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 McCarter\(^3\) 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

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\(^1\) 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, *Traités 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 IQ7, 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.

motives, namely, to create a smoother story by omitting conflicting details. 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. This shorter Hebrew text was usually considered to reflect an earlier stage of the literary development of the story, one which preceded MT.

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.

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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, and in fact of the other books of

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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. 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.” One 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.” Whereupon Saul sent messengers to Jesse to say, “Send me your son David, who is with the flock.” Jesse took an ass laden with bread, a skin of wine, and a kid, and sent them to Saul by his son David. So David came to Saul and entered his service; Saul took a strong liking to him and made him one of his arms-bearers. Saul sent word to Jesse, “Let David remain in my service, for I am pleased with him.” Whenever 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. Saul and the men of Israel massed and encamped in the valley of Elah. They drew up their line of battle against the Philistines, with the Philistines stationed on one hill and Israel stationed on the opposite hill; the ravine was between them. A champion of the Philistine forces stepped forward; his name was Goliath of Gath, and he was six cubits and a span tall. He had a (bronze) helmet on his head, and wore a breastplate

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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. He had bronze greaves on his legs and a bronze javelin slung from his shoulders. The 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.

He 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. If 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.” And the Philistine ended, “I herewith defy the ranks of Israel. Get me a man and let’s fight it out!” When Saul and all Israel heard these words of the Philistine, they were dismayed and terror stricken.

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. 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; and David was the youngest. The three oldest had followed Saul, and David would go back and forth from attending on Saul to shepherd his father’s flock at Bethlehem.

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

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

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. Israel and the Philistines drew up their battle lines opposite each other. David left his baggage with the man in charge of the baggage and ran toward the battle line and went to greet his brothers. While 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.

When the men of Israel saw the man, they fled in terror. And 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.” 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?”

27 The troops told him in the same words what would be done for the man who killed him.

28 When 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!”

29 But David replied, “What have I done now? I was only asking!”

30 And he turned away from him toward someone else; he asked the same question, and the troops gave him the same answer as before.

31 The things David said were overheard and were reported to Saul, who had him brought over.

32 David said to Saul, “Let no man’s courage fail him. Your servant will go and fight (that) Philistine!”

33 But 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!”

34 David 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, I 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. Your 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. The Lord,” (David went on,) “who saved me from lion and bear will also save me from that Philistine.”

35 Then go,” Saul said to David, “and may the Lord be with you!”

36 Saul clothed David in his own garment; he placed a bronze helmet on his head (and fastened a breastplate on him). David 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.

37 He 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.

38 The Philistine, meanwhile, was coming closer to David, preceded by his shield bearer.

39 (And the Philistine looked) and he saw David; he scorned him, for he was but a boy, ruddy and handsome.

40 And the Philistine called out to David, “Am I a dog that you come against me with sticks?”

The Philistine cursed David by his gods; and 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.”

41 David 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. This (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. 47 And 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."

48 When the Philistine began to come (and advance) toward David, David quickly ran up to the battle line to face the Philistine. 49 David 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. 51 So 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. 52 The 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.

53 Then the Israelites returned from chasing the Philistines and looted their camp.

54 David 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. 2 Saul took him [into his service] that day and would not let him return to his father’s house.—3 Jonathan and David made a pact, because he loved him as himself. 4 Jonathan took off the cloak and tunic he was wearing and gave them to David, together with his sword, bow, and belt. 5 David 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. 6 When 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. 7 The 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!).” 9 From 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. 12 Saul was afraid of David, for the Lord was with him and had turned away from Saul. 13 So Saul removed him from his presence and appointed him chief of a thousand, to march at the head of the troops. 14 David was successful in all his undertakings, for the Lord was with him; 15 and when Saul saw that he was successful, he dreaded him. 16 All Israel and Judah loved David, for he marched at their head.

17 Saul 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.” 18 David 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?” 19 But at the time that Merab, daughter of Saul, should have been given to David, she was given in marriage to Adriel the Meholathite. 20 Now Michal, daughter of Saul, had fallen in love with David; and when this was reported to Saul, it (the matter) was pleasing for him. 21 Saul 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.” 22 And 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?” 23 When 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?” 24 Saul’s courtiers reported to him (saying), “This is what David answered.” 25 And 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. 26 When 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,) 27 David 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. 28 When Saul saw (and knew) the Lord was with David and that Michal daughter of Saul
loved him, and he (Saul) grew still more afraid of David; and Saul was David’s enemy ever after.

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 rendering

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. The following list contains examples of contextual-exegetical renderings (in some cases the possibility of a variant reading [indicated by !] is not excluded):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew text</th>
<th>Greek text</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>יָרְשָׁאֵל</td>
<td>καὶ οἱ ἀνδρεῖς Ἰσραήλ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the men (lit. man) of Israel</td>
<td>and the men (pl.) of Israel</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>בָּאוּר הָאָלָה יִשְׂרָאֵל</td>
<td>! ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι. αὐτοὶ παρατάσσουσιν</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the valley of Elah</td>
<td>in the valley.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and they drew up battle lines</td>
<td>They drew up battle lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִהלַח</td>
<td>παρατάσσουσιν εἰς πόλεμον</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(they drew up) battle lines</td>
<td>they drew up a line for battle</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָשִּׂיא</td>
<td>ἰστάται</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>were stationed (pl.)</td>
<td>were stationed (sg.)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9 For the theoretical background see Tov, TCU, 50 ff.
10 For a detailed analysis, see pp. 107–108 in the original article.
(and the weight of) the breastplate
and the head of his spear
and his spear-head (one word)

and the weight of (the)

and if he is able with me to fight
and if he smites me
but if I am able

and you will be

and there came
and he rose up

and I struck him and killed him

and ruddy

there is a God in Israel

in all his ways

and unimportant

καὶ ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ θώρακός αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἡ λόγχη αὐτοῦ
καὶ τᾶ ὀπλα αὐτοῦ
καὶ ἐὰν δυνηθῇ πρὸς ἐμὲ πολεμήσαι
καὶ εὰν πατάξῃ με
καὶ εἰ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπάταξα καὶ ἐθανάτωσα αὐτόν
καὶ ἐσεσθὲ
καὶ ὅταν ἤρξετο
καὶ εἴ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπάταξα καὶ ἐθανάτωσα αὐτόν
καὶ αὐτὸς πυρράκης
καὶ ἐστὶν θεὸς ἐν Ἰσραήλ
καὶ γνώσεται
καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ
καὶ αὐχὶ ἐνδοξος
καὶ οὐχὶ ἐνδοξος
καὶ ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ θώρακός αὐτοῦ
καὶ πατάξῃ με
καὶ εἴ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπάταξα καὶ ἐθανάτωσα αὐτόν
καὶ αὐχὶ πυρράκης
καὶ ἐστὶν θεὸς ἐν Ἰσραήλ
καὶ γνώσεται
καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ
καὶ αὐχὶ ἐνδοξος
καὶ οὐχὶ ἐνδοξος
καὶ ὁ σταθμὸς τοῦ θώρακός αὐτοῦ
καὶ πατάξῃ με
καὶ εἴ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπανύστατο
καὶ ἐπάταξα καὶ ἐθανάτωσα αὐτόν
καὶ αὐχὶ πυρράκης
καὶ ἐστὶν θεὸς ἐν Ἰσραήλ
καὶ γνώσεται
καὶ ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὁδοῖς αὐτοῦ
καὶ αὐχὶ ἐνδοξος
καὶ οὐχὶ ἐνδοξος
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, יִפְדוּ נַּחַלְתָּו אֱלֵיהוּ ('shall be able to fight with me') vs. δύνασθε 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17:7 הנשה</td>
<td>τὰ ὀπλα ἀντοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the-shield</td>
<td>his shield</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:9 וּנַּחַלְתָּו</td>
<td>καὶ ἐὰν πατάξῃ με</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and-strikes-me</td>
<td>and if he strikes me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>לְוִלִּי תְנִחַת</td>
<td>καὶ ἦ λόγχῃ ἀντοῦ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and the head of his spear</td>
<td>and the spear-head of his</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>but if I am able to him</td>
<td>but if I am able</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:9 וּניַתי</td>
<td>ἥσεσθε</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and you will be</td>
<td>you will be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:34 ולך</td>
<td>καὶ ὅταν ἔρχετο</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>and there came</td>
<td>and when there came</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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17:35 ἐξηλθεν καὶ εἶ ἐπανίστατο
and he rose up and if he rose up

18:23 ἐπήρθη καὶ οὐχὶ ἐνδοξὸς
and unimportant and not 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>17:1, 1, 2</th>
<th>17:2, 46</th>
<th>17:1, 2</th>
<th>17:2, 8</th>
<th>17:5, 38</th>
<th>17:8, 10, 36, 45</th>
<th>17:10, 36, 45</th>
<th>17:11, 18:12</th>
<th>17:40, 49</th>
<th>18:20, 26</th>
<th>17:9, 9, 32, 34</th>
<th>18:22, 22, 23, 24</th>
<th>17:35</th>
<th>17:37</th>
<th>17:40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בָּסָּע</td>
<td>συνάγω</td>
<td>collect</td>
<td>17:1, 1, 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>פָּרָשֶה</td>
<td>παρεμβολή</td>
<td>camp</td>
<td>17:2, 46</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>נָגִים</td>
<td>παρεμβάλλω</td>
<td>encamp</td>
<td>17:1, 2</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>לְרָע</td>
<td>παρατάσσω</td>
<td>draw up battle lines</td>
<td>17:2, 8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָבָה</td>
<td>περικεφαλαία</td>
<td>helmet</td>
<td>17:5, 38</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְרָב</td>
<td>παράταξις</td>
<td>ranks</td>
<td>17:8, 10, 36, 45</td>
<td>(also 17:4)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>לְרָע</td>
<td>ὑπειδίζω</td>
<td>defy</td>
<td>17:10, 36, 45</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>:max</td>
<td>φοβέομαι</td>
<td>fear</td>
<td>17:11, 18:12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלָּה</td>
<td>κάδιον</td>
<td>wallet</td>
<td>17:40, 49</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָר</td>
<td>εὐθύνω</td>
<td>be set right</td>
<td>18:20, 26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Lack of consistency is visible in the following equivalents:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hebrew</th>
<th>Greek</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>17:9, 9, 32, 34</th>
<th>18:22, 22, 23, 24</th>
<th>17:35</th>
<th>17:37</th>
<th>17:40</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>בָּסָּע</td>
<td>δοῦλος</td>
<td>slave</td>
<td>17:9, 9, 32, 34</td>
<td>18:22, 22, 23, 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פָּרָשֶה</td>
<td>παῖς</td>
<td>servant</td>
<td>18:22, 22, 23, 24</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נָר</td>
<td>ἐκσπάω</td>
<td>rescue</td>
<td>17:35</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְרָב</td>
<td>ἐξαιρέω</td>
<td>rescue</td>
<td>17:37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מַעְרָב</td>
<td>βακτηρία</td>
<td>stick</td>
<td>17:40</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The differentiation may be intentional as Goliath calls David’s βακτρία (staff) a mere ἱμάν (stick).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>פַּתָּשָׁו</th>
<th>strike</th>
<th>17:9, 35; 18:6, 27</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>τῦπτῳ</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>17:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀποκτεῖνω</td>
<td>strike</td>
<td>17:46</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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 εἰσοδός (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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>יָבִי</th>
<th>ἀνα μέσον</th>
<th>between</th>
<th>passim</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>עָבָק</td>
<td>κοιλάς</td>
<td>valley</td>
<td>17:2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>שִׁיר</td>
<td>θώραξ</td>
<td>breastplate</td>
<td>17:5, 5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>נַע</td>
<td>ὀπλα</td>
<td>shield</td>
<td>17:7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>מִלְחַמ</td>
<td>ἀνήρ</td>
<td>man of war</td>
<td>17:33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>פολεμιστὴς</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>υπάρχ</td>
<td>ἀπερίτμητος</td>
<td>uncircumcised</td>
<td>17:36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἂν λέγε</td>
<td>δεῦρο</td>
<td>Come!</td>
<td>17:44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>η</td>
<td>ἐκκλησία</td>
<td>assembly</td>
<td>17:47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>θυρό</td>
<td>ἀλαλάζω</td>
<td>cry out</td>
<td>17:52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Παρθ</td>
<td>εἰσόδος</td>
<td>all the way to</td>
<td>17:52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Μπροστ</td>
<td>σκάνδαλον</td>
<td>snare</td>
<td>18:21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Καθιστάτ</td>
<td>ἐπιγαμβρεύω</td>
<td>become related by</td>
<td>18:22, 23, 26, 27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ὑπέρτερος</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἔθιμο</td>
<td>ἐντέλλομαι</td>
<td>command</td>
<td>18:22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀκροβυστία</td>
<td>foreskin</td>
<td>18:25, 27</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀγάπαω</td>
<td></td>
<td>love</td>
<td>18:16, 20, 22, 28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ἀπαγγέλλω</td>
<td>report</td>
<td>18:20, 24</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

| ἔλι | σκέλη     | legs (usually: πόδες) | 17:6 |
| ἀνάθλ | προπορεύομαι | walk in front (usually two words) | 17:7 |
| ἀνάθλ | μοιομαχέομαι | fight (usually: πολεμέω) as in vv. 32, 33 | 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.\textsuperscript{11} Special mention should be made of Sollamo, \textit{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, \textit{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

\textit{καὶ παρεμβαλλονταν ἀνὰ μέσον Ὁσαχ καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον Ἁζήκα}

\textit{And they encamped between Socoh and between Azekah.}

17:4

\textit{καὶ θῶρακα ἄλυσιδωτὸν αὐτός ἐνδεδυκός}

\textit{And with armor of scales he was dressed.}

17:9

\textit{καὶ ἐὰν δυνηθῇ ... καὶ ἐσόμεθα}

\textit{If he is able ... then (lit. and) we will become.}

17:33

\textit{λέγειν ... ἱλατεῖν}

\textit{... to go ... to fight}

17:40

\textit{ῥυμὸς ἁμα ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνθίνης ἄριστος χαὶ ἀρετος}

\textit{And he put them in the shepherd's bag which he had.}

\textsuperscript{11} Thus Thenius, \textit{Bücher Samuels}, xxv ff.; Woods, \textit{Light}, 21; Driver, \textit{Judaean 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.
kai ἑθετο αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ καδίῳ τῷ παμμενικῷ τῷ ὄντι αὐτῷ

17:42
He was a boy, ruddy with beauty of appearance.

αὐτός ἦν παιδάριον καὶ αὐτός παρράκης μετὰ κάλλους

17:43
You come against me with (lit. in) sticks.

σὺ εὐχῇ ἐπὶ ἐμὲ ἐν ράβδῳ (reflecting variant ἑσμένω, with a stick)

For a similar use of ἑσμένω, see vv. 43b, 45, 47; 18:6.

18:8
And this matter (word) was evil in his eyes.

καὶ ποιητόν ἑφάνη τῷ βήμα 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
Saul was afraid from the face of David.

καὶ ἐφοβήθη Σαουλ ἀπὸ προσώπου Δαυίδ

18:22
the king is fond of (lit., in) you

ὁ βασιλεὺς θέλει ἐν σοί (cf. also v. 25)

18:27
And he went out, he and his men.

καὶ ἐπορεύθη αὐτός καὶ οἱ ἄνδρες αὐτοῦ

18:27
literally: And he smote in the Philistines.

καὶ ἐπάταξεν ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις

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

17:8
ἐξ ἑναντίας ἡμῶν

= לְכַלְכָלָם

to meet us

17:36
οὐχὶ πορευόμεναι καὶ πατάξων καὶ ἀφελόν σήμερον ἰδεῖς

= שָׂאוֹל אַלְכֵּל וְקִדֹּם וְהָפָר וְהָיָה יְדֵי

Shall I not go and smite him and remove today disgrace?

17:48
εἰς συνάντησιν Δαυίδ

= לְכַלְכָלָה דֹּא

... to meet David.

Note further the use of λέγων (= לֵאמֶר) 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 LXXLun). 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 4QSam4 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

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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 Méristan, *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. MT thus contains both versions 1 and 2. In a way, this situation resembles that in Jeremiah where a short edition of the book is contained in the LXX and 4QJer 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.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Version 1 (LXX and MT)</th>
<th>Version 2 (MT only)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>16:17–23</td>
<td>David is introduced to Saul as a skilful harper and he is made his armor bearer.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:1–11</td>
<td>Attack by the Philistines. Goliath suggests a duel with one of the Israelites.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:12–31</td>
<td>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.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:32–39</td>
<td>David volunteers to fight</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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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.
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 continuous and internally consistent story, and if version 2 were not known, we would

17 17:32 links immediately with 17:11, not with 17:31 (‘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, ‘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 חם ים ואש ינחק, ‘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. 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 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 “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 “lad” 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. 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:

a. הֲזָה, lit. ‘this one,’ in 17:12: ‘David was the son of an Ephrathite man, this one, from Bethlehem.’ Since David’s father had already been introduced in chapter 16, his

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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 נַחֲל refers to David (thus Qimhi), 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 אפרת, ‘this Ephrathite man’; the formulation אפרת, ‘an Ephrathite man,’ is correct only without ה). In context the particle must mean ‘the aforementioned,’ as Jerome understood it (de quo supra dictum est).

b. 17:15 דוד האל חיווש פנוי שלמה לה השר והשוב הארץ אוסר ביב הלוח, ‘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, ה is a corruption of ה (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 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (תְּשִׁים) and a (bronze) helmet
17:9 לַאֲכָלן (לְ) but if I am able (to him)
17:33 פֶּסֶלְתִּים (יוֹדָה) (this) Philistine
17:36 פֶּסֶלְתִּים נַעֲלוּ (יוֹדָה) (this) uncircumcised Philistine
17:37 (אֶלּוּר דִּדֵּד) (and David said)
17:38 (וֹלֵכָה אַתָּת שְׁרַיִּים) (and dressed him in a breastplate)
17:39 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (יוֹדָה) מגע and (David) [he] took them off of him
17:42 (וֹלֵכָה פֶּסֶלְתִּים) (when the Philistine looked)
17:46 מִשְׁמַע (יוֹדָה) (this) [to-]day
17:48 יוֹלֵכָה (יְרָבָּה) and went (and drew close)
17:51 (וֹלֵכָה פֶּסֶלְתִּים) and he took his sword
17:51 (וֹלֵכָה בֶּן) (and pulled it from its sheath)
17:51 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (יוֹדָה) and he cut off (with it)
18:6 לְשֵׂר הַמַּחֲלַתָּן לֶקָּרָאת שָׁאוֹל (יַסְרֵל) (singing and dancing towards king Saul)
18:7 נַשִּׂים (יַסְרֵל) the (dancing) women
18:8 (יִהְרָה לֶאֱסָאָל מָאָר) (and Saul was greatly angered)
18:8 (יִנְדָּא לַאֹּלְמָא) (and all that he lacks is the kingship)
18:20 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (רָבָּר) בטניה and (the matter) was pleasing in his eyes
18:24 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (לָלַמְא) Saul’s servants reported to him (saying)
18:26 לֶאָל מֶלָאָה הָויָה (לָלַמְא) (Before the days were fulfilled)
18:27 יָוֵא (רוֹדָה) and (David) [he] brought
18:27 (וּנְכָה לוֹ שְׁמָאָל) and (Saul) [he] gave him
18:27 יָוֵא (לָלַמְא) (לְ) (and they were counted out) for the king
18:28 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (רוֹדָה) and Saul saw (and knew)
18:29 וֹרְבַעְתָּן (לָלַמְא) (לָלַמְא) 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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>MT</th>
<th>Retroverted variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17:2 ἐν τῇ κοιλάδι. αὐτοὶ παρατάσσονται</td>
<td>in the valley. They drew up battle lines</td>
<td>Elah and drew up battle lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:4 ἐκ τῆς παρατάξεως</td>
<td>from the battle line</td>
<td>Elah's forces drew up battle lines</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:4 (ὕψος αὐτοῦ) τεσσάρων (πῆχεων) (his height was) four (cubits)</td>
<td>Elah's height was six cubits</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:7 καὶ ὁ κοντός and (the wooden) pole</td>
<td>and the shaft</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:8 Ἑβραῖοι Hebrews</td>
<td>servants</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:9 *καὶ εἶναι and if</td>
<td>if</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:32 τοῦ κυρίου μου my lord</td>
<td>man</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:34 καὶ ἢ ἄρκος and a bear</td>
<td>a bear (acc.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:35 τοῦ φάρυγγος αὐτοῦ of his throat</td>
<td>of his beard</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:36 καὶ τὴν ἄρκον (ἐτυπτεθεὶς ὁ δούλος σου) καὶ τῶν λέοντα both bear (has your servant killed) and lion</td>
<td>both lion and bear (has your servant killed)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:37 *καὶ ἑσταὶ κύριος</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
may be the Lord (with you)

καὶ ἐκοπίασεν
and he was unable

άπαξ καὶ δίς
once and twice

καὶ ἐν ῥάβδῳ
with a stick

καὶ ἀποκλείσει σε
and he will deliver you

τὰ κάλα σου καὶ τὰ κάλα
your carcasses and the carcasses

καὶ γνώσεται
and it will know (all this assembly)

καὶ ἀνέστη
and he went up

εἶπ’ αὐτῶν
over him

Γεθ
Geth

ἀπὸ σω αὐτῶν
after them

Ἀσχαλὼν
Ashkelon
17:53 ἀνδρεῖς Ἰσραήλ
men of Israel
sons of Israel

18:6 ἀι χορεύουσαι
the dancers

18:8 ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς Σαουλ
in the eyes of Saul
in his eyes

18:8 περὶ τοῦ λόγου
about the matter
the matter

18:14 ἐν πάσαις ταῖς ὀδοῖς αὐτοῦ
in all his undertakings
to all his undertakings

18:16 πρὸ προσώπου τοῦ λαοῦ
before the people
before them

18:21 ἐπὶ Σαουλ
against Saul
against him

18:22 καὶ σὺ
and you
and now

18:25 ἄλλῳ ἦ
other than

18:25 αὐτῶν ἐμβαλεῖν
to cast him
to cast David

18:27 ἕκατῶν
one hundred
two hundred

18:28 καὶ πᾶς
and all

18:28 Ἰσραήλ
Israel

18:28 ἡγάπα αὐτῶν
he loved him
she loved him

18:28 ἤγαπάα ἰδίᾳ σῷς
she loved you

(cf. v. 2)
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>Retroverted variant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>17:5 χαλκοῦ + καὶ σιδήρου</td>
<td>נחוש + ברזל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:8 πολέμω + ἐξ ἑναντίας ἡμῶν</td>
<td>מלחמה + להראות</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:32 μὴ + δὴ + συμπεσέτω</td>
<td>אל + 네 + ישל</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:36 + οὐχὶ πορεύσωμαι καὶ πατάξω αὐτῶν καὶ ἀφελῶ σήμερον ὅνειδος ἐξ Ἰσραήλ διότι τὸς ὁ ἀπερίτμητος οὕτως +</td>
<td>+ השה אלך והصلا והחרור + בזוס חרב ממל ישראלי כ מḿהFalFalFal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:37 τοῦ ἀλλοφύλου + τοῦ ἀπερίτμητου + τοῦτον</td>
<td>הפלאש + חרש + тот</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:40 πρὸς + τὸν ἀνδραὶ + τὸν ἀλλόφυλον</td>
<td>נלא + חיימ + הפלאש</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:42 καὶ εἶδεν - Γολιάδ</td>
<td>ירא +ани</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:43 + καὶ λίθοις καὶ εἶπεν Δαυίδ</td>
<td>אבונים ר南海网 דה לא כ אמא +</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:46 καὶ ἀποκλείσει σε κύριος + σήμερον</td>
<td>ויפсуж ח + חים</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17:47 καὶ παραδώσει + κύριος</td>
<td>ונס + חים</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
and will give + the Lord (subject)

17:49 λίθον + ἐνα
stone + one

17:49 καὶ διέδυ ὁ λίθος + διὰ τῆς
περικεφαλαίας + εἰς τὸ
μέτωπον αὐτοῦ
and the stone penetrated + through the helmet + into his forehead

18:6 + εἰς συνάντησιν Δανεὶδ +
+ towards David +

18:22 + λέγων - + saying

18:22 λαλήσατε + ὑμεῖς
speak + you (pl., subject pronoun)

18:24 κατὰ τὰ ῥήματα ταῦτα + ἀ +
ἐλάλησεν
according to these things + which + he spoke

18:27 τὴν Μελχιολ θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ +
+ αὐτῷ +
his daughter Michal + to him