

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

THE COMPOSITION OF 1 SAMUEL 16–18 IN LIGHT OF THE SEPTUAGINT

In 1 Samuel 16–18—the story of the encounter of David and Goliath and its aftermath—the LXX differs greatly from MT,¹ lacking 39 of the 88 verses of these chapters.² Previous discussions of these verses by Wellhausen, Peters (see n. 2), Stoebe, and McCarter³ focused on the larger minuses of the LXX, thus neglecting three other aspects of the LXX without which that translation cannot be evaluated well:

1. In addition to the large minuses, the LXX lacks 24 shorter elements in these chapters, ranging from one to five words (see appendix A).
2. The LXX reflects several variants (see appendix B).
3. The LXX contains 17 pluses, ranging from single words to complete sentences (see appendix C).

1. Approaches to the origin of the short version

The opinions expressed about the origin of the LXX's short version of 1 Samuel 16–18 can be divided into two groups. Some scholars ascribed the divergences between the two texts to the Greek translator, who omitted, they claimed, 44 percent of the text because of exegetical

¹ The oldest attestation of the short text of the LXX is in Hippolytus' *Sermo* (2d century CE) in its omission of 1 Sam 17:55–58. See the edition of G. Garitte, *Traité d'Hippolyte sur David et Goliath etc.* (CSCO 263–264, *Scriptores Iberici*, t. 15–16; Louvain 1965). The earliest witness of the long form of MT is 1Q7, published by D. Barthélemy in *DJD* I. This fragment contains 1 Sam 18:17–18 lacking in the LXX.

² The following verses are lacking in the OG: 17:12–31, 41, 48b, 50, 55–58; 18:1–6a, 10–11, 12b, 17–19, 21b, 29b–30. These amount to 44 percent of the verses of MT of these chapters. We should note that whereas the OG contained in manuscripts B etc., omits these verses, manuscripts A, etc., include a translation, which has been recognized as Hexaplaric; see R. Peters, *Beiträge zur Text- und Literarkritik sowie zur Erklärung der Bücher Samuel* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1899) 37–38; Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 104; Driver, *Samuel*, 140; B. Johnson, *Die hexaplarische Rezension des 1 Samuelbuches der Septuaginta* (STL 22; Lund 1963) 118–123. See further n. 2 in the original article.

³ H.J. Stoebe, "Die Goliathperikope 1 Sam. XVII.1–XVIII.5 und die Textform der Septuaginta," *VT* 4 (1954) 397–413; McCarter, *Samuel*.

motives, namely, to create a smoother story by omitting conflicting details.⁴ These scholars focused on the large minuses, usually disregarding the pluses of the translation, and if they did discuss the pluses (as did Barthélemy, for example), they also regarded them as exegetical. According to the other, diametrically opposed view, the LXX was based on a short Hebrew text which did not contain the so-called minuses of the LXX.⁵ This shorter Hebrew text was usually considered to reflect an earlier stage of the literary development of the story, one which preceded MT.⁶

It seems that no solid arguments for any one view have so far been presented. Those scholars who suggested that the translator abridged MT were probably influenced by the lack of supporting evidence for the alternative explanation. Writing before the discovery of the Qumran scrolls, they were unaware of Hebrew texts which departed as much from MT as would the reconstructed short *Vorlage* of the LXX. They therefore assumed that the shorter text was produced by the Greek translator. The alternative view, likewise, was based mainly on intuition and a negative judgment concerning the abridgment theory; some of its exponents stressed that the translator was not likely to omit such large sections and that he therefore probably found a short Hebrew text in front of him.

⁴ Thus Kuenen, *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, I, 2 (Leipzig 1890) 61; K. Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel* (Giessen 1890) 212; J. Schmid, *Septuagintageschichtliche Studien zum 1. Samuelbuch* (Breslau 1941) 118; D. Barthélemy, "La qualité du Texte Massorétique de Samuel," in E. Tov (ed.), *The Hebrew and Greek Texts of Samuel, 1980 Proceedings IOSCS, Vienna* (Jerusalem 1980) 1–44, esp. 17–20. The midrashic tendencies were stressed by Barthélemy and Gooding in D. Barthélemy, D.W. Gooding, J. Lust, and E. Tov, *The Story of David and Goliath, Textual and Literary Criticism, Papers of a Joint Venture* (OBO 73; Fribourg/Göttingen 1986), as well as by A. van der Kooij, "The Story of David and Goliath—The Early History of Its Text," *ETL* LXVIII (1992) 118–131.

⁵ Thus O. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels* (Leipzig 1842) 67 (with bibliography); Peters, *Beiträge*, 30–62; Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 105 (however, in his later *Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des Alten Testaments* [3rd ed.; Berlin 1899] 247 his attitude to the short text is unclear); H.P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (ICC; Edinburgh 1899) 150; K. Steuernagel, *Lehrbuch der Einleitung in das Alte Testament* (Tübingen 1912) 317; N.C. Habel, *Literary Criticism of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia 1971) 10–11; F.H. Woods, "The Light Shown by the Septuagint Version," in: S.R. Driver and others (eds.), *Studia Biblica* 1 (Oxford 1885) 21–38; Stoebe, "Goliath-perikope"; Johnson, *Rezension*; McCarter, *I Samuel*. For a reconstruction of the original short Hebrew text of the story, more or less identical with the Hebrew text underlying the LXX, see Peters, *Beiträge*.

⁶ It is probably unrealistic to assume that some of the large minuses were due to the translator, while others were already in his Hebrew parent text.

2. Methodology

The point of departure for a new analysis must be the recognition that the translation of 1 Samuel 17–18 has to be studied as a whole and that any solution suggested should take into account, not only minuses, which provide no clues for a solution, but also pluses, variant readings, and translation technique. The inclusion of all relevant textual features will result in a more complete and satisfactory analysis.

The idea behind such an analysis is the conviction that a translation is internally consistent with regard to its general approach to the source text, to which the translator is either faithful or not. If the translator omitted 44 percent of the text, he must have approached that text freely, and this free approach should also be visible in other details. If, on the other hand, there are indications that the translation is literal, that the translator approached the source text with care and introduced but little exegesis of his own, it is not likely that he would have omitted large sections because of exegetical (e.g., harmonistic) motives; in that case, the short text of the LXX would more likely reflect a short Hebrew text. These suppositions reflect a logical inference from the act of translating, but they can also be supported by some evidence from the translations themselves. Known Greek translators who took care to represent the Hebrew source text exactly showed their careful approach in all details, that is, they introduced as little exegesis as possible in the translation equivalents and produced a literal translation which was quantitatively equal to the Hebrew source text (that is, without additions and omissions). This applies to the so-called revisers of the LXX (except for Lucian) and, within the canon of the 'LXX,' to the sections ascribed to *kaige*-Th, Qohelet, Psalms, and, to a lesser degree, several other units as well. By the same token, free translators show their approach to the text in many details in the translation, for example, in their word choices and in free additions and omissions as well as in exegetical alterations of various types.

As a consequence, when studying the background of 1 Samuel 17–18 one should also pay attention to the translation techniques of the larger unit in which these chapters are found,⁷ and in fact of the other books of

⁷ The larger unit comprises at least 1 Samuel 1–31, but probably also 2 Sam 1:1–11:1; thus modern scholarship in the wake of Barthélemy, *Devanciers*, 36 ff. According to Shenkel, *Chronology*, 117–120, this unit ends at 2 Sam 10:1; according to B.H. Kelly, *The Septuagint Translators of I Samuel and II Samuel 1:1–11:1*, unpubl. diss. Princeton Theological Seminary 1948, it ends at 2 Samuel 5.

the LXX as well. But the main focus remains the character of these two chapters.

3. *The texts*

A full reconstruction of the Hebrew *Vorlage* of the LXX would unnecessarily complicate the present study (for an attempt, see Peters, *Beiträge*). For our purposes it suffices to present a translation of the MT of 1 Sam 16:17–18:30, indicating where the LXX differs from it.⁸ The narrative shared by the LXX and MT is printed in Roman type. Points at which the LXX shows minor deviations from MT, where the LXX probably reflects different readings (see Appendix B), are indicated by underlining. Elements which are absent in the LXX (small minuses) are indicated by parentheses (see Appendix A). Small pluses of the LXX are not indicated here (see Appendix C), nor are exegetical renderings reflecting the translator's exegesis. Portions of the narrative found only in MT are printed in italics.

16:17 So Saul said to his courtiers, "Find me someone who can play well and bring him to me." ¹⁸One of the attendants spoke up, "I have observed a son of Jesse the Bethlehemite who is skilled in music; he is a stalwart fellow and a warrior, sensible in speech, and handsome in appearance, and the Lord is with him." ¹⁹Whereupon Saul sent messengers to Jesse to say, "Send me your son David, who is with the flock." ²⁰Jesse took an ass laden with bread, a skin of wine, and a kid, and sent them to Saul by his son David. ²¹So David came to Saul and entered his service; Saul took a strong liking to him and made him one of his arms-bearers. ²²Saul sent word to Jesse, "Let David remain in my service, for I am pleased with him." ²³Whenever the [evil] spirit of God came upon Saul, David would take the lyre and play it; Saul would find relief and feel better, and the evil spirit would leave him.

^{17:1}The Philistines assembled their forces for battle; they massed at Socoh of Judah, and encamped at Ephes-dammim, between Socoh and Azekah. ²Saul and the men of Israel massed and encamped in the valley of Elah. They drew up their line of battle against the Philistines, ³with the Philistines stationed on one hill and Israel stationed on the opposite hill; the ravine was between them. ⁴A champion of the Philistine forces stepped forward; his name was Goliath of Gath, and he was six cubits and a span tall. ⁵He had a (bronze) helmet on his head, and wore a breastplate

⁸ The translation follows *NJPST*, with minor adjustments; words in square brackets are explanatory editions of the *NJPST* translators. The text of the LXX follows codex B.

of scale armor, a bronze breastplate weighing five thousand shekels. ⁶He had bronze greaves on his legs and a bronze javelin slung from his shoulders. ⁷The shaft of his spear was like a weaver's bar, and the iron head of his spear weighed six hundred shekels; and the shield-bearer marched in front of him.

⁸He stopped and called out to the ranks of Israel and he said to them, "Why should you come out to engage in battle? I am the Philistine champion, and you are Saul's servants. Choose one of your men and let him come down against me. ⁹If he bests me in combat and kills me, we will become your slaves; but if I best (him) and kill him, you shall be our slaves and serve us." ¹⁰And the Philistine ended, "I herewith defy the ranks of Israel. Get me a man and let's fight it out!" ¹¹When Saul and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they were dismayed and terror stricken.

¹²*David was the son of a certain Ephrathite of Bethlehem in Judah whose name was Jesse. He had eight sons, and in the days of Saul the man was already old, advanced in years.* ¹³*The three oldest sons of Jesse had left and gone with Saul to the war. The names of his three sons who had gone to the war were Eliab the firstborn, the next Abinadab, and the third Shammah;* ¹⁴*and David was the youngest. The three oldest had followed Saul,* ¹⁵*and David would go back and forth from attending on Saul to shepherd his father's flock at Bethlehem.*

¹⁶*The Philistine stepped forward morning and evening and took his stand for forty days.*

¹⁷*Jesse said to his son David, "Take an ephah of this parched corn and these ten loaves of bread for your brothers in camp. ¹⁸Take these ten cheeses to the captain of their thousand. Find out how your brothers are and bring some token from them."* ¹⁹*Saul and the brothers and all the men of Israel were in the valley of Elah, in the war against the Philistines.*

²⁰*Early next morning, David left someone in charge of the flock, took [the provisions], and set out, as his father Jesse had instructed him. He reached the barricade as the army was going out to the battle lines shouting the war cry. ²¹Israel and the Philistines drew up their battle lines opposite each other. ²²David left his baggage with the man in charge of the baggage and ran toward the battle line and went to greet his brothers. ²³While he was talking to them, the champion, whose name was Goliath, the Philistine of Gath, stepped forward from the Philistine ranks and spoke the same words as before; and David heard him.*

²⁴*When the men of Israel saw the man, they fled in terror. ²⁵And the men of Israel were saying, "Do you see that man coming out? He comes out to defy Israel! The man who kills him will be rewarded by the king with great riches; he will also give him his daughter in marriage and grant exemption to his father's house in Israel."* ²⁶*David asked the man standing near him, "What will be done*

for the man who kills that Philistine and removes the disgrace from Israel? Who is that uncircumcised Philistine that he dares defy the ranks of the living God?"
²⁷The troops told him in the same words what would be done for the man who killed him.

²⁸When Eliab, his oldest brother, heard him speaking to the men, Eliab became angry with David and said, "Why did you come down here, and with whom did you leave those few sheep in the wilderness? I know your impudence and your impertinence: you came down to watch the fighting!" ²⁹But David replied, "What have I done now? I was only asking!" ³⁰And he turned away from him toward someone else; he asked the same question, and the troops gave him the same answer as before. ³¹The things David said were overheard and were reported to Saul, who had him brought over.

³²David said to Saul, "Let no man's courage fail him. Your servant will go and fight (that) Philistine!" ³³But Saul said to David, "You cannot go to that Philistine and fight him; you are only a boy, and he has been a warrior from his youth!" ³⁴David replied to Saul, "Your servant has been tending his father's sheep, and if a lion or a bear came and carried off an animal from the flock, ³⁵I would go after it and fight it and rescue it from its mouth. And if it attacked me, I would seize it by the beard and strike it down and kill it. ³⁶Your servant has killed both lion and bear; and (that) uncircumcised Philistine shall end up like one of them, for he has defied the ranks of the living God. ³⁷The Lord," (David went on,) "who saved me from lion and bear will also save me from that Philistine." "Then go," Saul said to David, "and may the Lord be with you!"

³⁸Saul clothed David in his own garment; he placed a bronze helmet on his head (and fastened a breastplate on him). ³⁹David girded his sword over his garment. Then he tried to walk; but he was not used to it. And David said to Saul, "I cannot walk in these, for I am not used to them." So he (David) took them off. ⁴⁰He took his stick, picked a few smooth stones from the wadi, put them in the pocket of his shepherd's bag and, sling in hand, he went toward the Philistine.

⁴¹The Philistine, meanwhile, was coming closer to David, preceded by his shield bearer. ⁴²(And the Philistine looked) and he saw David; he scorned him, for he was but a boy, ruddy and handsome. ⁴³And the Philistine called out to David, "Am I a dog that you come against me with sticks?" The Philistine cursed David by his gods; ⁴⁴and the Philistine said to David, "Come here, and I will give your flesh to the birds of the sky and the beasts of the field."

⁴⁵David replied to the Philistine, "You come against me with sword and spear and javelin; but I come against you in the name of the Lord of Hosts, the God of the ranks of Israel, whom you have defied. ⁴⁶This (very)

day the Lord will deliver you into my hands. I will kill you and cut off your head; and I will give the carcasses of the Philistine camp to the birds of the sky and the beasts of the earth. All the earth *shall know* that there is a God in Israel. ⁴⁷And this whole assembly shall know that the Lord can give victory without sword or spear. For the battle is the Lord's, and He will deliver you into our hands."

⁴⁸When the Philistine began to come (and advance) toward David, *David quickly ran up to the battle line to face the Philistine.* ⁴⁹David put his hand into the bag; he took out a stone and slung it. It struck the Philistine in the forehead; the stone sank into his forehead, and he fell face down on the ground. ⁵⁰*Thus David bested the Philistine with sling and stone; he struck him down and killed him. David had no sword.* ⁵¹So David ran up and stood over the Philistine, grasped his sword (and pulled it from its sheath); and (with it) he dispatched him and cut off his head.

When the Philistines saw that their warrior was dead, they ran. ⁵²The men of Israel and Judah rose up with a war cry and they pursued the Philistines all the way to Gai and up to the gates of Ekron; the Philistines fell mortally wounded along the road to Shaarim up to Gath and Ekron. ⁵³Then the Israelites returned from chasing the Philistines and looted their camp.

⁵⁴David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem; and he put his weapon in his own tent.

⁵⁵*When Saul saw David going out to assault the Philistine, he asked his army commander Abner, "Whose son is that boy, Abner?" And Abner replied, "By your life, Your Majesty, I do not know."* ⁵⁶*"Then find out whose son that young fellow is," the king ordered.* ⁵⁷*So when David returned after killing the Philistine, Abner took him and brought him to Saul, with the head of the Philistine still in his hand.* ⁵⁸*Saul said to him, "Whose son are you, my boy? And David answered, "The son of your servant Jesse the Bethlehemite."*

^{18:1}When he finished speaking with Saul, Jonathan's soul became bound up with the soul of David; Jonathan loved David as himself. ²Saul took him [into his service] that day and would not let him return to his father's house.—³Jonathan and David made a pact, because he loved him as himself. ⁴Jonathan took off the cloak and tunic he was wearing and gave them to David, together with his sword, bow, and belt. ⁵David went out, and he was successful in every mission on which Saul sent him, and Saul put him in command of all the soldiers; this pleased all the troops and Saul's courtiers as well. ⁶When they came home [and] David returned from killing the Philistine, the women of all the towns of Israel came out (singing and dancing to greet King Saul) with timbrels, shouting, and sistrums. ⁷The women sang as they danced, and they chanted: Saul has

slain his thousands; David, his tens of thousands! ⁸(Saul was much distressed) and greatly vexed about the matter. For he said, “To David they have given tens of thousands, and to me they have given thousands. (All that he lacks is the kingship!).” ⁹From that day on Saul kept a jealous eye on David. ¹⁰*The next day an evil spirit of God gripped Saul and he began to rave in the house, while David was playing [the lyre], as he did daily. Saul had a spear in his hand,* ¹¹*and Saul threw the spear, thinking to pin David to the wall. But David eluded him twice.* ¹²Saul was afraid of David, *for the Lord was with him and had turned away from Saul.* ¹³So Saul removed him from his presence and appointed him chief of a thousand, to march at the head of the troops. ¹⁴David was successful in all his undertakings, for the Lord was with him; ¹⁵and when Saul saw that he was successful, he dreaded him. ¹⁶All Israel and Judah loved David, for he marched at their head.

¹⁷Saul said to David, “Here is my older daughter Merab, I will give her to you in marriage; in return, you be my warrior and fight the battles of the Lord.” Saul thought: “Let not my hand strike him; let the hand of the Philistines strike him.” ¹⁸David replied to Saul, “Who am I and what is my life—my father’s family in Israel—that I should become Your Majesty’s son-in-law?” ¹⁹But at the time that Merab, daughter of Saul, should have been given to David, she was given in marriage to Adriel the Meholathite. ²⁰Now Michal, daughter of Saul, had fallen in love with David; and when this was reported to Saul, it (the matter) was pleasing for him. ²¹Saul thought: “I will give her to him, and she can serve as a snare for him, so that the Philistines may kill him.” So Saul said to David, “You can become my son-in-law even now through the second one.” ²²And Saul instructed his courtiers to say to David privately, “The king is fond of you and all his courtiers like you. So why not become the king’s son-in-law?” ²³When the king’s courtiers repeated these words to David, David replied, “Do you think that becoming the son-in-law of a king is a small matter, when I am but a poor man of no consequence?” ²⁴Saul’s courtiers reported to him (saying), “This is what David answered.” ²⁵And Saul said, “Say this to David: ‘The king desires no other bride price than the foreskins of a hundred Philistines, as vengeance on the king’s enemies.’” —Saul intended to bring about David’s death at the hands of the Philistines.—²⁶When his courtiers told this to David, David was pleased with the idea of becoming the king’s son-in-law. (Before the time had expired,) ²⁷David went out with his men and killed two hundred Philistines, (David) brought their foreskins (and they were counted out) for the king, that he might become the king’s son-in-law. He (Saul) then gave him his daughter Michal in Marriage. ²⁸When Saul saw (and knew) the Lord was with David and that Michal daughter of Saul

loved him,²⁹ and he (Saul) grew still more afraid of David; *and Saul was David's enemy ever after.*

³⁰*The Philistine chiefs marched out to battle; and every time they marched out, David was more successful than all the other officers of Saul. His reputation soared.*

4. Translation technique

Five aspects of the LXX are analyzed here: (1) linguistic versus exegetical renderings; (2) word order; (3) quantitative representation; (4) consistency in translation equivalents; (5) Hebraisms in the translation. These five aspects of translation technique are suitable for testing the relative degree of literalism or freedom with which the translator approached the Hebrew text. The analysis shows that the translator of 1 Samuel 17–18 remained relatively faithful to the Hebrew text, and it is therefore unlikely that he would have omitted 44 percent of that text. In other words, the LXX was based on a short Hebrew text containing only that part of the story presently found in the LXX (as well as in the corresponding verses in MT); the remaining material, now found only in MT, was not included in that short text.

a. Linguistic versus exegetical rendering⁹

Technically a distinction between 'linguistic' and 'exegetical' renderings is a bit misleading, in that this terminology implies that linguistic renderings are not exegetical. Actually, even a linguistic rendering reflects exegesis, though of a strictly technical type.¹⁰ The following list contains examples of contextual-exegetical renderings (in some cases the possibility of a variant reading [indicated by !] is not excluded):

17:2	ואיש ישראל and the men (lit. <i>man</i>) of Israel	καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλ and the <i>men</i> (pl.) of Israel
17:2	בעמק האלה ויערכו in the valley of Elah and they drew up battle lines	! ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι. αὐτοὶ παρα- τάσσονται in the valley. They drew up battle lines
17:2	מלחמה (ויערכו) (they drew up) battle lines	παρατάσσονται εἰς πόλεμον they drew up a line for battle
17:3	עמדים were stationed (pl.)	ἵσταται was stationed (sg.)

⁹ For the theoretical background see Tov, *TCU*, 50 ff.

¹⁰ For a detailed analysis, see pp. 107–108 in the original article.

17:5	וּמִשְׁקַל (הַשְּׂרִיזִין)	καὶ ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ θώρακος αὐτοῦ
	(and the weight of) <i>the</i> breastplate	and the weight of <i>his</i> breastplate
17:7	וְלִהְבֵּת חֲנִיתוֹ	καὶ ἡ λόγχη αὐτοῦ
	and the <i>head of his spear</i>	and his <i>spear-head</i> (one word)
17:7	הַצִּנָּה	τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοῦ
	<i>the shield</i>	<i>his shield</i>
17:8	לְעָרֵךְ מִלְחָמָה	παρατάξασθαι πολέμῳ
	to <i>draw up</i> battle lines	to arrange <i>yourself for</i> battle
17:8	הַפְּלִשְׁתִּי	ἄλλόφυλος
	<i>the Philistine</i>	(an [no article]) alien
17:9	אִם יוּכַל לְהִלָּחֵם אִתִּי	καὶ ἐὰν δυνηθῆ ἡ πρός ἐμὲ πολεμῆσαι
	(if he is able) <i>to fight with me</i>	if he is able <i>with me to fight</i>
17:9	וְהִכָּנִי	καὶ ἐὰν πατάξῃ με
	and smites me	and <i>if he smites me</i>
17:9	וְאִם אֲנִי אוֹכֵל לוֹ	! ἐὰν δὲ ἐγὼ δυνηθῶ
	lit., but if I am able <i>to him</i>	but if I am able
17:9	וְהִייתֶם	ἔσεσθε
	and you will be	you will be
17:34	וּבָא	καὶ ὅταν ἦρχετο
	and there came	and <i>when</i> there came
17:35	וַיִּקָּם	καὶ εἰ ἐπανίστατο
	and he rose up	and <i>if he</i> rose up
17:35	וְהִכֹּתִיו וְהִמִּיתִיו	καὶ ἐπάταξα καὶ ἐθανάτωσα αὐτόν
	and I struck <i>him</i> and killed him	and I struck and killed him
17:42	וְאֲדָמְנִי	καὶ αὐτὸς πυρράκης
	and ruddy	! and <i>he (was)</i> ruddy
17:46	יֵשׁ אֱלֹהִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל	! ἔστιν θεὸς ἐν Ἰσραὴλ
	there is a God <i>to</i> Israel	! there is a God <i>in</i> Israel
17:47	וַיֵּדְעוּ (כָּל הַקָּהָל הַזֶּה)	! καὶ γινώσεται
	and <i>they</i> shall know	! and <i>he</i> shall know
18:14	לְכָל דַּרְכּוֹ	! ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ
	lit., <i>to</i> all his ways	! <i>in</i> all his ways
18:20	וַיִּגִּדוּ	! καὶ ἀπηγγέλη
	and <i>they</i> (pl.) reported	and <i>it was</i> reported
18:23	וְנִקְלָה	καὶ οὐχὶ ἔνδοξος
	and unimportant	and <i>not</i> important

In analyzing chapters 17–18 we are interested in forming a judgment on the amount of exegetical renderings the translation contains. The above list shows that these chapters contain only a limited amount of such exegesis (at most 22 examples in 17 of the 49 verses present in the LXX), especially if one takes into consideration that some nine of the deviations listed may reflect variant readings.

b. *Word order*

With the exception of 17:9, יוכל להלחם איתי ('shall be able to fight with me') vs. δυνηθῆναι πρὸς ἐμὲ πολεμῆσαι ('is able against me to fight'), the translator kept the exact word order of MT. The differences in word order in 17:38 and 18:7, 22 (twice) probably derived from a different Hebrew text.

c. *Quantitative representation*

Partly as a result of the tendency toward stereotyping, literal translators did their utmost to represent each individual element in MT by one equivalent element in the translation. Free translators, on the other hand, felt free to add clarifying elements or not to represent elements which, in their view, were expressed by other words in the translation. They often compressed two or more elements of the Hebrew text into one, and expanded one element into two or more, in accordance with their literary taste and the nature of the Greek language. The quantitative relationship between the source text and the translation can be expressed statistically. The more literal translators aimed at a one-to-one representation of words in MT, whereas free translators did not.

The LXX translation of 1 Samuel 17–18 usually follows a system of precise quantitative adherence to the Hebrew. Some exceptions, which partially overlap with the list of exegetical elements in the translation (above), are listed here:

17:7	הצנה the-shield	τὰ ὄπλα αὐτοῦ <i>his</i> shield
17:9	והכני and-strikes-me	καὶ ἐὰν πατάξῃ με and <i>if</i> he strikes me
17:7	ולהבת חניתו and the head of his spear but if I am able <i>to him</i>	καὶ ἡ λόγχη αὐτοῦ and the spear-head of his but if I am able
17:9	והייתם <i>and</i> you will be	ἔσεσθε you will be
17:34	ובא and there came	καὶ ὅταν ἦρχετο and <i>when</i> there came

17:35	ויקם	καὶ εἰ ἐπανίστατο
	and he rose up	and <i>if</i> he rose up
18:23	ונקלה	καὶ οὐχὶ ἔνδοξος
	and unimportant	and <i>not</i> important

d. *Consistency in translation equivalents*

Many translators rendered all occurrences of a give Hebrew word, element (e.g., preposition), root, or construction as far as possible by the same Greek equivalent, often disregarding the context and the effect of this type of translation on the quality of the translation. There are two aspects to such consistency: (a) internal consistency in the choice of translation equivalents within a certain textual unit and (b) the translator's adherence to the general vocabulary of the LXX. No firm data for the comparison of 1 Samuel 17–18 with other translation units are available, so we must content ourselves with mere impressions. It seems that in the matter of consistency 1 Samuel 17–18 reflects a type of translation which holds the middle ground between literal and free translations.

e. *Internal consistency*

Most translation equivalents in 1 Samuel 17–18 are internally consistent, that is, the translator used the same equivalent for words which occur in more than one place. For example:

אסף	συνάγω	collect	17:1, 1, 2
מחנה	παρεμβολή	camp	17:2, 46
חנה	παρεμβάλλω	encamp	17:1, 2
ערך	παρατάσσω	draw up battle lines	17:2, 8
ק/כובע	περικεφαλαία	helmet	17:5, 38
מערכת(ו)	παράταξις	ranks	17:8, 10, 36, 45 (also 17:4)
חרף	ὠνειδίξω	defy	17:10, 36, 45
ירא	φοβέομαι	fear	17:11, 18:12
כלי	κάδιον	wallet	17:40, 49
ישר	εὐθύνω	be set right	18:20, 26

Lack of consistency is visible in the following equivalents:

עבד	δοῦλος	slave	17:9, 9, 32, 34
	παῖς	servant	18:22, 22, 23, 24
הציל	ἐκσπάω	rescue	17:35
	ἐξαιρέω		17:37
מקל	βακτηρία	stick	17:40

ῥάβδος 17:43

The differentiation may be intentional as Goliath calls David's βακτηρία (staff) a mere ῥάβδος (stick).

הכה	πατάσσω	strike	17:9, 35, 49; 18:6, 27
	τύπτω		17:36
	ἀποκτείνω	17:46	

f. *Adherence to the general vocabulary of the LXX*

The basis of the vocabulary of the LXX was established by the translators of the Torah. The translators who translated the later books often adhered to this vocabulary, certainly the more literal ones (see Tov, "Pentateuch"). Thus δεῦρο and εἴσοδος (see below) are words that would not usually be chosen as equivalents for the Hebrew words they render. The examples mentioned in the preceding section as well as the following ones reflect this approach:

בין	ἀνά μέσον	between	<i>passim</i>
עמק	κοιλιάς	valley	17:2
שריון	θώραξ	breastplate	17:5, 5
צנה	ὄπλα	shield	17:7
איש מלחמה	ἀνὴρ πολεμιστής	man of war	17:33
ערל	ἀπερίτμητος	uncircumcised	17:36
לכה Go!	δεῦρο	Come!	17:44
קהל	ἐκκλησία	assembly	17:47
עריע	ἀλαλάζω	cry out	17:52
בואך	εἴσοδος	all the way to	17:52
מוקש	σκάνδαλον	snare	18:21
התחתן	ἐπιγαμβρεύω	become related by marriage	18:22, 23, 26, 27
צוה	ἐντέλλομαι	command	18:22
ערלה	ἀκροβυστία	foreskin	18:25, 27
אהב	ἀγαπάω	love	18:16, 20, 22, 28
הגיד	ἀπαγγέλλω	report	18:20, 24

Unusual word choices, not (or rarely) used elsewhere in the LXX, are found in the following:

רגלים	σκέλη	legs (usually: πόδες)	17:6
הלך לפני	προπορεύομαι	walk in front (usually two words)	17:7
לחם	μονομαχέομαι	fight (usually: πολεμέω as in vv. 32, 33)	17:10

דח׳ ἀμφότεροι together (usually: ἄμα) 17:10

It seems that the translation equivalents used in 1 Samuel 17–18 reflect a rather consistently Septuagintal type of translation.

g. Hebraisms in the translation

On the basis of the above data, the translation technique of 1 Samuel 17–18 may be described as relatively literal. A similar conclusion has been reached by others with regard to 1 Samuel as a whole.¹¹ Special mention should be made of Sollamo, *Semiprepositions*, esp. 280 ff. which yielded the conclusion that 1 Samuel belongs to the most literal units of the whole LXX. On the basis of a similar study by Soisalon-Soininen, *Infinitive*, esp. 169 ff., 1 Samuel may be characterized as relatively literal. Two types of data support this characterization.

Numerous Hebraisms appearing in the translation illustrate the translator's literalism. In the following these are in italics.

- 17:1 ויחנו בין שוכה ובין עזקה
 And they encamped *between* Socoh and *between* Azekah.
 καὶ παρεμβάλλουσιν ἀνὰ μέσον Σοκχωθ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Αζηκα
- 17:4 ויצא איש הבנים ... גלית שמו
 And a champion stepped forward ... Goliath (was) *his name*.
 καὶ ἐξῆλθεν ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς...Γολιαθ ὄνομα αὐτῶ
- 17:5 ושריון קשקשים הוא לבוש
 And with armor of scales *he was dressed*.
 καὶ θώρακα ἀλυσιδωτὸν αὐτὸς ἐνδεδυκώς
- 17:9 אם יוכל ... והיינו
 If he is able ... *then* (lit. *and*) we will become.
 καὶ ἐὰν δυναθῆ ... καὶ ἐσόμεθα
- 17:33 ללכת ... להלחם
 ... to go ... *to fight*
 πορευθῆναι...τοῦ πολεμεῖν
- 17:40 וישם אתם בכלי הרעים אשר לו
 And he put them in the shepherd's bag *which he had*.

¹¹ Thus Thenius, *Bücher Samuels*, xxv ff.; Woods, *Light*, 21; Driver, *Judaeen Scrolls*, lix–lxii, with many examples. Likewise Kelly (cited in n. 7), 24 ('... which aim at literalism to a greater extent than the majority of the Septuagint books'), though the greater part of Kelly's study discusses the translator's exegetical deviations. The predominantly exegetical character of the translation is maintained in a brief study by Gehman, "Exegetical Methods," 292–296. However, the issue is not whether there are exegetical renderings in the LXX of 1 Samuel—the existence of some of these is apparent—but how many are found in that translation unit when compared with its literal renderings. In our view exegetical renderings are much less frequent than literal renderings. Further, many (most?) of the examples can also be explained as reflecting variant readings.

- καὶ ἔθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καδίῳ τῷ ποιμενικῷ τῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ
 17:42 נער ואדמני עם יפה מראה
 He was a boy, ruddy *with beauty of appearance*.
 αὐτὸς ἦν παιδάριον καὶ αὐτὸς πυρράκης μετὰ κάλλους
 ὀφθαλμῶν 17:43 אתה בא אלי כמקלות
 You come against me with (lit. *in*) sticks.
 σὺ ἔρχῃ ἐπ' ἐμέ ἐν ῥάβδῳ (reflecting variant במקל, with a stick)
 For a similar use of ἐν, see vv. 43b, 45, 47; 18:6.
- 18:8 וירע בעיניו הדבר הזה
 And *this matter (word)* was evil in his eyes.
 καὶ πονηρὸν ἐφάνη τὸ ῥῆμα ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Σαουλ περὶ τοῦ λόγου
 τούτου
 And *the word* was evil in the eyes of Saul concerning *this word*.
 For similar constructions, see 18:20, 23, 26.
- 18:12 וירא שאול מלפני דוד
 Saul was afraid *from the face of* David.
 καὶ ἐφοβήθη Σαουλ ἀπὸ προσώπου Δαυεיד
- 18:22 חפץ בך המלך
 the king is fond of (lit., *in*) you
 ὁ βασιλεὺς θέλει ἐν σοί (cf. also v. 25)
- 18:27 וילך הוא ואנשיו
 And he went out, *he and his men*.
 καὶ ἐπορεύθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ
- 18:27 ויד כפלשתים
 literally: And he smote *in* the Philistines.
 καὶ ἐπάταξεν ἐν τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις

Hebraisms in the pluses (not found in MT) underscore the translator's adherence to his parent text:

- 17:8 ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν
 = לקראתנו
 to meet us
- 17:36 οὐχὶ πορεύσομαι καὶ πατάξω καὶ ἀφελῶ σήμερον ὄνειδος
 = הלא אלך והכתינו והסירותי היום חרפה
 Shall I not go and smite him and remove today disgrace?
- 17:48 εἰς συνάντησιν Δαυιδ
 = לקראת דוד
 ... to meet David.

Note further the use of λέγων (= לאמר) in a plus in 18:22.

h. *The argument from translation technique*

The above-mentioned 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. We therefore assume that the translator worked from a text which was much shorter than MT.

This working hypothesis is supported by three arguments:

1. Confidence in the reliability of the LXX of Samuel has been enhanced in recent years by the finds of Hebrew scrolls of Samuel in Qumran. These scrolls contain many readings which had been reconstructed previously from the LXX (either the mainstream or LXX^{Luc}). This situation thus gives the LXX more credibility in those chapters of which no ancient Hebrew manuscripts have been found. At the same time, the differences between MT and the reconstructed parent text of the LXX are larger in 1 Samuel 17–18 than in any other section of the book;¹² nor do any of the Qumran scrolls differ as much from MT. The only parallels showing similarly extensive divergence from MT which come to mind are the large plus of 4QSam^a before the beginning of 1 Samuel 11 (five lines) and the beginning of the second column of the same scroll (1 Sam 2:13 ff.), which differs considerably from MT.¹³

2. The working hypothesis, that the short version of the story found in the LXX is based on a short Hebrew original, is more acceptable if the alternative view, that it is an abridgment by the Greek translator, cannot be sustained. Indeed, in our view there are no cogent reasons for assuming a large-scale shortening of the original text by the translator. One might suppose, for example, that the translator omitted a substantial portion of the narrative in order to shorten the lengthy stories. But the argument from translation technique militates against this supposition: The translator has not shown himself willing to take such liberties with his source elsewhere. Furthermore, the presence of pluses in the translation also gainsays such an assumption.

3. The motive usually given to explain why the translator would have abridged is that he recognized difficulties in certain passages, which he therefore omitted. Two examples of such difficulties are the following:

a. In 17:55–58, Saul and Abner express ignorance of David when they see him approaching Goliath, and Saul asks to have David introduced to him. This contradicts the scene preceding the battle, where Saul and

¹² Elsewhere in 1 Samuel the LXX lacks individual phrases or clauses, but nowhere does it lack so many as in chapters 17–18. For some examples, see 1:9; 4:17; 6:4, 11; 10:16; 12:13; 21:10; 23:23; 26:4; 30:7b; 31:6. For a discussion, see Méritan, *La version grecque des livres de Samuel* (Paris 1898) 139–48.

¹³ See Cross, “Ammonite Oppression” (see p. 293); idem, “New Qumran Fragment.”

David have a lengthy discussion about David's confronting Goliath (17:31–39), and the earlier story of David's being introduced to Saul as a skilful harper and being made his armor bearer, where it is even said that Saul 'loved' David (16:17–23). It is often claimed that the translator omitted 17:55–58 to eliminate this contradiction of the earlier scenes.

b. In 18:17–19, Saul offers David his eldest daughter, Merab, while verses 20–27 tell about David's marriage to Michal, 'daughter of Saul' (vv. 20, 27). The tension between these passages is apparent (despite the harmonizing remark in v. 21b lacking in the LXX), and this may have promoted the translator to omit the first section (vv. 17–19), which is now lacking in the LXX. See further section 5.

That a translator omitted complete sections from his parent text to avoid inconsistencies is a legitimate assumption, albeit a very difficult one. It presupposes not only that the translator allowed himself considerable liberty in his translation, but also that he was a sophisticated reader, almost a critical scholar. It is questionable whether there are any parallels for such a presumed action within the realm of the Greek translations of the Bible. Scores of contradictory passages have been left everywhere else in the translation, including the LXX of Samuel (see section 5). Not only is the mere fact of the omission surprising, so is the assumed reason for that omission, which ascribes to the translator the mind of an attentive critic.

More important, while a harmonizing omission by the translator in the above two examples is, in view of their contents, at least plausible, such an assumption is much more difficult, if not impossible, in the case of the other minuses in the LXX. In 18:1–4 we are informed of the covenant of love between David and Jonathan; why should that section be omitted? And why should verses 5–6a, which merely introduce the next section, be omitted? True, 18:1–6a too contains a detail which could be read as inconsistent with the earlier narrative: In 18:2 Saul installs David in his court, even though he had already been installed there in 16:22. But should we expect the translator to be sensitive to such details? And even if we should, why should the translator omit six and a half verses because of one detail (18:2)? Would it not have been easier and more responsible merely to change a detail (e.g., in 17:15) or to omit a smaller part of the section in question? Did the translator omit 18:10–11 (Saul's attempt to spear David) because it is repeated in 19:9–10? Or did he consider this section inconsistent with Saul's feelings of love for David? The latter possibility is unlikely, because the translation also lacks 18:2a, which mentions Saul's love.

The same types of questions may be asked regarding the translator's supposed omission of 17:12–31, the largest of the minuses of the LXX in 1 Samuel 17–18. This section contains several elements that contradict the preceding or following account (see section 5), but all these contradictions are relatively minor, and we do not know whether the translator would have sensed them. But even if he would have, would a translator omit a complete section of twenty verses because of difficulties regarding some of the verses in that section?

Apart from these questions, two other considerations show the inadequacy of harmonization as an explanation for the minuses in the LXX of 1 Samuel 17–18. First, several of the minuses show no inconsistency with the remaining text, and there would have been no reason to omit them on that score (17:41, 48b, 50; 18:12b, 29b–30). And second, not all difficulties have been removed from the version found in the LXX: 17:33, in which David is called a mere lad, unqualified to fight Goliath, remains, despite its apparent inconsistency with 16:18, where he is called a man of valor and a man of war (see. n. 18).

In sum, we cannot think of any motive which would convincingly explain an abridgment of the text. Only in a few cases can one point to possible reasons for a stylistic or exegetical abridgment of individual passages, and these are not sufficient to establish a case for extensive abridgment. These considerations also militate against the likelihood that the short text was the result of abridgment by a Hebrew scribe (rather than the Greek translator), as suggested by A. Kuenen. Such a theory would encounter the same objections as those just discussed, as well as another: It is highly unlikely that the Hebrew text would be revised only in chapters 17–18 and not in other chapters in 1 Samuel which contain obvious contradictions and doublets of stories (e.g., the different traditions concerning the origin of the monarchy in 1 Sam 8:1–22; 10:17–27 // 9:1–10:16; the parallel stories about David and Saul in 1 Sam 19:11–17 // 19:18–24 // 20:1–42; 1 Sam 24 // 1 Sam 26).

5. *The two versions underlying 1 Samuel 17–18*

What emerges from the preceding discussion is that the short version of 1 Samuel 17–18 reflected in the LXX was not an abridgment, either by the Greek translator or by a Hebrew scribe, of the long version found in MT. It is rather an independent and coherent version of the events. In what follows we analyze the nature of this version and its counterpart in the passages absent from the LXX and found only in MT. In so doing, we turn from the realm of textual criticism to that of literary criticism.

The argument up to this point implies that the short version underlying the LXX reflects an early stage of chapters 17–18 (continuing chapter 16 [see n. 14]) and that the long version found in MT represents a later, expanded stage. Since the long version contains additional information (traditions) about the encounter of David and Goliath, parallel to that in the short version, the additional material in the long version constitutes a separate version of the story. We refer to the short text underlying the LXX (and parts of MT) as version 1 and the additions found only in MT as version 2.¹⁴ MT thus contains both versions 1 and 2.¹⁵ In a way, this situation resembles that in Jeremiah where a short *edition* of the book is contained in the LXX and 4QJer^{b,d} and a long one in MT (see Tov, “Jeremiah”).

For a more detailed analysis we present a summary of the contents of the two versions, disregarding small pluses and minuses.¹⁶

	<i>Version 1 (LXX and MT)</i>	<i>Version 2 (MT only)</i>
16:17–23	David is introduced to Saul as a skilful harper and he is made his armor bearer.	
17:1–11	Attack by the Philistines. Goliath suggests a duel with one of the Israelites.	
17:12–31		David is sent by his father to bring food to his brothers at the front. He hears Goliath and desires to meet him in a duel.
17:32–39	David volunteers to fight	

¹⁴ Version 1 is taken as reflecting the main story of 1 Samuel (i.e., it follows chapter 16 and continues with chapter 19), since version 2 has been superimposed on it and inserted in it. This is a logical inference from the relationship between versions 1 and 2, but considering the contents of both versions, it is not impossible that version 2 also reflects the framework of 1 Samuel (not, e.g., the depiction of David as a shepherd boy in version 2 and in 16:11, 19).

¹⁵ This terminology is appropriate for the two versions of the encounter of David and Goliath (chapter 17) and for the two versions of Saul’s offer of marriage (18:17–19, 20–27), but not for other details in version 2, which are not parallel to version 1, but rather expand version 1. Since the majority of the pluses of MT add parallel material, it is best to use the term versions.

¹⁶ Most commentaries merely remark on the relation between the two versions of the story of David and Goliath, but McCarter, *1 Samuel* presents the two versions as two independent units (‘David and the Philistine Champion I, II’), translating and commenting on them separately.

	with Goliath.	
17:40–54	The duel. After Goliath's miraculous fall, the Philistines flee.	Short account of the duel (vv. 41, 48b, 50)
17:55–58		Saul asks who David is. David is introduced to Saul by Abner.
18:1–4		David and Jonathan make a covenant.
18:5–6a		David is appointed as an officer in Saul's army.
18:6b–9	Saul's jealousy of David.	
18:10–11		Saul attempts in vain to kill David.
18:12–16	David's successes.	
18:17–19		Saul offers David his eldest daughter, Merab.
18:20–27	Saul offers David his daughter Michal.	
19:29b–30		Saul's love for David. David's successes.

The parallels between the two versions of the events are that in each David is introduced to Saul (16:17–23 [part of an earlier section of version 1] and 17:55–58) and that in each David is made an officer in Saul's army (18:5, 13). Furthermore, in each version Saul offers David one of his daughters (both termed 'daughter of Saul': 18:19, 20), without any cross reference to the offer of the other daughter (18:17–19, 20–27 [see, however, section 5, on 18:21b]). At the same time, the two versions are not fully parallel, as they often contain different elements. Version 1 is much more extensive than version 2, as is obvious from a comparison of the two accounts of the duel. Version 1 presents a continuous¹⁷ and internally consistent story,¹⁸ and if version 2 were not known, we would

¹⁷ 17:32 links immediately with 17:11, not with 17:31 (עליו 'because of him,' in verse 32 probably refers to Goliath, and Goliath has not been mentioned in the verses which immediately precede verse 32 in MT, but he is mentioned in verse 11 [alternatively, עליו means 'upon himself']). In the other instances too the verse in MT which immediately precedes the minus has its natural continuation in the verse following the minus.

¹⁸ A slight problem is created by a comparison of 16:18 and 17:33. In the first verse, David is described as גבור חיל ואיש מלחמה, 'a man of valor and a man of war,' while in the

not have lacked any information in chapters 17 and 18 which is crucial to the understanding of version 1.¹⁹ Whether or not version 2 once existed in a fuller form, from which the present form was excerpted, cannot be known.

The two versions underlying chapters 17–18 contain only partial parallels, and because there is not sufficient evidence for contrasting the two stories, it is unclear whether the duplication should be connected with other duplications in Samuel. Even though several parallel versions of events have been detected elsewhere in Samuel, it is hard to know whether the two versions of the encounter of David and Goliath should be connected with these other duplicate strands of tradition.

From the point of view of literary history, we consider version 1 primary, and version 2 secondary, since the latter has been added to version 1 (or, rather, inserted in it). However this does not imply that the content of version 1 is more authentic than that of version 2. It is hard to know whether ‘David the harper and the armor bearer’ (version 1) is more original in the history of the tradition than ‘David the shepherd’ (version 2, but also 1 Sam 16:11, 19). The later tradition depicts David as both a musician and a shepherd (see e.g., Psalm 151 in 11QPs^a and in the LXX).

Version 1 in chapter 17 thus should not be preferred to version 2 from the point of view of its contents. In chapter 18, at times version 1 is preferable to version 2, and at times the mere editorial juxtaposition of versions 1 and 2 creates contextual problems that render the isolated reading of *either* version 1 and 2 desirable. This refers especially to the two versions of Saul’s offer of a daughter to David in marriage (18:17–19 [version 2], 20–27 [version 1]) and to Saul’s attempt to kill David (vv. 10–11 [version 2]). All exegetes agree that Saul’s attempt to kill David is not in place in this chapter (it is repeated by an identical section in 19:9–10). In fact, the sequence of events in the short version 1 is more logical than that in the combined text of versions 1 and 2. In version 1, Saul is at first envious of David (vv. 8–9), then suspicious (v. 12) and frightened because of David’s successes (vv. 13–15); subsequently he wants to have

second Saul advises David not to fight because he is a mere נַעַר, ‘lad.’ The tension between these two verses may be misleading. It is possible that the phrase in 16:18 is an exaggeration by one of Saul’s men; possibly he means to say that David has the right traits for a warrior. Likewise, Saul’s statement in 17:33 could be exaggerated (cf. the use of נַעַר in 1 Kings 3:7).

¹⁹ One difficulty is created by the covenant of friendship between David and Jonathan mentioned in 18:1–4 (version 2) and subsequently referred to in 20:8. If we assume that the redactor who joined versions 1 and 2, the latter including 18:1–4, wrote or rewrote 20:8, the problem is solved.

David killed by the Philistines, and when this stratagem does not succeed, he attempts to kill him himself (19:9–10). In the combined version of MT, the progressive intensification of Saul's response is undercut by Saul's premature attempt in 18:10–11.

6. *The composition of the Masoretic version of 1 Samuel 16–18*

From the above discussion it is clear that the Masoretic version of 1 Samuel 16–18 was created by the juxtaposition of the two separate accounts of the events, the complete version 1 and the partial (or partially preserved) version 2.

Since both versions cover some of the same events, but with differing details, the conflate Masoretic version which was produced by the join contains several inconsistencies:

1. The most conspicuous difficulty, as explained above, is that after David had been introduced to Saul and had become his armor bearer (16:17–23, from version 1), he is absent from the battle front and occupied as a shepherd with his father's flock and is still unknown to Saul who, when David arrives, has to ask Abner who he is (17:55–58, from version 2). Note that Saul asks in general terms about 'the boy' (17:55, 56).

2. In 17:22 (the first sentence of version 2), David and Jesse are introduced to the reader, but they were already known from chapter 16 (version 1).

3. If Eliab was present at the time of David's anointing (16:13, from version 1), it is hard to understand why he should utter such harsh words to David (17:28, from version 2). If the issue is judged only on a psychological level, it is understandable that the oldest brother might be jealous or anxious about the safety of his youngest brother.

4. David is depicted in different ways in the composite narrative. In 16:21 he is Saul's armor bearer (from version 1), and in that capacity he fights Goliath. In 17:12–31 and 55–58 (from version 2), he is an unknown shepherd boy who happens to be on the spot visiting his brothers when Goliath challenges the Israelites to a duel.

5. In 18:13 (from version 1) David is made an officer in Saul's army, though he was already made an officer in 18:5 (from version 2). This inconsistency holds as long as the two appointments are not taken as referring to different positions.

6. According to 17:25 ff. (from version 2), whoever defeats Goliath is to be given the king's daughter in marriage. 18:20 ff. (from version 1) seem unaware of this promise, since Saul has to look for pretexts that

would convince David to marry his daughter, while David says that he is unworthy.

7. According to 18:20–27 (from version 1), Saul offers David Michal, ‘daughter of Saul,’ but in verses 17–19 (from version 2), Saul offered David his eldest daughter, Merab, also termed ‘daughter of Saul,’ in accordance with his earlier promise to marry his daughter to whoever defeats Goliath (17:25, likewise from version 2).

The fact that the redactor who combined versions 1 and 2 created a text displaying such inconsistencies is precisely what is supposed to have happened in other cases throughout the Bible where texts underwent conflation, expansion, and interpolation. Why the redactor created this conflate version, despite its inconsistencies, is a matter of conjecture. It stands to reason that he wanted to preserve certain traditions and details that were not included in version 1, which formed the framework of his story. Presumably the redactor derived most of version 2 from a written source. It is hard to determine why he added 17:12–31 and 55–58 (the main body of version 2). Possibly he simply liked the story; possibly he wanted to convey a certain idea it expresses, namely, that God can bring victory to his people even through initially unimportant figures (in this version David was unknown before the battle). Other additions may reflect the editor’s own ideas.²⁰ In verse 50, for example, he stressed that David did not need a sword in order to defeat the Philistine.

Still, the redactor did not necessarily ignore all the inconsistencies created by his juxtaposition of the two versions. There are a few details in the text which have the effect of smoothing out certain of the inconsistencies. If we did not have the evidence of the LXX that the narrative is indeed composite, we might take such details as evidence for its original unity, but since that is ruled out, these details have plausibly been taken as belonging to neither version but rather as composed by the redactor for the purpose of smoothing out the inconsistencies. Here are some examples:²¹

a. הַזֶּה, lit. ‘this one,’ in 17:12: וְדָוִד בֶּן אִישׁ אֶפְרַתִּי הַזֶּה מִבֵּית לַחֶם, ‘David was the son of an Ephrathite man, this one, from Bethlehem.’ Since David’s father²² had already been introduced in chapter 16, his

²⁰ For further speculations on the different tendencies visible in the two versions, see esp. Peters, *Beiträge*, 57; de Vries, “David’s Victory”; Jason, “Story of David and Goliath.” According to the latter, version 1 reflects a ‘romantic epic’ and version 2 a ‘heroic epic.’

²¹ For the technique and one additional example from Samuel and one from Genesis, see Seeligmann, “Hebräische Erzählung,” esp. 312–314.

²² Even if הַזֶּה refers to David (thus Qimḥi), it would still be considered an editorial or scribal addition.

introduction in 17:12 would have seemed repetitious and oblivious of the earlier introduction. The ungrammatical use of the demonstrative particle in this verse suggests that it was added by the redactor to remove the impression of obliviousness (proper Hebrew usage would have been *האיש האפרתי הזה*, 'this Ephrathite man'; the formulation *אפרתי איש*, 'an Ephrathite man,' is correct only without *הזה*). In context the particle must mean 'the aforementioned,' as Jerome understood it (*de quo supra dictum est*).²³

b. 17:15 *ודוד הלך ושב מעל שאול לרעות את צאן אביו בית להם*, 'David would go back and forth from attending on Saul to shepherd his father's flock at Bethlehem.' Since David had already left him and become Saul's armor bearer (16:17–23, version 1), the fact that he was still with Jesse when Saul and the army were at the front (17:12–20, version 2) would have seemed inconsistent. 17:15 smooths out the inconsistency by indicating that David alternated his time between home and Saul's court.

c. 1 Sam 18:21b 'you can become my son-in-law even now through the second one' (NJV), added in version 2, may be in the nature of a cross-reference to the mentioning of the other daughter (Michal) in version 1.

The present study shows that the Masoretic version of 1 Samuel 16–18 combined two originally separate versions of the narrative. The versions sometimes told of the same incidents, though not always with identical details; at other times they told of different incidents. As a result, when the two versions were joined, the combined text displayed a certain amount of redundancy and inconsistency. In a few places the redactor added notes in an attempt to smooth over these difficulties; in other places he made no such attempt.

The results of the analysis are of importance for our understanding not only of 1 Samuel 16–18, but of other sections of Samuel too, and in a way of the whole of biblical literature. In this case we are able to document the existence of two layers of one story, while in other cases the assumption of different layers is merely an abstract possibility.

²³ Alternatively, *הזה* is a corruption of *היה* (interchange of *zayin* and *yod*).

*Appendix A**Shorter minuses in the LXX of 1 Samuel 17–18*

The items missing in the LXX are enclosed in parentheses.

17:5	וכובע (נחשת)	and a (bronze) helmet
17:9	ואם אני אוכל (לו)	but if I am able (to him)
17:33	הפלשתי (הזה)	(this) Philistine
17:36	הפלשתי הערל (הזה)	(this) uncircumcised Philistine
17:37	(ויאמר דוד)	(and David said)
17:38	(וילבש אתו שריון)	(and dressed him in a breastplate)
17:39	ויסרם (דוד) מעליו	and (David) [he] took them off of him
17:42	(ויבט הפלשתי)	(when the Philistine looked)
17:46	(היום (הזה)	(this) [to-]day
17:48	וילך (ויקרב)	and went (and drew close)
17:51	ויקח את חרבו (וישלפה מתערה)	and he took his sword (and pulled it from its sheath)
17:51	ויכרת (בה)	and he cut off (with it)
18:6	לשיר והמחלות לקראת שאול (המלך)	(singing and dancing towards king Saul)
18:7	(הנשים (המשחקות)	the (dancing) women
18:8	(ויחר לשאול מאד)	(and Saul was greatly angered)
18:8	(ועוד לו אך המלוכה)	(and all that he lacks is the king- ship)
18:20	וישר (הדבר) בעיניו	and (the matter) was pleasing in his eyes
18:24	ויגדו עבדי שאול לו (לאמר)	Saul's servants reported to him (saying)
18:26	(ולא מלאו הימים)	(Before the days were fulfilled)
18:27	ויבא (דוד)	and (David) [he] brought
18:27	ויתן לו (שאול)	and (Saul) [he] gave him
18:27	(וימלאום) למלך	(and they were counted out) for the king
18:28	וירא שאול (וידע)	and Saul saw (and knew)
18:29	ויאסף (שאול) לרא	And (Saul) [he] became more afraid

*Appendix B**Variant readings reflected in the LXX of 1 Samuel 17–18*

The LXX and MT readings are presented in parallel columns, with tentative retroversions of the variants reflected in LXX added in a third column. Differences that may be due to translation technique are indicated with an asterisk.

	<i>LXX</i>	<i>MT</i>	<i>Retroverted variant</i>
17:2	ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι. αὐτοὶ παρατάσσονται in the valley. They drew up battle lines	בעמק האלה ויערכו in the valley of Elah and drew up battle lines	בעמק. אלה ... ממערכות
17:4	ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως from the battle line	ממחנות from the camps	
17:4	(ὕψος αὐτοῦ) τεσσάρων (πήχεων) (his height was) four (cubits)	(גבהו) שש (אמות) (his height was) six (cubits)	ארבע
17:7	καὶ ὁ κοντός and the (wooden) pole	יחז and the shaft	ועץ
17:8	Ἑβραῖοι Hebrews	עבדים servants	עברים
17:9	*καὶ ἐὰν and if	אם if	ואם
17:32	τοῦ κυρίου μου my lord	אדם man	אדני
17:34	καὶ ἡ ἄρκος and a bear	ואת הדוב and the bear (acc.)	ואף הדוב
17:35	τοῦ φάρυγγος αὐτοῦ of his throat	בזקנו of his beard	בגרנו
17:36	καὶ τὴν ἄρκον (ἔτυπτεν ὁ δοῦλός σου) καὶ τὸν λέοντα both bear (has your servant killed) and lion	גם את הארי גם הדוב (הכה עבדך) both lion and bear (has your servant killed)	גם (את) הדוב גם (את) הארי
17:37	*καὶ ἔσται κύριος	וה' יהיה	ויהיה ה'

	may be the Lord (with you)	may the Lord be (with you)	
17:38	καὶ (περικεφαλαίαν) and (a helmet)	ונתן קובע	וקובע
17:39	καὶ ἐκοπίασεν and he was unable	ויאל and he tried	וילא
17:39	ἄπαξ καὶ δὶς once and twice	כי לא נסה for he was not used to them	?
17:40	*εἰς συλλογὴν into (his) bag	ובילקוט and into (his) bag	בילקוט
17:42	κάλλους ὀφθαλμῶν beauty of eyes	יפה מראה handsome of appearance	יפה עינים
17:43	ἐν ῥάβδῳ with a stick	במקלות with sticks	במקל
17:46	*καὶ ἀποκλείσει σε and he will deliver you	יסגרך he will deliver you	ויסגרך
17:46	τὰ κῶλά σου καὶ τὰ κῶλα your carcasses and the carcasses	פגר the carcasses	פגרך ופגרי
17:47	*καὶ γνώσεται and it will know (all this assembly)	(כל הקהל הזה) וידעו and they will know	וידע
17:48	καὶ ἀνέστη and he went up	והיה כי קם and it happened that he went up	ויקם
17:51	ἐπ' αὐτόν over him	אל הפלשתי to/over the Philistine	עליו / אליו
17:52	Γεθ Geth	גיא Gai	גת
17:52	ὀπίσω αὐτῶν after them	(וירדפו) את הפלשתים (and they pursued) the Philistines	אחריהם
17:52	Ἀσκαλῶνος Ashkelon	עקרונ Ekron	אשקלון

17:53	ἄνδρες Ἰσραηλ men of Israel	בני ישראל sons of Israel	איש ישראל (cf. v. 2)
18:6	αἱ χορεύουσαι the dancers	הנשים the women	?
18:8	ἐν ὀφθαλμοῖς Σαουλ in the eyes of Saul	בעיניו in his eyes	בעיני שאול
18:8	περὶ τοῦ λόγου about the matter	הדבר the matter	?
18:14	*ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ in all his undertakings	לכל דרכיו to all his undertakings	בכל דרכיו
18:16	πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ λαοῦ before the people	לפניהם before them	לפני העם
18:21	ἐπὶ Σαουλ against Saul	בו against him	בשאול
18:22	καὶ σύ and you	ועתה and now	ואתה
18:25	*ἀλλ' ἢ other than	כי than	כי אם
18:25	αὐτὸν ἐμβαλεῖν to cast him	להפיל את דוד to cast David	להפילו
18:27	ἑκατὸν one hundred	מאתים two hundred	מאה
18:28	καὶ πάς and all	ומיכל and Michal	וכל
18:28	Ἰσραηλ Israel	בת שאול the daughter of Saul	ישראל
18:28	ἠγάπα αὐτόν he loved him	אהבתהו she loved him	אהבו

Appendix C

Pluses in the LXX of 1 Samuel 17–18

The majority of the pluses can be tentatively retroverted into Hebrew; they are the elements after the plus sign or in between two plus signs in the list. What stands outside these signs is present in MT.

	<i>LXX</i>	<i>Retroverted variant</i>
17:5	χαλκοῦ + καὶ σιδήρου brass + and iron	נחשת + וברזל
17:8	πολέμῳ + ἐξ ἐναντίας ἡμῶν battle + toward us	מלחמה + לקראתנו
17:32	μὴ + δὴ + συμπεσέτω let not + I pray + fall	אל + נא + יפל
17:36	+ οὐχὶ πορεύσομαι καὶ πατάξω αὐτὸν καὶ ἀφελῶ σήμερον ὄνειδος ἐξ Ἰσραηλ διότι τίς ὁ ἀπερίτμητος οὗτος + + shall I not go and smite him and remove today disgrace from Israel, for who is this uncircumcised +	+ הלוא אך והכתינו והסרותי + היום חרפה מעל ישראל כי מי הערל הזה +
17:37	τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου + τοῦ ἀπεριτμήτου + τούτου this + uncircumcised + Philistine	הפלשתי + הערל + הזה
17:40	πρὸς + τὸν ἄνδρα + τὸν ἀλλόφυλον to + the man + the Philistine	אל + האי + הפלשתי
17:42	καὶ εἶδεν ~ Γολיאθ and saw + Goliath (subject)	וירא + גלית
17:43	+ καὶ λίθοις καὶ εἶπεν Δαυεὶδ οὐχὶ ἀλλ' ἢ χεῖρ κύνος ~ + and stones and David said, No, but rather ...+	+...אם לא כי אמ... +
17:46	καὶ ἀποκλείσει σε κύριος + σήμερον and the Lord will deliver you + today	ויסגרך ה' + היום
17:47	καὶ παραδώσει + κύριος	ונתן + ה'

	and will give + the Lord (subject)	
17:49	λίθον + ἓνα stone + one	אבן + אחת
17:49	καὶ διέδυν ὁ λίθος + διὰ τῆς περικεφαλαίας + εἰς τὸ μέτωπον αὐτοῦ and the stone penetrated + through the helmet + into his forehead	+ ותשבץ האבן + בעד הכובע + במצחו
18:6	+ εἰς συνάντησιν Δαυειδ + + towards David +	+ לקראת דוד +
18:22	+ λέγων - + saying	+ לאמר +
18:22	λαλήσατε + ὑμεῖς speak + you (pl., subject pronoun)	דברו + אתם
18:24	κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα + ἃ + ἐλάλησεν according to these things + which + he spoke	כדברים האלה + אשר + דבר
18:27	τὴν Μελχολ θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ + αὐτῷ + his daughter Michal + to him	+ לו + את מיכל בתו +