και τα σκευη αυτου εθηκεν εν τω σκηνωματι αυτου	And David took the head of the allophyte and brought it into Ierousalem, and he put his armor in his covert.	17:54	David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem; but he put his armour in his tent.	ויקח דוד את-ראש הפלשתי ויבאהו ירושלם ואת-כליו שם באהלו: ס
		17:55	When Saul saw David go out against the Philistine, he said to Abner, the commander of the army, 'Abner, whose son is this	וכראות שאול את-דוד יצא לקראת הפלשתי אמר אל-אבנר שר הצבא בן-מי זה

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			young man?’ Abner said, ‘As your soul lives, O king, I do not know.’	הַנֶּעַר אֲבִנֵר וַיֹּאמֶר אֲבִנֵר הֲיִי־נַפְשְׁךָ הַמֶּלֶךְ אִם־יָדַעְתִּי:
		17:56	The king said, ‘Inquire whose son the stripling is.’	וַיֹּאמֶר הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׂאֵל אֶתְּהָ בֶן־מִי־זֶה הָעֶלָם: ס
		17:57	On David’s return from killing the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him before Saul, with the head of the Philistine in his hand.	וּכְשׁוּב דָּוִד מִהַכּוֹת אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַיִּקַּח אֹתוֹ אֲבִנֵר וַיִּבְאֵהוּ לְפָנָיו שְׂאוֹל וְרֹאשׁ הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי בְיָדוֹ:
		17:58	Saul said to him, ‘Whose son are you, young man?’ And David answered, ‘I am the son of your servant Jesse the Bethlehemite.’	וַיֹּאמֶר אֵלָיו שְׂאוֹל בֶּן־מִי אַתָּה הַנֶּעַר וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד בֶּן־עַבְדְּךָ יֵשׁוּעַ בֵּית הַלְּחֵמִי:
		18:1	When David had finished speaking to Saul, the soul of Jonathan was bound to the soul of David, and Jonathan loved him as his own soul.	וַיְהִי כְּכַלְתּוֹ לְדַבֵּר אֶל־שְׂאוֹל וַנֶּפֶשׁ יְהוֹנָתָן נִקְשְׂרָה בְּנַפְשׁ דָּוִד [וַיֵּאָהֲבוּ כ] (וַיֵּאָהֲבוּ ק) יְהוֹנָתָן כְּנַפְשׁוֹ:
		18:2	Saul took him that day and would not let him return to his father’s house.	וַיִּקַּחְהוּ שְׂאוֹל בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא וְלֹא נָתַנּוּ לָשׁוּב בֵּית אָבִיו:
		18:3	Then Jonathan made a covenant with David, because he loved	וַיִּכְרַת יְהוֹנָתָן וְדָוִד בְּרִית

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			him as his own soul.	בְּאַהֲבָתוֹ אֹתוֹ כְּנַפְשׁוֹ:
		18:4	Jonathan stripped himself of the robe that he was wearing, and gave it to David, and his armour, and even his sword and his bow and his belt.	וַיִּתְפַּשֵּׁט יְהוֹנָתָן אֶת־הַמַּעֲלִיל אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו וַיִּתְּנֵהוּ לְדָוִד וּמַדְיֹו וְעַד־חַרְבּוֹ וְעַד־קִשְׁתּוֹ וְעַד־ חַגְרֹו:
		18:5	David went out and was successful wherever Saul sent him; as a result, Saul set him over the army. And all the people, even the servants of Saul, approved.	וַיֵּצֵא דָוִד בְּכֹל אֲשֶׁר יִשְׁלַחֵנּוּ שָׁאוּל יִשְׂכִּיל וַיִּשְׁמְחוּ שָׁאוּל עַל אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה וַיִּיטֵב בְּעֵינָי כָּל־הָעָם וְגַם בְּעֵינָי עַבְדֵי שָׁאוּל: פ
και εξηλθον αι χορευουσαι εις συναντησιν δαυιδ εκ πασων πολεων ισραηλ εν τυμπανοις και εν χαρμοσυνη και εν κυμβαλοις	And the dancers came to meet <u>Dauid</u> out of all the towns of Israel, with drums and with rejoicing and with cymbals.	18:6	[As they were coming home, when David returned from killing the Philistine, the women came out of all the towns of Israel, singing and] dancing, to meet <u>King Saul</u> , with tambourines, with songs of joy, and with musical instruments.	וַיְהִי בְּבוֹאֵם בְּשׁוּב דָּוִד מִהַכּוֹת אֶת־הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי וַתֵּצֵאנָה הַנָּשִׁים מִכָּל־עָרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל [לְשִׁיר כ] (לְשִׁיר ק) וַתִּמְחַלְלוּ לַקְּרֹאת שָׁאוּל הַמֶּלֶךְ בְּתַפִּים בְּשִׁמְחָה וּבְשִׁלְשִׁים:
και εξηρχον αι γυναικες και ελεγον επαταξεν σαουλ εν χιλιασιν αυτου και δαυιδ εν μυριασιν αυτου	And the women <u>began</u> and were <u>saying</u> , "Saoul killed amongst his thousands, and Dauid amongst his ten thousands."	18:7	And the women <u>sang</u> to one another as they <u>made merry</u> , 'Saul has killed his thousands, and David his tens of thousands.'	וַתַּעֲנִינָה הַנָּשִׁים הַמְּשַׁחֲקוֹת וַתֹּאמְרוּ הִכָּה שָׁאוּל [בְּאַלְפֹו כ] (בְּאַלְפִיו ק) וְדָוִד בְּרַבְבַּתָּיו:

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και πονηρον εφανε το ρημα εν οφθαλμοις σαουλ περι του λογου τουτου και ειπεν τω δαυιδ εδωκαν τας μυριαδας και εμοι εδωκαν τας χιλιαδας	And the matter appeared evil in the eyes of Saoul concerning this word, and he said, "They ascribed to Daudid the ten thousands, and to me they ascribed the thousands."	18:8	Saul was very angry, for this saying displeased him. He said, 'They have ascribed to David tens of thousands, and to me they have ascribed thousands; [what more can he have but the kingdom?]'	וַיִּחַר לְשָׁאוּל מְאֹד וַיִּרְעַע בְּעֵינָיו הַדְּבָר הַזֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר נָתַנוּ לְדָוִד רַבָּבוֹת וְלִי נָתַנוּ הָאֲלָפִים וְעוֹד לֹא אֶךָ הַמְּלוּכָה:
και ην σαουλ υποβλεπομενος τον δαυιδ απο της ημερας εκεινης και επεκεινα	And Saoul was eyeing Daudid [with suspicion] from that day and beyond.	18:9	So Saul eyed David from that day on.	וַיְהִי שָׁאוּל [עֹזֵן כ] (עֹזֵן ק) אֶת־דָּוִד מִהַיּוֹם הַהוּא וְהָלְאָה: ס
		18:10	The next day an evil spirit from God rushed upon Saul, and he raved within his house, while David was playing the lyre, as he did day by day. Saul had his spear in his hand;	וַיְהִי מִמָּחָרֶת וַתִּצְלַח רוּחַ אֱלֹהִים רָעָה אֶל־שָׁאוּל וַיִּתְנַבֵּא בַתּוֹךְ־הַבַּיִת וְדָוִד מְנַיֵן בְּיָדוֹ כִּיּוֹם בְּיּוֹם וְהַחֲנִית בְּיַד־שָׁאוּל:
		18:11	and Saul threw the spear, for he thought, 'I will pin David to the wall.' But David eluded him twice.	וַיִּטֵּל שָׁאוּל אֶת־הַחֲנִית וַיֹּאמֶר אֶכֶּה בְּדָוִד וּבִקִּיר וַיִּסֹּב דָּוִד מִפְּנֵיו פַּעַמַּיִם:
και εφοβηθη σαουλ απο προσωπου δαυιδ	And Saoul was afraid from before Daudid,	18:12	Saul was afraid of David, because the Lord was with him but had departed from Saul.	וַיִּירָא שָׁאוּל מִלְּפָנֵי דָוִד כִּי־הָיָה יְהוָה עִמּוֹ וּמֵעַם שָׁאוּל סָר:
και απεστησεν αυτον απ αυτου και κατεστησεν αυτον	and he removed him from him and made him an officer of a	18:13	So [Saul] removed him from his presence, and made him a	וַיִּסְרְהוּ שָׁאוּל מִעַמּוֹ וַיִּשְׁמְהוּ לֹא

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εαυτω χιλιαρχον και εξεπορευετο και εισεπορευετο εμπροσθεν του λαου	thousand [for himself], and <u>he</u> was going out and coming in <u>before the people</u> .		commander of a thousand; and <u>David</u> marched out and came in, <u>leading the army</u> .	שָׂר־אֶלֶף נִיצַא וַיָּבֵא לִפְנֵי הָעָם: פ
και ην δαυιδ εν πασαις ταις οδοις αυτου συνιων και κυριος μετ αυτου	And Daudid was prudent in all his ways, and the Lord was with him.	18:14	David had success in all his undertakings; for the Lord was with him.	וַיְהִי דָוִד לְכָל־דְּרָכָו מְשָׁכִיל וַיְהִי עִמּוֹ: ו
και ειδεν σαουλ ως αυτος συνιει σφοδρα και ευλαβειτο απο προσωπου αυτου	And Saoul saw how he acted very prudently, and he was afraid from before him.	18:15	When Saul saw that he had great success, he stood in awe of him.	וַיֵּרָא שָׂאוּל אֲשֶׁר־הוּא מְשָׁכִיל מָאֵד וַיִּנְרַם מִפְּנָיו: ז
και πας ισραηλ και ιουδας ηγαπα τον δαυιδ οτι αυτος εξεπορευετο και εισεπορευετο προ προσωπου του λαου	And all Israel and Ioudas loved Daudid, for he was going out and coming in from before the people.	18:16	But all Israel and Judah loved David; for it was he who marched out and came in leading them.	וְכָל־יִשְׂרָאֵל וַיְהוּדָה אָהָב אֶת־ דָּוִד כִּי־הוּא יוֹצֵא וּבָא לִפְנֵיהֶם: פ
		18:17	Then Saul said to David, ‘Here is my elder daughter Merab; I will give her to you as a wife; only be valiant for me and fight the Lord’s battles.’ For Saul thought, ‘I will not raise a hand against him; let the Philistines deal with him.’	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׂאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד הִנֵּה בָתִּי הַגְּדוֹלָה מֵרָב אֶתֶּנָּה אֵתְּךָ־לָךְ לְאִשָּׁה אַךְ הִיָּה־לִּי לְבִן־חַיִל וְהִלָּחֵם מִלְחָמוֹת יְהוָה וְשָׂאוּל אָמַר אֶל־תְּהִי יָדִי בּוֹ וְתִהְיֶיבוּ יַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים: ס
		18:18	David said to Saul, ‘Who am I and who are my kinsfolk, my father’s family in Israel, that I should be son-in-law to the	וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד אֶל־שָׂאוּל מִי אֲנֹכִי וּמִי חַיִּי מִשְׁפַּחַת אָבִי בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל

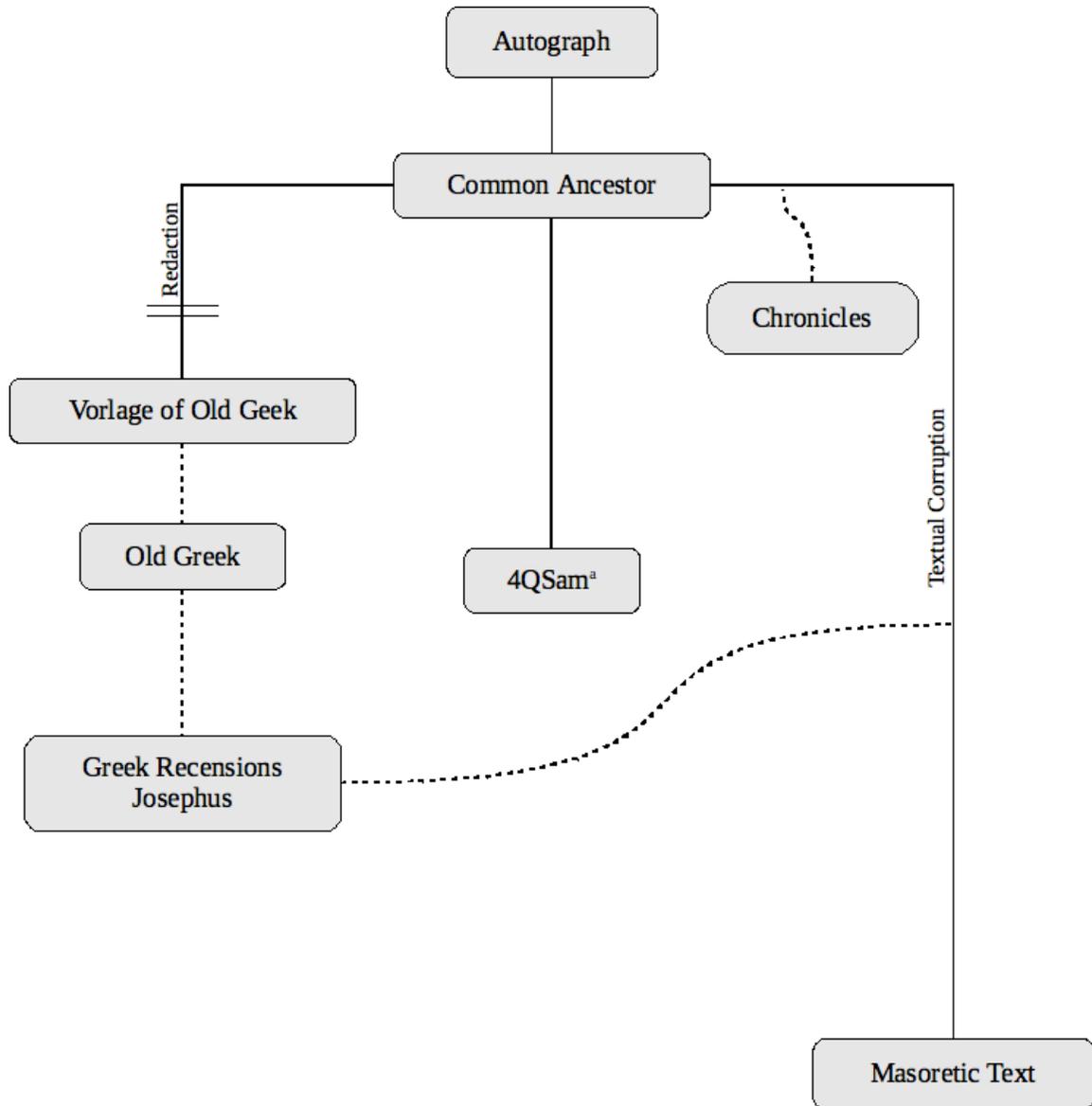
OG	NETS	Verse	NRSV	MT
			king?'	כִּי־אֶהְיֶה חָתָן לַמֶּלֶךְ:
		18:19	But at the time when Saul's daughter Merab should have been given to David, she was given to Adriel the Meholathite as a wife.	וַיְהִי בְּעֵת תֵּת אֶת־מֶרַב בַּת־שָׁאוּל לְדָוִד וְהָיָא נְתֻנָּה לְעַדְרִיאֵל הַמְּחֹלָתִי לְאִשָּׁה:
και ηγαπησεν μελχολ η θυγατηρ σαουλ τον δαυιδ και απηγγελη σαουλ και ηυθυνθη εν οφθαλμοις αυτου	And Saoul's daughter Melchol loved Daudid, and Saoul was told, and it was right in his eyes.	18:20	Now Saul's daughter Michal loved David. Saul was told, and the thing pleased him.	וַתֶּאֱהָב מִיכָל בַּת־שָׁאוּל אֶת־דָּוִד וַיִּגְדּוּ לְשָׁאוּל וַיֵּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינָיו:
και ειπεν σαουλ δωσω αυτην αυτω και εσται αυτω εις σκανδαλον και ην επι σαουλ χειρ αλλοφυλων	And Saoul said, "I will give her to him, and she will be a snare to him." And the hand of the allophytes was against <u>Saoul</u> ,	18:21	Saul thought, 'Let me give her to him that she may be a snare for him and that the hand of the Philistines may be against <u>him</u> .' [Therefore Saul said to David a second time,* 'You shall now be my son-in-law.']	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶתְנַנֶּה לוֹ וְתָהִי־לוֹ לְמוֹקֵשׁ וְתָהִי־בוֹ יַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל אֶל־דָּוִד בְּשֵׁתַיִם תִּתְחַתֵּן בִּי הַיּוֹם:
και ενετειλατο σαουλ τοις παισιν αυτου λεγων λαλησατε υμεις λαθρα τω δαυιδ λεγοντες ιδου ο βασιλευς θελει εν σοι και παντες οι παιδες αυτου αγαπωσιν σε και συ επιγαμβρευσον τω βασιλει	and Saoul commanded his servants, saying, "Speak to Daudid secretly, saying, 'Behold, the king wants you, and all his servants love you, and as for you, become the king's son-in-law'."	18:22	Saul commanded his servants, 'Speak to David in private and say, "See, the king is delighted with you, and all his servants love you; now then, become the king's son-in-law." '	וַיִּצַו שָׁאוּל אֶת־עֲבָדָיו דְּבָרוּ אֵל־דָּוִד בְּלֵט לֵאמֹר הִנֵּה חָפֵץ בָּךְ הַמֶּלֶךְ וְכָל־עֲבָדָיו אֶהְבֹּד וְעַתָּה הִתְחַתֵּן בַּמֶּלֶךְ:

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και ελαλησαν οι παιδες σαουλ εις τα ωτα δαυιδ τα ρηματα ταυτα και ειπεν δαυιδ ει κουφον εν οφθαλμοις υμων επιγαμβρευσαι βασιλει καγω ανηρ ταπεινος και ουχι ενδοξος	And Saoul's servants spoke these words in the hearing of Daudid. And Daudid said, "Does it seem light in your eyes to become the king's son-in-law? And as for me, I am a humble man and of no repute."	18:23	So Saul's servants reported these words to David in private. And David said, 'Does it seem to you a little thing to become the king's son-in-law, seeing that I am a poor man and of no repute?'	וַיְדַבְּרוּ עֲבָדֵי שָׁאוּל בְּאָזְנֵי דָוִד אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיֹּאמֶר דָּוִד הַנְּקִלָּה בְּעֵינֶיכֶם הַתַּחֲתָן בַּמֶּלֶךְ וְאֲנִכִּי אִישׁ־רָשׁ וְנִקְלָה׃
και απηγγειλαν οι παιδες σαουλ αυτω κατα τα ρηματα ταυτα α ελαλησεν δαυιδ	And the servants of Saoul reported to him according to these things that Daudid said.	18:24	The servants of Saul told him, 'This is what David said.'	וַיַּגִּדוּ עֲבָדֵי שָׁאוּל לּוֹ לֵאמֹר כִּדְבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה דִּבֶּר דָּוִד׃ פ
και ειπεν σαουλ ταδε ερειτε τω δαυιδ ου βουλεται ο βασιλευς εν δοματι αλλ η εν εκατον ακροβυστιαις αλλοφυλων εκδικησαι εις εχθρους του βασιλεως και σαουλ ελογισατο αυτον εμβαλειν εις χειρας των αλλοφυλων	And Saoul said, "This is what you shall say to Daudid, 'The king does not desire to avenge for the king's enemies with a present, except with a hundred foreskins of the allophyles'." And Saoul counted on casting him into the hands of the allophyles.	18:25	Then Saul said, 'Thus shall you say to David, "The king desires no marriage present except a hundred foreskins of the Philistines, that he may be avenged on the king's enemies." Now Saul planned to make David fall by the hand of the Philistines.	וַיֹּאמֶר שָׁאוּל כֹּה־תֹאמְרוּ לְדָוִד אִין־חֶפֶץ לַמֶּלֶךְ בְּמִתָּה כִּי בְּמֵאָה עֶרְלוֹת פְּלִשְׁתִּים לְהִנָּקֶם בְּאֵיבֵי הַמֶּלֶךְ וְשָׁאוּל חָשַׁב לְהַפִּיל אֶת־דָּוִד בְּיַד־פְּלִשְׁתִּים׃
και απαγγελουσιν οι παιδες σαουλ τω δαυιδ τα ρηματα ταυτα και ευθυνθη ο λογος εν οφθαλμοις δαυιδ επιγαμβρευσαι τω βασιλει	And the servants of Saoul told Daudid these words, and the matter was right in the eyes of Daudid to be the king's son-in-law.	18:26	When his servants told David these words, David was well pleased to be the king's son-in-law. [Before the time had expired,]	וַיַּגִּדוּ עֲבָדָיו לְדָוִד אֶת־הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיֵּשֶׁר הַדָּבָר בְּעֵינֵי דָוִד לְהַתַּחֲתָן בַּמֶּלֶךְ וְלֹא מָלְאוּ הַיָּמִים׃
και ανεστη δαυιδ και επορευθη αυτος και οι	And Daudid rose and went, he and his men, and smote one	18:27	David rose and went, along with his men, and killed one hundred	וַיָּקָם דָּוִד וַיֵּלֶךְ ׀ הוּא וְאֲנָשָׁיו וַיַּךְ

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ανδρες αυτου και επαταξεν εν τοις αλλοφυλοις εκατον ανδρας και ανηνεγκεν τας ακροβυστίας αυτων τω βασιλει και επιγαμβρευεται τω βασιλει και διδωσιν αυτω την μελχολ θυγατερα αυτου αυτω εις γυναικα	hundred men among the allophyles and brought their foreskins to the king, and he became the king's son-in-law, and he gave him his daughter Melchol for him as a wife.		of the Philistines; and [David] brought their foreskins, [which were given in full number] to the king, that he might become the king's son-in-law. [Saul] gave him his daughter Michal as a wife.	בַּפְּלִשְׁתִּים מֵאֲתִים אִישׁ וְיָבֵא דָוִד אֶת-עֲרֻלְתֵיהֶם וַיִּמְלְאוּם לְמִלָּךְ לְהִתְחַתֵּן בְּמִלָּךְ וַיִּתֵּן-לוֹ שָׁאוּל אֶת-מִיכָל בִּתּוֹ לְאִשָּׁה: ס
και ειδεν σαουλ οτι κυριος μετα δαυιδ και πας ισραηλ ηγαπα αυτον	And Saoul saw that the Lord was with Daudid and that [all Israel] loved him,	18:28	But when Saul realized that the Lord was with David, and that [Saul's daughter Michal] loved him,	וַיֵּרָא שָׁאוּל וַיֵּדַע כִּי יְהוָה עִמּוֹ דָוִד וּמִיכָל בִּת-שָׁאוּל אֲהָבָתָהּ:
και προσεθετο ευλαβεισθαι απο δαυιδ ετι	and he continued to be afraid of Daudid even more.	18:29	Saul was still more afraid of David. [So Saul was David's enemy from that time forward.]	וַיֵּאֱסֹף שָׁאוּל לִרְאֹת מִפְּנֵי דָוִד עוֹד וַיְהִי שָׁאוּל אֹיֵב אֶת-דָּוִד כָּל-הַיָּמִים: ס
		18:30	Then the commanders of the Philistines came out to battle; and as often as they came out, David had more success than all the servants of Saul, so that his fame became very great.	וַיֵּצְאוּ שָׂרֵי פְלִשְׁתִּים וַיְהִי מִדָּוִד צֵאתָם שְׂכַל דָּוִד מִכָּל עֲבָדֵי שָׁאוּל וַיִּיקָר שְׁמוֹ מְאֹד: ס

APPENDIX B

Illustration B.1. The Textual Development of 1 Samuel 17-18.



Transcription —————
Literary Dependence - - - - -

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