

CHAPTER TWENTY-NINE

DIFFERENT EDITIONS OF THE SONG OF HANNAH AND OF ITS NARRATIVE FRAMEWORK

1. *Introduction*

The differences between MT (with which T,¹ S, and V more or less agree) and the LXX² in the Song of Hannah are mentioned in the commentaries and in several monographic studies of that poem.³ The sources differ in many small details, as well as in major ones in vv. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10. These major discrepancies consist of differences, omissions, and additions (when using these terms, MT is taken as point of departure without taking a stand regarding the originality of the readings of that text). As far as I know, the differences between MT and the ancient versions of the Song of Hannah and its narrative framework have not been discussed in a monographic treatment,⁴ with the exception of Walters, "Hannah and Anna" (on the relation between the MT and LXX); nor have the differences between MT and 4QSam^a been discussed. When deviating from MT, this scroll often agrees with the LXX and/or LXX^{Luc} (see Tov, "Qumran,"* and "4QSam^a*"). The differences between the Qumran scroll and MT have been put forward in Cross, "New Qumran

¹ See D.J. Harrington, "The Apocalypse of Hannah: Targum Jonathan of 1 Samuel 2:1-10," in D.M. Golomb (ed.), "Working with No Data," *Semitic and Egyptian Studies Presented to Thomas O. Lambdin* (Winona Lake, IN 1987) 147-152.

² The Old Latin version is more or less identical with the LXX. See in detail P.A.H. de Boer, "Confirmatum est cor meum—Remarks on the Old Latin Text of the Song of Hannah 1 Samuel ii 1-10," *OTS* 13 (1963) 173-213; idem, "Once Again the Old Latin Text of Hannah's Song," *OTS* 14 (1965) 206-213.

³ P. Dhorme, "Le Cantique d'Anne (I Sam. II, 1-10)," *RB* 16 (1907) 386-397; G. Bressan, "Il cantico di Anna (1 Sam 2,1-10)," *Biblica* 32 (1951) 503-21; 33 (1952) 67-89; J.T. Willis, "The Song of Hannah and Psalm 113," *CBQ* 35 (1973) 139-154; M. Philonenko, "Une paraphrase du Cantique d'Anne," *RHPPhR* 42 (1962) 157-168; Stoebe, *Samuel*; P.A.H. de Boer, "Einige Bemerkungen und Gedanken zum Lied in 1 Samuel 2,1-10," in: *Beiträge zur alttestamentlichen Theologie, Festschrift für Walther Zimmerli zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 1977) 53-59; D.N. Freedman, "Psalm 113 and the Song of Hannah," *ErIsr* 14 (1978) 56*-69*; Tournay, "Cantique." Further monographs are mentioned in Lewis, "Hannah."

⁴ These details are not discussed by S. Pisano, S.J., *Additions or Omissions in the Books of Samuel* (OBO 57; Freiburg/Göttingen 1984).

Fragment," Ulrich, *Samuel*, the notes of *BHS* (P.A.H. de Boer) which in *Samuel* are more extensive and more cautious than in the other books in that edition, the textual notes on the *New American Bible*,⁵ and McCarter, *Samuel*. What has not been sufficiently recognized is that the three different texts of the Song of Hannah do not reflect scribal differences such as are created in the course of the transmission of any text, but three different editions (recensions) of this Song and its narrative framework. That this is the case was suggested long ago with regard to the MT and LXX. Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 42 referred to the different position of the Song of Hannah in MT and LXX, and Driver, *Samuel*, 22 on the MT and LXX of 1:28 and 2:11, while Barthélemy, *CT 1*, 144–145 referred to 2:8–9. The difference between scribal and editorial activity is difficult to define and even scholars who agree in principle that there is a category of editorial differences often do not agree with regard to individual instances. When using the terms editorial or recensional, we refer to readings that presumably were created before the completion of the composition. When these readings were created, the biblical composition was still fluid, so that generations of editors allowed themselves to change that composition. The main focus of this study is the Song of Hannah and the surrounding verses, but in a way, the history of that Song cannot be separated from that of the surrounding chapters. If different editions of the Song of Hannah are assumed, evidence for such editions should also be visible in other chapters in the book of *Samuel*.

2. *An analysis of the major differences*

The view that different editions of the Song of Hannah are reflected in the textual witnesses is based on an analysis of the textual data.

a. *The position of the Song of Hannah (1 Sam 1:28; 2:11)*

The Song of Hannah is placed in a slightly different location in the three textual traditions as shown by a comparison of the verses before and after the Song in 1 Sam 1:28 and 2:11:

1 Sam 1:28		
LXX	4QSam ^a	MT
>	וְתַעֲבֹב[הוּ] שֵׁם וְתִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לַיהוָה	וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה שֵׁם לַיהוָה
1 Sam 2:11a		
LXX	4QSam ^a	MT

⁵ *The Holy Bible, II. Samuel to Maccabees—New American Bible* (1968); cf. also: *Textual Notes on the New American Bible* (Patterson, N.J. [n.d.]).

⁶ An alternative reconstruction would be וְתַעֲבֹב[הוּ] שֵׁם, as suggested by Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 42 for the LXX of 2:11.

והעזבהו שם לפני יהוה > ? וילך אלקנה הרמתה על ביתו
 ותלך הרמתה
 καὶ κατέλιπεν⁷ αὐτὸν
 ἐκεῖ ἐνώπιον κυρίου
 καὶ ἀπῆλθεν εἰς Αρμαθαιμ

The main actions described in 1:28 and 2:11, leaving Samuel at the temple and the bowing before the Lord, are ascribed to different persons in the various textual traditions or are not mentioned at all (the bowing before the Lord is lacking in the LXX), as will be discussed in the next section. These actions take place at different points in the story. According to MT, an unidentified person bows before the Lord prior to Hannah's Song. In a similar way, according to 4QSam^a, Hannah prostrates herself before the Lord before the Song, and at that point she leaves Samuel at the temple. On the other hand, according to the LXX, Hannah leaves Samuel at the temple *after* the Song. Since the actions themselves are more or less identical, the data could also be presented as the insertion of the Song at two different positions, according to 4QSam^a after Hannah's actions, and according to the LXX before these actions. MT resembles the scroll inasmuch as it describes an action before Hannah's Song, but it differs from the LXX and 4QSam^a since it ascribes the actions to Elkanah. The insertion of the Song at two different locations in the context may indicate the late addition of that Song in the history of the growth of the first chapters of Samuel since the Song did not belong to the first layer of the text. When it was inserted into the text, it was inserted in a slightly different place in some manuscripts. A similar explanation applies to the different place in the textual traditions of the Song of the Ark (MT: Num 10:34-36), the pericope on the building of the altar (MT: Josh 8:30-35), Solomon's benediction for the dedication of the temple (MT: 1 Kgs 8:12-13), the story of Naboth (MT: 1 Kgs 20-21), and the oracles against the foreign nations in Jeremiah (MT: chapters 46–51).⁸

⁷ For this verb as well as for ἀπῆλθεν, we follow (against Rahlfs) the text of B and a few other sources, disregarding the main evidence of the Greek tradition, which has plural forms (κατέλε(ε)ιπον, ἀπῆλθον). The slight difference between the two readings is scribal and cannot be ascribed to revisional tendencies relating to MT, since there is no equivalent for these words in MT. For the evaluation of the inner-Greek differentiation between the two textual traditions, the principle of the *lectio difficilior* is invoked. Since Hannah and Elkanah were together in Shiloh at the second visit (see below), it is more logical to ascribe this action to both of them, so that the plural form of the majority of the Greek tradition should be taken as an inner-Greek correction. The more difficult singular form in the LXX of 2:11 is assumed to be original, and it is this form which agrees with the text of both MT and 4QSam^a in 1:28.

⁸ Thus already briefly Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 42. See further Tov, "Sequence."*

The evidence of 4QSam^a is only partly known. In 1:28b, before the Song of Hannah, the scroll mentions the actions that appear in the LXX after that Song. Although the verses after the Song have not been preserved in 4QSam^a, a calculation of the available space easily enables the inclusion of v. 11a.⁹

b. 1 Sam 1:24, 25, 28; 2:11: *the dramatis persona(e) during the third visit to Shiloh.*¹⁰

There are major differences between the textual sources regarding the conception of the dramatis persona(e) during the third visit to Shiloh. The analysis of these differences is hampered by textual complications in MT, the difficulty of reconstructing the *Vorlage* of the LXX, and the fragmentary state of preservation of the Qumran scroll. Nevertheless the main facts are clear:

According to MT, Hannah is the main person acting in 1:24-28. The first words of v. 24 (וַתַּעֲלֶהּ עִמָּהּ) make it clear that she came up to Shiloh with Samuel, but seemingly without Elkanah, and it is she who acts in vv. 24-28. However, an unidentified male person is mentioned at the end of the chapter in v. 28b (וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ שָׁם לַיהוָה ב, 'and he bowed there before the Lord.' From the immediate context it is unclear who is referred to, although on the basis of the earlier verses (cf. v. 21) it is likely that

⁹ On the basis of the columns containing the text of chapters 3, 4, and 5 of 2 Samuel (see photograph PAM 43.115), the column length of this scroll may be calculated at 43-44 lines (in the case of the column starting with 2 Sam 3:23, the lines average 40-45 spaces). The first almost completely preserved column on photograph 43.115 preserves the top margin as well as remnants of 34 lines containing the text of 2 Sam 3:23 until 4:4. Since the next column preserves likewise a top margin immediately followed by the text of 2 Sam 4:9, the bottom of the first column must have contained the text of vv. 5-9. That text is reconstructed as an additional 9-10 lines, bringing the total number of lines for that column to 43-44. By the same token column II of the scroll would have contained an additional 7-8 lines after the 36 partially preserved lines of this column. The next column, col. III, starts with 1 Sam 2:16 and continues with vv. 13b, 14, 17ff. It is therefore difficult to assess the exact evidence of the scroll, but it seems that the unusual text at the beginning of this column, which is in the nature of a duplication with changes, should be disregarded in the present analysis. Thus at the end of col. II there was ample room for v. 11a, more precisely for 1 Sam 2:11-16, partly duplicated at the beginning of col. III. For that column also 43-44 lines should be reconstructed.

¹⁰ The first visit is described in 1:3-18, the second one in 1:21-23, and the third one in 2:24-2:11. At the end of the first and third visits, Elkanah and/or Hannah return to their home (1:19; 1:28; and 2:11), while such a formal statement is lacking at the end of the second visit. If the second and third visit are regarded as one event, some of the problems described here are resolved, since in that case Elkanah is mentioned explicitly, though at a great distance from v. 23. This assumption is, however, difficult, since it implies that Elkanah would have to wait a very long period in Shiloh, about which nothing is said in the text. The argumentation below is not affected by this assumption.

Elkanah is meant.¹¹ That this is indeed the case becomes clear from the first verse occurring immediately after the Song of Hannah, viz., 2:11, ‘and Elkanah went to his home to Rama.’ If according to this verse, appearing immediately after the Song of Hannah, Elkanah returned to his home, he must have been away from his home, in Shiloh, so that the subject of the verb in 1:28 has to be Elkanah, even if he has not been properly introduced, so to speak, in the account of the third visit to Shiloh (cf. n. 17). The reason for the lack of explicit mentioning of Elkanah in 1:28 becomes clear from an analysis of the preceding verses, in which apparently a textual mishap had occurred.¹² Whatever was the background of the phrase in MT in 1:28, the text of MT is problematic since its subject is not disclosed. S and V have a plural form (cf. v. 19 in the various witnesses), but in these translations this form probably reflects a contextual harmonization.¹³ However, the difficulty in v. 28b is not created by a textual problem of conflicting verbal forms, but is part of a discrepancy between different editions of the Song, now reflected in the various textual witnesses.¹⁴ What exactly happened with the text of MT is unclear, but 1 Sam 2:11 describes Elkanah as being present in Shiloh at the time of the third visit to Shiloh. While these words are not represented in the LXX, they probably formed part of the original design of the edition reflected in MT, as becomes clear from an analysis of a section appearing before the last word of v. 24 in the LXX and 4QSam^a. That section is lacking in MT and was probably omitted erroneously from it through a special¹⁵ type of homoioteleuton (והנער—הנער). The very fragmentarily transmitted text of 4QSam^a can be reconstructed well in accordance with the LXX, with which it agrees:

καὶ τὸ παιδάριον μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ προσήγαγον ἐνώπιον κυρίου καὶ ἔσφαξεν ὁ
πατήρ αὐτοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἣν ἐποίησεν ἐξ ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας τῷ κυρίῳ. καὶ
προσήγαγεν τὸ παιδάριον
והנער [עמם ויבאו לפני יהוה וישחט אביו את] הוב[ח כ] אשר [יעשה מימים ימימה
ליהוה ויבא את הנער]

¹¹ On the other hand, according to McCarter, *I Samuel*, 58, MT refers to Eli. Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 401, thinks of Samuel. Because of the unclear context, a case can be made for both of these persons, but in view of 2:11 (see below) and of the text omitted from MT in 1:24 (see below), only Elkanah can have been intended here.

¹² It is not likely that Elkanah’s name has been omitted on purpose as part of a narrative technique (Walters, “Hannah and Anna,” 400).

¹³ Likewise *NJPST*: ‘And they bowed low.’ A textual note in that translation refers to *b. Ber.* 61a implying that Elkanah was there.

¹⁴ Cf. further the *Ketib* in Gen 43:28, where וישחטו represents a plural form.

¹⁵ The two identical words are both contained in MT.

Apart from the suggested homoioteleuton, it is difficult to account for the present shape of MT. There is, for example, no reason to assume an intentional omission of this phrase in MT.¹⁶ Besides, the information in the plus of 4QSam^a and the LXX is needed for the understanding of the surrounding verses in MT, so it is reasonable to suggest that it was omitted erroneously from that text. This plus mentions Elkanah, so he would be the subject of the verbs in the singular in v. 28. It is he who brings the boy to Eli (this action runs parallel to Hannah's leaving the boy in the temple in 1:28 in 4QSam^a and in 2:11 in the LXX), and it is he who acts in the beginning of the next verse ('and he slaughtered'). When the information in this plus is taken into consideration, v. 28b in MT is no longer unusual: the verb in that verse now becomes understandable, since Elkanah had been introduced in v. 24 which had been lost by a textual mishap. Besides, Elkanah was mentioned also in the reconstructed original text of the first words of v. 24 (see below).¹⁷

When the text omitted by homoioteleuton is restored to its proper place in vv. 24-25, MT is understandable, but not all problems are solved. Hannah went to Shiloh together with her husband Elkanah and her son Samuel, even though it is she who is the main actor at this stage of the story. It is she who brings her vow to completion, and it is she who presents her Song. But there are two elements that remain unclear in the story in MT. Even though we now understand that it is Elkanah who bows to the Lord in 1:28b, it is not clear why he should be singled out for mention, thus omitting reference to his wife and son. It does not suffice to point to the central place of men in worship. It is even stranger that the story ends with 2:11, referring to Elkanah's returning home and Samuel's serving the Lord. What happened to Hannah and why was she not mentioned at the end of this episode in the same way she was in the beginning and middle of the story? To this issue we shall return below.

The LXX presents a different picture of 1:28 and 2:11, partly shared with 4QSam^a. That the Greek translation does not reflect the translator's exegesis is demonstrated by the similar evidence of the Hebrew scroll, even though some of the words found in 2:11 in the LXX appear in the scroll at a different location, 1:28. The picture reflected in the LXX differs from MT, since the statement of MT in 1:28 (see above and below) is

¹⁶ Pace Walters, "Hannah and Anna," 403-404.

¹⁷ After the textual mishap in vv. 24-25 (homoioteleuton), 'and he slaughtered' (thus the LXX and the reconstructed text of 4QSam^a), referring to Elkanah, was not understandable anymore and was made into a plural form in MT. On the other hand, according to Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 41 and Driver, *Samuel*, 21 unmentioned 'persons who slaughter' are the subject of the plural verb, reflecting a possibly original reading.

lacking in the LXX, and in the similar statement in that translation in 2:11, it is Hannah who acts, not Elkanah. In fact, more or less the same actions as are ascribed in MT to Elkanah are ascribed to Hannah in the LXX and 4QSam^a (with internal differences): an action connected with the Lord (prostration to the Lord in MT and 4QSam^a and the entrusting of Samuel to the service of the Lord in the LXX and 4QSam^a) and returning home to Ramah at the end of the action.

Furthermore, although similar actions are described in the different versions, it should be noted that according to the LXX and 4QSam^a, it is Hannah who leaves Samuel behind in the temple for the temple service. The entrusting of Samuel to the temple is not mentioned explicitly in MT, although it is implied by 2:11b.

In sum, the relation between the texts is now clear: The main difference between MT on the one hand and the LXX and 4QSam^a on the other is that in certain episodes in the latter two texts, Hannah acts as the main character, while in MT there are two main characters, Hannah and Elkanah. These two versions of the story are not parallel original versions, as suggested by Walters.¹⁸ Rather, they are genetically related. Either MT ascribed actions to Elkanah that in an earlier version had been ascribed to Hannah, or vice versa.¹⁹ We opt for the first possibility²⁰ because of the contextual difficulties in 1:28 and 2:11 in MT. Especially difficult is 2:11 in MT: since at this juncture Hannah should be

¹⁸ There is no room for an extensive discussion of the abstract concepts behind Walters's views, which center around the question of the original text and the transmission of the biblical books. For the latest formulation of my own views, see my *TCHB*, 164-180. In Walters's detailed description of the differences between the versions, the Qumran evidence is not sufficiently taken into consideration, and in our view Walters does not distinguish between the translator's exegesis (which is not relevant in the present context) and his deviations based on a reconstructed *Vorlage* differing from MT. The translator's problems when encountering difficult words are also not taken into consideration. For example, Walters tabulated major differences between the two texts in v. 6 in parallel columns, but a great part of these differences derives from the translator's understanding of his *Vorlage*. According to Walters (p. 394), 'M's story describes Hannah's difficult situation objectively ... But B's <that is MS B of the LXX> story, containing no *provocatrice*, describes the situation entirely in terms of Anna's subjective responses: she suffered *thlipsis* and *athymia*, distress and depression.' However, the difference between the two texts derives partly from the translator's misunderstanding of צַרְהָה, 'co-wife,' which he took as 'her distress.' In the wake of analyses of this type, Walters concludes (p. 392): 'Both by its omission of Hannah's deferential reply and by the character of her first direct speech, M portrays Hannah more positively than B, giving to her person—both words and actions—a more substantive importance.' This characterization is questionable.

¹⁹ Thus Driver, *Samuel*, 22: 'LXX ... an addition to MT, which looks like a various recension of the words not expressed by them in 1, 28^b.'

²⁰ Also Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 42 prefers the reading of the LXX, arguing that it would not make sense for the Greek text to suppress the involvement of Elkanah, which has been mentioned in detail in v. 24.

impossible that the original wording was changed in MT in order to avoid mentioning another one of Hannah's actions.

c. 1 Sam 2:1

The Song of Hannah in MT starts with ותתפלל הנה והאמר, while the LXX, which does not represent the first two words, merely reads: καὶ εἶπεν. The evidence of 4QSam^a is not clear because of the fragmentary status of this text, in which the first two words could have occurred in the lacuna, but could also have been lacking. Most probably in the earlier text form (that is, the LXX), Hannah's Song was not referred to as a 'prayer.'²² Probably the prayer element was added in the introduction to the Song, on the basis of 1 Sam 1:26, since the Song is not written in the form of a prayer. Rather, it is a song of thanksgiving of the individual, referring to a personal calamity experienced by the psalmist, and most likely the Song was added to the story secondarily. The textual evidence thus testifies to two stages in the editing of the Song of Hannah.

d. 1 Sam 2:2

LXX	4QSam ^a	MT
אין קדוש כיהוה	אין קדוש כיה[וה]	אין קדוש כיהוה a
ואין צור* כאלהינו	[]	
אין קדוש* בלתך	[כי* אין קדוש* בלתך]	כי אין בלתך b
	ואין צור כאלהינו	ואין צור כאלהינו c

Some notes on the reconstruction of the LXX:²³

צור] At first sight, it seems as if *δακρυος* in the second stich of the LXX points to a *Vorlage* different from MT צור, but the Greek rendering should be seen in the light of the different renderings of צור elsewhere in the LXX.²⁴ The various Greek translation equivalents of this word reflect an avoidance of a literal rendering of צור as a designation of God.²⁵ Such a tendency may also be assumed in this verse. It is thus methodologically questionable to reconstruct צדיק here and to assume a graphic similarity between the two Hebrew words.

²² Cf. the laconic statement of Smith, *Samuel*, 15:6^B has simply καὶ εἶπεν, which is enough.

²³ Problematic elements in the reconstruction of the LXX and the Qumran scroll have been indicated with an asterisk.

²⁴ Thus also Stoebe, *Samuel*, 101.

²⁵ Cf. A. Wiegand, "Der Gottesname צור und seine Deutung in dem Sinne Bildner und Schöpfer in den alten jüdischen Literatur," *ZAW* 10 (1890) 85-96; A. Passioni dell' Acqua, "La metafora biblica di Dio Roccia e la sua soppressione nelle antiche versioni," *Ephem. Liturgicae* 91 (1977) 417-453.

אין קדוש] ἄγιος in the third stich of the LXX may reflect קדוש, which could also have been contained in the lacuna in 4QSam^a, but it may also reflect a free addition of the LXX to the otherwise unusual²⁶ phrase כי אין בלהך.

The differences among the three witnesses pertain to major details, but not all of them can be analyzed because of the uncertainty of the reconstruction of the *Vorlage* of the LXX and the fragmentary status of the Qumran scroll. However, at least this is clear:

1. A calculation of the length of the lines in 4QSam^a makes it likely that the scroll contained additional text, probably a stich, after אין קדוש [כיה]וה. This stich has been reconstructed by some scholars²⁷ as ואין צדיק כאלהינו on the basis of the LXX. However, the reconstruction of δίκαιος as צדיק is far from certain (see above), and furthermore it is not at all clear which text would have been included in the lacuna in the scroll.

2. The internal sequence of at least two of the witnesses differs. If the three stichs in MT are taken as point of departure for the description and are therefore denoted as *abc*, the sequence of the LXX is represented as *acb*; if the LXX reflects different readings, as presented above, this sequence should be represented as *ac'b'*. The sequence of the Qumran fragment is represented as *a[x]bc*, in which *x* represents either *a'*, *b'*, or *c'*, or a different stich (*d*). According to this description, the three witnesses reflect different versions (editions) of the biblical verse.

It is hard to know which arrangement is preferable. The difficulties inherent in the sequence of MT have often been pointed out, since stich *b* in MT starts with כי, even though it does not explain the previous one.

e. 1 Sam 2:8

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|----|--|
| MT | a. מקים מעפר דל מאשפת ירים אביון |
| | b. להושיב עם נדיבים וכסא כבוד ינחלם. |
| | c. כי ליהוה מצקי ארץ וישת עלהים תבל. |
| | a. He raises the poor from the dust, lifts up the needy from the dunghill, |
| | b. seating them with nobles, granting them seats of honor. |

²⁶ Comparable are only 2 Sam 7:22 and 1 Chr 17:20 where the Hebrew (and Greek) text has an element describing the preposition: כי אין כמוןך ואין אלהים ולהך.

²⁷ Thus Cross, "New Qumran Fragment," 26 and Ulrich, *Samuel*, 121. A.L. Warren argues that the plus in the LXX, and independently the plus in 4QSam^a, reflect liturgical expansions: "A Trisagion Inserted in the 4QSam^a version of the Song of Hannah, 1 Sam. 2:1-10," *JJS* 45 (1994) 278-285 (... LXX has been subject to liturgical adaptation for the autumn *Rosh Hashanah* festival, probably on the basis that Elkanah's annual pilgrimages were also at this time of the year.; p. 281). This article elaborates on H.St.J. Thackeray, "The Song of Hannah and Other Lessons and Psalms for the Jewish New Year's Day," *JTS* 16 (1914) 177-204. See further below, n. 51.

c. For the pillars of the earth are the Lord's, He has set the world upon them.²⁸

The three textual witnesses for the third segment of this verse run as follows:

MT	כי ליהוה מצקי ארץ וישת עליהם תבל
4QSam ^a	כי ליהוה מצקי ארץ וישת] עליהם תבל
LXX	>

This third part of v. 8 is not represented in the LXX. V. 8c was probably lacking in the *Vorlage* of that translation, and was added in a different and later edition,²⁹ represented by MT and 4QSam^a. There are no literal parallels for this verse elsewhere in the Bible,³⁰ and it would probably have originated within the tradition of the Song of Hannah during one of the stages of its growth. It represents a causal clause, supposedly explaining the previous ones, although in actuality it does not provide an explanation or background for them.

The background of v. 8c should be understood in the light of its relation with the surrounding verses. The first two segments of v. 8, as well as the next verse, 9, deal with the fate of individuals, while v. 8c, the added clause of MT and 4QSam^a, deals with God's universal powers. What all verses in this context have in common is that they stress God's power in determining the fate of the individual. But, while vv. 4-9 (with the exception of 8c) deal with God's ability to determine the fate of individuals, 8c mentions God's cosmic powers.³¹ Verse 8c is phrased as an explanation of the preceding verses, but since it mentions God's universal power, it fails to do so. When faced with texts that either contain (MT and 4QSam^a) or lack v. 8c (LXX), one should probably consider the text that does contain v. 8c as secondary. The universal power of God is mentioned again in v. 10, but in that verse the description of this type of cosmic power fits the description of God's overpowering his enemies. The juxtaposition of a description of the personal fate of individuals and God's greatness in the universe is found also in Psalm 113, which in many ways resembles the Song of Hannah,

²⁸ The translation of this verse, as well as all other ones, follows NJPST.

²⁹ Thus already Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 43 and Smith, *Samuel*, 16. Neither scholar uses a term such as 'edition' or 'interpolation.'

³⁰ For the idea cf. Ps 75:3-4, according to which God's giving judgment equitably is paralleled with His keeping the pillars of the earth firm. Other parallels are mentioned by Tournay, "Cantique," 563.

³¹ This was recognized by Dhorme, "Cantique," 391 (cf. n. 3).

but that fact cannot be used as an argument in favor of the originality of v. 8c of MT.

The presentation of 8c in the different versions is somehow related to v. 9a. That verse, too, is not represented in the LXX, which presents a different verse in its stead. However, vv. 8c and 9a should be dealt with separately because of their different structure. V. 8c supposedly explains the preceding clauses 8a-b, while 9a contains a new idea, for which 9b forms an explanation.³²

The LXX stands alone in the non-representation of v. 8c, against MT and 4QSam^a, in which it is found. Likewise, the LXX is alone in not representing v. 9a. In other deviations from MT, the LXX is joined by 4QSam^a, as shown below.

1 Sam 2:9

- | | |
|--------------------|---|
| MT | <p>a. רנלי חסידו ישמר ורשעים בחשך ידמו
He guards the steps of His faithful, but the wicked
perish in darkness,</p> <p>a'. ></p> <p>b. כי לא בכח יגבר איש
for not by strength shall man prevail.</p> |
| LXX a. | <p>></p> <p>a'. נתן נדר לנודר ויברך שני/שנות צדיק
b. כי לא בכח יגבר איש
διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου
ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἰσχύι δυνατὸς ἀνήρ
He gives the vower his vow and blesses the years of the
just, for not by strength shall man prevail.</p> |
| 4QSam ^a | <p>a. ודרך ה' חסידיו ישמר ורשעים בחשך ידמו
[He guards] the way of [His] fa[ithful, but the wicked
perish in darkness.]</p> <p>a'. נתן נדר [לנודר] ויברך ש[ני/שנות צדיק]
He gives [the vow]er his vow and blesses the y[ears of
the just],</p> <p>b. [כי לא בכח יגבר איש ?]
[for not by strength shall man prevail (?)].</p> |

³² It is unfortunate that de Boer in BHS did not provide the text itself of the LXX, for the note 'alit' underestimates the importance of that evidence. It is somewhat misleading that the evidence of 4QSam^a relating to v. 9a is listed in a note to v. 8c.

The earlier text of vv. 8-9 probably consisted of only 8ab and 9b. This text was revised in different ways in MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX. 4QSam^a represents a hybrid version.

V. 9a of MT and 4QSam^a³³ is not represented in the LXX. In a way, the idea of v. 9a (in MT: וְרַגְלֵי חֲסִידוֹ יִשְׁמְרוּ וְרָשָׁעִים בַּחֶשֶׁךְ יִדְמוּ; 4QSam^a presents a slightly different formulation³⁴) fits the Song of Hannah. That Song mentions in vv. 4-5 unexpected changes for the better and the worse in the fate of individuals. Likewise in vv. 6-8 the Song mentions God's power to change the personal fate of individuals. The implication of these two groups of verses is that the unexpected change in condition (for example, the strong whose power fails, in v. 4a) is due to God, who can bring about these changes, just as He can make the poor rich, and the rich poor (v. 7). The descriptions in vv. 4-8 serve as examples of God's power mentioned in v. 3, and they are in line with the general praise of God in vv. 1-3. This idea of God's almighty power underlies all textual traditions of the Song and is also behind v. 9b (כִּי לֹא בַכַּח יִגְבַּר אִישׁ), but is made more specific in MT and 4QSam^a in v. 9a. The implication of vv. 1-3 and 6-8 for vv. 4-5 is that God's power is behind the changes in the fate of the individual mentioned in those verses as well. Vv. 4-8 are therefore understandable as they are. The main idea of these verses is that changes will occur if God wants them to occur. However, in two textual traditions, MT and 4QSam^a, this idea has been elaborated upon and been made more specific. One might say that the original ideas have been given a theological slant. The presumably earlier stage in which the original idea of the Song was represented has not been preserved. The existence of such an earlier stage reflecting a shorter text is reconstructed, although it is supported by the LXX. That support is only partial, since the LXX itself has expanded the originally shorter text. It is suggested here that the originally short version of the Song, lacking vv. 8c and 9a, was expanded in one direction in MT and in another one in the *Vorlage* of the LXX. 4QSam^a contains a hybrid text.

It is suggested here that the text common to MT and 4QSam^a in v. 9a, and lacking in the LXX, represents a theological elaboration on the main theme of the Song of Hannah. That addition to the original text reinterprets the examples of the changes in the fate of the individual given in vv. 4-8 in a certain way. According to this reinterpretation, the sudden changes described in those verses do not exemplify the strength of God, but the power of loyalty to God. It is the person who is loyal to

³³ Only the first word of v. 9a has been preserved in 4QSam^a; the remainder would have been contained in the lacuna.

³⁴ For the reading of 4QSam^a cf. Prov 2:8.

God who will experience a change to a good condition, and it is the wicked (that is, the ones who are not loyal to God) who will experience a change to a bad condition. This reinterpretation found in MT and 4QSam^a of v. 9a was probably added to the Song.³⁵ It was the intention of the person who added v. 9a that the contents of this verse would be applied to vv. 4-8.

A different revision³⁶ of the earlier shorter text is found in the LXX which (together with 4QSam^a) contains a completely different text, v. 9a'. On the special status of the Qumran scroll, see below.

The verse which is found in the LXX and 4QSam^a (נתן נדר [לנוד] ר' ויברך [ש]ני/שנוה צדיק) and not in MT, is secondary because of its content and position. After mentioning the various categories of change from evil to a good condition and from a good condition to a bad one, and after mentioning God's power in bringing about these changes,³⁷ it is somewhat anticlimactic to mention in v. 9a' God's granting the vow to the person who vows. God's power is reflected in so many categories that the granting of the vow³⁸ seems to be a mere detail presented as an afterthought. Since v. 9a' is not found in MT, it may be suspected as secondary, since it reflects the special situation of Hannah. This verse clearly reflects an attempt to accommodate the Song more closely to Hannah's situation.³⁹

The second phrase of the LXX, καὶ ἐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου = 4QSam^a [ש]ני/שנוה צדיק, ויברך, probably does not refer to the righteous in general, but mentions them only in conjunction with the person who makes a vow. The mention of the righteous in the LXX = 4QSam^a thus runs parallel to the mention of the persons who are loyal to God in v. 9a in MT. The phrase of the LXX may be taken to imply that the persons who witness a change in their personal fate, as mentioned in vv. 4-5, are the righteous. In that case, the reinterpretation reflected in the LXX and 4QSam^a runs parallel to that of MT.

³⁵ For the understanding of the background of this verse, it is important to note that the specific use of רשע, 'wicked,' as describing persons who are disloyal to God, occurs mainly in Ezekiel, Psalms and the Wisdom literature.

³⁶ Thus already Stoebe, *Samuel*, 102 with reference to the LXX ('... Rezension, die noch stärker die Situation berücksichtigt').

³⁷ This analysis is based only on the text of the LXX and disregards the pluses of MT.

³⁸ The exact phrase of God's 'granting the vow to the person who vows' is not known from other verses, but is not intrinsically difficult.

³⁹ Driver, *Samuel*, 26. According to Wellhausen, *Samuel*, 42, the attempt is not successful, since the Song presents God as granting more than his worshipers expect, while according to v. 9a' God fulfills the wishes of the worshipers exactly.

V. 9b *כִּי לֹא בִכְחַ יִגְבֵר אִישׁ* 40 is common to the MT and LXX and probably to 4QSam^a, and its meaning in the different contexts of these witnesses needs to be discussed next. In MT this sentence connects well with the two preceding ones.⁴¹ Physical force does not give strength to people. The idea of this stich could continue v. 9a, according to which the righteous as well as the wicked will be judged according to their loyalty to God; physical power (that is, of the wicked) will not help them. But within v. 9 it appears to be an afterthought, since the main idea was already expressed by v. 9a. There is no good connection between this stich and its context in the LXX and 4QSam^a. In these two sources the third stich, mentioning the ineffectiveness of physical power, should explain the two preceding stichs. In the words of the LXX: (a') διδοὺς εὐχὴν τῷ εὐχομένῳ καὶ εὐλόγησεν ἔτη δικαίου (b) ὅτι οὐκ ἐν ἰσχύι δυνατὸς ἀνὴρ. In our view, there is no necessary connection between the ideas of a' and b. This lack of connection may indicate that 9a' of the LXX and 4QSam^a, lacking in MT, contains an editorial insertion into the text.

The contextual appropriateness of 9b in the reconstructed original text of the Song of Hannah needs to be discussed next. In the reconstructed text, which lacked v. 8c and 9a of MT, 9b immediately followed upon 8b. The reference to the ineffectiveness of physical power in v. 9b connects well with v. 8b.

If the above analysis is correct, MT and LXX = 4QSam^a reflect two different and independent reinterpretations of the main ideas of an earlier form of the Song of Hannah.

When the different forms of this verse are compared, we are confronted with three different versions, which may be represented schematically as

MT	ab
4QSam ^a	aa'c
LXX	a'b

In this web of relations between the versions, 4QSam^a holds a peculiar position. The text of that scroll is closely related with the LXX against MT, since it contains the secondary verse about God's 'granting the vow to the person who vows' (9a'). However, the scroll also agrees with MT against the LXX in preserving another secondary addition, viz., v. 9a of MT. According to our analysis, the additions of the MT and LXX present

⁴⁰ For the idea and words, cf. Zech 4:6; Job 21:7.

⁴¹ According to Tournay, "Cantique," 564, v. 9b is connected with the next verse (10) in spite of the verse division of MT. Stoebe, *Samuel*, 102, following others, considers v. 9b to be a secondary addition.

two different types of reinterpretation and contextual adaptation of the Song of Hannah, so that their juxtaposition in 4QSam^a is very peculiar. In our view, since 9a of MT and 9a' of the LXX are contextually secondary, their combination in 4QSam^a should be considered secondary as well. The juxtaposition probably represents a textual mishap⁴² or a scribe's wish to present both versions. Ulrich and McCarter⁴³ suggest a different type of solution, according to which the text of 4QSam^a reflects an original text from which the other two texts developed because of a textual mishap, named haplography by these scholars.⁴⁴ However such a presumed development does not explain the text of the LXX. Besides, the methodological argument mentioned above is even stronger: the juxtaposition in 4QSam^a of two intrinsically secondary verses should be regarded as non-original.

On the basis of the aforementioned considerations relating to three textual witnesses, the following stages in the development of v. 9 are reconstructed:

- stage 1: 9b **איש יגבר** **כי לא בכח** (all witnesses; connected with 8a-b)
- stage 2a: addition in MT of 9a **ידמו** **בחשך** **ורשעים** **ישמר** **חסידו** before 9b
- stage 2b: addition in the *Vorlage* of the LXX of 9a' **ויברך** **נתן נדר** **לנודר** **ויברך** before 9b
- stage 3: combination of texts reflecting stages 2a and 2b in 4QSam^a:
 - a. **ודרך** **ח** **חסידו** **ישמר** **ורשעים** **בחשך** **ידמו**]
 - a'. **נתן נדר** **לנודר** **ויברך** **שני/שנות צדיק**].
 - b. [**כי לא בכח יגבר** **איש** ?]

There is room in this reconstruction⁴⁵ for v. 9b, but it is unclear whether this sentence was included in the scroll. It would have appeared at the end of a line, but instead, the remainder of the line could also have been empty ('open section'). The latter assumption is unlikely as this would be the only paragraph marker in the Song of Hannah.

g. 1 Sam 2:10

1 Sam 2:10 in the LXX and 4QSam^a differs completely from MT. Both texts add a long section after the first segment they have in common with MT (**יהוה יחתו מריבו**) in MT and a slightly different form in 4QSam^a and

⁴² Thus Barthélemy, *CT 1*, 145.

⁴³ Ulrich, *Samuel*, 120 and McCarter, *Samuel*, 70.

⁴⁴ It is not clear what kind of haplography one should have in mind. The only haplography (or rather homoioarcton or homoioteleuton) which comes to mind is between **כי ליהוה** at the beginning of v. 8c and **כי לא** at the beginning of v. 9b.

⁴⁵ This reconstruction does not follow the layout of 4QSam^a.

LXX). In this case MT contains the earlier form, while the LXX reflects a long exegetical plus which is in the nature of an afterthought. The contents of the plus in the Qumran scroll, preserved fragmentarily, cannot be identified easily, but it is found in the same position as the plus in the LXX and possibly has one phrase in common with the LXX (מי קדוש; see below). The addition of the LXX, which is presented here together with the surrounding verses, runs as follows in Greek and in its reconstructed *Vorlage*:⁴⁶

1 Sam 2:10 MT	reconstructed <i>Vorlage</i>	LXX
יהוה יחתו מריבו	יהוה יחת* מריבו ⁴⁷	κύριος ἀσθενῆ ποιήσει ἀντίδικον αὐτοῦ
	יהוה קדוש ⁴⁸	κύριος ἅγιος
	אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו	μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ
	ואל יתהלל נבור בנבורתו	καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατός ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ
	ואל יתהלל עשיר בעשרו	καὶ μὴ καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ
	כי אם בזאת יתהלל המתהלל	ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος
	השכל וידע את יהוה	συνείν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον
	ועשה משפט וצדקה* בארץ	καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς
יהוה ידין אפסי ארץ ויתן עז למלכו	יהוה* ידין אפסי ארץ ויתן עז למלכו*	αὐτὸς κρινεῖ ἄκρα γῆς καὶ δίδωσιν ἰσχὺν τοῖς βασιλεῦσιν ἡμῶν
וירם קרן משיחו	וירם קרן משיחו	καὶ ὑψώσει κέρας χριστοῦ αὐτοῦ

With a few differences the plus of the LXX reflects the MT of Jer 9:22-23 which is presented below together with the Greek text of 1 Sam 2:10 and its reconstructed *Vorlage*:

MT of Jer 9:22-23	reconstructed <i>Vorlage</i> of LXX–Samuel	LXX of Samuel
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⁴⁶ Stars indicate especially problematic reconstructions.

⁴⁷ Thus also 4QSam^a: יחת.

⁴⁸ See the discussion below of a possible equivalent of this Greek plus in 4QSam^a.

אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו	אל יתהלל חכם בחכמתו	μη καυχάσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ
ואל יתהלל הנבור בנבורתו	ואל יתהלל *נבור בנבורתו	καὶ μη καυχάσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ
ואל יתהלל עשיר בעשרו	ואל יתהלל עשיר בעשרו	καὶ μη καυχάσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ
כי אם בואת יתהלל המתהלל	כי אם בואת יתהלל המתהלל	ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχάσθω ὁ καυχώμενος
השכל וידע אורתי ...	השכל וידע את י(הוה)	συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον
עשה... משפט וצדקה בארץ	ועשה משפט וצדקה בארץ	καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς

The differences between the MT of Jeremiah and the reconstructed *Vorlage* of the LXX of Samuel are indicated with a larger font. The additional words of the MT of Jeremiah are indicated by ellipsis dots.

The added verses in the Greek translation of Samuel have not been transferred from the Greek translation of Jeremiah since they differ in several details, as indicated below, reflecting either different translation equivalents or differences in Hebrew *Vorlagen*.⁴⁹

LXX of Jeremiah

LXX of Samuel

⁴⁹ ποιῶν in the LXX of Jeremiah reflects the participle עשה also found in MT, while καὶ ποιεῖν of the LXX of Samuel points to an infinitive reflecting a different reading of the same consonants, viz., עשה. Likewise τὸν κύριον of Samuel reflects a Hebrew reading different from the MT of Samuel, probably אהי (the abbreviated tetragrammaton), which is closely related to אהי of MT of that book. I.L. Seeligmann, *Studies in Biblical Literature* (Hebrew; eds. A. Hurvitz and others; Jerusalem 1992) 325-326 rightly considers the Hebrew reading behind the Greek translation of Samuel to represent the original meaning of the context in Jeremiah, and not MT *ad locum*. The Samuel text speaks about two desirable actions for mankind, knowing God and acting with justice, while the Jeremiah text speaks of man's knowing God and God's acting with justice. These two readings have to be evaluated in the light of the meaning of the context. That context creates a certain opposition between the boasting of men about certain qualities and possessions on the one hand and religious virtues on the other. Within that framework the clearly defined opposition between the actions and views of humans, as in the addition in Samuel, is more natural than in Jeremiah. It is, moreover, unusual that the text in Jeremiah stresses in a somewhat tautological formulation the fact that God acts with justice. 'Is it appropriate that the God of the universe claims that He acts with kindness, justice and equity in the world, for in these He delights' (Seeligmann, *ibid.*, 326). According to Seeligmann God is depicted here as an arbitrary ruler, doing only what He wants. It so happens that the formulation preserved in Samuel is contextually more appropriate to Jeremiah and also reflects the terminology of that book better (cf. Jer 22:15-16). Probably the text which is now preserved only in Samuel once served as the original text of Jeremiah; it was slightly corrupted by a misreading of an abbreviated tetragrammaton, and this misreading caused a series of contextual adaptations in the text of Jeremiah.

μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ σοφὸς ἐν τῇ σοφίᾳ αὐτοῦ	μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ φρόνιμος ἐν τῇ φρονήσει αὐτοῦ
καὶ μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ ἰσχυρὸς ἐν τῇ ἰσχύι αὐτοῦ	καὶ μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ δυνατὸς ἐν τῇ δυνάμει αὐτοῦ
καὶ μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ	καὶ μὴ καυχᾶσθω ὁ πλούσιος ἐν τῷ πλούτῳ αὐτοῦ
ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχᾶσθω ὁ καυχώμενος	ἀλλ' ἢ ἐν τούτῳ καυχᾶσθω ὁ καυχώμενος
συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν ὅτι ἐγὼ εἶμι κύριος	συνίειν καὶ γινώσκειν τὸν κύριον
ποιῶν ἔλεος καὶ κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς	καὶ ποιεῖν κρίμα καὶ δικαιοσύνην ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς

Since the plus of the LXX in Samuel did not derive from the Greek translation of Jeremiah, it was most probably based on a Hebrew plus, such as reconstructed above. This addition has contextual relevance, though not necessarily in its present place, where it occurs after the first clause in the translation of v. 10, representing יהוה יחתו מריבו of MT. However, the plus of the LXX is actually connected with כִּי לֹא בָכָה יִנְבֵר שִׂא, that is, the last words of v. 9. It also refers back to v. 3 אֵל תִּרְבוּ הַדְּבָרָו נְבִיָּה, which in the Greek translation is represented by the same Greek verb representing אֵל יִתְהַלֵּל, namely μὴ καυχᾶσθε (influence on the Greek level, however, has been discarded above).

On the one hand, it is hard to imagine a running Hebrew text which would be worded like the Hebrew text reconstructed from the LXX because the addition based on Jer 9:22-23 is located inappropriately between two phrases of the Hebrew which are closely related to each other, viz., after יהוה יחתו מריבו and before עליו בשמים ירעם. On the other hand, 4QSam^a has an equally long addition at exactly the same point, so that this addition or a similar one indeed formed part of a Hebrew text. This assumption may be strengthened by two elements of the addition, which did not derive from the Jeremiah context, but which are also found in 4QSam^a: The words immediately preceding the quotation from Jeremiah in v. 10, κύριος ἅγιος, probably represent יהוה קדוש, and they stand exactly at the same place as a plus in 4QSam^a in l. 29: מִי קָן, probably to be reconstructed as מִי קָדוּשׁ.

The plus of 4QSam^a found at exactly at the same point as the long plus in the LXX cannot be identified, due to its fragmentary nature. In whatever way the last letter of the one complete word in the first line of

the plus is reconstructed, it is difficult to know what it means.⁵⁰ In any event, the few preserved letters cannot be correlated to the plus of the LXX which is based on Jeremiah 9:

[		]ה	/	בשלמך	/	ה	]	קם	∞∞	[]
[		]	ה	סידו	ישמר	]	ה	גל]]]
[		]	]	מ]]]]]]]

Little can be said about the location of the two additions in the LXX and 4QSam^a. The addition of the LXX seems to be out of place. The small addition κύριος ἄγιος is not at all connected with its context. Rather, it harks back to v. 2, where the same words occur. The long addition is inappropriately located between two phrases of the Hebrew (see above). The flow of the text is logical in MT, but it is not in the LXX. While the assumption of marginal notations must be reduced to a minimum (see Tov, “Glosses”*), it seems that this is a case of such a marginal note or possibly two notes, originally placed in the margin and afterwards wrongly inserted into the text itself. This marginal note is not in the nature of a gloss or an interpolation, but rather a reader’s remark.⁵¹

The short text of MT is thus original in this place, while the plus(es) reflected in the LXX and 4QSam^a represent (a) contextual afterthought(s).

3. Conclusions

The three versions of the Song of Hannah differ in many small details, not discussed here, as well as in several major details.

In its original form, the so-called Song of Hannah reflects a thanksgiving hymn by an individual,⁵² referring to various situations in which that individual was saved from a calamity. This psalm stresses the special power which enables God to bring about changes, especially

⁵⁰ Lewis, “Hannah,” 43 suggests that *בשלמך* / *ה*, or in his reading *בשלמי*, is derived from the root *שלם*, signifying ‘paying one’s vows,’ for which cf. the vow mentioned earlier in the context. For the reconstruction of the second line, cf. Prov 2:8. A completely different reading of that line, if correct, would bring the addition of the scroll into close contact with the LXX. Cross, whose reading is quoted by Lewis, “Hannah,” reads *אל יהיה לך*, which would be identical with the text of Jer 9:22 quoted above. However, while our own reading, previously quoted in the scholarly literature by others, is problematic, the reading suggested by Cross (if based on PAM 43.122) is even more problematic: Between the first letter (read by Cross as an *aleph*) and the next letter, read as a *lamed*, there is a clear remnant of another letter (read by us as a *gimel*). Further, the speck of ink which is read as a *lamed* in *אל יהיה לך* is positioned at the place where a *he* is expected, and if this were indeed a remnant of a *lamed*, probably a greater part of that letter would have been preserved.

⁵¹ Thackeray suggested long ago that the addition in the LXX was based on Jer 9:22-23, read as a short *haphtarah* together with the longer *haphtarah* of the Song of Hannah on the New Year’s day. See H.St.J. Thackeray, “The Song” (n. 25) esp. 190.

⁵² For a different characterization, see Willis, “Song” (see n. 3).

changes to a good condition, or to a bad condition.⁵³ The major stress in this psalm is on the change to a good condition, and the psalmist thanks and praises God for this change in his fate.

The main idea of the reconstructed original form of the Song has been reinterpreted in two directions in the preserved texts, which therefore constitute different *editions* of the Song and its narrative framework. These changes are evidenced in the three main textual sources that have been preserved, either in individual witnesses, or in groups of two, without any consistency. Sometimes the change is evidenced in MT, and sometimes in the LXX, and either one is sometimes joined by 4QSam^a. The position of 4QSam^a is thus rather peculiar, but in any event it is through the evidence of this scroll that the real nature of the two other texts comes to light. Each of these witnesses makes the Song of Hannah more relevant to its context or to certain trends in biblical theology. Furthermore, MT replaces the role of Hannah in the story of the third visit to Shiloh with actions by Elkanah.

The 'original' form of the Song cannot be reconstructed, but presumably it was shorter than the text now transmitted in the three witnesses. It is not impossible that that original form was even shorter than implied by the above analysis, since v. 10, with its description of God's universal powers and the messianic ending, may have been added to the original Song,⁵⁴ even though this view is not supported by any textual evidence.

The differences between the three sources may be summarized as follows:

- a. The Song of Hannah is located in two slightly different positions in MT on the one hand and the LXX and 4QSam^a on the other.
- b. The three texts present different concepts of the events occurring before and after the Song (1:28; 2:11). The LXX and 4QSam^a seem to present a more original and internally consistent version. MT reflects a revision that shifts to Elkanah a role that was originally ascribed to Hannah.
- c. The original form of 2:1 has been preserved in the shorter version of the LXX. The edition of MT adapted the Song to the context by an addition that makes the Song into a prayer.
- d. 2:2 has been preserved in three different editorial forms. The possible stages in the editing of this verse cannot be reconstructed.

⁵³ In this regard Hannah's Song is very similar to the Magnificat in Luke 1:46-55, both in general ideas and in wording.

⁵⁴ Thus O. Loretz, "Psalmstudien (II)," *Ugarit-Forschungen* 5 (1973) 214. For a discussion, see Tournay, "Cantique," 565.

e. 2:8c, lacking in the LXX, was added in MT and 4QSam^a, in order to stress the universal power of God not mentioned in the earlier edition. This universal power is also referred to in v. 10, where it suits the context.

f. The reconstructed earlier text of 2:8-9 consisted of 8ab and 9b only. This short text was interpreted in two different ways in MT and the *Vorlage* of the LXX. 4QSam^a represents a hybrid version of both reworkings and thus represents a secondary development.

2:9a, common to MT and 4QSam^a and lacking in the LXX, represents a theological reinterpretation of the main theme of the Song of Hannah. According to that verse, the person who is loyal to God will witness a change for the better, and the wicked (that is, the ones who are not loyal to God) will witness a change for the worse.

The counterpart to 2:9a in the LXX, v. 9a', reflects an attempt to accommodate the Song more closely to Hannah's position by adding a reference to God's granting the vow to the person who vows.

g. 2:10 in MT differs completely from the LXX and 4QSam^a. The latter two texts add a long plus after the first segment, which they have in common with MT (יהוה יחתו מריביו in MT and a slightly different form in 4QSam^a and the LXX). MT contains the earlier form, while the LXX reflects a long exegetical remark that is in the nature of an afterthought. This afterthought was inappropriately added between the components of v. 10. The contents of the plus in the Qumran scroll have been preserved only fragmentarily, but the scroll may have reflected the same plus as the LXX.

The analysis of the aforementioned differences is relevant to the history of the biblical text as a whole. One may view editorial differences between the textual witnesses as deriving from several irreducible pristine versions of the biblical text. This has been suggested by various scholars, and has been spelled out in detail by Walters, "Hannah and Anna" for the first chapters of Samuel. In our view, however, almost all instances of variation can be explained as revisions of some kind of an earlier text, so that in spite of the major differences between the textual witnesses, an *Urtext* of some kind can still be assumed.⁵⁵ The main objective of this study is to show that the Song of Hannah circulated in antiquity in different recensions. These data are instructive for our understanding of one stage in the development of the text of the Bible, in which different recensions were extant. At the same time, these

⁵⁵ The readings of 4QSam^a and the LXX in 2:10, however, are described as marginal notes.

assumptions need not bring about a change in our thinking about the earlier stages of the biblical text. There is still room for a reconstructed original form, the nature of which needs to be formulated carefully